

# THE MILITANT

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



Los Angeles, March 8

Photo by John Gray

## Actions across country mark Int'l Women's Day

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# In Brief

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## THE MILITANT

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**THIRD APPEAL DENIED, SEVEN MORE INDICTED IN TENNESSEE PROTEST CASE:** Last May 28, Nixon's Rasputin, Billy Graham, held one of his freak-out-with-Jesus extravaganzas in the University of Tennessee football stadium. Graham invited mump-jowls himself to come from the White House and put in a cameo appearance. Nixon's sharing of the spotlight with the candy-colored, tangerine-flaked, streamlined god almighty who stars in every Graham spectacular seemed to make the event a legitimate target for protest by 50 Knoxville and U of T antiwar activists. The cops disagreed, however, and broke up the demonstration. Later they issued warrants for everyone they could identify as having taken part. Several have already been tried and found guilty of "disrupting a religious service" and related charges. The *Knoxville Journal* reported Feb. 25 that Jo Ann Gibson, 20, had her conviction, the third one in a row, upheld on appeal by Judge Joe D. Duncan. Duncan, evidently a survivor from the days of the Scopes-Monkey Trial, also slapped a five-day jail sentence on 28-year-old Doug Satory for contempt because Satory cried out when the judge read his decision. The *Knoxville News-Sentinel* the following day reported that the grand jury had acted on the remaining warrants in the case, indicting seven more persons and exonerating 27 others, including Satory.

**KANSAS PATRIOT FLOPS AS VENTRILOQUIST FOR SILENT MAJORITY:** Kansas City insurance man Fred Miller told Kathy Pellegrino of the *Kansas City Star* last month why the organization he founded last summer was folding up. America First, Last and Always (AFLA) was to have given "the silent majority a voice," but despite a vigorous publicity and recruiting campaign which cost Miller alone nearly \$3,000 of his own money, the group attracted few members beyond its original handful. Said Miller of his own financial loss, "I'll just charge that up to patriotism and deduct it."

**ONCE AGAIN ON RAIFORD PRISON:** Last week, *In Brief* reported further on the brutal Feb. 12 shooting of striking inmates by guards at the Raiford, Fla., prison and on the shooting of civil liberties attorney Carol Wild Scott Feb. 23 after she had filed suit on the prisoners' behalf. A March 6 story from Liberation News Service contains still more information. Quoting a prison guard we hope has been moved to find another occupation by the sadism he described, LNS reports that a few days after the shooting, "nearly 100 guards swept through the maximum security unit, beating prisoners. Inmates were told to step forward if they still supported the strike. Those who did were beaten with fists and gun butts." The guard said his colleagues "would make brilliant storm troopers in Hitler's army." We quite agree, and when one considers that all the inmates who stepped forward after the first must have known what treatment they would receive for doing so, it can be added that Raiford prisoners will make good soldiers in the revolutionary army. **CALIFORNIA PRISONERS FORM UNION TO FIGHT FOR WAGES AND LEGAL AID:** (LNS)—Inmates at California Men's Colony in San Luis Obispo have formed a union to bargain for fair wages and legal aid. Through their bargaining agent, the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), the men are demanding that every prisoner be given adequate legal counsel, including representation at prison disciplinary and parole board hearings that determine the length of a sentence. For further information, contact the Prisoners Legal Union lawyer, Marvin Stender, at (415) 452-1300 or write the NLG, 197 Steiner St., San Francisco, Calif. 94117.

**EIGHT- AND 10-YEAR-OLDS FORCE ACTION FROM INCOMPETENT OFFICIALS IN VIRGINIA:** Together with some friends, Barbara Shuman, 8, and Scott Shuman, 10, children of a North Arlington, Va., family, built a dam in a stream running through their neighborhood in order to prove that they were right and county officials were wrong about oil pollution of the water in the stream. According to the Feb. 22 *Washington Post*, a county investigator, responding to reports from the youngsters conveyed by their parents, "could find no evidence of oil pollution" when he examined Windy Run Feb. 19. The young ecology activists, who insisted they had found dead birds and squirrels coated with "black greasy stuff," responded to the official shrugging off of what they knew to be true by damming Windy Run, trapping an oil slick and tracing the oil to its source—a pipe protruding through the wall of a storm drain. The Shumans told *The Militant* Feb. 25 that the county had acted on this evidence, discovering that the oil leak came from an apartment building and repairing it.

**RACIST JUDGE USES DOUBLE-STANDARD IN CASE OF BLACK DRAFT RESISTER:** U.S. District Judge Edward Boyle refused Feb. 11 to decide in favor of Walter Collins, a Black draft resister whose attorneys charged that the draft board which ordered him inducted was improperly constituted. His attorneys noted that the same court had ruled in favor of Oscar E. Clinton, a white draft resister, and directed an acquittal because two of the five members of his draft board were not residents of the area served by the board. Four members of Collins' board were nonresidents. Collins is currently serving a five-year sentence for draft refusal.

**STUDY LINKS "GENERATION GAP" TO EDUCATION:** A Census Bureau study reported in the *New York Times* Feb. 4 shows that 16 percent of young adults today are college graduates, compared to 6 percent 30 years ago. 31 percent have had at least one year of college, compared to 13 percent in 1940. Three-fourths have completed high school, compared to 38 percent in 1940. Herman P. Miller of the Census Bureau commented, "We know from many different studies that college graduates hold different values. They tend to be more liberal politically, more concerned with the society around them than with their own particular needs. It's entirely possible that some, if not much, of what we call the generation gap is related to education."

**IT'S ALL IN THE LINE:** When we first read the small box in the February issue of the Young Workers Liberation League's *Young Worker* saying "right on" to Charles Cascone, who won an original Ollie Harrington cartoon for selling more *Daily World* subscriptions than anyone else during 1970, we were unimpressed. Cascone sold "over 30 subscriptions." This didn't seem like much compared to Young Socialist Alliance members like Dean Reed, Jude Coren, Bill Rayson and Natalie Harary, who sell more than 100 *Militant* subs in drives of far shorter duration. But then we realized Charlie had a difficult product to sell.

**LEON'S HISTORY OF THE JEWS BACK IN PRINT:** The Nazis killed Abram Leon because he was a Marxist and a Jew. He died at the age of 26 in the Auschwitz concentration camp. But before he died, he wrote *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation*, a materialist analysis of Jewish history and the rise of modern anti-Semitism. His book has long been out of print, but Pathfinder Press has announced that a new edition will soon be available. The new Pathfinder edition contains an introduction by the Belgian historian Nathan Weinstock, author of *Le sionisme contre Israel* (Zionism against Israel), which provides new evidence for Leon's theory that the Jewish population of Europe developed as a "people-class." **ALSO FROM PATHFINDER:** In recent weeks, the following 25-cent pamphlets have been published by Pathfinder: *An Answer to the Naked Ape* by Evelyn Reed, *The Family: Revolutionary or Oppressive Force?* by Caroline Lund, and *Quebec Nationalism: Its Roots and Meaning* by Art Young. Another new pamphlet, *The New Radicalization* by George Breitman, sells for 50 cents.

**JUDGE BEATS "JUSTICE" TO THE PUNCH IN USING PREVENTIVE DETENTION LAW:** With one eye on the American Civil Liberties Union and the Public Defender Service (PDS), U.S. Attorney Earl J. Silbert had been using the other to look for a case in which to employ the preventive detention provision of the D.C. crime act. When Silbert's second attempt to invoke the provision fell through last month, *Washington Post* staff writer Maurine Beasley commented that the action left "the government, which insisted that preventive detention is necessary, in the somewhat embarrassing position of being unable to apply it." Beasley's remark appeared in the Feb. 22 *Post*. Ten days earlier, without the knowledge of Beasley or of Silbert—or of the ACLU and PDS, which have filed a civil suit challenging the constitutionality of pre-trial detention—Aubrey E. Robinson Jr., a district judge, had applied the crime act's controversial provision to two narcotics addicts charged with robbery. The judge had ordered the two men detained for 60 days on Feb. 12, but their detention did not come to light until Feb. 25 when a hearing for reconsideration of the detention was postponed. The PDS and ACLU immediately offered their assistance to the men's attorneys. The suit filed by the two civil-liberties groups is expected to come to court within the next two months.

— LEE SMITH

# Detroit students sit-in over cutbacks

By EVELYN KIRSCH  
and MALIK MIAH

DETROIT, March 8—At a mass meeting here March 5 at Mumford High School, students vowed to continue their sit-in and sleep-in until their demands are met. Parents at the meeting pledged their support and have organized a parents' group to aid the students in patrolling the halls and reaching out to involve other parents.

The protest was ignited by a Feb. 18 decision by the Detroit Board of Education to cut \$12-million from the budget as part of a "survival plan." Teachers, parents and students are irate about the decision, which has resulted in 192 non-contract teachers being laid off, and which means that class size will be increased, special programs like remedial reading will be cut, and substitute teachers will not be called for the first day a teacher is out.

Parents and teachers from the Franklin Elementary School, who picketed and kept their school closed all last week, addressed the March 5 meeting at Mumford High School and expressed solidarity with the Mumford

students. They have begun a legal suit against the Board of Education seeking the return of teachers transferred as a result of budget cuts and have called for a mass demonstration of parents and teachers at the next school board meeting.

Angered by the Detroit Federation of Teachers' (DFT) lack of response to the school situation, the Franklin teachers have also demanded a recall of DFT president Mary Ellen Riordan.

At a Feb. 28 special emergency meeting attended by over 4,000 teachers, Riordan brought in a proposal for a token one-day strike to protest the teacher cuts and transfers and the increase in class size. This was overwhelmingly turned down and there was a great deal of support for a strike that would last until the demands are met. Riordan would not bring this sentiment to a vote, however, and instead adjourned the meeting with a promise of action for the future. This was one of the few times in her 11 years in office that one of her proposals has been defeated.

The union's next membership meeting is March 11, and there may be

strong sentiment at it for a city-wide teachers' strike.

The sit-in at Mumford High School began March 1 and is continuing. Several other high schools and junior high schools have also held protest actions ranging from boycotts to sleep-ins. Besides the 3,000 Mumford students, who virtually boycotted classes all last week, 200 students sat in at Pershing, 150 at Central High School refused to attend classes, students at Mackenzie High School have taken over the school, students at Cass Technical High School slept in for two nights, and several junior high schools have had walkouts.

Leaders from these schools have been meeting and are planning to continue the protests until action is taken to rescind the budget cuts and grant demands to improve the quality of education in their schools.

The demands include:

- That teachers and counselors not be removed from schools because of financial cutbacks;
- Real community control in the schools, with no majority white boards controlling districts where the majority of students are Black;

- An end to the tracking system;
- The right of students to organize and distribute literature in the schools;
- A disciplinary review board to be composed of two students, one teacher, one administrator and two parents;
- No agents, narcs, mod squad, or police in the schools;
- No prowar propaganda in the schools.

Students from Mumford attended the State Board of Education meeting March 4, asking for support from parents and teachers. The DFT had called on all teachers to attend, but only a couple of hundred came. Teachers are disgruntled at the union's refusal to take direct action against the layoffs of non-contract teachers.

Support for the students among the teachers is very high. Teachers see that the students are acting while the teachers union is not.

Student protest may spread throughout the city. The students recognize that the only way for them to succeed in winning their demands is to extend the sit-ins and protests to the entire public school system and to continue to win the mass support of both parents and teachers.

Representative of Black Student Federation presenting demands of Student Mobilization Committee to recent meeting of Boston School Committee. (See story page 5)



Photo by Mary Rosenfeld/Back Bay Ledger

# Broad opposition to N.Y. school cuts

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK, March 10—In response to Board of Education cutbacks amounting to \$40-million, an unprecedented coalition, composed principally of the United Federation of Teachers, the 31 Community School Boards (CSBs), and parent organizations, has decided to take the issue to the streets.

**NEW YORK—As we went to press, city Controller Abraham Beame announced he had rescinded all planned cuts in school staffs and services. He postponed the immediate crisis facing the New York school board by shifting \$25-million of this year's school costs into next year's budget. The City Hall demonstration scheduled for March 12 has been canceled. The pressure of the call by the City-Wide Coalition to Save Our Schools helped force the city to take this stopgap measure.**

On March 2, the board announced that it had a \$40-million deficit in its budget, which necessitated cutbacks. Without consulting the students, parents or teachers, the board decided to eliminate immediately the jobs of 10,

000 to 11,000 daily substitute teachers, lay off 6,500 regular teachers by March 15, discontinue reduced-fare passes for 77,000 students, mostly in elementary school, eliminate after-school and evening programs, cut 10 percent of the funds used for employing parents as school aides, and put a freeze on all repairs and maintenance except in severe emergencies.

Such sweeping measures took the city by surprise, although the board and city administration knew about the deficit as far back as April of last year.

At a press conference on March 4, the Coordinating Committee for a City-Wide Coalition to Save Our Public Schools announced defiance of the board's measures. Cochairing the committee were Dennis Coleman of Community School Board 8, and Sophie Price, president of CSB 28. Some of the people seated at the conference were: Victor Gotbaum, executive director, and Lillian Roberts, associate director, District Council 37 of the State, County and Municipal Employees union; Blanche Lewis of the United Parents Associations; and Albert Shanker, president of the UFT. There were a number of CSB and parent organization representatives. The committee called for a massive noontime demonstration Friday, March 12, in front of City Hall.

The Community School Boards and

UFT are organizing to turn out most of the students on that day. There are 1.1 million students in the public schools.

The committee has the support of the high school student governments, AFSCME, NAACP, Central Labor Council, and the Council of Supervisors and Administrators (principals).

On Friday, March 5, 90 percent of the 4,000 morning session students at DeWitt Clinton High School in the Bronx, the largest high school in the country, walked out in protest over the school cutbacks. The demonstration was called by the General Organization, the city-wide student government. Other high school student protests took place throughout the city.

The first test of strength with the board would have come Monday, March 8, when the CSBs were to hire no more substitute teachers. But in light of the overwhelming opposition and the projected mobilization, a court order issued Sunday night prevented the board from immediately implementing its cutback measures. The court ruled that there had not been proper consultation with the CSBs.

In spite of the court order, local boards in the Bronx and Queens mobilized over 3,000 people to go to Albany, the state capital, on March 9.

What gave particular sharpness to the demands of the committee were

many of the recent expenditures of the Lindsay administration. On March 2, Lindsay, who has been less than vocal about the school crisis, announced that \$24-million was being spent to buy Yankee Stadium. This was to enable the Yankee baseball team and the Giants football team to remain in the city.

The same day, it was disclosed that the city Human Resources Administration had authorized \$2.8-million in welfare funds to be lent to the Off-track Betting Corporation. The OTB is a city agency used to siphon numbers money from the poor into the city treasury.

In another display of where his priorities are at, Lindsay paraded down Fifth Avenue on March 8 with the astronauts. Demonstrators visibly shook up the moon men with chants of "Crumbs for the children and millions for the moon."

Despite the fact that coalition co-chairman Coleman admits that "The war is the major factor in the entire economic crisis and particularly in the crisis of the cities," Vietnam seems to escape the attention of the committee in its pronouncements. Another spokesman said the only focus for the coalition was the cutbacks, to the exclusion of everything else. This position stems at least in part from the fact that Shanker supports the war.

Continued on page 22



"We're still getting our tails shot off over there, and I'd like to know why."

"The guys thought they were coming over here to work with Americans and now we get blown away for people who don't even like us."

# Polls show turn against Nixon as a result of Laos invasion

By DICK ROBERTS

MARCH 9—Public opinion has veered against President Nixon's war policies as a result of the invasion of Laos, pollsters Gallup and Harris now admit.

"Mr. Nixon, despite a policy of troop withdrawals from Vietnam, had a credibility gap worse than Mr. Johnson's at a comparable point in his four-year term," Gallup reported March 6.

"The main worry of the public," Harris stated March 8, "is that the stepped-up fighting in Laos will delay the withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam."

But Nixon continued to escalate the attack on Laos last week. He refused to rule out an invasion of North Vietnam, a move that Saigon leaders Thieu and Ky have repeatedly threatened. And Nixon continued to insist that indefinite occupation of South Vietnam by a certain number of U. S. forces is a prerequisite of U. S. policy.

U. S. bombers pounded Laos and Cambodia in the most massive daily attacks of the war. More than 1,000 bombers flew against Laos and Cambodia on March 7. This did not include an additional 2,400 U. S. helicopter missions in support of the Laos invasion.

The "chopper" crewmen are being subjected to the most murderous fire of the war. An operations officer in Khesanh told *New York Times* reporter Iver Peterson that 219 copters had been shot down but later recovered. An additional 58, the only

losses officially admitted, have been downed and could not be recovered, according to the March 7 *New York Times*.

"This is supposed to be a South Vietnamese Army show," one U. S. pilot told Peterson in Khesanh March 6. "But we're still getting our tails shot off over there, and I'd like to know why."

Another pilot said, "The guys thought they were coming over here to work with Americans, and now we get blown away for people who don't even like us."

While the attack on Laos pushed further westward and additional South Vietnamese troops were rushed in to prop it up, two other South Vietnamese attacks, on Cambodia, appeared to be completely stalled.

Guerrilla attacks on Kompong Som, Cambodia's sole refinery, reportedly destroyed 80 percent of it on March 2. The route from Pnompenh to Kompong Som, scene of some of the heaviest fighting in Cambodia, was cut once again by the revolutionary forces. As of March 5, they held a 24-mile stretch of the road.

A total of 23,000 South Vietnamese troops are involved in the balked invasions of Cambodia; 18,000 in the invasion of Laos. In the last week of February, South Vietnamese Army deaths were reported to be over 900, the highest of any week in the war.

The invasion of Laos is consequently taking on political ramifications for the Nixon administration that are comparable to the setback of the 1968

Tet offensive for the Johnson administration. This is the main message that comes from the Gallup and Harris polls despite the dopesters' attempts to twist meaning, ask fuzzy questions and take insufficient samplings, particularly so far as age is concerned.

The Gallup poll found on the basis of 1,571 interviews, that the "same lack of public confidence in Vietnam policies that faced President Johnson in 1967 now confronts President Nixon. . . ."

"Of those polled last month [Feb. 19-21], 69 percent said the Nixon administration was not telling the facts, 21 percent were satisfied with the information, and 10 percent had no opinion. In February 1967, the Gallup poll showed that 65 percent lacked faith in the Johnson administration's information, 24 percent accepted it, and 11 percent had no opinion. . . ."

The Harris poll asked: "Do you approve or disapprove of the South Vietnamese move into Laos with U. S. air support?" "Nationwide," the response of the 1,620 persons interviewed was 42 percent disapproval, 39 percent approval, and 19 percent not sure.

Harris gave a breakdown by age which showed that in the "under 30" age group, disapproval reached 54 percent, approval 35 percent, and not sure, 11 percent. One would like to see the breakdown for age 17-21—the age of the vast majority of the GIs who do the fighting in Southeast Asia.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon got caught

in one of its routine attempts to lie to the press. At a recent press conference, high-ranking U. S. officers displayed a three-foot section of steel pipe which was supposed to show how the South Vietnamese invasion of Laos had cut key fuel pipelines of the so-called Ho Chi Minh Trail. Lieut. Gen. John W. Vogt had declared that this was a "major achievement which will cause substantial inconvenience to the enemy."

But it developed later in the week that the piece of pipe on display had not been picked up in the present invasion of Laos at all. It had been found by South Vietnamese intelligence forces in Laos at an earlier time.

Pentagon chief Melvin Laird declared later that it "probably would have been better" if the officers had made it clear that the pipeline had not been obtained during the current mission. Said Laird, it was on display merely to show "the type" of pipeline captured in the attack.

There is every reason to believe that in a short time the sentiment against Nixon in this country will make the last months of Johnson's administration look like a picnic. This is because Nixon began by a greater deception: the whole hoax of his "secret peace plan," "gradual withdrawal," and "Vietnamization."

Most Americans were willing to give the administration a chance. But getting taken in like that doesn't ride easy with anyone—especially when the pitchman is a used-car dealer.

# Chicago students demand Black control

By JACKIE SHAFFER

MARCH 8—Chicago Vocational High School students staged a rally at the Chicago Civic Center of over 400 students and parents on March 5 to mobilize support for the demands of Black students at the school. The students are demanding the removal of Joseph Sirchio, a white principal in a 99 percent Black school; removal of cops from the school; and parent and student control of the school. The demands were presented in November to the school administration and the Chicago Board of Education.

The students have been under attack since Feb. 23, when disagree-

ments started between the administration and students on an assembly to honor Malcolm X. Over 200 students were arrested. A Black sister suffered a miscarriage after she was beaten by a white cop. Over 500 cops are now stationed in the school and they have beaten students who started to boycott the school.

CVS students have contacted civil liberties groups and lawyers. The Chicago media have tried to portray the CVS students and parents as "rioters" and have not reported their demands.

There has been a call for a city-wide Black student boycott until the demands are met and all charges and

expulsions resulting from the struggle are dropped. Parents and students feel that the schools are no longer safe to attend since they are occupied by policemen.

On Feb. 26, the administration issued passes which students must have to leave or enter the school. Some students have been dropped, barred and suspended from school. They have received support from Black students in many Chicago high schools and colleges who built the March 5 rally.

Student marshals at the rally made people aware of avoiding provocations of the Chicago cops, who were

mobilized for the event.

After the rally, the students marched to Malcolm X Junior College. Black students from CVS and other schools rapped about the racist conditions of Chicago schools and their right to control the schools.

After the rally, the students went to the University of Illinois Circle Campus to map plans for building city-wide support for the CVS students.

A city-wide Black student conference is necessary to bring more students into this struggle. Students in the Chicago schools are all confronted with the same racist administration and education.

# 7,500 by March 15!

## Sub drive leaps ahead

By CAROLINE LUND

The six-week drive to obtain 7,500 new subscribers to *The Militant* took a big leap forward this past week. A total of 1,483 new subscriptions came into the *Militant* business office, bringing the campaign up to 63 percent of the goal of 7,500. Last week, 43 percent of the goal had been obtained. Another area, Burlington, Vt., has surpassed its quota since last week.

The most heartening development in the past week is that almost all areas with large quotas have sent in reports outlining plans for the final week of the drive and expressing confidence that they will be able to make their quotas.

Subscription drive directors from Chicago and Los Angeles, with a combined quota of 1,200, have both expressed determination and optimism about reaching their quotas. The greatest gain over last week was reg-

istered by Cleveland, which went from 82 subscriptions last week to 211 this week.

Dean Reed from Santa Cruz is the individual who has sold the greatest number of subscriptions so far—92, but Steve Bloom from Chicago is not far behind, with 75.

New York City turned in 234 new subscriptions in the past week, 98 of which were sold at a women's liberation conference, held to commemorate International Women's Day, at Barnard College. The conference was very spirited, and most of the women made use of the occasion to stock up on all the literature available from the literature tables of various groups at the conference.

Fifty-three subscriptions to the *International Socialist Review* were also sold at the Barnard conference. Susan Perry, a women's liberation activist and member of the Young Socialist Alliance at Lehman College, sold 35 *Militant* subs and 18 *ISR* subs at the conference.

Two special teams of *Militant* sellers sold a total of 80 subscriptions in trips to Cornell University and Yale.

One of New York's biggest problems in the drive has been from *Militant* sellers being thrown off campus by security guards. When subscription

sellers manage to stay in the dorms, the response from the students is extremely good. In the past week, a struggle has been launched for the right to sell *The Militant* in dorms at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, N.J.

A team of two New York *Militant* sellers went out to Rutgers last week, and one was apprehended by a campus cop and brought to the campus security office. When the other *Militant* salesperson tried to inquire about his partner, he was also held. New Brunswick police came to arrest the two, brought them to the New Brunswick jail, and set an outrageous bail of \$500 for each of them.

The New Jersey Civil Liberties Union volunteered to take the case and will try to affirm the legal right to sell publications expressing all viewpoints on campus. The Civil Liberties Union provided an attorney, free of charge, who managed to get the bail reduced to \$50, so that the two *Militant* salespeople were able to get out of jail by 3 a.m. the next morning.

The prospects also look good for achieving the goal of 1,250 new subscribers for the *International Socialist Review*. We now have 870 new *ISR* subs, 67 percent of the goal.

Both *The Militant* and *ISR* sub drives are still behind where they should be—83 percent—but a sustained effort in the final week should bring us over the top.

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## Subscription scoreboard

Area	Quota	New Subs
Santa Cruz, Calif.	40	92
Long Island, N.Y.	40	77
La Crosse, Wis.	30	47
Burlington, Vt.	15	21
Boulder-Denver, Colo.	110	147
Phoenix, Ariz.	35	34
Providence, R.I.	75	68
Cincinnati, Ohio	40	35
Bloomington, Indiana	50	43
Durham, N.H.	20	16
Oxford, Ohio	25	20
San Jose, Calif.	5	4
New York, N.Y.	1,000	787
Twin Cities, Minn.	320	240
Amherst, Mass.	50	37
Los Angeles, Calif.	500	370
Cleveland, Ohio	300	211
Pensacola, Fla.	10	7
Worcester, Mass.	65	43
Ann Arbor, Mich.	40	26

Atlanta, Ga.	250	157	Newport, R.I.	15	6	Murfreesboro, Tenn.	25	4
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	325	199	Pittsburgh, Kan.	10	4	Tuscaloosa, Ala.	50	7
Madison, Wis.	120	73	Schenectady, N.Y.	5	2	College Park, Md.	10	1
Nashville, Tenn.	25	15	Tampa, Fla.	50	19	New Britain, Conn.	20	2
New London, Conn.	10	6	Portland, Ore.	75	28	Wayne, N.J.	10	1
Binghamton, N.Y.	60	35	Austin, Texas	175	65	Colorado Springs, Colo.	25	2
Chicago, Ill.	700	406	Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	9	Columbus, Ohio	25	2
San Diego, Calif.	100	58	Tallahassee, Fla.	40	13	Sacramento, Calif.	25	1
Washington, D.C.	150	87	Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	50	16	Waverly, Ohio	25	1
Riverside, Calif.	50	28	East Lansing, Mich.	20	6	Red Hook, N.Y.	30	1
San Francisco, Calif.	400	223	Pullman, Wash.	20	6	Pittsfield, Mass.	25	0
Philadelphia, Pa.	325	171	Champaign, Ill.	25	7	Clemson, S.C.	20	0
Norman, Okla.	25	13	Dekalb, Ill.	65	18	San Antonio, Texas	20	0
Oshkosh, Wis.	25	13	Albany, N.Y.	40	11	Alamosa, Colo.	10	0
Houston, Texas	125	64	Gainesville, Fla.	50	13	Farmington, Maine	10	0
Seattle, Wash.	200	101	Yellow Springs, Ohio	40	10	Indiana, Pa.	10	0
Paterson, N.J.	20	10	Modesto, Calif.	25	6	Newburgh, N.H.	10	0
State College, Pa.	10	5	New Haven, Conn.	25	6	New Orleans, La.	10	0
Logan, Utah	25	12	Dallas-Ft. Worth, Texas	35	8	St. Louis, Mo.	10	0
Newark, N.J.	30	14	Edinboro, Pa.	10	2	Wakefield, R.I.	10	0
Kansas City, Mo.	50	23	El Paso, Texas	25	5	Florence, Ala.	5	0
Milwaukee, Wis.	50	23	Geneseo, N.Y.	5	1	Kalamazoo, Mich.	5	0
Portsmouth, N.H.	20	9	San Bernardino, Calif.	5	1	Mission Viejo, Calif.	5	0
Detroit, Mich.	350	156	Boston, Mass.	600	117	Webster, N.Y.	5	0
Highland Park, Ill.	12	5	N. Boston	(150)	(29)	General	175	172
Baltimore, Md.	10	4	Cambridge	(150)	(25)	<b>TOTAL TO DATE</b>		<b>4,813</b>
Carlinville, Ill.	5	2	S. Boston	(150)	(8)	<b>SHOULD BE</b>		<b>6,250</b>
Hartford, Conn.	5	2	Jacksonville, Fla.	6	1	<b>GOAL</b>		<b>7,500</b>

## Officials threaten Boston students

By ROBERT CAHALANE

BOSTON, March 8—The city-wide Boston high school strike has suffered a temporary setback. A number of students have returned to school under the tremendous combined pressure of the Boston School Committee, Boston police and hostile parents. Despite the pressure, a significant number of students are remaining out of school and on strike.

Those most affected by the pressure have been the white students from schools where this year was the first time in recent history that students had attempted to struggle for changes.

The Black student strike, which began in early February, has been least affected. Some 1,000 Boston high school students attended a noon rally March 3 in Boston City Hall Plaza. The spirit was enthusiastic, and the students' feelings clearly in favor of

the strike.

Representatives of most of the city's major high schools and the Black Student Federation and Student Mobilization Committee spoke at the rally, after which about half of the crowd then marched on the Boston School Committee offices.

There, another short rally was held, and the students began chanting, "Let us in!" After about a half hour, a representative from the School Committee came out and talked with the students, offering to allow three representatives to come in and meet with the assistant superintendent of schools.

The students demanded more representatives, and after further discussion 15 representatives went into the meeting. However, as the students expected, nothing of importance was said by the assistant superintendent. Upon leaving the School Committee offices,

students declared to the press that the meeting had been a "sham."

At the March 3 City Hall rally, another demonstration was called for Saturday, March 6. The striking students had sought to reach out to involve and win over the community to support this demonstration and the student demands. Thousands of leaflets were distributed, student meetings organized, and a well-attended press conference was held—all in preparation for the Saturday rally.

But the Boston School Committee used the threat of expulsions, suspensions and police violence to intimidate the students. At South Boston High, one of the stronger high schools in the strike, 168 students were threatened with expulsion. The School Committee charged the leadership of the strike, the Black Student Federation and the Student Mobilization Commit-

tee, with being "outside agitators" and part of a "national conspiracy," in an attempt to divide the students.

At the present time, a number of students, most of whom are participating in their first struggle, bent to the severe pressure and intimidation, resulting in a temporary lull in strike activity. Those students who are remaining on strike, however, are confident that the others will once again become active in the strike.

The five demands of the striking Black students are: 1) more Black teachers and guidance counselors; 2) Black studies; 3) an end to the harassment of Black students by white teachers and students; 4) investigation of the Boston school system by Bridge Fund, Inc., a community organization; and 5) amnesty for all striking Black students.

# In Our Opinion

## The school crisis

The condition of the schools in America's major urban areas where large numbers of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Native American children live is rotten. Dilapidated and unsafe buildings, crowded classrooms, insufficient equipment, irrelevant studies, frequently racist teachers, and authoritarian administrators who rely on cops to back them up are the norm in these supposedly "educational" institutions.

Each year, tens of thousands of additional students are enrolled in the schools and the situation grows worse and worse.

Only dribbles of money are put into the school systems while the taxes that are squeezed out of the American people are largely spent on war preparations and the Vietnam war.

Large amounts of federal, state and local funds must be transferred from socially destructive—or at best useless—items into building and staffing new schools, and the American people must be mobilized to fight for such changes. However, even with major increases in financial allocations the basic problems of the schools will not be solved until the Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano communities control and supervise these funds within their own educational systems.

The problems of the deteriorating educational systems have been severely exacerbated by the war-primed inflation of recent years. Prices have soared, but the funds to cover higher costs have not been made available. It is just one of the many ways in which the U.S. rulers have tried to make the American people pay for a much-hated war. The fact that the wholesale price index rose .9 percent in February—the largest jump for any single month in almost 18 years indicates that the squeeze will continue.

This is true despite Nixon's so-called "anti-inflationary" measures—which have increased officially admitted overall unemployment to about 6 percent (5.8 in February) not counting tens of thousands who have stopped looking for work.

Despite his recent demagogic talk about "revenue sharing," President Nixon has actually reduced federal spending on many social services since he came to office. This, along with municipal budget deficits, has created a situation where at least two large city school boards—New York and Detroit—have announced immediate cutbacks in school expenses, including the layoff of personnel.

The drastic cutbacks in Detroit, New York and elsewhere come at a time when the radicalization of students is rapidly deepening, and even parents are more and more conscious of the need to take to the streets in protest if they are to prevent even greater disintegration of the school system.

Even before the recent cutbacks, the general deterioration of the schools was generating increased student protest around the country—Seattle, Boston, Chicago and New York, to name but a few examples in the last few weeks.

In response to the cutbacks in New York, an ad hoc coalition of teachers, community school boards, and parent organizations has been formed to mobilize protest. It is significant that the United Federation of Teachers and the decentralized school boards are joining together in common action on this issue despite the bitter attacks the UFT bureaucracy has made against the school boards since they were formed last year.

The demands being raised by the city-wide coalition are limited. They provide no perspective for genuine improvement of the schools—only the maintenance of the status quo, i.e., no budget cuts. This demand is important and must be fought for, but it offers no long-term solution.

In Detroit, the high school students have been spearheading the opposition to the cutbacks and have made "real community control in the schools, with no majority white boards controlling districts where the majority of the students are Black" one of their central demands. This along with demands for increased funds, no cops in the schools, Third World studies programs, and similar needs provide the only real program for mobilizing teachers, parents and students in a massive struggle for improving the schools.

# Letters

## Solidarity

For months we have been your "indirect" subscriber through some of our friends in your country.

It is needless to say that *The Militant* has played and is playing an important role, not only in the radical movement but also in the anti-war movement, by its combative spirit and its rich and very informative contents. It is therefore a good friend of ours.

But we do not feel "honest" in acquiring your paper by such "indirect" methods. Also, delays and irregularities have occurred.

Now, as the struggle of our people for liberation and the American revolution are linked closely to each other, and as the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos has reached a very grave period of escalation, a closer cooperation between us would help bring forth a new perspective for the consolidation of our solidarity and our common struggle to force the U.S. imperialists to stop their war of aggression in Indochina.

For this end, we have been supplying you with all the information materials we have here, and hope in exchange you will put us on your mailing list.

Pham Duong, Director  
House of Information and Culture  
of the Democratic Republic of  
Vietnam  
Prague, Czechoslovakia

## The only one . . .

I really enjoy your publication. It's the only one I've seen that carries news of the Chicano movement on a nationwide basis. Keep up the good work of keeping us informed.

G. G.  
Moses Lake, Wis.

## Abortion

Enclosed is a somewhat tardy subscription renewal. I think that your revised format and additional length are excellent ideas.

In the near future, I would like to see an in-depth article on abortion, specifically concerning whether the fetus is a human being. I do support the right of women to control their own bodies and I think they should be allowed to decide on an abortion, but the fact that no one has proved that a fetus is not human bothers me.

L. D.  
Chicago, Ill.

## Marine recruiters met

Members of the Manhattan College Student Mobilization Committee, with the assistance of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and other campus antiwar activists, staged demonstrations March 1 against visits by the United States Marine Corps recruiter to the Riverdale campus.

Marines were there recruiting for their officer candidate program. We had ex-Marines—veterans of the Indochina war—who attempted to counter the very one-sided presentation by the Marine recruiters. Together with the antiwar veterans, we also set up a pictorial display of atrocities and war casualties. At one o'clock, we took our displays and between 50-75 people up to the office

where the Marines were recruiting and attempted to get them to sign an agreement between the U.S. Marine Corps and the Manhattan College student body whereby no student or graduate who enlisted in their officer training program would be ordered to commit war crimes, such as torture and killing of prisoners, "search-and-destroy" operations, and the use of poisonous products or weapons which employ fire, such as napalm, flamethrowers and phosphorous.

The president of the student government, Dennis Flynn, was there to witness the signatures for the student body. It was our feeling that Manhattan students, because of all the newspaper accounts of war crimes and the reports of the trial of Lt. Calley, were justifiably concerned over the role they might have to play in the armed forces.

The answer of the Marines was that they didn't have the authority to sign the agreement, but would refer it to their superiors.

Manhattan College has long been known as a rather conservative college, and students felt that this action, although modest, represented a significant step forward.

Bill Henning  
New York, N. Y.

## More int'l coverage

Even at a place as conservative as this there are still comrades building the revolution, and the coverage offered by *The Militant* is the most comprehensive available. However, up until recently your coverage of revolutionary conflicts outside of North America, Europe, and Southeast Asia has not been extensive enough (for example, the Guinean crisis was not reported). Also, the atheist movement is ignored, as well as the various misdirected anticapitalist movements—with the exception of anarchism.

With the forementioned changes, *The Militant* might improve even more.

B. K.  
Geneseo, N. Y.

## Ecology

I have been satisfied with *The Militant* and have subscribed for another six months.

Don't forget to cover ecological and environmental issues.

J. P. W.  
Corvallis, Ore.

## UE local calls job actions

The grim five-month strike of UE Local 107 against the Westinghouse Lester turbine plant in South Philadelphia ended Jan. 22 by a general membership meeting vote of 2,438 to 432. It was a long strike with few gains.

Westinghouse has for a long time had special plans for Local 107, a local it wants to break. In 1955-56, it tried to break our local in a strike that lasted 10 months.

This time the miserable offer of the company was rejected overwhelmingly by the local executive board and by the stewards body.

Why then the overwhelming vote by the membership to accept the

# The Great Society

agreement? To turn down the proposal and continue the strike would have meant the worst the company could inflict—frame-ups, arrests, battles at the gate, plus the pressure of the government. This might have been faced, but only with a united leadership. That was lacking. Some local officers recommended acceptance, with strong backing from the UE national officials, who came down to sell the agreement.

Any illusions the company might have had that the returning workers were a beaten body were quickly dispelled. On the second day back to work, when a foreman tried to force a worker to work in an improper job category, the worker refused. When the foreman furloughed him, the whole department walked out. Two days later, a similar case in another department resulted in the same job action. That evening three departments walked out in support of a fellow worker.

In spite of the tearful pleas of the company that they have to follow grievance procedure, three more departments shut down the next week over dissatisfaction with supervisors trying to squeeze and chisel more out of the workers.

At this writing, it is not certain what other actions may have erupted, or will erupt in the near future. But whenever wages and working conditions are below standard, there is bound to be some action in the plant against the foremen. This can be successful only if the workers are well organized. And UE Local 107 remains well organized, despite the weakness of some leaders.

M. C.  
Philadelphia, Pa.

## Angela Davis

For the last few months my friends and myself have watched the progress of the Angela Davis case with increasing annoyance. The reason is that it has become obvious throughout Davis' career that because of her socialist politics she has been covertly and overtly victimized.

We've decided to collect for an Angela Davis Defense Fund. Where should the funds be sent?

M. D.  
Victoria, Australia

*Editor's reply*—Angela Davis has asked that funds for her legal defense be sent to the National Committee to Free Angela Davis, 3450 West 43rd St., Suite 104, Los Angeles, Calif. 90008.

## Great pix, too

Enclosed is the money for a subscription. *The Militant* is the best-written paper in the alternative press and has great photography.

P. G.  
Cincinnati, Ohio

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.

**Presidential nom de plume?**—The following is from a letter to the *New York Times* by one "Nathan Entner": "There comes a time when we are obliged to accept, with faith, certain decisions of President Nixon. Not only are his motives good, but after searching his heart and conscience his course of action is the wisest under the circumstances and truly serves the best interests of our country. . . ."

**Double whammy**—Columnist Robert Sylvester was apparently stumped when he suggested to a coughing *New York* friend that he kick the coffin nails and the friend responded, "In this town it wouldn't do any good. I happen to be a chain breather." But if you can't cope with one habit, why have two?

**That's a comfort**—New York experts established that the noise in a moving subway car packed with passengers is half that of an empty car, because the passengers absorb some of the sound. We thought it was because

there was no room for the sound to get through.

**Esthetics dep't**—According to the *Wall Street Journal*, the National Macaroni Institute commissioned an artist to do a portrait of Patricia Nixon—in macaroni.

**Knee patches?**—"Wearing Old Glory on a police uniform, a business suit, or, for that matter, on your pajamas when you kneel in prayer for this country at night, is a good idea, especially in these times."—*Chicago Tribune* columnist Robert Wiedrich.

**Classy nonservice**—Mercedes-Benz has moved into the U.S. market with a \$20,000, 27-ton garbage truck. You'll be able to tell your friends that the truck that doesn't pick up the garbage in your neighborhood is a Mercedes.

**Most likely story of the week**—"We do not have fixed positions because we are on the offensive and move

around a lot."—A spokesman explaining why 900 Saigon troops had suddenly been evacuated from Hong Ha, a key base in Laos.

**Banks on peace**—Despite some local objections, Fortney Stark, president of the Security National Bank in Walnut Creek, Calif., insists that an eight-foot peace symbol atop the bank will remain until the war ends. He says he doesn't want to be "a symbol of civil disobedience," he just doesn't like the war.

**Contemporary graffiti dep't**—Sign in a New York apartment window: "I shot an arrow into the air and it stuck."

**There's room for improvement?**—Patricia Nixon says she hopes to use her tenure as First Lady to make a determined effort to improve the quality of life in America and the world.

—HARRY RING

## Third World Liberation Notes

**Mareen Jasin**, Houston SWP candidate for councilwoman, was recently in Crystal City, Texas. She reports that the city administration has voted to annex the Del Monte food plant and its property, bringing it within the city limits. Heretofore Del Monte has operated unrestrained, paying no taxes to the city. Annexation would require Del Monte to pay taxes and urbanize the living conditions for the forty or so families that live in the area. The projected property tax is \$14,000 a year. Formal discussions with Del Monte are underway. If the corporation balks, the city will take the matter to court.

Spring elections are scheduled to fill two positions on the school board and two on the City Council. La Raza Unida Party will run candidates for all four offices. According to Jose Angel Gutierrez, present school board president and Raza Unida Party chairman, "There should be no question of our not winning. The importance is that with two more Raza Unida Party representatives on the school board, it will mean a majority for us and allow us more time for other matters. Right now, if one of us isn't there, they (the gringos) have the majority. This will change."

Day care for the children of migrant workers in Crystal City has been set up, and it's of a roving type. It takes care of children 6 months to 5 years old wherever the parents are located. From November to May, migrant workers reside in the city. In the other months, they are elsewhere, and the day care follows.

After attending a statewide antiwar conference held in Houston on Feb. 27, Crystal City Chicanas decided to start a high school women's liberation group.

**Striking Chicano furniture workers** in Austin, Texas, write: "More than two years have passed since that fateful Nov. 29 of 1968 when our strike began against Economy Furniture. The strike was not initiated because of our own desires but rather it was the only alternative open to us. Milton Smith, owner of Economy Furniture, refused to recognize a legally formed union which was accepted by the regional labor relations director and the Federal Labor Board as well as the AFL-CIO.

"The right to unionize is one of the most sacred principles of the working class. By denying this basic right, Smith is in effect discriminating against the entire working class.

"During these two long hard years, we have suffered all types of injustices. We have been subjected to illegal arrests and police repression, pickets have been harassed and insulted by scabs still working for Economy Furni-

ture, the news media have purposely ignored the strike so as to keep the public unaware of its existence. Our families have been forced to live on a day-to-day existence; many times our children have gone to bed with half-empty stomachs.

"But in spite of these unfortunate incidents, which confront us daily—far from feeling humiliated or defeated—our spirit and determination continue to grow, and with it our confidence of victory.

"During these two years, we have learned many things. We have been exposed to the uglier side of America. In this time of science, technology and welfare, we have experienced exploitation, racial discrimination and poverty. In this 'democratic' country of ours, one man has the power to callously determine the fate, well-being and security of more than 300 strikers and their families.

"We have realized that the right of labor to organize is a myth; that equality is an illusion, and that the only people who have access to justice are those that have the power to buy it.

"Our strike has ceased to be the struggle of a group of Chicanos fighting for the right to form a union. It has become part of a greater struggle which will enable Chicanos to take their place among the free peoples of the world.

"We are not begging nor are we threatening. We simply are asking for the justice which is a basic right of anyone, whatever his race, religion or language may be. Viva La Huelga! Signed, Los Huelgistas."

The strikers are badly in need of funds and supplies. Send contributions to: Austin Chicano Huelga, 1915 E. 1st, Austin, Texas 78702.

**A D.C. elementary school principal**, according to the Feb. 27 *Washington Post*, "walked into the teacher's lounge and tore down from the Washington Teachers Union bulletin board a poster that bore the slogan, 'Free Angela Davis,' superimposed over a picture of Miss Davis."

As a result of this arrogant act, the WTU has filed a formal grievance. The contract guarantees the right of the union to put anything on the bulletin board pertaining to its business. But the city school administration, which ordered the action, straightforwardly says "it is time to test just what 'union business' means." In reply, Charles Cheng, WTU vice-president, is reported to have said, ". . . Angela Davis is one of us. She's an AFT (American Federation of Teachers) member in California. And this local here has been involved in antiwar and social issues for a long time."

—DERRICK MORRISON

# Socialist Campaign '71

## 19-yr-old student runs for school post

BOSTON—At a joint news conference of the Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee and the New England Puerto Rican Student Federation, Mark Friedman, 19-year-old Tufts University student, declared his candidacy for the Boston School Committee.

In addition to the SWP nominee, Naomi Vega of the New England Puerto Rican Student Federation was present and spoke in support of HR 3575, legislation calling for bilingual education in schools throughout Massachusetts.

Friedman announced his support of Black high school students currently striking for more Black studies and no cops in the schools, and declared his support of the proposed bilingual legislation.

Vega, making her statement in Spanish, said, "The Massachusetts Spanish-speaking community desperately needs bilingual and bicultural education. There are over 30,000 Latinos in Boston, 57 percent of whom know little or no English. Of 7,800 Puerto Rican school-age children, only 2,825 are actually enrolled in public schools. Out of a projected figure of 4,000 possible Puerto Rican high school students, only 205 are enrolled, and the average annual number graduating during the past four years is one."

The SWP previously announced that it is running Lisa Potash, an 18-year-old Boston University student, for Cambridge School Committee.

## L.A. socialists fight guidelines

LOS ANGELES—Baxter Smith, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Board of Education, and Barbara Peterson and James Little, SWP candidates for the Community Colleges Board of Trustees, played a major role March 2 in forcing the Board of Trustees to take no action on proposed new guidelines for student conduct at the community colleges.

These new guidelines, if adopted, would severely limit the political rights of students on the campuses.

The proposed guidelines contained a section banning visitors who, in the opinion of the college president, would "conspire to disrupt the peaceful conduct and educational process" of the campus.

All three SWP candidates attended the board meeting where the guidelines were on the agenda and spoke against them.

Little, a candidate for Office Number Five on the board, pointed out that the board itself was disrupting the educational process on the campus by proposing guidelines to restrict student activity which might involve off-campus visitors.

Peterson added that the political thrust of the new guidelines was to

cut off various avenues open to student activists, such as the women's liberation movement protests on the city campuses March 8 for International Women's Day.

The board, known for its conservative views, split and decided to take no action on the guidelines after hearing the opposition to them from the SWP candidates.

In another campaign development, Baxter Smith spoke to a meeting sponsored by the Black Education Commission (BEC). The BEC is a group of moderate Blacks who traditionally support liberal causes in relation to the struggle for Black liberation.

The BEC hosted a "Meet the Candidates" night at which Smith and other candidates for the Board of Education spoke. The question-and-answer period following the presentation saw a sharp discussion. Smith won approval on several points and challenged the liberal incumbent Georgiana Hardy to a public debate.

Hardy accepted the challenge and a place and time for the debate are being worked out.

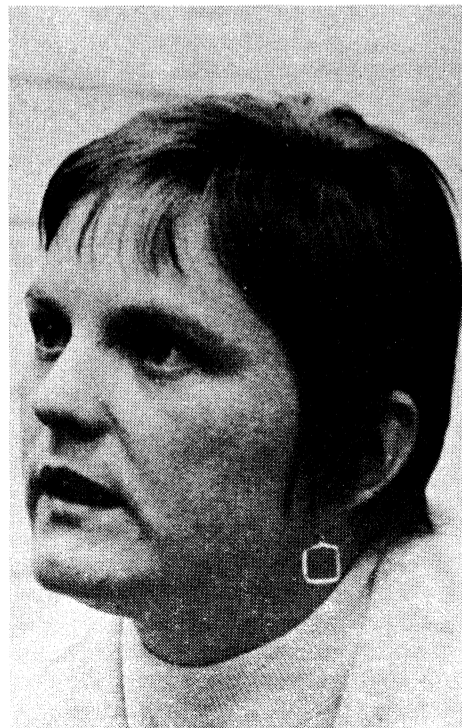
## High court hears Jenness suit

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The U. S. Supreme Court heard arguments on March 1 on a suit challenging Georgia's discriminatory election laws. The suit, filed more than a year ago by Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia at the time, and Joe Cole and Frank Grinnon, SWP congressional candidates, attempts to have the requirement for an exorbitant number of signatures on independent nominating petitions ruled unconstitutional.

Georgia requires signatures amounting to at least 5 percent of the registered voters at the time of the preceding election. In Georgia's 1970 elections, this would have meant that the SWP would have had to collect over 88,000 signatures for governor and about 11,000 for congressional candidates.

The case is on appeal from a three-judge federal court that upheld the discriminatory requirement last June.

The three-judge court, however, did rule favorably at that time on another



Linda Jenness

Photo by Dave Wulp

part of the SWP suit, which challenged the constitutionality of Georgia's high qualifying fees—\$2,125 for governor and U. S. Congress.

In August, Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black turned down a petition for an emergency order to place the SWP candidates on the ballot pending a decision on the signature requirement by the high court.

At the March 1 hearing, Georgia Assistant Attorney General Robert Castellani, defending the state of Georgia, told the Supreme Court that the high number of signatures was necessary to prevent "splinter groups" and "personal publicity seekers" from being on the ballot. He added that with a multitude of gubernatorial candidates "people couldn't make up their mind."

When pressed by several justices as to the exact reason the state General Assembly enacted the 5 percent requirement in 1943, Castellani responded, "I can't say why—I've talked to several people and they just don't know."

Arguing the case for Jenness and the other SWP candidates was Peter Rindskopf of the Southern Legal Assistance Project. The court is expected to rule on the case within the next two months.

On the same day, the high court affirmed a lower court ruling that a Pennsylvania law—requiring candidates for state and local office to sign an oath that they have neither tried to overthrow the government or joined a "subversive" organization with the intent to help overthrow the government—is constitutional. The suit challenging this odious witch-hunt law passed in 1951 during the McCarthyite hysteria was made by Carol Lisker, SWP candidate for Pennsylvania State Assembly in 1970.

## Berkeley socialists are front-page news

BERKELEY—The Socialist Workers Party campaign for Berkeley's April 6 municipal election has been making front-page news.

On Feb. 24, in an article entitled "Stormy Candidates' Meeting," the *Berkeley Daily Gazette* stated, "Mayoral candidates Wilmont Sweeney and John K. DeBonis engaged in verbal fisticuffs while Trotskyist candidate Antonio Camejo nearly came to blows with a BCU chairman during a candidates' night meeting of the conservative Berkeley Citizens United."

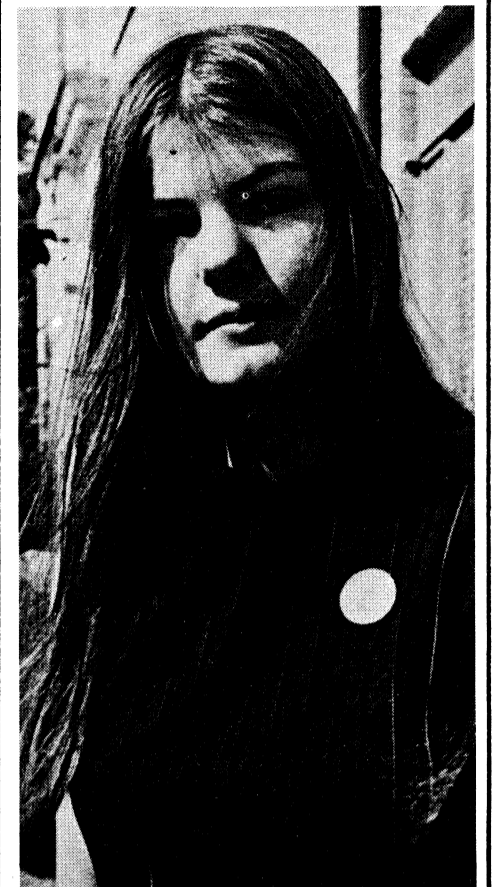
Although Camejo had been promised the floor to state his views, he was barred from doing so. The *Gazette* reports that Camejo "insisted he be given a chance to speak 'as the only mayor candidate who favors the community control of police.'"

"He was ruled out of order by the BCU chairman, who told Camejo to be seated and then enforced his command by physically pushing Camejo to his seat. Camejo protested, 'get your hands off me.'"

Nearly a week later, on March 2, a *Gazette* article with the headline "Schools Candidate 'Serious'" gave very good coverage to the campaign of SWP candidate for Berkeley school board, Mary Lou Montauk.

"Unlike SWP slates running for elec-

tive offices in the past, she said, she is seriously seeking the post," the *Gazette* reported.



Laura Maggi

Daily Texan photo

## Fight Texas loyalty oath

AUSTIN—When Mariana Hernandez and Karin Salzman, Socialist Workers Party candidates for mayor and City Council respectively, attempted to file as official candidates, they were asked to fill out loyalty oath affidavits required by state law.

They told the election officials, "We cannot sign this affidavit in good conscience because it unconstitutionally denies freedom of speech. We feel that the affidavit is discriminatory because it demands that a candidate believe in only one form of government—the current unrepresentative government—and does not allow for freedom of choice and decision for those who wish to see a truly democratic form of government. All people and all candidates for public office must have the right to choose whatever type of government they want."

When the officials refused to put their names on the ballot, the two candidates filed suit in court to have the requirement thrown out and to obtain an order preventing the city from printing the petitions until the constitutional issue is settled in court. This was rejected and the suit is now being appealed to a higher state court.

The city's arbitrary decision not to place the socialist candidates on the ballot received wide coverage in the news media, and the same evening a successful campaign supporters meeting was held with good ideas on how to fight this action.

On March 2, two other SWP candidates for City Council, Mike Alewitz and Laura Maggi, attempted to file for ballot status. Neither candidate meets the overly stringent 25-year-old age requirement and were automatically refused ballot status. Their action, however, helped to expose the fact that the election laws are discriminatory against young voters and potential candidates.



# Harris campaign in final drive

By CALVIN ZON

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The Socialist Workers Party campaign for D. C. delegate continues to stir interest and controversy as requests for speaking appearances by SWP candidate James Harris pour in from all over the city.

On March 2, Harris and the other seven candidates spoke at a Washington Board of Trade luncheon. Harris, along with Julius Hobson of the Statehood Party and Rev. Douglas Moore of the local Black United Front, denounced the Board of Trade bigwigs

in no uncertain terms.

Harris said that the Board constituted "the people who control the money and keep Black people in the District of Columbia poor. If the Board of Trade really wants to be relevant to the city," he added, "it should donate some of its money and influence to the antiwar movement."

Harris spoke at his campaign headquarters March 5 on the topic "The Hidden History of D. C." He brought out aspects of D. C. history that are rarely mentioned in the school books: Washington's antebellum days as a leading center of the slave trade; the blatant racism of President Wilson's administration, which drove Black people out of federal government jobs and enforced rigid segregation in the city; the fact that Blacks made up over 10 percent of World War I veterans who took part in the 1932 Bonus March to Washington. (The shanty town encampment of these men, who were demanding that Congress release their pensions, was ruthlessly attacked and burned down by

federal troops.) Harris also pointed out that Blacks had relied on Lincoln's Republican Party until Franklin Roosevelt came along but that the Republicans sold them down the river when their political usefulness ended after Reconstruction. To achieve liberation, he said, Blacks today must end their reliance on the Democrats by forming a mass independent Black party.

Harris addressed a candidate forum at D. C. Teachers College March 6. He pointed to the absurdity of the system, which, preferring to feed its war machine, lays off teachers in Washington and other cities while there is actually a teacher shortage in terms of the appalling needs of school children. More is spent in Indochina in one day, he said, than the District government spends on education in an entire year.

Harris said that while the SWP fully supports the demand for home rule (District residents are ruled by Congress and cannot elect any of their officials, except a school board), no form of home rule, including state-

hood, should be regarded as a panacea. "That is why we extend the home-rule demand to the basic issue of Black control of the Black community," he added.

The Republican candidate, John Nevius, a white lawyer and former City Council member, alienated his mainly Black audience by saying, in effect, that he was the best man for D. C. delegate since he would not alienate Congress by using "inflammatory rhetoric" about Black vote power as does Rev. Walter Fauntroy, the Democratic candidate and SCLC leader. Nevius further showed his colors when asked why he didn't support April 24, in view of his statements that the war was the prime cause of the District's troubles. He explained he supported Nixon's Vietnam timetable because immediate withdrawal would result in a "bloodbath."

Fauntroy, Hobson, and Dr. Franklin Kameny of the Mattachine Society, which supports freedom for homosexuals, all have indicated their support for April 24.

# L. A. gays protest police brutality

By DAVE SAPERSTAN

LOS ANGELES — More than one hundred persons participated in a march here March 7 to commemorate the murder of two homosexuals and a transvestite by the Los Angeles Police Department and to protest the anti-homosexual practices of the L. A. cops. These practices have included widespread brutality, a policy of entrapment, and the murder of three gay people in the last two years.

Today's demonstration was the second in the last six weeks sponsored by the Los Angeles Gay Liberation Front. The GLF has been involved in a continuing campaign of defending the rights of homosexuals victimized by the police. This campaign has involved court battles, education of the gay community about their rights, and street demonstrations.

A short rally was held at one of the neighborhood parks at which GLF spokesman Morris Knight talked about the gay liberation struggle to about 200 onlookers. He gave a history of the development of the Los Angeles GLF, and discussed the concept that "Gay is Good"—that for the first time gay people are gaining pride in themselves and their sexual orientation and are now organizing around it.

Following his speech, about 50 people marched one mile to the Ramparts

Division Station of the Los Angeles Police Department. This station is widely known in the gay community as the "hellhole" of the police department. When they arrived at the station, they were joined by another 25 people and picketed the station for about an hour.

Other groups supporting the demonstration were the Revolutionary Gay Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

After recently opening a new coffee-house-community center, the Gay Liberation Front is involved in an expanded program of activity that includes distribution of a new weekly

newspaper, *Upfront*, preparing for the June Christopher Street West demonstration, and organizing gays to take part in the April 24 antiwar demonstration in San Francisco.

For further information, contact the Gay Liberation Front at 4400 Melrose Ave., Los Angeles 90027. Tel: (213) 665-1881.

LOS ANGELES — The Socialist Workers Party candidates for the municipal elections to be held here on April 6 have taken a firm stand against the oppression of homosexuals.

A leaflet, signed by Baxter Smith, candidate for Board of Education, and James Little and Barbara Peter-

son, candidates for Community Board of Trustees, declares that "Unlike the Democratic and Republican parties, the Socialist Campaign Committee welcomes and supports the development of the gay liberation movement."

The leaflet, which urges all those interested in building a movement for the total transformation of society to support the SWP campaign, calls for the: "1) end of all the anti-homosexual laws and practices on the city, state and federal level; 2) end of the police policy of entrapment, brutality and murder of homosexuals; 3) end of job, housing and social discrimination on the basis of sexuality."



L. A. gay demonstration March 7

Photo by Dave Saperstan

# Labor support of Newark teachers grows

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEWARK, March 9 — In the wake of the arrests of Newark Teachers Union leaders Carole Graves, Frank Fiorito, and Donald Nicholas, New Jersey AFL-CIO President Charles Marciante threatened to "shut Newark down tight."

Marciante made the remarks on Sunday to an NTU strike rally at the Robert Treat Hotel. David Selden, president of the American Federation of Teachers, also addressed the rally. The Newark teachers' strike, which began Feb. 1, is now entering its sixth week.

Last Thursday, sheriff's deputies burst in on a strike rally to arrest the trio. Close to 1,000 teachers and other

trade unionists were in attendance at the rally, which was sponsored by the state AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers, and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The court ordered the arrests because the three refused to order the membership back to work. The week before, they had been found guilty and sentenced to nine months in jail for violating a permanent anti-strike injunction against the union. Moreover, the NTU was fined \$60,000 and an additional \$7,500 a day if the strike continued. So as of today, the court fine stands at \$112,500.

On top of all this, the state-appointed mediator gave up trying to bring the board and the union to the bargaining table. Because the board has persisted

in its opposition to union demands of binding arbitration and elimination of nonprofessional chores, the NTU is now asking for salary increases. The school board is an arm of the Gibson administration, and even though Gibson has maintained a posture of phony "neutrality" with occasional criticisms of the board, in reality he opposes the strike and the NTU.

Given the attempt of the board to break the union, organized labor has escalated its support to the strike. At the Sunday rally, Marciante said the three major trade-union bodies are now giving consideration to calling a general strike sometime next week. The AFT had its whole Executive Council at the rally and promised to continue financial support.

Today, about 75 members of other unions joined teachers on the picket lines. This number is expected to increase on each successive day.

The growing labor support is important. But the NTU has still not won any significant support from the Black and Puerto Rican communities. By viewing the whole struggle as simply a "labor-management" dispute, the NTU leadership has refused to deal with the demands for Black and Puerto Rican control of the educational system. This has made it impossible to undercut the union-busting drive of the Gibson administration by winning real support for the strike in the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

# Broad backing evident at NPAC news conference

NEW YORK—A National Peace Action Coalition news conference here March 4, attended by more than twenty representatives of labor unions, women's organizations, Black groups, the religious community, entertainers, elected officials and antiwar leaders, showed the broad support continuing to build up for April 24.

Reporters at the conference heard statements from NPAC coordinators Jerry Gordon, Don Gurewitz and Ruth Gage-Colby; Corliss Lamont, who chaired the conference; David Livingston, president of District 65, Distributive Workers of America; Debby Woodrooffe of the United Women's Contingent; Charles Stevenson of the NPAC Third World Task Force; actress Julie Newmar; Leon Davis, president of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Union; and Ron Young, coordinator of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

Also present at the conference were New York City Council minority leader Eldon Clingan; actor Ossie Davis; Episcopal Bishop Coadjutor Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr.; Paul O'Dwyer; Henry

Foner of the Fur, Leather and Machine Workers union; Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams' press secretary Ethan Geto; and others.

With opposition to the war at an all-time high, with the antiwar movement better organized than it has ever been, Gordon said, and "with the antiwar movement now unified in support of April 24, we believe the turnout will be the largest of any antiwar demonstration ever held in the country."

Livingston told reporters that the demonstration against Nixon in Iowa, in which construction workers participated, indicated the "great lesson of 1971." He said, "Nixon has turned against the hard-hats, as indeed he must, because this war can only be waged with great sums of money which can only be taken from working people." Workers realize that this country cannot at the same time continue "this indecent and disgusting war," Livingston said, and provide jobs, homes, good roads, clean air and clear water at home. He predicted that working men and women in unprecedented numbers would march April 24, pledging that District 65 would mobilize its rank and file and reserve space on chartered trains for Washington, D. C.

Debby Woodrooffe of the United Women's Contingent said, "We will be in Washington April 24, thousands and thousands of angry women, united behind our own banners," demanding an end to the war which costs money "better spent on giving women control of our lives that we need and are determined to have."

Stevenson referred to the *Muhammad Speaks* poll showing that over 81 percent of Harlem residents favored immediate withdrawal, saying, "The Third World Task Force believes that polls have no political significance but that masses of Afro-Americans marching, rallying and demonstrating bears the form of strength which is needed to end the war."



David Livingston

Photo by Harry Ring

# Australia antiwar conf. hears SWP speaker

By RON WEBB

SYDNEY, Australia — Patti Iiyama, representing the United States Socialist Workers Party, addressed an antiwar conference of more than 1,000 activists held here Feb. 17-21. Her remarks focused on the concept of the antiwar university. Iiyama is presently on a lecture tour of Australia and New Zealand, speaking on the U. S. antiwar movement, women's liberation, and the dynamics of the coming American revolution.

Iiyama's tour in Australia was sponsored by the Socialist Youth Alliance, which has arranged two or three speaking engagements for her each day. Her itinerary includes the cities of Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Canberra, Adelaide, and Hobart.

The National Antiwar Conference heard seven international speakers and over 90 papers during the five days it met. The final business session adopted a set of aims that will guarantee the future development of the coalition.

Among the guests at the conference were Bala Tampoe, secretary-general of the Ceylon Mercantile Union and secretary of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary), the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International; Philippe Devillers, professor at the Institute for Political Studies at the University of Paris and director of Southeast Asian Studies at the National Foundation of Political Science in Paris; Michael Uhl, an American Vietnam veteran and former second

lieutenant in U. S. intelligence in Vietnam; and Peter Wiley from *Leviathan*, an American new-left paper.

After a lengthy debate in the concluding session of the conference, the following aims were adopted around which the antiwar movement should organize:

- Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the total U. S. and allied military presence from Indochina, and the cessation of U. S. aggression and internal subversion against the peoples of Indochina;

- Immediate, unconditional and unilateral withdrawal of Australian military forces from Indochina irrespective of U. S. policy;

- Immediate abolition of conscription in any form;

- Withdrawal of all military, material and political support by the U. S., Australia and other allied governments for those regimes or forces sustained by the United States in Indochina;

- An end to Australia's present policies of military intervention in countries of Asia and the Southwestern Pacific;

- Recognition by the U. S. and its allies of the Indochinese peoples' right to national independence, unity and self-determination.

Mass antiwar actions are planned in Australia for April 30, May 30 and June 30. The latter date is being projected as a day on which all people who oppose the war should stop work.

# April 24 countdown

"The news from Saigon emphasizes how significant and timely was the decision taken last weekend to hold united peace actions in Washington and San Francisco on April 24." That's how a lead editorial in the March 5 issue of the Communist Party's *Daily World* began. The front-page banner headline of the same issue, "Union Leaders Join April End-War Drive," referred readers to the lead article on page 3, "Peace forces unite for April 24 action." The article, by Gene Tournour, reported the March 4 National Peace Action Coalition's New York news conference, opening with a quote from District 65 President David Livingston: "We will be in Washington April 24 to tell Richard Nixon that either he brings the troops home from Indochina now or the American people will run him out of office the same way Lyndon Johnson was run out."

The next NPAC Steering Committee meeting, scheduled for New York City March 13, includes on its agenda a panel of trade unionists discussing growing support from organized labor for April 24.

The mounting support from organized labor was dramatically illustrated with the very significant endorsement of April 24 by a nine-state regional meeting of the western United Auto Workers' Community Action Project in California early this month. The resolution, calling for CAP to actively build the demonstration, was adopted unanimously after it was introduced by UAW western regional director Paul Schrade.

Support from other sections of the antiwar movement also continues to grow. A National Student Congress, sponsored by the Association of Student Governments in Washington, D. C., March 7, passed a motion endorsing April 24 by a two-to-one margin. The congress was attended by 100 student government presidents from Oregon to Mississippi.

On Feb. 21, the Ontario New Democratic Party provincial council voted nearly unanimously to support actions on April 24 as a day of world protest against the war in Indochina. Other support for April 24 actions in Canada came from a general meeting of the Vietnam Action Committee in Vancouver, B. C.

A February membership meeting of the Detroit Federation of Teachers voted to recommend that the union's Executive Board endorse the April 2-4 Martin Luther King memorial Black and Brown antiwar action in Detroit and the April 24 demonstration in Washington, that the union send two representatives to the March 13 NPAC Steering Committee meeting, and that the union call a news conference to publicly state its support for these actions and its opposition to the war.

A new button has been designed and produced by NPAC to promote the April 24 action date. It was produced to replace the first run of buttons which has been sold out. For information or to order the new buttons and other NPAC material, including posters, bumper stickers and leaflets, write NPAC at 1029 Vermont Ave. N.W., Eighth Floor, Washington, D. C. 20005 or call (202) 638-6601.

NPAC coordinator Don Gurewitz spoke to 140 people in New Haven at a weekend conference of the Connecticut Peace Action Coalition March 6-7. The meeting, which included representatives from the newly formed Peace Action Coalitions in New Britain and Hartford, voted for a demonstration at the federal prison in Danbury, Conn., April 18 in support of the Berrigans and the 11 other victims of the Hoover-Harrisburg conspiracy frameup. Plans for April 24 were also discussed. Nearly one-third of those who attended were high school students.

New endorsers of the April 24 action, as of March 5, included Nobel Prize-winning Harvard biologist George Wald, writer Arthur Miller, former Senator Wayne Morse, and Chicago Alderman A. A. "Sammy" Rayner.

The United Women's Contingent is planning to produce literature concerned with the opposition of women to the war, and the national office of the contingent would like to reprint antiwar articles and speeches by women that have appeared elsewhere. Copies of such articles and other suggestions should be mailed to the United Women's Contingent, 1029 Vermont Ave., Eighth Floor, Washington, D. C. 20005.

The national Student Mobilization Committee office has organized a Midwest and Southern speaking tour for SMC staff member Laura Dertz. Dertz will be speaking about the war and the spring antiwar offensive on college campuses. She already has engagements scheduled at Ole Miss, two schools in New Orleans, and schools in Texas, Florida and Illinois.

Besides groups in New York City, the gay liberation contingent for April 24 being organized by the SMC Gay Task Force has been endorsed by Tallahassee Gay Liberation in Tallahassee, Fla. For more information on the gay liberation contingent, write to SMC Gay Task Force, 135 W. 14 St., N. Y., N. Y. 10011.

The SMC's next national steering committee meeting will be in Philadelphia on March 20. The exact site has not yet been announced. The meeting will take up plans for final preparations on the April 2-4 actions in Detroit and other cities, and for an all-out effort of intensive building during the final month before April 24.

# Chronology of Angela Davis case

1969

**Spring**—Angela Davis, graduate student at the University of California, San Diego, accepts a two-year contract as assistant professor of philosophy at the University of California, Los Angeles. The question of her being a Communist arises because of statements made by an FBI agent. In response to inquiries by the university chancellor, she states publicly she is a member of the Che-Lumumba Club of the Communist Party of Southern California.

**SEPT. 19**—University of California regents vote to fire Davis under a 29-year-old university rule barring employment of Communists. The academic community of UCLA sees this move as part of a continuing attack by the regents against the university as well as an attack on movements of Blacks, women, youth and workers.

**OCT. 3**—The faculty votes 539-12 to condemn the regents' ruling and 551-4 to rescind its own 1950 resolution against hiring Communists.

**OCT. 6**—Over 2,000 show up for the first lecture of Davis' course, "Recurring Philosophical Themes in Black Literature." Outrage at her firing grows on a national scale.

**OCT. 20**—A California superior court judge rules that the firing was unconstitutional and orders Davis reinstated. For the rest of the school year she becomes the target of harassment by right-wingers and racists. Threats are made against her life and she is accompanied by bodyguards wherever she goes. Nonetheless, she actively engages in the struggles of the Black community, particularly the defense of the Black Panther Party and the Soledad Brothers, three Black inmates at Soledad State Prison being framed for murder of a white guard.

Jonathan Jackson, brother of one of the accused inmates, works closely with Angela Davis in the movement to free the Soledad Brothers and becomes one of her bodyguards.

1970

**JUNE 8**—The regents, waiting until the school year is over, again vote not to renew her contract for the coming year, this time citing her "extramural activities" on behalf of the Soledad Brothers and the Black Panther Party.

**JUNE 11**—The UCLA faculty again votes to support her and even to pay her salary out of its own.

By the end of July, there are published reports that Soledad Prison authorities are humiliating accused inmates and their families, preventing their lawyers from access to vital information, remodeling the scene of the alleged murder, and transferring potential defense witnesses to other prisons.

**AUG. 7**—Jonathan Jackson enters a courtroom in San Rafael where a Black San Quentin prisoner is on trial for his life on charges of assaulting a guard. He hands weapons to the defendant and two other inmates present as witnesses. Five hostages are seized, including the judge. According to the *Los Angeles Times* someone shouts, "We want the Soledad Brothers freed by 12:30 today!"

As the group attempts to escape, San Quentin guards and police open fire. Jackson, the defendant, one of the other inmates, and the judge are killed. Police say the judge was killed by a blast from the shotgun Jackson brought into the courtroom.

Within a few days, the police claim that all four

weapons brought in by Jackson are registered in the name of Angela Davis.

**AUG. 11**—A warrant is issued for Davis' arrest, stating that she provided the guns for the breakout and is therefore an accomplice to kidnapping and murder—charges that carry the death penalty in California.

**AUG. 16**—Davis avoids being served the arrest warrant and a federal fugitive warrant is issued, bringing the FBI into the case.

**AUG. 17**—Affidavits are filed by Marin County District Attorney Bruce Bales which state that the guns were purchased in 1968, 1969 and 1970 by Angela Davis.

**AUG. 19**—Miss Davis is placed on the 10 most wanted list of the FBI—the third woman in history to be included. She is described by the FBI as "possibly armed and dangerous."

**OCT. 13**—Following a nationwide hunt, Davis is arrested in a midtown Manhattan motel with a companion, David Poindexter, who is charged with "harboring a fugitive." She is held without bail at the New York Women's House of Detention. Poindexter is released on \$100,000 bail.

**OCT. 21**—Governor Rockefeller signs an order to extradite Davis to California.

**OCT. 23**—She is transferred from a normal cell in the detention center to solitary confinement. She is subjected to a 24-hour guard, searched every three hours, and completely isolated from other inmates. The following day she begins a hunger strike to protest this treatment.

**NOV. 4**—A federal judge rules there has been no justification for placing her in solitary and orders that she be given the same treatment as other inmates.

**NOV. 5**—Attorneys John J. Abt and Margaret Burnham file a petition of habeas corpus, exposing "hopeless deficiencies" in the affidavit forming the basis of Davis' arrest. A hearing on the petition is set for Nov. 20.

**NOV. 10**—A Marin County grand jury returns an indictment against Davis charging her with conspiracy, kidnapping and murder. This takes precedence over the previous affidavit and extradition order.

**NOV. 16**—Governor Rockefeller signs a new extradition order based on the grand jury indictment.

**DEC. 22**—After all appeals have been exhausted, Governor Rockefeller's order is carried out. At 3:00 a.m. Davis is extradited under extremely heavy security measures and flown from McGuire Air Force Base in New Jersey to Marin County, California, to face arraignment on charges of kidnapping, murder and conspiracy.

1971

**JAN. 5**—Davis is arraigned in the San Rafael courthouse, Marin County, with hundreds of supporters inside and around the courtroom.

She states that "before the court and before the people," she is innocent of all charges leveled against her. "Therefore," she says, "my presence today is unrelated to any criminal act. I stand before this court as the target of a political frame-up."

Three defense motions are made: 1) that the indictment be dropped for lack of evidence, 2) that Davis be released on bail, and 3) that Davis be permitted to act as co-defense during her trial. The defense is given until Feb. 15 to submit the motions, and the prosecution 15 days from then to argue them. The pretrial hearings will begin on March 16.

This chronology is based on information compiled by the New York Committee to Free Angela Davis.



Angela Davis

## Suit challenges U.S. passport blacklist

(From *Intercontinental Press*)

The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee [NECLC] filed suit in New York federal district court February 24, challenging the action of the State Department's Passport Division in maintaining a blacklist of nearly 250,000 names.

The suit was prepared by the NECLC's acting general counsel, Victor Rabinowitz. It asks that the passport office be prevented from maintaining the blacklist and that the government be ordered to destroy all the information it possesses about the persons on the list.

An NECLC release dated February 24 explained how the suit came to be filed:

"The complaint grew out of a disclosure February 9 by Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr. . . . that the Passport Division blacklist contained the names of 243,135 persons, gathered from various sources, for checking on applicants for passports, or validation of existing passports.

"Plaintiffs in the complaint are Dr. Corliss Lamont, Chairman of the N.E.C.L.C.; Bernard Brightman and Sidney Gluck, businessmen who are members of the N.E.C.L.C. Executive

Committee; Arnold Johnson, Public Relations Director of the Communist Party, and the Socialist Workers Party, acting in behalf of itself and its members. The four named plaintiffs are acting as individuals."

The action also represents one of the few occasions in which a well-known member of the Communist party has agreed to join the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers party in a civil-liberties suit of this type.

The plaintiffs charge that the blacklist violates their constitutional rights under the first, fifth, and ninth amendments; "serves no legitimate purpose";

and "authorizes an unwarranted invasion" of "personal and associational privacy."

Senator Ervin has said he was told by the State Department that the largest number of names on the blacklist are those of "known or suspected Communists or subversives." Others have been included because their actions allegedly "do not reflect to the credit of the United States abroad."

Ervin also charged that although persons on the blacklist are prevented from knowing what is in their file, federal, state, and local government agencies have free access to it.

# Exclusive interview

## Peruvian revolutionist discusses oppression

The following exclusive interview with Hugo Blanco was obtained by a Militant correspondent who recently returned from Peru.

Hugo Blanco gained international fame in the early 1960s as a peasant union organizer in the Valley of La Convencion in the Cuzco region of Peru. The peasants were peacefully occupying lands that had been taken from them by the landlords. Between 1961 and 1963 more than 300 such occupations took place.

The landowners used police, troops and private armed goons against the peasants. The unions responded by creating self-defense units. In 1963, after an extensive manhunt, Hugo Blanco was captured, jailed, and accused of shooting several policemen. At his trial in 1966, he was sentenced to 25 years in prison—only saved from the death penalty by a worldwide defense campaign on his behalf.

After serving seven and one-half years in jail, Hugo Blanco was re-

very poor. I was surprised when I went to Argentina to discover that the standard of living I had as a factory worker there was much higher than I had ever known in Cuzco as the son of a lawyer (today an Argentine factory worker makes about \$100 a month).

**Militant: Were your parents whites or Indians?**

**Blanco:** My background is both Mestizo (mixed) and Indian. Both of my parents are Mestizos.

**Militant: In elementary schools, were there conflicts between whites, Mestizos and Indians?**

**Blanco:** There are really no whites in Cuzco, although there are people who are considered to be "white." There are different layers of Mestizos and Indians. Naturally racial prejudice exists against the Indians. The word "In-

The Indian is considered to be an animal.

**Militant: Do the Indians walk in the middle of the street because it's the law, or is it just a custom?**

**Blanco:** It's the custom, not the law. For instance, if an Indian woman is sitting in a bus and a Mestizo woman gets on, the Indian must give up her seat to the Mestizo. When I was in the countryside, the train station would not sell us tickets in trains in which Mestizos would be riding. We had to go in separate trains which were much slower.

**Militant: What language is used in the schools?**

**Blanco:** In all schools the language used is Castellano (Spanish).

**Militant: What language do the children use at home?**

sexuality among things, tends to use "el" and "la" incorrectly.

**Militant: Did you speak Quecha?**

**Blanco:** With my parents I spoke Spanish but with everyone else Quechua. Most of my father's clients spoke only Quechua. At times our family would also speak Quechua. I learned both languages at the same time.

**Militant: After finishing school you went to Argentina?**

**Blanco:** Yes, that was in 1954.

**Militant: Were you already radical?**

**Blanco:** Yes, I was a revolutionary.

**Militant: How did you become a revolutionary?**

**Blanco:** Through the influence of my brother and my teachers and from the obvious oppression of the Indians. The entire reality I saw around me made me an "Indianista" ["pro-Indian"]. Because of the extreme exploitation of the Indian, there is in Cuzco a long heritage of sympathy for the Indian among the radicalized intellectuals. Many of the great Indian rebels and Indianistas of the past have been from Cuzco.

Even among my elementary school teachers there were some Indianistas. I remember one teacher who taught us some Indianista songs and who would talk against the *gamonales* (landowner's agents) and of the oppression of the Indians. We also heard Incan music. Naturally all this was in violation of the scheduled lectures.

**Militant: Do purely Indian villages still exist?**

**Blanco:** Yes, but even these are exploited. The land is owned communally, but when they sell their products they are robbed by the merchants. The tendency is for communal land to disappear, with capitalist relations replacing the commune. The old Indian communal farming comes from a period in history before the Inca empire. The Spaniards used the already existing structure the way the Inca rulers did to exploit the masses.

It was under the republican regime following independence that the Indian commune was forcefully attacked in favor of establishing large haciendas. But up to this day resistance goes on among the Indians in line with their traditions of primitive communism. Today the process of destruction of the communal villages is still continuing. The remaining villages are now bureaucratized, with privileged layers.

**Militant: Did you first come in touch with the Indians as an adolescent?**

**Blanco:** Yes, I used to enjoy spending time with the Indians, walking the mountains, working with them, living among them. I felt anguish as a child over the utter poverty of the Indians. In my father's office I could hear the difficulties the Indians had, the complaints they made against the landlords and how the courts always supported the landlords. The Indian would have to suffer a great deal before appealing to a judge. He would have to come a long distance to Cuzco, and then it would be useless.

Naturally, with the Indians we only spoke Quechua. Most of them could



On steps of remains of great fortress at Cuzco

leased as part of a general amnesty for political prisoners in Peru on Dec. 22, 1970.

**Militant: Where were you born?**

**Blanco:** In Cuzco.

**Militant: What was your family like?**

**Blanco:** I have a sister and an older brother. In Cuzco, we were middle class. My father was a lawyer, and my mother was the daughter of a landowner. She had three *Indios* (Indians) working for her on the piece of hacienda (plantation) she inherited.

In spite of these two incomes, my family was actually poor. Naturally in Cuzco we were middle class; but compared to Lima, or the level of more advanced countries, we were

poor. The Indian is treated with hostility.

Actually there were no full Indians in our school, simply because the Indians cannot make it into school. The Indians live in the countryside and their customs are different from those of the people in the cities. Their language, their clothing, their manner of walking, all are different from those of the Mestizos.

**Militant: Were there racial conflicts in your school?**

**Blanco:** Throughout the entire society there exists continuous oppression of everything Indian. The Mestizos consider themselves above the Indians. The Indians, for instance, can't walk on the sidewalk but must stay in the middle of the road like an animal.

**Blanco:** They speak Quechua at home and among themselves. Actually the teachers are forced to explain most things in Quechua, but that is "unofficial." Otherwise the children can't understand anything.

The Indians are treated as though they were stupid, because they can't tell the difference between "e" and "i." In Quechua neither "e" nor "i" exists, but something in between. Also there's no "o" or "u." When an Indian child of six is asked to pronounce an "e" or "i" and fails, the teacher will hit him on the head and call him a stupid Indian.

Also in Quechua there is no article. I don't know why, but in Spanish they have given everything a sex so that you say *la pared* (the wall), *el zapato* (the shoe), *la media* (the sock). The Quechuan, who has no concept of

# with Hugo Blanco

## of Indians, role of women in peasant unions

only speak Quechua. They chew on coca leaves, drink chicha, and drink alcohol made from sugar cane. I did likewise with them.

The Mestizo looks down on all these customs. I had a desire to identify myself with the Indians. I felt a racial pride. As a young boy, I enjoyed acting in a play we presented in Quechua. I always preferred the Quechuan music.

I also became interested in archaeology. We identified the excavations with our race. It showed what greatness our race had achieved in the past.

**Militant: What do Indians call the non-Indians—the whites and Mestizos?**

**Blanco:** "Misti." Indians use the word "Runa" (people) for Indians. The non-Indians are "Misti," a word probably derived from Mestizo.

**Militant: What was the racial composition of the Chaupimayo peasant unions you led?**

**Blanco:** Indian. There was one group that had a great deal of white in them. Interestingly, in the past a small group of whites—some say Portuguese—lived in the area and became totally Indian. They dress, speak, do everything just like the Indians but are racially quite white. Of course, the majority in La Convencion were pure Indian.

**Militant: Going back to your own radicalization. How did you become a revolutionist, concretely?**

**Blanco:** My older brother became an Indianista and Aprista (1). In those days, the Apristas were persecuted. I recall participating in student strikes while still in elementary school. We would support the high school strikes. In high school, we would support the university strikes.

Under the Odría dictatorship (2), I remember a rector being appointed to the university, and the students carried out a powerful strike that resulted in the rector being removed. There were also struggles over student rights. We fought for changes in the rules to help out students who had to work at the same time they were students.

I supported these struggles as a high school student. We had a group of activists in high school who were dispersed into various schools in order to stop us from functioning, and I had to go to school at night. We used to read Mariátegui (3) and APRA literature, but in a totally disorganized way. I lost a year in the process. This was partially because of the teachers who were reactionaries and deliberately failed some of us because of our activities.

In one student action, I was hit by a tear-gas bomb that exploded right in my face, throwing the liquid all over me. Sometimes we built barricades, only to block automobiles. Our meetings had to be secret. We would say we were going to meet in one place, then meet somewhere else.

Well, all these struggles led the rector I mentioned earlier to commit suicide. Apparently he was so opposed to the students he preferred to die rather than compromise.

It was in that year that the repression hit the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario—the Trotskyist group).

That was the first time I heard of the POR. At the time I was a sympathizer of the APRA and the Communist Party because they were being persecuted, and therefore I considered them revolutionary. The newspapers mentioned some of the ideas of the POR and I was attracted to them. But as a high school student group, no organization tried to recruit us. We tried to find a group to join. We even used to put out leaflets in the name of APRA, although we made the leaflets up.

**Militant: During these student struggles did you consider yourself a socialist?**

**Blanco:** I considered myself a socialist, communist, Aprista, Indianista, an anti-imperialist, etc., all mixed up. The only Marxist book I ran across was one by Plekhanov. I think I understood two or three pages.

and marched up to the army band playing against them. The response of the masses was overwhelming. People actually cried, they threw their hats in the air and applauded us. This simple act was a symbolic challenge to the laws and regulations established by the dictator Odría.

The people broke through and joined us in the streets. This made it impossible for them to reprimand us, although they took away some meaningless award our school had won. That was in 1953.

**Militant: How did you become a Trotskyist?**

**Blanco:** When I went to Argentina, I was a sympathizer of the APRA and the CP. It was about that time that the question of Guatemala came up (4).

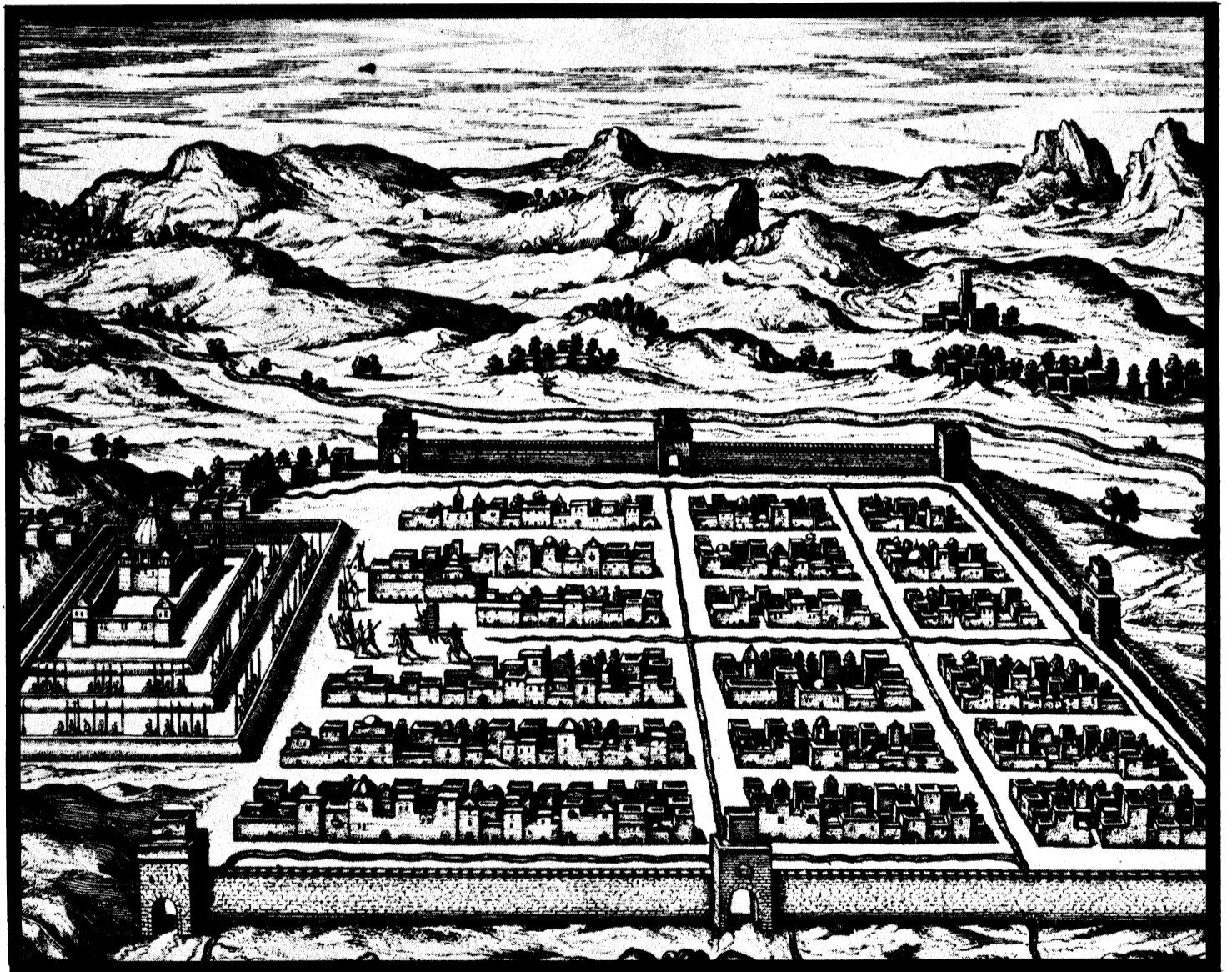
The APRA supported a bloc of all classes, workers and bourgeoisie. The

ber writing a letter to my fellow students back in Cuzco telling them that we could not join the "Trotskyists" because they were members of the Fourth International, which I assumed was the Soviet Union, and which I was beginning to realize was quite conservative.

Later on I heard some Apristas, including my brother, talking about the speaker I had liked—criticizing the fact that a Trotskyist had been allowed to speak. That was when I made the connection between the speaker and Trotskyism. After that I met the speaker and joined the Trotskyists.

**Militant: On the Indian question again. Do the Indians consider themselves Indians or Peruvians?**

**Blanco:** The Indians don't think along separatist lines. They feel proud of



Cuzco at the time of the Incas, around the thirteenth century

In the last year of high school, we started our own paper. The rector offered to finance our paper, but we said we preferred to finance our own paper even if it didn't look as good, so long as it was ours. But even this paper was censored. We wrote an article attacking a business that sold the students candy and prevented poor people from selling candy near the schools. We were almost expelled for it, but all the students backed us immediately and that stopped them.

Throughout all these struggles, I learned the power of mass mobilizations. I recall especially an incident in which our school band was prohibited by the government from playing in public parades. Only the army band was allowed to play. Our school walked past the reviewing stand and then went and got our band together

CP likewise supported the bourgeoisie. The Apristas said that the Guatemalan Army could be trusted and that it was wrong to allow communists in the government. The CP said it would be a "provocation" to arm the Guatemalan people. It was then that I heard the first Trotskyist speak. At the time, I did not know the speaker was a Trotskyist. But he said it was necessary to arm the masses in Guatemala or the imperialists could march in and undo the reforms the people had won.

Well, as you know, that's what happened. The CP and APRA had faith in the Army; the POR had faith in the masses.

When I first heard the word "Trotskyist," I thought it was something different from the POR. I even remem-

ber writing a letter to my fellow students back in Cuzco telling them that we could not join the "Trotskyists" because they were members of the Fourth International, which I assumed was the Soviet Union, and which I was beginning to realize was quite conservative.

Later on I heard some Apristas, including my brother, talking about the speaker I had liked—criticizing the fact that a Trotskyist had been allowed to speak. That was when I made the connection between the speaker and Trotskyism. After that I met the speaker and joined the Trotskyists.

**Militant: On the Indian question again. Do the Indians consider themselves Indians or Peruvians?**

**Blanco:** The Indians don't think along separatist lines. They feel proud of

their customs, their clothes, language, etc., but don't think of having a separate country. At first among the Indians there was a certain value system that tended to denigrate what is Indian and to hold high white or Mestizo values. During the struggles, this tended to become reversed. I believe racial feelings are not as deep in Peru as they are in the United States. The democratic and cultural rights of the Indians have been, of course, denied in Peru. Because illiterates are not allowed to vote, for instance, the majority of Indians have never voted. In effect, the Indian has been removed from the political life of the country.

**Militant: When you went to work building the peasant unions in Chaupima-**

# ...Blanco



Hugo Blanco addressing mass meeting following release from prison.

yo, it was said you were the first socialist to succeed in working with the Indians. Is this true?

**Blanco:** The Federation of Peasant Unions in Cuzco had already built various unions when I went back to Cuzco. But all these unions were reformist and paternalistic. The CP dominated the unions. There were some APRA people in separate unions. The leaders were, of course, Mestizos. When they held rallies, they only spoke in Spanish. And when they allowed a peasant to speak, they had to find one who knew Spanish—who not only spoke Spanish but read it, because the lawyers who were their "leaders" would write their speeches for them.

**Militant:** What differences were there between the unions of Chaupimayo and the CP-led unions?

**Blanco:** I was the first to speak at a public rally in Quechua. I used all the typical Indian expressions and idioms. The peasants supported the change, and soon even the bureaucrats had to speak in Quechua.

But the difference between the approach we used and the CP's approach only began with the language question. The CP always insisted that the peasants should choose as their leaders those who knew how to read. Actually, in the last analysis, it was the lawyers who controlled the peasant unions.

Instead of that, we urged the peasants to elect the most dynamic fighters, completely independent of whether they were literate or not. We knew that the struggle was not going to be waged in the courts.

We used to say to the peasants, you don't need to know Spanish or how to read and write to organize a demonstration or a meeting, or a march, or to fight, or to shoot a rifle. And since our struggle had to follow that path, it wasn't necessary for the peasant leaders to know how to read and write.

Of course, if some brother knew Spanish and how to read and write, he could be useful as a secretary or assistant secretary. It was logical for the CP to give more importance to those who knew how to read and

write, and especially to those who knew the law. The CP's orientation was mainly a legalistic struggle.

**Militant:** We noticed pictures of all-women demonstrations organized by the unions you led. Could you explain why all-women marches were organized?

**Blanco:** We had a special women's commission to deal with the special problems that the women had. They were exceptionally exploited on many haciendas. The woman question is rather interesting, because the combativeness of the women peasants was exceptional. The first to get arms was a peasant woman who disarmed a policeman in a confrontation with the police and brought his gun back to the village. This act was symbolic of the combativeness of the women.

Later we put out a picture of an armed peasant woman. We were attacked by the CP and other groups for the "provocative picture," but to us it was a very symbolic picture.

Among the peasants, there was a general prejudice against women. I recall one particular incident in Huadquina. The peasants there complained that they had no militant leaders. One woman peasant especially complained strongly about the lack of leadership. I told them they were wrong, that they had a very qualified leader among them whom they could elect as their president—the peasant woman who was complaining the most. I already knew of her militancy and ability. The first to object was the peasant woman. The rest remained dumbfounded; they had never thought it possible to elect a woman president.

I told them it was up to them to decide but that they were incorrect if they claimed they lacked a leader. Well, they finally resolved to make the peasant woman assistant secretary of the union and a male, of course, secretary, in spite of his worthlessness. The next year, without any intervention by me, the peasants of Huadquina elected the peasant woman general secretary of their union.

For many years this union, led by the peasant woman, struggled very militantly. The Chaupimayo union and the union of Huadquina were sister unions that faced the same landlord. I consider her one of the best

peasant leaders in the valley of La Convencion.

There were many examples like this one. The prejudice against women hurt the struggle in many ways. But in another sense the oppression itself made the women rebellious. The truth is that the women peasants are more rebellious than the men.

**Militant:** Why did you hold all-women marches?

**Blanco:** In the marches into the cities, the tactic of all-women marches was useful to prevent repression, since attacks on all-women marches generally created a stronger reaction against the government.

**Militant:** Did the peasant women generally speak at meetings?

**Blanco:** Yes, but a great deal less than the men. Among the many things the unions did was to help the women become active and break out of their "women's role." When we started propagandizing for armed defense and training, the women participated. None of the males dared, at least openly, to oppose their participation.

**Militant:** Did you think it a sacrifice to live in Chaupimayo with the peasants?

**Blanco:** The truth is that because of my revolutionary consciousness, I have been willing to tolerate living in cities. I was extremely happy when I realized I could be a revolutionary and live where I feel most at home—in the countryside.

1. A member of APRA, Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American People's Revolutionary Alliance). APRA was a revolutionary nationalist party which evolved into a reactionary party by the late 1950s.

2. General Manuel Odría was military dictator of Peru from 1948 to 1956.

3. Jose Carlos Mariategui (1891-1930) was an essayist who founded the revolutionary Marxist movement in Peru. He was very much interested in the status of the Indians.

4. In 1954, the reformist Arbenz government of Guatemala was overthrown by a CIA-backed invasion of Guatemala headed by Castillo Armas.

## Trial of Czech 'Trotskyists' again postponed

(From *Intercontinental Press*)

The trial of nineteen persons, mostly students, charged with "Trotskyism" opened in Prague March 1 but was adjourned after three hours because of a violation of legal procedure by the prosecution. Thirteen of the defendants have been imprisoned since the end of 1969 or the beginning of 1970.

A Reuters dispatch from Prague that appeared in the March 2 issue of the *Washington Post* said that Western newsmen were barred from the trial:

"The only journalist seen entering the room was Lt. Col. Jiri Hecko, a hard-lining editorial writer for the Communist Party newspaper *Rude Pravo*."

The trial was adjourned, Reuters said, "when Sybille [also spelled Sibylle] Plogstedt of West Berlin, one of the two foreigners among the defendants, said that she had not received a German-language copy of the accusation against her. She has a right to read the indictment in her native tongue.

"Sources at the trial said another reason for the adjournment was that Petr Uhl, a 29-year-old professor who is listed first in the indictment, protested that the court would not be 'objective.'"

Reuters gave this account of the indictment against the prisoners:

"The defendants face charges of sub-

verting the republic by organizing the 'Revolutionary Socialist Party' in 1968 and 1969 and by printing leaflets calling for an end to bureaucratic rule.

"The group was as much opposed to the reformist Communism of former Party leader Alexander Dubcek as to the more orthodox variety that now exists here."

The February 28-March 1 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* provided a fuller report:

"The principal defendant, believed to be the head of the group, is a former technical high-school teacher, Petr Uhl, twenty-nine years old. The group also includes nine students (one of whom is a young woman); two workers (one of whom is a technician at the Avia plant who was recently released from prison); two scientific researchers who worked respectively at the Research Institute and at the Institute of Microbiology of the Academy of Sciences; two young clerks (one from the telephone exchange, the other from Cedok, the tourist agency); a former student currently unemployed; and two foreigners, Filip Serano, twenty-five, born in France of Spanish émigré parents (Serano was also recently released from prison), and Miss Sybilla [sic] Plogstedt, twenty-five, from West Berlin, who was studying at the sociology department of Charles University. The

oldest in the group is the former technician from the Avia plant, Karel Cambula, forty-seven. The others are between nineteen and twenty-nine years old.

"All are accused, if the reports are accurate, of participating in an organization first called the Revolutionary Youth Movement, later renamed the Revolutionary Socialist party, which conspired against the socialist regime with the support of various French and West German Trotskyist and far left movements.

"They are also accused of having written, copied, and distributed a large number of manifestos, leaflets, and appeals to the youth—including a document entitled 'Bureaucracy, No! Socialism, Yes!'—and of having actively participated in the August 21, 1969, demonstrations in Prague and other cities of Czechoslovakia."

Article 98 of the Czechoslovak penal code, under which the nineteen are being tried, carries a penalty of up to ten years in prison for "subversive activities" if these have been engaged in "in concert with a foreign power or a foreign agent."

Until the trial of former television commentator Vladimir Skutina on February 18, political trials were open to the press. Reporters were excluded from the Skutina session and were only told the verdict afterwards.

Reports continue to come in of dem-

onstrations by revolutionary youth in Western Europe in solidarity with the victims of the Prague witch-hunt. The February 20-21 issue of the Brussels daily *La Cité* reported that on Friday, February 19, "a few dozen members of the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes [Socialist Young Guard], carrying a placard with the inscription 'Stalinism, no; Leninism, yes,' demonstrated in front of the Czechoslovak embassy on Avenue Adolphe Buyl in Brussels."

The demonstrators delivered a statement to the diplomatic delegation, protesting the imprisonment of the nineteen defendants in Prague.

"In their statement," *La Cité* reported, "the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes declared in particular that the existence of certain rights in a socialist democracy such as freedom of expression and freedom to form workers' political organizations, would strengthen rather than weaken a socialist regime. The statement protested against the impending trial of the nineteen worker-militants who were said to belong to the Revolutionary Socialist party. In agitating in favor of a democracy based on workers councils, the statement also said, the activists clearly did not oppose the abolition of capitalism in Czechoslovakia but threatened only a privileged bureaucracy backed by Soviet tanks. In conclusion, the demonstrators demanded the release of these activists."

# French students score big victory

By DAVID THORSTAD

Not since the great May 1968 upsurge has France seen a mobilization develop with the speed and power of the Paris high school student movement Feb. 15-19. "More than 10,000 teen-agers in the street, almost all the high schools in the city and region of Paris on strike for three days running, and, at the end, 'victory'—Gilles Guiot released," wrote Frédéric Gaussen in the Feb. 21-22 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. "A major social phenomenon was seen this past week that would have been unimaginable a few years ago. . . ."

This mobilization not only provided a dramatic sign of the continuing radicalization of French youth. It also presented the sharpest challenge to the Gaullist regime since it was nearly toppled in May 1968, and brought into focus the systematic intimidation of young people that the regime instituted following the May events.

According to Gaussen, "for a period of a few days an entire generation of Parisian high school students mobilized for the same cause, under the red and black flags of the revolutionists, under the banners of the communists, or sitting down in front of the schools under the benevolent eye of their teachers."

The turmoil was apparently set off by a minor instance of police victimization. Gilles Guiot, a 19-year-old student of higher mathematics at the Lycée Chaptal, was charged with slugging a cop at a demonstration Feb. 9. Although the only evidence against him was the testimony of the cop and his police "colleague"—who claimed they recognized the youth by his bright, checked vest and not by his face, which they did not see—Guiot was sentenced Feb. 10 to six months in jail (three months of it suspended). His first appeal was rejected Feb. 15.

"This decision was greeted with stupor by the young man's parents, his teachers and the head guidance counselor, who had attended the hearing," reported *Le Monde* Feb. 16. Not only was the evidence unimpressive in a day when clothes are mass produced, but Guiot was an unlikely candidate for the action he was accused of. He was a quiet student who teachers and friends all testified had never engaged in political activity. He and a friend had attended the Feb. 9 demonstration at the Place Clichy out of curiosity, Guiot testified, and they were arrested the minute they entered the area.

The rejection of Guiot's appeal and the court's refusal to release him in his parents' custody pending his appeal provoked a wave of ferment in the high schools. A strike began in several, including the Lycée Chaptal, and spread. Groups of teachers and students from the Lycée Chaptal visited other Paris high schools Feb. 15 appealing for support.



Photo from Rouge

## French high school students demand freedom for Gilles Guiot

At the Lycée Chaptal, students, teachers and the administration were solidly behind the strike. At the Lycée Condorcet, the teachers also joined the strike. At the Lycée Turgot, students, teachers and administrators voted to hold a one-day strike Feb. 16.

Two teachers unions, the SNES (National Union of Secondary School Teachers) and the National Union of Physical Education Teachers, together with the FEN (National Federation of Educators) and the politically moderate Federation of Councils of Parents of Public School Students, scheduled a protest meeting at the Bourse du Travail for Feb. 18.

Things became hotter for the government when René Tomasini, secretary general of the Gaullist UDR (Union for the Defense of the Republic) chose Feb. 16 to make a pompous "law and order" speech in which he denounced the courts for "leniency" toward young troublemakers. "If acts contrary to the law have been repressed in a regrettable fashion," he told a meeting of parliamentary journalists, "the fault lies not with those who have the responsibility for repressing them but with the cowardliness of the judges, and I say this with all due deliberation. It is impossible for citizens to maintain a state of latent anarchy by disobeying the law. Under the occupation, the judges acquired the habit of prudence. The French people must understand that the policemen are the representatives of liberty."

These statements not only had a negative effect on the public, they understandably provoked resentment in judicial circles. In fact, on Feb. 18 the Paris judges mounted a protest march that forced Tomasini to apologize.

On Feb. 16, reports *Le Monde*, a meeting of "strike committee delegates" from more than 20 Paris high schools was held at the Lycée Chaptal. Many of the delegates were members of the Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International.

The next day, despite the general ban on street demonstrations in France, a peaceful march of 10,000 was held in Paris. And although Minister of the Interior Marcellin took pains to announce that no further marches would be permitted, an even larger march took place Feb. 18. Three separate demonstrations and a joint rally were held, each reflecting the different strategies of the leftist organizations seeking to provide leadership for the movement.

By far the largest was a march of 5,000 organized by the Coordinating Committee of the High School Strike Committees, led primarily by the Communist League. Although the police caught up with the march and prepared to attack it, the marshals narrowly succeeded in averting a confrontation by directing marchers into subway entrances with instructions to reassemble at the Place de la République. It eventually joined the already

scheduled rally at the Bourse du Travail nearby, but by now its numbers had grown to seven or eight thousand.

On Feb. 19, the day of Guiot's appeal, the ban on demonstrations was successfully broken for the third day in a row. "Throughout the afternoon demonstrations were organized in various cities of France," *Le Monde* wrote in its Feb. 21-22 issue. About 10,000 persons, the majority of them high school students, demonstrated in Paris, it reported. About 2,000 turned out in Grenoble, 1,000 in Lyon, and 400 in Marseille.

The Paris demonstration packed the streets in the entire area around the Place Saint-Michel on the Left Bank. Finally, it was announced to the crowd by loudspeaker that the judge had released Guiot on the recommendation of the prosecutor himself! "A wave of enthusiasm swept the entire boulevard," *Le Monde* reported. "The crowd laughed; it sang the 'Internationale.' The slogan went up, 'We Have Won, We Will Win Again.'"

The young French students who were drawn into this struggle experienced the power of disciplined, broad mass action and succeeded in dealing a stinging defeat to the government. And if Guiot himself is any indication, they gained new hatred for bourgeois society. "My stay in prison was probably profitable in a way," Guiot told reporters. "It made me socially conscious."

# Puerto Ricans demand U.S. quit Culebra

By MIRTA VIDAL

NEW YORK—At a press conference on Feb. 23 at the Vito Marcantonio Central Mission of MPI (Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico—Pro Independence Movement of Puerto Rico), Puerto Rican militants announced the formation of the Frente Unido Contra Militarismo E Imperialismo En Puerto Rico (United Front Against Militarism and Imperialism in Puerto Rico).

The first action of the Frente Unido, a coalition of seven organizations, will be a March 21 demonstration and rally demanding the U.S. get off Culebra, a 7,000-acre island-town in Puerto Rico. One-third of the island is being used as a bombing and strafing target by U.S. Navy ships and planes. Two years ago, attempts by the Navy to use all of the island for

such purposes brought protests from the 700 residents. They demanded the immediate expulsion of the Navy.

However, in January of this year, the Navy and the neocolonialist regime of Governor Luis Ferre signed a treaty that allows for the continued presence of the Navy. In a statement of its position, the Frente Unido said, "We believe this treaty to be null and void. This treaty only legalizes the continued murderous bombardment of the island by part of the U.S. Navy. Naively, it assigns to the Puerto Ricans what already was ours, part of our land. Moreover, the arrangements were secretly handled."

"This treaty was never openly presented to the people of Culebra for ratification by them. The only thing taken into consideration was the signature of the treaty by our colonial-

ist politicians, assessing their approval of a repressive measure against the inhabitants of Culebra. The people who have felt compelled to disregard this immoral imposition have been subjected to the worst of all repressions. (Fourteen persons were jailed last week after demonstrating in the target area.)

"We consider the situation at Culebra to be part of the U.S. imperialist oppression in Puerto Rico, which allows them to dispose of and manage our national territory."

"We believe that the only solution to this situation will be when the Americans leave Puerto Rico."

The March 21 demonstration and rally will take place at the Plaza Borinqueno on 138th Street and Willis Avenue in the Bronx. The central demand will be the immediate removal

of the U.S. Navy from Culebra. Featured speakers will include: Juan Mari Bras, general secretary of MPI; the vice-president of the Partido Independista Popular (Popular Independence Party of Puerto Rico); and others.

The significance of March 21 is that on that day in 1937, police fired upon an unarmed demonstration in the town of Ponce, killing many. The demonstration which turned into the Ponce Massacre was called by the Nationalist Party.

Ponce is also the town where Don Pedro Albizu Campos was born, the leading spokesman of the Nationalist Party who died in 1965.

Organizations constituting the Frente Unido are: MPI, PIP, El Comité, Justicia Boricua, Justicia Latina, Puerto Rican Student Union, and the Young Lords Party.

# Court bias persists in Panther trial



Afeni Shakur

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—Judge John M. Murtagh not only exercises a heavy hand in the trial of 13 Black Panthers here, but he also displays a very flippant attitude toward the fate of the defendants. While attending the trial the first week in March, I saw the judge do a complete swivel in his chair, leaving his back to the courtroom for several seconds. This was at a time when defense counsel Gerald Lefcourt was questioning Ralph White. White is one of the six undercover agents upon which the prosecutor is basing trumped-up charges against the defendants of conspiracy to kill policemen and bomb department stores.

As Lefcourt continued to question White, Murtagh, upon completing his swivel proceeded to gaze up into the lights, his mind apparently anywhere else but on matters in the courtroom.

According to the *New York Times*, the judge has pulled this act not once, but several times. However, the trial continues.

At present, Assistant District Attorney Joseph Phillips has his third Black undercover agent, Carlos Ashwood, on the stand. The two previous agents, White and Gene Roberts, testified from copious notes. These notes were the daily reports they sent in to police superiors on their work in the Panther Party.

The conspiracy indictments against 21 New York Black Panthers (13 of whom are on trial) came down on April 2, 1969. On that day, police staged dawn raids on the homes of the defendants.

White revealed that between that time and now, he has spent most of his time with Phillips, going over his reports in preparation for the trial. But the substance of the reports is very meager and sometimes at variance with the testimony of other prosecution witnesses.

For example, White referred to brothers and sisters being "tested" before they joined the Panther Party. He assumed this "testing" was sniping at police, even though he had never heard anybody say that, nor had he been "tested" in that manner himself.

Under questioning by Afeni Shakur, one of the defendants acting as her own defense counsel, White said he considered her to be in the "military wing" of the party. This estimate was based solely on her reported statements about "offing pigs," never on her actions. He had never seen her with a gun or a bomb, and the only actions he could speak of were the community struggles in which she was engaged.

In an unfortunate episode on Feb. 8, Michael "Cetewayo" Tabor and Richard "Dharuba" Moore did not show up in the courtroom. The two defendants were out on bond totaling \$150,000. Because of their flight, Murtagh slapped Shakur and Joan Bird back into jail. They had been out on bond of \$100,000 each.

The next day, the Panther Party circulated a statement, signed by Huey P. Newton, expelling Moore and Tabor from the party. It was also revealed that the other nine male New

York Panther defendants had been expelled for signing a letter to the Weatherpeople. Mutual recriminations have continued since then.

There was speculation by Lefcourt that Tabor and Moore's disappearances might have resulted from death at the hands of the police. Lefcourt feared that police-inspired rumors that the two might have been killed by feuding Panthers provided a perfect cover for the police.

Murtagh handed down another contempt-of-court citation to the defense counsel. This time it was Sanford Katz. The judge got very upset when Katz made a sarcastic reference to Phillips while questioning White. He dismissed the jury and asked for an apology. Despite Phillips' intervention on behalf of Katz, Murtagh sentenced Katz to serve 30 days in jail or pay a \$250 fine.

The legal costs of the trial continue to mount. The six members of the defense counsel have been serving without fees. Funds are urgently needed. Contributions can be sent to: The Committee to Defend the Panther 21, 11 E. 16th St., New York, N. Y. 10003.

To enable people to get a full picture of the trial, the Charter Group for a Pledge of Conscience has been publishing a "New York 21 Trial News" bulletin. They are in need of funds to continue publication and distribution of the bulletin.

Donations and requests for bulletins should go to: Charter Group for a Pledge of Conscience, Box 346, Cathedral Station, New York, N. Y. 10025.

## New Haven jury now has twelve

By TIM CRAINE

NEW HAVEN—Jury selection in the trial of Black Panthers Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins reached a critical point last week as the twelfth juror was selected over the strenuous objections of Seale and his defense attorney, now stripped of any power to exercise preemptory challenges.

Since jury selection began on Nov. 17, over 1,400 prospective candidates have been considered by the court. At the onset, both the defense and the

prosecution were given 60 preemptory challenges, and the jury-selection process was for the first 50 days a waiting game, whereby the defense was forced to spend its challenges until the 60 were exhausted.

The defense has been repeatedly forced to use its challenges in cases where its motions to dismiss the prospective jurors for what seemed to be obvious bias against the Black Panther Party had been denied by Judge Harold Mulvey. The prosecution, on the other hand, has often had its motions upheld for the dismissal of potential jurors who had exhibited an open-minded attitude toward the Panthers or had expressed opposition to capital punishment. Thus the prosecution still had 25 challenges remaining at the time the defense challenges ran out.

Defense attorneys Charles Garry, Catherine Roraback, and David Rosen

then filed two motions in State Supreme Court. One was to dismiss charges on the grounds that pretrial publicity was prejudicial to the defendants thus rendering the defense's limitation to 60 preemptory challenges inequitable. The other was to freeze the jury at the 11 selected so far, nine of whom would be regular members and two alternate. Both motions were denied.

Upon denial of the defense motions, jury selection continued. The twelfth juror selected was a 57-year-old white woman who said she associated the Panthers with "militancy, radicalism and the defacing of buildings." Upon her selection, Seale told the judge, "You are a racist if you let that lady on the jury." Two alternate members of the jury remain to be selected before the trial begins.

With regard to these latest developments, the Coalition for the Defense of the Black Panthers, a local group sponsored by 17 community organizations, said in a statement, "We have all but given up hope for justice in this case." Under courtroom rules "everything possible seems to be done to stop people from attending the trial."

Meanwhile, after a lull of several months, mass protest in support of the Panthers is being revived. A demonstration is planned for New Haven on Sat., March 13, which will include a march to the courthouse where the trial is being held. According to a spokeswoman for the Black Panther Party, the emphasis in organizing for this demonstration has been in mobilizing the Black community of New Haven. "We do not want a repeat of last May," she said, referring to the mass mobilization which occurred on the Yale campus, where very little support for the Panthers has been in evidence this year.

In addition, various support groups throughout the region will be assembling to take part in the march. Participants have been asked to bring a can of food in symbolic support for the Panthers' free food program.

## New frame-up in Cairo

By TONY THOMAS

Bob Williams, coordinator of the Cairo United Front, Ernest Morgan, an organizer for the Front, and Debby Jackson, United Front campus coordinator, were arrested after leaving the headquarters of the Front in Cairo about 1 a.m. on March 8.

According to a press release from the Front, the three were stopped by police who believed they were carrying weapons illegally. "Police found no weapons after searching the car. They then moved to ask about the absence of license plates. Finding that registration was in order, they were still not satisfied. They threw Bob Williams viciously against the car, beat him and placed him under arrest. Brother Ernest Morgan who was protesting this . . . was then also put under arrest.

"At this time, charges had not been stated. Sister Deborah Jackson . . . asked what the charges were. She was also placed under arrest. Bonds were placed at \$100 each, with the charge of resisting arrest and disorderly conduct."

The United Front pointed out that this incident was another part of the pattern of police harassment of Cairo Blacks. The release also called for "all concerned students from across the country to come to Carbondale Illinois for a national student solidarity conference. . . to denounce the conspiracy against the people of Cairo, Illinois."

The conference will take place on April 10.



Ericka Huggins

Photo by Ann Froines/LNS



# 2,500 in L.A. protest of Berrigan frame-ups

By LEE SMITH

The way to defend the Harrisburg Six is to build the antiwar movement. This is what Sister Elizabeth McAlister has been telling massive defense rallies for the Harrisburg frame-up victims in California this month.

McAlister is one of the Catholic antiwar activists accused by the Nixon administration of an outlandish kidnap and bomb plot. Others named as defendants or co-conspirators include the Rev. Philip Berrigan and his brother Daniel, both currently serving federal prison sentences for destroying draft records in Maryland.

McAlister is on a national tour to expose the indictment as an attempt to punish people for nonviolent opposition to the government's war in Indochina. "We are neither conspirators, nor bombers, nor kidnapers," McAlister told reporters at a news conference in San Francisco March 7, just prior to addressing 1,000 supporters at the University of San Francisco.

The night before, she had spoken to an overflow crowd of 2,500 at St. John's Episcopal Church in Los Angeles. There, she and other speakers repeated their remarks outside to the 800 persons who could not fit into the church.

Teamster leader John T. Williams, a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, shared the platform with the antiwar nun in both Los Angeles and San Francisco. He urged a massive turnout for the April 24 antiwar march in San Francisco.

Others who spoke at the Los Angeles rally included Father Paul Mayer, named as a co-conspirator in the Harrisburg indictment; Rosalio Munoz of the Chicano Moratorium Committee, who vowed that his group would again be mobilizing Chicanos against the war; Irving Sarnoff of the L.A. Peace Action Council; Father Arthur Mel-

ville, a priest who had worked with poor peasants in Guatemala; William Bender, an attorney for the Harrisburg Six; Roger Rudenstein of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; and representatives of the National Farm Workers, the National Welfare Rights Organization, and the Angela Davis Defense Committee.

More than \$2,000 was raised for the defense at the Los Angeles church alone. In addition, money was raised by an earlier cocktail party and more was expected to come in from the thousands of radio listeners who heard the live broadcast of the rally on KPFK, a listener-supported FM station.

Along with McAlister and Williams, actress Jane Fonda addressed the crowd at the San Francisco rally. Both McAlister and Fonda linked the Harrisburg case to the defense of Angela Davis, whom Fonda had visited in jail earlier the same day. Both women pointed to the spring antiwar mobilizations as key factors of support for the Davis and the Harrisburg defense.

Another rally was set for the University of California at Berkeley March 8. Besides McAlister, scheduled speakers included Prof. Douglas Dowd and Miguel Pendas of the Student Mobilization Committee.

The climate created by organizing efforts for April 24 and the spring antiwar offensive has contributed to the size of the Harrisburg defense rallies, while conversely, these rallies have taken on the character of antiwar actions building toward the mass marches in Washington and San Francisco April 24. Activists in Los Angeles, for example, referred to the St. John's meeting as the largest antiwar action held in Los Angeles since

the Chicano Moratorium of last summer.

During the past month it has become more and more apparent that the government's case against the Berrigans, McAlister, and the other defendants and co-conspirators barely exists.

The grand jury that brought the indictments has continued to investigate the case in what can only be termed a "fishing expedition," while its main evidence seems at this point to consist in testimony from one Boyd F. Douglas Jr.

Douglas was a fellow prisoner of Philip Berrigan at the Lewisburg, Pa., penitentiary, who attended nearby Bucknell University through an arrangement between the school and the prison.

Opinion at Bucknell is divided as to whether Douglas was a paid agent-provocateur from the beginning or became a paid informer sometime during his acquaintance with the Berrigans and their friends. In either case, dating from very early in the "friendship," it has been established that Douglas lied to just about everyone who knew him concerning just about everything, including the source of the money with which he bought expensive clothes, liquor, cigarettes and a car.

With this paid agent as the keystone of its case against the Berrigans, and the revival of mass antiwar action as the backdrop for the trial, the Nixon administration stands a good chance of having this frame-up backfire to its further embarrassment.

The legal team of the Harrisburg Six trial will include noted civil liberties attorneys Leonard Boudin, Paul O'Dwyer, Addison Bowman, and former U.S. Attorney-General Ramsey Clark, the *New York Times* reported March 9.



Harrisburg Six defendants (left to right): Neil McLaughlin, Joseph Wenderoth, Eqbal Ahmad, Elizabeth McAlister and Anthony Scoblick. Missing is Philip Berrigan.

Photo from National Catholic Reporter

# Settlement of rail deadlock in doubt

By FRANK LOVELL

Negotiations for a settlement of wages and working conditions affecting 190,000 railroad workers continued past the March 1 deadline that marked the end of the strike ban imposed by Congress last Dec. 10. They were finally broken off March 6 when Assistant Secretary of Labor W. J. Usery Jr., assigned by the government to handle these negotiations, announced an indefinite recess.

Charles Luna, president of the United Transportation Union, was reported by the March 7 *New York Times* to have returned from Washington to union headquarters in Cleveland, where an unnamed spokesman said, "Our stated policy is not to call a strike as long as negotiations are still taking place and we believe there is progress being made. I have heard nothing that would change our position."

In Chicago, another representative of the union told *The Militant* that Luna is willing to make substantial concessions to the demands of the railroads. "It is a matter of how much and how quick," he said.

According to this estimate, the carriers are demanding a complete revision of the work rules on all railroads, right now and all at once. Luna does not know how to put this over. His past practice has been to go along with the demands of the carriers and introduce piecemeal changes in the work rules."

The possibility that an agreement incorporating sweeping work-rule changes would be approved is dubi-

ous. Under the UTU constitution, all members of the union need not vote to approve a contract under which they must work. But there are some restrictions on the power of the union president to sign a contract. He must first get agreement from the general chairmen of the union, and the contract must then be ratified by approximately 2,200 local chairmen before acceptance.

Charles Luna as president of the UTU is under no immediate pressure from the ranks of the union, since he already accepted a management position with the new quasi-government National Railroad Passenger Corporation—Railpax—scheduled to begin operations May 1.

Luna is not a candidate to succeed himself as union president when the national convention is held later this year.

At the present stage of negotiations, it is thought by many secondary union officials that no action will be taken immediately. Under the union constitution, only the president is authorized to call a strike.

There has been talk of a "selective strike" on one or possibly three of the major railroads. Speculation was rife that the Burlington Northern would be struck on March 10. This is a tactic that could serve to shatter the impasse reached by the breakdown of negotiations, and bring the government back with an excuse to impose a settlement.

Throughout the 18-month period since these present negotiations for a new contract began, the government

has acted to frustrate the hopes of railroad workers and to promote the financial aims of railroad management. On Sept. 15, 1970, after nearly a year of intermittently stalled and dragged-out negotiations, four operating rail unions attempted a selective strike against three carriers. The railroad industry responded with a general lockout, refusing to operate any rail service until all strike action ended.

At that time, a federal court moved quickly, under the Railway Labor Act, and ruled in favor of the railroad management's industry-wide lockout against the strikers. Further walkouts were delayed by appointing a five-man panel to investigate the dispute and propose a settlement.

This panel of investigators then made its recommendations to Nixon on Nov. 9, 1970. The recommendations were for an increase in wages of approximately \$1.25 per hour over a three-year period, up from an average of \$3.45 an hour to \$4.70 in 1972. This was widely hailed as a recommended 37 percent increase in rail wages, but it included deferred wage adjustments of a year past and projected increases of two years in the future. It contained no protection of real wages through an escalator clause to gear wages to increases in the cost of living.

The other side of the panel recommendation was revision of all work rules so as to allow for a reduction in the work force—estimated by some as high as 50 percent.

These recommendations were imme-

diately rejected by the four unions involved. This started a 30-day "cooling off" period. On Dec. 10, the Railway and Airlines Clerks union legally struck the railroads for 18 hours.

Congress enacted special legislation on Dec. 10 banning strike action on the railroads for 81 days, until March 1, authorizing an immediate 13.5 percent catch-up pay raise and instructing Nixon to submit plans to resolve the labor-management deadlock in the railroad industry, no later than Feb. 15.

On Feb. 13, Nixon asked Congress for authority, at his discretion, to allow a limited strike or to impose the earlier recommendations of the fact-finding panel, which had been submitted last Nov. 9, and were accepted by management and rejected by the unions.

In the meantime, three of the unions involved in the negotiations have come to terms with the carriers. They are the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders union, the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, and the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks. These unions were little affected by the recommended changes in work rules and settled for the wage recommendations.

The United Transportation Union, which represents all workers on 80 percent of railroad operating jobs, is not satisfied with the proposed rules changes, however, and members of this union stand to lose much if such changes are introduced and enforced.

# Women and the Russian Revolution

By DIANNE FEELEY

The following is the last in a series of four articles reviewing various aspects of Kate Millett's "Sexual Politics." The previous three articles were carried in the March 5 and March 12 issues of *The Militant*, and can be ordered from the Militant business office. All four articles are based on talks given by Kipp Dawson, Evelyn Reed, Eva Chertov and Dianne Feeley at the New York Militant Labor Forum Jan. 29, 1971.

When one compares the status of women in the U. S. S. R. prior to the Russian Revolution with their status today, one can very clearly see the immense gains that the revolution made. Before the revolution, the illiteracy rate among women was three times that of men. And women were the most backward, the most superstitious section of the population.

In Baku, there was even a law against women learning to read and write. Women from wealthy

passed did not necessarily mean that it was implemented, particularly in the most remote sections of the U. S. S. R. Governmental agencies and women's commissions were set up to implement the laws, as a way of reaching out, even into the remote countryside, and educating the masses of Russian people in the new rights of women.

As important and essential as these democratic rights were, the Soviet Union went further. It began to cut away the basis of the patriarchal family. Marxists have always seen the family system as a repressive institution which serves the needs and interests of a society founded on private property.

But in order to eliminate the economic chains of dependency which form the basis of the patriarchal family, it is necessary to replace the family with institutions that can perform the valid social functions of the family even better.

Consequently, despite the material poverty of the country, the Soviet government began to con-

In most cases, housework is the most unproductive, the most savage, and the most arduous work a woman can do. It is exceptionally petty and does not include anything that would in any way promote the development of a woman."

Secondly, from Leon Trotsky: "It is necessary to remove the bars from those confining and suffocating cages into which the present family structure drives woman, turning her into a slave, if not a beast of burden. This can be accomplished only through the organization of communal methods of feeding and child rearing."

And Aleksandra Kollontai said that the separation of the kitchen from marriage is at least as historic an event as the separation of the church and the state.

The Russian Revolution, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, began to sweep away the old social order. It went further than any revolution in history toward implementing a program to liberate women.



Russian women's demonstration in 1917. The banner they carry reads, "City welfare - increase pay to soldiers' families!"

families as well as poor, suffered because of the very oppressed status of women. They couldn't go to college, get a passport, nor even apply for a job without their husband's or father's consent.

The status of women in the U. S. S. R. is very different today. However, although their status has improved dramatically, women still bear the major responsibility for housework and child care and are thus kept in a subordinate position.

It is important for every feminist and every revolutionary to analyze the Russian Revolution - both its achievements and its limitations - because we can learn from it a great deal about the road to liberation. Kate Millett in *Sexual Politics* summarizes the concrete steps the revolution took to secure the basic legal and political rights of women, including (in 1920) free abortion on demand.

These laws became the basis for education. The Bolsheviks realized that just because a law was

struct, as a part of the new order, the new institutions. It began setting up communal institutions such as child-care centers, which operated on a 12-hour or on a 24-hour basis, communal laundries, and communal dining facilities.

A study made in the early 1920s discussed the fact that it took 36 million hours a day for food preparation in Russia proper. With the communalization and industrialization of these facilities, it would take only 6 million hours a day.

There was an awareness from the very beginning on the part of the Bolshevik leadership of the importance of liberating women from the home, not just in granting legal and democratic rights. I'd like to read a couple of short quotes from speeches and writings of leaders of the Russian Revolution, illustrating this consciousness.

The first is from Lenin: "You all know that even when women have full rights, they still remain downtrodden because all housework is left to them.

### The counterrevolution

Nonetheless, by the early 1930s something had happened to the bright promises of the revolution. Millett describes this reversal in a very brief way. In 1936, abortion was outlawed for first pregnancies; in 1944, all abortion was made illegal. By 1934, homosexuality had become a crime, although the czarist laws against homosexuals had initially been repealed right after the Russian Revolution. By the 1940s, women were encouraged to be breeders. There were actually laws on the books saying it was against the law to debase motherhood. Coeducation, one of the fruits of the revolution, was abolished during the Second World War.

Why did this happen? If we can unlock this problem, it may provide us with valuable lessons for the coming American revolution.

Millett correctly sees that the counterrevolution that occurred under Stalin was not part of the Marxist program and was not a development of the revolution but rather a betrayal of Marxism and a reversal of the revolutionary process. But she fails to give the real reason why this betrayal succeeded.

While admitting the economic and political difficulties of the Russian Revolution, Millett says a still deeper cause was the failure of the Bolshevik leadership to "supply a sufficient ideological base for a sexual revolution." If the ideological base had been present, she implies, the revolution in the situation of women and the family which began with the 1917 revolution would have continued.

Thus, Millett thinks that the most basic cause for the reversal of the revolution was a matter of "ideology." She suggests that Marxism is not a sufficient theory to encompass the liberation of women through a thoroughgoing sexual revolution.

Kate Millett's picture of the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union is very incomplete. She notes, for instance, that the sexual counterrevolution occurred not under the leadership of those who led the October Revolution but under Stalin. Yet she does not give any importance to this change of leadership.

Actually, Stalin and his supporters had to exile, murder, jail or otherwise silence the entire Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party which under Lenin led the revolution.

Also, Millett does not point out clearly that the sexual counterrevolution was only one aspect of a general setback of the revolution in all areas of society. If a lack of consciousness about sexual revolution was responsible for the counterrevolution in the family, then how can Kate Millett explain why civil rights were eliminated, why a counterrevolutionary foreign policy of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence" was instituted, why authoritarian ranks were reinstated in the army, why the oppression of national minorities was reinstated, and why an extremely privileged ruling bureaucracy developed? An insufficient understanding of the need for sexual revolution could not have produced this general reaction which encompassed all aspects of Soviet society.

### Poverty and isolation

The actual reason for the triumph of the Stalinist counterrevolution was not a matter of insufficient ideology, but rather a matter of the economic backwardness of the Soviet Union, combined with the isolation of the revolution internationally.

Let's look at these factors.

Forced to wage a civil war in 1918-20 in defense of the revolution, Russia was invaded by the armies of more than a dozen capitalist countries, including the United States, and had to fight on 14 different fronts to prevent the overthrow of the revolution. Many of the most conscious revolutionaries, of course, went to the front and fought. At least 2,000 women were killed or wounded in battle as a part of the Red Army.

As a result of being at war from 1914 to 1921, the Russian people were utterly exhausted. Under the impact of the wars, there was a complete economic breakdown between the country and the cities. Even the limited productive capacities of the country were devastated. Given the economic backwardness of Russia and the country's low cultural level, it was impossible to take many of the steps forward that the Bolsheviks had projected.

For instance, as Lunacharsky, the People's Commissar of Education, explained, Russia could not even institute compulsory schooling, because it simply didn't have enough schools or teachers to carry it out.

In addition to its economic backwardness and

the terrible effects of the wars, the failure of revolutions in other countries cut off possible financial and technological aid and inspiration.

Instead, the pressure from the reactionary capitalist world encircling the Soviet Union encouraged the most conservative and backward tendencies in Russia.

As Trotsky explained in *The Revolution Betrayed*, the scarcity of food, clothes, housing, etc., created the basis for the growth of a privileged layer in the state apparatus. Government functionaries, who were in charge of distribution of the scarce goods, could siphon off a greater amount for themselves. The economic scarcity helped encourage narrow-minded, self-seeking careerists to find niches for themselves in the state apparatus, and these petty, privileged bureaucrats acted to maximize whatever was in their immediate material interests, as opposed to the interests of the Soviet masses.

To protect their privileged position, the bureaucracy had to base itself on the most privileged layers of the workers and peasants and had to suppress all democratic norms and institutions. As Kate Millett points out, it depended upon the family system as a support for itself—as an authoritarian unit designed to mold people into accepting an authoritarian society. The bureaucracy reinforced its position through the liquidation of thousands of old Bolsheviks and utilized methods like the purge trials and the cult of Stalin.

This was the basic reason for the counterrevolution in the U.S.S.R.: the poverty and lack of revolutionary aid from outside created conditions that gave rise to a privileged bureaucracy, which instituted counterrevolutionary, not revolutionary, measures throughout society, although fortunately the counterrevolution did not go so far as to restore capitalism.

The reason for the counterrevolution was not the lack of consciousness of the leaders of the revolution about the need for a sexual revolution. No matter how high the consciousness of individual leaders of the revolution, it was impossible to stand against the tide of events. As Krupskaya, Lenin's life-long companion, stated in 1927, "if Lenin were alive today he would probably already be in prison."

The leaders of the revolution *did* understand what had to be done to free women and create the basis for a sexual revolution. They saw that the necessary step toward such a revolution, including the elimination of stifling sex roles and the freeing of children from repressive treatment, was to replace the patriarchal family system with superior institutions of communal responsibility for people's welfare. This is an integral part of the program of Marxism, which is to institute democratic, communal ownership and control of all society's major resources and put them at the service of people's needs.

### Psychological changes

Kate Millett concludes, however, that Marxism does not necessarily encompass sexual revolution. She states that Marxism involves a "presumption that family and marriage are merely economic or material phenomena, capable of solution by economic and institutional methods alone," and therefore is insufficient to challenge the "psychic structure" of attitudes, values and emotions inculcated by thousands of years of patriarchy.

But sex roles and the suppression and distortion of sexuality in class society *are perpetuated* by the patriarchal family system. The concept of ownership of women and children, the relegation of women to the role of domestic slaves in the home, the sense of inferiority and submissiveness that women develop, the double moral standard for men and women, and all the various mutilations of women's (and men's) psychology all originate in class society and are inherent in one of its key institutions: the patriarchal family system.

Once the necessary functions of the family are replaced with superior institutions such as free child-care centers, laundry, food and housekeeping services, the basis for the patriarchal attitudes or "psychic structure" will be gone, and attitudes will change quickly.

Kate Millett herself points out in *Sexual Politics* how quickly women's attitudes began changing about their right to control their own bodies as soon as free abortion on demand was provided. She writes: "The other prevailing rationale [for restricting abortions in 1932] was based on an . . . authoritarian distaste over the fact women now enjoyed the control of their bodies; functionaries fussed that *women were no longer ashamed of abortion* and now 'considered it their legal right.'"

Once women are freed, through child-care centers, to lead a fulfilling life of their own in whatever field they choose, once they are no longer economically dependent on men, there will be no reason to feel in any way inferior, timid or self-abusing, as we do now. The Bolsheviks stressed the "economic and institutional" changes, not because they were unconscious of the need to change people's attitudes, but because they knew that material conditions had to be altered as a prerequisite to changing people's attitudes.

What is needed in the Soviet Union now is the overthrow of the ruling bureaucracy, which will open the way to once again revolutionizing Russian society. We have been witnessing the beginnings of this political revolution—in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968, in the dissent by Soviet writers and young people, and most recently in Poland this year.

Already women in the Soviet Union are adding their voices and demands to the growing dissent in the Soviet Union.

A recent article in the *New York Times* reported on a large number of articles in Soviet newspapers on the growing dissatisfaction of Soviet women with their inferior status. The main demand of our Soviet sisters is for more and better child-care centers.

Women fighting for their liberation in the Soviet Union will be a key part of the continuation of the revolution in all spheres, but this revolution will not be in the direction of going back to capitalism, of giving the factories and wealth back to individual owners and reinstating the family system which goes with capitalism. This revolution will be toward socialism—toward deepening and extending the first radical steps that were taken and projected at the beginning of the revolution.

### The American revolution

Briefly, what are some of the implications of the Russian Revolution for the American revolution and women's liberation movement?

First, unlike the Soviet Union, we are a technologically advanced country, and have the productive capacity to immediately implement the demands the women's liberation movement is raising. Our major responsibility, as a technologically advanced country, will be not only to fulfill the needs of the oppressed people of this country, but to distribute our wealth and technology all over the world, not as the imperialists do, to exploit, but so that the peoples of all countries can build socialist societies of abundance.

We won't have the problem of preventing a host of capitalist countries from invading to overturn our revolution. Can you imagine the Venezuelan capitalists climbing into their yachts to come up and attack us?

In the United States, we already have a mass women's liberation movement developing before the revolution. Discussions on a broad scale are taking place and are clarifying the tasks that lie ahead of us in the coming American revolution. With our advanced technology, with a mass feminist consciousness, and with growing socialist commitment, the basic task of our generation is to make that revolution.

# Broad response for GI civil liberties tour

ATLANTA—Joe Miles, antiwar ex-GI who helped organize GIs United Against the War at Ft. Jackson, S. C., and at Ft. Bragg, N. C., while he was in the Army, is currently on the southern leg of a national speaking tour sponsored by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee (GICLDC) and supported by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Miles has spoken to hundreds of students since his tour began here at Morehouse College (a Black men's college) Feb. 25. His TV and radio appearances, as well as interviews and

coverage in the press, have reached additional thousands.

Miles is speaking about GI antiwar activity and seeking support for two law suits before the U.S. Supreme Court on behalf of First Amendment rights for GIs. The suits stem from 1969, when GIs United was formed and began organizing opposition to the Vietnam war and racism in the Army. Lower court decisions in 1970 denied the GIs the right to hold legal, open, peaceful meetings on base to discuss the war, at both Ft. Bragg and Ft. Jackson. The appeals have been filed for the GICLDC by civil liberties attorneys Leonard Boudin,

David Rosenberg and Dorian Bowman.

At Morehouse, Miles spoke to 100 persons. Later the same day he appeared on the platform of an Angela Davis defense rally of 2,000 at Spelman College (a Black women's college).

Miles spoke to two Northside High School classes, participated for a total of three hours on two talk shows on WAOK and WERD radio, appeared before the Atlanta Press Club, and was interviewed by or received coverage from WQIX-TV, WSB-radio, the *Atlanta Constitution*, *Atlanta Journal*, and the *Great Speckled Bird*.

Outside Atlanta, Miles has spoken

to students at Florida State University in Tallahassee, where his talk was sponsored by the student government, and at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, where he was sponsored by the student government and the campus ACLU.

So far, Miles' tour in this region has raised more than \$1,000 for the GI rights legal fight in the Supreme Court. He is scheduled to speak next in Tampa, then in Nashville, and, following that, in Jacksonville, Fla. Honoraria have been arranged in all three cities, generally through student government sponsorship of Miles' talk on the subject of GI rights and the GI antiwar movement.

# In Review

## Books

**The Underground Press in America.** By Robert J. Glessing. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Ind., 1970. 207 pp. \$6.50.

The rapid cultural changes taking place in our society are reflected in the spectacular growth of the underground press. There is today virtually no urban region in the United States, reports Robert Glessing, that does not support at least one underground paper with a circulation of 10,000 or more. New papers continue to appear in cities as unlikely as Jackson, Miss., (*Kudzu*) and Minot, N. D. (*Radical Therapist*).

In 1970, the *Los Angeles Free Press* had a weekly circulation of 95,000 and the *Berkeley Barb*, on any publication Thursday, had six times the circulation (85,000) of its conservative competitor, the *Berkeley Gazette* (14,000). Estimates of the total circulation of the underground press currently begin at 5 million. Yet only six years ago it was unusual to find an underground paper outside of New York or California.

The large youth audience attracted to the underground press was won almost by default. The traditional, mass-circulation media have been late and half-hearted in reflecting changed social, sexual and political attitudes. As much as they'd like to reach new, young readers, they cannot compete with the underground press and expect to

maintain the readers and advertising they already have.

The wide availability of inexpensive offset printing is another part of the explanation of the growth of the underground press. Glessing describes the surprisingly modest start necessary to get an underground paper off the press. The bare essentials, he learned from a series of interviews with underground editors, are a typewriter, rubber cement and good graphics. With these materials and less than \$100 in capital, a printing group can produce 3,000 copies of a black-and-white, eight-page tabloid.

The first step is to type the articles in columns roughly the size to appear in print. These and the artwork are then pasted into place on the layout template. As soon as photographic plates are made from the template, the presses are ready to roll. Because the basic techniques involved are so simple, even an established paper like the *San Francisco Good Times* can put out an issue of 12,000 on a printing budget of only \$350-400.

Other production costs are kept equally low. Salaries are bare-bone minimum. The editor of the *East Village Other* told Glessing they pay a handful of full-timers \$45 a week. Other staff members work without pay. *Rat* pays \$25 a week, "when we have it," Glessing reports, and the *Seattle Helix* provides only food and housing for the

staff. Few papers pay more than \$100 a month office rent.

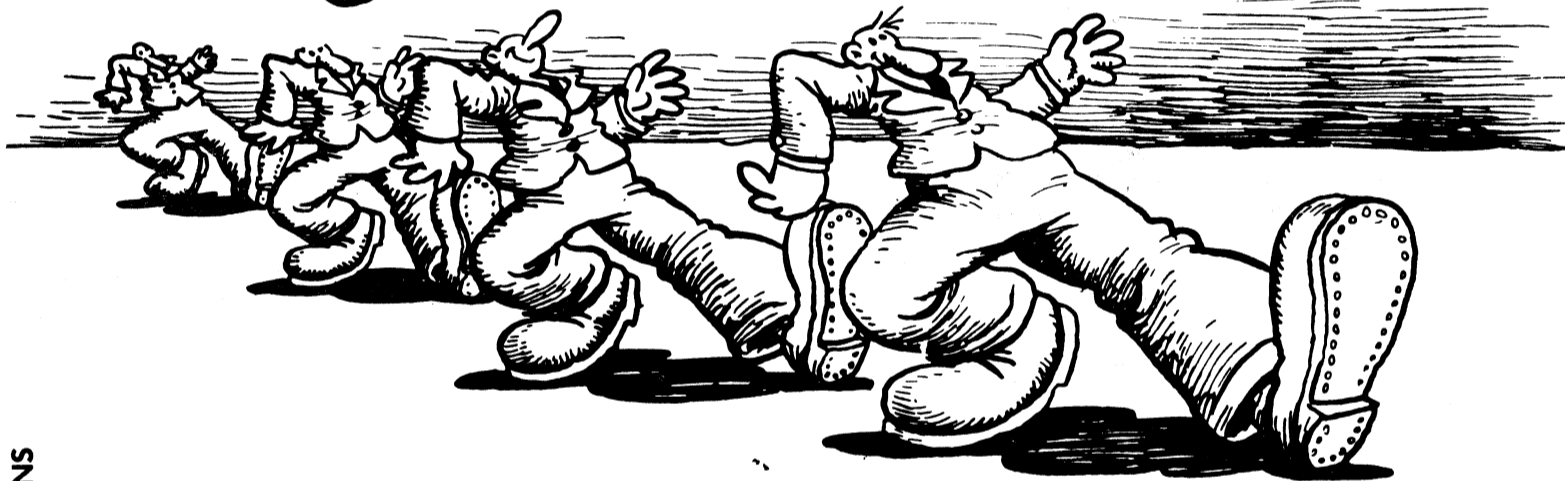
The mortality rate for underground papers is surprisingly high in view of the rapidly expanding audience for anti-establishment news. In part, this is a result of the near total disregard for finances that is common to most underground ventures. Subsistence-level salaries produce a high staff turnover and distribution still remains a serious problem. Reliable wholesale channels are hard to find. Dealers willing to handle underground papers usually turn out to be the local pornography distributors. They are not known for paying their bills on time.

Are *The Militant*, the *Guardian* and the *Daily World* "underground" papers? Glessing thinks so and lists them as such in a directory at the end of the book. The work's basic weakness is that Glessing knows little about radical politics, even less about what he terms "youth unrest." This tends to limit, to say the least, the usefulness of his general observations on these subjects. To understand American youth, he explains in one chapter, you have to realize that they "want to be 'groovy,' 'dig each other,' to 'give power to the people' . . ."

Twelve examples of contemporary underground graphics are included in an appendix.

—MIKE BAUMANN

# Keep on Truckin'...



LNS

## Pamphlets

**Hip Culture: 6 Essays on Its Revolutionary Potential.** Times Change Press. New York, 1970. 63 pp. \$1.25.

**The Cultural Revolution: A Marxist Analysis** by Irwin Silber. Times Change Press. New York, 1970. 62 pp. \$1.25.

The material contained in these two pamphlets constitutes a useful resource for the study of what the youth culture is and what it means. The fact that there is not all that much agreement among the authors represented here points out the difficulties some radicals have had in figuring out this phenomenon.

In his pamphlet *The Cultural Revolution* and in his essay in *Hip Culture*, Irwin Silber takes an almost wholly negative view of the youth culture. He views it as escapism on the part of white middle-class young people. Of the 1969 Woodstock music festival, he writes: "Creating a mini-society for three days, they enacted a ritual of that revolution which the estranged young of America's white middle and upper echelons envisage as liberation." As Silber sees it, the envisaged liberation is utopian because it is anti-technological and is not to be attained through political struggle.

Pablo "Yoruba" Guzman of the Young Lords Party is in general agreement with Silber's line of thought. He thinks the youth culture is a white thing that is counterposed to organizing for social change.

Paula Marcus, a radical high school student, thinking along the same lines as Silber and Guzman, writes: "Hip culture broke away from previously established culture. It fell into similar ruts and prejudices that exist in the former culture." She, too, concludes that the youth culture is a diversion from struggle.

By way of contrast, George Metefsky, writing for the Yippies, takes a much more enthusiastic attitude toward the youth culture. Rather than viewing the youth culture as a diversion from revolutionary struggle, he thinks it is the essence of revolutionary struggle, needing only an extra bit of politicizing to make it perfect: "That hip culture has only slowly developed a communist politics shows the tremendous anticommunist brainwashing in this society. But freeks have made the massive rejection of repressed behavior for free activity—of capitalist accumulation in favor of consumption 'by each according to his needs.'"

Murray Bookchin, well-known anarchist theorist, also thinks that the youth culture essentializes the priorities of social struggle: "In its demands for trib-

alism, free sexuality, community, mutual aid, ecstatic experience, and a balanced ecology, the Youth Culture prefigures, however inchoately, a joyous communist and classless society, freed of the trammels of hierarchy and domination, a society that would transcend the historic splits between town and country, individual and society, and mind and body."

One of the greatest dangers to the youth culture's development, as Bookchin sees it, comes from "Bolshevik-type organizations" currently "infiltrating the Youth Culture."

Taking things from another angle the Lower East Side Women's Liberation Collective exposes the hip culture's rampant male chauvinism. As in the society at large, from breakfast to bed, a woman's work is never done: "The hippy woman cooks, washes, cleans house, and she does it without all the modern conveniences capitalist society has produced to 'lighten woman's load.' Preparing and cleaning up from macrobiotic meals is not much different from any other full course meal, except that it is a lot harder to fix than prepared food—like an hour and a half longer."

Viewing these essays as a whole, with the exception of this last article which deliberately limits itself to a critique of "cool" sexism, one is struck by the fact that all of these writers tend to view the youth culture as a stable, unchanging phenomenon that must be either a diversion from or the essence of revolutionary activity. But the youth culture is neither a finished nor a stable phenomenon. The youth culture is an integral part of the combined and uneven development of the worldwide youth radicalization. It has long since ceased being—if it ever really was—a white middle-class thing. On the contrary, it is international and interracial—in this country it clearly overlaps with Black culture and for good reason.

The youth culture represents a revolt from the transmitted values of the status quo—bigotry, the authoritarian family, puritanism, money as a way of life, militarism, self-effacing conformity in personal appearance, and so on. Many people who start at this gut level make their way in time to Marxist revolutionary consciousness (and Murray Bookchin is right from his point of view to be worried about this phenomenon).

These two pamphlets can be ordered from Times Change Press, 1023 Sixth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10018.

—ARTHUR MAGLIN

# The New York welfare housing scandal

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK—On Feb. 21, Tyrone Holland, a six-year-old Black child, plunged to his death, 15 stories down an elevator shaft of the Kimberly Hotel in Manhattan.

Last month, his older brother Willie fell down a shaft in the same hotel but was strong enough to grab hold of the elevator cables and slide 17 stories to safety suffering severe injuries to his hands.

The Kimberly is one of 89 hotels in New York City where 1,312 adults and 4,064 children live on welfare. The city pays fantastic rates (\$504 per month for a two room unit in the Kimberly) to keep homeless families in these dangerous, dirty hovels.

Almost a third of the families living in welfare hotels are crowded into the notorious Broadway Central Hotel. At the Broadway Central, most rooms do not have cooking facilities or private bathrooms, food is cooked on hot plates in bedrooms, cotton is put in ears at night to prevent cockroaches from crawling in, rats and mice feed on piles of garbage in the halls, and tenants must fend off addicts mingling with prostitutes and pimps in the lobbies.

Most of the children living in the Broadway Central do not go to school, because their facilities are "temporary," no school is convenient, mothers are afraid to let their children out alone, and the children do not have enough clothing. There is no day-care center and children are either kept locked in their small rooms or roam the halls unattended.

In addition to Tyrone Holland, four children have been killed in welfare hotels in the last few months.

Fires are commonplace in these old, rundown buildings. In the Broadway Central, a few weeks ago there were eight fires in one night. Many of the fire doors are permanently locked and other serious building code violations go unchecked.

Heating is erratic. Many families sleep with their clothes on, and children and adults are constantly sick during cold weather.

Recently, city officials admitted that \$100,000 per year was being paid for guards in one hotel. The guards are



Inside the Manhattan Towers, a welfare hotel

supposedly hired to keep drug pushers, prostitutes, thieves, and derelicts out and to maintain peace and quiet. Despite this "protection" these hotels are hotbeds for crime.

The horrendous conditions in these hotels received wide publicity last month when Dorrance Henderson, a Black social worker, arranged to house a family at the luxurious Waldorf Hotel. This simple act infuriated the Lindsay administration, which promptly suspended Henderson, Supervisor Baer, and Salvatore Ciccolella, director of the DeKalb Center where Henderson works. The city also ousted the family from the Waldorf at the end of its first day there.

At a hearing on the case, the Social Service Employees Union, AFSCME Local 371, defended the suspended case worker. Ciccolella testified that Henderson followed "general practice" in trying to find a vacancy in a welfare-agency-approved hotel and that he (Ciccolella) took full responsibility for the placement.

Testimony by several caseworkers from the center indicated that agency procedure is not firmly established; there are several hotel lists and work-

ers themselves are not clear which one is "correct."

At the hearing, Henderson was charged with causing the city a financial loss, although several desk clerks from welfare hotels testified that their rates were higher than those at the Waldorf.

The protests by the union and the public outrage at the conditions in the welfare hotels forced the city to reinstate Ciccolella and Baer and permit Henderson to return to work, though he has not yet been formally reinstated.

The implication of Lindsay's outrage at welfare clients being placed at the Waldorf is that poor, especially Black and Puerto Rican, families belong in the worst housing.

In addition to placing families in decent hotels with lower rates, the city could provide more housing by rehabilitating many sound buildings abandoned by their owners and taken over by the city. Instead, it spends over \$8-million a year to house people in hell-holes while hundreds of these sound, vacant buildings stand boarded up.

While the city does have some public housing, the waiting list has 140,-

000 names on it according to the Jan. 31 *New York Times*. An earlier article in the *Times* indicated that construction had only begun on 6,000 low-cost units. According to the Metropolitan Council on Housing, "there are 50,000 apartments, under \$100 a month . . . many ready to move into, which the mayor is allowing private landlords to hold off the rental market." At the same time there is a glut in office space in new buildings, many built with the city government's assistance.

The insufficient low-cost housing for welfare families has driven some families to take over abandoned apartment buildings or to occupy new luxury apartment projects that are under construction. These "squatters" are arrested or forced out of these buildings by Mayor Lindsay's cops.

The growing number of unemployed workers whose few pennies of unemployment compensation quickly run out are being added to the welfare rolls. A least one-seventh of New York City's population is already on welfare. Thus the shortage of decent housing is a crisis that can be expected to worsen.

# The National Picket Line

On Feb 1, a court trial started in Washington, D. C., against the United Mine Workers top leadership, the Retirement and Pension Fund and all of its trustees and administrators, the UMW-owned National Bank in Washington, D. C., and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association. The conspiracy and breach-of-trust damage suit for \$75-million was brought by a dissident group within the UMW—the Disabled Miners and Widows Association.

The trial lasted almost a month. Early in the proceedings, Judge Gerhard Gessel ruled, in upholding a motion for the coal operators, that they were not properly defendants in the case and dismissed charges against them.

Judge Gessel has until April to hand down his final ruling in this case. It was heard without a jury.

The 100 plaintiffs are on dangerous ground when as trade unionists they seek justice through the U. S. federal courts. However, testimony in that trial brought out so much dirt it would be impossible to list it here, and this suit opened a Pandora's box of other government suits against the union bureaucracy—at least one of which has gathered dust in the Justice Department for more than six years.

It has also brought embezzlement charges against Boyle and his cohorts, and charges that the union head used union funds to make illegal political contributions—to the campaign of Hubert Humphrey in the last presidential campaign. The grand jury which handed down the indictment against W. A. Boyle, union president, John Owens, secretary-treasurer, and James Kemptz, director of Labor's Non-Partisan League, said some of the \$49,000 allegedly misused, went to some Republican candidates as well.

Boyle and his codefendants deny all charges, claiming that the money was used to further the fight for mine safety.

Another suit, the one filed six years ago by the Department of Labor—charging the hierarchy with violation of the Landrum-Griffin Act by putting 19 of the 23 districts under trusteeships, thus preventing their members from electing their own officers—has been dusted off and is now in the process of being scheduled for trial.

Still another suit, filed originally by Joseph Yablonski before he was murdered, demanding a Labor Department investigation into the balloting in the UMW 1969 election, and now pressed by a dissident group in the union, Miners for Democracy, may get a public hearing through a trial before spring.

On Feb. 24, five busloads of angry miners arrived at the Capitol to con-

front their congressmen, demanding that this suit be prosecuted. They came from W. Virginia, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

In the damage suit for \$75-million brought by the Disabled Miners and Widows Assn., the main defendant was John L. Lewis. Lewis has been dead for 2 years.

Boyle, with the viciousness of a cornered rat, claims that he carried on, as John L.'s protege and close friend, with all of Lewis's dictatorial methods, his handling of the Pension Fund, the National Bank, etc., because the rank-and-file membership of the UMW so "worshipped" Lewis that to change anything Lewis had set up would have been to invite disaster.

When the United Mine Workers union was fighting for recognition against the powerful bituminous coal industry and its brutal Coal and Iron Police, the local and state gendarmes, even federal troops, Lewis was a young, militant trade unionist who was also a working miner. His undoubted leadership abilities took him out of the mines and into the union's presidency.

Lewis had a certain subtlety and an occasional flare of militancy, which despite his dictatorial methods oftentimes won him back the allegiance of his members.

Boyle has none of these saving graces. He is a bulldog, with his teeth sunk deep in the neck of the union. And when any section of that union does anything to try to bring the union back under the membership's control, he sinks his teeth deeper and shakes the life out of the opposition.

Today the UMW is one of the smallest of the big industry unions. Yet its top leadership sits on a gold mine—dues money which has increased steadily through the years as miners' wages went up, a retirement and pension fund of unknown quantity, its own bank, and according to testimony in the conspiracy trial, coal mines scattered throughout Appalachia.

We've said it before, but it must be repeated. The entire trade-union top bureaucracy must be cleared out and replaced by a new, young and honest leadership. But this job is one which the trade-union members must do for themselves. The government represents its own class—the bosses. To entrust to such an agent the necessary cleaning job risks giving the capitalist government an opening to strike blows at the unions themselves.

It is people like Boyle who open the door to government intervention in union affairs.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

# Calendar

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**BERKELEY-OAKLAND**  
**THE PARIS COMMUNE: 100 YEARS AFTER.** Speaker: Ralph Levitt. Fri., March 19, 8 p.m. 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. East Bay Socialist Forum. For more information, call 654-9728.

**HOLD THAT DATE!** Sat., April 3, 7:30 p.m. East Bay Socialist Campaign Preelection Day Banquet. Featured Speaker: Peter Camejo. 3536 Telegraph, Oakland. For more information, call 654-9728.

**BOSTON**  
**THE PUERTO RICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE TODAY.** Speakers: Elsie Morales, Manuel Ramos Brigade, Puerto Rican Student Federation and Liberate Puerto Rico Now Committee; Rudolpho Rodriguez, MPI supporter and Liberate Puerto Rico Now Committee. Fri., March 19, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

**VOICES OF DISSENT.** Tuesdays, 6-7 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sundays, 7-8 p.m. on WRBB-FM, 91.7. Tues., March 16 and Sun., March 21: Chicano Liberation Movement. Guests: Juan Lucio of United Farm Workers Organizing Committee; Rogelio Reyes, instructor in Chicano studies at Harvard University; and Anselmo Garza. Tues., March 23 and Sun., March 28: Antiwar Spring Offensive. Guest: Ruth Gage-Colby, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, coordinator of National Peace Action Coalition.

**CLASSES ON MARXIST THEORY.** Tufts University on Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m. at Eaton 201. Harvard University on Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. at Harvard 102. Classes run through the end of April and will feature Marxist economics, the Cuban revolution, Black nationalism, Feminism, etc. At Boston University, Dave Edwards will teach a class on the Mideast and the Palestine Revolution, Mon., March 22, 7:30 p.m. at S.P.C., Boston U. For further information, call 536-6981.

**LOS ANGELES**  
The weekly Los Angeles Militant Labor Forum will be held in lecture room 1 of King Hall at Cal State, L.A., every Friday at 8:30 p.m. until further notice because of earthquake damage to the regular forum hall. The Los Angeles 1971 SWP campaign headquarters is still functioning in the rear of 1702 East 4th St., L.A. Use the back entrance on the east side of the building. The telephone number is 269-4953.

**NEW YORK**  
**PROTEST FORUM: THE RIGHT OF WOMEN TO LEGAL ABORTION.** Participants: Myrna Lamb, author of *Mod Donna*; Anselma dell'Olio, director of New Feminist Repertory Theater; Ruthann Miller, Women's Strike Coalition staff; Jorganne Pierce, Third World Women's Caucus of Women's Strike Coalition; Do-

lores Frida, Spanish-American Feminists; Nancy Fried, Columbia-Barnard Women's Liberation. Fri., March 19, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.). Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

**PHILADELPHIA**  
**THE DEFENSE OF LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS.** Speaker: Candida McCollam, secretary USLA Justice Committee. Fri., March 19, 8 p.m. Houston Hall, 34th St. and Spruce. Contribution: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

**COME RAP AND LISTEN.** Tapes and discussion every Thursday, 7 p.m. at 686 N. Broad St. (open to Third World people only). Thurs., March 18: History of the Afro-Cubans—a tape by Derrick Morrison, staff writer for *The Militant*. Aisp. Young Socialist Alliance Tape Library. For further information, call Pam Newman at 236-6998.

**SAN DIEGO**  
**WHY FEMINISM IS REVOLUTIONARY.** Speaker: Linda Jenness, 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia. Mon., March 22, 8 p.m. Council Chambers, Aztec Center, San Diego State College. Aisp. Socialist Forums. Donations welcomed.

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## ... schools

**Continued from page 3**  
Behind the whole crisis looms the struggle for community control. Because of the strength of this sentiment, the CSBs were brought into existence by the state legislature as part of a decentralization plan. They began operating last September. But the situation has not qualitatively changed. The central board has ultimate power over funds and the hiring and firing of all administrators and teachers, and the CSBs have no jurisdiction over the high schools—only elementary and junior high schools.

The recent months have seen a wave of high school and junior high school

protests. These outbursts occur in a school system that is over 60 percent African-American and Puerto Rican. Yet, only 9 percent of the 62,000 teachers and 37 of the 969 principals are African-American or Puerto Rican.

Student protests erupted last month in a number of schools when officials refused to allow the display of the red, black and green flag of Black nationalism. In the junior high schools, a growing number of Black students have refused to say the Pledge of Allegiance to the American flag. Other struggles have demanded Black studies, teachers and administrators.

These struggles pose the only sane alternative, the only solution, to the continued deterioration and disintegration of the schools: Black and Puerto Rican control of Black and Puerto Rican education.

## ... March 8

**Continued from page 24**  
dent newspaper could not be used to publicize it.

Later in the afternoon women marched down to Provo Park for another spirited rally. Cassandra Davis spoke from the Angela Davis Defense Committee, Sharon Simms from the Association to Repeal Abortion Laws, Cecily Ashton from Female Liberation, and Karen Hurn from NOW.

On Sunday evening, 300 people attended a defense rally for Angela Davis in Oakland.

### Los Angeles

One hundred and fifty women gathered March 8 at the Chic Lingerie Factory to begin activities to commemorate International Women's Day in Los Angeles. After a short rally, the women began a spirited one-mile march through the downtown area, where many signs of solidarity were expressed by women in the offices along the route of the march.

The demonstration grew to 250 women by the time the march arrived

at Pershing Square for a rally in rededication of the square to Sojourner Truth. Throughout the two-hour lunchtime rally, hundreds of office workers stopped by to hear the speakers.

### San Francisco

Women in San Francisco celebrated International Women's Day with a number of rallies and meetings on the 7th and 8th. One of the high points on March 8 was a rally of about 200 at San Francisco State College, sponsored by Independent Campus Women. The rally included entertainment by the Women's Street Theater, women musicians and abortion skits, as well as speakers from the Angela Davis Defense Committee, Gay Women's Liberation, the Berkeley Maid Strike Support Committee, and Independent Campus Women.

In the evening, the city-wide San Francisco Women's Liberation center (at 1380 Howard St., tel: 861-2114) sponsored a special program with an introductory speech linking March 8 with the current women's liberation movement, a performance by the Women's Street Theater, *The Women's Film* by Newsreel, and a party.

On Sunday, there was a rally at Dolores Park, sponsored by Revolutionary Union women, which concentrated on the struggle to free political prisoners and the war in Southeast Asia. In Golden Gate Park, women from the Haight-Ashbury district held a celebration aimed at involving community women in the March 8 festivities. Later in the afternoon, a meeting sponsored by the Angela Davis Defense Committee took place at Glee Memorial Church, in which various speakers emphasized the connection between Angela Davis' struggle and the struggle for women's liberation.

Next week's *Militant* will carry stories on other International Women's Day activities, including actions in Denver, Philadelphia, Cincinnati and Houston.

Contributors to this roundup were: Anita Bennett, Jessica Star, Gale Shangstrom, Della Rossa, Barbara Peterson, Meg Bursaw, and Sally Whicker.

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# THE MILITANT

## 1,200 at N.Y. women's conference

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

NEW YORK—A March 6-7 women's liberation conference, sponsored by the New York Women's Strike Coalition and hosted by Barnard and Columbia Women's Liberation, drew 1,200 women from high schools and colleges throughout New York State and New England. It was the largest women's liberation conference yet held in New York, and all who participated considered it a tremendous success.

The opening session featured the 87-year-old suffragist Florence Luscomb. Luscomb spoke of the other women's conferences she had attended seventy, eighty years ago—the first being one she went to as a child of five with her mother.

According to Luscomb, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw was the most articulate and witty of the early American feminists. She once heard Shaw introduced at a women's suffrage conference by a male chairperson as "a woman with the brains of a man." To which Shaw retorted, "I would like to see the man whose brains I've got."

Then Luscomb hurried off the stage to catch a plane to Boston, where she was to chair a defense meeting for Angela Davis, Ericka Huggins and Sister Elizabeth McAlister.

Women from Barnard and Columbia Women's Liberation supplemented Luscomb's talk with dramatic readings of speeches by early feminists—Sojourner Truth, Susan B. Anthony, Angelina Grimké. Turning to the women in the audience, they concluded, "Sisters, the next page in history is ours."

Women dispersed to choose among 35 different workshops. Four workshop periods were set aside, and key workshops such as abortion, women and the war, lesbianism, and Third

World women were repeated each time.

The best-attended workshops were on lesbianism, on living with a man, and on alternatives to the family, indicative of the radical questioning that has characterized feminism. In abortion workshops, women made plans to bring women from their campuses to the March 27 demonstration in Albany. Women will be fighting attempts to cut back on gains won a year ago in New York that strengthened women's right to abortion.

Third World women announced plans for a March 20 speak-out at Harlem Hospital, demanding better abortion, gynecological and child-care facilities at the hospital. High school sisters circulated a petition demanding birth control and abortion counseling in the schools. And women discussed ways of using the United Women's Contingents to mobilize women to march against the war April 24 in Washington.

A woman's dance was held Saturday night with the New Haven Women's Liberation Band. Attacking male rock singers ("They're sneering at you; it's just musical assault. 'I want to give you every inch of my love, way down inside you.' That's what they're about."), the women did traditional songs as well as new songs that reflect feminism, not sexism.

The closing session of the two-day conference included a speech by Kate Millett, author of *Sexual Politics* and a founding member of Columbia Women's Liberation.

Millett's talk dealt with repressive sex roles that help perpetuate class society. "Nobody except the women's movement has begun to be honest about how sick sexuality is in this society, and we are only beginning to understand how desperate, how brutal

a thing sex has been in the past. Our very notion of the erotic," Millett continued, "is deeply suspect on every side. Even our language of love abounds in a diction more military than amorous. It is loaded with terms like 'surrender.'"

Costs of the conference were partly defrayed by the sale of perfume! A member of Columbia Women's Liberation discovered an old book that contains formulas for many cosmetics, one of which smelled like "Joy," advertised as "the world's most expensive perfume." Using a bottle of the real thing as a control, the women found they could reproduce the perfume—which sells for \$64 an ounce—for 50 cents. Bottles of "Pure Joy" were sold at the conference for \$3, exposing the enormous profits that the cosmetic industry makes.

On March 8, International Women's Day, 1,000 men and women attended a rally sponsored by the New York Committee to Free Angela Davis. Women from different groups delivered messages of solidarity with Angela Davis, Ericka Huggins, Joan Bird, Afeni Shakur, and Sister Elizabeth McAlister—all women now in prison or under indictment because they defied the cultural stereotype that says women should not involve themselves in political struggles. Bernadette Devlin was scheduled to speak, but was unable to appear.

There was a brief confrontation at the rally between two differing ideas of what March 8 stands for, when a man on stage attempted to pin a bouquet of roses on an International Women's Day banner. Feminists in the audience ran forward to stop him. "Mister, we don't want flowers," they said. "We want liberation."

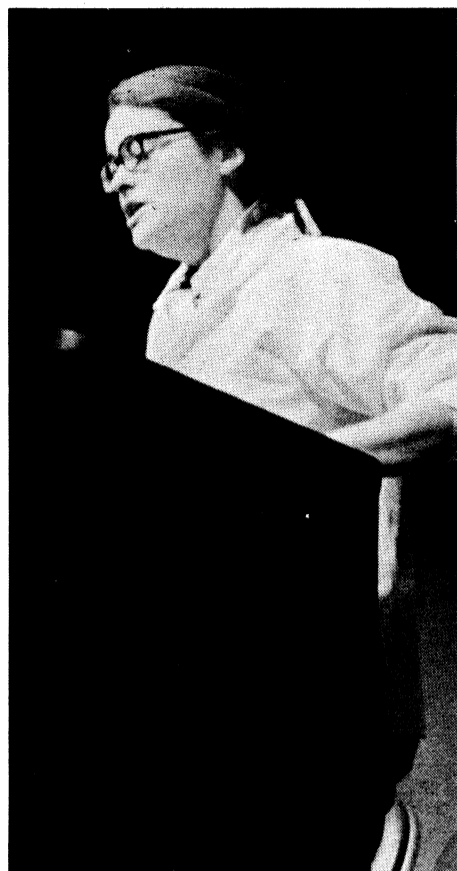


Photo by Caroline Lund

Kate Millett addressing conference

## March 8 marked in nationwide actions

### Boston

In Boston, International Women's Day was celebrated by about 1,000 women who attended a rally in front of the State House March 6. Female representatives of the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement and the Boston high school student strike spoke to the crowd.

After marching on the Playboy Club and to the Charles Street Jail, protesting sexist treatment of women and demanding freedom for women prisoners, several hundred women marched to the Riverside community in Cambridge. They occupied a Harvard University building for use as a women's center for the community, which would include child-care facilities, a gay women's center, legal and housing referral services, and self-defense courses.

Harvard has served a court injunction against the women and children for trespassing, and threatens to use the vicious Cambridge cops against the center.

On March 9 at noon, about 350 women demonstrated at the Holyoke center in Harvard Square in support of the women's demands. Messages of solidarity can be sent to the Women's Center, 888 Memorial Dr., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

### Cleveland

On March 6, 300 women came from all over northeastern Ohio to celebrate International Women's Day at a con-

ference at Case Western Reserve University.

Speakers at the conference included Barbara Gregorich, an English professor at Cuyahoga Community College who spoke on the history of International Women's Day; Valerie Robinson from the Cleveland Women's Liberation abortion project; Cynthia Canty from the Phoenix Organization of Women in New York City, who spoke on abortion and Black and Third World women; and Elaine Wellin and Margy Lewis from an abortion counseling project at Kent State University.

Fourteen different workshops were held, the largest being on abortion and on women and the war. The abortion project group scheduled a demonstration for the end of this month, when the Ohio legislature will be having hearings on abortions bills. The women and the war workshop outlined several projects for involving women in the fight to end the war, including the women's contingent at the march on Washington April 24.

This conference was the first major women's liberation action in Cleveland since last Aug. 26. It ended with a feeling of confidence and enthusiasm to continue working together on future actions.

### Chicago

Two hundred women—campus women, high school women, Black and

Chicana women, working women and antiwar-activists attended the International Women's Day conference in Chicago on March 6 at the downtown YWCA. The tone set by the women present was one of high enthusiasm and spirit.

The celebration was organized by the Women's Day Committee, a coalition that grew out of the building for the event. The Committee is endorsed by the Chicago Women's Liberation Union, Equal Rights Alliance, Female Caucus of the Gay Liberation Alliance, Total Repeal of Illinois Abortion Laws (TRIAL), Women's Club for Peace and Unity, Women for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Women Mobilized for Change, and Young Socialist Alliance. The participants in the conference decided to maintain the Women's Day Coalition to plan future united activities.

Speakers included Florynce Kennedy, a New York attorney; Dr. Beatrice Tucker from the Chicago Maternity Center; Rennie Hanover of the Women's Caucus of the National Lawyers Guild; Ginger Mack, chairwoman of the Chicago Welfare Rights Organization; Arlen Wilson, editor of the new feminist newspaper *Chicago Siren*; Magda Ramirez, Latin American Student Union; Sue Moore, psychologist and member of the Women's Day Committee; Ola Kennedy, United Steelworkers of America; Madeline Dilley, TRIAL co-coordinator and Socialist

Workers Party; Lynn Hite, National Consumers Union; and Marge Sloan, Women Mobilized for Change.

The speakers pointed to the war in Indochina and the lack of free abortion on demand as two of the most crucial issues facing women today.

In reporting the event, the *Chicago Daily News* stated, with some trepidation, that some day all women may well be celebrating International Women's Day instead of Mother's Day.

### Berkeley

Three hundred women, varying in age from high school women to women in their 60s, marked International Women's Day in Berkeley by attending a conference March 6 and 7 called "Women In Transition." The conference was initiated by the Berkeley National Organization for Women and was co-sponsored by many other groups.

A variety of workshops were held, the largest of which was oriented to new women and run by the women's liberation group on the University of California at Berkeley, Female Liberation. The second largest workshop was on lesbianism and liberation.

On March 8, about 200 women joined a rally at noon on the University of California campus in commemoration of International Women's Day, despite the fact that it was during the "dead week" before exams and the stu-

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