

Rail strike shows rising labor militancy

DEC. 10—Railroad workers shattered another tradition when they walked out in defiance of Congress and the courts. This is not according to the rule book.

The rail workers' resistance to government union-busting shows again the rising militancy of the working class in this country, following the tenacious GE strike one year ago and the postal strike last winter.

These actions are signals to the ruling class and to the government that

the workers—despite the weakness of their union leaders—are determined to retain, strengthen, and use the organizational structure of their unions to defend their basic economic rights. They are resisting job attrition and an absolutely inadequate wage offer.

The resulting crisis is not the responsibility of the rail unionists. It is the responsibility of the government and the employers and one more expression of the deepgoing economic and social crisis of a decaying capital-

ist order. The most monstrous expression of that crisis is the continuing, barbaric war being waged against the people of Indochina.

By their action, the rail workers declared in effect that they will not passively accept government-employer efforts to make them pay the cost of that dirty war. Their militant action contributes to the fight against the Vietnam war and the social system responsible for it.

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New York abortion scene: still harrowing, inhuman

—special feature page 9—

Antiwar march set

—pages 10-11



Plenary session at National Peace Action Coalition convention

Photo by Howard Petrick

Portland YSA condemns terror tactics

Charge bombings isolate revolutionaries

Portland, Ore.

The role which individual terror will play in the movement for social change came to the fore in Portland with the explosion of the city's replica liberty bell on Nov. 20.

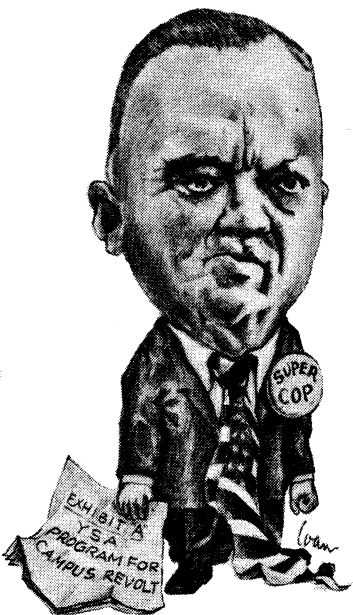
Following this explosion, several members of the Young Socialist Alliance and members of practically every radical organization in the city of Portland were visited by FBI agents and/or local police officials in an attempt "to get information" about the bombing—even though police officials admit there were no witnesses or leads to implicate any of these groups.

While it still remains to be established just what forces were involved in this action (and keeping in mind the role of police agents) the fact remains that the revolutionary movement must address itself to this issue.

The position of revolutionaries should be unequivocally opposed to the policy of individual terror. This condemnation is not based on moralistic or pacifistic considerations. Revolutionary opposition to individual terrorist acts springs from revolutionary

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Letters from our readers

This 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. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

considerations and has nothing in common with that of the capitalist politicians who wring their hands in horror over the explosion of a dozen sticks of dynamite while abetting the dropping of millions of tons of TNT on the innocent Vietnamese people.

The task of revolutionaries is not to isolate ourselves from the masses of American people by blowing up this or that building, or to give officials additional reasons to harass and intimidate our movement. Our interests are the same as the American people's in every walk of life—a world at peace and organized for human need and not private profit.

How incredibly foolish for people fighting for such a goal to needlessly permit the perpetrators of violence to put the onus on us. Our task is to win over the majority of the class with the social power to create a new society; and when we have won that support, to defend it against all reactionary violence that would take back the gains of the people.

The Nixons and Hoovers try to make the victim into the criminal and the criminal into the victim. These men, who bear the responsibility for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of American GIs and countless others here at home and around the world, have the audacity to speak about violence as if it came from the students (or radical organizations such as the ones in Portland). The present government tries to brand their victims as "extremists" and perpetrators of violence. These hypocritical accusations are designed to hide the truth about the real extremists—the mass executioners and exploiters who would rob those opposing them of their basic rights.

Ruth Getts
Organizer, Portland YSA

L.A. police harass

Chicano Moratorium

Los Angeles, Calif.

The National Chicano Moratorium is currently undergoing a deliberate campaign of terror and harassment by the Los Angeles Police Department, the county sheriff's office, the SOC squad, and the METRO squad (specially trained riot police). "Observers" of the Mexican Federal Police have also taken part in one of the raids against the Moratorium. Nightly surveillance, entrance without a warrant, the arrest of members on phony charges, and beatings characterize these underhanded tactics against Moratorium members and Brown Berets, and by extension, against all Chicano people.

The latest of these illegal acts by the police occurred Nov. 27 when eight Brown Berets and one Cal State student were stopped for no legal reason by members of the METRO squad. The nine were charged with armed

robbery, the same holding charge that was used on Corky Gonzales. This sick excuse is used when a weapon is found in a car. In this case it was a *legally registered* carbine, without the clip. There was no money or evidence of stolen goods in the car or in their possession.

These actions are a deliberate conspiracy on the part of the police. We have been told by the Hollenbeck Watch Commander that they will arrest anyone coming out of the Moratorium office. We have been engaged in legal and peaceful picketing of Hollenbeck Station. We also have regular community meetings in our headquarters. These arrests are an obvious attempt to terrorize the community into silence.

We ask organizations as well as individuals to come out strongly against these illegal terrorist tactics which will spread if left unchecked.

Chicano Moratorium
3053 E. Whittier Blvd.
Los Angeles, Calif. 90023

SMC holds rally to defend h.s. rights, Kent State 25

La Crosse, Wis.

Over 200 attended an SMC rally here Nov. 21. The action, called in support of the Kent State 25 and to defend the constitutional rights of high school students, was the first held by the recently formed La Crosse SMC. Featured speaker was Bill Artell, one of the Kent students currently under indictment.

More recently, 25 students attended a Young Socialist Alliance forum given here Dec. 1 on "The Third World and the Coming American Revolution." Daren Bolton, a Black student at Wayne State University, spoke on the role of Black nationalism in the coming revolution, and Hilda Rangel, a Chicana activist, discussed the revolutionary role of the Chicano liberation struggle. Both Bolton and Rangel are national field secretaries of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Lee Artz

Red Cloud: correction

Detroit, Mich.

A key paragraph was deleted from my Nov. 27 letter on Red Cloud. The paragraph, which followed that dealing with the record of Red Cloud's betrayal, reads as follows:

"The struggle waxed fast and furious for another eight years (after 1868), until in 1876 Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse demolished General Custer at the Battle of Little Big Horn River. A warrior chief at the unusual age of 36, Crazy Horse remained intransigent toward the invaders of his homeland. One author describes him as a 'leader to rank with the best of the past, a military genius to match any general the white men could put in the field.'" (John Tebbel, *The Compact History of the Indian Wars*, p. 268) Crazy Horse was assassinated in January 1877. After that it was all downhill for the Sioux.

This correction should be made because there were two sides to the Red Man's struggle for freedom. The negative, represented by Red Cloud, is documented in the first chapter of *Genocide Against the Indians*. In the second chapter, the author, George Novack, explains the positive side when he writes, "The equalitarianism and primitive humanism of Indian relations surpassed the proudest claims of bourgeois society. Mutual assistance was the watchword of the community." This side found expres-

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Closing news date—Dec. 9

sion in the amazing campaigns of Old Nana, Chief Joseph and Sitting Bull.

How otherwise explain the Indian's achievements in defending his way of life in the bloody decade of the 1870s when American capitalism, Bible in one hand and gun in the other, marshaled all resources to put the finishing touch on its "glorious" conquest of the West? Genocide against the Indians assumed savage proportions: armies were everywhere, with settlers mobilized for the struggle. The big land grab was in full swing. The bison herds were destroyed, cutting off a vital food supply, which sharpened tribal animosities. A legion of gratuitous agents were busy recruiting turncoat Indians as fratricidal auxiliaries. In this situation, Red Cloud, under pressure from Indian agents, generals and Washington politicians, signed the Laramie Treaty on Nov. 6, 1868, thus becoming a partner in this orgy.

Yet, in spite of this stark scene, three campaigns stand out to mark the high point of the Indian's last stand. The vitality of collectivist democracy, in spite of decades of attrition and corruption, asserted itself in struggle. The explanation lies with the youth in the warrior-hunting societies whose agitation prompted leaders like Chief Joseph, Nana and Sitting Bull to organize this three-cornered fight. A rough approximation of a common front was arrived at through the mediation of the Cheyenne, particularly between the Apache and the Sioux.

In the end, it was to no avail. The superiority in numbers and technology of the invader precluded that!

Today this conquering society is in decline. The lessons of the "socialist" democracy of the 1870s is not lost upon the young Native Americans who engage in demonstrative actions to revitalize Red Power. The young Red men and women whose courage made the Indian's last stand such a stirring chapter in American history provide a source of inspiration. The great Sioux warrior Crazy Horse embodied Indian ideals.

Henry Austin

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Mounting support for Angela Davis



Angela Davis

NEW YORK, Dec. 8—As support for victimized Black Communist Angela Davis continues to mount, New York Supreme Court justice Thomas Dickens on Dec. 3 upheld an order to extradite Davis to California, where she faces charges of murder, kidnaping and conspiracy. Angela Davis' attorney John Abt has appealed the extradition order to a state appeals court, and plans to carry the case into the federal courts if necessary. As of this writing extradition has been temporarily stayed.

At the start of the New York extradition hearing, heads of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the New York Civil Liberties Union and the National Lawyers Guild asked permission to file friend-of-the-court briefs challenging the attempts to extradite Davis, but Dickens denied permission. Heywood Burns of the National Conference of Black Lawyers explained to the court that the three groups wanted to intervene because "there has been historically no justice in court for non-white persons."

On Nov. 14, over 200 delegates to the New York Urban League's first Conference for Black Faculty and Administrators of the City University of New York passed a resolution opposing the extradition of Davis to California.

The Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs has also appealed for a stop to the extradition process. Their statement cites the enormously high bail of a quarter of a million dollars set for Angela Davis, saying that this "in essence amounts to a denial of bail and an infringement of her constitutional rights."

The statement continues: "Returning Miss Davis to California, in the present atmosphere in which she has already been tried and convicted by the mass media for conspiracy and murder, would be like turning her over for legal lynching."

"We believe that the basic civil rights of all Americans are at stake in this case. . . ."

There are many other examples of the broad support mounting for Angela Davis. She was honored by a church in St. Louis at its annual "Liberation Sunday," and she was chosen by the student senate at Sacramento City College to be honorary homecoming queen.

A nationally syndicated column by Roland Evans and Robert Novak describes a fight going on within the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund over whether the Fund should help defend Angela Davis. The staff of the Fund, which is largely Black, voted with only one dissent to defend Davis and begin a new policy of entering "significant cases involving Black militants." But the board of directors of the Fund, dominated by white liberals, refused to enter the Davis case, with the sorry excuse that the case did not involve constitutional or civil rights issues.

The Nov. 21 *Afro-American* printed in full the first major statement released by Angela Davis from the New York Women's House of Detention. In it she says, "Ronald Reagan and the State of California, having first demanded my job because I am a member of the Communist Party, are now demanding my life."

"Why? Not because I am the dangerous criminal they portray, not because I am guilty of the framed-up charge for which there is no evidence whatsoever, but rather because, in their warped vision, a revolutionary is a priori a criminal."

24 page Militant!

Beginning with our next issue, *The Militant* will be expanded from its present 20 pages to 24 pages. In addition, the format of the paper is being revamped to provide a brighter, more modern and more readable quality.

The expansion to 24 pages will make possible a greater amount of local, national and international news coverage as well as more analytical and educational features.

This new expansion is, of course, directly related to the process of radicalization now so widespread in this country. We aim to continue to expand the paper in quality, size and circulation, to the point where it will become the principal vehicle for the expression of that radicalization and one with a major impact in national politics.

We think the growth of our paper rather accurately reflects the political process that has shaped the past decade. Emerging from the McCarthy era, at the beginning of 1960, we were publishing a four-page tabloid with a circulation of some 3,700.

In 1962, we were able to expand to an eight-page paper and enjoyed a modest gain in circulation. In the summer of 1968, we went to 12 pages, then at the end of 1969 to 16, and just this fall to 20 pages. As we enter the new year with the 24-pager, our circulation will be at 25,000.

We hope all our readers share our gratification at the progress being made and share our determination that this be regarded only as a beginning. With your active support, we can continue to build *The Militant* to the point where it will be the biggest and best socialist weekly America has yet seen. VENCEREMOS!

A break in our schedule

As part of our expansion program, *The Militant* is moving to new and larger quarters. Because of the moving process, which also coincides with the period of the Young Socialist Alliance convention, we will not publish the issues dated Jan. 1 and Jan. 8. Our next issue, the first 24-pager, will be off the press Dec. 18 and dated Dec. 25. The first issue of 1971 will be off the press Jan. 8 and dated Jan. 15.

See next week's issue for our new address and phone numbers.



Young Socialist activists in the antiwar movement, women's liberation movement, Black, Chicano and other Third World liberation struggles—as well as revolutionary socialists from other parts of the world—will meet in New York City Dec. 27-31 for the Tenth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

They will discuss and decide on the YSA's political perspectives and action campaigns for the next year; in addition there will be workshops, panels, and special programs, including Joseph Hansen speaking on "Leon Trotsky and the New Rise of World Revolution" and Peter Camejo on "America's Road to Socialism: Historical Roots of the Coming Revolution."

If you're interested in today's movements for social change, if you want to find out what this country's largest, fastest growing revolutionary youth organization is up to, then you should come to the YSA convention. For more information, send the coupon below to YSA, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Save our fossil air

In New York City, which once boasted one of the purest water systems in the world, sales of bottled water are on the rise.

Drawn from uncontaminated springs, the potable liquid is brought into the city by truck and prominently displayed in every grocery store so that it is easily available in all neighborhoods to everyone who can afford it.

Encouraged by this success, antipollutionists in New York are now proposing that fresh countryside air be bottled and trucked into the metropolitan area for sale to the public in a similar way.

Unfortunately they are already behind the times. A Tokyo department store is offering a much better solution—portable oxygen machines.

For \$37.50 you can buy one of the ingenious contrivances. It generates oxygen through the interaction of hydrogen peroxide and crystals. A

mouthpiece is attached so that you can get instant air whenever you need it wherever you are.

Free enterprise is to be congratulated on its efforts to find a solution, especially a profitable one, to this growing problem.

Nevertheless government action may yet be required, particularly if the needs of future generations are borne in mind.

One possibility would be to stockpile canisters of fossil air while it still exists in some parts of the world.

This would certainly be more forward-looking than the present preoccupation with stockpiling nuclear weapons.

Moreover, it would most likely not be as costly to the taxpayers; and certainly it would be more likely to be appreciated by mankind when it comes time to put the various stockpiles to use.

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U.S. escalates war throughout Indochina

By DICK ROBERTS

DEC. 9—There may be fewer U.S. ground troops involved at the moment, but the war in Southeast Asia has undergone a vast escalation since President Nixon ordered the attack on Cambodia last May, seven months ago.

With the renewed bombing of North Vietnam, the war additionally includes battlefronts throughout South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos; the U.S. is dropping even more bombs on Cambodia and Laos than in the previous heavy U.S. bombing of North Vietnam, 1966-68. Saigon armies and troops from Thailand are also fighting in Cambodia.

But press coverage of the war has never been smaller. One reason for this is apparently a clampdown on U.S. military news sources in Saigon. "The U.S. military information program here reached a new low point with the recent commando raid and renewed bombing of North Vietnam," *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Daniel Southerland wrote from Saigon, Dec. 8.

"Newsmen suspect that officials would prefer to be questioned by Washington newsmen rather than by reporters in Vietnam who follow the war on a day-to-day basis," Southerland adds. "The air war has assumed great importance at the moment with the current heavy bombing of the supply and infiltration trails in southern Laos," the *Monitor* correspondent writes.

"Yet only the sketchiest of information is available on the efficiency and value of the bombing, although its cost runs into tens of millions of dollars."

Washington Post correspondent Peter A. Jay gave reasons for the lack of news about the Cambodian battlefront. Jay reported from Pnompenh,

which is all but surrounded by revolutionary armies, Dec. 6:

"Reporters, without the American-provided mobility available for covering the war in South Vietnam, have only one recourse: to drive out of Pnompenh as far as they can and then ask Cambodian commanders near the front for information.

"It is a demonstrably dangerous and frustratingly unproductive procedure. Foreigners in Pnompenh believe that the government's announced casualty figures—seldom more than one or two a day—are falsified. But there is no way to prove this."

Jay reports in the same article that Pnompenh's only road to Kompong Som, the deepwater port and source of seafood supplies, has been cut, along with the main road from Pnompenh to the rice-growing center of Battambang.

He believes that the Communist armies have changed their military tactics in Cambodia and are presently concentrating on cutting off the supply routes to Pnompenh: "At the moment . . . there appears to be concern among the Cambodian military or the Americans who are quietly underwriting the Khmer war effort, that Pnompenh is in danger of collapse or complete isolation."

Jay notes that the defense of Pnompenh depends on U.S. air support of the Cambodian Army. In the *New York Times*, Dec. 4, Alvin Shuster reported from Saigon that: "Despite official insistence that American planes are bombing only supply routes, it is no secret that they are giving what amounts to combat support to the Cambodian forces."

Brig. Gen. Sosthene Fernandez, commander of Cambodian troops in Military Region 2, south and southwest of Pnompenh, was quoted in the *Washington Post*, Dec. 7: "South Vietnamese troops rape, they destroy houses, they



N. Vietnam militia members cross river with weapons

steal, they loot pagodas and they beat the Buddhist monks."

According to the *Post*, "The general said that rampaging by South Vietnamese troops alienates the Cambodian people and gives the Communist-led forces a psychological advantage. In Saigon there was no immediate comment."

Meanwhile, news dispatches reported a big anti-U.S. demonstration in the South Vietnamese city of Quinhon, marking a further resumption of South Vietnamese student opposition to the war (see Dec. 11 *Militant*).

"Demonstrators chanting 'Yankee go home!' hurled rocks at American soldiers and burned a jeep today in protest against the fatal shooting of a Vietnamese high school boy by a U.S. soldier," an Associated Press article carried in the Dec. 9 *New York Times* stated.

"Some Americans were reported in-

jured in the rioting. Several students were also injured, as national policemen reinforced by members of the territorial militia and the Vietnamese military police fought the demonstrators with riot gas and clubs. . . .

"The rioting began Monday afternoon [Dec. 7] after an American soldier shot and killed a pupil from a Buddhist high school. U.S. officials said the boy was hit accidentally by a warning shot fired as some other youths were trying to steal C rations from an American truck. . . .

"When daylight came, a crowd estimated at 2,500 to 4,000 demanded that the American who shot the pupil be turned over to South Vietnamese authorities for trial."

On Dec. 9, the U.S. Senate approved by a unanimous 89 to 0 vote, after only one day of discussion, Nixon's \$66-billion military appropriations bill.

N.Y. Third World women plan for Dec. 12 march

NEW YORK—The Third World Women's Caucus of the Women's Strike Coalition held a press conference Dec. 8 to refute claims that Third World women are not interested in feminism and to announce their plans to march as a contingent in the Dec. 12 demonstration.

Dolores Prida, of the Spanish-American Feminists, called upon Latino women to join the women's liberation movement. "Third World women should stand up now and take their rightful place in the struggle—especially our sisters from Latin America, a continent in the throes of revolution. We cannot allow any social change to take place without our participation.

"We must remember," Prida added, "that any changes made by men will perhaps change the social and economic structure, but not necessarily the moral or traditional attitudes towards women. Our liberation as women must come first. We can not afford to be shortchanged again in the future."

National Organization for Women spokeswoman Doris Wright pointed out that the demands of the Dec. 12 demonstration—free abortion on demand with no forced sterilization and free, 24-hour child care—are particularly crucial to Black women.

"It was Third World women who suffered most before the new abortion law, and it is still Third World women who must put themselves at the hands of quacks. This will not change until

abortions are free and community-controlled," Wright added.

Attorney Florynce Kennedy, member of Media Workshop, stressed the importance of Third World women participating in the abortion movement to protect their sisters from forced sterilization. "The whole concept of population control is aimed at Third World women and reflects the resentment there is against their having children. The woman must be the one to decide how many children she wants."

Maxine Williams of the Young Socialist Alliance reported that the Caucus will continue beyond the Dec. 12 action. Two projects the Caucus is currently discussing include fighting for demands of welfare mothers and women in prisons, and exploring the treatment of women at Harlem Hospital.

The attitude of the participants toward the necessary involvement of Third World women in women's liberation was summed up by Cynthia Canty of the Phoenix Organization of Women (women from a network of city drug rehabilitation centers): "We have to get together to demand what we need. Sisters, we can't let anyone else speak for us or we'll keep on getting the leftovers."

Other speakers at the press conference included Sarah Glover of the Welfare Rights Organization, Carla Blakey of the Young American Indian Council, and Carolyn Welch of POW.

FBI informer discredited in trial of 'Seattle Eight'

By SHARRON COONTZ

TACOMA, Wash.—The prosecution surprise witness, an undercover FBI agent who supposedly "infiltrated" the Weathermen, admitted under cross-examination Dec. 6 that he would go to "any lengths," including lying, to see the defendants convicted.

Chip Marshall, one of the two defendants representing themselves, also forced Horace Parker, the agent claiming to have lived in a Weatherman collective for several months, to admit that in fact he lived there only four days. During cross-examination by Marshall and Carl Maxey, a defense attorney, the bulk of Parker's testimony was discredited.

Under questioning by Michael Tigar, another defense lawyer, Parker admitted that he had received his latest payment from the FBI only two days ago. This was quite a revelation, since he had testified earlier that he was no longer employed by the FBI. The disclosure led defendant Marshall to wonder aloud as to just why Parker was receiving money—was it for being a witness and saying the right things?

The defense has stated that it will show the true conspirators to be the United States government and its agents. In line with this, after agent Parker had testified to having encour-

aged illegal acts at the direction of the FBI, defendant Marshall called upon the judge to investigate independently and punish Parker. Mike Lerner, the other defendant acting as his own lawyer, pointed out that there is already more evidence against Parker and the Bureau than there ever will be against any or all of the defendants.

The eight defendants, one of whom has still not been taken into custody, are charged with conspiring to incite people to damage federal property. Support continues to grow for them as a number of women's liberation groups, antiwar committees, and other political groups actively oppose the conspiracy frameup.

A representative of the Young Socialist Alliance stated: "There's only one group in America which meets in secret, hides its membership, disguises his aims, and masquerades in whatever guise seems most convenient—be it a Nixon or a Kennedy, a Humphrey or an Agnew. That group is the American ruling class."

In a clear attempt to cut off the defendants from their base of support, the trial is being held in Tacoma, 30 miles south of Seattle. Despite this maneuver, people have been turned away from the courtroom each day for lack of space.

How it looked as rail strike deadline approached

By FRANK LOVELL

DEC. 9 — "The law says we can strike at 12:01 Thursday, Dec. 10. We intend to do that." This statement, two days before the strike deadline, by C. L. Dennis, president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, made official the possible strike of 425,000 railroad workers on all major lines.

The strike call had previously gone out through regular union channels to all locals of the Clerks union. Strike preparations in all sections of the country began immediately.

Other railroad unions responded to the strike call and began preparations. Charles Luna, president of the United Transportation Union, largest of the unions involved, joined with H. C. Crotty, president of the Maintenance of Way Employees, and R. W. Smith,

vice-president of the Hotel and Restaurant and Bartenders International Union, in the following statement: "We have exhausted every avenue of settlement other than being left alone to strike the way other unions do. Railroad workers are entitled to settle disputes with the carriers without government intervention."

George Meany, AFL-CIO president, released a prepared statement, pledging full support of the Federation.

"The AFL-CIO is fundamentally opposed to the bill proposed by the president to outlaw strike activity on the railroads for 45 days. We call upon Congress to oppose it.

"Simple justice demands that, if the Congress deems the railroads so vital to the economy that workers are to be denied their rights as free men, then the government should seize and op-

erate the railroads, with the operating income going to the public treasury."

Several chairmen of UTU locals in Chicago set about organizing a city-wide strike committee of all railroad workers in the area.

The strong statements of top union officials, including strike endorsement by the AFL-CIO, were in response to emergency legislation, proposed by the Nixon administration, asking Congress to order a 45-day postponement of the strike.

The House Commerce Committee held hearings Dec. 8, when Labor Secretary Hodgson and Transportation Secretary Volpe were the first to testify. Volpe later told the press that the administration would "give consideration" to use of troops in the event of a strike.

Members of the Commerce Committee, including its chairman, Rep. Staggers (D-W. Va.), were reported to favor a 70-day strike ban, to which administration spokesmen did not object.

Leading Democrats, especially in the Senate, were worried about taking an openly antiunion stand. Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield, always seeking union campaign funds, sought to pass the whole matter back to Nixon. He declared, "The president has to take the lead in doing now what he proposes to do 45 days from now." Just leave the senators out.

Railroad unions have been hampered by restrictive legislation since enactment of the 1926 Railway Labor Act. As a result, wages and working conditions in the industry have lagged badly. Present average hourly wage is \$3.45, approximately \$1 below that of other industrial workers.

Current negotiations were stalled by a government-appointed Emergency Board, which recommended on Nov.

9 sweeping work rules revisions insisted upon by management and highly touted wage increases of 32.5 percent in seven steps over a three-year period. However, the steps are so spaced that actual costs to the railroads would total only 16 and one-twelfth percent, according to Emergency Board chairman Louis M. Gill.

The Board's recommendations were accepted by railroad management. None of the demands of the unions were granted, and management has refused since Nov. 9 to negotiate seriously.

The unions are demanding immediate wage increases commensurate with the scale in other industries, a cost-of-living escalator clause to protect real wages against inflation, and no tampering with present work rules.

Spokesmen for the unions offered to exempt from strike action all passenger trains and freight trains carrying war materiel and coal for electric power. This plan for a "selective" strike, similar to the practice in the auto industry, was rejected out of hand by J. P. Hiltz, chairman of the National Railway Labor Conference, speaking for managements of all major roads.

The standard procedure of railroad management is to close down the entire system if any of the 120 lines is struck. In the past, they have been supported in this practice by court decisions which have held that under the Railway Labor Act bargaining must be conducted industry-wide.

This has traditionally permitted management to wait out all periods of negotiation, refusing to consider—and often even to discuss—union proposals, in the certain knowledge that in the end Congress would enact emergency legislation forcing railroad workers to stay on the job under wages and conditions imposed by management.

Weekly Calendar

AMHERST

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

BERKELEY

EAST BAY SOCIALIST FORUM. "Women's Liberation and the Lucky Supermarket Strike." Speakers: Jean Maddox, president of Office and Professional Employees Union Local 29, AFL-CIO; Anita Bennett, YSA; and a member of Retail Clerks Union. Fri., Dec. 18, 8 p.m. 3536 Telegraph Ave., Contrib. \$1, h.s. students 50c. For further information call 654-9728.

BOSTON

THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speakers: I. B. Tabata, president of the Unity Movement of

South Africa; and a representative of the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement. Fri., Dec. 18, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information call 536-6981.

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NEW YORK

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Kent president testifies at hearing

By DERRICK MORRISON

CLEVELAND — The federal hearing on the suit by Kent residents and Kent State University students and faculty came to a recess Dec. 3, not to resume until Jan. 5, when oral arguments will be presented by counsel for the plaintiffs and defendants.

The suit, being heard by Judge William K. Thomas, asks that the special grand jury report be expunged and that the indictments against the Kent 25 be dropped. The suit charges that the report and indictments are politically inspired, intended to infringe upon and erode the First Amendment right of free speech.

In the final three days of testimony before the recess, students and faculty testified to the state of silence and fear reigning on the campus in the wake of

the Oct. 16 grand jury report and indictments.

Prof. Robert Frumkin recounted going into a campus restaurant near the end of November. He noticed a student reading a book on nonviolent revolution. Upon asking her for the author, the student looked up and appeared very frightened, not uttering a word. As she was about to leave, she asked Frumkin—in all seriousness—whether he was an FBI agent.

On Wednesday afternoon, Dr. Robert I. White, president of KSU, took the stand. Under questioning by David Scribner, lawyer for the plaintiffs, he said that "In a real sense" the report introduces an unconstitutional censorship of points of view. He stated further that the report opened the door to repressing dissent.

Although the university was under

court injunction preventing any public criticism when the report and indictments were handed down, White says he and others were determined to "resist." The injunction was later knocked down on Nov. 3 by a higher court as unconstitutional.

The attitude of some of the local residents was brought home by a graduate student, Wayne Fisher. Fisher, who grew up in Kent, said there was no big thing going on between students and residents until after the May 4 National Guard killing of four students. On about May 11 or 12, he and other students were sitting out on the lawn of the United Christian Fellowship across from campus. A cop drove up and told them to get inside. The cop reported there were armed vigilante groups out looking for students. And he was only doing his duty, which was not to disarm the vigilantes, but to tell the students to get off the streets.

One of the main persons to testify was Robert Hastings, foreman of the special grand jury. Hastings lives in Ravenna, six miles from Kent, and is president of a real estate insurance agency.

He was asked about the attack of the report on a statement issued May 3 by 23 professors. The statement simply asked for removal of the Guard from campus. But Hastings termed it "infammatory."

When asked by plaintiffs' attorneys if he had seen the statement by Ohio governor James Rhodes on May 3, Hastings pleaded no knowledge of it. Rhodes had said, in effect, that groups of student "agitators" moved from one campus to the next, "terrorizing the people." They are "worse than the

Brownshirts or the Communists, or the night riders. . . . These people should have no sanctuary." The statement by Rhodes was delivered at a press conference and printed in the newspapers, yet Hastings says he was not aware of it.

In presenting the final arguments Dec. 3, attorney for the plaintiffs Jerry Gordon pointed out the situation of conflict of interest on the part of the defendants. These include Ohio attorney general Paul Brown and three special counsel to the attorney general in the Kent prosecutions: Robert Balyeat, Seabury Ford, and Perry Dickinson.

Gordon got the judge to admit as evidence in the hearings the damage suits being filed by the parents of Allison Krause and William K. Schroeder. These are against the State of Ohio, with the former asking for \$15-million and the latter for \$1-million. Brown and National Guard officials are defendants. Thus, in one case state officials are defending the Guard, while in another case they are prosecuting the students.

According to the lawsuit filed by the plaintiffs, Ford, one of the special counsel, is reported to have said in an interview on Oct. 23, after the grand jury report, that National Guardsmen "should have shot all" troublemakers, that the Guard "would have been killed up there—if they hadn't turned around and fired," that the events of May 4 at Kent State University were "Communist-inspired," that he agreed with the "average" opinion of most people in Ravenna in wondering "why didn't the Guard shoot more of them?"



Kent State University, May 5, 1970

Reply to a Socialist Party critic

Why SWP opposed Abzug



Bella Abzug

By DOUG JENNESS

It is a bit ironic that a member of the Socialist Party accuses the Socialist Workers Party of joining with the leaders of his own party for an unholy purpose, as Maurice Goldman does in his letter. Goldman apparently believes the SWP opposed the Democratic Party campaign of Bella Abzug, candidate for U.S. Congress from New York's 19th C.D. in last month's election, for the same reasons that the SP leadership did. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The SP for many years has been a fervent supporter of Democratic Party candidates, and the 1970 elections were no exception, as explained in an official party statement in the party's publication *New America* July 31, 1970. In that statement, the SP "appeals to all who do not want to see a conservative victory in the 1970 elections to use their energies to unify the progressive forces and to rally them behind liberal Democratic candidates."

Why then did leading members of the SP endorse Abzug's Republican-Liberal opponent, Barry Farber? It seems that a number of the moss-backs in the highly conservatized SP leadership believed that Bella Abzug was too "liberal" to be a genuine liberal Democrat. They organized a vicious, reprehensible red-baiting campaign against her and formed a "Democratic Socialists for Farber" committee with a headquarters, staff, and the whole works.

Many of them joined with leaders of the moribund Young Peoples Socialist League, assorted labor bureaucrats, and Liberal Party hacks to sponsor an ad in the *New York Post* on election eve. The ad, entitled "Democratic Socialists Reject Bella Abzug, Vote for Barry Farber on Liberal Line," denounced Abzug because she refused to support the racist "strike" called by the United Federation of Teachers bureaucrats against the Black community in New York in 1968.

The ad also condemned Abzug for supporting Eugene McCarthy in 1968 rather than Hubert Humphrey, for her denunciation of "Meany-led Big Labor," and for her alleged unwillingness to speak out as strongly against the foreign policy of the USSR as she does against that of the United States.

As reflected by Goldman's letter to the *Militant*, there was not unanimous feeling within the SP

on this issue, and in fact, SP national chairman Michael Harrington supported Abzug. David McReynolds, formerly a leading figure in the SP, who resigned this past summer, in an article in the Oct. 29 *Village Voice*, sharply condemned his former colleagues in the SP for engaging "in red-baiting and smear . . ." tactics. He endorsed Abzug for Congress while endorsing Republican Charles Goodell for Senator. It should be recalled that in 1968 McReynolds was the Peace and Freedom Party candidate for Congress in the 19th C.D.

Thus the "democratic socialist," McReynolds, supported a Democrat for Congress and a Republican for U.S. Senator; and the SP ruling clique endorsed a Republican for Congress and a Democrat for U.S. Senator. This may make a big difference to them and to Maurice Goldman, but people interested in ending the racist, sexist, and war-making policies inherent in the capitalist system couldn't care less.

The SWP ran Eva Chertov in the 19th C.D., who counterposed a socialist program to the campaigns of the candidates from both capitalist parties. She sharply attacked the red-baiting campaign against Abzug on the grounds that red-baiting even against capitalist politicians can lay the basis and often facilitates similar attacks on the radical movement itself. More important, genuine socialists — unlike the pro-State Department liberals and toadies for Meany that head the SP — oppose Democratic and Republican politicians on the basis of the capitalist policies they really stand for and not on the basis of half truths, innuendos and slanders. The SWP campaign attempted to do this, and despite its limited resources ran a campaign in the 19th C.D. that received considerable publicity and attention.

There are many people in the radical movement, and doubtless Goldman is one of them, who believe that Abzug's "progressive" stand on a number of issues, including women's liberation and immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina, will make her one of the most "radical" representatives in Congress. The SWP does not deny that Abzug has participated in such progressive causes as the antiwar and women's liberation movements. However, by running in the Democratic Party, she failed to take a positive stand on the key political issue facing all the mass movements in the U.S. today — total political independence from the policies and organizations of the capitalist parties. Moreover, by running as a Democrat, she bolstered the false and costly notion that social progress can be achieved through the very parties that serve as the principal political barrier to such progress.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties are run and controlled by the tiny capitalist minority and are used to serve their purposes. Since the aims of the mass movements — women's liberation, Black and Chicano liberation, and the antiwar movement — are diametrically opposed to the interests of the capitalist minority, this ruling minority will never and has never permitted its parties to be used by these movements for the purposes of fundamental social change.

A final point: an election leaflet entitled "A Coalition Strategy Vital to New York Democratic Victory" published by the New York local of the SP, calls on people to "Join the Socialist Party of Eugene Victor Debs. . . ." What a travesty — to link the name of the great revolutionary, Debs, to the reactionary policies of these fakers and pretenders who entertain each other by referring to themselves as "socialists." If there is anything that exemplifies the tradition of Debs, it was his refusal to support capitalist candidates of any stripe, and his energetic socialist campaigns against them.

Letter from SP member on Abzug race

New York, N. Y.

Editor:

I was amazed that you had joined with the Socialist Party hierarchy and the Liberal Party to oppose Bella Abzug. Can it be that in the desire of the SWP and yourself to see a labor party started, that you and the SWP have thus sunk to the level of the Liberal Party and the Socialist Party hierarchy? Hoping you can comment.

Disappointedly,
Maurice Goldman,
Socialist Party supporter
of Abzug

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Colo. Chicano leaders on trial in frame-up



Albert Gurule



Corky Gonzales

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES — The frame-up trial of Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, head of the Denver Crusade for Justice, and Albert Gurule, Raza Unida candidate for governor of Colorado in the last elections, has been going on here since mid-November.

Gonzales and Gurule were among 27 persons arrested in the aftermath of the police attacks on the Aug. 29

Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles. They were seized while riding in what police called an "overloaded" flatbed truck.

Gonzales had been scheduled to speak at the Chicano Moratorium rally against the Vietnam war, which was aborted because of the police attack, and had received a threat that he would be killed while on the speakers platform. Oscar Z. Acosta, attorney for Gonzales and Gurule, said

it was one of hundreds of threats Gonzales received.

Two guns, a .22 caliber pistol and a .38 caliber revolver, were found in the cab and bed of the truck when it was stopped by sheriff's deputies.

"I don't carry a gun," Gonzales said outside the courtroom, "but the men with me are armed and they will continue to be armed. It is their legal right, and for us, it is a matter of survival. This decision for armed defense was made to protect lives by our members."

The real issue in the case, according to a Gonzales-Gurule defense bulletin, is the right of the Chicano people to assemble and demonstrate peaceably, which it says is "a right denied as a matter of habit by the deputies of Sheriff Peter Pitchess."

"All facets of this outrage against the people of Los Angeles will be covered, including photographs of the violence taken by Chicano witnesses, and the testimony of actual participants," the bulletin states.

"The second critical issue," says Acosta, "is the right of the people to bear arms, as guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States. The case will test whether or not a California law which grants an exception to the laws against loaded weapons to certain businessmen for the protection of their property also applies to people who want to protect their lives."

"It is time somebody spoke out in court about the right of a poor person to protect the only thing he has — his life. We will rest our defense on the 'Businessman's Exception' and the self-defense exception contained in Section 12031 of the California Penal Code." Speaking at public rallies is part of Gonzales' business, Acosta said.

On Nov. 25, Miguel V. Lopez, a

student at UCLA and a member of MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil de Chicanos de Aztlan), was jailed for contempt of court after a disturbance outside the courtroom. Chicano observers standing next to Lopez said they noticed no disturbance until he was dragged into the courtroom and handcuffed.

The roughness of the arrest caused tempers of Chicano defense supporters to flare, and there was a scuffle in the courtroom. Helmeted, armed police were brought in to reinforce bailiffs.

Gurule commented outside the court: "The atmosphere here makes you feel intimidated. There is a deliberate show of force."

"These charges against us," Gurule said, "came about because Corky Gonzales is seen as a threat to the establishment. They charged me because I was a Raza Unida candidate and we were able to apply a lot of pressure against oppression. Of the 27 in the truck, they chose to press charges against us two. I feel the police forces in Denver and in Los Angeles are working together on this."

Cesar Chavez, who was on the witness stand for about an hour, testified for the defense on the "truth, honesty and integrity" of Gonzales. Asked if his opinion of Gonzales would be changed if he knew the defendant's reputation with the police was "all bad," Chavez said it would not. "Considering the information I have about police, their opinion would have no effect," he stated.

Chavez said he had collaborated with Gonzales in organizing Chicanos for five years and that Gonzales had an excellent reputation with striking farm workers. He embraced Gonzales and Gurule as he left the stand.

Huey Newton of the Black Panther Party is also expected to be brought in as a defense witness.

How press distorted raid on Crusade for Justice

The following article appeared in the Nov. 29, 1970, *Denver Post*. The author is active in the Denver Crusade for Justice and is president of the United Mexican American Students at the Denver Center of the University of Colorado. The police raid on the Crusade headquarters he discusses was described by Corky Gonzales, president of the Denver Crusade, in an interview which appeared in the Dec. 4 *Militant*.

By MANUEL LOPEZ

Post readers have heard the police version of the election-night raid on the Crusade for Justice headquarters — which also happens to be the state headquarters for the Raza Unida Party. There is another side to this story — the truth of the matter as Chicanos like me see it.

I arrived at the Crusade about 7 a.m. Wednesday, the morning of the raid, and what I have learned then and since can be said to contradict the police version of that raid, at least as it was published and legitimized by the news media.

The first fact of this version we should examine is that of the shotgun (confiscated in the raid) "stolen from the TG&Y store at 2600 Federal Blvd." (*Denver Post*, Nov. 4, 1970). The story in the *Post* goes on to say that "it was after the shotgun was determined to be stolen that the police obtained a search warrant and raided the building."

The search warrant specifically lists 15 guns as being the object of the "search." However, the serial number on the "stolen shotgun" does not match

any serial number of the guns on the search warrant. Since the warrant only lists 25 of the 41 stolen guns we can only suppose that the "stolen shotgun" was one of those not listed on the warrant.

Lt. Gebhardt (ranking officer on the raid), according to the press, "described damages to the building as minimal." He was quoted as saying the police couldn't find anyone with a key to the interior doors and broke only those doors they couldn't enter otherwise. This is just not so. Practically every door in that building was broken down. The police were told, several times, that someone with keys could — if called — be there in five minutes to open the doors.

Of course, that would have eliminated the need to kick, smash and jimmy open all those doors. A raid just isn't exciting unless you can smash down the doors.

In addition to the "stolen shotgun," the police also confiscated a rifle "believed to have been stolen" (*Denver Post*, Nov. 6, 1970) in the same break-in as the shotgun. The rifle is a barrel on a stock, with no bolt or trigger, and was a prop used in a Mexican folk dance.

Anyone who is a member of the Crusade for Justice, or is active in the Chicano movement, knows that the police are out to destroy the Crusade. Yet if one expresses this fact, he is considered a troublemaker with paranoid delusions.

However, if this raid is closely examined, a pattern emerges whereby the police seized upon a very minor incident and manufactured a major

political incident that justifies their actions and creates the image of the Crusade as being an armed citadel full of crazy Brown Berets just waiting to do all sorts of bad things.

This can be seen in the headline in the Thursday (Nov. 5) *Post* for the raid article: "Police Raid Building After Shot Is Fired," in bold, black type; yet there was only an allegation that a shot was fired. All they had to go on was that someone called them and said he was shot at by someone who was inside the Crusade building. The paper still, however, reports that a shot was fired — as if it were a fact.

The police didn't just investigate this complaint, they raided the building and found a shotgun (how many people have shotguns in their house?), which then becomes part of an arsenal of stolen weapons.

The incredible facet of this event is that the news media accept and report the police version as fact.

It also seems that at some points in the reporting, the presentation becomes distorted. When Crusade spokesmen are quoted, they are presented in such a manner that their credibility and believability are negated. For example, Richard Ellian "reported" he had been fired on (a fact) and Corky Gonzales "alleged" the doors were broken into (not a fact).

Another instance of distortion can be seen in the article on the complaint, filed by the Crusade, that the police used "excessive force" and that "\$782 in cash was missing . . . after the raid." In the following paragraph, Lt. R. Shaughnessy is quoted as saying, "the charges don't name any police-

man individually and list no witnesses to the incident." Thus, the credibility of the complaint is negated.

The article could have reported instead that the police held 10 Crusade security men — who requested that they accompany the police on their search — in the basement during the entire raid and thus insured there could be no witnesses.

Nothing is reported about the fact that inside the Crusade building is an art gallery, a bookstore, a reproduction room, a prop room for the stage, a curio shop, a photography darkroom, a gymnasium, offices and classrooms, which were all broken into by the police and photographed by a police team of photographers.

The Crusade building also houses a newly established school called the Tlatelolco Field Study Center, which has 167 students enrolled. The school ranges from first grade through undergraduate college level, with the majority of students being six to 10 years old. The children at the school are provided free hot lunches. All of the school's files were confiscated. Why? Perhaps the guns they were looking for are hidden at the children's homes.

What the Crusade for Justice is and what the police would have people believe it is are two different "truths." The police version of the raid as reported in the press and what actually happened are also two different "truths."

The news media have a responsibility to investigate an incident, such as the raid, and present, inasmuch as is possible, the objective truth.

A MILITANT INTERVIEW**Some of the issues now being discussed at women's liberation movement meetings**

By CAROLINE LUND

Evelyn Reed, author of *Problems of Women's Liberation* and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, is nearing the end of a nationwide speaking tour on the topic "How Women Lost Control of Their Lives and How They Can Regain It."

Last spring she covered the West Coast, and this fall she has traveled down the East Coast from Toronto to Florida. In the course of the tour, she has spoken at more than 50 colleges and universities as well as at numerous other functions, such as public forums, rap sessions, and radio and TV.

I asked Evelyn Reed whether she felt that the questions being discussed most in the movement now were the same as or different from the questions she found women grappling with during her spring tour.

"Last spring the big question was abortion," Reed said. "I remember that while I was on the West Coast the victory in New York State came through, where that 110-year-old reactionary abortion law was replaced by a more liberal law. And this had a very salutary and inspirational effect on the women's movement in other areas of the country.

"This fall, I found that more, and somewhat more complicated, questions are coming up. For example, the question of the relationship of conscription to equal rights for women. And the other big questions I have encountered have been on the issue of child-care centers.

"The curious thing," Reed continued, "is that this question of drafting women is virtually always asked by the men in my audiences. They ask, 'If women want equal rights and jobs, are they also willing to accept equal "rights" in being conscripted into the army?'

"This question came up in a discussion I had with women from Washington, D.C., who were very concerned about the way the question of the draft had been introduced by certain senators into the Senate discussion of the women's Equal Rights Amendment. Some of these women were uneasy about the whole matter of conscription. They were concerned about being drafted and therefore were worried about the whole question of equal rights because of the threat of the draft.

"Other women felt that there was something wrong with the whole way in which the question of the draft had been introduced into the issue of equal rights for women.

"I explained that as a representative of the socialist wing of the women's liberation movement I do not support even the conscription of men for



Photo by John Gray

Evelyn Reed

an imperialist war like the one in Vietnam—a dirty war that serves only the monopolists and the profiteers.

"But let's examine the question of why men, including the senators who killed the Equal Rights Amendment, are asking women to accept conscription. It sounds to me like a kind of a punishment for demanding equal rights. What women are demanding is full and equal rights in all of the constructive, productive, creative areas of work and in improving our lives and our human values.

"Now, you have some senators and other men coming forward and saying, all right, if you want equal rights in all these constructive, productive fields, then you are obliged to accept equal 'rights' in all the destructive, hideous aspects of this society.

"Because of the nature of this capitalist society, women may have to accept this punishment, as men have had to accept it, but I am convinced they will protest it every step of the way. If women were conscripted, I believe we would see much greater and much more vigorous protests than anything we have seen thus far.

"Women are not about to take kindly to the prospect of being conscripted into an army that is carrying out an imperialist war—an army that is sent abroad to shoot down not only men but also women, children and older people in Vietnam. I doubt very much whether women are going to ever passively accept this kind of conscription."

Reed went on to point out that Nixon, who knows that this war is the most hated war in our history, has even been forced to consider abolishing the draft altogether and establishing a volunteer army. "I know that most people don't believe him, as I do not," she added, "nevertheless, doesn't it seem strange that while a volunteer army is under discussion, these senators are insisting that if women want equal rights they are going to have to accept conscription into an army that is already becoming unviable because antiwar feelings among the GIs are so strong. This issue of conscription is nothing but a gun held at women's heads as a form of intimidation when they demand their rights.

"Another point must be made here also," Reed went on. "It is often said by men that women are too weak, fragile, biologically inferior and incompetent to undertake such 'manly' matters as wars. In actuality, what we have seen throughout history is that women are perfectly capable of shouldering arms and participating fully in a militia, as they have done in Cuba, in order to protect and defend a government they support. In Cuba, some women bore arms in the battles when they kicked out the dictator Batista. And today, many Cuban women voluntarily bear arms alongside of

men to protect the government of their own choosing."

Reed told me she felt that this general approach to the question of conscription for women was welcomed by many women in the movement. "Often I feel that women are too much on the defensive concerning this question, when they don't have to be at all.

"The second major question that came up on my tour," Evelyn Reed continued, "was concerning child-care centers. Often the audiences at my meetings are divided on this question, with the men very fearful of, or resistant to, child-care centers, while the women are eagerly reaching for it. The men seem to feel threatened by the idea of the removal of women from the home, where they provide services to men and make things comfortable for men.

"The men often raise their objections in the framework of concern for the children's welfare," she continued. "They say, wouldn't child-care centers take away the 'mother-love' that the child needs? I point out to these people that most often this so-called 'mother-love' is really smother-love.

"Let's consider children that are brought up in what is considered the most advantageous environment, a middle-class or upper middle-class family. What happens to these children who are brought up in the bosom of a 'loving family'? At a certain point in their lives the psychiatrist has to be called in to try to repair all the damages, hang-ups, mutilations and neuroses that were accumulated in the bosom of that loving family in the earlier years of life.

"This would seem to indicate to me that the family system is *not* the best way to bring up children. In fact, when I have made this point at my meetings, young people from the audience often come up afterwards and tell me, from their own experience, yes, that is absolutely true.

"I believe that child-care centers would be a far better way to bring up children. They can grow up together with their peers, in contact with a variety of people, not simply their parents, and can learn much faster under professional guidance.

"Child-care centers could become what I like to call infant universities. I believe we totally underestimate the capacities of very young people to learn. And if they have the benefit of professional care and instruction, they are much better off than just moping around a dull kitchen or a little backyard for the first five or six years of their lives.

"Another question about child-care centers comes up sometimes, from a different angle. People ask, what would happen if women just left their children in these 24-hour child-care centers and never came back again? First of all, I say that if any sizable number of women did do this, it would certainly raise the question of whether the nuclear family as a whole is a viable institution or whether we should change it. We *should* review that question. But it certainly is contradictory for people to object to child-care centers on this basis, when they are usually the very ones who believe that every mother's 'natural' preference is to breed, stay home, and devote all their time to home and children.

"Still other women raise the question that if child-care centers are going to be as poor as most of the public schools we have today, then they would hardly be desirable. I answer that this is precisely why it is so important that the child-care centers be under community control, so that women can *insist* upon the best kind of child-care centers possible.

"As for the financing of them, which sometimes comes up, I suggest that we take some of those billions we're spending on slaughter in Vietnam and use these funds to build the kind of child-care centers we all want."

Reed concluded by noting that "in many areas, particularly in Florida and the South, where the movement is just beginning to flower now, the women were extremely interested in the actions that have been taken in the other cities. The August 26th demonstrations, for instance, were tremendously inspiring to them. Women who in the past have been shy or reluctant to come out in demonstrations and actions are beginning to think in terms of such mass actions as the most effective means for meeting their needs.



CUBAN MILITIAWOMEN. In revolutionary Cuba, many women have taken up arms to defend their government. In U.S., women fighting for equal constitutional rights make clear this doesn't mean they won't oppose conscription into an imperialist army.

N.Y. abortions still an inhuman experience

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

NEW YORK, Dec. 8—Last July 1, the most liberal abortion law in the country went into effect in New York State. The law provides that any doctor can perform an abortion on a woman up to the 24th week of her pregnancy, and after that if her life is in danger. The new law was a product of the pressure of a rising women's liberation movement. It was voted in on the heels of a mass demonstration March 28, 1970, to abolish all abortion laws.

Yet on Dec. 12, New York women will be marching again for free abortion on demand—this time on Mayor Lindsay's house.

In the past week alone, there have been three protests around the abortion situation. The New York Women's Center held an emergency middle-of-the-night demonstration at Bellevue Hospital, demanding they admit a woman who had gone into labor after obtaining a saline injection. Bellevue had refused to admit her, insisting she return to the doctor who gave her the shot.

Columbia Women's Liberation picketed in front of the Abortion Information Agency, a profit-making referral agency. They charged it was charging exorbitant prices for a service that should be free.

And on Dec. 6, the Women's Abortion Project picketed St. Patrick's Cathedral as Catholic bishops across the state read pastoral letters in mass branding abortion an "outrage against humanity" and threatening to excommunicate any Catholic who has an abortion or helps another woman get one.

These demonstrations reflect the obstacles and affronts women have faced in their attempts to control their own bodies. Things are as Dr. Bernard Nathanson, a New York gynecologist, claims: "Sure a woman under 24 weeks pregnant can get an abortion in New York today. But she'd probably be discouraged, disheartened, disillusioned, humiliated and broke."

It is in New York City itself that the crisis is most severe. Only three months after the new law went into effect, the "liberal" Lindsay administration moved quickly to restrict it. On Oct. 19, the city Board of Health instituted requirements limiting abortions to hospitals, clinics affiliated with nearby hospitals, or offices having a quarter-million dollars worth of hospital equipment like blood banks and X-rays.

These limitations were imposed despite the fact that a third of all abortions up to that point had been done in places not meeting these requirements; despite the fact that the municipal hospitals reported they had accumulated a backlog of 2,500 cases. This was a needless move, which stopped doctors from giving outpatient abortions in their offices and shut down many low-cost community clinics. Yet it was done in the guise of protecting women.

Long waits, outrageous prices and psychological humiliation are what women now face in New York City. The poor and the young have been most victimized. There are indications that they are being driven back to the butcher abortionists the law was supposed to protect them from. There, they can get fast, relatively inexpensive, if unsafe treatment.

A survey of New York hospitals reveals waiting lists ranging from one week to nine weeks. Metropolitan Hospital turns women away if they are over 12 weeks pregnant, Morrisania after seven weeks. And although the law permits abortions up to 24 weeks, almost no hospital will perform them after 20. Because the city has made no attempt to demand uniformity, women often must spend weeks "hos-

pital-hopping" in a search for lower prices and shorter waits.

The waiting time has been the most critical problem. Up to 12 weeks of pregnancy, a woman may be aborted by the vacuum aspirator method, a simple and safe procedure in which a tube is inserted in the uterus and the products of conception sucked out. (It is interesting that this method, which has been used widely in Eastern Europe since it was originated in China in 1958, was not used in this country until abortions became legal.)

After 12 weeks, however, women must be given the more expensive and complicated saline ("salting out") procedure. Thus, a delay of two to three weeks, which is the norm, can push a woman over from the vacuum aspirator method to the trickier saline procedure.

In the Oct. 15 *Village Voice*, Robin Reising relates a case history that is by no means unusual: "On Aug. 4, a 17-year-old girl two months pregnant was given a preliminary appointment at Cumberland Hospital for Sept. 17. On Sept. 17, she was told her abortion would cost her \$332 since she was now 16 weeks pregnant and needed the more difficult and more expensive saline method. She didn't have the cash so she was told she could not get the abortion she had waited for."

It is as one Cumberland executive told Clergy and Lay Advocates for Abortion Performance, "Either they have cash, medical insurance, or take a loan, or they're turned away." The fact that hospitals all want cash in advance of the abortion is one of the few uniformities. Prices for the simplest abortion, the vacuum method, range from \$25 to \$600 in proprietary hospitals.

People eligible for medicaid by virtue of a welfare-level income can have the bill paid by medicaid. A Triboro Hospital official expressed the type of sympathy non-welfare-clients who cannot meet the prices get: "If a person is not on medicaid, she's not medically indigent and if she's not medically indigent, she can pay for an abortion."



Photo by John Gray

The Women's Abortion Project is a free referral service, staffed by a dedicated core of unpaid women's liberation activists. The walls of its office, located in the New York Women's Center, are covered with systematic notations on the current prices and waiting periods in each hospital, as well as a growing "black-list" of anti-woman doctors. The Project tries to refer women to the few doctors in approved clinics that are sympathetic to women's liberation.

With so many women coming to the Women's Center, staff members are especially aware of the psychological humiliation women who seek abortions face. "Women are grateful when their abortion isn't a complete horror show," said staff member Sharon Goldenberg, outraged that women are given no expectation of the right to decent medical care.

"The hospitals assume you don't know anything if you're a woman," Goldenberg continued. She reported that one woman told a doctor she was 18 weeks pregnant. Without examining her, the doctor arbitrarily replied, "No, you're 22 weeks." "Sorry," he concluded, "this hospital's termination date is 20 weeks."

When they check into the hospital, many women are asked to sign fetal death certificates, naming themselves as maternal parent of "the deceased." This forces them to give credibility to the medieval Catholic notion that the fetus is a living human being whose death they are authorizing. And one woman who was aborted at Bellevue reports she was shown the five-month old, fully formed fetus—a psychological assault she is still trying to get over.

Jacobi Hospital gives women who get the saline injection the option of saving money by delivering the fetus themselves at home. They estimate 80 percent of their patients, who are given printed instructions on how to go through labor and tie off the placenta, choose this psychologically harrowing option.

The quality of medical care itself is no less harrowing. In an Oct. 29 *Village Voice* article, Nanette Rainone exposed a confidential Health Department memo. It coolly stated that lab analysis of samples of the saline solutions injected into women's wombs had been found to contain glass slivers, human hair, wood particles, synthetic fibers, "faint traces" of formaldehyde, and other foreign matter!

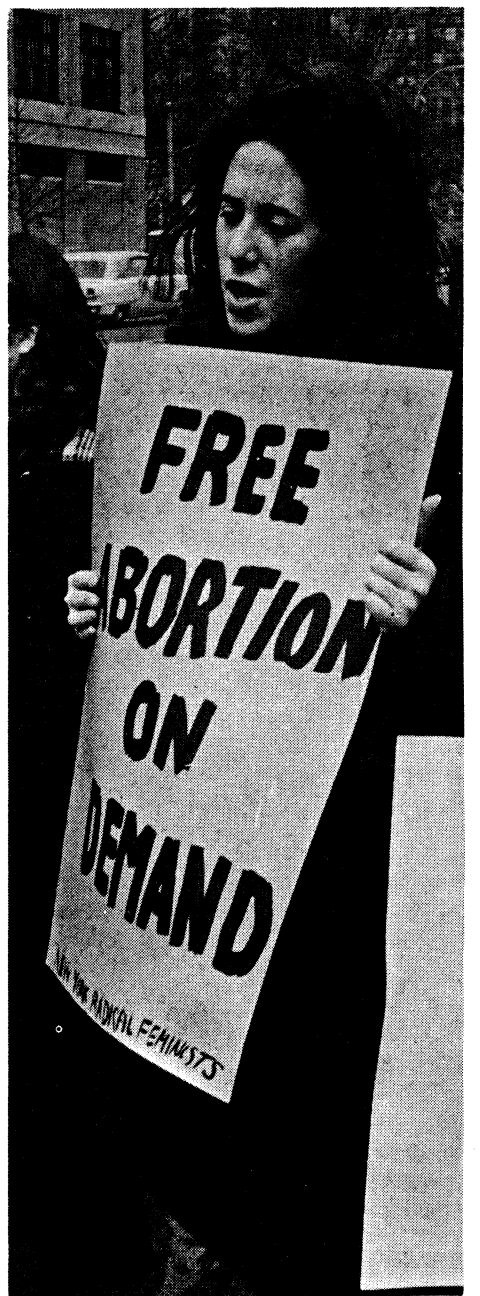
Asked what the situation has been like in New York City since the new law went into effect, Goldenberg replied, "A lot of people are making money. That's what's happening. There's incredible profiteering going on."

Concurring with this charge, Lucinda Cisler of New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal said that profit-making hospitals are luring doctors away from municipal hospitals with promises that they can make \$2,400 a day doing abortions. The cost for an early abortion in these hospitals is \$600, with the doctor given half.

Furthermore, many of the profit-making hospitals are linked with profit-making referral agencies, such as the Abortion Information Agency, the target of the recent demonstration. Columbia Women's Liberation pointed out in their leaflet for the demonstration that as long as the city abdicates its responsibility to provide free abortions on demand, profiteers like these will continue to thrive on the blood of women.

A referral service exists for no other medical procedure. A woman needing an appendectomy, for example, does not have to pay \$25 to a private agency to get a name of a doctor that will help her.

There is no assumption in New York



City right now that a woman has a right to an abortion. And although a woman's search for an abortion no longer leads her down the proverbial back alley, she still faces punitive treatment, red tape and second-rate medical care. As Goldenberg pointed out, "You still feel as if you are after something illegal when you try to get an abortion."

In the face of all these inadequacies, still another threat is being posed. When the State Legislature reconvenes Jan. 6, it will vote on a series of proposed amendments to the state law. The two amendments with the most likely chances of passing would impose a residency requirement of 90 days and limit abortions to women no more than 12 weeks pregnant.

Legislators have noted that they have been under heavy pressure from the Catholic Church to restrict the law. The Vatican, which refers to abortion as "having a baby yanked from your insides," and stoops to such tactics as reporting that some fetuses "have been heard to cry as they were dropped into surgical trash cans," has just allotted a half-million dollars to a campaign to fight against abortions.

They are certain to spend a lot of time and money in the upcoming legislative sessions, attempting to take back from women what they have won and, if they can, pushing for total repeal of the law and a return to illegal abortions.

This is a direct challenge to the women's liberation movement and to the victory it won when its demonstrations helped force legal abortions in New York State. Rather than to tolerate further setbacks in the struggle of women to control their own bodies, we must continue to draw more women into our struggle for free abortions on demand, no forced sterilization, and not stop fighting until that demand is met. This is why women in New York are marching Dec. 12.

NPAC sets April 24 mass ma

By DERRICK MORRISON
CHICAGO—In response to the continuation and escalation of the war in Vietnam, more than 1,200 antiwar activists met here Dec. 4-6 at an emergency convention of the National Peace Action Coalition. They decided by an overwhelming majority that April 24 would be the target date for massive national antiwar demonstrations in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco.

The convention, endorsed by a broad spectrum of organizations and individuals, opened with a public rally in the Packinghouse Labor Center on Friday evening. For the next two days, there occurred debate and deliberation on courses of action to take against U. S. aggression in Southeast Asia.

In his opening remarks to the plenary session of the convention, NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon declared, "It is imperative that we have this type of open meeting, democratic meeting, so that the movement has fullest authority in carrying out actions." To this end, the assemblage received, discussed, and voted upon 21 proposals for action and activity.

Gordon pointed out that this conven-

tion was very significant in that it marked the continued functioning of a national antiwar coalition. Heretofore, coalitions have usually disappeared in the aftermath of a national action. NPAC, created in June after the May upsurge, is going forward after the actions it carried through in 30 cities on Oct. 31.

A proposal submitted by the five NPAC coordinators provided the central focus for the deliberations.

The coordinators' proposal said in part, "The results of the Nov. 3 referenda, particularly in heavily working-class Detroit, where nearly two out of three voters cast their ballots for immediate withdrawal, indicate that the antiwar movement now speaks for a majority of the American people. . . . Sentiments of workers, Third World people, women, GIs, and students are overwhelmingly antiwar. The job of the U. S. antiwar movement is clear: to unite this majority sentiment against the war and organize it into mass action."

It concluded with a call for national antiwar actions on April 24 in Washington and San Francisco. The central demands formulated were "Immediate Withdrawal of All U. S. Forces from

Southeast Asia" and "End the Draft Now." The latter demand has special importance in light of the expiration of the Selective Service Act on June 30, 1971.

The floor discussion showed that delegates from all parts of the country were optimistic about the prospects for building a massive spring action. People from the South, the Southwest and other parts of the country told how many new forces in their area were now coming into the peace movement and how it was possible to involve them in really big numbers for the April 24 action.

Several ex-GIs spoke and told of the wide opposition to the war within the armed forces and how big marches by the antiwar movement served as an organizing tool for antiwar GIs.

There were an encouraging number of Black and Third World people who took part in the floor discussion and at the workshops, and they too were strongly for the April 24 action. The same was true of women's liberation activists.

Convention participants had the opportunity to discuss the various proposals in a series of workshops. The principal workshops were: labor and

the antiwar movement, women and the war, high school students, the antiwar university, Third World, GIs and veterans, and community organizations.

The question of unity of the antiwar movement was also discussed at the convention. Since the death of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, there has been division in the movement, and this has hampered organizing antiwar actions.

Participants in the convention were therefore encouraged that a group from the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression (NCAWRR), which was formed by some of the old Mobe officials, was present at the convention even though hardly any of them took part in the floor discussion.

However, Sid Lens of Chicago, who is both in NCAWRR and a member of the NPAC steering committee did participate. He presented a resolution to the convention which said that in order to reunite the movement, NPAC should not set a date for its spring action. Instead, he proposed, it should support actions which will be proposed at a January meeting in Chicago to which NCAWRR has invited people.

The proposed actions Lens urged be supported included demonstrations around the country May 1 or May 8, with emphasis on Washington and with civil disobedience as an important feature.

His resolution also described plans for nationwide actions April 3 and 4 commemorating the death of Martin Luther King. This proposal was incorporated into the NPAC coordinators' resolution and approved by the body.

The May action being considered by NCAWRR is based on the idea that the North American and Vietnamese people should agree on their own peace treaty, and then we should all put pressure on Washington to accept it.

While Lens did not elaborate on this on the floor, the "peace treaty" idea is being pushed by Rennie Davis, one of the Chicago Conspiracy trial victims, who is very strong on organizing confrontation-type demonstrations. Davis' idea, which he has explained at meetings and in articles, is that the government should be given until May 1 to accept the peace treaty. If it doesn't, then on May 3 people should organize into tribes and collectives, buy old cars, drive down to Washington, and shut down the Pentagon by clogging up the road leading to it. Outside of some ultralefts, this idea has not gained much support.

Jerry Gordon reported to the conference the discussions that had been going on over the weekend with Lens and other spokesmen for NCAWRR. He said that during the discussion Lens and the others from NCAWRR

AN EDITORIAL

NPAC convention a solid gain

The antiwar convention held by the National Peace Action Coalition in the United Packinghouse Workers union center in Chicago Dec. 4-6 was a significant success and should encourage all those concerned with mounting the kind of massive movement required to get the U. S. out of Vietnam.

The turnout, perhaps the largest so far for an antiwar coalition conference, and the seriousness of the political discussion made clear that NPAC activists are not among those who were duped by Nixon's cynical "peace" ploy nor among those who are "tired of marching" in demonstrations against the war. The discussion and decisions underlined conference recognition of the urgent need for continuing mass actions focused on the demand for immediate U. S. withdrawal.

Thus motivated, the conference initiated plans for an organizing drive, with April 24 as the date for what could prove to be the most massive antiwar action yet.

In addition to clearly recognizing that Nixon remains committed to achieving military victory in Vietnam, the conference also registered its understanding of the crucial fact that while people may have been temporarily deceived by administration demagoguery, antiwar sentiment itself is today stronger and deeper than ever.

It was on the basis of these two political essentials—that both the war and the opposition to it continue—that the gathering confidently projected the perspective of a truly massive spring demonstration embracing constituencies and layers of the population never previously involved in the actions on a major scale.

The convention took an equally responsible approach to the vital problem of achieving the broadest possible unity of antiwar forces in carrying through the spring offensive. Particular attention was paid to exploring every avenue for healing the breach with those New Mobilization Committee forces that

had turned from the antiwar movement to efforts intended to build a new multi-issue political coalition, currently called the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression (NCAWRR).

The conference had before it a resolution by Sid Lens of the NCAWRR which provided essentially that the conference give advance approval to a spring program of activity, around the war and other issues, slated to be presented to an invitational NCAWRR meeting of some 100-150 people in January. The Lens resolution proposed that, in deference to this proposed NCAWRR program, NPAC not set a date for a spring antiwar action and that it commit itself in advance to some undefined form of fusion with NCAWRR. There was no evidence of even minimal support for the resolution, and just prior to the vote Lens withdrew it.

The conference also did not accede to insistent proposals from an apparently informal NCAWRR delegation that it not set a date for the spring antiwar action. The NCAWRR delegation argued that to set a date would impair possible reunification of the divided antiwar forces.

This assertion went directly counter to the entire experience of the antiwar movement. From the outset, the movement has had to cope with the problem of a host of ideological, political and tactical differences among the participating groups. The only times meaningful unity of these politically heterogeneous groupings has been achieved has been when there was a central, clearly defined major action around which to unite.

Wherever "unity" efforts have proven to be merely an effort to impose one or another ideological approach on differing forces, the result has only been greater disunity and less action. It is only when clearly defined action, projected for a specific date and place or places, has been set that the

basis has been created for the necessary unity.

To argue, as the NCAWRR group did, that to set a date for an action is a bar to unity stands the question on its head. If there is a basis for unity in action—that is, agreement on the need for mass action for immediate withdrawal, the issue of the particular date of the action could never prove a barrier to such unity. But, again, the entire experience of the antiwar movement, as embodied in conference after conference, has been that objections to setting a specific date for an action have always proven to be an argument against the action itself. Those who want action can always work out the date.

(The problem we are speaking of here was indicated during discussions between the NPAC coordinators and the NCAWRR delegation. Initially the NCAWRR group said they were opposed to NPAC setting an April date because they were projecting an action May 8. When NPAC spokesmen then offered to consider recommending that NPAC change to the May 8 date, that proposal too was rejected.)

It was on the basis of such considerations, the NPAC coordinators explained to the conference, that they recommended that the best prescription for unity within the movement was to set a specific date for a clearly defined action and then exercise the utmost effort and flexibility in building the broadest possible unity around the action.

The stand taken by the coordinators won overwhelming approval from the conference. We believe it was eminently correct. The conference marked a significant step forward in laying the basis for reunifying antiwar forces and in building for an action that will strike a meaningful blow at the warmakers. On to April 24!

Literature sales were brisk

CHICAGO—Radical and antiwar literature enjoyed a brisk sale at the NPAC convention. Virtually all of the radical and many of the peace groups had tables in a special, well-trafficked room set aside for the purpose. The SWP and YSA tables did particularly well, selling more than \$500 worth of pamphlets and books, plus nearly 500 copies of *The Militant*. Eighty people signed up indicating their wish to attend the YSA national convention in New York this month.

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had moved away from the ideas of the action spelled out in the Lens resolution and that they said they agreed with NPAC on the need for a mass action with immediate withdrawal as the central focus. But when it came to setting a date for such an action (even the date they favored), they insisted this should not be done. They wanted this left open to be settled by the meeting of their group.

Since this was so completely nebulous, Gordon explained, it would mean that the NPAC conference would adjourn without completing the business for which it had convened—to organize a mass demonstration and set a date for it so the building work could begin. He said this would be a mistake both from the viewpoint of getting the action off the ground as quickly as possible, which in view of Nixon's escalation is crucial, and also because this is actually the best and most practical way of getting unity in the movement. If you have a specific action, then people have something to unite around.

When Gordon finished, each of the other of the five coordinators took the floor briefly and expressed their support for the position Gordon was putting forward: to call the action and set the date.

Later Lens repeated his call for unity and repeated the argument that the way to get it was by not setting a date for the action, but he then withdrew his resolution from the floor.

There were a whole number of other proposals submitted by such groups as the Workers League and Progressive Labor Party-SDS. These were mainly irrelevant to the stated antiwar purpose of NPAC, merely proposing that NPAC adopt their particular political program. None of these got more than a scattered handful of votes.

April 24 was the date settled upon and passed overwhelmingly by the body.

Also passed was the organizational proposal of the NPAC coordinators. It specified that NPAC will continue to function on the principles of immediate withdrawal of troops from Indochina and nonexclusion. The latter encompasses "all who oppose the war . . . irrespective of their views on other questions and regardless of other affiliations."

The NPAC coordinators, Jerry Gordon, Jim Lafferty, Ruth Gage-Colby, John T. Williams and Don Gurewitz, were reelected to their positions.

Gordon is a prominent attorney and cochairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council (CAPAC). He is one of the defense counsel for the 25 indicted students and faculty of Kent State University.

Lafferty is one of the country's leading legal authorities on the draft. He is cochairman of the Detroit Committee to End the War in Now

Ruth Gage-Colby is a longtime peace activist and veteran leader of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Williams is a business agent and vice-president of Los Angeles Teamsters Local 208. Because he and other officers of the union are charged with supporting a wildcat strike last spring, the International has placed the union in trusteeship.

Gurewitz is executive secretary of the SMC, the largest antiwar student organization in the country. SMC provides the shock troops for building and carrying out the actions against the war.

Amongst those on the steering committee of NPAC are: Katie Baird, co-chairwoman of CAPAC; Abe Bloom, Washington Area Peace Action Coalition, Washington, D. C.; Kay Camp, Philadelphia WILPF; Orrie Chambers, chairman, Black Caucus, Newark

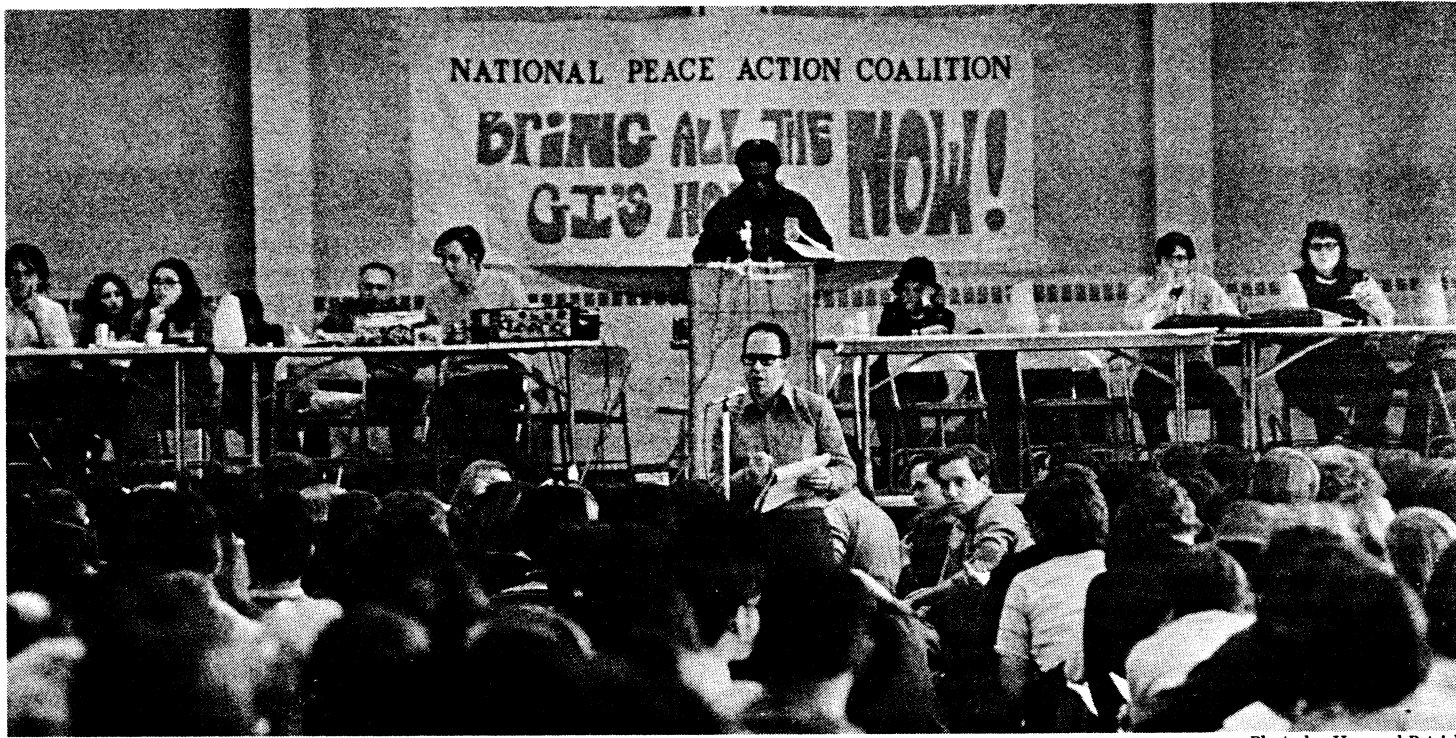


Photo by Howard Petrick

Coordinator Jerry Gordon takes the floor as coordinator John T. Williams chairs session

Teachers Union, Local 481; Spec/4 David Cortwright, Ft. Bliss GIs for Peace; Bill Cirone, Atlanta Peace Coalition; Grady Glenn, president, Frame Unit Local 600, United Auto Workers, Dearborn, Mich.; Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party; Abdeen Jabara, Detroit lawyer and editor of *Free Palestine*; Carol Lipman, West Coast SMC coordinator; Michael Lux, National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, Berkeley, Calif.; Ron Wolin, coordinator, New York PAC; Rachel Jacobs, Chicago Women's Liberation Union; and Kate Moore, Chicago NAACP.

Of the over 1,200 people in atten-

dance, 499 were from NPAC coalitions and 426 from local chapters of the Student Mobilization Committee. They came from 29 states. Thirty-two specifically women's liberation organizations were represented, 13 Third World organizations, and 15 GIs and veterans organizations. Students in attendance came from 183 schools, 145 of which were universities, colleges and junior colleges, and 38 of which were high schools.

The conference had a very broad range of endorsers. A partial listing includes:

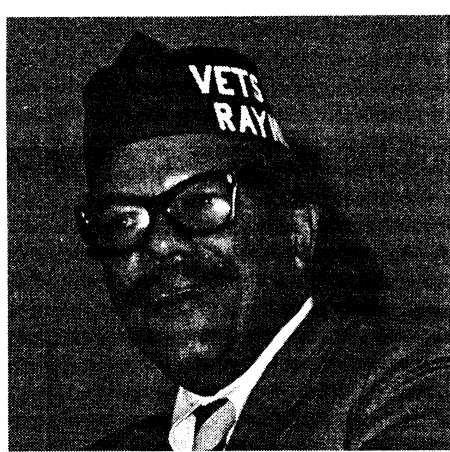
Concerned Officers Movement, Washington, D. C.; GIs United, Ft. Hamil-

ton, N.Y.; GIs United, Wright Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio; Catholic Peace Fellowship, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Albert Cleage, Black Christian Nationalists, Detroit; Rev. Charles Koen, Black United Front, Cairo, Ill.; Patrick E. Gorman, sec'y-treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters; Melvin Wulf, national legal director, ACLU; and Carl Davidson, staff writer, the *Guardian*.

To date there are 27 organized local coalitions, as well as numerous peace organizations, in 19 states and the District of Columbia affiliated with the National Peace Action Coalition.



Carol Lipman



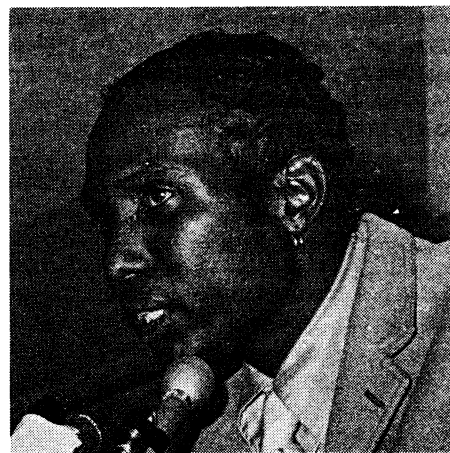
A. Sammy Rayner



Eliseo Medina



Takayuki Sato

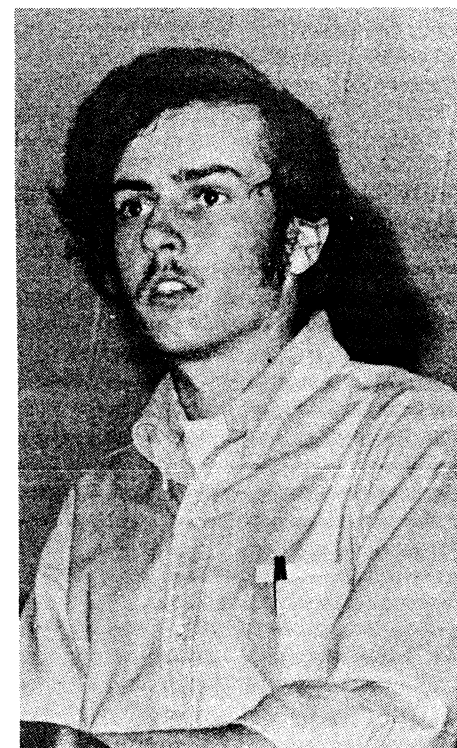


Leon Page

CHICAGO—According to many observers, the rally which opened the NPAC conference was one of the broadest and most spirited such events ever assembled at an antiwar conference. It was testimony to the growing revulsion amongst all sectors of American society against the war in Indochina. It reflected the forces whose weight must be brought to bear in order to end this war, which only renews the importance of the coming actions on April 24.

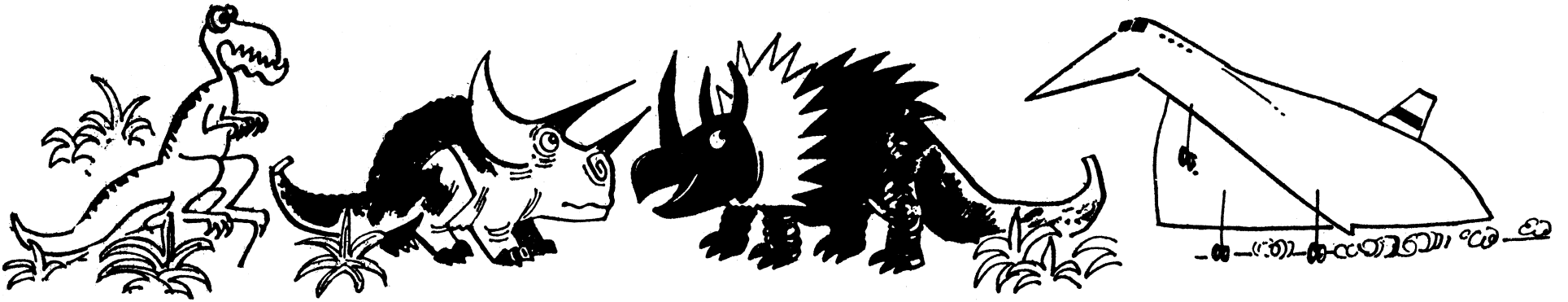
Speakers included: A. Sammy Rayner, Chicago City Alderman; Ken Hammond of the Kent State University 25; Hilton Hanna, an executive of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcherworkmen of North America who represented his union's secretary-treasurer, Patrick Gorman; Leland Rayson, Illinois state legislator in the Democratic Party; Arlene Wilson, Chicago Women's Liberation Union; Stanley Tolliver, Cleveland attorney for Ahmed Evans, and one of the attorneys for the Kent 25; Carol Lipman, SMC; Eliseo Medina, United Farmworkers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO; Leon Page, Cairo, Ill., Black United Front; Abdeen Jabara, editor, *Free Palestine*; and George Van, U. S. Marine recently discharged from the service.

One of the highlights of the rally was an address by a trade union delegation from Gensuiken, the Japanese trade union organization.



Ken Hammond

Nixon flouts public opinion on SST



"Yes, he's quite definitely ahead of his time."

Waite in the Sun, London

By DAVID THORSTAD

No sooner had millions of Americans finished a sigh of relief following the Dec. 3 decision of the Senate to provide no further funds for development of two prototypes of the supersonic transport (SST) than the Nixon administration set off a campaign to reverse the decision.

Supporters of the multimillion dollar boomdoggle pledged to restore as much as \$200-million of the \$290-million that was cut from the Department of Transportation appropriation bill when the measure now goes to a Senate-House conference committee.

Nixon's Dec. 5 statement essentially argued that it is better to waste more than it is to waste less. While this argument may not persuade many opponents of the SST to change their minds, it was designed less to do that than to serve warning that his administration is committed to flouting public opinion on this question and attempting to restore to Boeing and General Electric the public welfare payments that the SST funds represent.

Were it not for the increased public concern about pollution of all kinds, the SST funds would probably have been quietly approved. Just last year, the Senate defeated by an easy margin of 58-22 an amendment prohibiting funds for the SST. As recently as last spring, the House voted SST funds, although the vote was close (176-162). The program itself has been under way since President Kennedy gave impetus to it in 1963.

It is not only widespread fear of pollution that has made the supersonic plane so unpopular. Reports on the already visible effects of the British-French supersonic Concorde, currently being test-flown over Wales, can hardly be called reassuring.

On a Dec. 2 CBS television news-

cast, one resident of St. David's, Wales, described the sonic boom which occurs throughout a 50-mile path wherever the jet goes. The first part of the boom feels "just as if someone comes up to you and hits you in the chest," he related. The second part is like being hit *inside* the chest, he said.

Another resident told CBS reporter Bob Simon that since the plane began flying over, measurements indicated that his house had moved enough to begin cracking.

"I frankly covered my head and cringed," said another, who happened to be caught inside a building when the boom hit.

Concorde provoked a storm of protest last September when more than 30 homes near London lost portions of their roofs as it passed overhead.

In its single-minded commitment to its own supersonic monster, the Nixon administration has demonstrated no interest in informing the American people of the stakes. Not able to quiet the boom, it has chosen instead to hush-hush the problems. It has even suppressed two reports on the SST, one prepared by Boeing and the other by 16 scientists, in an effort to keep the public as much in the dark about the project as possible.

But whatever the ultimate outcome of the new spate of maneuvering and arm-twisting in the corridors of Congress, one thing is certain: Uppermost in the considerations of the decision-makers will not be concern for the best interests of the American people.

From the very start the SST project has been a telling example of the disregard of government and big business for general ecological or human considerations.

More important for the Senate than the question of the SST's merits, for

instance, seemed to be the personal influence of its sponsors, Washington State's Democratic senators Henry Jackson and Warren Magnuson. Besides being chairmen of standing Senate committees (Jackson of the Interior Committee and Magnuson of the Commerce Committee), which accounts for some of their muscle, they come from the state in which Boeing planned to do most of the work on the SST, which explains their fervor.

The *New York Times* reported Nov. 30 that "Seattle's woes are well-known around the Senate, and the supersonic transport is viewed often now as a public works project—a gesture of sympathy" for Jackson and Magnuson.

The gesture was still too expensive by the time the Senate voted on the SST. But in response to prodding from SST supporters and the White House, the conference committee may succeed in reducing the cost to the point where the gesture may still be made and the plane kept alive.

In a last-minute maneuver designed to coax this gesture out of reluctant senators, Magnuson, the day before the Senate vote on the SST, introduced a separate bill to make the SST engine quieter than 707s and 747s and to ban supersonic flight over land. (At subsonic speeds overland, which his bill does not ban, the SST will use up three times as much fuel as a 747, which would simply amount to exchanging sonic booms for excessive air pollution.) This bill was unanimously adopted.

"But laws can always be repealed or revised," the *New York Times* editorialized Dec. 2. "This one surely would be if experience showed that the SST could not make money if it only flew at top speed when over water."

The thinly veiled cynicism of these words is not out of line. Nixon himself has spoken glowingly of flying overland from coast to coast in 1 1/2 hours.

SST proponents have, moreover, displayed a remarkably cavalier attitude toward the most serious scientific questions relating to the project. In Senate debate on the SST funds, Magnuson dismissed as "mere speculation" informed charges that the SST would alter the world's climate by increasing water vapor in the stratosphere by at least 10 percent (and perhaps up to 60 percent in the northern hemisphere where most SST activity would occur), that it might create a permanent atmospheric smog, and that it might alter the ozone content, increasing ultraviolet radiation on the earth's surface, perhaps giving a boost to the incidence of cancer.

SST development director William Magruder, apparently casting himself in the role of Foxy Loxy, brushed off critics as "Chicken Littles, afraid the sky will fall down."

For all their cockiness, however, none of the SST advocates could prove that it would not. Still, they, with reinforced backing from the White House, will now push on in an effort to make the public pay for this lethal luxury toy for businessmen.

It may be tasteless and pernicious for the government to be committed to the SST in light of existing poverty, pollution, disease, and even mass transportation needs. But it is also quite logical in a system based on a blind drive for ever greater profits, and not on improvements in the quality of human life. Like the moondoggle, it provides one more reason for getting rid of that system.

Undercover cop testifies in trial of Panther 21

NEW YORK, Dec. 8—The jury in the trial of 13 Black Panthers here continued yesterday to hear testimony by undercover police agent Gene Roberts, the key prosecution witness. Roberts told the jury during cross-examination by defense attorneys that his first assignment as an undercover cop had been to infiltrate Malcolm X's organization, that he had been appointed one of Malcolm's bodyguards, and that he had been present the night Malcolm was assassinated.

When defense attorney Lefcourt asked why Roberts hadn't testified at the trial of the three men convicted of Malcolm's murder, he answered, "I wasn't called."

In 1968, he was assigned to infiltrate the Black Panther Party. The major piece of evidence submitted by the district attorney against the 13 Panthers is a series of two tape recordings allegedly of Panther meetings. According to agent Roberts, the tapes were made from transmissions

coming from an electronic microphone and transmitter which he wore under his shirt at Panther meetings.

On the basis of these tape recordings, the 13 Panthers are being charged with conspiring to murder policemen and bomb public places, including the Bronx Botanical Gardens; and with possession of dangerous weapons and ammunition. The district attorney admitted in the course of the trial that the tape recordings were "critical" and "essential" to the prosecution's case.

Defense attorneys have argued vehemently against admission of the tapes as evidence, charging that it is unconstitutional. Also, the tapes are so inaudible that earlier in the trial Supreme Court justice John Murtagh ruled that they were too unintelligible to let the jury listen to them.

However, Murtagh was "persuaded" by District Attorney Joseph Phillips to reverse this ruling. After relistening to the tapes with earphones, Murtagh

concluded that audibility was "no longer a problem."

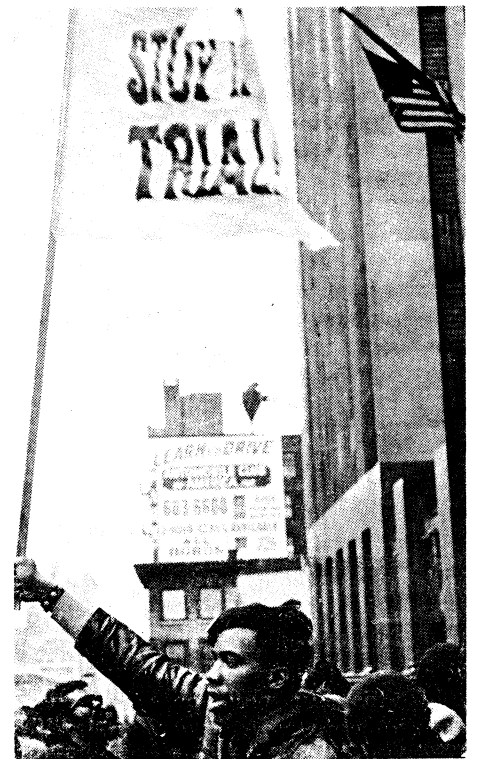
Members of the jury were given "transcripts" of the recording made by the DA's staff to "assist" them in listening to the tapes. Defense attorneys argued that the transcript represented the subjective judgement of the person who transcribed it, and should not be given to the jury.

Throughout the testimony of police agent Roberts, defense attorneys have raised objections that much of the testimony was just hearsay, but these objections were systematically overruled by Murtagh.

During defense cross-examination, Roberts admitted that he was afraid of the police while he was pretending to be a Black Panther.

"Were you afraid, being a Panther, that police would attack you?" asked defense attorney Lefcourt.

Roberts answered, "Yes." When Lefcourt then asked why he was afraid, Roberts replied, "Because they didn't know who I was."



U.S. poverty: widespread and on the rise

By DICK ROBERTS

In 1968, 25.4 million Americans lived in poverty. This was 12.8 percent of the total population.

- 25.7 percent of all nonwhite Americans lived in poverty.

- 41.6 percent of all nonwhite people under 18 years old lived in poverty.

- 46.6 percent of all nonwhite people aged 65 and older lived in poverty.

- 33.5 percent of all families headed by white women lived in poverty.

- 60.1 percent of all families headed by Black women lived in poverty.

- The number of poverty-stricken families headed by women is not decreasing. It is sharply increasing. From 1959 to 1968, the number of poor nonwhites living in households headed by women increased 48 percent, from 1.8 million to 2.6 million.

Looking ahead, poverty is going to increase in this country.

"About 47 percent of all poor in metropolitan areas are in households that cannot be expected to become economically self-sustaining at any time in the future." (Emphasis added.)

These are some of the facts and conclusions of a study of poverty in U.S. cities released in November by the prestigious Committee for Economic Development. The CED is composed of presidents of the biggest corporations and most influential universities. It has a significant influence on the formulation of government policy.

More than any previous top-level study, this CED report shows that discrimination against nonwhite Americans and above all discrimination against nonwhite American women is a central aspect of poverty in this country.

Entitled "Who Are the Urban Poor?" the CED report was written by Anthony Downs and is available to the public.

Downs maintains that the government poverty figures themselves are inadequate. He was forced to use them in the CED study, since they offer the most complete data available, but he offers several criticisms.

The government poverty figure is arbitrarily set by the Social Security

Administration as three times the cost of a minimal diet. In 1968, the "poverty level" income for a four-person household was \$3,553.

But Downs points out that a report issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1967 set a "moderate" standard of living for a family of two adults and two children at what would come to \$9,361 in 1968 dollars. This is three times the "poverty level."

Since the poverty-level figure is based only on food, it entirely leaves out the costs of housing. But the housing costs of the poor are disproportionately high and it is obvious that a "poverty threshold" figure that took rent into consideration would be much higher.

Even with this important qualification, the CED report presents new data that is extremely useful. The figures clearly break down into separate categories: age groupings and men- and women-headed families. And it is this division that underlines the oppression of women and younger people in relation to men.

Of the 25.4 million Americans who lived in poverty in 1968, 12.9 million lived in metropolitan areas. The remaining figures unless otherwise indicated refer to these city residents.

The largest group of poor persons in metropolitan areas consists of young people under eighteen. There are 5.4 million such young people, and they constitute 42.2 percent of all poor persons in the cities.

Again, race discrimination is central. Thus, of all young nonwhite people in the country, 41.6 percent are poor. The comparative figure for white young people is 10.7 percent.

In the cities, 56 percent of all young poor people are nonwhite. Projecting these calculations into the future, Downs writes.

"In central cities, the number of white children under fifteen will drop 1.1 million (8.5 percent) by 1985, but the number of nonwhite children will rise 3.4 million (91.8 percent). Since about one-third of nonwhite children in central cities lived in poverty in 1968, this rapid expansion will pose a very serious problem in any antipoverty program.



"It might add as many as 1.4 million poor nonwhite children to central cities by 1985. The addition of children from 15 to 18 might raise this total as high as 1.7 million."

This study emphasized the poor educational system and the lack of adequate child care for young people as the main factors that perpetuate poverty. The study dismissed out of hand notions that poverty is caused by any innate educational limitations. It pointed to social roots of educational failure:

"Schools of the lowest quality, with the least qualified teachers and often the oldest buildings and equipment, are usually concentrated in poor neighborhoods, especially in the big cities. Furthermore, wealthy suburbs often spend far more per student on all aspects of education."

"Many poor families with children need the earnings which those children can bring in at a relatively early age—such as in the late teens. Hence poverty compels some children to drop out of high school to go to work, and certainly prevents many intelligent children from poor families from going on to higher educational institutions."

If the number of young people under 18 is added to the number of persons under 65 living in households headed by females—the combined figure is the largest source of poverty in this country. Families headed by females with many young people are most oppressed racially and economically.

"About 86 percent of all families headed by a female in metropolitan areas included children. Of all the population groups analyzed in this paper, these families headed by a female with dependent children had the highest incidence of poverty. The proportion in poverty among women heading a family with one or more children was 42.8 percent in 1968 (33.5 percent for white women and 60.1 percent for nonwhite)."

Sixty percent of nonwhite women attempting to support families in U.S. cities live in poverty. And keep in mind that the poverty figures used throughout this study are low.

The study reported that most women under these circumstances cannot work because of the absence of child-care facilities. "Of all the poor women heading a family in metropolitan areas, only 16 percent worked all year, 25 percent worked part of the year, and

the remaining 59 percent did not work at all.

"It is believed that many of these poor mothers with young children are unable to work because of their child-care responsibilities. Unless suitable child-care facilities are available, therefore, they cannot be expected to find any gainful employment outside their homes."

The CED study emphasized that this source of poverty is increasing: "In contrast to the generally declining trend in the number of poor in metropolitan areas, poor persons living in households headed by a female (of all ages) increased by 22 percent from 5.3 million in 1959 to 6.5 million in 1968.

"The rate of increase was greater among nonwhites than among whites. The number of poor nonwhites living in households of this type increased 48 percent from 1.8 million to 2.6 million. . . . As stated previously, most of this increase was accounted for by children under 18 years of age. The number of poor children in these households increased by 56 percent from 1.8 million in 1959 to 2.9 million in 1968."

Downs indicates possible sources of discomfort to the corporate officials and university presidents who comprise the CED in this data:

"To the extent that poverty compels mothers to reduce supervision of their children because they must work, or cannot afford living in areas where supervised play is possible, it tends to encourage the development of relatively undisciplined children.

"Many of these children grow up almost spontaneously 'on the street' in a vicious atmosphere of cynicism and exploitation, without any exposure to the basic values of American society and culture."

The fact is that these young people growing up in poverty get the fullest exposure to "the basic values of American society and culture." The values evidenced by American society and culture are vicious competition along with wealth for a few and poverty for many. These young people are not going to be "disciplined" into this system, but will be some of the strongest fighters for the transformation of this society into a socialist society, which—as the statistics underline—is the only solution to the monstrosity of wide-scale poverty in the midst of plenty.

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Postal rank and file ousts officials

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK—Members of Branch 36 of the National Association of Letter Carriers voted out of office the president, Gus Johnson, and his entire slate of 12. Branch 36 represents 7,200 letter carriers in Manhattan and the Bronx and last March was the first local to go out in the historic week-long postal strike.

The vote Dec. 2 was 2,341 to 1,643, a decisive victory for the opposition, called the Rank and File, whose entire slate won. The new president is Vincent Sombrotto, a letter carrier for 23 years.

Rank-and-file members have been hostile to Johnson and the national leadership, which he is closely identified with, because of what they regard as the sell-out tactics used during the strike when Johnson refused to lead the local in a second walk-out and short-changed them in negotiations.

They feel Johnson has lost touch with the rank and file, that the International under James Rademacher does not allow enough local autonomy and does not fight for increased wages, better fringe benefits and other issues raised by workers.

In an interview, president-elect Sombrotto said that they would try to "set up area-wide bargaining and representation." His ticket's platform calls for a council to represent letter carriers in the entire metropolitan area, including Connecticut and New Jersey. This

would include some 100,000 workers now in several different unions.

Such a council would have a central coordinating office from which "all positions, policies, resolutions and courses of action would emit." This is the first point in the Rank and File platform.

Sombrotto said that a large number of young workers supported the Rank and File slate but do did workers of all ages and backgrounds. He was publicly endorsed by "the 10 most senior men in his station" and by the Puerto Rican caucus, among others.

The R & F platform and slate were discussed and voted on by a convention of 300 last Oct. 6.

According to Sam Rones, a member of R & F, Johnson regarded their group contemptuously as "rank amateurs" with little chance of winning and without the manpower to run an effective election campaign much less run a union. However, they found many talented people in their ranks, including artists, writers, organizers and lots of hard workers. A total of \$2,000 was spent, all of which came in donations from individuals.

The last time there was an opposition slate to the local leadership was 20 years ago. Obviously, the recent strike and the conditions causing it have greatly changed the situation in this local.

According to Sombrotto, in Minneapolis union elections last week an opposition caucus, also named Rank and File, ran a slate and won 5 out of nine offices, and lost the presidency



Letter carriers wanted not only decent salary but leaders who represent interests of rank and file. Some leaders who did not are now being voted out of office.

by only 15 votes. In a similar situation in Philadelphia this week, he said, the opposition is expected to win.

The growing militancy within the letter carriers is indicative of the grow-

ing unrest in the ranks of labor generally due to increased inflation caused by the war in Vietnam and the established leaderships' unwillingness to fight for real solutions.

The national picket line

Labor's response crucial to threat of wage restrictions

The AFL-CIO predicted in its paper Nov. 28 that the Nixon administration is getting ready to impose restrictions on wage increases.

"Lately the attacks on wage increases have been stepped up, and the administration is reportedly set to amplify these attacks into some form of national policy that could be a throw-back to wage-price guidelines" the editorial said.

Meanwhile, White House press secretary Ronald Ziegler said that the administration plans another "inflation alert" wherein Nixon will attempt to "further pinpoint and locate excesses in prices and wages."

Ironically, George Meany, AFL-CIO president, has long been willing to accept what he terms wage and price limitations. Maybe Nixon is now preparing to take him up on the freezing of wages. Past experience shows, however, that any pretense at controlling prices will prove a fraud.

The rank-and-file unionists will be caught in a new bind if their officialdom fails to militantly resist what the employers and their political representatives intend—to freeze wages while prices climb ever higher.

At the beginning of 1970 we predicted that "this is going to be an interesting year" in labor developments. It was indeed. But 1971 should be even more interesting what with all major steel contracts already in negotiations and the railroads perched on the ragged edge of a nationwide strike.

Just incidentally, the Agriculture Department announced early in November that food costs alone will average 5.5 percent more in 1970 than they did in 1969.

Seven hundred employees of the Jones & Lamson Machine Co. of Springfield, Vt., have been on strike for more than 26 weeks, without strike

fund benefits—there is no strike fund.

The main issue at stake is the incentive plan under which the workers are forced to work at a terrific speedup in order to earn a living. Piece rates are set low, quotas high. Workers say that the system yields at least 40 percent more work from each employee and that wages "do not reflect company gains."

Other issues include a union shop (United Electrical Workers Local 218), job bidding and posting by seniority, the right to strike on grievances, and improved pension benefits.

This strike has won some help from

students at nearby Dartmouth College. Other locals of the UE have been supporting the strikers with voluntary contributions. The UE, an independent union, was expelled from the CIO during the McCarthy period for being "Communist dominated."

This long strike has brought hardship to the 700 workers involved. Only a few have been able to get part-time work. Less than 60 families qualify for relief. Many strikers live in neighboring New Hampshire, which does not provide public assistance for strikers.

Food, clothing and money collected by students and faculty members has enabled the union to help 130 families. The college committee is now working to gain support for the strikers from other colleges and universities in New Hampshire and Vermont.

The only other help the strikers are getting is from some communities—a number of stores have extended credit.

* * *

Tijerina reportedly to leave prison

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Reies Lopez Tijerina, leader of the New Mexico land grant movement who has been imprisoned since June 1969, will be released by Jan. 19, according to *La Voz de La Alianza*, published in Albuquerque by Tijerina's Alianza Federal de Mercedes.

Tijerina will have served his present federal sentences for allegedly aiding and abetting in an assault on two forest rangers, and a 30-day contempt sentence for calling a federal judge a man who "wanted to drink blood."

The assault charges grew out of an Echo Amphitheater demonstration

during which the forest rangers were charged with trespassing and escorted from the area by Alianza members. Tijerina was in another section of the park at the time of the incident.

New Year's Eve marks the expiration of contracts covering three civil service employees unions in New York City's sanitation, fire and police departments.

Special arbitrators were named by Mayor Lindsay Dec. 3 to mediate the wide differences between what the unions are asking in wage increases and what the city deems "reasonable."

Like all bosses, the city of New York claims it is broke. But unlike other employers, it is impossible for this one to threaten to move out of the city!

* * *

—MARVEL SCHOLL



George Meany

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A moving history of the SWP

George Novack at the new N.Y. SWP hall

On Nov. 21, the New York Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance opened their new headquarters at 706 Broadway with a banquet attended by 200 persons. Among those in attendance were participants in a socialist educational weekend, in connection with which the banquet had been scheduled. They came from a dozen different areas in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.

Featured speakers at the banquet were Manon Leger, revolutionary-socialist candidate for mayor of Montreal during the recent elections, and noted Marxist scholar George Novack.

Novack, who has written and lectured widely on the subject of Marxism, presented as part of his remarks a brief history of revolutionary socialism in New York City over the past four decades as seen through the history of its various headquarters. It is this section of his speech which follows.

* * *

In the course of our peregrinations, we have changed our name twice: from the Communist League of America to the Workers Party to the Socialist Workers Party, each one denoting a forward step in our evolution and growth. But we have never altered our principles or our purpose, which is to fight for a socialist America in the capital of world imperialism.

When the founders of our movement, headed by James P. Cannon and Rose Karsner, were expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 for their unyielding adherence to the ideas of Lenin and their resistance to Stalinism, they started out with a post office box. Their first address was 340 E. 19th Street, and their first headquarters, The Militant Hall, was located at 8th Street and Third Avenue. It was almost as large as this meeting hall, and it was there I attended my first branch meetings and participated in many heated and prolonged discussions on political issues.

The headquarters next shifted to 126 E. 16th Street, and I remember it most because I there took my first course in Marxist theory, a series of talks on historical materialism given by John G. Wright. Having been given the best bourgeois education at Harvard, I was greatly in need of learning something about Marxism and what makes the real world tick. That course helped overcome my backwardness and ignorance, and eventually I found out enough about the subject to teach and write extensively on it.

After Hitler's coming to power, the original Trotskyist group turned away from the policy of trying to reform the Stalinized CP, proclaimed the need for building new parties and a new international, and, as a step in that direction, early in 1934 merged with the American Workers Party headed by A. J. Muste.

The unification generated great enthusiasm and high expectations. To fit the expansive mood, the new-fledged Workers Party signed a lease on spacious quarters in a building at the corner of Fifth Avenue and 15th Street. Here A. J. Muste installed himself as national secretary of the organization, James P. Cannon as editor of the paper, and the rest of us went to work in a beehive of activity.

The Italian anarchists led by the colorful Carlo Tresca had offices a floor below. In fact, on a summer night in 1943, Tresca was gunned down by unknown assassins in front of that building. Unlike the neo-anarchists of today, these workers were good neighbors to have. Tresca's supporters helped protect us against the fascists and the Stalinists.

That headquarters had to be given up when the majority decided to dissolve the Workers Party and join the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas, which, under the impact of the depression, the labor radicalization and the menace of fascism, had taken a sharp swing leftward and was attracting many young rebels to its ranks.



Photo by John Gray

George Novack

During our short sojourn in the SP— from late 1935 through 1937— in so far as it retained any separate identity, our movement operated out of a small office at 100 Fifth Avenue. We were expelled by the socialist reformists for opposing the Popular Front policy in the Spanish Civil War and for refusing to support Fiorello La Guardia, Republican-Fusion lesser-evil candidate for mayor of New York City.

The SWP was launched on New Year's Day 1938 at a convention in Chicago. It set up national and local headquarters at 116 University Place at the corner of 13th Street. There we stayed through fair weather and foul, through hot war and cold war, through rises and declines in the movement for 27 years. It had the advantages of a convenient location and reasonable rent. Yet it was a four-story red brick and wooden frame building which was already old and ramshackle when we moved into its two top floors—and it grew more decrepit as the stairs creaked and groaned out more loudly with each passing year. It was a nest of small partitioned cubicles housing all the diverse departments of both the national and the local organizations, huddled together on top of one another.

In 1939, the *New Yorker* magazine wrote a satirical description of this headquarters of the world revolution. I recall they asked Max Shachtman how the movement was financed. He said in jest: "We compel every member to give a voluntary contribution."

The IWW was the occupant of the second floor, and when they folded up during the war, we took over that space for our forums, classes and socials. Even so, with the growth experienced by our movement between 1944 and 1947, the building became more and more cramped. The New York local retained its central office there, but proliferated into a number of headquarters in the various boroughs: West Side and East Side in Manhattan, the Bronx, Harlem, Brooklyn and Queens.

With the coming of the cold war, the witch-hunt squeeze and the reaction, contraction inexorably set in and these outlying branches had to be dismantled one by one. The New York local was pushed back to its last entrenchment at 116 University Place, where it staunchly held the fort against attrition, renegacy, splits and discouraging prospects throughout the 1950s and early 1960s.

Despite its inadequacies, 116 University Place acquired an international reputation as a central powerhouse of Trotskyism, and many cothinkers and sympathizers made pilgrimages to this Manhattan Mecca on visits to the U. S. The first sight of its exterior, and even more the gloomy, rickety stairway to its offices, ill accorded with their preconceptions of the seat of American Trotskyism.

I might add that some of us veterans had likewise begun to feel as though our movement had become stuck fast in that cage, and that the only way we would get out of that firetrap was feet first. But, as the radicalism of the sixties stirred the stagnant political atmosphere and brought fresh young forces into our midst, the outlook began to brighten considerably. Then, when the landlord at 116 wanted to raise our rent exorbitantly—as landlords have been known to do—we decided that the time had come to move uptown. All the way, that is, to the other side of Union Square.

That brought us in 1965 to 873 Broadway at the corner of 18th Street, where many of you first met us. There the Militant Labor Forum flourished and the bookshop expanded, while the local managed to make do with two tiny offices, and the local YSA with one above it. The five years we stayed there were years of growth all along the line. By the beginning of 1970, all of our institutions, national and local, had need of larger facilities.

Landlordism is in its own fashion a spur to progress. So, once again, when the owners asked for double the rent at the expiration of our lease, we set out to find a new, improved, and more spacious home for the New York local. That's how we're gathered here tonight to celebrate the opening of 706 Broadway.

This latest move is unique in one respect. From the first, both the national headquarters of the SWP and its central New York office have been located together under the same roof. This is no longer the case and should prove beneficial all around. The local is looking forward to the establishment of other branches in the city as soon as that is feasible.

This independent headquarters, with its suite of offices for all its varied activities, is a visible sign that the New York locals of the SWP and YSA have entered upon a period of expansion which bids fair to outstrip anything known in the past. There are a lot of frightened folk around, people with poor political judgment, and prophets of gloom and doom, who exaggerate the relative extent and strength of the repression and the reaction. Despite their undeniable reinforcement and danger, however, we see and say: This is first-rate growing weather for radicalism.

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Book review

Detailed account of murderous police attack

THE ORANGEBURG MASSACRE.
By Jack Nelson and Jack Bass, with
a forward by Thomas P. Pettigrew.
277 pp. The World Publishing Co.,
2231 West 110th Street, Cleveland,
Ohio 44102. \$7.95.

For a few agonizing seconds, the cold night air was filled with the sound of shotgun fire. When it had stopped, three Black students lay mortally wounded on the lawn at the southwest corner of the South Carolina State College campus. Twenty-seven other Black youths had also been shot.

By any yardstick except the ruling class's, the killings by the South Carolina state highway patrol were unnecessary, unjustified — a monstrous criminal act.

Yet nearly three years have passed since the Orangeburg Massacre, and the only conviction that the racist state government of South Carolina has managed to secure is not of any highway patrolmen but rather of one Black militant, Cleveland Sellers, who is so innocent of any crime that only the most demented soul could agree with the sentence of one year at hard labor handed down against him in October.

Sellers must not go to prison. He is the victim of a first-class, unadulterated railroad job. And it would seem that the authors Nelson and Bass would concur with that opinion, for they have appropriately titled a chapter on Sellers "The Scapegoat" and written that Sellers was guilty of no criminal acts.

Nelson and Bass are both journalists, and they bring to this book a reporter's appreciation for facts. They have reconstructed the events leading up to the massacre on Feb. 8, 1968, with remarkable detail, clearly the most complete record of the Orangeburg murders that has ever appeared in print.

In the days before the massacre, students from all-Black South Carolina State and Claflin College, an adjacent Black school, had been demonstrating against the bowling alley that belonged to Harry Floyd, a white man whose window sign "Privately owned" was a euphemism for "No Blacks allowed." Floyd maintained his segregationist policy on the grounds that admitting Blacks would be bad for business, and besides, he argued, his lanes did not fall under the provisions of the 1965 Civil Rights Act.

City officials agreed. If Blacks in Orangeburg wanted to bowl, they



South Carolina highway patrol and National Guard stand over Blacks they wounded in vicious attack on Black community that left three students dead in February 1968.

would have to drive 40 miles to Columbia, S. C.

Segregationist practices in public facilities at the opening of the 60s were despicable, but by 1968 they were intolerable. Students in Orangeburg, anxious to force Floyd to abandon his racist edict, organized to desegregate the bowling alley.

One demonstration ended without incident, but a march by several hundred Blacks to Floyd's lanes on Feb. 6 was capped by an outrageous attack by police wielding billy clubs. Students ran back to campus, some breaking store windows.

Hundreds of National Guardsmen and highway patrolmen were ordered into Orangeburg by Gov. Robert McNair, a "moderate" by some people's standards, but a racist nevertheless.

"What is occurring in Orangeburg at this moment is just another step in an overall plan to disrupt the entire nation," said Rep. Albert W. Watson, a Republican whose congressional district embraces Orangeburg.

Tensions escalated after two whites were arrested driving through the South Carolina campus, firing into the air, and by Feb. 8, McNair's view

was that large-scale civil disorder wracked the city. That was hardly the case. However, National Guardsmen were sent to guard public facilities.

Pete Strom, head of the Southern Law Enforcement Division (SLED), is quoted by the authors as having said later that it was done "because we know that's the plan of the Black power people—to do away with your waterworks, lights, telephone service, so forth, gas and such things as that."

The Blacks did not return to the bowling alley. On the night of Feb. 8, some built a bonfire at the edge of campus where State and Watson Streets intersect with Route 601.

What triggered the fusillade is not totally clear. The authors note that some highway patrolmen said they heard an order to fire. Others say that they began firing when they heard their buddies start shooting. Some of the highway patrolmen allege that they fired after students fired on them.

This reviewer heard several other possible reasons for the shootings during a week's stay in Orangeburg while preparing a news story after the killings. According to one report, a

whistle was blown when state police saw Cleve Sellers, a national officer from SNCC come into view. The highway patrol, lined up on an embankment, began firing at students who had gathered around the bonfire. Sellers was one of the 27 Blacks wounded that night. He was shot in the shoulder.

It is possible that an order had come down to get Sellers, a soft-spoken, dedicated activist whose name conjured up the image of the devil in the racist imaginations of Orangeburg authorities.

Authors Nelson and Bass quote a policeman overheard on a police radio by two newsmen later that night. "You should have been here, ol' buddy," said the cop, "got a couple of 'em tonight."

The authors neglected to include an interview with Mike Davis, a Black reporter with the *Baltimore Afro-American*, an eyewitness to the massacre. This is unfortunate, since Davis supplies some of the most damaging testimony of all. I talked to Davis shortly after the killings. He said that he overheard Orangeburg County chief deputy B. N. Collins discussing the situation with another policeman a few hours before the massacre.

"If they get there on the hill tonight," Collins said, "I'm going to let them have it."

Davis was arrested later. "I am press, I am press," he had yelled out. "Please look at my credentials." But in the aftermath of the killings, police saw only Black, and Davis was arrested and taken to jail. He sat in the detention room of the Orangeburg jail waiting to be released. At about 2 a.m., he recalled, a policeman walked in, grinning. "Well boys," he said to several troopers there, "I guess there will be a few less niggers in Orangeburg when the sun comes up in the morning." The troopers argued with each other over who had made the kills. "The one in the red jacket," an officer boasted, "I got him when he ran back by that horseshoe driveway."

"That's a damn lie," another officer broke in. "I got that bastard because I saw him fall." Throughout the night they argued and bet each other cups of coffee on who had killed whom.

Two facts were clear. Students had no weapons and had not fired on the highway patrol. The highway patrol was not in danger for their lives. Nine highway patrolmen were brought to trial by the Justice Department and acquitted on grounds that the shootings were necessary. A suit brought by the parents of Orangeburg students was rejected by the courts.

Sellers was acquitted on one count but convicted of inciting a riot on Feb. 6. Meanwhile, the real murderers are still at large, and it is here that authors Nelson and Bass make a fundamental political error.

In applauding the efforts of U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark, who sought to bring the nine highway patrolmen to trial, they fail to grasp that the federal government was also looking for a scapegoat. The real murderers could be found in the top echelon of the state highway patrol and in state government—including Gov. McNair, who had sent in police with live ammunition — and in the highest offices of the land, in Congress and in the White House, where the nation's leaders oversee "Orangeburgs" every day in the rice paddies of Vietnam and Cambodia. The climate that made it possible for southern cops to kill innocent Blacks results from policies, foreign and domestic, that emanate from Washington.

— RANDY FURST

Puerto Rican groups denounce attacks

Last week, *The Militant* carried a brief report on bombings and political harassment of pro-independence groups in Puerto Rico. The following is the text of a press release issued by the United Front for Independence of Puerto Rico, which includes six different pro-independence organizations.

* * *

On Wednesday, Nov. 11, 1970 (Veterans Day), the Juventud Independentista Universitaria (University Youth for Independence), a patriotic university organization, was conducting a peaceful demonstration in the city of Mayaguez. They were suddenly attacked by the riot squad of the colonial police. As a result, more than fifteen people were hurt; three of them remain in critical condition. Serafin Santiago, one of the demonstrators, suffered a fractured nose, which was operated on Nov. 13 at the Perea

Clinic. Elliot Castro, president of the Student General Council of the College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts in Mayaguez, suffered concussions in the cerebral nervous system, which has affected his vision and his equilibrium.

Rafael and Enriquez Vazquez Baez, attorneys at law, went to the local police precinct to inquire about the arrested students and were assaulted by the police. The town of Mayaguez has had a long history of police repression on any demonstrations against the colonial regime of governor Luis Ferre.

On Monday, Nov. 16, the Mayaguez office of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (Movement for Puerto Rican Independence) was totally destroyed by a bomb. The purpose of this bombing was to assassinate the leadership of the JIU and of the Federation of University Students for In-

dependence (FUPI). It was general knowledge that at 11:00 pm on the above mentioned date there was to be a joint meeting of both organizations. Fortunately for those involved, the meeting was canceled at the last minute.

El Mundo, a newspaper which has the highest circulation on the island, has implied that the bomb was placed by the students themselves. However, it is well-known that the materials used to make the bomb are only accessible to the repressive forces of the extreme right (the U. S. Army, the ROTC, and the colonial police.)

The patriotic pro-independence organizations strongly condemn the fascist tactics of the U. S. imperialist government and their lackeys in the colony headed by governor Luis Ferre, for their attempt to destroy the people's struggle for independence and national liberation.

Pamphlet review

Politics of women's liberation



IN DEFENSE OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT. By Ruthann Miller, Mary-Alice Waters and Evelyn Reed. 15 pp. Pathfinder Press, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. 25 cents. **THE POLITICS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION TODAY.** By Mary-Alice Waters. 23 pp. Pathfinder Press. 25 cents.

As the three articles in *In Defense of the Women's Movement* indicate, the opponents of feminism are a motley bunch. They range from otherwise liberal men who, as Mary-Alice Waters states in her article, "can feel their identity, their whole social order built on male supremacy, crumbling at their feet," to more conscious political opponents such as the Communist Party, which hates the militancy and independence of feminism.

This Pathfinder pamphlet adamantly defends the right of the women's liberation movement to continue to act against female oppression, no matter what those who would like us to just go home are saying.

The first two articles are scathing

replies to two male opponents: Dr. Benjamin Spock and the *New York Post* columnist Pete Hamill.

Spock, whose career has been built on making motherhood seem like creative, challenging work, has recently launched a campaign to make it even more appealing. He is alarmed that feminists are going to stop seeing themselves primarily as mothers, leaving children uncared for.

Miller's article points to the hypocrisy of the presence of a uterus being the sole requirement for the important task of raising children. Defending feminists, Miller says, "We, not Dr. Spock, are fighting for the right of children to the best care, as part of our struggle for the right of women to full lives as human beings."

Mary-Alice Waters replies to an article Hamill wrote in which he argues against abortion, child care and equal job opportunity. Hamill is all for the "underdog" until she or he begins to struggle. He said, "In the age of the pill, it is a rare or stupid girl who gets herself pregnant." Waters angrily exposes the chauvinism that leads him

to see women as dumb ornaments put on earth to suffer and reproduce.

The final article, by Evelyn Reed, deals with a far more complex opponent—the Communist Party. Individuals like Spock and Hamill are just going to be trampled over as women march towards their liberation. The CP represents a reactionary political perspective which must be consciously and vigorously opposed by feminists.

The focus of Reed's article is the CP's exaltation of the family as a potentially revolutionary force, based on love, where the oppressed can unite. In the face of a movement that is exposing the way love is mutilated under capitalism and the way the family isolates and torments its members, the CP is opposing basic concepts of Marxism and crying, "Save the family."

The Politics of Women's Liberation Today by Mary-Alice Waters outlines the conditions that gave birth to the feminist upsurge, details what the debates are over, and suggests how women's liberation should move in

order to become a mass movement that will win. Waters stresses the need for independence from the two capitalist parties—that is, trusting in our own power as a united movement rather than expecting politicians to give us our liberation—and the need to reach out to masses of women and draw them into action against their oppression.

This is important reading in terms of providing a model of how socialists approach a new struggle, the types of questions they ask about it, and how they determine their strategy towards it.

The authors of both pamphlets are feminists and members of the Socialist Workers Party. Ruthann Miller has worked on the staff of the three largest women's liberation demonstrations in New York and was coordinator of the Aug. 26 strike. Reed, a Marxist anthropologist, has written in defense of the primitive matriarchy, uncovering for feminists a denied part of our history. Mary-Alice Waters is managing editor of this paper.

—DEBBY WOODROOFE

Book documents absence of racial bias in antiquity

BLACKS IN ANTIQUITY: ETHIOPIANS IN THE GRECO-ROMAN EXPERIENCE. By Frank M. Snowden Jr. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970. 364 pp. \$12.50.

Frank M. Snowden Jr., chairman of the classics department at Howard University, set out to examine all of the available evidence about the attitudes of the ancient Greeks and Italians toward black Africans during the first extended period when there was a significant interchange of population—that is, from the Homeric period to the age of Justinian. (He uses the word "Ethiopians" because that was how the Greeks and Romans designated all dark-skinned peoples.)

The evidence Snowden examined was literary, epigraphical, papyrological, numismatic and archaeological. In addition to classical sources,

he used the findings of Egyptologists and made himself familiar with modern anthropological and sociological research in racial and intercultural relations. He considered the latter necessary because he found that "classical texts have often been misinterpreted because scholars have mistakenly attributed to antiquity racial attitudes and concepts which derive from certain modern views regarding the Negro."

Snowden is not an exciting writer. He just sets down the information he has collected, arranged by topic and where possible chronologically, one point after the other. Where the evidence is inconclusive, he always takes care to say so. A lot of the useful information is located in the copious notes at the end of the book. There are about 100 pages of illustrations and most readers will not find it dif-

ficult to transfer their attention from the words to the pictures.

Despite the style, this book is dynamite, as becomes evident when one reaches the two-page summary, which flows from the preceding evidence, and says in part:

Beginning with Homer, "those Greeks who first described and depicted dark or Negroid peoples did so without bias."

"Long after the Ethiopian was divested of any romanticization stemming from a mythological aura and long after he was well-known to the Greeks and Romans, whether in Africa or in various parts of the classical world, antipathy because of color did not arise. The Greco-Roman view of blacks was no romantic idealization of distant, unknown peoples but a fundamental rejection of color as a criterion for evaluating men."

"Scientists, in their environmental explanation of the origin of racial differences, developed no special theory as to inferior dark or black peoples and attached no stigma to color."

"The Ethiopian was no rarity among classical peoples. Whether he came as slave, prisoner of war, ambassador, or adventurer, he experienced no exclusion because of his color. If Ethiopians were slaves, manumission and a career open to talent were available to them in the same way as to others of foreign extraction. . . . References to race mixture of blacks and whites were not accompanied by strictures on miscegenation. The Ethiopian worshipped Isis at the same shrine as other *Isiaci*. He was sought as a brother in Christ."

"How much of the Greco-Roman attitude toward Ethiopians was a result of the original unprejudiced approach to colored peoples reflected in the environmental explanations; how much

is to be attributed to understandings developed through contacts between blacks and whites over many centuries; how much is to be explained by the fact that darker races were not the only or the largest part of the enslaved peoples; or how much may have derived from the refusal of Christians to recognize color as a criterion for acceptance as a brother in Christ—all this is difficult to determine. There is nothing in the evidence, however, to suggest that the ancient Greek or Roman established color as an obstacle to integration into society."

"The Greeks and Romans counted black peoples in."

This is dynamite because it blows away the tons and mountains of propaganda that has been manufactured since the beginning of capitalism about the "human," "inherent" and "eternal" nature of race prejudice and antagonism. It lends support to the Marxist contention that racism is a relatively new social evil, unknown before the start of the capitalist epoch, that is, less than 500 years old.

Snowden's book should be made required reading on all college campuses, and its findings should be presented in suitable form for all grammar and high school students.

—GEORGE BREITMAN

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what Dylan does. Since he started cutting records a decade ago, he has kept partisans in a quandary, mastering one form, then abruptly shifting gears as his music continued to undergo transitions. His retreat from politics was lamentable. We miss his sensitive antennae and lyrics applied to social evils. Nonetheless, Dylan, the artist, continues to grow. His latest album, "New Morning," is an extraordinary collection of blues, Nashville, love songs, hard rock—and even a prayer. He breaks new ground as well as retracing old successful turf. The best cut, "New Morning," combines a rugged beat with a beautiful melody and powerful images. In "Day of the Locusts," Dylan apparently recalls with some ambivalence the honorary degree he received last spring from Princeton ("Sure was glad to get out of there alive"). The album will keep you riveted to your earphones. Ten years after, Dylan remains the most capable singer/composer of his generation.

REVIEW: It is not that "Strawberry Statement" is dishonest. That is to be expected when Hollywood makes a film out of the 1968 Columbia student rebellion. The irony is that this lavish counterfeit partly succeeds because politics has been largely excluded from the story line, thus sparing the viewer an atrocious mangling of the revolt's politics. The final police riot sequence is a mind boggler. . . . **REVULSION:** Where "Strawberry Statement" fails, "R. P. M." repels. The plot has a not unfamiliar ring. A muddle-headed radical professor (Anthony Quinn) is given the presidency of a university when his predecessor resigns in the midst of a student sit-in. Quinn's assignment from the trustees is to squash the student rebels. An incredulous dialogue lumbers on, transforming human beings into blabbering fools. As police clubs descend on student in a mindless climax, Quinn dispassionately observes the spectacle, perhaps contemplating what a disastrous turn his career has taken since "Zorba the Greek." Admittedly, there is a certain charm to this artless movie. If you like movies without redeeming social merit.

CHANGING TIMES: The Hawk Patrol of Boy Scout Troop 43 in Bethel, Connecticut, has changed its name to the Dove Patrol. . . . **DEATH OF A MARINE:** The American Serviceman's Union believes that the death of a Puerto Rican Marine outside Camp LeJeune, N. C., was murder. Pvt. Antolin Flores was discovered hung Oct. 20, and the Army says death was self-inflicted. A pathologist contacted by the ASU discovered that vital organs were removed from Flores' body and that there was a bruise on the right temple. Tom Soto of the ASU says that ASUers spoke with a Black Marine who said Flores was AWOL as the result of a beating by guards in June. . . . **DON'T MISS IT:** The YSA National Convention in New York later this month will be an historic occasion. Political high points will include consideration of major resolutions on the women's liberation movement and the Chicano liberation movement.

FOR MEN ONLY: Melinda McCune of Denver had raced in the outboard world championship in 1968, and so she was taken aback when officials barred her from the international competition Nov. 28-29 in Lake Havasu City, Ariz. "They didn't think a woman was capable of handling a boat at speeds of 100 miles per hour," she says in an interview. "I've driven like that before, and I know I could handle it." Some women—and some men—could not handle such speed, but why bar all women, she wants to know. She protested the re-

striction, but to no avail. She says that she won't give up her sport despite the ruling. "What they are doing," she tells us, "is wrong."

WIN A TRIP TO CUBA: Radio Havana has announced a "Tenth Anniversary Contest" and will award eight all-expense paid trips to Cuba. The short wave radio station will be 10 years old May 1, 1971. Applicants must answer the question, "What is the significance of Cuba's victory at Playa Giron to Latin America?" Entries on the 1961 U.S. disaster at the Bay of Pigs must not exceed 500 words. Only those entries received in Havana before March 31, 1971, will be considered. All listeners of Radio Havana Cuba have the right to participate, regardless of their country of residence, political beliefs, religious creed, etc., says Radio Havana.

The winning contestants will visit Cuba for three weeks on the occasion of the eighteenth anniversary of the attack on the Moncada garrison July 26, 1971. Applicants should list: 1. their full name; 2. address (street, city, state or province, country); 3. age; 4. marital status; 5. citizenship; 6. occupation; 7. place of work; 8. specific job; 9. whether you are studying; 10. if you do study, what and where you study; 11. when you first began listening to Radio Havana; 12. whether you have ever been in Cuba before; 13. if you have been in Cuba before, when; 14. additional observations (if desired). Application form and essay should be typed or printed. Send application to Radio Havana, Post Office Box 70-26, Havana, Cuba.

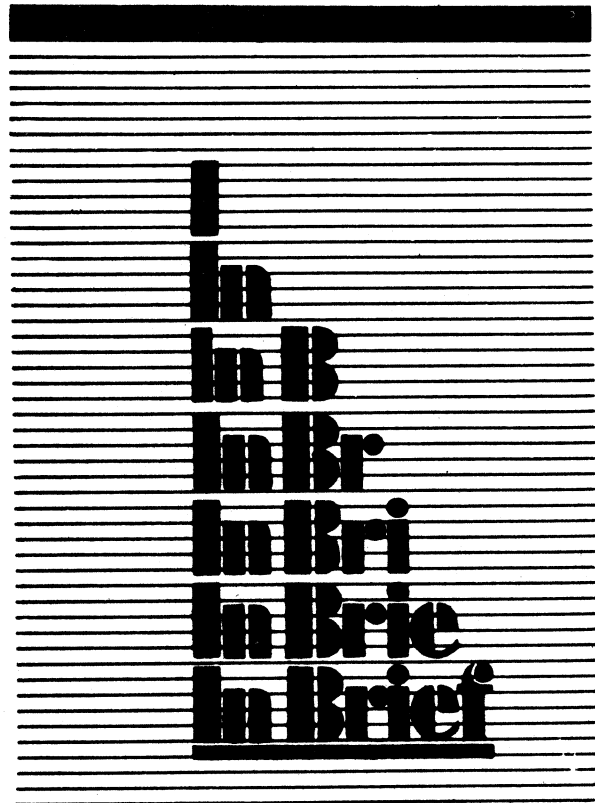
CONVICTIONS IN KNOXVILLE 22 CASE: Five students have pleaded guilty to charges of blocking the entrance to the administration building at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville Jan. 15. James Marcello has been given a 10-day sentence in the county courthouse. The four others received fines of up to \$150. . . . **GERM WAR STOCKPILES:** A year after President Nixon renounced the use of biological weapons, the U.S. continues to stockpile lethal germ warfare agents, Rep. Richard McCarthy (D-N.Y.) has revealed. "I don't know what's going through his (Nixon's) mind," the congressman tells this column. McCarthy says the government has not eliminated any of the deadly toxins stored at Pine Bluff, Ark. "It is appalling," he said in an interview Dec. 1. McCarthy has condemned Nixon's inaction in a speech to the House.

A NARROW ESCAPE: "I could have died," recalls Jarrel Jay, a 19-year-old Black freshman at Morristown (Tenn.) Junior College. Jay was shot through the heart Oct. 9 during a sit-in. Two other Black students were also wounded. A white campus policeman said he had fired the shot in response to gunfire from the administration building. Jay says there was no such gunfire from students. "It's a definite lie," he says. Jay was shot as he stood by a window. "We didn't have any guns," he says. Jay is recovering from the wound and hopes to be playing football again next year. In the meantime, he's angry. "I feel something should have been done about it, but there wasn't," he says. The white cop has not been arrested.

FREE FONTAINE: The Community United Front in Austin, Texas, has announced the launching of a campaign to free Claude Fontaine, a Black militant sentenced to 101 years in prison for allegedly robbing a warrant company. Fontaine had been active in the Austin Black community and a member of SNCC and CUF. Circumstantial evidence convicted Fontaine, says Anthony Speers of CUF. The man reported to have robbed the company was wearing an "Afro haircut and sunglasses." Fontaine has both. A Vietnam veteran, Fontaine received a medal for capturing a Vietnamese without firing a shot. In jail now, Fontaine has been kept in isolation, reports Austin SWPer Marianna Hernandez. He has been beaten by guards. The Student Mobilization Committee has announced its support of the Free Claude Fontaine campaign.

YSA PRAISED: Sort of. The chairman of the University of Texas Board of Regents has touted the Young Socialist Alliance as "a band of about 50 persons who are clean, beardless, non-drug-users, who never get arrested, but are society's most effective enemy." The board chairman, Frank Erwin, was quoted in the *Prospector*, the University of Texas newspaper in El Paso. He was apparently referring to a local YSA group. . . . **UNDISGUISED PLUG:** If your subscription to *The Militant* is scheduled to run out soon, we urge you to take advantage of the special holiday offer in this issue. It'll keep America's best and most comprehensive left newsweekly coming to you each week for the next 12 months. And you'll be getting a valuable selection of revolutionary literature as well. See you at the YSA convention.

— RANDY FURST



THE LONG STRIKE: Twenty-seven months ago 1,200 copper miners walked off the job in Calumet, Mich. They haven't been back since. The strike may be the longest in Michigan history and is believed to be the longest current strike in the United States. "It's hard to say how long we can hold out," says Henry Snabb, president of Local 4312 of the United Steelworkers. "We intend to hold out till we get a good deal." Snabb talked to this columnist by phone from his home in Calumet. He said that negotiations with Hannah Mining Co. broke off four months ago. The miners want wages comparable to those of other nonferrous-metal workers.

Miners in other copper areas earn close to \$3 an hour, but the men in Calumet were getting only about \$2.50 when they struck. Their gross annual income, says Snabb, averaged between \$4,000 and \$4,500. "You know," he says, "with today's cost of living, you can't be 20, 30, or 40 percent behind what other workers are making. If you're not given a fair offer, there is nothing you can do but stay out."

About half the men, Snabb says, have gotten jobs elsewhere, while the remaining 600 unemployed miners receive food and utility vouchers and medical assistance from the union. Are things much tougher now, with no payroll coming in? "We weren't getting much before," says Snabb. "I don't think our standard of living has gone down much since." He points out that "our hospital plan was lousy, our pensions were lousy and our wages were lousy."

The men hold out, he says, because copper is in good demand and brings a good price. "With all this copper," he remarks, "I can't see it not being mined." The ordeal of Local 4312, however, may be far from over. The Peruvian government and the U.S.-owned Southern Peru Copper Company, for example, completed a \$335-million copper deal last December. Other agreements are reported in the works. Why exploit the men of Calumet, copper potentates may be asking, when one can hire Peruvian miners at starvation wages?

BOB DYLAN: Only Dylan could get away with



The great society

Nobody's perfect—Brig. Gen. Leroy Manor, who led the raid into North Vietnam that was supposed to spring U. S. prisoners, said the operation was "a complete success with the exception that no prisoners were rescued."

Lowering professional standards—Two New York cops were dismissed from the force for accepting a \$2 bribe.

Coffin-nail philosophy—A full-page Tobacco Institute advertisement advises: "After millions of dollars and 20 years of research, the question about smoking and health is still a question." We'd buy that if they added the phrase "—a question of profits vs. human lives."

The difference—New York's city council president Sanford Garelik, a Democrat, is critical of Republican Mayor Lindsay's approach to reducing city spending. Instead of firing city workers "piecemeal," Garelik feels they should be fired according to a plan.

Sees hair as cover—Gordon Mills, an honor student at Johnston High School in Bessemer, Mich., has been suspended for violating the hair code, which specifies a maximum of "eyebrow length in front, collar length without curls in back, with no more than half an ear covered on each side." The principal says, "I must assume that if they go beyond that they are intent to defy someone or something."

Wants material evidence—In response to publicity about four suicide attempts during a 10-day period by youths at a Bronx, New York, detention center, an official said there was "some question of the sincerity" of those who made the attempt.

Sorry about that—The Army is now seeking to dredge 20,000 tons of rock salt out of the Detroit River. It had piled the salt on the bank of the river, and it slipped in.

Bad eggs—The House Agriculture Committee approved a bill which, if adopted by both houses and signed by the president, would bar interstate commerce in rotten eggs. If enacted, the bill would become operative six months later.

Too rational an act—John Desmond held up a Los Angeles branch of Bank of America, but made no attempt to escape. He explained that he had persistently and unsuccessfully sought commitment to a mental hospital because of an uncontrollable problem of compulsive gambling. He was consistently rejected as sane, and attacked the bank after his psychiatrist agreed it might get him committed. He'll probably get a job with the bank instead.

Joyeux Noel!—Hammacher and Schlemmer, a New York speciality shop, heads its list of Xmas gift suggestions with a pint-size alarm siren. Fits pocket or purse.

—HARRY RING

in passing...

Virtually the whole of the December issue of *Ramparts* is of unusual interest. Let me single out two articles for special mention, however:

First, an article by K. S. Karol based on an interview with Fidel Castro. Castro's remarks relate mainly to the subject of institutionalizing workers democracy in Cuba, his reasons for not having promoted it sooner, and why he thinks the time has become ripe for it.

Second, an interview with Jean-Paul Sartre on "Intellectuals and Revolution," a topic about which there has been considerable discussion lately, witness Ernest Mandel's recent article in *Tricontinental* magazine.

Sartre has many interesting things to say about the necessity for intellectuals to commit themselves. Disappointingly, Sartre's own commitment turns out to be somewhat vague. His enthusiasm for the Cuban revolution is clear enough, but he is much more ambiguous with regard to the political tendencies represented by the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies.

For example, in regard to the Chinese, Sartre says: "Personally, I am neither pro- nor anti-Chinese, neither for the forces called Maoist nor for the others, and this is simply because nothing I have read on the subject has given me a satisfactorily complete knowledge of the issues."

The winter issue of *Science and Society* magazine contains a number of highly informative articles on American radical history which represent a considerable amount of original research.

Notably, in her article "Socialist Party Decline and World War I: Bibliography and Interpretation," Sally M. Miller supplies the necessary information to undermine the thesis put forward in James Weinstein's much discussed *The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1925* that the leadership of the Socialist Party was united in its opposition to World War I. She demonstrates that, despite superficial indications to the contrary, this was not the real politics of Victor Berger, the leader of the SP's right wing.

Steve Murdock's "California Communists—Their Years of Power" supplies interesting details on the Communist Party's history. Murdock recounts how the CP reacted to the cold war witch-hunt:

"Quite understandably, a kind of paranoia developed among Communist leaders. What Mrs. [Dorothy] Healey calls the 'five minutes to midnight' concept appeared in high party councils. Party leaders became convinced after the conviction of the national leaders under the Smith Act in 1950 that the nation was on the brink of fascism and that drastic steps had to be taken to protect the party's organizational structure.



Prensa Latina

Fidel Castro spends a good deal of his time moving around Cuba to get a firsthand idea of country's production problems.

"It was a kind of classic example of overreaction and represented the partial suicide of what had been an enormously effective political and social apparatus in California. What the government failed to do to the party, it pretty much did to itself.

"A rigid registration procedure that, in effect, required any person who had any doubts or fears about party membership to leave its ranks, cut Southern California membership from 5,000 to 2,500 in 1950 (the figures are Mrs. Healey's). A portion of the party leadership 'went underground.' Various leaders simply disappeared from public view. Mimeograph machines were hidden.

"The party, in effect, sought to create two separate sets of apparatus—one that would function openly and one that would be beyond the reach of the government. It is doubtful (as some subsequent arrests indicated) that the FBI or any other agency was very seriously fooled by this tactic, but the self-damage to the party was substantial. 'Now,' says Mrs. Healey grimly, 'no one can even remember where the mimeograph machines were hidden.'"

(Subs to *Science and Society* cost \$6 for one year. Send to 30 East 20th St., New York, N. Y. 10003.)

—MALACHI CONSTANT

Local socialist directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Greg Nickel, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 966-2416.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Vera Westerberg, 1360 Sumac, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Colorado Springs: YSA, c/o Miguel Pendas, 3134 N. Illinois, Colorado Springs, Colo. 80907.

Denver: Militant Bookstore, 607 E. 13th Ave., Denver, Colo. 80203.

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

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

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

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

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Dave Zielinski, 446 1/2 E. 2nd St., Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Debby Deegan, 1005 Kentucky, Lawrence, Kans. Tel: (913) 842-9285.

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Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum,

295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981 (HQ), 547-8557.

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

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

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

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

St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, McArthur Hotel, 100 N. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo. 63101.

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

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

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

Columbus: c/o Julie Bingham, 1612 Summit, Columbus, Ohio 43201.

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

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

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Chavez arrest spurs nat'l lettuce boycott

By DIANNE FEELEY

DEC. 9—The outrageous jailing of Cesar Chavez, head of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC), has focused greater national attention on the struggle of California's lettuce workers for union contracts with the lettuce growers.

Chavez was jailed indefinitely on Dec. 4 by a California judge in Monterey County because he refused to call off a nationwide lettuce boycott as arbitrarily ordered by the court. The UFWOC was fined \$1,000 for refusing to obey the court injunction against the boycott.

On Oct. 8, Bud Antle, Inc., which grows about 8 percent of the Salinas Valley lettuce, got Superior Court judge Gordon Campbell to issue an injunction against the UFWOC lettuce boycott. Campbell refused to stay the injunction pending appeal unless UFWOC posted \$2.75-million bond to protect Antle against damages. Earlier, on Sept. 14, the Superior Court had ordered the union to halt a strike of lettuce workers, which the union did.

The pretext for the injunction against the strike and the boycott is that there is a dispute between the UFWOC and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters about which union has jurisdiction to organize the lettuce workers. The UFWOC maintains that last July, one day after the UFWOC won its important contract with California grape growers, the Teamsters signed "sweetheart contracts" with 100 lettuce growers in the Salinas Valley, known as the "salad bowl" of the nation. A "sweetheart contract" is a deal between the bosses and the union bureaucrats made over the heads of the workers, in which the bosses agree to recognize the union if the bureaucrats agree to certain conditions such as lower wages, fewer benefits, etc. The intent is to keep out another union actually representing the workers.

Since last summer, three major growers broke with the Teamsters and signed with the UFWOC, which means that about 18 percent of all lettuce is now picked by union workers. Under pressure from the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters have agreed to break their sweetheart contracts with the other lettuce growers, but the growers refuse and are still checking off dues for the Teamsters.

While the lettuce workers, nearly all Chicanos, struggle for a union contract, higher wages, better working conditions, and exercise their elemen-



Cesar Chavez, arrested Dec. 4 as lettuce workers refused to bow to court injunction, shown here speaking to people in Coachella, Calif.

tary democratic right to urge wholesalers and retailers not to buy non-union lettuce, the courts of California stand shoulder to shoulder with the wealthy corporate farmers. Bud Antle, Inc., for example, is a subsidiary of Dow and is charged by the farm workers with using a "most deadly bug killer," Dow 24D, also used by U.S. forces in Vietnam.

Throwing Chavez into jail has served to underscore even further the injustice of the court-backed antiunion

campaign against the lettuce workers and is helping to generate increasing support for the boycott. As a Dec. 8 *New York Times* editorial worriedly comments, "the reality is that the incarceration will merely add intensity to the boycott, the weapon the Chavez union used with such success in unionizing the vineyards."

When Ethel Kennedy visited Chavez in jail on Sunday night to indicate her support for the boycott, about 200 demonstrators from the "Citizens

Committee for Agriculture" booed and cursed her. A Dec. 6 UPI dispatch indicated that "a local California newspaper reporter said some of the counterdemonstrators were connected with produce growers in the Salinas Valley."

While union lawyers seek a writ of habeas corpus to free Chavez, the boycott continues to grow, and they are considering a consumer campaign against Saran Wrap, one of Dow's products, to increase pressure on Bud Antle, Inc.

Whites escalate violence in Cairo, Ill.

By DOUG JENNESS

DEC. 9—Wylie Anderson, 23, a resident of Cairo, Ill., serving in the United States Army, died on Nov. 28 after nearly two weeks on the critical list. He was gunned down on Nov. 8 by white snipers while he stood in the courtyard of Pyramid Court, an all-Black housing project in Cairo (See *Militant*, Nov. 20).

The racist violence that snuffed out Anderson's life intensified this past weekend when local cops and deputized, armed white vigilantes attacked a peaceful demonstration of Blacks. A Dec. 8 public statement by Rev. Charles Koen, executive director of the Cairo United Front, declared: "On Saturday and Sunday Dec. 5 and 6, local white officials viciously and unlawfully used automatic rifles, submachine guns and other weaponry against Black citizens. Many Blacks peacefully picketing were brutally beaten and fifteen of our brothers and sisters were jailed."

Black citizens were picketing white downtown businesses as they do every Saturday as part of an economic boycott that is now nearly two years old. The purpose of the boycott is to per-

suade city officials and businessmen to meet a set of demands by the Cairo United Front which would give Blacks at least 50 percent say in the running of the city and would guarantee greater Black employment.

Although a local antipicketing law was thrown out by the federal courts, the City Council recently enacted a new set of ordinances limiting picketing, including a rule that pickets must be 20 feet from the entrance of the store involved.

On Dec. 6, when about 80 Blacks reached the downtown area to picket stores, they were met by about 30 cops and white vigilantes who initiated a violent attack. The vigilantes, members of the local Ku Klux Klan and known as "White Hats", were recently deputized to beef up Cairo's 20-man police force. During the course of the onslaught, one of the instant deputies, Lloyd Bosecker, was wounded by a gunshot. Four of the picketers, James Philip Morris, Chester Burney, Gregory Walker and Leon Bent were arrested and charged with attempted murder. They are presently free on bond which totaled \$27,500 for the four of them.

Carl Hampton of the United Front told *The Militant* that on Saturday night after the arrests, lawyers for the four men were not permitted to see them, although "White Hats" freely entered the police station where the men were confined.

Rallies and marches continued on Sunday and throughout this week in the face of the sharpening attacks.

The severity of the struggle is indicated in a Dec. 2 release issued by the Cairo United Front which said they had been informed of a plot on the life of Rev. Koen. The informant, a Black Baptist minister, said the plot originated in the office of the governor of Illinois. He made the charge at a meeting of Black ministers in Chicago Nov. 16. Officials of the United Front say this confirms other reports they have received.

A massive rally followed by workshop discussions on the situation in Cairo will be held in Cairo Dec. 19. Black leaders and others who support the struggle in Cairo are expected to come from across the country.

Money is urgently needed for bail, food and clothing. Send all contributions to Cairo United Front, P. O. Box 544, Cairo, Ill. 62914.

Gurule acquitted; retrial for Gonzales

LOS ANGELES—The three-week-long frame-up trial of Colorado Chicano leaders Albert Gurule and Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales ended here Dec. 4. The jury acquitted Gurule but was deadlocked on Gonzales.

Although the jury was heavily weighted in favor of acquitting Gonzales, and although it is usual in such cases to drop charges, the judge ordered a new trial for Gonzales, to begin on Jan. 4. A mass campaign is being organized to pressure the city attorney to drop charges.

For an earlier story on the Gurule-Gonzales trial, see p. 7.