

THE MILITANT

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



U.S. general assesses Laos debacle: 'Much worse than Tet'

Antiwar forces unite around April 24!

By HARRY RING

On March 2, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice announced its decision to cosponsor the April 24 March on Washington initiated by the National Peace Action Coalition. The unity of these two groups behind April 24 is a major gain for antiwar forces and helps assure that the Washington demonstration will be huge.

A joint statement by NPAC and the

PCPJ (see text page 24) said in part:

"The National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice will build the Washington action around the central demands: 'Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and materiel from Southeast Asia' and 'End the draft now.'"

The statement was signed by NPAC coordinators Ruth Gage-Colby, Don Gurewitz, Jerry Gordon, Jim Lafferty

and John T. Williams, and by PCPJ coordinators Rennie Davis, William Douthard, Carol Henderson Evans, Brad Lyttle, Sid Peck and Ron Young.

Discussions are being initiated between the two groupings to ensure maximum cooperation in building April 24 and other spring action dates common to both.

It is anticipated that in the local

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ARIZONA FACULTY SENATE BACKS STARKY: The Faculty Senate at Arizona State University, where socialist professor Morris Starky was fired last year by the Board of Regents, repudiated the regents' action by a vote of 31 to 28 Feb. 22. The vote came on a resolution introduced by Dr. Gerald Klinefeld, recommending that "Professor Starky be continued on the university faculty."

FLORIDA REPRESSION OF BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS FOUGHT BY ORGANIZED DEFENSE EFFORT: A companion case to the case of Al Courtney, reported elsewhere in this issue, is the case of Connie Tucker. Tucker is the state chairwoman of the Junta of Military Organizations (JOMO) and a member of Black Youth for Peace and Power (BYPP). She was brought to trial in Tampa on Feb. 5 along with BYPP member Otha Favors and Sharon Favors of the Young Socialist Alliance. The Favors were acquitted, but Tucker was convicted on frame-up charges of narcotics possession. Florida cops planted and then "found" narcotics at the BYPP house in a raid one year ago. Unrelenting cop surveillance and harassment of BYPP and JOMO activists make the political nature of Tucker's arrest and conviction apparent. For more information on the defense, write and send contributions to The National Committee to Free Connie Tucker, P. O. Box 12792, St. Petersburg, Fla. 33733.

GERMAN AND FRENCH MILITANTS PROTEST POLITICAL TRIAL OF CZECH REVOLUTIONARIES: With only three dissenting votes, a meeting of 2,000 young workers and students at a technical university in Berlin Feb. 10 passed a resolution presented by Ernest Mandel denouncing the Prague political trial of members of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) and voicing solidarity with the RSP's fight for workers democracy. The meeting, organized by the International Marxist Group, German section of the Fourth International, also discussed plans for a demonstration to protest the Prague trial. In Paris on Feb. 12, activists of the Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, staged a demonstration at the Czechoslovak consulate. Alain Krivine, a leader of the League who headed the demonstrators, told reporters at the consulate that the militants of the RSP "have not been fighting for a restoration of capitalism, but against bureaucracy, for immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops, and for real socialism."

TWO TALES OF VICTORY: The Washington Post carried a small item on Feb. 20 reporting that Major General George S. Eckhardt told an audience in La Jolla, Calif., the U. S. had achieved victory in Indochina. Sen. Philip Hart from Michigan, learning of the speech, proposed ironically in Congress that the government organize a victory parade down Pennsylvania Avenue. The same paper carried another story Feb. 25 revealing that pre-recorded tapes, provided by Civil Defense offices in Miami for broadcast on the emergency frequency in case of a nuclear attack, announce that the U. S. has "retaliated with tremendous effectiveness" and "the probability of victory is good."

MORE ON MEDIEVAL DUNGEONS IN RAIFORD, FLA.: In Brief reported Feb. 26 that guards at Raiford State Prison had opened fire Feb. 12 on a group of 600 prisoners, wounding 20. An article in the Feb. 28 New York Times sheds more light on the incident. Contrary to what was reported in the first news dispatches, it now appears that the 600 to 700 prisoners were holding a sit-down strike in the recreation field, not "storming a fence" as prison officials first claimed. It also appears that machine-guns, as well as shotguns, were fired on the men, and that 63 inmates were wounded, not 20. The Times also gives a glimpse of the barbaric conditions which stirred the protest: Ten men are crammed into cells built to hold four men, the majority have no beds and sleep on the floor, many wait more than a year after becoming eligible for parole before getting an interview from the parole board, etc. **ATTORNEY FIGHTING FOR RIGHTS OF RAIFORD INMATES WOUNDED BY GUNSHOT:** Carol Wild Scott, an American Civil Liberties Union attorney, was shot in the chest Feb. 23 after having filed suit in U. S. District Court charging that the shooting of the prisoners was "unprovoked and unnecessary," and having visited the jail and taken depositions from inmates alleging beatings and other acts of brutality by prison guards. She was shot at home around 5 a.m., and hospitalized in serious condition.

NEW YORK COUNCILMAN CHARGES "CRIMINAL NEGLIGENCE" IN RASH OF JAIL SUICIDES: Robert Postel charged Feb. 25 that multiplying cases of suicide in New York City jails suggested "criminal negligence" on the part of jail officials. Since the Feb. 11 hanging of a heroin addict in the Brooklyn House of Detention, reported by In Brief Feb. 26, three more prisoners died, two of hanging and one from an overdose. One of the men, 20-year-old Robert Curtiz, was supposedly "under observation" because of previous suicide attempts. A spokesman for the Department of Corrections made the following compassionate statement in response to Postel's charges: "When a person wants to take his life, it's just not very hard. It's very difficult to prevent it."

MARXIST VIEW OF DEMOCRACY: Pathfinder Press has announced that a new book by Marxist scholar George Novack, *Democracy and Revolution*, will be released in April. The first comprehensive work devoted to this subject by a major Marxist writer, the book traces the historical development of democracy as a product of social development, arguing that democracy is the child of revolution.

SECOND GRADE PROTEST EVIDENCE OF "SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE" TO FLORIDA DOG CATCHER: The county dog catcher and a few others have been demanding a "thorough investigation" by the Tallahassee school board of "teachers who protest against law and order," because of a demonstration late last month by a group of second grade students. When two of the dog catcher's men tried to nab a pooch across from the Sabal Palms elementary school, the second graders, who were on a break, spontaneously made picket signs and shouted slogans like, "Why don't you leave the dog alone." Obviously, the students are communist dupes.

GAA SUES NEW YORK FOR RIGHT TO INCORPORATE: The New York Gay Activists Alliance filed suit Feb. 23 against the N. Y. secretary of state after his office refused to reconsider its rejection of GAA's application to incorporate as Gay Activists Alliance, Inc. The Nov. 5, 1970, rejection letter says, in part, "The name of the organization is not acceptable since it is not an appropriate name for an organization when one considers the connotations in which the words are being used. . . ." **REPUBLICANS DROP CHARGES AGAINST GAY ACTIVISTS:** Last June 24, during Gay Pride Week, Marty Robinson, Jim Owles, Tom Doerr, Arthur Evans and Phil Raia, all members of GAA, sat in at the Republican Party state headquarters because party officers refused to meet with them after having scheduled an appointment to discuss the issue of legal rights for homosexuals. The Republican State Committee pressed "criminal trespass" charges against the five, and the case finally came to court Feb. 22. At that time, the Republican State Committee member who had signed the complaint, withdrew it. Marty Robinson commented on the victory: "Any politician who finds the issue of homosexual civil rights too hot to handle, may soon find homosexuals even hotter."

PRIDE IN CHINA STRONG AMONG RISING GENERATION OF CHINESE AMERICANS: A long article in the Feb. 22 New York Times by Frank Ching reported a growing identification with revolutionary China among the Chinese community in the United States, especially among the young. According to Ching, films of China, produced by the Peking regime and shown in New York's Chinatown by the I Wor Kuen (a Maoist group), are well attended "even by members of the older generation." Ching quotes Dr. C. T. Wu of Hunter College, who argues, in effect, that fear of persecution causes many Chinese to pretend loyalty to the Nationalist colonial regime on Taiwan. A shift in American policy toward China would reveal the real extent of sympathy with the People's Republic, Wu said. Memory of the Japanese internment during WW II and statements by J. Edgar Hoover, indicting every Chinese-American as a potential subversive, motivate many who take pride in China's achievements since the revolution to do so quietly, according to the article. Nevertheless, growing numbers are openly identifying with the revolution. Last October a demonstration in Chinatown, called by the I Wor Kuen to celebrate the anniversary of the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic, the first such demonstration ever held in New York, was joined by 400.

— LEE SMITH

7,500 by March 15!

Need 4,245 subs in 2 weeks

by DOUG JENNESS
At the end of the fourth week of the six week campaign to obtain 7,500 new *Militant* readers, two areas — Santa Cruz, Calif., and Boulder-Denver — have joined Long Island in going over their quotas. The 75 from Santa Cruz have all been obtained by Dean Reed. New York, which is only a short way from being on schedule, is organizing an intensive campaign to reach its 1,000 quota before March 15. It took a major step toward this aim by getting 223 new subscriptions last week

— 60 of which were obtained in a day and a half by a two-woman team that went to Vassar College. Another 26 were sold in two hours by a four-person team at Cornell University in Ithaca. Denver-Boulder received a big boost when several Chicana and Chicano friends of the *Militant* helped sell 30 subscriptions at a United Mexican-American Student Conference at Alamosa State College. These Chicano activists have now taken their own quota of 10 for the final two weeks of the drive. The Twin Cities, an area with a large quota that is not too far behind schedule, has faced difficulties with the weather. The subscription director from the Twin Cities writes, "We have planned to blitz campuses in the Minnesota area, but every time the weather seems to be letting up—we get a surprise snowstorm! Today the whole state was virtually snowed in with major highways into the cities closed down. But our sub blitzers will not be stymied by a little snowstorm. We

should begin catching up the last two weeks." From Ann Arbor, one sub seller writes, "People at my junior high school that I would never have dreamed wanted it are requesting *The Militant*. Keep up the great articles." The total number of subs received, however, is still lagging considerably behind where it should be to be on schedule. The total should be 67 percent of the 7,500 goal but it is only 43 percent. This means that over half of the 7,500 subs must be obtained in the final two weeks of the drive, which will require a major effort. Numerous areas have indicated that even though they are behind now they will be able to catch up and finish on time and are putting plans into effect to carry this out. One hundred and sixty-eight new subscriptions were also obtained to the monthly *International Socialist Review* last week. This brings the total *ISR* subscriptions to 651, which is 52 percent of the six week goal of 1,250.

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Subscription scoreboard

Area	Quota	New Subs
Santa Cruz, Calif.	40	75
Long Island, N.Y.	40	74
Boulder-Denver, Colo.	110	113
La Crosse, Wis.	30	24
San Jose, Calif.	5	4
Amherst, Mass.	50	37
Oxford, Ohio	25	18
Bloomington, Ind.	50	35
Cincinnati, Ohio	40	28
Pensacola, Fla.	10	7
New York, N.Y.	1,000	553
Ann Arbor, Mich.	40	22
Phoenix, Ariz.	35	19
Atlanta, Ga.	250	135
Twin Cities, Minn.	320	169
Providence, R.I.	75	39
New London, Conn.	10	5
State College, Pa.	10	5
Logan, Utah	25	12
Portsmouth, N.H.	20	9

Newark, N.J.	30	13
Highland Park, Ill.	12	5
Seattle, Wash.	200	81
Detroit, Mich.	350	141
Baltimore, Md.	10	4
Hartford, Conn.	5	2
Milwaukee, Wis.	50	20
Newport, R.I.	15	6
Paterson, N.J.	20	8
Schenectady, N.Y.	5	2
San Francisco, Calif.	400	155
Chicago, Ill.	700	270
Riverside, Calif.	50	19
San Diego, Calif.	100	38
Tampa, Fla.	50	19
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	325	122
Washington, D.C.	150	56
Worcester, Mass.	65	24
Norman, Okla.	25	9
Oshkosh, Wis.	25	9
Portland, Ore.	75	27
Houston, Texas	125	44
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	50	16
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	8
Madison, Wis.	120	38
East Lansing, Mich.	20	6
Pittsburgh, Kan.	10	3

Los Angeles, Calif.	500	147
Philadelphia, Pa.	325	93
DeKalb, Ill.	65	18
Albany, N.Y.	40	11
Cleveland, Ohio	300	82
Gainesville, Fla.	50	13
Yellow Springs, Ohio	40	10
Austin, Texas	175	35
Champaign, Ill.	25	5
Dallas-Ft. Worth, Texas	35	7
Edinboro, Pa.	10	2
El Paso, Texas	25	5
Geneseo, N.Y.	5	1
New Haven, Conn.	25	5
San Bernardino, Calif.	5	1
Tallahassee, Fla.	40	8
Kansas City, Mo.	50	9
Binghamton, N.Y.	60	10
Jacksonville, Fla.	6	1
Murfreesboro, Tenn.	25	4
Tuscaloosa, Ala.	50	7
Burlington, Vt.	15	2
Boston, Mass.	600	67
N. Boston	(150)	(23)
Cambridge	(150)	(11)
S. Boston	(150)	(8)
Wayne, N.J.	10	1

Colorado Springs, Colo.	25	2
Columbus, Ohio	25	2
Modesto, Calif.	25	2
New Britain, Conn.	20	1
Pullman, Wash.	20	1
Sacramento, Calif.	25	1
Waverly, Iowa	25	1
Red Hook, N.Y.	30	1
Pittsfield, Mass.	25	0
Clemson, S.C.	20	0
Durham, N.H.	20	0
San Antonio, Texas	20	0
Alamosa, Colo.	10	0
College Park, Md.	10	0
Farmington, Maine	10	0
Indiana, Pa.	10	0
New Orleans, La.	10	0
Wakefield, R.I.	10	0
Carlinville, Ill.	5	0
Florence, Ala.	5	0
Kalamazoo, Mich.	5	0
Mission Viejo, Calif.	5	0
General	175	172
TOTAL TO DATE		3,255
SHOULD BE		5,000
GOAL		7,500

Palestinian resistance rejects 'mini-state'

By TONY THOMAS
MARCH 2 — The Palestinian National Council, one of the leading bodies of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, opened its meeting in Cairo on Feb. 27 with a number of important questions on its agenda. One was the proposal that a Palestinian "mini-state" be established on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza strip. Both of these areas were part of pre-1948 Palestine. The West Bank was seized by Jordan, and Gaza was administered by Egypt until 1967, when both were taken by the Israelis. The mini-state proposal originated in U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers' plan for a Middle East settlement. It has won support among conservative Palestinian figures, and from the U.S., the U.S.S.R., Egypt, and — behind the scenes — Israel. All major Palestinian resistance groups, including Fateh, the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP), and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) oppose the mini-state.

They assert that it would be used 1) to claim that the right of the Palestinians to self-determination had been won, and thus allow the Arab states to abandon the struggle against Zionism; 2) to separate the Palestinian revolutionists from the masses by barring the commandos from migrating to the mini-state; and 3) to expose the Palestinians to military annihilation by Israel or Jordan. The commando groups also say that the proposed "joint economic cooperation" of the mini-state with Israel would lead to Israeli political and economic domination, and make the state a transmission belt for Israeli economic penetration of the Arab world. Conservative Palestinian leaders, especially former West Bank officials, have tried to utilize anti-Hussein sentiment to gain support for the mini-state. In the last month, discussion of the mini-state has increased as efforts by the "Big Four," the Arab states, and Israel to make a settlement have been stepped up. A symposium on the Palestinian revolution, organized by the General

Union of Palestinian Students and held in Kuwait Feb. 13-17, discussed the question. Khaled Mohieddine, a member of the Central Committee of Egypt's ruling party, the Arab Socialist Union, is quoted in the March 2 issue of *Jeune Afrique* as stating that "The Palestinians ought to accept the political solution that would restore the West Bank to them, and wait for better days." This proposal was "violently rejected" by representatives of the PLO as well as the PFLP and the DPFLP. On Feb. 19, *Al Ahram*, the semi-official Egyptian newspaper, claimed that leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement supported the proposal. In reply, the Central Committee of the PLO challenged the paper to name even one of its members who supported it. *Jeune Afrique* reported a number of new steps taken by Palestinian, Soviet and imperialist forces to build pressure for the mini-state. The Communist Party of Jordan demanded at a meeting of the Central Committee of the PLO that Hamdi Canaan, conservative former mayor

of the Nablus region of the West Bank, be invited to the National Council meeting. ● An envoy of Nixon's advisor Henry Kissinger has arrived in Amman to drum up support for the proposal. ● Yasir Arafat, leader of Fateh and the PLO, had two meetings with the Soviet ambassador to Amman in which the Soviet diplomat tried to convince him to support the mini-state. ● Palestinian "notables" from both the East and West Banks of the Jordan announced that a Paris conference of Palestinian and other Arab figures would be held to petition the "Big Four" to establish the mini-state. The major Palestinian organizations seemed to remain united in their opposition to the mini-state proposal. On Feb. 22, the PLO Central Committee issued a statement saying that the mini-state "wouldn't be anything but a colony of Israel..." and that "Every Arab, Palestinian or non-Palestinian who gives support to this project or who works for its realization is an enemy of the Palestinian people and the whole Arab nation."

Peace Action Coalition meets in Northern Calif.

By CAROL LIPMAN

SAN FRANCISCO, March 1—A representative and spirited meeting of over 175 people formed a Northern California Peace Action Coalition in San Francisco this past weekend. Scores of antiwar organizations from over 15 cities met and voted to endorse the spring program of NPAC. Also attending the meeting were representatives of antiwar coalitions in San Diego, Los Angeles and Portland, who met prior to the meeting with James Lafferty, national coordinator of NPAC, to establish initial coordination for the western states' action on April 24 in San Francisco.

Lafferty, on a western states tour, reported to the northern California coalition meeting on the increasing support NPAC is receiving for the April 24 action and the entire spring program. Dan Rosenshine, a coordinator for the Northern California coalition, followed with a report on support being generated for the West Coast action. Rosenshine reported that the ad for the April 24 demonstration which appeared recently in the *New York Times* will appear in San Francisco newspapers this week, and that similar plans are being made in Los Angeles. Additional West Coast endorsers for the ad include: Paul Shrade, western director for the United Auto Workers; Douglas Dowd, a former national chairman of the New

Mobilization Committee; Phillip Burton, U.S. House of Representatives; Nathan Hare, editor of *Black Scholar*; John Vasconcellos, state assemblyman and sponsor of the bill to declare the war illegal and prevent young California men from being sent to Vietnam; Jessica Mitford, author; and Raul Teilatt, president of the California Federation of Teachers.

A labor support committee for April 24 has been established and an aggressive campaign has been launched to obtain active support from the union movement, with the aim of organizing large labor contingents on the demonstration. Official endorsement has already been received from the California Federation of Teachers and Local 4 of the Painters union, AFL-CIO. Representatives of both unions attend meetings of the Peace Action Coalition. Representatives of NPAC will be speaking before five major unions in the area in the next week.

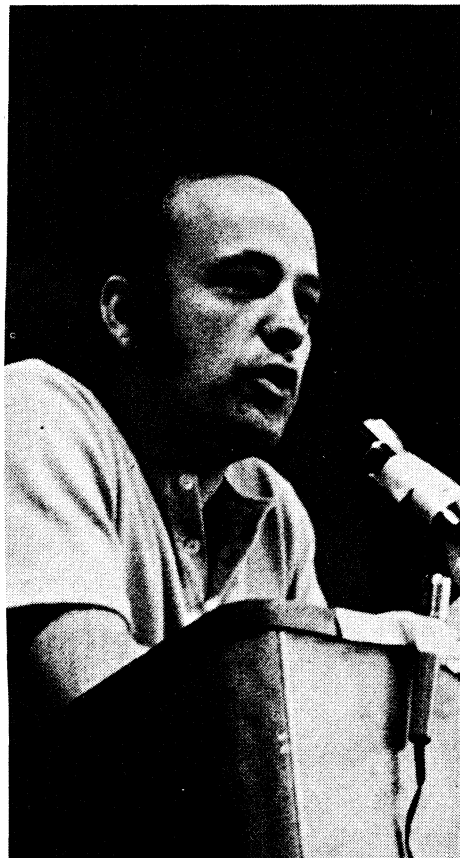
The United Women's Contingent workshop discussed plans for involving individual women and women's organizations in the April 24 action. Bay Area women are being contacted to attend the next coalition meeting, as well as a planning meeting for the women's contingent to be held March 11 at the San Francisco Women's Liberation office.

The West Coast offices of NPAC and the Student Mobilization Committee are busy with speaking engagements all over the western states. Celia Stodola, West Coast staff member of the SMC, spoke to a conference in Denver of close to 200 people, which endorsed the April 24 demonstration.

NPAC coordinators John T. Williams and James Lafferty and a representative of the West Coast SMC will be speaking to a statewide antiwar conference in Portland March 5-6. Large Peace Action Coalition meetings are planned for San Jose on March 12 and Sacramento on March 14.

NPAC and SMC are also supporting and building two important meetings in defense of the Harrisburg Six, one in Los Angeles on March 6 and another in San Francisco on March 7. Speakers include Sister Elizabeth McAlister, Professor Douglas Dowd of Cornell University, John T. Williams, and Jane Fonda.

For more information on the West Coast antiwar actions, write or call: NPAC, 50 Oak St., Rm. 502, San Francisco, Calif. 94102. Tel: (415) 864-5835. SMC, same address, Rm. 501. Tel: (415) 864-5836.



James Lafferty

Photo by Herman Kirsch

Texas conference maps April 24 plans

By ANNE SPRINGER

HOUSTON—Over 225 people attended a statewide antiwar conference here on Feb. 27 to make plans for spring antiwar action. Participants came from 26 colleges and high schools, and 32 cities, including a busload of Chicano youth from Crystal City.

The conference, the largest ever held in Texas, was called by the Houston Peace Action Coalition to help Texans organize for the April 24 marches in San Francisco and Washington, D.C.

The keynote address was given by Jerry Gordon, national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition. He stressed that the antiwar movement must meet the new escalation of the war by the Nixon administration through building a continued series

of massive actions against the war. He urged all areas in Texas to organize to send people to Washington and San Francisco April 24.

The conference, hosted by the Department of National-International Affairs of the Student Association of the University of Houston, drew representation from as far away as Lubbock and El Paso in Texas, as well as from Oklahoma and Louisiana.

The conference voted to establish a statewide organization, the Texas Peace Action Coalition (Tex-PAC), with coordinators in Houston, Austin, El Paso, Crystal City, Ft. Hood, San Antonio, and Dallas-Ft. Worth to facilitate communications and coordinate activities for building April 24.

April 24 countdown

On Feb. 28, 75 delegates from United Electrical Workers District Council 7, which embraces Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Kentucky, voted to endorse April 24 antiwar actions. The delegates represented about 7,000 workers from UE locals in those states. The resolution, introduced by Dick Nieber, international vice-president of the UE and president of UE District Council 7, stated:

"Therefore, be it resolved that UE District Council 7 endorse and support the National Peace Action Coalition's march on Washington, D.C., and San Francisco on April 24, 1971, calling for an end to the war and bringing the troops home now, and that the District urge our Locals to join in this effort."

Carl Stokes, mayor of Cleveland, has urged participation in the April 24 march on Washington and San Francisco sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition. Stokes declared, "The seeming unending escalations of the wars in Indochina create grave distortions of our national priorities. The wars we must wage are those against hunger, woefully inadequate medical attention, lack of housing, pollution of our air and water, and inflation. . . . The awesome tasks here at home demand an end to the wars in Indochina."

A statewide student antiwar conference at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minn., voted Feb. 27 to participate in the series of spring antiwar actions called by the National Peace Action Coalition.

The gathering, sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee, was attended by some 150 persons from 12 colleges and universities despite a severe blizzard. The conference voted to build a "Peace Action Week" throughout the state April 19-24 as a building action for the march on Washington April 24. A high school workshop decided to call a Minneapolis high school antiwar conference for March 26.

More than twenty people associated with Black and Third World organizations met at the Washington, D.C., NPAC offices on Feb. 27 to join in a Third World Task Force mapping plans for Washington activity April 2-4, marking the anniversary of the death of the Rev. Martin Luther King.

Plans were developed for the weekend, including: a mass teach-in on Black people and the Vietnam War, to be held at Howard University April 2; a rally at Malcolm X Park April 3, then a march through the Black community to Lafayette Park for a joint rally with the Washington Area Peace Action Coalition and Washington Area SMC; on Sunday, April 4, a memorial meeting at a church in the Black community focusing on the defense of Angela Davis and welfare rights.

Participants in the planning meetings included people associated with the Washington City-Wide Welfare Alliance, PRIDE, Inc., the Washington *Enquirer*, Howard University Student Government, Angela Davis Defense Committee, the Urban League, and the Washington Federation of Teachers.

The prospects for a huge turnout in Washington and San Francisco April 24 were indicated in New York by the response to street appeals for support of the antiwar action. On the weekend of Feb. 27-28, New York Peace Action Coalition activists set up eight tables on Saturday and three on Sunday to distribute antiwar literature, sell April 24 buttons, and solicit sponsoring names and contributions for a newspaper advertisement to build April 24. A total of 419 people signed up to have their names included in the ad and contributed \$1 each to help pay for it. An additional \$434 was received in contributions and from the sale of buttons.

The growing momentum behind April 24 is suggested by the amount of promotional material distributed by NPAC. During the month of February, material shipped from the bustling NPAC offices in Washington included: 55,000 April 24 stickers, 17,000 April 24 buttons, and 10,000 posters for April 24 and for the April 2-4 Martin Luther King anniversary actions. These, plus leaflets, brochures, bumper stickers, and other promotional material are available from NPAC at 1029 Vermont Ave., N.W., 8th floor, Washington, D.C. 20005. Phone: (202) 628-5388.

The Executive Board of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital workers union, representing 50,000 workers in New York, has voted to endorse the April 24 demonstration and has contacted the NYPAC office to arrange for chartering buses for its members to go to Washington.

'This is much worse than Tet'

By DICK ROBERTS

MARCH 2—With the big U.S.-Saigon invasion of Laos still completely bogged down under the murderous fire of the revolutionary resistance, a high-ranking U.S. military officer at Khesanh told reporters: "This is the heaviest fighting of the war. This is worse than Tet."

The speaker was Gen. Frederick C. Weyand, deputy to Gen. Creighton W. Abrams. Weyand commanded the American forces in Saigon during the famous Tet battle of 1968.

But this top U.S. official's remarks were buried in a short Reuters dispatch on page four of the March 1 *New York Times*. Washington's "embargo on the embargo" remains in effect. And the news media is essentially cooperating with the embargo, despite the claims of many news commentators that they object to such censorship.

The "embargo on the embargo" means that the news media is prohibited from revealing that it is being prohibited from covering the battle news. Thus the *New York Post* carried the following oblique description of the double embargo in an editorial March 1:

"The sad fact—it is almost the only solid fact that can be stated now—is that, as of shortly after 6:30 last night, Ed Newman was pointedly observing on NBC news that there was no clear picture of the tide of battle because correspondents are still denied

any real chance to cover the crucial scenes."

In spite of this kind of triple-talk, it is perfectly obvious that one of the most important battles of the war is taking place. From the little that has gotten through so far, it is also quite apparent that the South Vietnamese Army is being badly mauled despite massive U.S. air and artillery support—and that this is probably the real meaning of Weyand's remark that the fighting is "worse than Tet."

An Associated Press dispatch from Saigon, Feb. 26, gave a glimpse of the battle that was taking place almost 400 miles to the north:

"A South Vietnamese paratrooper base inside Laos fell to the North Vietnamese today, and the 450 defenders were virtually wiped out. . . . The North Vietnamese then laid siege to a second paratroop base six miles to the southeast, and field reports said they were inflicting heavy casualties. . . .

"Shortly before Hill 31 was overrun, two downed American pilots were plucked from the fringes of the base after 21 hours of hiding in a trench. . . . The anti-aircraft fire was so heavy it took 75 fighter-bomber strikes to suppress it sufficiently for a rescue helicopter to get in. . . .

"The U.S. Command threw wave after wave of fighter-bombers and helicopter gunships into the battle to save Hill 31. . . . Saigon's drive into Laos appeared to be in serious trouble. . . ."

As of the afternoon of March 2, an additional 10,000 to 16,000 South

Vietnamese troops were reported to be on their way to reinforce the 16,000 Saigon Army troops already in Laos. The reinforcements were being assisted by additional U.S. aircraft.

The continuation of the news embargo more than three weeks after the invasion was launched makes it clear that the object of the embargo was purely and simply to deceive the American public. Any talk about keeping the invasion a secret from the Laotians and Vietnamese, when the attack has been going on for 24 days, is totally ridiculous.

The lengths to which the administration and the news media have gone to keep Americans in the dark about the invasion underlines the tremendous fear that the ruling politicians have about the wave of resentment that might erupt in this country if the complete truth about the war became widely known.

But Nixon's duplicity is beginning to catch up with him. A Gallup Poll conducted Feb. 19 to 21, about ten days after the invasion of Laos began, found that those interviewed believed by a more than 2-to-1 ratio that the invasion would lengthen rather than shorten the Vietnam war.

The results of this poll were not disclosed until Feb. 28. By that time, Nixon had reaffirmed U.S. intentions to stay in Vietnam indefinitely. The president declared in his Feb. 25 "State of the World" message: "The way in which we end this conflict is crucial to our efforts to build a lasting peace in coming decades. . . . We intend to give our friends the time

and the means to adjust materially and psychologically to a new form of American participation in the world."

In other words, indefinite war until the Saigon regime is "stabilized." *New York Times* correspondent Robert B. Semple Jr. interpreted Nixon's meaning in a news analysis Feb. 28:

"[Nixon's] discussion of the realities of Indochina included not only the admission that he was uncertain of the capacities of the South Vietnamese to hold their own, but also that he was perfectly prepared to leave behind a large residual force of Americans both to secure the release of prisoners of war and to insure that the Saigon government survived."

As developments in the war force Nixon into a more and more open statement of his aims, and as it becomes evident that these aims are opposed by the overwhelming majority of Americans, Democratic Party politicians are moving to capitalize on the situation.

For the first time in the long and bloody war, in which over 53,000 American GIs have been slaughtered, the Democratic Party "Policy Committee" deigned to call for *eventual* withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Vietnam. The Democrats even went so far as to urge that Nixon make "a firm, unequivocal declaration that all American forces will be withdrawn by the end of this year."

Presidential hopeful Senator Edmund S. Muskie was no less mealy-mouthed at a teach-in of 4,000 at the University of Pennsylvania Feb. 23.

Continued on page 22

How the press saw SMC conference

By ARTHUR MAGLIN

"An emergency antiwar conference sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee attracted over 2,000 students in an effort, as one delegate put it, 'to revitalize the antiwar movement.' The weekend gathering, representing a broad spectrum of the student population, held workshops and plenary sessions last Friday, Saturday and Sunday, dealing with a variety of major proposals."

This is the way the *New York University Ticker* (Feb. 24) opened its report of the SMC Feb. 19-21 conference in Washington, D.C. The article was written by Alec Roberts, editor of the *Ticker*.

Roberts' article goes on to state: "The SMC, largest of the student antiwar groups, called the session to plan its activities for 'mass action' in the spring."

"Among the important decisions taken by the conference included support for a massive demonstration in Washington, D.C., April 24, a 'march on military bases' May 16 ('Solidarity Day'), and antidraft activities scheduled for March 15. The conference overwhelmingly defeated a motion to support the People's Peace Treaty, which could effectively bury the plan."

"Deborah Bustin of the SMC national staff began the conference on Friday, saying, 'This weekend we are going to plan an antiwar offensive that will force Nixon to consider our strength at every move.'"

Writing a commentary in the same issue of the *Ticker*, Elton Golden observes: "What impressed me most about the national meeting of the SMC in Washington last weekend was the political maturity of the left."

Pandora's Box, the student newspaper at York College in Jamaica, N.Y., carried three articles on the SMC conference in its Feb. 25 issue. For good measure, it added an editorial entitled "Springtime—Brought to You by SMC."



SMC conference Feb. 19-21

Photo by Howard Petrick

The best of the articles in *Pandora's Box* is the one written by Hy L. Dubowsky: "The feeling at the conference was an optimistic one, as finally plans were being made to mobilize the nation during the coming months with the highlight being a mass march in Washington, D.C., on April 24."

Dubowsky concludes: "The American public was very calm and silent during the invasion of Laos. It would seem as though our mouths have finally been sealed by the tactics of the Nixon administration. We walk along and shrug our shoulders, there is nothing else we can possibly do to end the war. This sentiment was thoroughly discussed at the conference, and it was unanimously concluded that come April 24, Nixon and company will not get much sleep, amidst the shouting voices of a concerned people."

A United Press International dispatch which, among other places, appeared on the front page of the Feb.

23 *Cincinnati Post* states: "The Emergency National Student Antiwar Conference, a meeting attended by 2,500 delegates from colleges, high schools and youth groups, has called for peaceful moratorium marches in San Francisco and Washington April 24."

"In disassociating itself from a proposal by Rennie Davis to shut down Washington in the first week of May, the group said 'a peaceful and orderly demonstration would be best—the kind of demonstration that millions of Americans can understand and get involved in.'"

The Feb. 22 *Washington Post* carried an unusually accurate account of the conference, which points out: "Committee leaders said the group will work with the National Peace Action Coalition, a relatively new antiwar coordinating body that has sought to enlist wide support for protests here and in San Francisco April 24."

Not coming up to the standards for reportorial accuracy set by the *Washington Post* story was the article

in the Communist Party's *Daily World* for Feb. 24. Letting factional dishonesty take command, Tim Wheeler goes so far as to state: "Fewer than 50 of the participants were Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Indian or Asian. The platform was lily-white." Wheeler's first assertion may be excused by assuming that he has trouble counting beyond 50. As for his second assertion, we will have to assume that he was struck temporarily blind.

The *Daily World* article alleges that the reason the proposals put forward by its supporters failed to win approval was that "the ultra 'leftist' stranglehold on the gathering was so complete that each of these critical initiatives was summarily turned down," which is a clever way of saying that they didn't get very many votes.

Interestingly enough, although Wheeler's article is full of all kinds of phony figures, he somehow omits giving any estimate on the size of the conference as a whole.

In Our Opinion

Alive and angry

The Feb. 22 issue of *Time* magazine carried a special section on the current status of the student movement, entitled "The Cooling of America." "In dead winter, 1971," the article states, "after months of recession, a decade of war abroad and domestic violence, a mood approaching quiet has fallen like a deep snow."

Time, like other newspapers, magazines, pollsters and politicians is worriedly attempting to assess whether the lull on the campuses following the massive student strike last May is an accommodation to working within the system or only a temporary phase.

James Reston of the *New York Times* thinks that things are not quite as definite "as the trend-seekers and headline-writers make out. The atmosphere has changed, but nothing has really been transformed. The war goes on, with the same strategy on both sides, but with different tactics."

Reston is right. Nothing in U.S. foreign policy in Southeast Asia has fundamentally changed since last May, and the causes behind the massive outburst that occurred then still exist.

Nixon, when ordering the invasion of Laos, was apparently calculating that the mood on the campuses would be more passive than last spring, but he has a rude awakening coming.

So far the scope of protests against the Laos invasion has not been as extensive as last May. But as an associate dean of students from the University of Pennsylvania wrote to the *New York Times* on Feb. 10, anger and outrage "have been repressed not expelled. . . . The more deeply repressed those feelings become, the more violent the reaction could be if another nationwide protest were finally provoked."

As illusions about Nixon's plans to withdraw from Indochina crumble, the smoldering anger intensifies.

Campus protests are growing both in number and size. Teach-ins involving thousands of students have been held at Yale, Harvard, the University of Pennsylvania, and the University of Oklahoma, and are planned on other campuses. The size and breadth of these actions can help stimulate a very broad outpouring of opposition on the campuses against the invasion of Laos.

There is also a marked increase in high school struggles. In Boston, Seattle, Detroit and dozens of other cities, high school students are fighting against cops in their schools, against budget reductions, for better education, for Black studies. These students will be among the most active and energetic forces in the rising protest against the invasion of Laos.

The impressive size of the SMC emergency conference two weeks ago in Washington, D.C., where 2,000 mapped out plans for spring antiwar activities, is a sign of the changing mood.

Perhaps most significant is the large number of organizations and forces that are coming together for a united mass antiwar action on April 24. The recent decision by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice to support and help build this action called by the National Peace Action Coalition will contribute to the process that has already begun on the campuses. The April 24 actions may well inspire and draw hundreds of thousands into the most massive expression of antiwar opposition yet seen in this country.

As more forces move behind the April 2-4 antiwar actions to be held on the anniversary of Martin Luther King's assassination, and the April 24th actions in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco, the pent-up anger of millions of high school and university students is likely to boil over into massive campus actions.



"Great news! As of May 1, we will be known as 'emergency combat troops.'"

Letters

Unusual protest

I want to protest in the strongest possible terms the recent growth in size and content of *The Militant*. What happened to that concise eight-page wonder of old which could easily be read over supper? Things are getting out of hand! This past week I received the latest issue of *The Militant* without having finished the prior issue, and if I don't hurry up and conclude this letter I'll fall deeper into the hole.

On top of this unsolicited intrusion of my schedule, it seems that the world's troubles are compounding just fast enough to fill every one of your new pages. I suppose it's all for the best. Enclosed is a small gift. I give it, mind you, haltingly lest it encourage you to make *The Militant* even lengthier.

V. P.

Detroit, Mich.

Peace Treaty

I am a new member of the Young Socialist Alliance. I would like to establish a sales quota for myself and another new member of 25 *Militants* a week. If I find that I can sell more, I'd like to increase the quota later.

Incidentally, your article on the People's Peace Treaty was very important at a time when that proposal has been unthinkingly adopted by the local antiwar movement.

William Stanley
Champaign, Ill.

N.Y. union sets high standards

A young worker who wants to break into the Steamfitters union in New York must appear before the Apprenticeship Committee (comprised of employers and union representatives), and pass an oral examination. Here are some of the questions that have been asked, as reported in the Feb. 15 *New York Times*:

"What is the relationship of Shakespeare to Othello?"

"What is Brahms to music, and Whitman to poetry?"

"How can the relationship of a stag to a doe be compared with that of a ram to a ewe?"

"What is the relationship of Dante to the Inferno?"

Obviously, anyone who fails to answer these questions could never become a steamfitter. Anyone on the Apprenticeship Committee would see this in a minute, especially if the applicant's face happens to be black.

I don't know if this test is still being used, because attorneys for the Civil Rights Bureau have charged that it is discriminatory. But any outfit that can devise such a test will surely find other means to discriminate.

This tells the old story: It's not what you know, but who you know—even if you want to be a steamfitter.

J. B.

New York, N. Y.

Chicago rail workers

Your coverage of the Feb. 13 Chicago meeting of railroad workers in the Feb. 26 *Militant* was factual, but I would like to add some interesting details that to me made this one of the most meaningful meetings we have held in many years.

One of the things that came out

most clearly at the meeting is the sad state of disorganization of the UTU and the one-man control of UTU President Charles Luna. We got the strikebreaking law last Dec. 10 only after both Luna and Meany gave their stamp of approval for it to Congress. None of the other union officials now know what is going on in the railroad negotiations. Luna alone is authorized to call any strike, under the UTU constitution.

John R. James, a United Transportation Union local officer, told the rally that rail workers tend to think that if they come to a meeting and pop off, they've done their bit. Now, he said, it's a question of organizing a democratically controlled union. He made it clear he intends to work seriously for that end. James is Black, as were about 10 percent of those present.

Ed Heisler, an officer of the UTU Right to Vote Committee, also spoke. He got a good response from the men when he said that if we are forced to take strike action, we ought to be prepared in advance. He explained this means setting up strike machinery in every UTU local.

It looks to me as if the railroad workers are now standing still, waiting for a great sell-out by Luna. Luna may already be making a behind-the-scenes deal to adopt the changes gradually, the way they were slipped in on the Burlington Northern system.

If this happens on a big scale, you can expect an explosion on the railroads. The Feb. 13 rally in Chicago showed that railroad workers are better prepared for it now.

I have been here for a long time, and it is good to see these serious beginnings of genuine organization within the railroad unions.

S. B. C.,

Chicago, Ill.

Eye-opener

Enclosed is a check for a year's renewal of my subscription. *The Militant* is one of the best newspapers around. The expanded format and improved quality of the paper are great. I first saw *The Militant* on the November '69 [antiwar] march and have read it ever since.

It has helped open my eyes to what is going on in this country and throughout the world. Keep up the good work.

M. R.

Upper Montclair, N. J.

Texas Abortion Coalition

The Feb. 19 *Militant* carried an excellent photo of the Jan. 30 march organized by the Texas Abortion Coalition (TAC). However, the caption was wrong in stating that the march consisted of "600 women." About 500-600 women and men attended the TAC Citizens' Hearings on Abortion held Jan. 30 at the University of Texas. About half of that audience then marched to the State Capitol where a rally was held to demand repeal of all antiabortion laws in the state and legal reaffirmation of the right of a woman to control her own body.

The hearings, march and rally were timed to put pressure on the Texas Legislature, which was about to consider a complete overhaul of the state's penal code—including all

The Great Society

statutes concerning abortion. Shortly after our successful activities on Jan. 30, we learned the penal code revision package was sent to the Texas House and Senate without the section on abortion. The legislators apparently felt that the issue was too much of a hot potato to handle.

We now have learned that a new abortion law will be introduced in the Texas Legislature this session. We are continuing our statewide efforts to obtain the basic right of a pregnant female to get an abortion upon her request. We demand that the medical procedure be available to all regardless of financial circumstances and that it be carried out by a competent person in adequate surroundings. We want a law that protects women from being forced into either compulsory pregnancy or compulsory abortions.

Texas readers of *The Militant* can find out more about TAC activities by writing to P. O. Box 5592, Austin, Texas 78703.

Evelyn Sell
State Secretary
Texas Abortion Coalition

Palestinian exhibit

An exhibition about the Palestinian resistance movement, sponsored by the American Revolutionary Media (ARM-2) in New York City, will be running until March 12, at Museum, 729 Broadway (near 8th St.). The exhibit includes posters, films, slides, tapes, photographs, and children's drawings of their experiences in the refugee camps. The children's art reflects their daily lives in a revolutionary armed struggle.

Admission is free. On March 3 and March 12, special films, speakers and poetry readings will take place. For further information, call 475-9854.

Friends of the Palestinian Revolution

From a prisoner

I am an inmate of the Bridgeport, Conn., State Jail currently awaiting trial. I should be sentenced in the near future, but I'll be here at least eight months.

I would like to subscribe to your paper, if at all possible. I have heard good things of it and I'm deeply interested. My interest in today's happenings, revolutionary and otherwise, is quite strong—with a lot of unanswered questions.

I'm hoping that with the help of your paper and any literature you might recommend, I'll be able to get a clear view of things.

Robert Olson
Bridgeport, Conn.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Progress reports—To humor the ecology freaks, the Pentagon said it will stop dumping obsolete nerve gas, naval mines, bombs, fuse grenades, and missiles in the ocean. If they can't figure out what else to do with the stuff, they'll probably just dump it on Indochina.

Possible subversive import—A Hungarian medical plant expert reports he soon hopes to market a substance which when added to mouthwash makes a chain smoker hate the taste of tobacco. Clearly any attempt to ship the stuff here would be barred under the Trading With the Enemy Act.

Can't do without him—A Soviet cultural official confirmed there would be no more concerts abroad for Mstislav Rostropovich, the violinist who spoke up for dissident novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. "Rostropovich has always done a lot of traveling abroad," the cultural cop explained, "but you have to consider that he has a chair at the university and that he has many engagements here."

Shocking proposal—Operators of a U. S. Services Club in Rainham, England, provide strippers for their stag

parties but went up the wall when women proposed male strippers for "ladies night." "Why should the men lay down what sort of entertainment we should have," a spokeswoman said. "They're a hypocritical and selfish lot." A club spokesman responded that they felt a male stripper "would lower the tone of the club."

Demands temperate war—Mrs. Fred J. Tooze, the Women's Christian Temperance Union president, who sees alcohol as a greater menace than communism, has branded beer "a saboteur of victory." Assailing the recent decision to make the vile stuff available in mess halls, she urged that "woman power" and "man power" be combined to "protect our boys from liquor traffic."

It figures—"Scientist foresees Longer Life Span, Mainly for the Affluent."—headline in the *New York Times*.

Suggestion box—The Army is launching a 13-week, \$10.6-million recruiting drive. A toll-free number will be listed which you can call for the address of your nearest recruiting station. This could prove to be a convenience for those planning demon-

strations against recruiting stations.

No antidote—Last week we reported that West German coffin-nail consumption increased 7 percent in the first half of last year. During the same period, beer consumption only rose 3.5 percent.

Fat power—Llewellyn Louderback of the National Association to Aid Fat Americans declares: "Seventy-nine million unfortunate souls . . . constitute what amounts to a despised and neglected subculture in a society geared to slimness. Fatness was modish," he notes, "until the rich found other means of conspicuous consumption. . . . when the common people were generally lean (from lack of food and killing physical labor) and the ruling classes were fat, obesity was okay. It was in to be corpulent. . . ."

Thought for the week—"Many experts within the military-industrial complex are now conceding that the sophisticated technology of the weaponry and aerospace industries isn't necessarily adaptable to solving urban problems or meeting other consumer needs."—*Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 25.

—HARRY RING

The National Picket Line

The Department of Labor announced last week that henceforth the cost-of-living index will be based on 1967 prices rather than the averages of prices in 1957-59, the base for the last few years. Nothing was said about what changes in categories and classifications of prices will be used in the next index. In the past, the cost-of-living index has not accurately reflected actual price increases.

Before the Labor Department set up the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the *New York Times* used to carry a daily living cost index. One month, the item "food" took a deep plunge. It was puzzling, to me at least, because I could see no drop in the cost of groceries for our family. Several days later (and probably many inquiries later) the *Times* published an explanation. The cost of linseed oil had dropped!

Many of the recent union contracts have included cost-of-living clauses—wherein the workers get a 1 cent hourly increase for each .04 percent rise in living costs.

Unemployment is reaching new highs. On February 23, Massey-Ferguson, Ltd., an international farm machinery manufacturer announced that it would lay off 2,450 employees next month. This figure includes 350 persons at two Detroit plants who will be laid off for a minimum of two weeks, and 2,100 Canadian workers who will be idled for at least three weeks.

The layoffs in Canada will begin on March 1, the day before the expiration of a strike deadline set by the United Auto Workers. A company spokesman said "the layoffs have nothing to do with the pending negotiations."

Massey-Ferguson claims it lost \$19.7-million last year and that the operating results for the first quarter of 1971 (ending Jan. 31) were "disappointing." The company also attributed its unprecedented losses last year to "our efforts to reduce dealer inventories in North America."

Canada, like the U. S. and all other capitalist countries, is experiencing a growing unemployment problem. A good example of this mounting crisis can be found in an entirely new class of unemployed—the highly educated, trained and specialized engineers and scientists. These people were concentrated in war-related industry. Since there has been some pull-back in federal projects for war, the bite of joblessness has now turned many thousands of these people out.

In Massachusetts alone, more than 10,000 engineers and scientists have been fired. A new "128 Professional Service Center" has been set up in Boston by the Mass. Division of Employment Security, complete with computers to try to match skills with jobs. But there are a great many more skilled and specialized workers than there are jobs, not only on a state, but on a national level.

The 128 Professional Services Center received 1,500 applicants for jobs and counseling during its first two weeks of operation. Funded at \$75,000, the Center has already run out of money. It is now functioning, at least in part, with the help of counselors from the banks, the insurance companies, and the science and engineering schools—all of whom have a vested interest in these formerly affluent unemployed.

The banks are anxious about the large number of home mortgages they hold. The insurance companies want to keep collecting their huge life insurance premiums. And the schools depend on financial contributions from their alumni.

So bankers are helping unemployed engineers and scientists refinance mortgages and get payments and taxes waived. The insurance companies are arranging loans on insurance policies. And the schools are busy trying to retrain the people for lesser occupations.

Some of the applicants tell of applying for factory jobs and being turned down because they have too many skills. So the applicants hide their educational and work records, lie their way into truck driving or factory jobs.

These new unemployed now rub elbows with waitresses, maids, stenographers, truck drivers, and factory workers in the unemployment insurance offices. And when the 26-week benefit period is over, many of them will face the humiliating treatment other workers have to face in the nation's welfare offices.

It is possible that some of these formerly affluent professionals will begin to think about the economic system which helped them raise themselves so high and then dropped them so low. It may be that some of them will become radicalized and join the fight to change the system to a socialist society, which produces for use rather than for profit and war.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

Millett's Sexual Politics

Women's Oppression: The Literary Reflection

By EVA CHERTOV

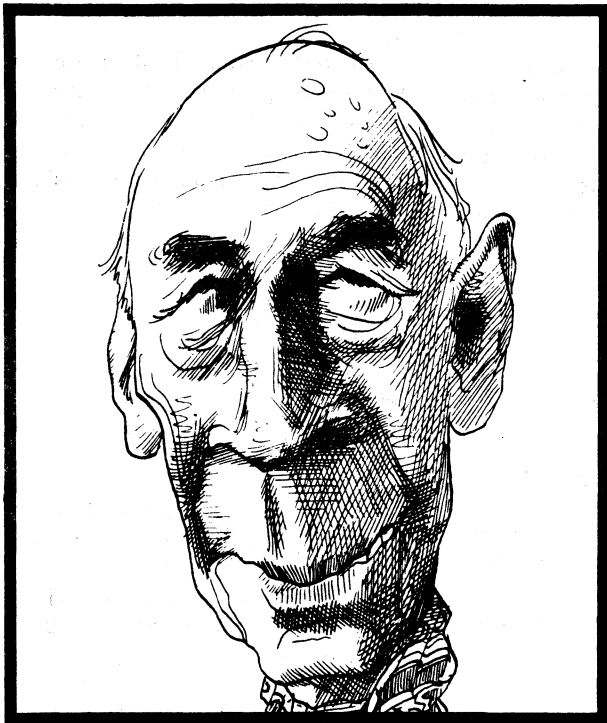
The following article is the third in a series of four articles in review of Kate Millett's book "Sexual Politics." The articles in the March 5 Militant, by Kipp Dawson and Evelyn Reed, dealt with a Marxist view of the significance of the book and specifically with Millett's treatment of Friedrich Engels.

This article by Eva Chertov deals with the literary aspects of "Sexual Politics," and the last article in the series (to appear in a future issue) will deal with Millett's treatment of the Russian Revolution.

The rise and decline of the first feminist movement—which Millett puts between the years 1830-1930—is seen through a new prism in Kate Millett's excellent selection and analysis of writers who reflected both periods. I'm going to deal with what I felt were the most significant aspects of her analysis for us as feminists and as socialists.

The growth of the first feminist movement coincided with the period of Victorian morality. By Victorian standards, a good woman was a brainless, desexed being whose main aim in life was to serve her man and be his source of pleasure (but never to participate in it—you know, a LADY never moves). A woman's only pleasure could be in motherhood. Her daily duty was to wash, cook, clean, and try to bring her soul as close as possible to that of the Virgin Mary.

This category of female was usually referred to in literature as "the lily." The sensual woman was given the rose as her trademark. She, of course, was equally as lacking in gray matter. However, this woman provoked and, in male terms, enjoyed



Henry Miller

Drawings by D. Levine

sex—which, for a female, was the basest thing one could do.

Needless to say, a good man never married a rose—he just had fun with her. Nor was there any question of respect for such a low being.

Another aspect of this period we should recall is that women were under the absolute legal control of either their fathers or husbands.

The writer who most accurately reflected the period of the rise of this first wave of feminism and most completely analyzed the total hypocrisy of all the existing human relationships of that period was, of course, a woman—Charlotte Bronte.

Lucy Snowe, the heroine of Bronte's novel *Villette*, has none of the necessary "charms" to make her an appropriately salable article on the marriage market of the 1850s. She has neither money nor good looks. However, she has a mind, which she intends to use in order to achieve some degree

of freedom (the height of subversiveness!).

Through the life of this rebel female, Charlotte Bronte examines the existing sex roles for males and females in all their variations—and rejects them totally (remember, this was in the 1850s). Charlotte Bronte, i.e. Lucy Snowe, wanted something far better. She wanted independence as an individual human being, even if it meant loneliness.

The road to any kind of freedom and economic independence for Lucy Snowe lay through teaching. In order to get the necessary knowledge, Lucy Snowe submitted herself to the most humiliating sessions of lessons for many years. Her teacher-tormentor, Paul, constantly reminded her of "the natural inferiority of females." Lucy, like an astute prisoner, kept her mouth shut until she had learned what was necessary to survive on her own, in freedom.

Paul, unaware of all this, softens when he sees how far his pupil has advanced (only because she reflected that *he* was a good teacher). Lucy acted quickly at that moment. She fooled him into lending her money, renting her a school of her own, and then—jail break!

Of course, under the dictates of Victorian morality it was impermissible for a novelist to just let



Norman Mailer

a woman go off independently—it had to be either marriage or death (some choice!). In this case, Bronte conveniently has Paul drown so as not to give too much affront to morality by having Lucy jilt him.

"Lucy is free," writes Millett. "Free is alone; given a choice between 'love' in its most agreeable contemporary manifestation, and freedom, Lucy chose to retain the individualist humanity she had shored up, even at the expense of sexuality."

The figure of Lucy Snowe is one which every feminist of the 1970s can identify with and feel deeply moved by. Particularly because Bronte presents us with a *real* woman. One who is very determinedly plotting her "escape" one moment, ripping apart this society's superficial standards of human beauty the next, and whom, at another instant, we catch looking in a mirror to see if she could be considered attractive to men.

The fact that she conquers (or at least is able to control) her self-hate, her self-doubt, her desire to be rescued from it all by some knight, and knows that the most creative and positive thing that she could do with her life is to develop herself to the fullest as a human being—no matter what the cost—was considered to be totally subversive in her time. *Villette* was pounced upon by male critics and suppressed.

Kate Millett has done us a great service in unearthing this novel. It was not only the most con-

scious reflection of the rise of the first feminist movement but also one of the wittier and better-written novels of the 1850s.

Miller, Mailer, Lawrence

Now let's jump from the 1850s to the 1950s, to discuss the second part of Millett's analysis. I chose the 1950s because most of us here were either born or growing up during that decade and also because those were the years when the writers I'm going to mention were in their heyday. For all of us here, D. H. Lawrence, Henry Miller, Norman Mailer, were (or are) our intellectual bread and butter. These men were the "liberators." They delivered us from those icy ages of puritanism—when sex was a mystery that you never, ever, under any circumstances, talked about in mixed company—much less wrote about (except on bathroom walls). Along came Lawrence, Miller and Mailer—and there it all was, in huge four letter words for all to read—after the censorship battles subsided.

Somehow, we females never felt very comfortable with that "new sexual freedom" handed us by these authors. And if you haven't been involved in the women's liberation movement up to now, and haven't read *Sexual Politics*, you probably just chalked it up, like we always do, to your own shortcomings (you know, we females are so backward—we don't have the minds to grasp how great it all is).

However (many of us rationalized), *at least* these writers depicted women as human beings who dig sex.

Kate Millett in her exposure of Miller, Mailer,



D. H. Lawrence

and particularly Lawrence has performed one of the most liberating operations of her whole book.

Following her very carefully documented and thought-out expose, we see that neither Miller, Mailer, *nor* Lawrence said anything new about human relationships, and certainly not about the status of women. They just ripped the covers off of what has always existed and recorded it.

Particularly in Miller's and Mailer's novels, the female is degraded with no holds barred. The women in these men's novels are the same mindless sexual creatures—the roses of the Victorian period—except more objectified, more depersonalized, more defiled. Any real conversation that takes place, any friendship or sense of humanness in their books happens between the men. The women are a very depressing collection of vaginas.

Lawrence is the most subtle of the three. He paints portraits of strong women, women who have minds. One can almost feel a partial iden-

tification in some instances. However, if we take Lawrence as a whole, we see an underlying current of fear of the independent woman of the 1920s, a desire to put her down.

This begins to be very clear in his novel *Women in Love*, in which the woman is only forgiven for having a mind if she puts herself in the man's orbit; she is hated if she doesn't, and the real spiritual (as well as physical) identification is with another man. Lawrence's hatred of women reaches a frenzied pitch in his short novel *The Woman Who Rode Away*.

In a totally surrealistic atmosphere, Lawrence, with great relish, describes the death of the great white-bitch-goddess (all women). This story is as racist as it is sexist. In Lawrence's opinion, the dark men of the "primitive" races are figures worthy of being given the honor of killing the blonde-haired, white-skinned, blue-eyed-devil female because they have stayed "primitive" and have kept *their women* in their place.

After the most incredible 42nd Street pornographic torture of the woman, to break her spirit, she is then done in by all the phallic symbols Lawrence could imagine. The men—dark gods of power—have remained completely "pure" and unmoved by this female. They are like male machines carrying out Lawrence's hatred.

What all of these writers expose is the degree to which this dying class society has had to divide men and women, pit them against each other in order to maintain its rule; and how destructive to both female and male are the roles it imposes on us.

Lawrence, Miller and Mailer reek of death, reac-

tion, alienation, and oppression. We women owe them nothing, in terms of sexual liberation.

Jean Genet

Jean Genet, the great French writer, is the last to be examined by Millett. Genet demolishes any argument that it is inherent for the female to be weak and mindless; that a woman who desires independence and learning is suffering from penis envy.

He simply takes all the female and male roles of class society and throws them into the world of male homosexuality, where they are acted out and, in the process, shown not to be natural or good for any person. We see these roles clearly as a product of the most brutal and dehumanizing factors in this society.

Genet understands the situation of females, since that was the role he was forced to play. In ridiculing and exposing the sex-role system, he has much to offer us feminists—in contrast to Miller, Mailer and Lawrence, who glorified it and tried to defend it.

If we combine Genet's ingenious dissection of this society's sex role system with the Marxist analysis, we see all the more clearly the totally reactionary role that the family plays. It serves as the jail where the father-jailor can treat his prisoners as he so wills, where the frustrated humanity of the prisoners leads them to turn on each other, destroying each other while playing precisely those roles that the prison warden (capitalist society) wants them to.

Feminist literature

The revitalized feminist movement of today is

already producing literature which is truly liberating for all human beings (in particular, for women). It is a literature which does not attempt to shut out society, does not glorify brutality, does not degrade, as do the works of Mailer, Miller and Lawrence. It is a literature that grabs this society and questions *all* of it; demands that it move forward, not backward (as Lawrence would have preferred). In the writings of feminists of this period is a starved quest for a society where we will be guaranteed our humanness from birth. Feminist writing (while, like Lucy Snowe, it might reflect some aspect of our 5,000 years of oppression) is one of gut conviction that we shall wait no more, that we are off our backs, and that in the tradition of our beautifully strong foremothers—Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Susan B. Anthony, Rosa Luxemburg—in their century of struggle, we shall win!

An error was made in last week's article by Evelyn Reed in review of *Sexual Politics*. The erroneous sentences, on page 13 under the subtitle "Millett and Engels," should have read: He gives "the most comprehensive account of patriarchal history and economy," she writes, and he "alone among the theorists attacked the problem of the patriarchal family organization" (p. 108). She misses the main point, however, that he was able to attack the problem of the patriarchal family so scientifically and clearly precisely because he saw its roots in the class system founded upon private property.

United Women's Contingent for April 24

By CINDY JAQUITH

Uniting women in independent contingents on April 24 was the focus of discussion at the women's workshops held at the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) conference in Washington, D.C., Feb. 20 and 21. Over 250 women—from feminist organizations, SMC chapters, the YWCA, etc.—met to map plans for bringing masses of women out on the antiwar demonstrations set for Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

The relationship between the fight

course at the expense of the just needs of women, Third World people, and all other oppressed sections of the population. Thus we must join with the other forces uniting in action against the war and bring our strength as women to bear in that struggle.

A proposal to the SMC conference as a whole that the SMC help initiate independent contingents of women on April 24 was passed. Women felt that the best way to maximize women's participation on April 24 was to call on all women to march together *as women*, independent of any antiwar formations or organizations. It was felt that women's organizations across the country should take on the responsibility of mobilizing women for the demonstration, in cooperation with antiwar organizations but as an independent force.

The involvement of women's liberation groups was seen as a very important part of organizing the contingents. Women's liberation activists at the workshops felt that their groups would be excited at the idea of demon-

stration contingents has already substantially increased antiwar demonstrations. However, the full potential of this movement, involving tens of thousands of people and potentially millions in motion, has yet to be tapped by the antiwar movement."

The proposal called for such things as gay liberation speakers at antiwar rallies, encouragement of gay contingents at all antiwar demonstrations, mutual support between SMC and gay liberation groups for rights to use campus facilities and to be recognized campus organizations, and a permanent gay task force within SMC to maximize gay participation in SMC activities.

An SMC Gay Task Force, which will be organizing the contingent for the Washington April 24 march, has been set up in New York. For information, write SMC Gay Task Force, 135 West 14 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011.

Women students also raised the importance of holding rallies, teach-ins and other activities around the question of women and the war on high school and college campuses in the week preceding April 24. Such activities would be an excellent way to publicize the contingent and sell bus tickets to campus women.

Another publicity idea was to hold women's press conferences on the contingent plans in April, featuring prominent spokeswomen from the women's liberation movement, trade unions, the Third World movement, and campus women's groups.

Gay activists join April 24

The gay workshop at the SMC conference presented a proposal to the conference as a whole, outlining concrete ways in which gay people can be reached and mobilized to participate in the April 24 demonstration.

The proposal, passed by the conference, says: "Participation of gay lib-

National Chicana Conference

The following is a press release received from Elma Barrera in Houston, Texas:

A National Chicana Conference is being planned by Chicanas for all Chicanas, Mexican-American and Spanish-speaking women in the U.S. The conference is scheduled for May 28-30, 1971, in Houston, Texas.

The Chicano movement is becoming stronger every day but we, as women, often find ourselves isolated as a group. We need unity to develop strength for ourselves and for La Raza. We need recognition. We urge that all Mexican-American groups send at least one representative. All mujeres should write for more information to:

Elma Barrera, c/o Magnolia YWCA, 7305 Navigation Blvd., Houston, Texas 77011. Tel: 926-2601, (week-ends) 747-5709.



Photo by Howard Petrick

against the war and the demands being raised by the women's movement were fully explored in the workshops. Women discussed how free abortions and child-care centers, for example, are being denied to us at the same time that the U.S. government spends billions of dollars on destruction in Southeast Asia.

Nixon is pursuing his treacherous

strating together with sisters from around the country and would welcome the opportunity to reach out to many women new to feminist ideas who would participate in the contingent.

All women agreed that the independent women's contingent presented an opportunity to involve in action forces beyond the feminist movement itself.

Third World Liberation Notes

The Polaroid Corporation recently gave another indication that it is not in business to be "liberal," but is in business to do business. On Feb. 10, Polaroid gave Caroline Hunter the axe for conducting the recent campaign disclosing the corporation's sales in South Africa. This action verifies the dictum that when the right of free speech and the business of making profits come into conflict, then the right of free speech must be abrogated.

Hunter was a member of a group of Black workers known as the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement (PRWM). When the PRWM tore away the curtain surrounding Polaroid's South Africa operations, the corporation responded with a big snow job. It sent representatives to South Africa to "investigate" the condition of Black workers. Upon returning, Polaroid ran big ads about how it would try to be an "equal opportunity employer" in South Africa, which is patently illegal.

But the campaign of the PRWM continued. It launched a boycott of Polaroid products when the corporation refused to pull out of the land of apartheid. Hunter, 24 years old, is among a number of employees who have been fired because of boycott activities. She was employed as a chemist.

On the night of Feb. 18, the entire 30-member Mexican-American Education Commission to the Los Angeles Board of Education resigned. The issue was the refusal of the board to transfer a Chicano teacher, Sal Castro, from predominately white North Hollywood High School to a high school in the Chicano community in East Los Angeles.

According to the Feb. 19 Los Angeles Times, "Castro, whose advocacy of militant Chicano pro-

tests in East Los Angeles schools in 1968 led to felony indictments by a county grand jury, resumed teaching last fall at North Hollywood High after a year-long absence from the classroom. The indictments against Castro and 12 other Chicanos (known among Mexican-American activists as the East L. A. 13) were overturned last summer by an appellate court."

The board assigned Castro to North Hollywood without consulting the Commission, thus bypassing its supposed purpose. Rev. Vahac Mardirosian, chairman of the 18-month-old Commission, said they would meet again only if Castro's transfer is reconsidered. Chicanos have been picketing North Hollywood High over Castro's assignment. The major teachers organization in Los Angeles, the United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA), is reported to be backing the demands of the Commission.

The Feb. 20 Los Angeles Times, carried an interview with Wing Yee of Needles, California. Yee is one of 250,000 Chinese-Americans. His grandfather was part of the Chinese labor force that laid "the final miles of Atlantic and Pacific Railroad track to California from Springfield, Mo., in 1883." In the interview, Yee vividly recounts the barbaric treatment meted out by America to Chinese-Americans.

He relates, "My family could have owned the town—could have developed businesses—could have been the leading family in Needles, if we weren't Chinese. Chinese could have been leading families in cities and towns all over California. But Chinese weren't permitted to own land, to buy farms, to go into any business except running laundries, running Chinese restaurants. Chinese didn't become laundrymen by choice. Most Americans are unaware that Chinese weren't even al-

lowed to bring their wives over here until after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor."

Yee described how Chinese-American men would go to China, marry, and come back to work for America. Intervals of five, 10, and 15 years separated couples getting back together. In Yee's case, he went to China in 1935, where he married. His wife became pregnant in the same year, but he went back to America to work before his daughter was born and didn't see his wife or daughter until 1948!

Police all over the country are mobilizing against a children's book (!). The book, entitled **Sylvester and the Magic Pebble** and published in 1969, depicts all of its characters as animals. In the eyes of the police that isn't so bad, except that the cops are depicted as pigs.

There are no captions in the book about "offing the pig," or "today's pig is tomorrow's bacon." Yet, police associations everywhere are calling for censorship of the book, asking libraries not to carry it.

According to the Feb. 20 New York Times, "In recent weeks, the American Library Association noted, there have been 'problems' with the book in Nebraska, California, Ohio, Maryland, and Illinois as well as attempts to have it removed from libraries in Florida, Pennsylvania, Kansas, Utah, South Carolina and Wyoming."

In quoting from a letter written by Victor J. Witt, secretary-treasurer of the Illinois Police Association, the Times writes, "Mr. Witt said the book's depiction of police officers would surely 'mold the minds' of children reading the book, causing them 'to think of police as pigs, rather than as their good friends.'" But in reply to Mr. Witt, a pig is a pig is a pig. The ALA is steadfastly fighting this attempt at censorship.

—DERRICK MORRISON

Fla. Black militant sentenced to 1 year

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla. (LNS)—Albert Courtney, 18-year-old Black activist with the Junta of Militant Organizations (JOMO), was sentenced to one year in the county jail on a year-old charge of "resisting arrest without violence."

Little Al was arrested on February 6, 1970, at a shopping center in St. Petersburg, even though he was in the area at the invitation of the shopping center management.

Earlier in the day, JOMO had successfully completed a picket in support of a boycott of the shopping center. After JOMO had left the area, about 300 Black high school and junior

high school students came on the scene to join the picket lines.

While JOMO was talking to the management, the police began chasing individual students throughout the parking area. The police promised to pull back and allow JOMO to get the students out without any violence. The police pulled back—into attack formation. Then, without any provocation they began attacking the Black students.

During Courtney's trial, his lawyer called for the disqualification of the all-white jury on the grounds that they were not a jury of Courtney's peers. Judge Tyson denied the motion.

The charge against Courtney had

originally been "resisting arrest with violence"—a felony charge which carries a sentence of up to five years on a chain gang. But someone can't resist arrest unless they're arrested first, so charges of "verbal abuse to an officer" and "disorderly conduct" were added.

The stories of the three cops that testified were contradictory. Two cops claimed that they couldn't have beaten Al—they didn't even have their clubs. The other one said that not only did they have their clubs but also riot sticks.

During the trial, it became clear that the prosecutor couldn't possibly press "resisting arrest with violence" charges

since the evidence so obviously proved that Little Al had been beaten by the cops.

The National Committee to Free Al Courtney needs defense funds and requests that people write to Al Courtney, Cell #4SE, Pinellas County Jail, Clearwater, Fla. 33516. Letters should also be sent to Florida Governor Reuben Askew, State Capitol, Tallahassee, Florida, protesting the illegal kidnapping of Albert Courtney. All checks should be made out to: Al Courtney Defense Fund, P.O. Box 12792, St. Petersburg, Fla. 33733. For further information, call the Institute of Black Unity (813) 896-2036. Speakers are also available.

H. S. demand: 'No cops in schools!'

By GARY JOHNSON

SEATTLE—Undercover police agents posing as high school students in order to entrap and arrest students on narcotics charges have been the target of a growing campaign by high school students here.

Anger at the use of police spies, which first came to light early in the semester, reached the combustion point on Feb. 16 when students woke up to front-page news that undercover cops had arrested 29 students at Nathan Hale and Ballard high schools the night before.

The Roosevelt High School Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC) responded by

calling an action for Feb. 18 under the demand "Get the Cops Out of Our Schools!" The rally launched a petition drive which in the first day resulted in 300 signatures at Roosevelt alone and hundreds more at other schools.

On Feb. 19, in actions at two schools, nearly 500 students demanded that the cops be kicked out. At Nathan Hale High School, 350 students exposed the dishonesty of the principal's statement that 90 percent of Nathan Hale's 1,500 students supported the use of undercover cops, by sitting in at the cafeteria. More than 100 students confronted the administration at Ingraham High School, extracting a pledge from the vice-prin-

cipal that he would work to have the cops removed.

The Pastor Niemuller Coalition, named for an anti-Nazi clergyman in Hitler's Germany and formed to protest undercover narcotics arrests at Franklin High School, organized a large demonstration at school district headquarters Feb. 26.

The use of police spies to intimidate students organizing political activity is clearly part of the school system's plan. One of these young spies, carrying a camera and a walkie-talkie, was observed by this reporter entering the Roosevelt principal's office just before the SMC rally Feb. 18.

Statements by the county district attorney and the school district's attorney also point to official concern about

more than "narcotics." Christopher Bayley, county attorney, announced Feb. 22 his intention to deal with "student disrupters" who "interrupt the normal process of education." School District Attorney Gary Little told this reporter he would approve of FBI agents in the schools "if they showed good reason" to be there.

The SMC and the other groups in the Pastor Niemuller Coalition, including lawyers and community groups as well as high school students, intend to continue organizing until they build a base of opposition which can force the real disrupters from the schools—the undercover cops, whose entrapment and arrest activities do not fit the students' definition of the "normal" educational process.

Rosa Luxemburg: On the necessity of mobilizing the masses



March 5, 1971, is the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Rosa Luxemburg—one of the greatest revolutionaries and one of the greatest women of all time.

Born in Russian-occupied Poland just a few days before the Paris Commune was proclaimed, she was murdered in Berlin by German counterrevolutionary shock troops on Jan. 15, 1919. In between those two events, she devoted her exceptional talents, energies and capacities to the cause of advancing the world socialist revolution. She was a writer and orator of great ability and an independent thinker whose uncompromising revolutionary stand on the major political questions of her day placed her in a category with few equals, and even fewer superiors.

She was one of the founders of the Polish revolutionary-socialist movement and one of its central leaders throughout her life, even though she lived most of her adult years in Germany.

In the German Social Democratic Party, the SPD, she was for 20 years the most uncompromising foe of all forms of opportunism. Before any of the other leaders of the international socialist movement understood the depth of the reformist degeneration taking place inside the SPD, Rosa Luxemburg was sounding the alarm and struggling to win the SPD's membership to a thoroughly revolutionary perspective.

She was a woman of action, not an armchair revolutionary. Whenever the masses began to move into action, she was there participating, leading, educating, learning—Poland 1905-06, Prussia 1910, Berlin 1918-19.

When the SPD capitulated to German imperialism at the outbreak of World War I and voted to back its "own" ruling class against French, British or Russian imperialism, Rosa Luxemburg, along with Karl Liebknecht, led the tiny handful of SPD members who

opposed the action as a betrayal of the most fundamental principles of Marxism and revolutionary internationalism. She spent most of World War I in the prisons of Germany, and was released only by the first wave of the German revolution of 1918-19.

Rosa Luxemburg understood the full significance of the October 1917 revolution in Russia and hailed the Bolsheviks for "the immortal historic service of having marched at the head of the international proletariat with the conquest of political power . . . and of having advanced mightily the settlement of the score between capital and labor in the entire world."

What errors Rosa Luxemburg made were within the framework of this totally revolutionary perspective, and within the context of a political record that few of her contemporaries could match for revolutionary consistency.

Rosa Luxemburg's accomplishments were all the more outstanding, given the weight of the prejudices against which she was fighting. She was considered a youngster (still in her 20s when she made some of her most important political contributions); a foreigner (a Pole living in Germany); a Jew; and (worst of all) a woman.

Women active in political struggles today are fully aware of all the personal, social and psychological pressures they must overcome, all the years of "conditioning" they must reject, all the prejudices they must fight against. We can only imagine how much more difficult it must have been for Rosa Luxemburg some 70 years ago, when a woman with a doctor's degree in political science was considered a freak, when the notion that a woman's place was in the home—where she was to be seen and not heard—was a hundred times stronger even than today, when politics was considered the male domain par excellence. She rejected many of the social norms of her day

and forced the world in which she lived to accept her for what she was, not the female appendage to a man, but an independent being, a revolutionary leader.

In commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of her birth, we are reprinting here, for the first time in English, the major portion of an article written by Rosa Luxemburg in June 1913.

The article deals in part with a question that Rosa Luxemburg wrote about extensively at different periods during her lifetime—the mass strike, or as we would call it today, a general strike, i.e., a strike or simultaneous series of strikes so widespread and affecting such diverse productive forces as to bring society to a virtual halt.

In 1905, the national convention of the SPD voted to endorse the idea of calling for a mass strike in the event that the German federal government attempted to restrict the right of universal male suffrage. The Social Democratic trade-union leaders, who were amongst the most conservative and backward elements in the SPD, considered that even such a limited discussion about mass strikes was too radical, and refused to allow it to be discussed within the trade unions. They feared, and correctly so, that any such strike could rapidly escape their ability to control it, that it could easily evolve in the direction of a revolutionary confrontation with the government.

Faced with the opposition of the trade-union leaders, the rest of the SPD leaders backed down and secretly agreed that the 1905 party resolution on the mass strike would be considered a dead letter. At the time, Rosa Luxemburg led the fight against this capitulation to the trade unionists. She correctly saw it as an alarming indication of the reformist direction being taken by the SPD leadership as a whole. In the summer of 1906, she wrote her most famous work

on the question, "The Mass Strike, the Political Party and the Trade Unions" (available in "Rosa Luxemburg Speaks," Pathfinder Press.)

In 1910, the issue came up again, this time in connection with the SPD's campaign to reform the reactionary voting laws in Prussia. Mass struggles had broken out in Prussia around the demand for universal male suffrage (which had been won for federal elections, but not for provincial ones). This coincided with a strike wave in the mines, and the economic and political struggles threatened to combine into a deepgoing challenge to the Prussian government. The SPD leadership worked diligently to cool off both struggles and prevent them from joining forces. The reason given was that federal elections were expected in 1911, and any major social upheaval and disturbance would lessen the chances of a major electoral victory for the SPD. The Prussian suffrage campaign petered out.

In 1913, when this article was written, a new wave of radicalization was taking place in Germany, controversy over the voting laws was coming to the fore again, and confused debate over the possibility of a mass political strike was resurfacing.

Rosa Luxemburg's concern, however, is clearly not over the immediate tactical discussion, but with the question of fundamental political orientation and revolutionary strategy. She is discussing first and foremost the necessity of mobilizing the masses in struggle around demands that speak to their needs. She is calling for a political offensive in a period of deepening imperialist crisis. She is pouring forth all her revolutionary fury on the smug conceit, conservatism, immobility, and unprincipled opportunism of the SPD leadership, which has become a brake



Rosa Luxemburg

"We are living in a time when only the intervention of the broad masses can influence the solution of basic political questions."

on such struggle. She is scoring the SPD's unprincipled parliamentary coalitions with the liberals and other capitalist parties. She is denouncing the lack of political life inside the SPD, which has become nothing but a giant, lifeless, bureaucratized electoral machine. She is outlining an orientation toward revolutionary struggle—which has nothing in common with the mechanical schema of a "mass strike" as it is conceived of by the SPD leaders with their petty, bureaucratic mentality. She is dealing with the dynamics of mass movements and interrelated struggles. She is discussing the role of the revolutionary party and its responsibility for political leadership. In all of these things, her arguments and views are as relevant now as they were 58 years ago.

In the United States today, there is no force comparable to the SPD in 1913. It was a working-class party capable of winning more than a third of the vote. It was the largest single party in the Reichstag, with 110 deputies. It published 90 daily newspapers and led millions of men, women and youth belonging to Social Democratic trade unions, women's organizations and youth groups. The attitudes and positions against which Luxemburg is polemicizing are perhaps best expressed today by some of the giant Communist parties like the French and Italian CPs, or by sections of the trade-union leadership in the U.S.

Contemporary readers will recognize the familiar themes of the arguments. The opponents of mobilizing the masses in action independent of reformist electoral schemes are still with us in the antiwar movement, the women's movement, the Black movement, and every other movement struggling for fundamental change.

The article first appeared in three installments in the June 26, 27 and 28, 1913, *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. The present translation is from the French version which appeared in "Rosa Luxemburg Textes," Editions Sociales, 1969. The translation is by David Thorstad.

—MARY-ALICE WATERS

If one were to put together the suggestions and thoughts expressed within the party during the last few days on the question of our tactics, the result would be a kind of cacaphony. On one side, the representatives and defenders of a policy of compromise (1) like Frank and Breitscheid are insistently calling for a mass strike, and the *Bochumer Volksblatt* agrees with them. On the other side, a party newspaper which usually defends left-wing points of view, the *Essener Arbeiterzeitung*, explains that it will not be possible for a long time yet to bring about a mass strike in Germany. In its opinion, we are still neither mature enough nor sufficiently equipped for undertakings of this nature.

While several organizations are asking that the next party congress look toward "the systematic preparation of the working class for the mass political strike," and even that a preparatory collection like the one in Belgium be undertaken (2), other comrades, like Meerfeld, are writing in *Neue Zeit* that for our movement the phase of the mass political strike has long since passed: the German having no more inclination for the mass strike than a bear for tightrope walking.

Two facts stand out clearly in this confusion:

1) The idea that all by itself the mass strike thrusts itself to the fore

every time, and that it is instinctively at the heart of every consideration once the party feels the need to act, to take a step forward, to struggle against stagnation, to show its strength;

2) It is also obvious that as far as the mass strike, the circumstances surrounding it, and its goals are concerned, there is still a desperate confusion in our ranks—no less among the adherents of this strike than among its opponents.

For example, the idea that the mass strike in Prussia could be reconciled with the formation of a broad coalition in Baden reflects a completely mechanical and superficial conception of the mass strike, which in no way takes into account either the profound historical ins and outs of every mass action or the psychology of the masses involved in the proletarian class struggle.

According to this view, the masses are used like pawns. They are to be moved forward whenever the political and diplomatic skill of the parliamentarians has yielded nothing and the leaders want, through this maneuver, to frighten the enemy. And they are to be quickly pulled back from the field of operations and asked to remain nice and quiet until next time as soon as negotiations are resumed with the enemy (who has been softened up by this pawn game) and as soon as common actions are being organized with him.

When everything else has been exhausted, then "we will make" a general strike—this is precisely the vulgar conception the anarchists have. In reality, the mass strike is not "an extreme means," the fruit of creative minds, which one might have recourse to in exceptional cases—a kind of high caliber gun that could be pulled out of one's arsenal when all other weapons have proven powerless. As a method used by the proletariat, the mass strike is an historical phase in the general class struggle, a phase during which the proletarian masses act autonomously and when the general class struggle has reached its greatest intensity. . . .

In and of itself, the mass strike is not a miraculous remedy (anymore than electoral struggle or any other form of struggle) which would permit the social democracy to extricate itself from a political dead end or to make a policy succeed without encountering any difficulties. Precisely because it is, in the final analysis, just one form of struggle. But it is not the technique one chooses that determines the outcome of a battle and that decides whether it results in victory or defeat, but the political content, the general tactics.

We are living in a time when only the intervention of the broad masses can influence the solution of basic political questions. The sudden changes in the international situation, the danger of war, the electoral problems, are questions of honor for the working class and urgently require the action of the masses. If, at the right moment, these masses do not appear on the scene, the party's action is paralyzed, it has no bite, and the party itself is painfully aware of its own inadequacy. But conversely, the use of the mass strike is no guarantee that, taken as a whole, the action of the social democracy will be spirited and effective.

If, for example, the mass strike is tied to a tactic which aims to merge a general state of indecision with vigorous but isolated thrusts, and occasional mass actions with illusions on the parliamentary level (such as collaboration with the liberals), and which would like to make the masses move at will in this or that direction—

now sending them into action, now pulling them back at the height of battle—then mass strikes lead only to ineffective experiences which, whatever courage and sacrifice the masses display, can only run pitifully aground. . . .

In this or that particular situation, the decisive factor is not the mass strike but the general attitude of the party: An offensive policy which, during a period of struggle, develops the greatest possible activity in all fields, replies sharply to any enemy provocation, and at all times pushes the energy and combativity of the proletariat to the maximum intensity. A vigorous offensive policy is sufficient both to spur the masses to act and to make their intervention bear fruit. A consistent, resolute, forward-looking tactic on the part of the social democracy gives rise among the masses to a feeling of security, of self-confidence, of combative fervor. A hesitating, sluggish tactic, based on an underestimation of the proletariat, has a paralyzing effect and sows confusion among the masses. In the first case, mass strikes break out "on their own" and always at "the right time"; in the second, it can happen that unequivocal calls by the leadership for the mass strike go unheeded.

If we had adopted an offensive tactic up to now, if for example we had organized a one-day protest strike when the Czar visited Berlin—as has happened on 10 occasions already in other countries; if, for the Emperor's jubilee, instead of almost making excuses for the fact that the proletariat did not take part in this farce—as our central organ did—we had mounted mass demonstrations throughout the Reich in favor of a republic, these actions—though lacking any immediate link with the method of voting in Prussia—would have considerably strengthened our party's position and the chances of success in our struggle, both against the current vote in Prussia and against the law on military credits.

When all kinds of indignities are swallowed without a word, the masses are demoralized and the arrogance of the enemy is increased. And if, under such circumstances, the masses are abruptly called on to "make" a strike, then either nothing at all happens or the result is a faltering movement which makes the party look ridiculous and increases the discouragement of the masses even more.

Thus, a mass strike is not staged at will, it is not used as a tactical expedient that could go with any policy. Mass strikes can only be powerful and effective if they heighten the potential of an action that is already underway and that expresses the revolutionary energy of the masses at a high degree of intensity. But if such a movement is to be launched in a favorable situation, it is especially important for the party itself, in all aspects of its work, to adopt a political offensive up and down the line. . . . The most urgent task confronting our party is not to throw mass slogans "to the winds," but to implement a general tactic inspired by a consistent revolutionary class struggle oriented toward a vigorous offensive in all areas, in the North as well as the South.

II

But this raises a question that is on the minds of many comrades who are eager to fight: Are we mature enough to lead victorious mass actions? Does the state of our organizations, which have still brought together only a small part of the working class, allow us to foresee mass strikes in Germany? Certainly the opinion

recently expressed by Comrade Meerfeld—according to him the national character of Germans would not permit them to conduct violent mass actions—hardly deserves serious refutation. The class struggle of the proletariat is a phenomenon so profoundly rooted in modern history that its main forms are determined by global relations, in the social and international sphere, and not by such secondary factors as national temperament.

The particular history of each country, and the traditions which this involves, exerts a much greater influence. There is no doubt that the absence of great revolutionary traditions in the German bourgeoisie, and hence in the German proletariat as well, is the source of a certain lack of self-confidence, of an excessive and deep-seated respect for the "legality" of the absolutist, bureaucratic police state and for the authority of the policeman's saber—faults which can be found even in the ranks of the social democracy. But in the final analysis, this state of mind itself changes very fast during history's great moments, during the revolutionary situations which the near future cannot fail to hold in store for us. Besides, to desperately deplore our "bourgeoisification" in general, as Comrade Meerfeld does in *Neue Zeit*, is to adopt a completely sterile attitude. In practice, many "left" comrades find in it a convenient excuse for not lifting a finger.

Objectively, the important question deserving analysis is that of the role of the social-democratic organizations in mass proletarian struggles in general. It is certainly odd that it is in the countries where the social democracy and the unions are the strongest that the greatest doubts about the maturity of the working class and its ability to launch mass actions are expressed. For 10 years we have seen numerous mass strikes of various kinds in Sweden and in Holland, in Belgium and in Italy, in Spain and in Russia, in France and in Austria, in Switzerland and in Hungary, and it is only in Germany—a country that is a model of organization, discipline and electoral victories—that the proletariat is said to not yet be ready for the mass strike! Such views would be a very sad commentary on the value of our organizations if they were anything but an indication of a striking lack of historical perspective. Clearly, we would only be "ripe" for the mass strike the day the last man and woman in the working class had joined the socialist section. Certainly this organizing zeal would be very commendable if it did not reflect a dangerous underestimation of the historical role of the unorganized masses and of their capacity for action.

In the end, one cannot help holding one's head in both hands and asking this question: How has world history been able to manage up to now without us, without our sections, and without the party leadership and the parliamentary group? The class struggle—and this is too often forgotten in our ranks—is not a product of the social democracy. The opposite is true: The social democracy itself is only a product—the most recent one—of the class struggle. The class struggle is as old as class society itself and it has at all times and all places been the toiling masses who acted when the moment came, who engaged in battles, who decided the outcome of the struggle. And all this happened without our sections and without our press.

How were the peasant wars possible? How were the great mass actions



of the English revolution in the eighteenth century carried out? And how did the Chartist movement or the admirable campaigns of the Parisian proletariat in 1848 and 1871 take place, at a time when the socialist organization comprised only minuscule secret associations? And these were not cases of a chaotic explosion stirred up by desperate troops—this is how certain people among us incorrectly picture the peasant wars—they were large actions sustained by political thought and led with continuity, tenacity, sacrifice, discipline and order, and with seriousness and dignity. And what does it matter if errors and stupidities were committed during the Revolution of 1848 and during the Paris Commune? Could it be that our leaders would never commit any stupidities?

The birth of the social democracy no more avoids political and historical errors than it guarantees the success and victory of the workers' cause in each separate battle. Each day we are forced to draw the lessons of history, and we have to always come back to this work, as have all militant, rising social layers from the very beginning. It is true that thanks to its theoretical understanding of the social conditions of the workers' struggle, the social democracy has breathed a consciousness into the proletarian class struggle that it previously lacked, and that it has given this struggle a perspective and clear objectives. For the first time it has created a lasting mass workers organization, thus providing the class struggle with a solid foundation. But it would be a fatal mistake to imagine that from now on the social-democratic organization has become the sole trustee of the people's entire historical capacity for action, the unorganized mass of the proletariat being reduced to an amorphous hodge-podge and constituting an inert ballast in history. The opposite is true. The mass of the people always remains the living matter of history, in spite of the social democracy. And it is only if blood is flowing between the organized nucleus and the popular masses, and only when the pulse of both is beating in unison that the social democracy is able to bring about great historic actions. To get it into one's head that one has to begin by integrating all working people into the cadres of the party before being able to make history is to move in a vicious circle. . . .

It is a strange idea to think that it would be enough to mechanically, and on an enormous scale, increase [the party's] bureaucratic routine to be able in time to recruit two, three, four million or even more members into our organizations and to keep them there.

On the contrary, for the broad masses, quantity must turn into a quite different quality. The broad masses must be able to take appropriate action and display their energy, they must be able to act as a mass and to demonstrate their passion, courage

and determination. But because our apparatus and our organizations cannot offer such perspectives in everyday life—for that, historical perspectives, which are not created artificially, are required—because on the contrary, in our organizations the little bit of intellectual life which might be possible is stifled by centralism, once and for all the illusion must be discarded that we could some day transform the enormous mass of working people into dues-paying members of our electoral sections in order for great mass actions to occur. This condition is neither prerequisite, nor possible, nor necessary. The only necessary condition is that the party demonstrate initiative and act boldly, thus placing itself at the head of the masses each time the political situation requires it.

Then the unorganized masses, and even social layers belonging to unfavorable organizations, will enthusiastically line up behind its banner. . . .

It is true that the masses can only carry off a success if the leadership provided by the party is consistent, determined and crystal clear. If one always takes one step backward each time one takes two steps forward, the mass actions themselves will always hang fire. But every time a political campaign fails, it is not the unorganized masses who are at fault but the organized party and the orientation it stamped on the movement.

Historically, the social-democratic party is called upon to organize the vanguard of the proletariat. As a party of the working class, it must start off the march and guarantee leadership. But if the social democracy imagines that it alone has been called upon to write history, that the class is nothing, that it must first be transformed into a party before being able to act, the social democracy could find itself playing the role of a brake on the class struggle and then, when the time has come, being forced to run after the movement, dragged against its will into the decisive battle.

III

And yet it would be a serious mistake to imagine that the ballot question in Prussia could—like the Gordian knot cut by one blow of a sword—be resolved by a mass strike decided upon, for instance, by the party congress or by a party directive. It is already a false notion to picture an isolated mass strike "breaking out," for example, at a predetermined time, like a splashy action coming at the end of a period of super-serious preparation: The most that can be organized in this way, on command and following meticulous preparations, are brief demonstration strikes on very special occasions. To be sure, these strikes too are of great importance, especially in Germany, where they would constitute a completely new form of action. But it would be pure illusion to want to settle anything concerning the ballot question in Prussia by a mass strike of this kind, prepared on the Belgian model and carried through with scrupulous precision. Our enemies would be even better prepared than we would for a strike so skillfully prepared and solemnly announced, and they would very likely let us go on strike as much as we pleased. Just as in Belgium, the only thing left for us to do would be to snatch out of the air the first pretext for interrupting the strike and make people admire our discipline at leaving the battlefield without having obtained anything. If anyone here wanted to launch a mass strike of this kind, it would be better not to attempt anything at all, for in so doing one simply gives rise to vain hopes among the masses and lays the

groundwork for inevitable disappointment and discouragement.

In the struggle for universal suffrage in Prussia, it cannot be a question of one mass strike assuring us of victory after patiently going through ten or twenty days of work stoppages, but of a long period of fierce, hard struggles allowing for several relatively long mass strikes of various kinds, depending on changes in the general situation: demonstration strikes and combative strikes, economic strikes and political strikes.

In a period like this, it is a question of bringing together all the elements likely to arouse the masses, of utilizing every union conflict (movements of the unemployed, etc.), but especially of setting into motion the silent slaves of the state (clerks and public service workers) in order to awaken all the energy and latent anger, and to make it all empty into the same river—the political struggle—and to maximize the pressure exerted. Such an action could not help but be violent if it is to yield anything, since it has to bring into play all the real power of the popular masses.

This already implies that one cannot throw oneself into such a period of struggles with a blueprint of the campaign in one's pocket, all ready and worked out down to the smallest detail, and an estimate of the costs the operation will entail. It implies that the main concern of the leadership cannot be "legality" and that the slogan of the struggle must be: discipline. In a great political struggle that will become an important moment in history, the working masses cannot be controlled the way an animal tamer displays his wild beasts behind iron bars, pistol in one hand and club in the other. During great struggles, the impetuosity of the unorganized masses constitutes much less of a danger in our eyes than the weakness of the leaders.

Looking more closely, one sees that the use of the mass strike, as it must be viewed in practice, is not a fool-proof operation, as more than one comrade has thought. A struggle of this scope cannot be waged with ludicrous means and a faltering policy. *What is now incumbent upon us is not to prepare for any one particular mass strike, but to prepare our organizations for great struggles to come.* Our task is not to educate the working class about the mass strike but to educate the social democracy in preparation for the political offensive. . . .

If one wants to draw a balance sheet of the experiences of the last few years, including the recent military law, one can make the following generalization: The period of imperialist development will bring upon the working class increasingly violent blows, without our action always constituting an adequate response.

There is, moreover, no reason to be surprised at this. It would be a mistake to attempt to place the "blame" for this state of affairs. For twenty years, since the repeal of the anti-socialist laws (3), our apparatus and our tactics have been adapted to one single task: elections and parliamentary struggle. In this field, we have achieved wonders and our party has grown in this struggle. But the new period, that of imperialism, confronts us with new problems that cannot be solved by parliamentary means alone, with the old apparatus and the old routines. When the situation lends itself to it, our party must learn how to launch and lead mass actions; it does not yet know how to do so. At serious conjunctures, its concept of leadership is not up to where it should be. Nothing proves this better than the action against the method of voting in Prussia,

which was halted at its peak [in 1910]; which means that in spite of all the wasted lulls, we are today at exactly the same point we were at just three years ago.

Various statements made in our ranks demonstrate the same deficiency. Those who utter them hope to "go to a mass strike" the way they would go to a military parade. They would like to apply to great historic struggles the old recipes of discipline, caution, foresight, self-restraint, and the leadership methods that have proven excellent for elections to arbitration boards, city councils and the Reichstag.

How should we answer those who tell us that we do not have the right to take responsibility for such serious measures as a mass political strike in Germany as long as we are not absolutely sure of victory? This point of view, which appears to be one of utmost wisdom, is actually the very opposite of political wisdom. Let's not even discuss the fact that in general it is a pitiful captain who will not engage in battle unless he already has the victory in his pocket. If revolutionaries had let themselves be guided by such rules in the past, history would never have known either revolutions or victories. But such a strategy especially sins against the basic historical laws of the proletarian class struggle. It is only through the test of struggle that the proletariat can assemble its troops and increase its forces in preparation for the final victory. It has to accept the defeats and the alternatives that such a struggle implies. Whether it ends in victory or defeat, a great struggle makes more progress, as far as lucidity and historical experience are concerned, than thousands of propaganda pamphlets or thousands of meetings during a period of quiescence. Those who do not want to go into battle unless they have all the guarantees of victory beforehand ought to recall these words by Marx in the *Eighteenth Brumaire*:

"Proletarian revolutions . . . like those of the nineteenth century, criticize themselves constantly, interrupt themselves continually in their own course, come back to the apparently accomplished in order to recommence it afresh, deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weaknesses and paltrinesses of their first attempts, seem to throw down their adversary only in order that he may draw new strength from the earth and rise again more gigantic before them, recoil ever and anon from the indefinite prodigiousness of their own aims, until the situation has been created which makes all turning back impossible, and the conditions themselves cry out: Hic Rhodus, hic salta! [Here is Rhodes, leap here!]"(4)

And this has remained the law of the proletarian class struggle even after the social democracy took the leadership of it. Its real concern in its mission of leading the masses is not to lie in wait looking for assurance of victory on the horizon. Rather, it must make its own the elementary slogan of any revolutionary party: to run from battle when it has become inevitable is a hundred times worse than a defeat.

1. The reference is to parliamentary coalitions and compromises between the Social Democratic and liberal deputies in the Reichstag. This policy had long been carried out by Social Democratic deputies in certain southern states, including Baden, to which Luxemburg refers later. In 1912-13, the SPD deputies in the Reichstag were attempting similar moves.

2. In Belgium, the party and the unions had begun to build up a strike fund.

3. Laws adopted in 1878 at Bismarck's prompting. They forced the Social Democratic Party to go partly underground. They were repealed in 1890.

4. Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, International Publishers, New York, p. 17.

Newark teachers' strike in fifth week, students present their own demands

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEWARK, March 1—The Newark teachers' strike has entered its fifth week, despite attempts by the Gibson administration and the courts to break the strike.

With nine-month jail sentences hanging over the heads of three leaders of the Newark Teachers Union, and court fines totaling \$60,000, a rally yesterday of more than 2,000 teachers decided to continue the strike.

On Thursday, Feb. 25, Judge Samuel Allcorn sentenced Carole Graves, Frank Fiorito, and Donald Nicholas to six months in jail for violating an antistrike injunction. Each was also ordered to pay fines of \$500. Allcorn also ordered the three to serve three-month jail sentences that they received for breaking an anti-strike injunction in last year's teachers' strike.

Graves, who is Black, is president of the NTU. Fiorito is executive vice-president and Nicholas a vice-president.

Since the strike in February 1970, there has been a permanent antistrike injunction against the NTU. Allcorn levied a fine of \$60,000 with an additional fine of \$7,500 a day if the strike continues into a fifth week.

The NTU defense counsel immediately appealed the case to Superior Court Judge Mark Sullivan. Sullivan freed the three on the condition that they order an end to the strike.

However, at the Sunday teachers' rally, in the auditorium of the Robert Treat Hotel, Graves related, "It would be an act of dishonesty to ask you to go back to work," since the union had democratically decided not to work without a contract. She said she could

not reverse this decision because it had been made by the membership. In a great show of enthusiasm, the teachers voted to continue the strike.

Even though the NTU is 40 percent Black—including aides and clerks—less than 100 Blacks attended the rally. The NTU's total membership is 3,500.

On the podium at the rally sat representatives from the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, the American Federation of Teachers, Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union, Painters Union, International Typographical Union, and leading officials of the International Union of Electrical Workers.

After the rally, the NTU negotiators went to meet the negotiating team from the Board of Education. The negotiations are being mediated by Jonas Silver, who was appointed by the Public Employees Relations Commission.

Today, even though negotiations are in process, the Essex County prosecutor's office has moved in court to have the union leaders arrested.

Black community

The continued insistence of the NTU leadership that the strike is just a "labor-management" dispute has thwarted any efforts to win over the Black and Puerto Rican communities, which constitute more than 75 percent of the city. Newark's population hovers around 400,000. When NTU President Carole Graves was asked by this reporter whether Black and Puerto Rican control of the educational system was an issue in the strike, she said, "No," that it was solely about the right of Black, Puerto Rican and white workers to organize.

That this view of the NTU leadership is erroneous becomes quite evident in talking to those with the greatest stake in the educational system, the students. Of the 78,000 students, 75 percent are Black. Recently, the Newark Students Federation began asserting its own demands. The NSF is made up of the president and vice-president of each of the eight high school student councils. It also includes six representatives from each student body.

Contrary to reports in some publications (including the Communist Party's *Daily World*) that the NSF supports the strike, the NSF supports neither the board nor the NTU, and is trying to keep the schools open for academic reasons. They held a meeting on Monday night, March 1, to issue a press statement on their 41 demands. The meeting, held at Central United Presbyterian Church, was attended by about 50 students and some parents.

The speakers were Larry Hamm, chairman of the NSF; Eugene Campbell, principal of Robert Treat Elementary School and a community representative on the board's negotiating team; Imamu Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) of the Committee for a Unified Newark (CUN); Dennis Westbrook and Sharpe James, councilmen from the Central and South wards respectively; and Gustav Henningburg, executive director of the Greater Newark Urban Coalition. All are African-American.

Hamm called upon the parents to "awake" and put an end to the dispute. He said that only they had the power to deal with both the board and the union. Campbell and Baraka said

that the students could not remain neutral in the present crisis. Whereas Campbell was explicit about his support of the board, Baraka was implicit. Baraka suggested a mass community meeting, where the board, teachers, students, and community could air their points of view.

Westbrook and James, former teachers, also called for supporting the board. James even made the ridiculous assertion that since the strike was illegal, the teachers should be willing to go to jail just as Martin Luther King did when he broke the law in Birmingham, Alabama in 1963! James and Westbrook were elected to the City Council on Mayor Gibson's slate last spring. Henningburg, who was at one time mediating the strike, denounced both the board and the union.

In talks with the students after the meeting, they persisted in their position, running down the worsening conditions and restrictive atmosphere maintained in the schools. Their refusal to support the board in the strike, unlike other Black groups, stems from the fact that the board is responsible for this state of affairs.

The following is the press statement issued by the NSF: "The Newark Students Federation today made public a list of 41 demands which they have presented to both sides in the 30-day-old Newark teachers' strike.

"Citing their stake in the current dispute, the NSF, representing students at the eight Newark public high schools, demanded student observers in the school talks and a voice in the final contract.

Continued on page 22

Third World activists project spring actions

By TONY THOMAS and NORMAN OLIVER

Among the most important aspects of the Feb. 19-21 Student Mobilization Committee conference were the projections made by the Third World workshops.

More than 100 Third World activists, mostly Blacks, attended the sessions. The largest group was pro-Pan-Africanist students from Howard University, Federal City College, Cardozo High School, and other Washington, D.C., colleges and high schools. Black students also came from Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and California. Organizations that were represented at the workshop include the Raza Unida Party of Crystal City, Texas, the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Communist Party, and the Young Workers Liberation League.

The workshop first discussed the direct relationship between the war in Indochina and the basic problems of the Black community. It was decided that mobilizing the Black and Chicano people against the war around the April 2-4 and the April 24 dates would be an important way to begin organizing the Black and Brown communities.

Assessing the experience of the numerous Chicano Moratoriums, including the massive antiwar demonstration in Los Angeles last August and the recent Riverside, Calif., Black Moratorium, most of the participants felt that all-Chicano and all-Black demonstrations and committees were the best way to organize Black and Chicano people against the war. This is also true of other oppressed nationalities such as the Asian-Americans, who recently organized an action in New



Photo by Derrick Morrison

New York Asian-American demonstration against Laos invasion, Feb. 24.

York protesting the invasion of Laos.

While representatives of the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League felt that this was "dividing the peace movement," it was explained that Black and Brown people have to organize themselves, and that having all-Black organizations in no way contradicts building the whole antiwar movement. Several Black students pointed out that the CP's obsession with "racism in the peace movement" flowed from a dependence on what whites were doing, not on organizing Black people.

Several local areas have already announced plans for Third World antiwar actions. In Washington, D.C.,

the Third World Task Force Against the War in Southeast Asia is planning actions on April 2, 3 and 4. Sponsors include Michael Harris, president of the Student Association at Howard University; John Gibson, D.C. Urban League; Etta Horn, D.C. National Welfare Rights Organization; Edell Lydia, D.C. Angela Davis Defense Committee; and candidates for D.C. nonvoting delegate to Congress, Julius Hobson of the Statehood Party and James Harris of the SWP.

The Detroit Black Moratorium Committee is sponsoring a teach-in at Highland Park Community College and a demonstration on April 3. Both of these actions are also supported

by Detroit SCLC and the Detroit NAACP.

Prominent Third World endorsers of the April 2-4 and April 24 actions include Julian Bond; Ron Dellums; Carl Stokes; Rev. Charles Koen, chairman of the Cairo, Ill., United Front; Eliseo Medina, United Farm Workers Organizing Committee; Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, SCLC national secretary; and Julius Hobson.

Buttons, leaflets and other antiwar materials can be obtained from the National Third World Task Force Against the War in Southeast Asia, c/o NPAC, 1029 Vermont Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Tel: (202) 638-6601.

Socialist Campaign '71

Black socialist opposes Stokes

By NANCY ROZMAN

CLEVELAND — At a well-attended kickoff rally on Feb. 27 at Debs Hall, John Hawkins and Gale Shangold announced their campaigns as Socialist Workers Party candidates for mayor and City Council, 19th Ward. Guest speaker at the rally was Clifton DeBerry, SWP candidate for governor of New York in 1970 and the 1964 SWP candidate for President.

Hawkins, an activist in the Black liberation and antiwar movements, is running against the Democratic Party incumbent, Carl Stokes. Stokes, the first Black mayor of a major United States city, is under attack from forces in the City Council as well as from the Cuyahoga County Democratic Party machine. He may have to run without the endorsement of the Democratic Party in the coming elections.

Commenting on Stokes' record, Hawkins told the rally, "Rather than make a clean break with the Democratic Party machine, Stokes has tried to form, out of dissident elements in the Democratic Party, a caucus capable of catching votes and putting him into office. Rather than mobilizing masses of Blacks to struggle for control of schools, courts, police, and every other institution in the Black community, Stokes has relied at best on legislating reforms, and at worst on mobilizing police and the National Guard to put those struggles down. This brand of politics does not differ in any way from the politics of the Democratic and Republican parties nationwide."

Pointing to the successes of the Raza Unida Party in Southwest Texas and Colorado as an example, Hawkins told the gathering that "in Cleveland, where over 38 percent of the population is Black, the formation of a mass Black political party would mean the end of the two-party shell game in this city. It would mean turning Cleveland into much the same kind of place as Crystal City, Texas. Could you imagine taxing Sohio, Republic Steel, and Jones and Laughlin for the funds needed to provide adequate transportation and housing for the people of this city? Or turning City Hall into an organizing center for the Black liberation movement, antiwar movement and women's liberation movement? Sohio, Republic Steel, and Jones

and Laughlin can imagine it, and so can Stokes and the Democratic and Republican machines, and none of them like the idea."

Cleveland's 19th Ward, where Gale Shangold is running, includes Case Western Reserve University. Shangold, a CWRU undergraduate, is well known as an activist in the women's liberation and antiwar movements. In addition to campaigning for City Council, Shangold is the Young Socialist Alliance candidate for president of the CWRU undergraduate student government.

Shangold told the rally, "The student movement and the women's liberation movement are powerful vehicles which can bring about changes in our society. My campaign for City Council is the only campaign which supports and builds the movements which will bring an end to the war and which will fight for the liberation of women and the liberation of all oppressed people." Condemning her opponent's silence on the Kent State massacre last May and the subsequent indictments of 25 Kent State students and faculty, Shangold pledged to use her campaign to help press for the dismissal of charges against the Kent 25 and to help organize their defense.

Shangold's major opponent, Anthony J. Garofoli, a Democrat and president of the City Council, is the major spokesman for the anti-Stokes forces in the council.

One local TV station was on hand at the kickoff rally and filmed the speakers for an evening newscast. Invitations to appear on local talk-shows have already begun to come in, and the CWRU newspaper, *The Observer*, will run a feature article on both SWP candidates in a future issue.

L.A. Black students endorse Smith

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 26 — The Trade-Tech College Black Students Union today endorsed Baxter Smith for Board of Education Office Number Five. BSU members vowed an active support for Smith's candidacy in whatever way possible. Chairman William Terry stated that Smith was the best choice because he is running on a program of Black control of Black education, which they support. Smith has been active in building the BSU, and helped organize a caravan of cars from Trade-Tech to Riverside, Calif., for the Black Moratorium against the Vietnam war held there in January.

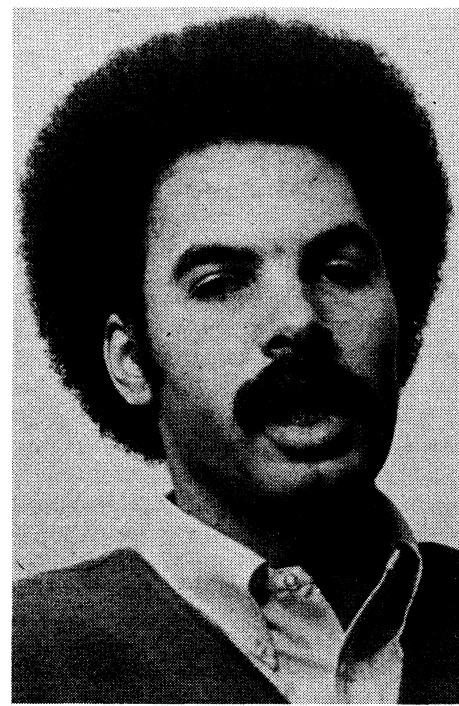
Due to their increasing attention to the problems at Trade-Tech, the BSU and several of its members have been subjected to administrative harassment. Last semester, the former chairman was escorted out of class and led away to jail on a warrant.

The BSU was just recently reactivated as a legal club on the campus. The administration last semester had deactivated the organization after it had missed an inter-club meeting. This week, Ron Carter, a Central Committee member, was suspended from school for being tardy to class four times. He was also told that his job as a tutor was being terminated due to his militant political beliefs. Carter was a recent spokesman at a Militant Labor Forum in a panel on the Black University.

A recent article in the *Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch*, a Black-owned news-

paper, revealed that Fred Brinkman, the college president, had made statements in his doctoral thesis that it is totally unrealistic for minority students to pursue academic aims, due to their deprived socioeconomic status.

Brinkman maintains that Blacks and Chicanos are best suited to the pursuit of trades. Trade-Tech is near-



Baxter Smith

Photo by John Gray

ly 50 percent Black and Chicano, and the BSU is working on exposing the racist practices at the school, and on the eventual ouster of Brinkman. The BSU requests the help of all who support their fight to organize at the school free from harassment. Letters of protest should be sent to: Fred Brinkman, president, Trade-Tech College, 400 West Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90015.

In another campaign development this week, Baxter Smith spoke on "The Legacy of Malcolm X" at Los Angeles City College. Smith's talk was part of week-long ceremonies commemorating Malcolm X at the college. At the YSA-sponsored meeting, over 50 Black students heard Smith speak on the key ideas advanced by Malcolm during his lifetime. Several students joined a discussion afterward to discuss Smith's ideas on nationalism and his campaign as a means of advancing the struggle.

D.C. delegate contest steps up

By CALVIN ZON

WASHINGTON — The campaign for nonvoting D.C. delegate is now in full swing with the election coming up on March 23. A total of six independent candidates filed their petitions for ballot status by the Feb. 22 deadline.

The D.C. election law permits challenges of petition signatures until March 4. The *Washington Post* took it upon itself to investigate the validity of the petitions and alleged that two independents, Robert King and Ira Mosely, were short of the required 5,000 registered voters. They based this judgment on the percentage of valid signatures from a sample of only 150.

Right on cue, the D.C. Democratic Central Committee (Democrats needed only 2,000 signatures to get on the primary ballot) announced that it would challenge the petitions of these candidates and look for other "irregularities."

James Harris, Socialist Workers Party candidate, strongly criticized the victimization of these candidates. "They are reinforcing the district's unfair election laws. If either the *Washington Post* or the D.C. Democratic Central Committee were truly interested in fair election practices, they would expose the unfair laws, rather than placing the onus of blame upon the candidates. Instead, they are using these laws to keep independent candidates off the ballot in order to maintain the two-party monopoly on politics."

Harris has had increasing opportunity to present the socialist viewpoint, as interest mounts in the first election since 1871 to grant D.C. residents congressional representation.

On Feb. 14, Harris appeared on a half-hour TV interview program with Julius Hobson, Statehood Party candidate. In answer to Hobson's individualistic and "heroic" approach to the campaign, and his contention that "revolutions are made by six people in a smoke-filled room," Harris counterposed the concept of independent mass mobilizations.

Harris and Hobson met again on Feb. 25 before the students of a Black high school. Harris drew an enthusiastic response in discussing the implications of Black self-determination. Hobson's antinationalist position drew a negative response, which prompted him to walk off the platform, saying, "I guess Mr. Harris can relate to you better than I can."

Hobson, for over ten years an effective local fighter for civil rights, especially in education and employment, has disappointed many of his admirers by the shallowness of his campaign. He has preferred rhetoric about how his past record qualifies him for congressional giant-killer.

Harris has also raised important issues with the Rev. Douglas Moore of the local Black United Front at several forums in the Black community. Moore seems to be getting increasingly uneasy about his stand on the war, which he calls a "white issue" and abortion, which he calls "murder."

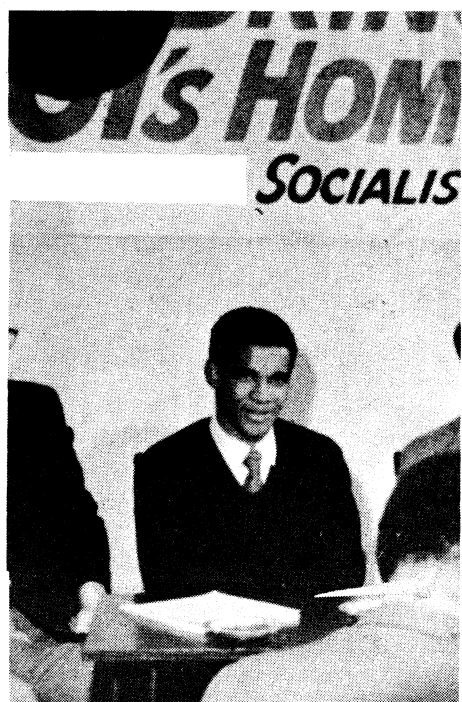
Harris has helped to organize a local Black task force against the Vietnam war, to which he gives some of his speaking time at campaign meetings.

Both Harris and Moore exposed the conservatism of the Democratic candidate, Walter Fauntroy, at a Feb. 24 community forum, which received wide media coverage. While Fauntroy harped on the notion that tighter gun control was needed, Harris and Moore spoke of the danger of gun laws aimed mainly at Black people, and of the need for Blacks to be able to defend themselves, as they have been forced to do in Cairo, Ill.



James Harris

Photo by Dave Linsey



John Hawkins

Arizona Raza Unida Party formed

By GREG NICKEL

TUCSON, Ariz. — About 125 persons, 90 percent of them Chicano, attended a conference here Feb. 27 to discuss problems of the Chicano movement and to form a Raza Unida Party in southern Arizona. Organizers of the conference included Chicano activists from local campuses and the community, many of whom have been involved in various struggles here for some time.

Since last July, a struggle for community control has been going on over the use of 38 acres of land which is now the El Rio golf course. The golf course is adjacent to the Hollywood barrio, one of several Chicano barrios in Tucson. The El Rio Coalition, formed to lead this fight, has held demonstrations and has faced harassment by golfers and police as well as beatings and jailings.

In a leaflet distributed at the conference, Coalition Chairman Jorge Lespron pointed out that "during the Democratic campaign, it [El Rio] was promised to the people, and then denied after the election. . . . While our children play in the streets and sniff spray, while our aged are left to rot with nothing to do, and while workers who have families have no place to go to but corner bars, the rich golfer, who does not live in the barrio, uses this paradise supported by our taxes."

Several MECHA (Movement of Chicano Students of Aztlan) chapters in Tucson also face a struggle over the right to be recognized on the campuses and in the high schools.

A more immediate attempt at suppressing the Chicano movement in Tucson was the last-minute move by the local school board officials to rescind permission to use the Manzo School auditorium for the conference. Manzo School is in the heart of a Chicano barrio.

In spite of all the harassment, not a single note of pessimism or demoralization was sounded at the conference. Because of the lockout, it was decided to hold the conference outdoors, on folding chairs on the lawn, and to shorten it to one day from two.

Official registrars were signing up voters with La Raza Unida Party right at the conference. There were two workshops scheduled—antiwar and building La Raza Unida Party—then lunch and a plenary session.

In the antiwar workshop, there was extensive discussion of how the war oppresses La Raza. Participants hammered out a resolution condemning the war in Southeast Asia and calling for the immediate formation of a Southern Arizona Chicano Moratorium Committee to plan for a Chicano Moratorium in Tucson sometime in

late March, establishment and maintenance of communications with Chicano antiwar groups all over Aztlan, and building a Chicano contingent to go to San Francisco on April 24.

In the Raza Unida Party workshop, there was great diversity of ideas, as numerous individuals put forth various approaches toward organizing Chicanos. However, even with this diversity, it was clear that the overwhelming consensus reached was to begin immediately organizing a registration drive and to run a slate of candidates in the upcoming local election in the name of La Raza Unida Party. Participants plan to continue meeting on a regular basis.

A lunch break was followed by several performers who sang militant nationalist songs.

The Northern California Raza Unida Party sent a telegram which was read to the entire body, as well as a shipment of La Raza Unida Party buttons and bumper stickers which were received very well.

Miguel Pendas from the West Coast office of the Student Mobilization Committee and a former organizer of the San Francisco Chicano Moratorium Committee, who came to Tucson especially for the conference, sketched a history of Chicano participation in the antiwar movement. He pointed out that Chicanos have a special interest

in building the movement to end the war because of the disproportionately high rate of Chicanos dying in Southeast Asia. "Ever since the big Moratorium Nov. 15, 1969, Chicano contingents have been among the largest and most spirited." He also pointed out that over 30 Chicano Moratoriums have been held throughout Aztlan, and that the Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles on Aug. 29, where over 30,000 Chicanos demonstrated against the war, was a historic turning point in the Chicano movement.

A short talk by a Chicano ex-convict concluded the conference. He told of his experiences at a nearby penitentiary where he was sent by an all-Anglo jury for several years for petty theft. Chicano nationalism has penetrated deeply into the prisons. Chicanos used to form gangs according to what city they were from, he said, and fight each other. But that is all changed now. There is a feeling of solidarity among all Raza prisoners.

KTKT, a local radio station, interviewed Pendas, conference organizer Salomon Baldenegro, and others.

Temporary headquarters have been established in the Chicano community. They may be reached by writing La Raza Unida Party, c/o Centro Chicano, 706 N. Melrose Ave., Tucson, Arizona 85705.

L.A. Raza Unida Party holds convention

By BAXTER SMITH

LOS ANGELES—The first Los Angeles County convention of the Raza Unida Party was held Feb. 27 at Cal State Los Angeles in East Los Angeles, the largest Chicano barrio in the United States.

More than 250 overwhelmingly young people attended the day-long working conference to begin mapping out a program to be ratified by a future Southern California convention of the Raza Unida Party.

Raza Unida Party planning conferences were also held the same day in nearby Riverside, Calif., and in San Bernardino.

The day's agenda began with a panel discussion on the need for La Raza Unida Party. The first spokesperson was Bert Corona of the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA), who gave the history of the Democratic Party in relation to Chicanos and said, "Our job is to unmask the Democratic Party. We must clear this [Democratic Party] out of our mind. Democrats have always put nails in our coffin."

Other panel speakers included Chris Cebada, editor of *La Causa*, the Brown Berets' newspaper; Chris Penechit, a Chicano studies instructor at Cal State L.A.; Roger Lopez, representative of the San Bernardino Raza Unida Party; and Roberto Elias, an organizer of the Aug. 29 Chicano Moratorium and currently a Raza Unida Party organizer.

Elias said, "La Raza means all people of Latin descent, our people, two continents of bronze people. We must unite."

There was then discussion on the Raza Unida Party concept. One question asked from the audience was, "How can we, by building a political party, get together when over one-third of Latinos in the United States are not U.S. citizens and cannot vote?" Chris Cebada answered by explaining that the purpose of the Raza Unida Party is to "unite our people by any means necessary—not only to be united for one day in November, but 365 days a year." He explained the party would be a tool



Photo by John Gray

Los Angeles Chicano Moratorium, Aug. 29, 1970

for educating, organizing and unifying all of La Raza.

The conference broke into nine workshops: labor, education, welfare, immigration, penal reform, administration of justice (police and courts), public health and drug abuse, political representation, and control of the land. The workshop reports discussed numerous demands and goals. The education report, given by Carmelita Ramirez, called for Chicano control of Chicano education, to include making policies for hiring and firing, bilingual education, open admissions, and guarantees to Chicanos for tutors and full financial support. The political representation workshop covered the areas of candidates, reapportionment and voter registration. The report called for "nonsupport of any candidate that exploits La Raza."

The convention will meet again in one month to move closer to ratification of a program. A calendar of forthcoming Raza Unida Party events throughout the country was given:

March 20—San Jose, Calif., Chicano Moratorium.

March 27-28—Los Angeles La Raza Unida Party conference on immigration.

March 27—Chicanos Organizados Pintas [Prisoners] Aztlan Day (COPA Day) in Chino, Calif.

March 28-30—National Chicana Conference in Houston, Texas.

April 3—Fresno, Calif., Chicano Moratorium.

Date in April to be announced—National Raza Unida Party Convention (at place to be announced).

SAN FRANCISCO—An indication of the impact that the Los Angeles Raza Unida Party conference made on the West Coast is the fact that radio station KYA, one of the biggest stations in San Francisco, broadcast a story on the L.A. conference every hour the day following the conference, saying that 200 Chicanos met and decided to break with the Democrats and Republicans and to form their own Raza Unida Party.

Polish women win major concessions

By DOUG JENNESS

MARCH 1—On February 15, the Polish bureaucracy announced that the price rises that sparked a massive workers' uprising in December were being rescinded. This is the most significant concession that Communist Party chief Eduard Gierek has been forced to make since he took power after Wladyslaw Gomulka was ousted in December.

The cancellation of the price increases came on top of several earlier concessions. In January, the Gierek regime was prodded by the workers to give up a wage incentive plan that would have introduced greater speed-up into production, to fire a number of unpopular government officials, and to recognize the workers councils in the factories as legitimate bodies.

This latest and most far-reaching retreat was the direct result of a textile strike in Lodz, Poland's second largest city. Eighty percent of the workers in 31 textile plants in and around Lodz are women, and the majority of the 10,000 strikers were women. The workers in the cotton mills where the strikes took place are among the lowest paid in Poland. Added to this are inadequate child-care centers, insufficient maternity leaves, and the low number of women managers.

A week before the strike, the bureaucracy showed signs of realizing that discontent was building up among women workers against these oppressive conditions. On Feb. 3 in Warsaw, leaders of the state trade-union federation announced a plan for improving the conditions of female workers.

The bureaucratic government moved too late, however, to meet the grievances of the women, and their pent-

up anger boiled over into a militant and uncompromising struggle against the government.

Initially, the Polish bureaucracy reacted to the threat posed by the women strikers in Lodz with the same authoritarian arrogance that characterized its response to the shipyard workers' protests in December. Bureaucratic officials had blamed the outbreaks in the coastal cities on "hooligans." The Lodz strikers were represented as "hysterical" and "unrealistic" females.

On Feb. 14, a four-man Politburo delegation headed by Premier Jaroszewicz spent 18 hours in Lodz trying to convince the striking women that their demands for a 15 percent wage hike were "unrealistic." These officials flew back to Warsaw, and the next day the regime surrendered, withdrawing an average 17 percent increase in food prices made on Dec. 12. The working women of Lodz had won for every worker in Poland effective wage increases comparable to what they were demanding for themselves.

The Kremlin bureaucrats, who are worriedly watching the developments in Poland and fear repercussions among other East European and Russian workers, helped rescue Gierek by offering an estimated \$500-million in credits and grain shipments to pay for this new concession.

The Polish bureaucrats, who have been forced to make one concession after another since December, issued a warning a day after the cancellation of the price increases that absolutely no more economic concessions would be made. A communique by the Polish News Agency declared: "There is absolutely no further possibility of decreasing prices and increasing wages. Any further step

would verge on economic irresponsibility." The dispatch argued that "the country has no economic reserves." But the Polish workers could not have helped notice that a similar warning was issued at the Central Committee plenum held Feb. 6-7 before the price increase was rescinded.

Each new retreat by the bureaucracy has strengthened the sense of power and confidence of the workers and increased their determination to press harder for better living conditions and greater political freedom.

An indication of the challenge the new workers' leadership is presenting to the bureaucracy can be seen in an interview published in the Feb. 6 *Christian Science Monitor*.

"We cannot imagine life without socialism but we want a right socialism, which means it must represent not one person but all the people," said youthful Miechyslaw Dopierala, newly elected head of the party organization at the giant Adolf Warski Shipyards.

Dopierala, a 35-year-old technician, was the head of the strike committee that controlled Szczecin during the Dec. 17-22 uprising in that city.

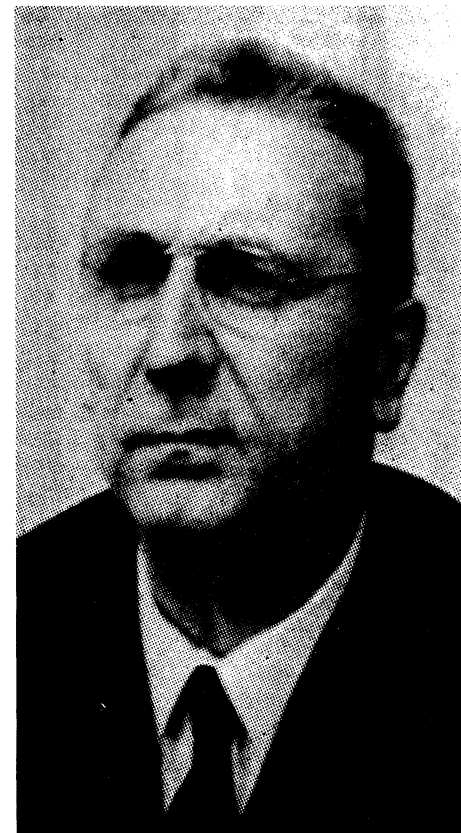
"There was nothing antisocialist, nothing anti-Soviet in our strikes," Dopierala continued, "and the fact that I became first party secretary at the yards proves this."

"We respect our elders. They won freedom for us and rebuilt Szczecin. But man is born with egotistic traits and many leaders looked only to their personal advantage."

"We want now to change the style and method of work. There must be greater contact with the people, there must be individual responsibility for one's acts. And we demand rotation in office."

"We are not dogmatists. I did not finish a party school and none of us here has a political education. We got it in production, in our jobs."

When the Western interviewer, Charlotte Saikowski, mentioned the hopes that the workers had placed in Gomulka in 1956, another member of the Szczecin strike committee said: "The situation cannot be repeated. I remember 1956. I was 23 years old. No one can blind me again. We have learned our lesson. There must be effective work and systematic responsibility in the party."



Eduard Gierek

♀ The Insurgent Majority

The weekend of Feb. 20, I went to Ithaca, N. Y., for a Women's Festival which drew 800 women from all over New York and New England. Because it was such an inspiring conference, I want to describe some of the things the Ithaca women did so that sisters in other areas planning similar conferences can use some of these ideas.

The Festival was dedicated to suffragist Florence Luscomb, a woman who, as a child of five, attended her first women's liberation meeting in 1894 with her mother. Luscomb, now 84, opened the Festival with a talk on women's history. She pointed out, "If this were 130 years ago when the women's movement began, you would not be here to hear me because it was utterly immoral for a woman to speak in public. In those days, the law stated that man and woman were one, and that one was the husband."

The most inspiring part of Luscomb's talk was her description of her participation in the women's suffrage movement, beginning with that 1894 meeting. "I have two memories of it," she said. "One, the fact that I was there. And two, the fact that I heard Susan B. Anthony speak. I cannot tell you what she said, but I know that I heard her."

As a leader of the suffrage movement, as victory drew near, Luscomb gave 222 speeches in 14 weeks. She described what these days were like.

"I would arrive in a town at dawn and post leaflets announcing a mass meeting in the town square that night. I'd sell the *Women's Journal* for a few hours and then I'd take out my folding campstool and hold a streetcorner meeting. You had to learn to position your feet just the right way, on the diagonal corners," she continued, "or else it would collapse."

After the evening meetings, Luscomb would go

through the audience selling "Votes for Women" buttons and raise the pennies that financed her trips. Sometimes there were unexpected breakthroughs in publicity, such as the time Luscomb persuaded a circus manager to hang a "Votes for Women" banner from the elephant that led the circus parade.

Looking out across the faces of younger feminists, all of us listening intently as the names of women we are just starting to know of (Anna Howard Shaw, Carrie Catt) became real, Luscomb concluded her talk. "You are the fifth generation of feminists. I was the third. My mother was the second. And Susan B. Anthony was the first. And you are here to finish the job we began."

As long as there are women alive from this pioneering era of our history—women who can make our history come alive with a memory from their past—we should involve them in our conferences and struggles.

To locate early feminists, some groups have placed notices in newspapers, asking suffragists to contact them.

Feminist culture was also a part of the Ithaca Festival. Best received were the feminist rock bands. The Chicago Women's Liberation Band (c/o Sue Abod, 1107 Michigan, Evanston, Ill. 60202; tel.: 328-7827) does a talk on sexism set to music, otherwise known as rock. "Under my thumb is what rock is all about, and the measure of a rock musician is how much he hates women." Attacking the image of women in rock, the group drew applause when they said for all the women there, "We're not Mother Earth, we're not Johnny's Girl, we're not somebody's Old Lady, and it's never going to be 'All Right' again."

The Chicago women pointed out that not only

do rock lyrics oppress women; the whole concept of the rock performance does. "The lead singer stands up there grinding his ass to show you what you should want. Then the backup people are there to show you what you might get if you can't get the lead singer."

Another group, Goldflower (c/o Laura Liben, 324 W. 89 St., New York, N. Y. 10024; tel.: 212-873-4677) did several songs aping the style of rock, but substituting feminist lyrics. "Oh, baby. Please understand. Being loved by a slave don't make you a man. I can't be yours and still be mine." Along with the New Haven Women's Liberation Rock Band (203-389-1971), these groups played at an all-woman's dance. These dances, with their substitution of line and circle dancing for "pairing-off" have become a standard part of most feminist conferences.

Also available were Newsreel films on women, and consciousness-raising tape collages from Radio Free People (133 Mercer St., New York, N. Y. 10012). There were poetry and shortstory readings as well.

Five sessions of workshops were held. To solve the problem of making women choose between several workshops they wanted to attend, topics with the most interest (abortion, raps for new women, sexuality, women and the war) were scheduled for more than one time.

Key to the success of the Festival was the broad sponsorship it had. It was supported by the Women's student government, Ithaca NOW, the Student Union Board, the Cornell Speakers Bureau, the Female Studies Department, the Gay Liberation Front, and the Ithaca Women's Liberation Movement.

—DEBBY WOODROOFE

West Bengal peasant leader hunted

In the face of a campaign of police terror against the peasant movement in West Bengal, India, the Palli Shramik Krishak Sangh (PSKS—Village Workers and Peasants Union) has issued a broad appeal for support.

Jagdish Jha, secretary of the PSKS, made the appeal in a January 12 letter addressed to left political parties, trade unions, and peasant groups throughout India. Jha, a member of the Socialist Workers Party of India (Indian section of the Fourth International), is one of the organizers of the peasant movement in the Bankura district of West Bengal. He is being hunted by the police on 17 different frame-up charges, including murder. A reward of 10,000 rupees (\$1,333) reportedly has been offered to the person who kills the revolutionary-socialist peasant leader.

"The police in the district of Bankura," writes Jha, "in collaboration with jotedars [large-scale capitalist farmers] have . . . instituted a num-

ber of false court cases and have let loose repression against unarmed working people. Organized gangs, armed with bamboo clubs and guns, have been attacking the landless agricultural laborers and poor peasants (including sharecroppers) with a view to suppressing their legitimate democratic movement.

"We have repeatedly complained to the authorities against these police repressions and have asked the Bankura district collector, the governor of West Bengal, and his principal adviser to stop the police atrocities. But these complaints of ours have been of no effect. We see that the police atrocities are on the increase day by day."

These savage police attacks are aimed at crushing the PSKS peasant movement. The movement seizes lands illegally held by the jotedars, and harvests and reaps the crops collectively. The product is equally distributed among the peasants.

In the appeal, Jha describes in detail the attacks by the police, which are now under the control of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi since the fall of the popular front government of West Bengal in March of 1970. The police practice is to surround a village, arrest the workers, and beat everyone they seize.

Since mid-November, Gandhi's police have raided the homes of peasants in several villages, ransacked their households, and on six occasions destroyed the office files in the PSKS headquarters. In several places, they have used gunfire to terrorize the peasants.

During harvesting at the village of Fulmati on Nov. 24, police and jotedars fired two rounds and arrested 11 workers. In the area of Mukunapur, armed police invaded different villages during November and December, attacking the peasants with clubs and arresting many workers.

The police force, Jha notes, was orig-

inally created by the British imperialists, who ruled India for many years. After India won formal independence, the police were "easily purchased by the jotedars," who use them for their own purposes.

Jha attributes the viciousness of the ruling class's attacks on the PSKS to the growth and determination of the peasant movement. Jha's letter concludes with the following appeal:

"Under the circumstances, I would request you and your party, which is fighting for the cause of the working-class people, to stand by our side to resist the reactionary force and lodge your protests with the Central and the State Governments against the said oppressions and repressions of the police against the working-class people and landless laborers in the areas under the Simlapal and Tal-dangra Police Stations in the Bankura district."

250 at San Diego women's conference

By ANN MARIE CAPUZZI

SAN DIEGO—Approximately two hundred and fifty women attended the first women's conference ever held in San Diego, Feb. 12 and 13. It brought together women from the San Diego community, some for the first time, to "share ideas and formulate actions and organization to change the secondary position of women in society."

The conference, held at the YWCA in downtown San Diego, was called by a large representation of women and groups. These included: the Women's Union and Women's Studies at San Diego State College (SDSC), the San Diego County chapter of the National Organization for Women, the YWCA, Faculty Wives Rap Groups of SDSC, Tres Femmes, Good-by To All That, University of California at San Diego Women's Liberation Front, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, City College Women's Liberation, Child-Care Project, Women in the Human Services, the Young Socialist Alliance, and Older Women's Liberation.

The conference opened with a series of speakers on "What is Women's Liberation?" They included Judith Filner from NOW, Jackie Wertz of the SDSC faculty, and Sherry Smith from Women's Studies at SDSC.

After a showing of the film *Salt of the Earth*, a panel discussion on Sexism and Racism took place. This panel explored the relation between Third World women and women's liberation and the relation between women's liberation and Third World liberation.

Madeline Reel, from the Black Women's Alliance at the University of California at Riverside, said that women have to work together to get at the roots of their problems. According to Reel, "The Black woman understands the problems, she feels the oppression



Third World panel at San Diego women's liberation conference

Photo by Mary Lynn Clement

on a much more intense level, but without a program to which she can relate, there is no viable place for her."

In discussing why there are few Black women in the women's liberation movement today, Henrietta Parks, a Black student at SDSC said, "Black women feel that women of non-color do not understand Black nationalism."

Other speakers were Linda Legrette of the United Farm Workers and Felicitas Nunez of Las Chicanas at SDSC, who told the conference, "Women's liberation is a good thing because the white woman is telling the white man that she has feelings for other human

beings besides the 'superior race.'" Also on the panel was Kate Anderson, a Black unemployed PhD who discussed some of the myths concerning Black women. She said, "Black women have not oppressed Black men, the system has."

Before and after a potluck dinner, women at the conference participated in two sets of workshops. Topics included: marriage and the family, child care, women and work, women and the war, legal and medical services for women, the psychological oppression of women, high school women, women in prehistory, and women and politics.

The second day of the conference centered on discussion of the proposal for a Women's Center in San Diego. By the end of the day, the conference of women decided that the San Diego Women's Center "shall be a place open to all individual women and to women representatives of groups committed to the struggle against women's oppression, where activities are coordinated, facilities are shared, ideas and information are exchanged, and services are offered in an attempt to discover and act against our oppression as women." All administrative decisions concerning the center will be made by majority vote of the general membership of the center.

Good response to tour on Mideast

The profound difference between the hatred of the oppressed and the hatred of the oppressor was the subject of a debate between Socialist Workers Party spokesman Peter Buch and Columbia University professor Seymour Melman at York University in Toronto Jan. 29.

Buch appeared on a panel with Melman as part of the speaking tour he is presently conducting in defense of the Arab revolution. Other panelists were George Hagggar, president of the Canadian Arab Federation, and Maan Zaida, a supporter of the Democratic Popular Front for the Libera-

tion of Palestine. Before an audience of about 60 persons, what was to have been a panel discussion turned into a debate between Melman and Buch.

Melman argued that hate and fear on both sides of the Arab-Israeli conflict were the main villains. Buch responded, "You demand that the Palestinians give guarantees that they won't harm the Jews in their struggle to regain their land—do you demand that the Vietnamese not hurt the Americans who presently oppress them? They guy being stepped on by the bully never has to say, 'I'll be nice to you when I get up.'"

Buch's participation in the York teach-in and a lecture he presented to 100 persons at the Ontario College of Education followed successful tour stops in Montreal, Boston, and other cities in New England. Buch's tour is continuing in the Midwest.

Last fall, Buch presented the revolutionary-socialist position on the Middle East to audiences in the West, South and East of the United States. His tour will be concluded this month.

In Boston, Buch spoke to two meetings of about 100, at the Friday Militant Labor Forum and at Northeastern University. About 20 of those at

the Northeastern meeting were high school students. He also spoke at Boston University, MIT, and Clark University in Worcester, Mass. Prior to that, he had appeared at Brown University in Providence, R. I. While in Boston, Buch appeared on a half-hour cable-TV program and was interviewed on radio by two Black students sympathetic to the Arab revolution.

In Montreal, Buch gave talks at Dawson College and McGill University, and was interviewed by *Lutte Ouvriere*, the Quebecois newspaper of the Canadian Trotskyist movement.

In Review

Film

Little Murders. Directed by Alan Arkin. Screenplay by Jules Feiffer. Starring Elliott Gould, Marcia Rodd and Alan Arkin. 20th Century Fox.

Little Murders is a brutal social satire which illustrates the breakdown in modern American life much the way a Feiffer cartoon does. It records the alienation which pervades all personal relationships. It focuses on the stultifying and reactionary character of the family. Although it is set in the New York of the future, the symbolism lies too close to the present for any comfort.

Most of the scenes are set in the elegant interiors of Manhattan apartments, where the lights are constantly going out. The high level of technology is breaking down. The luxury contrasts sharply with the low cultural level of those who live in these apartments, which literally take on the quality of miniature fortresses, to be attacked at any moment by unknown assailants.

Things are more important than people in this setting. The judge, superbly portrayed by Lou Jacobi, recounts his personal history as a youth growing up in the slums. Almost the entire story is told in terms of the addresses of the flats where he lived, the numbers of rooms they had, the number of people who shared the hall bathroom, the addresses where his parents worked, the number of steps he or his parents had to climb daily.

Much of the dialogue is actually a series of monologues. Conversation either elicits standard responses or manages to start a fight.

One of the most brilliant scenes is played by Alan Arkin, who portrays Lieutenant Practice, a man falling apart under the strain of trying to solve 345 murders. He has lost his self-confidence, and keeps saying that the common element among all the murders is that they have nothing in common.

In another vignette, two middle-aged Bohemians answer questions from their son about his childhood. Remembering nothing about it themselves, they can only quote the leading experts in a dialogue of the absurd.

The plot of *Little Murders* is thin and trivial. It exists merely to bring an odd collection of alienated characters together. Alfred (Elliott Gould) is an award-winning photographer who has learned that in this society it does not pay to fight back. Eventually people will give up and leave you alone. So while some kids are beating him up, he hums to himself and imagines that he is really taking pictures. Patsy (Marcia Rodd) is an optimist. She has enough energy for two, and wants to infuse Alfred with hope. In the end, she is killed by a sniper, while Alfred survives.

Patsy is the second Newquist child to be killed in cold blood. The eldest, a bomber pilot in Korea and later in Vietnam, didn't have an enemy in the world, his mother explains. Yet he was killed by a sniper on the corner of 97th Street and Amsterdam Avenue. In New York, the innocent and the guilty alike are gunned down.

The film offers no solutions other than the ability to laugh at the absurd. When Alfred goes to Patsy's parents' house on the subway after she has been murdered, his shirt and face covered with blood, no one on the subway notices. There is too much suffering and too much estrangement to worry about anyone else. As Alfred makes it up the subway stairs, an injured man stumbles past him. Alfred doesn't respond to him either.

It is Alfred, more than any other character, who epitomizes alienation. His once successful career as a fashion photographer ended when he was unable to prevent his pictures from being out of focus or lopping off the model's head. But as his people become fuzzier, his objects become clearer. Eventually, he makes a successful comeback taking pictures of medical instruments. The world no longer needs pictures of people.

Although Alfred was once an activist, he has all he can do now to keep himself together. It is as if no one can stay in New York without becoming deformed by the city. There is not even one scene of physical



Alfred (Elliott Gould) struggling with his assailants in the park.

beauty throughout the movie. Even when Alfred seeks refuge from it all in Central Park, he sits on a broken-down bench surrounded by litter.

Little Murders illustrates the random violence, alienation and horror within today's society. One suspects that Feiffer sees no way out of the dilemma.

The family is depicted as horrifying and alienating. It traps and cripples each individual. As each is forced into assuming a prescribed role, that person becomes a caricature and a misfit. In Patsy's family, the mother is nothing more than a mask of respectability, the father a man tortured by his notions of masculinity. The children are expected to make successes of their lives, but they cannot live up to their parents' expectations. In short, the family is a torture chamber.

It is within this trap that the film ends. Mrs. Newquist, ever trying to keep her family together, pathetically tells how glad she is to see them laughing and playing together. The indictment of the family is unequivocal, but there is a sense of powerlessness to do anything about it.

—DIANNE FEELEY

Pamphlets

Women and the Family by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1970. 47 pp. 75 cents.

One of the crucial debates in the women's liberation movement today revolves around the question, "Is a socialist revolution necessary for the complete liberation of women? Some feminists reject the need for a socialist revolution and point to the situation of women in the Soviet Union as supporting evidence. The publication of *Women and the Family*, a collection of relevant writings by a leader of the Russian Revolution, makes a timely and rich contribution to this discussion.

The five articles and speeches in this pamphlet give the reader insight into the years following the 1917 revolution. Trotsky describes how the revolution affected the personal relations of the Russian people—particularly those concerning the family—and the gains it brought women.

In addition to immediately granting women full

legal equality, the new Soviet government recognized the family as the key institution in the oppression of women and sought to replace it with communal facilities. Their perspectives were similar to those of present-day feminists, and it's worth noting that one of the gains women made in the revolution more than 50 years ago was free, legalized abortion.

In discussing the need to replace the family with institutions such as child-care centers, free eating facilities, laundries, etc., that would allow for more human personal relations, Trotsky explained the gigantic problems the Soviet Union faced. In the final selection (from *The Revolution Betrayed*, written in 1936), Trotsky takes up these problems.

Trotsky places the task of freeing women from the family in the context of the entire political life of the country. The extreme poverty of the Soviet Union meant two things: It made it impos-

sible to implement alternatives to the family system overnight, and it contributed to the growth of a privileged bureaucracy under Stalin which even took away many of the gains women had made. This selection is perhaps the richest in lessons for today's feminist movement in that it clarifies the main problems that the Russian people faced in attempting to build a socialist society and suggests how different it will be in the United States, where the material wealth and technology are incomparably greater.

Another factor on the side of American women is the existence of mass feminist consciousness and an organized women's liberation movement. In her introduction, Caroline Lund explains how this will be a decisive factor in making and maintaining the gains of a socialist revolution in this country.

—SUSAN CHRISTIE

Nixon steps up antilabor drive

By FRANK LOVELL

The first step toward government wage controls was taken on Feb. 23 when Nixon announced suspension of that provision in the 1931 Davis-Bacon Act requiring contractors to pay union wage scales on all federally funded construction jobs.

This move against the building trades workers—aimed at further undermining the living standard of the entire working class—is designed to encourage open-shop contractors to bid on government jobs and pay below-union-scale wages. The theory is that the general wage level in the industry will then be undermined, building costs will drop, and profits will remain high.

The entire scheme is based on the myth perpetuated by the ruling class that inflation is caused by wage increases, which drive prices up.

Construction is a major industry, and one of the keys to industrial expansion. It accounts for an annual expenditure of \$90-billion. Twenty-five billion dollars of this is paid by the government for public construction. The government's move against further wage increases in this industry includes the implied threat that much of this money will be withheld if wages continue to rise.

The administration is in a strong bargaining position. It can hold back construction starts while unemployment continues to mount—an option already exercised to some extent. Unemployment in construction now stands at 11 percent, well above the national average.

This initial move by the Nixon administration follows a general plan recommended by former U.S. Steel Chairman Roger Blough, who now heads an antilabor pressure group, Construction Users Anti-Inflation Roundtable. Blough had been urging for some time prior to Nixon's announcement that the Davis-Bacon Act be suspended as part of an overall crackdown on wages.

Spokesmen within the Nixon administration emphasized that the drive against the unions is only beginning. Transportation Secretary John A. Volpe announced Feb. 25 that Nixon's move to control wages was a "first step." Volpe urged wage-price controls as a further move.

This idea of "wage-price controls"—which of course means wage-not-price controls—has been most strongly supported by the Democrats in Congress. Senator Birch Bayh, who aspires to become the Democratic Party presidential candidate in 1972, denounced Nixon for making a "grandstand play designed to enhance his image as an economic activist." According to the Feb. 25 *Washington Post*, Bayh "urged Mr. Nixon to use wage-and-price-control powers granted by Con-

gress last year for the economy as a whole."

The contractors, out of self-interest, demanded an immediate wage freeze. They, like Senator Bayh, complained that Nixon had failed to go far enough in his first step against the unions.

Carl M. Halvorson, a contractor and former president of the Associated General Contractors of America (AGC), presently a member of Nixon's Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Commission, was quoted by the Feb. 24 *New York Times* as saying that the opening move against construction workers "could be significant over the long range because it might accelerate a movement toward an open-shop situation."

Most contractors are impatient. They had hoped for a wage freeze now in order to forestall negotiations with the unions later this year. William Dunn, AGC executive director, claimed that "with 1,368 construction agreements set to expire this year," Nixon failed to head off the coming round of wage hikes.

From the union side, AFL-CIO President George Meany said the obvious—a wage freeze would be "an open invitation to unscrupulous employers to exploit workers by competitive un-

dermining of fair wages and labor standards."

A misleading campaign to cast building trades workers as the elite of the working class, earning far more than other workers, has given the false impression that their earnings are above average and "unfair." The truth is that few building trades workers earn more than \$12,000 per year, and many earn less than \$6,000.

The average hourly union wage for all trades in the construction industry on Jan. 4, 1971, was \$6.39, according to the U.S. Labor Department. This contrasts with average wages, including union and nonunion, of \$3.36 per hour in all manufacturing industries. Low wages paid unorganized workers in many factories brings the average down sharply. The average wage in the auto industry is \$4.50 per hour, with skilled wages ranging to \$7. But in addition, auto workers receive fringe benefits such as supplementary unemployment benefits, which are not paid generally in the building trades.

Seasonal employment and lost time are characteristic of the building trades. Consequently, hourly wages in the industry are necessarily higher than in manufacturing, where relatively steady work prevails.

In part, the building trades are the target in the drive to lower wages because they are more vulnerable due to their close collaboration with the contractors and the racist job-trust character of their hiring hall operations. Their conscious policy is to restrict the number of skilled workers, to exclude Blacks and other minorities from the building trades, and to operate a convenient labor pool for the contractors to draw upon as needed.

Both the craven union bureaucrats and the unscrupulous contractor bosses have curried favor with successive administrations in Washington by supporting the war economy and the warmongers on the mistaken assumption they would forever cash in on the war-related building boom. Now the squeeze is on, and the unions are reduced to the position of inviting government wage-price controls as the alternative to "penalizing a single segment of the working population," which is what Meany charges Nixon has done.

Peter J. Brennan, president of the Building and Construction Trades Council of Greater New York and one of the more vocal leaders of the "Hard Hats for President Nixon" a year ago, has belatedly discovered that construction workers are being used for what he calls a "patsy" in the government drive to restrict wages.

At the time of the New York construction workers' demonstrations in support of the Nixon administration last spring, the June 12 *Militant* commented: "Brennan pledged Nixon that the public rallies of support by building tradesmen will continue. But this is a rash promise."

The March 1 demonstration of antiwar students, construction workers and farmers, that greeted Nixon's arrival in Des Moines, Iowa, bears out this prediction well.

The drive against the construction industries is just getting under way. The schemes now being projected, which aim above all else at driving down wages, will succeed unless the building trades abandon their lily-white job-trust character and open their books to all applicants.

The labor movement as a whole must find a way to unite around its own program *against* government controls. They must fight for a sliding scale of wages, so that wages go up with each jump in the cost of living (as provided for in some union contracts by the "escalator clause"). They must also fight for a sliding scale of hours, so that the hours are reduced with no loss in weekly take-home pay, in accordance with the level of unemployment in the industry. This could effectively eliminate unemployment. Only in this way will the union movement be able to successfully combat the twin evils of inflation and unemployment.



Thousands of construction workers, farmers and students protested Nixon's visit to Des Moines, Iowa, March 1.

Delegation demands: Drop Kent indictments!

By TERRY HARDY

COLUMBUS—On Feb. 18, a delegation of concerned Ohio citizens met with Attorney General William J. Brown to demand that the indictments against the Kent 25 be dropped. The meeting, held in the attorney general's office here, took place after the Ravenna grand jury report which led to the indictments had been expunged from the legal record.

In light of this legal victory, the delegation pointed out that expunging the report from the official record does not erase the damage already done. In fact, the wide public distribution of this unconstitutional document has irrevocably prejudiced the

possibility of the 25 defendants receiving a fair and unbiased trial.

The delegation included representatives from the Cleveland ACLU, the Cleveland Student Mobilization Committee; the Young Republicans; Dick Neibur, president of District 7 of the United Electrical Workers; Rev. Walter Zimmer; Ben Scheer and Jerry Gordon, two of the lawyers for the Kent 25; Congressman John Sweeney, and representatives from student governments across the state of Ohio. The NAACP and John Osters, president of the Lake County AFL-CIO, could not attend the meeting but lent their support.

John Sweeney, Cleveland congressman, pointed out that "if the Kent

25 case proceeds to a trial and conviction, it would be a black mark on the state of Ohio."

Dave Miller from Ohio University made it quite clear that upholding the indictments would have grave political implications and that it was the responsibility of this administration to drop the indictments. He also pointed out that "the nation is watching the state officials of Ohio."

The delegates gave the attorney general petitions with 5,000 signatures, which had been collected in a week's time, demanding the indictments be dropped.

Attorney General Brown told the delegation that he would not make a decision at this time. He will make a

decision regarding the indictments in a month, he said, after reviewing all materials, including a report from a special four-attorney panel which he has set up.

It is important that public support for the Kent 25 be mobilized. Meetings, rallies, petition drives and telegrams demanding the indictments be dropped are the type of response we should organize. These indictments are an attempt to muzzle student dissent against U.S. policies in Indochina and we must not let this victimization continue.

Telegrams should be addressed to Attorney General William J. Brown, State Capitol, Columbus, Ohio.

Calendar

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THE LETTUCE BOYCOTT AND THE FARM WORKERS. Speakers: Kathy and Joe Mariano, Atlanta representatives of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. Fri., March 12, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 W. Peachtree (14th St.). Donation: \$1. A Militant Bookstore Forum. For further information, call 876-2230.

BERKELEY-OAKLAND

THE "COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE" REFERENDUM: A Debate. Speakers: Mike Culbert, editor of the *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, and Antonio Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Berkeley. Fri., March 12, 7:30 p.m. Room 2, Le Conte, U of California at Berkeley. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. East Bay Socialist Forum. For more information, call 654-6292.

BOSTON

THE STRUGGLE OF LETTUCE WORKERS IN THE SALINAS VALLEY. Speaker: Marcos Munos, New England regional organizer for United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (AFL-CIO). Fri., March 12, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. Donation at the door, proceeds go to UFWOC. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

CLEVELAND

GARBAGE, RATS AND THE STRIKE AGAINST THE CLEVELAND METROPOLITAN HOUSING AUTHORITY. Hear John Ward, leader and participant in the strike. Fri., March 12, 8 p.m. 2921 Prospect Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Debs Hall Forum. For further information, call 861-3862.

NEW YORK

BLACK POWER STRUGGLE IN THE WEST INDIES. Speaker: David Darbreau, member of the Central Committee of the National Joint Action Committee (Trinidad), currently on trial for sedition on charges stemming from last spring's Black Power uprising in Trinidad. Fri., March 12, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.). 8th Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

COME AND RAP AND LISTEN. Tapes and discussion every Thursday, 7 p.m. at 686 N. Broad St. (open to Third World people only). Thurs., March 11: History of the Chicano Movement—a tape by Miguel Padilla. A usp. Young Socialist Alliance Tape Library. For further information, call Pam Newman at 236-6998.

SAN FRANCISCO

COMMUNITY CONTROL OF EDUCATION. Speakers from Merritt College. Fri., March 12, 8 p.m. 2338 Mar-

ket St. Donation: \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 626-9958.

SEATTLE

THE DAY WOMEN STORMED PARLIAMENT. Speaker: Gwyn Voorhaus, Socialist Workers Party. The first in a series of women's liberation forums. Fri., March 12, 8 p.m. 5257 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

WHAT WOMEN WANT. Lyn Buller of Women Against Male Supremacy will speak on Equal Pay For Equal Work; Nancy Strebe, Socialist Workers Party spokeswoman, to speak on Free Abortion on Demand; Linda Sisson, organizer of a co-op day-care center, will speak on Child Care. Fri., March 12, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Minneapolis. Donation: \$1, students 50c. A usp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum. For further information, call 332-7781.

...Laos

Continued from page 5

Muskie called for "light at the end of the tunnel." He favored setting the "date certain" of Dec. 31, 1971, for withdrawal of all American forces.

These politicians hope to channel the antiwar movement into supporting their political campaigns without at the same time provoking a big explosion of antiwar sentiment like the mass student strike following the invasion of Cambodia last May.

Republican congressman from California, Paul N. McCloskey Jr., held forth at length on the problems of U. S. legislators in a House speech Feb. 18. The speech, although typically roundabout, made clear the worries many politicians have about Nixon's course in the war. McCloskey recalled that at the time of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 it had been argued by Edmund Randolph that:

"The Executive will have great opportunities of abusing his power; particularly in time of war, when the military force, and in some respects the public money, will be in his hands. Should no regular punishment be provided, it will be irregularly inflicted by tumults and insurrections."

McCloskey said, "We need only to

look back at the events of last May following the Cambodian invasion to recognize the validity of Mr. Randolph's prediction." What McCloskey and many of his colleagues would like is some alternative they could fasten onto that would force neither a head-on confrontation with Nixon nor a big upsurge of the antiwar movement like last May.

They hope to achieve such a middle course with campaign promises and various bills about eventually ending the war. But the trouble is that there is no in-between solution.

This is the essential lesson of the invasion of Laos: Continued U. S. occupation of Indochina means continued war on an ever-escalating scale. The only way Washington can stabilize the dictatorship in Saigon is by crushing the popular revolution that is rising against that dictatorship.

And it is apparent that every attempt to expand the counterrevolution, to escalate the military blows against the masses, has ultimately ended up—as now in Laos—by extending the base of the revolution and deepening the hatred and opposition of the Indochinese populace for the war.

Either the war will be fought on in this way indefinitely whatever the loss in human life—and the Democratic Party date of a Dec. 21 withdrawal adds thousands and thousands of American and Indochinese deaths to the long casualty lists—or the war will be ended once and for all by immediate total withdrawal of U. S. military forces.

Can there be any question which is the just solution, which solution corresponds equally to the wishes of most Americans and of the peoples of Southeast Asia?

...Newark

Continued from page 15

"We feel that we the students, the community, who have the most to lose in the strike, should have a place

in the negotiations," said Larry Hamm, a senior at Arts High and acting chairman of the Federation. Hamm said the NSF takes an independent position in the current dispute between striking teachers and the Board of Education. Hamm also said, "The Federation does not support the teachers union and has never supported the union in this strike."

"The demands of the students range from curriculum revision to new athletic equipment, with a focus on improving the quality of education in the Newark school system.

"While several of the demands deal with improving day-to-day conditions in the libraries, cafeterias, auditoriums and recreational areas, the students are also asking for student evaluation of staff, student participation in hiring and firing of staff, abolition of censorship of student publications, and improved sex education.

"Prominent in the list are demands for more Black and Puerto Rican studies, the teaching of African languages, larger library sections on Black and Puerto Rican heritage and the instituting of an African Free School [classes taught independently of the school system by the CUN] in every school where there is a demand.

"Throughout the entire strike the students have been given the runaround by both the Board of Education and the teachers union and virtually no response whatsoever from the community. The board advised the students last week that their arguments for observers in the negotiations would have to be presented to the state-chosen mediator Dr. Jonas Silver. The teachers union responded it would support the students only if the students back the union. The Newark community for the most part has been silent in regards to the strike during the last four weeks of the strike."

If the NTU were to support the just demands of the students and to campaign for them, they would likely win the support of the students as well as many parents for their strike. So far the union has failed to do this.

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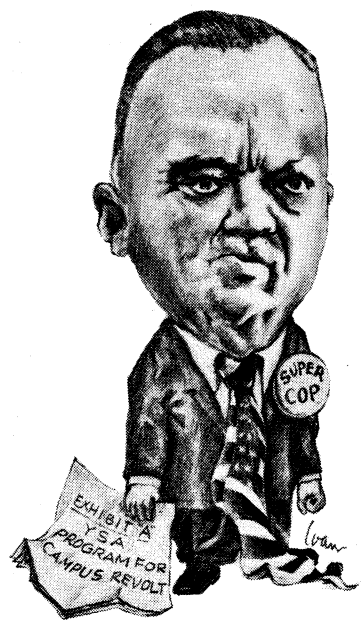
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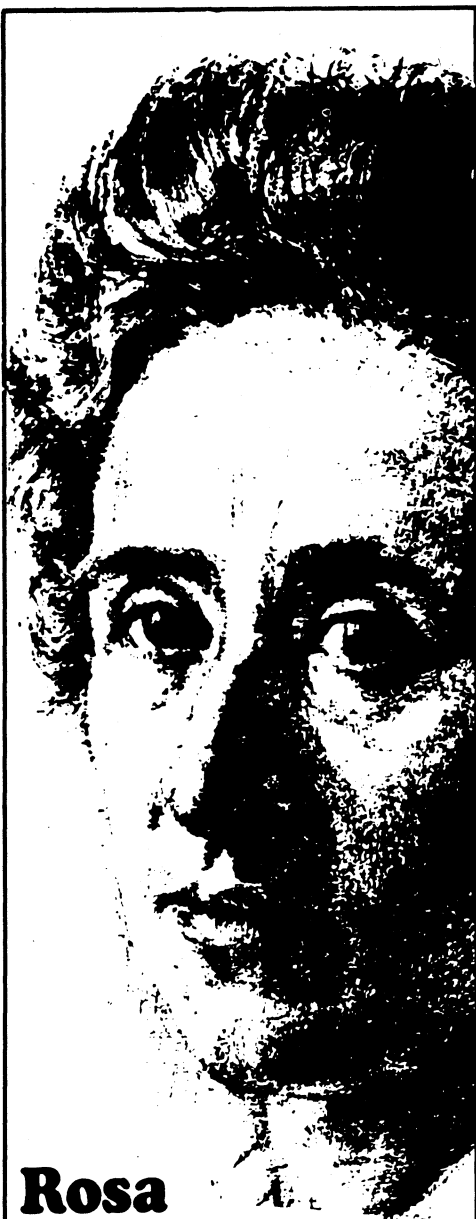
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THE MILITANT

Chicago rally protests Cairo raids

By DALE GAREE

CHICAGO—More than 700 people, predominately Black, attended the Cairo United Front Survival Rally held here at the Holy Angel Church Feb. 27.

Speakers at the rally included Rev. Charles Koen, executive director of the Cairo United Front; Rev. Albert B. Cleage of the Shrine of the Black Madonna Church in Detroit; Ann Langford, a Black independent Democrat and newly elected alderwoman in the 16th Ward; Kevin Johnson, a community organizer from Maywood; and Rev. Robert Chapman of the National Committee of Black Churchmen in New York.

The rally was called in response to invasions of the Cairo Black community by the state police. The first invasion, on Jan. 21, was by 175 state police. They entered Pyramid Court, an all-Black housing project, in broad daylight, breaking into homes and arresting four persons. All four were beaten, and one, a woman, suffered a miscarriage.

The second invasion, by 65 state police, FBI agents, and deputized white vigilantes, occurred Feb. 12. Again police broke into homes in Pyramid Court, and two people were arrested. This raid came a week after a Survival Day rally was held in Cairo

in response to the Jan. 21 raid.

At the Chicago rally, a representative from the International Workers League read a letter of solidarity from James Forman, national field director of the Black Economic Development Conference, and Huey P. Newton, minister of defense of the Black Panther Party, sent a telegram pledging "total support." Eva Jefferson, Black president of student government at Northwestern University, was introduced along with various members of the Front from around the country.

Deborah Flowers, one of those arrested in the Feb. 12 raid, also spoke. Bobby Williams, economic developer for the Front, announced the Front's support for women's liberation and expressed the need for women to fight side by side with the men if Cairo is to survive.

Rev. Koen discussed the aftermath of Reconstruction, with the rise of the KKK and the destruction of the gains that Blacks had made after the Civil War and stressed the need for proper preparations if Black people were to survive in America.

He also blasted the role of the mass media, especially WBBM, the CBS affiliate in Chicago. Koen told of the times the Front called WBBM to report that they were under machine-

gun fire, and WBBM refused to comment or report on it even though the sound was discernible over the phone. On the whole, Koen said, there has been a news ban on Cairo.

Plans were announced for a student survival conference at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale on April 10. A survival convocation in Cairo is slated for April 14-16.



Photo by Carl Hampton

A few of the Illinois state police who illegally raided Pyramid Court Feb. 12

Boston students organize strike support

BOSTON, March 3—A rally of 1,500 Boston high school students took place today at Boston City Hall Plaza. The action was called to support the five demands of striking Black students: 1) more Black teachers and guidance counselors; 2) Black studies; 3) an end to the harassment of Black students by white teachers and students; 4) investigation of the Boston school system by Bridge Fund, Inc., a community organization; and 5) amnesty for all striking Black students.

The month-old strike of Black high school students is now spreading to more schools and to white students as well. Several sharp confrontations between striking students and the Boston School Committee have taken place in the past week, and the evasive, insulting treatment given the students by the School Committee has convinced more students to join the strike.

A conference was scheduled for Feb. 25-26 by the Mayor's Office of Human

Rights and the School Committee to give students an opportunity to discuss their grievances with the School Committee. However, only one School Committee member showed up the first day—two hours late, and only two came the second day, with one leaving after a short time.

On March 2, a stormy public meeting of the School Committee took place, attended by nearly 700 Black and white students, parents and teach-

ers. Again, the Committee simply evaded the students' demands.

Black students finally led a walk-out from the meeting, chanting "Strike! Strike!"

This afternoon's rally at City Hall Plaza was sponsored by the Black Student Federation and the Student Mobilization Committee. The SMC has given full support to the five demands. A future rally of both parents and striking students was called.

...unity on April 24

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areas there will be immediate efforts to establish the closest possible working ties between various coalitions and community and campus groups in carrying through a common calendar and in publicizing and organizing transportation for April 24.

NPAC and PCPJ will maintain their separate apparatuses and NPAC will continue with principal political and organizational responsibility for April 24.

The PCPJ will project, on its own, other central demands on April 24: "Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military air, land and sea forces from Vietnam and that the U.S. shall set the date for the completion of that withdrawal"; "\$6,500 guaranteed annual income for a family of four—set the date"; "Free all political prisoners—set the date."

On Sunday, April 25, the PCPJ plans training sessions in preparation for civil disobedience, which they hope will begin Monday, April 26, and continue through the first week in May.

The PCPJ is successor to the short-lived National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression, which in turn, was an outgrowth of the now defunct

New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The PCPJ had, at a January conference, projected a program of activity, largely of a civil disobedience character, for the first week in May. Then—apparently as a counter to April 24—it announced a legal, peaceful "mass assembly" for May 2 as a prelude to the civil disobedience.

However, as broad forces continued to rally behind April 24, it was decided at a Feb. 27 PCPJ continuations committee meeting to cosponsor the April 24 Washington demonstration. Action is still projected by the group for May 2, "of a religious character to help build the dynamic of the first week in May. . . ."

The PCPJ decision to back April 24 was a response to growing pressure for unity around mass action against the war in the face of the new escalation.

This was brought home in a striking way at the February Student Mobilization Committee national conference. There the PCPJ presented its counterproposals to April 24 and could not make a dent among the more than 2,000 assembled antiwar activists.

There was also pressure for unity from others helping to build April 24, and, additionally, recent messages from the Vietnamese liberation forces strongly urged that the U.S. antiwar movement unite in mounting massive demonstrations for immediate withdrawal from Indochina.

Almost assuredly, the present development is but a precursor of even broader unity to be won in the days ahead. Already more and broader forces are announcing their support for April 24 than any previous antiwar action. There is every prospect for building a giant demonstration that will deal a significant blow to the war-makers.

NPAC-PCPJ Statement

The following is the full text of the joint NPAC-PCPJ statement:

A major step in building a united spring offensive against the war in Southeast Asia was taken with the announcement that the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice would cosponsor the April 24 Washington demonstration initiated by the National Peace Action Coalition in its call for April 24 marches on Washington and San Francisco. The Washington demonstration is planned as massive, legal and peaceful, as is the simultaneous march in San Francisco called by NPAC.

In addition, the People's Coalition will sponsor sustained actions in Washington during the last week of April and the first week of May, as

described in the enclosed People's Coalition calendar.

The National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice will build the Washington demonstration around the central demands, "Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and materiel from Southeast Asia" and "End the draft now." In addition, the People's Coalition will, on its own, project other central demands: "Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military, air, land and sea forces from Vietnam and that the U.S. shall set the date for the completion of that withdrawal," "\$6,500 guaranteed annual income for a family of four—set the date," and "Free all political prisoners—set the date."

Both groupings had previously agreed to support other common calendar actions this spring. These include: 1) April 2-4 demonstrations and other activities commemorating the anniversary of the death of Martin Luther King; 2) May 5 demonstrations and other activities commemorating the invasion of Cambodia and the killing of students at Kent State University and Jackson State College; 3) May 16 participation in the GI-veteran-initiated solidarity day with GIs at Army bases across the country (see the enclosed calendar for details).

At this critical time, our united actions will be a powerful force in opposing the brutal and irresponsible policies of the Nixon administration.