

THE MILITANT

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

Laos protests mount; SMC builds Feb. 19-21 emergency conference



U.S. troops at Laotian border roll on despite warning sign to go no further. Photo was taken west of Lang Vei, Feb. 6.

Special 4-page feature: Malcolm X's program for the Black liberation struggle

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RACIST ATTACK ON WILMINGTON, N. C., BLACK COMMUNITY: North Carolina's Gov. Robert W. Scott ordered the National Guard into Wilmington Feb. 7, stepping up the racist repression of the Black community's fight for community control of the schools. Wilmington has a population of 55,000 which is 30 percent Black. The Black community began boycotting the city's two high schools the first of February, demanding Black studies, the hiring of Black athletic coaches, and an end to harassment of Black students by racist cops. The *New York Times* reported that the troops had cordoned off the heart of the ghetto and exchanged gunfire with 75 Black youth in the boycott headquarters, a Congregational Church in the cordoned-off area.

CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST FOUR OF SOLEDAD SEVEN: "The whole thing stinks to high heaven," said Patrick Hallinan, attorney for the Soledad Seven, after the Monterey district attorney dropped murder and conspiracy charges Feb. 2 against four of the Soledad inmates charged in connection with the killing of a prison guard last July. "For six months they had no case, but they held these men in the maximum security section all that time. Now they take another look at the case and realize they have nothing and let them go." The four have been transferred to other prisons, but the three remaining prisoners still charged with murder are kept in the barbaric O Wing of the Soledad Correctional Training Facility in California's Salinas Valley.

GOVERNMENT APPEALS WIRETAP RULING: The federal government filed an appeal in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit Feb. 5, asking for reversal of the decision by District Judge Damon Keith declaring the government's wiretap of White Panther Lawrence (Pun) Plamandon's phone to be illegal. Plamandon and two other White Panthers are being tried for an alleged conspiracy to bomb an Ann Arbor CIA office.

HAYWARD STUDENTS BATTLE ARBITRARY RULING: Fourteen students at California State College in Hayward, Calif., have been indicted under a new set of disciplinary rules handed down in November, giving exclusive disciplinary authority to the administration, and trustees of the school. They are accused of demonstrating against the administration's refusal to allow the school's metal detector to be used for scanning those who would attend a scheduled speech by Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton. A defense committee has been formed to fight the charges and challenge the reactionary code in the civil courts. For more information, write Cal State College Hayward Defense Committee, 7320 Hillside, Oakland, Calif. 94605.

LEGION OF JUSTICE ATTORNEY MEETS WIDE OPPOSITION: The Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks has mobilized wide support for its motion to quash Legion atty. S. Thomas Sutton's subpoena of all YSA, SWP, and defense committee records as evidence in the armed robbery and assault trial of Thomas K. Stewart, a Legion punk involved in raids on SWP and YSA headquarters. The defense committee's motion is scheduled to be heard by Judge Gilberto in Chicago Feb. 8. It has the support of ACLU atty. Anna Langford, Illinois Representative Leland Rayson, National Peace Action Coalition Coordinator Don Gurewitz, and others.

DETROIT POLICE HONOR RACIST LEADER: Donald Lobsinger, leader of Operation Breakthrough, a Detroit-based, right-wing, racist gang, was presented with a citation for "bravery" by Detroit Police Commissioner John Nichols at Police Academy graduation exercises in Detroit Jan. 29. Operation Breakthrough came into prominence after the 1967 Detroit ghetto uprising when Lobsinger and his followers were active in racist agitation among white suburbanites. They have also frequently harassed antiwar demonstrators in the Detroit area. According to police, Lobsinger was given the citation for his "bravery" in making a citizen's arrest in connection with a barroom brawl last August.

MYRNA LAMB TOURS BOSTON CAMPUSES WITH HER PLAYS: Myrna Lamb, author of *The Mod Donna* and *Scyklon Z*, is touring the Boston area along with the Feminist Repertory Theatre through Feb. 19. The tour began Feb. 8. The theater group is presenting a series of Lamb's one-act plays, *Scyklon Z*, including the widely known *But What Have You Done for Me Lately?* dealing with women's right to control their bodies. Lamb is speaking on the tour, which includes Boston University, Northeastern, and other campuses.

GALLUP SHOWS 73 PERCENT FAVOR WITHDRAWAL: A mid-January survey by George Gallup showed 78 percent of American women and 67 percent of American men favoring withdrawal of all U.S. troops before the end of the year.

PROTEST MALE CHAUVINIST PROF: A Feb. 2 demonstration, sponsored by the Women Students Union at Hastings Law School, San Francisco, protested the school's rehiring of Prof. Paul Camera because he had shown repeated bias against women law students. A WSU statement included the following examples of Camera's classroom comments: "They (women) are too emotional . . . they can't be good trial lawyers and still be women." About half of the demonstrators were men from the school, which only has a 10 percent female enrollment. The action was endorsed by the Black and Chicano Law Students Assn. and the National Lawyers Guild.

GAYS NAMED TO FAMILY AGENCY: Sally Gerhart of Gay Women's Liberation and Earl G. Stokes, president of the Council on Religion and the Homosexual, have been named to fill two vacancies in San Francisco's Family Service Agency by its board of directors. They are expected to propose programs and staff increases to handle problems involving male and female gay couples.

MARCH DEMONSTRATION TO DEMAND HOMOSEXUAL LAW REFORM: The Gay Liberation Front of the Tri-Cities in Albany, N.Y., has announced plans for a march on the state capitol March 14 to present the legislature with six demands: 1) repeal of the consensual sodomy law; 2) enactment of a fair employment act for gays; 3) enactment of a fair housing law for gays; 4) repeal of solicitation laws; 5) repeal of loitering laws; 6) repeal of impersonation laws. The march will be preceded by a rally, dance, and other events on Saturday, March 13. For more information, write to GLF of the Tri-Cities, Box 131, Albany 12201 or call (518) 462-6138.

JUNIOR ACHIEVERS SUPPORT SOCIALISM: Marcia Cooke, 16, and Steve Howard, 17, named Miss Junior Achievement and Mr. Executive by the Southeastern Michigan Junior Achievement program Feb. 2 both declared a preference for socialism, which they said was strengthened by their participation in the JA program. The program is designed to give students practical experience in capitalist business.

EL PASO HIGH-SCHOOLERS FIGHT HAIR RULE: The El Paso school board recently obtained from the Louisiana Circuit Court of Appeals a stay on a federal district court decision declaring a rule banning long hair unconstitutional. This has sparked a series of walkouts and demonstrations by high school students there this month. Ten students were arrested in a demonstration Feb. 3 after police forced 1,000 students to divert their line of march from other schools to the downtown shopping district. A march to each of the city's high schools had ended with a rally of 2,000 Feb. 2.

GOVERNMENT DENIES APPEAL FOR RELEASE OF TIJERINA: Reies Lopez Tijerina, the imprisoned Alianza leader jailed by the government for his role in the fight of Chicanos to reclaim land stolen by the U.S. in New Mexico, was denied release by a federal district court Jan. 19. The rejection of his appeal of three sentences made in June 1969 coincided with the end of a two-year sentence he had just finished serving on another charge.

HARRISBURG SIX PLEAD NOT GUILTY: Rev. Philip Berrigan and the five others charged with conspiring to blow up heating tunnels in D.C. and kidnap Henry Kissinger entered pleas of not guilty at their arraignment in federal district court in Harrisburg Feb. 8. Sister Elizabeth McAlister, one of the defendants, read a statement at a news conference following the arraignment, which said in part: "In principle and in fact, we have rejected all acts such as those of which we have been accused." **BERRIGAN APPEAL DENIED:** The same day the 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals rejected Philip Berrigan's appeal of his six-year sentence for pouring blood on draft records; the appeal had contended the sentence was excessive.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS WEEK'S COLUMN: Contributions to *In Brief* this week came from Eric Kangas, El Paso; Della Rossa, Los Angeles; Mike Smith, Detroit; and Michael Schreiber, San Francisco.

— LEE SMITH

The invasion of Laos

By DICK ROBERTS

FEB. 9—As thousands of South Vietnamese troops poured into Laos, carried by hundreds of U.S. planes and preceded by massive U.S. aerial and artillery bombardment, the administration's claim that it was not widening the war found few takers.

"No amount of sophistry in Washington can conceal the fact of escalation in Southeast Asia," the *New York Times* stated editorially Feb. 9, "escalation that points not toward peace and disengagement but toward wider, unending conflict."

For those who accept as good coin—or pretend they do—Nixon's claim that his perspective is to get out of Vietnam, the invasions of Cambodia and Laos can only be characterized as inconsistent acts of folly or stupidity. It is difficult for even the glibbest of fakers to explain how you deescalate a war by escalating it.

But if the Laotian and Cambodian invasions are viewed in the context of the administration's real intentions, they make perfect sense, albeit as criminal acts of aggression.

The new escalations are comprehensible when you proceed from the reality that, all claims to the contrary, Nixon has no intention of getting out of Indochina this side of being driven out. He is fully determined to carry through the U.S. imperialist aim of crushing the revolution occurring in that part of the world.

U.S. imperialism has been trying to contain the Indochinese independence movement ever since the French were driven out in 1954. The present Laos-Cambodia escalation is but a part of that continuing process.

And the accompanying talk about "deescalation," "Vietnamization," "phased withdrawal," etc., is simply a continuing effort to conceal the true U.S. aims in Indochina. Opposition to the war in this country runs so deep that the only way Washington can continue the war is by promoting the hoax that its escalations are really deescalations.



Cartoon from *Napalm*

"Those who carry a peace sign in one hand and a bomb or a brick in the other are the super-hypocrites of our time." — Richard M. Nixon, Albuquerque, Oct. 31, 1970.

Meanwhile, the Indochinese liberation struggle cannot be crushed. Nixon is compelled not only to hang on in Vietnam but to escalate and expand the war in Laos and Cambodia.

The present U.S.-sponsored invasion of Laos by Saigon troops is but one more chapter in the history of the U.S. effort to drown Laotian opposition in blood.

For more than half a decade, the U.S. has sponsored and financed a

CIA-organized mercenary army to fight the Laotian rebels organized in the Pathet Lao. It was recently disclosed that the CIA even uses international "relief" funds purportedly allocated for refugees to finance these mercenaries.

Since 1965, the U.S. has bombed Laos in a campaign without precedent in the all too grisly history of modern war. That murderous bombing campaign has been justified with

the big lie that it was merely an effort to "interdict" the flow of the rebels' supplies from North to South Vietnam via the widely publicized "Ho Chi Minh Trail."

But it has become increasingly difficult to explain why the U.S. had to bomb all parts of Laos to "interdict" this so-called trail. The definition of the "trail" had to be "broadened."

"The trail," a U.S. Army officer confided to a *New York Times* correspondent Feb. 4, "is a state of mind, it's a philosophy."

Yet it was with this pretext that the U.S. conducted a systematic campaign of bombing in Laos that has destroyed virtually every town and village in northern Laos and left tens of thousands of civilians to either seek survival by huddling in tunnels during the day and trying to farm at night, or to wander the face of their country as homeless refugees.

Three years ago, Jacques Decornoy, Southeast Asia expert for *Le Monde*, reported in July 1968: "One of the officials of Sam-Neua district told us that between February 1965 and March 1968, 65 villages had been destroyed."

"A number impossible to verify in a short report, but it is a fact that between Sam-Neua and a place about 30 kilometers away where we stayed, no house in the village and hamlets had been spared. Bridges had been destroyed, fields up to the rivers had been holed with bomb craters."

This was before Johnson ordered the temporary cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam. When Washington ceased bombing North Vietnam for a period of two years, it significantly intensified the bombing of Laos. And the bombing of Laos was intensified still further in the past two months. The *New York Times* reported Jan. 25: "... the Laotian operations... involve about 1,000 sorties a month by the big bombers [B-52s], as well as thousands of sor-

Continued on page 22

L.A. moves to restrict protest

By HAYDEN PERRY

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 8—In the wake of the police killing, injuries, and arrests following the Jan. 31 Chicano Moratorium rally of 10,000, the city government is trying to prohibit all protest activity.

Claiming that all Chicano demonstrations have resulted in "riots" and that no protest rally can be conducted peaceably, the government is moving to put such restrictions on future marches and rallies as to effectively ban them. These proscriptions would apply not only to the Chicano movement but to any organized protest movement.

Mayor Yorty moved swiftly to implement the city administration's plans. The Board of Recreation and Parks Commissioners opened hearings Feb. 4 on an ordinance, covering beaches and parks, that would severely restrict sales of any article, use of sound amplifying equipment, and public speeches, lectures or debates.

Loud opposition to the proposed ban was heard. David Gooler of the Young Socialist Alliance pointed out that the measure would throttle the

Chicano Moratorium and other movements against social injustice. Jude Coren of the L.A. City College Student Mobilization Committee charged the proposed ordinance would "deny the basic democratic rights of freedom of press, speech, assembly, and protest." Nine other speakers appeared at the hearing, all of whom opposed the measure.

On Feb. 2, Sheriff Peter J. Pitchess defended the action of his deputies at a hearing before the County Board of Supervisors, even as one victim of the Jan. 31 assault lay dead and 19 others were wounded by his deputies' bullets. He brazenly stated that they were correct in firing at the unarmed crowd (see *The Militant*, Feb. 12).

However, despite the fact that the police always deny the charge of police brutality—which is what the action on the 31st was all about—Sheriff Pitchess brought to the hearings a startling confirmation of this charge. He announced that he had fired three deputies and suspended a sergeant for brutality to the 49 people arrested on the 31st.

According to Pitchess, the three deputies repeatedly beat two people who allegedly uttered profanities as they were leaving a prison bus at the jail. Later, the same deputies sprayed tear gas on people locked in the cells. The sergeant on duty did nothing to restrain the deputies under his command.

Chicano activists discuss struggle

By DAVE SAPERSTAN

LOS ANGELES—"Is Socialism Relevant to Chicano Nationalism?" was the subject of the Militant Labor Forum here Feb. 5. The speakers included Ron Rodriguez, a member of the Brown Berets, the student government at Cal State College at Los Angeles, and an activist in the Chicano Moratorium Committee; and Hilda Rangel, a former national field secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance and now a YSA activist at Merritt College in Oakland.

Rangel related the experiences of the fight for community control at Merritt and how it was radicalizing Chicano students. She said, "A consistent nationalist policy must lead to socialism."

Rodriguez discussed mainly the tactics that socialists must develop to work effectively in the Chicano community. It is up to radical Chicanos, he said, to educate the layers of Chicanos recently won over to the movement.

After the forum, Rodriguez discussed the demonstration on the 31st that

drew over 10,000 Chicanos. "I think it was a success, a tremendous one," he said. "It shows that the movement is able to organize and rally the people. And they show up. It's an indication of our power."

On the campaign to whitewash the sheriff's deputies' actions after the rally, he said, "An indication of the police brutality is that three deputies were fired this week for their violence against Chicanos. The violence in the streets that took place after the rally cannot be analyzed only by what happened that day, but what has gone down on the community in the past. The violence does not start with a brick thrown, but with the oppression that caused the brick to be picked up."

The city administration, police, and capitalist media are trying to convince the public of the need for a moratorium on Moratoriums. But Rodriguez had another opinion. "There is a need to keep on demonstrating until we have won our freedom. What these people are afraid of is that they are losing their control of the people. They are using the violence as a cover-up for their opposition to the masses of people taking to the streets."

Rodriguez said that he hoped the Raza Unida Party would be able to organize all Chicanos. "The role of La Raza Unida Party will be to bring down the Democratic and Republican parties and expose the corrupt politics of this system."

Ann Arbor 'People's Peace' conference held

By LARRY SEIGLE

ANN ARBOR, Mich.—A national gathering of young people called together on the basis of the "People's Peace Treaty" wound up endorsing a call for "disruptive" demonstrations in Washington beginning on May 1. The conference, attended by an estimated 1,600 people, also called for local demonstrations against the invasion of Laos on Wednesday, Feb. 10, and formally "ratified" the "People's Peace Treaty."

The "Student and Youth Conference on a People's Peace" was originally projected by the National Student Association as a conference to organize support for the peace treaty project. But the peace treaty was almost lost in the shuffle as the organizers of the May 1st action sought the endorsement of the conference.

The "May Day" proposal was put forward by the Seattle caucus, which was led by members of the "Seattle Eight." It was supported by Rennie Davis, who has already been organizing for a civil-disobedience May Day demonstration in Washington that will purportedly "stop" the U.S. government.

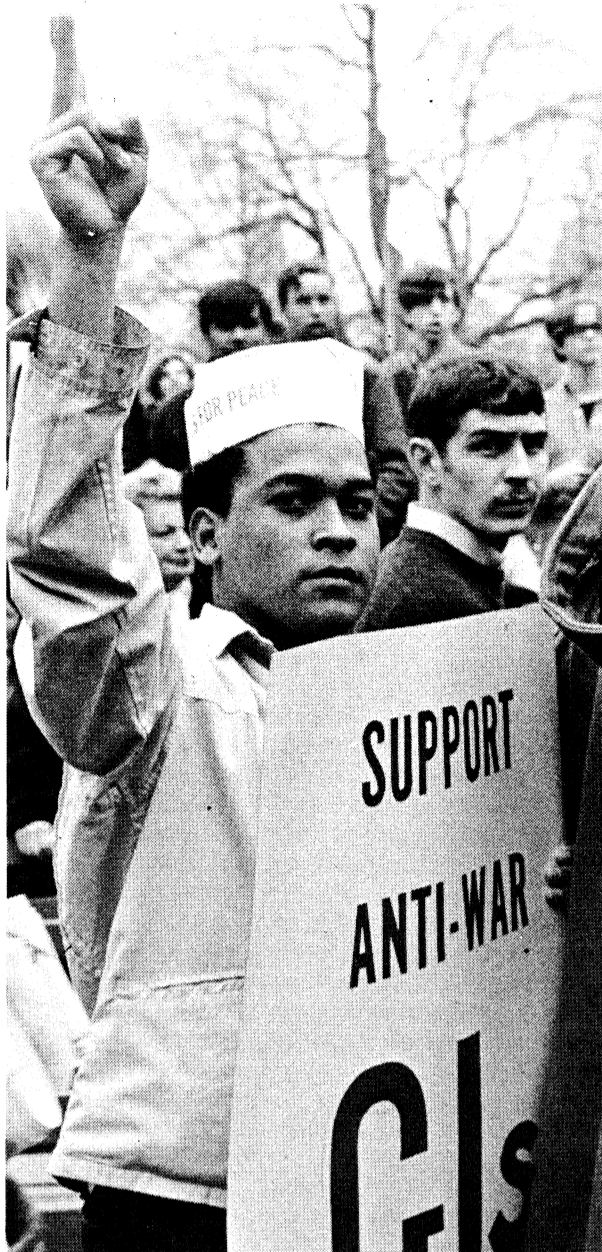
The Ann Arbor proposal reads, in part, "Historically, May 1 has been the day of the oppressed. May 1 demonstrations have touched off major changes from reform to revolution and this year should be no exception. On May 1, people in Europe, Asia, Latin America, and Africa will be expressing their solidarity with the Vietnamese people. We should join in that struggle. On May 1, people should mass in Washington and present the government with the peace treaty, demanding that Nixon respond within two days by calling an immediate end to the war. . . ."

The details of what would actually occur on May 1 were left vague in the written proposal. But the discussion from the floor made clear that "direct action" would be a central part of the activities. (One speaker who wanted to discuss details of the action was advised by the chairwoman that such a question should not be decided at so "public" a meeting, but should be left to an unspecified smaller group.)

The May Day proposal, speaking in general terms about the strategy for the antiwar movement, goes on to say, "To be effective—i.e., to provide the spark that can coalesce people who oppose the war into activity—we must be willing to do more than march. . . . Civil disobedience will allow groups as diverse as church and youth groups to take part. It also means that people will be taking some risks, opening themselves to arrest. But mass arrest penalties for white people are still relatively light and the demonstration will not be Gandhi-like. People can and should defend themselves from attack."

Many people criticized the proposal as a call for a "trash-in," and pointed out that a call for this type of disruption could not be the basis upon which new forces could be brought into the antiwar movement. Some supporters of the proposal readily acknowledged that only "professional" demonstrators would take part and indicated they preferred it that way.

The conference agenda was structured in such a way as to prevent much real debate on strategy and tactics. Many of the participants felt uneasy about the politics of the proposal, but because



there was little discussion possible, many saw no clear alternative.

Most of the NSA leadership was opposed to the May Day proposal and urged that the peace treaty should not be tied to any particular date or action proposal. But they did not argue against the politics of the proposal, choosing instead to concentrate on the peace treaty project.

Several speakers from the Student Mobilization Committee, including Don Gurewitz, its executive secretary, were able to get the floor. Gurewitz pointed out that the May Day proposal makes it impossible to organize masses of people to come to Washington. He explained the importance of building an action that can be the basis for involving masses of students, GIs, Third World people, trade unionists, women, and other sectors of society not yet organized into the antiwar movement. He pointed to the unprecedented breadth of endorsement that has already been obtained for the April 24th march on Washington and San Francisco called by the National Peace Action Coalition and urged support for that action. Literature on April 24 was widely distributed and well-received. Several hundred conference participants signed up to receive more information on April 24th and on the SMC national conference in Washington Feb. 19-21.

Ron Young, from the newly formed People's Committee for Peace and Justice, which has proposed an action on May 2 in Washington, supported the May Day proposal. He said that "the basic outline of the People's Committee for Peace and Justice supports the basic outline of the Seattle proposal." He suggested that the "first weekend in May be the time for a mass assembly to begin a period of sustained civil disobedience," and said the PCPJ was going to call for a strike by government workers on Wednesday, May 5, to "bring the government to a halt." Young argued against "limiting" antiwar actions to mass marches and rallies. The PCPJ is the announced "successor" to the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Officers of the PCPJ were also the officers of the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression, apparently now dissolved.

Although many people felt there had been inadequate discussion, the May Day proposal was approved with less than half the conference still present for the vote, which took place on Sunday afternoon.

A "communications center" for information on May Day plans was set up by representatives elected by regional meetings held during the conference. The address is Byers, c/o Movement Office, 297 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8—"Public opinion means nothing to the government," Dave Dellinger said here today at a joint news conference of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice and the Student and Youth Conference on a People's Peace. "We must move from expression of opinion to action," Dellinger said. "We have to move to the stage of force without violence."

Also speaking at the news conference, held in Lafayette Park directly across the street from the White House, Rennie Davis said, "Unless Nixon commits himself to withdrawal by May 1—that is, if he won't stop the war—we intend to stop the government."

A release handed out by the Student and Youth Conference on a People's Peace said: "The conference earlier unanimously ratified the joint people's peace treaty and called for a broad range of organizing and ratification efforts. This will include a week of intensive actions beginning May 1 in Washington, D.C., as well as a broad range of local actions aimed at implementing the peace treaty."

Other speakers at the news conference included Prof. Sidney Peck, Congresswoman Bella Abzug, and Ann Arbor conference coordinator Frank Greer.

New addresses

The National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee have just opened new West Coast offices. Both are located on the fifth floor at 50 Oak St., San Francisco, Calif. 94102. Tel: (415) 864-5835.

A Bay Area NPAC meeting has been scheduled for Feb. 18. For more information, contact the NPAC office.

Cairo rally answers attack on community

By ANDREW PULLEY

CAIRO, Ill.—Over 700 people rallied here Sat., Feb. 6, in defense of the Black community of Cairo. At the event, leaders of the United Front disclosed a conspiracy by the state of Illinois to assassinate Rev. Charles Koen, executive-director of the Front.

Most of the people at the rally were from Cairo. A bus load of Black students came down from Chicago. The contingent was organized by the Black Student Union of Marshall High School, the Black Student Coalition, and the Third World Task Force of the Student Mobilization Committee. The BSC, a coalition of students from 14 high schools, was formerly part of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket.

Included in the one-day event was a march and picket by 100 participants of stores in downtown Cairo. The United Front has been engaged in a boycott of the white-owned stores since April 1969.

The day of action was called in response to a Jan. 21 daylight attack by 175 state policemen on Pyramid Court, a Black housing project in Cairo and stronghold of the Front.

At the rally, Rev. Koen gave the details of a recently hatched conspiracy to assassinate him. It involved an attempt to buy off a Cairo brother, who wanted to go into business, with an offer of \$75,000 to kill Rev. Koen. Koen said the offer was made at a meeting that the brother had been in-

cluded in the one-day event was a march and picket by 100 participants of stores in downtown Cairo. The United Front has been engaged in a boycott of the white-owned stores since April 1969.

Although the brother was looking to get into business, he wasn't about to stoop so low to get the initial funding. In fact, he was shocked, so shocked that he split town for a couple of days. Upon returning, he disclosed the whole thing to the Front.

Rev. Koen said that the plot had to originate outside of Cairo because of the large sum of money offered. And since State's Attorney Berbling—organizer of a white vigilante group known as the White Hats—was involved,

Koen charged that Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie must have had something to do with it.

Governor Ogilvie is responsible for sending armored cars and stationing state police in Cairo. A Chicago minister told Rev. Koen some time ago that the governor had a "contract" out on Koen's life.

Rev. Koen urged people to come to Chicago to take part in a solidarity action on Feb. 27. This action is the second part of an answer to the Jan. 21 attack. It will take place at the Holy Angels Church in Chicago.

Contributions to the Front can be sent to the United Front's special account, Independence National Bank, 7936 South Cottage Grove, Chicago, Ill. 60619.

Poland simmers

The Polish workers who forced the ouster of Communist Party chief Wladyslaw Gomulka in December are giving his successor, Edward Gierek, a rough time.

In the past month and one-half, they have held strikes, demonstrations, and hundreds of meetings demanding economic and political reforms including the rescinding of the price increases that led to the December revolt. This pressure from angry workers who feel a sense of power after December has goaded the Gierek regime into making several important concessions.

On Jan. 10, the regime officially recognized the workers councils that were first formed during the 1956 uprising. These councils were allowed modest participation in economic administration until 1958, and then subsequently ignored and considered irrelevant. Although the workers generally bypassed these dormant institutions during the recent uprising, the fact that the councils have been traditionally identified with workers democracy indicates that the bureaucracy has been forced to make a significant political concession.

On Jan. 26, following militant strikes in Szczecin and Gdansk, Gierek shelved the hated wage-incentive plan which along with the exorbitant price increases triggered the December revolt. The wage-incentive scheme, which was to have been a major part of the next five-year economic plan, is in practice a vicious form of speedup.

Under the continuing pressure of the workers, Gierek has also removed a number of the most despised bureaucrats, including seven of the 12 members of Gomulka's Politburo. On Feb. 7, Gomulka himself was suspended from the Central Committee, the party's highest body.

These concessions, however, are only a tiny portion of what the Polish workers are asking for. Among other things, the workers are demanding greater participation in policy decisions, including decisions on wages and working conditions and on what is printed in the newspapers. They are demanding exposure and punishment of bureaucrats responsible for the bloodshed in December.

Each new concession helps reinforce the workers' sense of strength and will tend to whet their appetite to push harder for what they want.

Nearly all correspondents who have been in Poland the past month and one-half report that the country is like a gigantic discussion group, with continual meetings. Even the Italian Communist Party organ *l'Unita* admitted that the country "seems in these days to resemble one vast Hyde Park."

The Polish events of the past two months follow nearly two decades of struggles in Eastern Europe—East Germany, 1953; Hungary and Poland, 1956; Poland, 1968; and Czechoslovakia, 1968. Each new revolt makes it increasingly difficult for the parasitic and undemocratic bureaucracies in these countries to explain these struggles away with their usual slanders and lies. Each new struggle has helped raise the political understanding of the workers and students in these countries as well as in the USSR to a higher level.

One of the demands of an emerging antibureaucratic challenge in Poland will certainly be freedom for hundreds of political prisoners held in Poland's jails. Among those for whom an international campaign should be waged are Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, young revolutionary Marxists jailed during the massive 1968 student protests.

Eritrea

Although the present crisis in Eritrea is little-publicized, it is a subject important to me and also to a number of Eritrean students in this country.

Until 1954, Eritrea was an independent entity stretching along the west coast of the Red Sea from the Sudan in the north to Somalia in the south. In 1954, it was annexed by the Empire of Ethiopia. Because this meant political and cultural subservience to the reactionary Haile Selassie regime, an insurgency movement, led by the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), has arisen to fight for independence. While the early actions of the ELF were mainly confined to sporadic raids, during the last six months its attacks have increased in intensity and effectiveness.

According to American servicemen stationed in Eritrea and according to Eritrean students who receive letters from home, the Ethiopian Army has brutally retaliated by slaughtering all males over the age of 12 in villages around the area of a recent ELF attack. In addition, the Ethiopian Army is committing other atrocities on a large scale—mutilation of Eritrean women, bayoneting of children, and the decapitation of those who protest their actions.

The American people should know about these atrocities because it is their tax dollars that buy the guns, bayonets and bullets for the Ethiopian Army.

Mark Weber
Madison, Wis.

Delay explained

Tonight I received the two copies of *The Militant* which you sent to me. The long delay is probably due to the fact that the prison authorities—I am presently confined in the death house at the New Jersey State Prison in Trenton—wished to investigate the contents of *The Militant* before allowing me to get them. The prison authorities are continuously alert to protect me from any and all subversive influences which might tarnish my character or corrupt my morals.

I am sending a check for a one-year subscription. I appreciate your generous offer to send a "scholarship" subscription, but the few dollars I receive from my family could not be better spent at this time.

T. T.
Trenton, N. J.

Westinghouse

After five months on strike against Westinghouse here in Lester, Pa., most members of our UE Local 107 voted to go back to work. We didn't get much, only small raises ranging from six to 16 cents an hour. We got a limited escalator clause—nothing like the auto workers—to keep wages in line with rising prices. We didn't like the settlement, but five months is a long time to be out.

Our top union officials came down to tell us we ought to go back to work. They said they didn't like the plan we had to take, but advised us to take it anyway. They don't have to work under it; we do.

The company was anxious to get us back. They called us in as soon as we voted.

They thought we would come crawling back, but they found out different. When they tried to push extra jobs on one of the skilled maintenance workers, he turned them down and was sent home. I heard the whole department followed him out.

If the report is true, it is a good sign. This thing would not have happened before the strike.

We are stronger now and there is a different attitude in the plant toward the bosses. Though we didn't get much of a wage raise out of the settlement, maybe we will gain something in the way of better working conditions. We need to fight every day without letting up. That's what Westinghouse does.

The Militant helps us, because it has so many useful stories about the Vietnam war and the student demonstrators. I believe this movement to stop the war is a way to head off some of these big corporations like Westinghouse that make so much out of the war. I believe our union should join the antiwar movement.

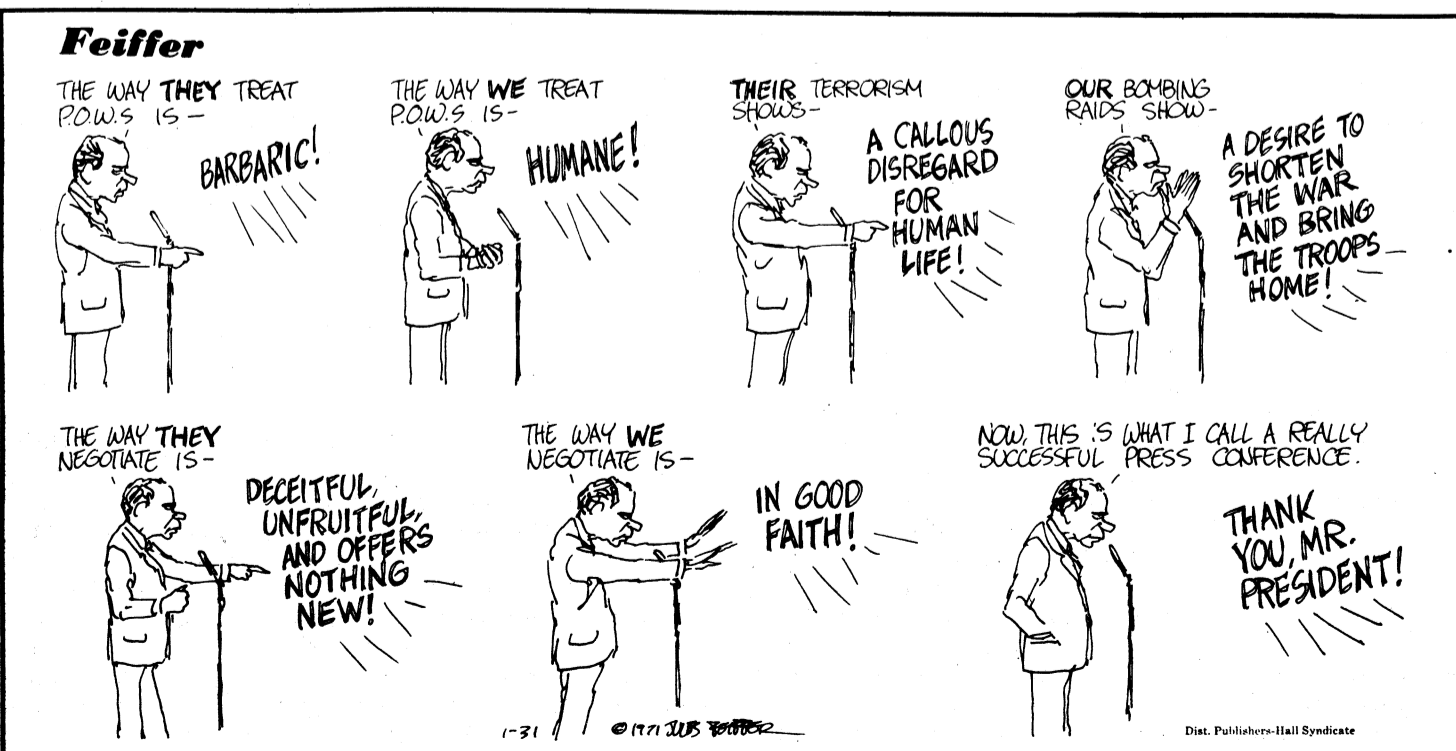
C. G.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Little Big Man

In her review of the film, *Little Big Man* (*Militant*, Jan. 22), in spite of some valuable insights, Dianne Feeley misses the point. Preoccupied with the cinematic and impressionistic aspects of the movie, she often misses the mark when she attempts to draw a social or political judgment.

On the question of homosexuality, for example, I got the distinct impression that the audience reaction (one of laughter, nervous tension) was more a result of the backward attitude prevalent in capitalist society toward homosexuality than of the portrayal of homosexuality by the producers of the movie. At worst, the producers' character is a contradictory one, not, as Feeley maintains, totally tainted with the stereotyped conception of homosexuals under capitalism. True, this is a weak point in the movie, but one which is mitigated by the Native Americans' obvious respect for and acceptance of their homosexual brother. Feeley sees a contradiction in Crabb's attitude and that of the producers. The contradiction, I would say, is more one between the audience and the film.

The central thrust of *Little Big Man*—and this point Feeley notes in passing—is the absurdity, the absolute hypocrisy of the "Great White Father" myth, which to this day is the prevailing attitude of whites toward Native Americans and other oppressed minorities. The humor,



The Great Society

which Feeley finds offensive, is all aimed at showing this hypocrisy.

Feeley correctly sees the atrocity scene as the high point of the movie. However, she is swept away by the "ironic contrast" between Custer's battle song and the carnage taking place on the screen, while she neglects to mention the main value of the scene, which is that it settles once and for all any question which may still be lingering in the mind of the viewer about a benevolent role of whites toward the Native American.

Finally, a point Feeley neglects to mention. The technical and dramatic production of the film are excellent, making it not only not a chore but an absolute pleasure to experience—all 140 or so minutes of it. *Rich Lesnik*
New York, N. Y.

Native-American news

I wouldn't be without your paper because of the marvelous coverage of the Chicano movement and other minority groups. It would be interesting, however, to read more in *The Militant* about Indian reservations, Alcatraz, and the Native Americans' struggle to retain their fishing rights.

N. D.
Chicago, Ill.

Bob Jones U

I was surprised to learn that even bible-thumping Bob Jones University in Greenville, S. C., is having its troubles bucking the current radicalization. Long a stronghold of fundamentalist, nineteenth-century backward thinking, Bob Jones made the news here recently when the Internal Revenue Service decided to end its tax-exempt status because the university refuses to admit Blacks.

Dr. Bob Jones Jr., president of the university, immediately threatened to sue the IRS. In a statement to the press, Jones explained he's not prejudiced but that it would be immoral to "break down the racial barriers which God has set up." He admitted that a few "Orientals" have been accepted as students by the school but hastened to add this was only with the understanding that they would not date Caucasians.

"If we took Negro students here on the same basis," Dr. Jones explained, "they would resent the restrictions and would cry that they were being discriminated against. . . . If we had to expel a Black student for the worst possible offense—stealing, attempted rape, or something of that sort—he would cry that he was being persecuted because he was Black; and we would be picketed, annoyed and harassed."

Dr. Jones is so afraid of "attempted rape" and "harassment" that two years ago he demanded permission from the governor's office to install machine guns on the roofs of campus buildings. (The request was turned down.)

Lest the radicalization go too far, students are still not permitted to dance or hold hands on campus.

Joel Aber
Atlanta, Ga.

P. S. The new *Militant* format is just great.

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.

Our open society—When Washington launched the Laotian escalation at the end of January, newsmen were barred from reporting it. Then they were barred from reporting that they were barred from reporting it. Meanwhile White House Press Secretary Ziegler said, "The president is aware of what is going on. That's not to say something is going on."

Low profile—An Eisenhower silver dollar (made of copper and nickel) will be circulating next summer. One side will feature a likeness of the late general and the other a bald eagle landing on the moon. The designer assures the eagle will look "pleasant" and "serene." "We wanted to make him a happy bird," he explained shrewdly. "Foreign countries would have noticed if he had been aggressive."

Political criteria—The Special Operations Force, the secret U. S. flying counterinsurgency outfit which pulled the unsuccessful raid on the North Vietnamese POW camp, operates with

a nonsectarian political outlook. Says retired SOF Col. Leslie Minchew: "Our role is not to judge the government in power. Our role is to keep whatever government is in power out of the hands of the communists."

One step forward. . . .—A California superior court judge reversed a Contra Costa County judge who barred a woman defendant in pants from his courtroom. The woman, a bus driver, had explained she didn't own any dresses. Meanwhile, the Nevada state legislature took time out from regulating the gambling racket to declare a ban on women wearing pants or maxiskirts in the legislative chamber. Such attire, they said, was not in keeping with their dignity.

Advance notice—Recipe brand Hearty Meat Stew, Robust Chicken Stew, and Liver & Bacon Dinner with Vegetables—"The Balanced Dinner Lassie Eats"—will soon be on the market, and a national advertising drive is being mapped to ensure that 95 percent of the American people hear about it an

average of 30 times a year.

Hijackers—Airlines are boosting fares, charging for movies, reducing lunches to "snacks," and hiking the price of a drink to \$1.50. One company spokesman said he didn't think they'd be installing pay toilets on the planes, at least not now.

Watered down—The executive director of the American Water Works Ass'n says bottled water may be unsafe or unclean. For instance, put clean water in dirty bottles and you end up with bad water, he observed. He said some companies run tap water through a cellulose filter and market it for 79 cents a gallon. Industry spokesmen denied the charge.

Poor choice—We were pleased that shoplifting charges were dropped against former Secretary of the Interior Udall, who was busted for absent-mindedly dropping a 95-cent packet of cigars into his pocket. But we do wish he would stay away from the nicotine.

—HARRY RING

♀ The Insurgent Majority

March 8 was first designated as an international women's holiday in 1910 by a Congress of Socialist Women meeting in Copenhagen. The proposal was made by women from the U. S. to commemorate a demonstration of women garment workers in New York on March 8, 1908, protesting sweatshop conditions and demanding the right of women to vote.

This year, the women's liberation movement in many areas is planning activities to mark this day of international solidarity of women struggling for their liberation.

The National Organization for Women and other groups in Berkeley are planning a "Women: Breaking the Shackles Conference" for March 6 and 7, which will concentrate on discussions of changing life styles. Female Liberation at the University of California has called a mass meeting for mid-February to plan a united March 8 action.

Women's Liberation at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland is planning a conference March 6 on the theme of the international struggle for women's liberation. The University of Houston Women's Liberation Front is also planning a teach-in in which a special feature will be talks on women's liberation by women students from other countries.

Emory University Women's Liberation in Atlanta plans a teach-in for March 10, and Michigan women have projected holding abortion testimonials March 8 on campuses across the state. They will be building support toward a mass march on the capital March 13 for free abortion on demand.

Cincinnati Women's Liberation will mark International Women's Day with a demonstration in support of free, 24-hour community-controlled child-care centers, free abortion on demand, and equal pay for equal work.

The international ferment of women is reaching into the Soviet Union, according to the Jan. 25 *New York Times*. The *Times* says that many letters have been appearing in popular newspapers and magazines in the U.S.S.R. concerning what they call "the woman question."

The main part of the *Times* article is a summary of an interview with a Soviet demographer, Lidiya T. Litvinenko, which appeared in a recent issue of *Zhurnalist*, the Soviet journalists' magazine and of findings of a woman sociologist in the Academy of Sciences Institute of Social Research. Here is how the *Times* summarizes these findings:

"It is no secret that factory directors prefer to give better jobs to men, out of concern that women often have to take care of children. Women, she says, are faced with a choice—either to have a child or have a career—and most these days choose the latter.

"Many men would like to put the women back in the kitchen and restore an old-fashioned family environment.

But, Miss Litvinenko says, this is not acceptable to women. They want jobs that interest them and they do not want to be dependent on their husbands' salaries. . . .

"Many women said their lives would be easier if there were better nursery centers. About half of those polled said they were dissatisfied with the nurseries."

The ideas of women's liberation are bound to catch on with our Soviet sisters because the Soviet bureaucracy still promotes the family system and the concept of the "woman's role" as mother and housekeeper which flows from the family system.

An example of the stultifying image of women promoted in the U.S.S.R. could be seen in the recent "Miss Soviet Union" contest. The competition involved making a herring salad, doing housewives' chores like sewing a torn doll's dress and icing a cake, as well as dancing both rock and a waltz and answering an interviewer's questions with poise.

Ida Phillips, who has seven children and presently works six days a week as a waitress, has scored a partial victory in the fight against sex discrimination. On her own initiative, she sued the Martin-Marietta Company in Orlando, Fla., under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, for refusing to hire her as an assembler-trainee simply because she had seven children. She fought the case all the way to the U. S. Supreme Court, which ruled that employers cannot refuse to hire women solely because they have small children unless fathers of small children are also denied jobs.

The ruling did not stop there, though. The Supreme Court sent the case back to the trial court in Florida for a rehearing to determine whether Mrs. Phillips could be denied the job under a loophole in Title VII. This loophole says that sex can be the basis for denying a job if the person's sex is a "bona fide occupational qualification." So, the court completely contradicted its first ruling by saying that parenthood, "if demonstrably more relevant to job performance for a woman than for a man, could arguably be a basis" for denying a woman a job.

The Jan. 30 *New York Post* carried an interview with Ida Phillips, who just joined the National Organization for Women last year. Asked why she persisted in fighting the issue, she said: "Well, I felt they had discriminated against me. It wasn't just for myself, but for other women in the same shoes. What did they have the civil rights law for?"

At first she couldn't find a lawyer to take the case. Finally she decided to look for a Black attorney because, she said, "we knew they knew more about civil rights."

"To me," she said, "women's liberation means equal job opportunities. . . . I suppose this is my way of letting people know I'm more than just a dumb little waitress."

—CAROLINE LUND

Delegation demands: Drop Kent indictments

By TERRY HARDY

The Ohio Student Mobilization Committee and the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council (CAPAC), in cooperation with the Kent State Legal Defense Fund, are organizing a delegation of concerned Ohio citizens to meet with Governor John J. Gilligan and Attorney General Brown to discuss dropping the Kent 25 indictments. The meeting is being arranged for Feb. 15 in Columbus.

This action follows a Jan. 28 decision of the federal district court in Cleveland, expunging from the legal record the Ravenna Grand Jury report on the Kent State events last May. The report was a blatant violation of the constitutional rights of the Kent State students and faculty members indicted by the grand jury for alleged actions in relation to the killings at Kent.

From the outset, it was patently clear that the grand jury report and indictments were motivated by two fundamentally political considerations. First, the grand jury actions were intended to whitewash National Guard and state officials of all responsibility for the murder of the four Kent State students on May 4. Second, the grand jury attempted to shift the blame for the killings to student antiwar protesters to make the victims the criminals.

The grand jury actions were intended to muzzle student dissent against the government's policy in Indochina and served warning on stu-

dents that future protests against the Indochina war would be met by legal repression and frame-ups.

While the district court decision is a step in the right direction, it is not enough. Expunging the report from the official record does not undo 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.

At this point, Gov. Gilligan has refused to meet with the delegation on the basis that he doesn't have the legal authority to drop the indictments. But it should be made clear that, as governor of the state, he has the political authority and responsibility to meet with a delegation of Ohio citizens and discuss the dropping of the indictments.

A meeting is still being arranged with Attorney General Brown who does have the authority to drop the indictments.

A telegram campaign is underway to call upon the governor and attorney general to meet with the delegation.

Also, petitions are being widely distributed, demanding that the indictments be dropped.

Now that the grand jury report has been thrown out, the potential for building a massive defense for the indicted 25 students and faculty is greater than ever. The sympathy of the American people has been made



Oct. 31 antiwar rally in Columbus, Ohio

clear already through demonstrations, messages of support to the Kent students, and contributions to the defense fund. It is essential that all antiwar organizations, movement groups, and individuals concerned with civil liberties rally to the defense of the Kent frame-up victims. We must act now to demand that the indictments be thrown out!

If you are interested in information on the delegation, please contact SMC

or CAPAC at (216) 621-6516, or write 2102 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115.

Telegrams urging the indictments be dropped or calling upon the governor and attorney general to meet with the delegation should be sent to Gov. Gilligan and Atty. General Brown at the State House, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Copies should be sent to the SMC and CAPAC at the above address.

Fla. students fight administration restriction

TALLAHASSEE—When the Florida Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression was formed in January to fight the state Board of Regents ban on the Young Socialist Alliance, its organizers declared that the regents' action presented a danger to all groups in the state.

As the struggle begins to develop, it is becoming clear that the regents and the university administrations intend to jealously guard their prerogative to decide by whim who is allowed on campus and who is not.

The regents, who had banned SDS from Florida campuses in 1969, banned the YSA in 1970. In a March 1970 letter to the president of the University of Florida at Gainesville, Board of Regents Chairman D. Burke Kibler III explained his reasons for denying recognition to the YSA.

Kibler wrote that "it is not my purpose to rid our campuses of people who hold these unpopular and unhealthy beliefs. However, it is my purpose to prevent the university from aiding or abetting these people in their revolutionary activities. Nor is it my intention in any way to inhibit or impede free expression of ideas on your campus or any other university campus within the state. However, there

is a vast difference between sanctioning the expression of controversial ideas and sanctioning a student organization dedicated to revolution."

This "vast difference" exists, Kibler maintained, even if the YSA engages only in open and legal activity because "the very term 'revolution' implies the use of whatever means necessary to overthrow and replace an existing form of government."

In what was probably an unconscious expression of pessimism, Kibler indicated his belief in the regents' ability to hold out at least a little longer in the fight against the forces of subversion: "I do not think we have yet come to the point in our society that under the specter of academic freedom we must let such radical activists have their way." (Emphasis added.)

Conceding that it could "perhaps persuasively" be argued that "the university should never have been in the business of recognizing campus organizations," Kibler reasons that "like it or not, we have been," and, apparently, what is, is right.

While Kibler's letter is ludicrous, his absurd logic does not erase the very real threat to civil liberties in Florida. Now Dean Wunderlich of the Univer-

sity of South Florida (USF) in Tampa has extended the policy even further, denying recognition to two more organizations, the Free University and the Alternate Media. Wunderlich told the Free University that only the regents could "make the university free" and that, therefore, Florida state campuses have no room for their organization. To the Alternate Media people he said that their goals and methods of operating were "too fuzzy" for him to recognize them at this time.

The Campus Americans for Democratic Action (CADA), which had previously been recognized, has had its recognition withdrawn. CADA is a "liberal political action" group which has a red-baiting clause in its constitution barring communists from membership. The Student Mobilization Committee has been threatened with withdrawal of its recognition at Florida State University (FSU) and USF.

The FSU administration also denied the use of rooms and office space to the Young Socialist Alliance Party, a legally qualified party running in the FSU student government elections.

In order to build support for the free speech committee's fight, Acting Secretary John Votava is conducting a speaking tour around the state. His

tour has had a successful beginning in Tampa and Tallahassee. Votava discussed the case for two hours on a popular radio program on station WFLA in Tampa. The station has written to Kibler asking him to debate a committee spokesperson on the air. The student government in Tallahassee sponsored a talk by Votava on the campus.

All of the presidential candidates in the FSU and USF student government election campaigns endorsed the YSA's right to exist on campus. When the FSU administration denied the YSA Party the right to use rooms during the campaign, the student board of elections decided that no party could use rooms or office space. The FSU daily newspaper, the *Flambeau*, has given the committee's fight consistent coverage.

One aim of Votava's tour is to have every student government in the state send letters of protest to Kibler (Box 1772, Lakeland, Florida), as well as endorse the committee. The committee also welcomes support and endorsement from campuses outside of Florida. Copies of protest letters should be sent to: Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression, Box 2303, Tampa, Fla. 33602.

U of Ill. steps up anti-student-rights drive

By MARK UGOLINI

CHICAGO, Feb. 2—The administration at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle Campus, has stepped up its drive to stifle student political activity with the use of police harassment and intimidation.

A Jan. 11 rally organized by Students for a Democratic Society was disrupted by about a dozen plainclothes police. The cops hurled verbal intimidation at those present until a small scuffle broke out, and three students were arrested. The SDS rally had been called to protest new charges

against the group for some technical violations of university regulations. SDS had already been placed on probation for similar violations in the fall.

Nine more students who had participated in the rally were arrested the following week for "criminal trespass." In response to obvious administration pressure, a student-faculty disciplinary committee ruled SDS guilty of the new charges placed against them and withdrew the group's recognition until fall 1971.

The administration has also moved

to restrict political activity by issuing new regulations, such as one announced Jan. 1 stating that only meetings deemed by the chancellor to be "in the educational interest" of the students may be held on campus if they are of a city-wide, regional or national character. Even if the chancellor decides to permit such meetings, rent must be paid for the facilities used.

This rule was issued directly after a "fact-finding" subcommittee of the state legislature, the "Horsley Committee," had urged a "strong-minded

attitude" on the part of university administrators toward the use of university facilities by campus radicals.

Charges against the Young Socialist Alliance at Circle Campus are being investigated by the same committee which banned SDS. The charges were placed Dec. 8 because of minor errors made on a room-request form. The YSA is conducting an educational campaign in its defense, distributing leaflets and soliciting endorsements from groups and individuals opposed to such political harassment on the flimsy basis of trivial technical mistakes.

Abortion victory in Illinois

By LINDA SHEPPARD

CHICAGO—A three-judge federal panel in Chicago ruled the 97-year-old Illinois abortion law unconstitutional, Jan. 29, because it was vague and interfered with "a woman's interest in privacy and in counsel over her body." The panel ruled that legal abortions may be performed by licensed doctors in licensed hospitals within the first 90 days of pregnancy.

The old state law, which only permitted abortion if the woman's life was in danger because of pregnancy, was challenged in a federal suit by three anonymous women and four university medical school officials and supported by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The anti-abortion forces in the state are mobilizing to reverse the effect of the decision legalizing abortion. Bills are in preparation to be introduced into the state legislature immediately, written to get around the "vagueness" of the old law.

One liberalization bill, introduced by Representative Bernard Wolf before the recent court decision, is pending in the House. It would permit abortion before the twentieth week of pregnancy, but denies the woman's right to control her own body, by requiring the consent of her husband.

In defending this provision, Wolf said, "The only people against consent would be cheating wives. No abortion bill should condone adultery."

Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan and a private doctor are appealing the decision to the Supreme Court, and have asked U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall to delay enforcement of the federal panel's decision. The ruling prohibited Hanrahan or anyone else from prosecuting any licensed doctor who performed an abortion in a hospital in the woman's first three months of pregnancy.

On Wednesday, Feb. 3, representatives from the major groups which have been fighting for the repeal of the Illinois abortion law met to discuss the meaning of the recent court ruling for Illinois women and how to defend this recent victory.

Since the ruling, very few abortions have actually been done because most hospitals have not yet decided to allow them to be performed. At the same time, Planned Parenthood representa-

tives reported receiving 175 calls per day requesting information on how to get abortions.

The meeting projected a unified campaign to counter attempts by State's Attorney Hanrahan and other opponents of legalized abortion to roll back the decision of the court. Task forces were set up to investigate the possibilities of establishing abortion clinics and organizing action to force hospitals to perform abortions under the present ruling. Plans are being made for a statewide meeting to discuss actions on that level.

Michigan abortion march set

By SUSANNE SPIEGEL

DETROIT—Women from all over Michigan traveled to Detroit despite hazardous driving conditions the last weekend in January to attend a statewide planning meeting for the repeal of abortion laws. The meeting was called and hosted by Wayne State Women's Liberation Organization.

Representatives from such organizations as the YWCA, the National Organization for Women, the Welfare Rights Organization, the Welfare Employees Union, the Unitarian Church, the Society of Friends, and women's liberation activists from college campuses and high schools across the state participated in a meeting that called for a mass demonstration to be held in Lansing, the state capital, on March 13.

There was a near unanimous vote

for the slogan "Free and legal abortion on demand, no forced sterilization, repeal of all existing abortion laws." This slogan will be the main theme of the demonstration.

March 8, International Women's Day, will be used to build the March 13 demonstration on campuses like Wayne, by holding abortion testimonials and inviting the local state representatives to hear the harrowing experiences of women who have been forced to get illegal abortions.

A mass demonstration on March 13 will prove to the legislature that Michigan women will not stop at a reform bill, such as the Bursley Bill, which has been introduced into the Michigan House of Representatives. Like every reform bill, it has serious discriminatory restrictions attached. For instance, women under 18 must get parental permission for an abortion. There is a 90-day residency requirement, and women in their fourth month of pregnancy cannot get a legal abortion unless the pregnancy endangers the woman's life.

Women in Michigan, like women all over the country, are demanding total control over their bodies, and will not stop their protest until they get total repeal of all existing abortion laws.

Berkeley women organize

By CECILY ASHTON

BERKELEY—More than 200 wom-

en attended a mass meeting Jan. 20 on the University of California campus here to form a comprehensive campus-based female liberation group.

Women at the meeting expressed the feeling that there was need for an organization at the university which would make the women's liberation movement visible and promote its growth and development.

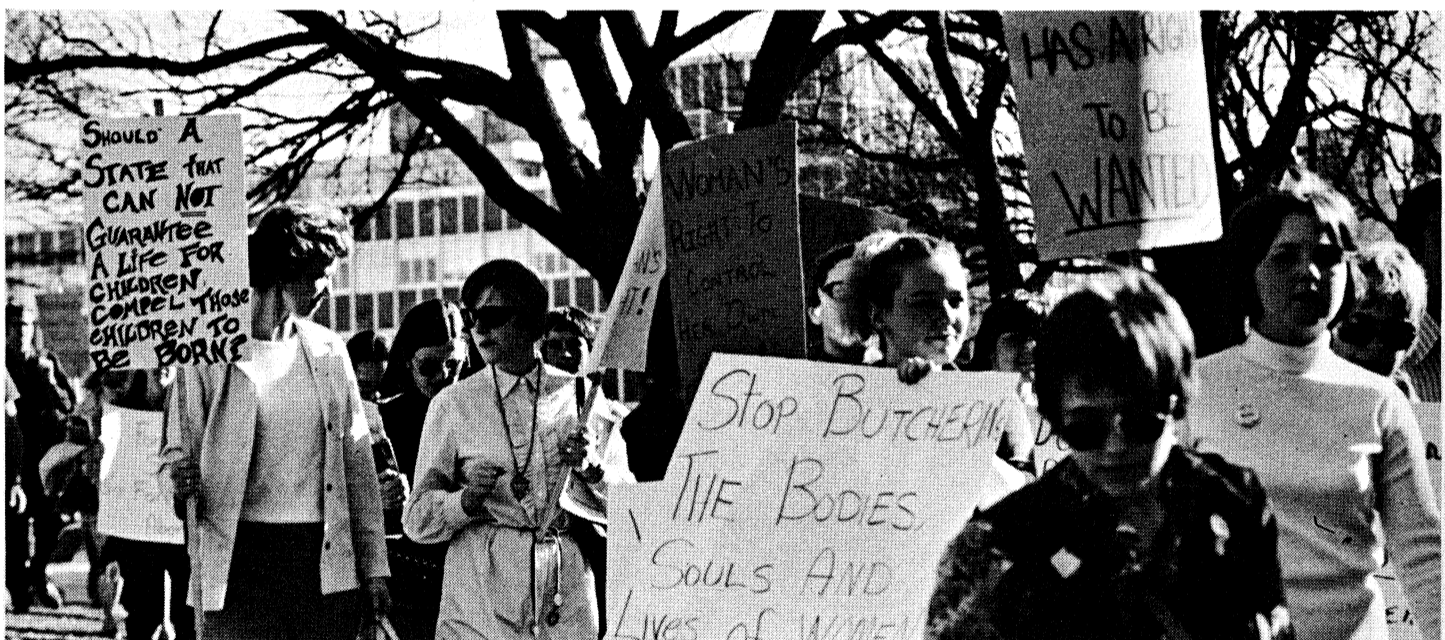
It was felt that the group should encompass all aspects of the feminist struggle, including education and consciousness-raising activity and action around such basic demands of the movement as child care, abortion and equal pay.

There are already a number of different women's groups on the Cal campus, such as associations of working women, women's caucuses in various departments, and small groups. The new organization does not plan to replace these existing women's groups, but rather would help organize new groups and facilitate communication between these groups, thereby broadening the base of the feminist movement.

Committees were formed around various fields of interest, including an overall coordinating committee, a communications committee, an action and education committee, a labor committee, and a gay women's committee.

The action committee discussed a broad consciousness-raising action for Feb. 15, Susan B. Anthony Day, and activities around March 8, International Women's Day.

A Female Liberation office has been opened in the basement of Eshleman Hall to coordinate women's liberation activities on the campus.



March on Texas capitol in Austin Jan. 30 by 600 women from Texas Abortion Coalition demands repeal of abortion laws.

Photo by Ed Weaver

Seattle holds women's liberation teach-in

By JANE STRADER

SEATTLE—Approximately 1,000 persons attended a day-long women's liberation teach-in at the University of Washington here Friday, Jan. 29. The teach-in was sponsored by a number of groups, including Campus Women's Liberation, National Organization for Women, Women's Task Force of the Student Mobilization Committee, Roosevelt High School Women's Caucus, Radical Women, and Child Care Coalition.

Speakers at the teach-in included Jeanne Lafferty from Boston Female Liberation, Cynthia Cauty of the Phoenix Organization of Women, Mariana Hernandez from Texas, Mary Trew from the Canadian movement to repeal all laws limiting the right of abortion, and Clara Fraser and Lee Mayfield, representing local women's liberation groups.

While the main program was held in the ballroom, other large crowds attended two exhibits billed as a "chamber of horrors," including corsets,

electrical pins for removing hair, pointed shoes, (described as the twentieth century version of Chinese foot-binding), and tweezers ("a metal device designed for plucking the living hair out of the human eyebrow").

The second exhibit was a walk-through collection of examples of how women are channeled into sexual roles. It began with a child's book which compared male and female roles: "It's fun to be a doctor man, or a nurse who helps him all she can."

Other aspects of the exhibit included ads picturing women as stupid or attempting to sell them on products without which they could not possibly be attractive to men.

The first speaker of the day was Jeanne Lafferty, who discussed the meaning of feminism. She stressed the need to organize independently and to reach out to other women. "There is no way that our movement can be isolated or sectioned off. Every family has a woman in it and we can reach

her." She talked about the need for massive, united actions of the women's movement.

The importance of women's liberation to women of oppressed national minorities was a central theme of the teach-in. Mariana Hernandez said that Chicanas had become interested in women's liberation in an attempt to play an equal role in the movement for national self-determination. She said that Chicanas would work with other women on many projects of mutual interest, but stressed that they had different problems around which they would, at the same time, organize separately.

Cynthia Cauty discussed the problems of poor Black and Puerto Rican women. "All women are basically handicapped because of their sex. It's like they only have nine fingers on their hands. But with Third World women it's like we have two or three fingers missing, and that makes it much more difficult."

Speakers urged women to get involved—in action, consciousness-raising sessions, education, or whatever else interested them.

Socialist Campaign '71

Sheppard to debate opponent

By STEVE CLARK

CHICAGO—The Republican candidate for mayor of Chicago, Richard E. Friedman, has agreed to publicly debate Linda Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party candidate. Friedman's agreement came while he was on the WBBM radio program *Nightline* Jan. 28. Sheppard issued the invitation to Friedman in the course of a phone call to the radio program. Time, place, and format for the debate are now being worked out.

A week before, about 300 people, a third of them Black, heard Sheppard at a panel discussion on "Strategies for Social Change" held at Elmhurst College.

Others on the panel included Thomas Sutton of the Legion of Justice, a right-wing vigilante group which has twice ransacked the SWP headquarters in Chicago; Don Kelly, a human relations training consultant; David Veatch, an accountant and employee of Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation; Lu Palmer, a columnist for the *Chicago Daily News* and commentator for radio stations WGRT and WVON; James Montgomery, attorney for the Black P. Stone Nation; and Therese Jergens, editor of the right-wing "Citizen in Action Newsletter".

After the initial presentations, the program turned into a debate between Sheppard and the Black militants vs. Sutton vs. the liberals. The audience was clearly in sympathy with Sheppard and the Black panelists.

Throughout the opening presentations, the audience had greeted Sutton's reactionary remarks with laughter. Their amusement turned to hostility, however, when Sheppard and a representative of the Chicago Committee to Defend Against Terrorist Attacks who was in the audience described the Legion of Justice's recent history of terrorist activities.

In response to the plea of the liberals on the panel for a consensus to solve social problems, Sheppard pointed to the situation in Cairo, Ill., where state and local authorities have joined with white vigilantes in brutal assaults on the Black community. She stated that for the Blacks in Cairo the "time for dialogue" has long passed.

She asserted that the rage of tens of thousands of young people, which



Linda Sheppard

Photo by John J. Warner

the liberals try to dampen, is the healthiest thing in America. She expressed the need for this rage to be directed into building mass movements and urged the audience to participate in the Feb. 27 demonstration in Chicago to defend the Cairo Black United Front, the International Women's Day teach-in on March 7, and the April 24 antiwar mobilization in Washington, D. C.

In another development in the SWP municipal campaign, Naomi Allen, alderwoman candidate in the North Side 43rd Ward, urged Theodore Pearson, Communist Party candidate from the same ward, to endorse the SWP's city-wide slate. Pearson is the only CP candidate running in the Chicago elections. The SWP slate includes Sheppard for mayor, Willy Petty for city treasurer, Mark Ugolini for city clerk, and Cynthia Burke for alderwoman in the 5th Ward.

In her letter to Pearson, Allen writes: "We feel that it is essential in the city-wide elections to pose an alternative to the Democratic and Republican party candidates, who only serve the interests of the ruling class of this country. As you state in your brochure, 'The political machine of Richard J. Daley uses our taxes to serve the bloated industrial, commercial, and real estate interests.' . . .

"Since the Communist Party is not running candidates for city-wide office, and since there is no other candidate running independent of the ruling class, I feel that the SWP slate represents the only possible alternative in 1971. For this reason, I urge you to join me in giving support to the city-wide slate of the Socialist Workers Party. I am anxiously awaiting your reply."

Socialist runs for Phila. mayor

PHILADELPHIA—Jean Savage, a women's liberation activist and former staff member of the Philadelphia Peace Action Coalition, announced her campaign on Feb. 2 for mayor of Philadelphia on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

The launching of her campaign was picked up by major newspapers and radio stations in Philadelphia. At the same time, five other SWP candidates announced campaigns for municipal office. They are: Hattie McCutcheon for sheriff and Carol Lisker, Pamela Newman, Salvatore Mastriano, and Mark Zola for city council.

Hattie McCutcheon is active in the Black liberation movement in North Philadelphia and the women's liberation movement.

In her first public statement as a candidate, she commented: "I will not be a cog in the torture machine known as the prison and detention system. I will refuse to deliver innocent people to such rat holes, already stuffed to the rafters with victims of this racist, capitalist society. If elected sheriff, I will transport no detainee to any institution until the Black community, or some other unbiased body, declares that institution fit for human habitation. Furthermore, I will transport only those individuals who are being tried, or have been convicted, by

democratic institutions in the Black community."

Lisker, Middle Atlantic Regional Organizer of the Young Socialist Alliance, was the SWP candidate for state representative from Philadelphia in 1970 and at that time challenged the constitutionality of a state loyalty oath. Her court suit is currently pending before the U. S. Supreme Court and is expected to be heard this spring.

On the same day that the SWP candidates announced their campaign, Philadelphia Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo resigned his post to run for mayor in the May Democratic primary. Three days later Hardy Williams, a Black liberal announced his plans to run for the same office in the Democratic primary. The election is in November.

The SWP candidates must file independent nominating petitions with the signatures of at least 7,000 registered voters by March 31. They are



Jean Savage

Photo by Howard Petrick

not allowed to begin collecting signatures until March 10.

Harris files for D.C. ballot

WASHINGTON, D. C.—James Harris, Socialist Workers Party candidate for nonvoting delegate in Washington, D. C., filed nominating petitions with the signatures of more than 5,000 registered voters on Friday, Feb. 5. This was the first day that independent candidates were able to file their petitions to officially enter the delegate's race and Harris' early filing received wide news coverage.

Filing at the same time was Julius Hobson, candidate of the Washington, D. C., Statehood Party.

Both candidates attacked the undemocratic requirement of having to gather at least 5,000 signatures to be eligible to run in the election.

Harris also protested the \$100 filing fee and the fact that any candidate wishing to fill out the petitions correctly must pay \$120 for computer sheets with the voters' registration and precinct numbers on them. Thus the total cost of getting on the ballot in Washington, D. C., is \$220. It is these requirements that will keep most of the 23 announced independents in the race from obtaining ballot status.

One of these independents is Frank Kamany, a founding member of the Mattachine Society, who recently an-

nounced his plans to run. Kamany is protesting discriminatory voter registration policies against homosexuals and has asked the Board of Registrars to register gay people in the areas where they gather.

The Democratic and Republican candidates for nonvoting delegate had previously won places on the ballot through a different set of requirements. The Democratic candidate is Rev. Walter Fauntroy, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's representative in Washington, D. C. The Republican candidate, a white man, is John Nevius.

Oakland student enters race

By FRED FELDMAN

OAKLAND, Calif.—At a news conference on Feb. 4, Peter Graumann, 21-year-old student activist at Oakland's Merritt College, declared his candidacy for the Peralta Junior College Board of Trustees. He will run as the Socialist Workers Party candidate.

Graumann, organizer of the Merritt College Young Socialist Alliance, is a member of the Merritt Committee for a Community-Controlled Flatlands College.

He has been active in mass demonstrations led by the Black Student Union and the Asian-American Alliance which have prevented the Peralta Board of Trustees from carrying out its threat to close down the college, replacing it with a college in a plush lily-white section of Oakland. Over 5,000 Merritt students would be unable to attend the new college which would be 11 miles from the college they presently attend.

Graumann also expressed opposition to a proposed property tax increase supposedly aimed at maintaining the Peralta school system. "In 1965," the candidate pointed out, "a \$47-million bond issue was floated by the Peralta Junior College district. Although this money was to pay for a new campus in the Black community, it was spent on something else and the promised campus was never even begun."

"Now they are seeking another tax increase without renewing the promise for a desperately needed campus in the Black community. The board and the Reagan administration are afraid of creating a predominantly Third World College. They are afraid of the struggle for Black control of Black education."

Graumann suggested that alternative sources of money could be found by taxing the profits of corporations like Standard Oil instead of homeowners.

Garza vote

In the Jan. 29 *Militant*, we reported the final vote totals for Socialist Workers Party candidates in the 1970 elections but unfortunately neglected to include the vote for Hedda Garza, candidate for Nassau County executive on Long Island, New York. The final tally was 891, according to the county clerk's office.

We still have not received final vote totals for SWP candidates in Colorado or Michigan.

The living thoughts of Malcolm X



February 21, 1971, will mark the sixth anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X. While the capitalist rulers were able to physically remove Malcolm, they have been unable to eradicate the influence of his ideas on millions of Afro-Americans. Malcolm's ideas on the need for Black control of the Black community, internationalism, anti-capitalism, Black culture, all-Black organizations, and independent political action have had a strong effect on the vanguard of our movement.

Although Malcolm was murdered six years ago, his political ideas are still of immediate relevance to those who want to organize the Black community.

There is a widely held—but erroneous— notion that many Black leaders have gone beyond Malcolm in their ideas for leading the Black struggle. Shortly after Malcolm's death, many people thought that leaders from SNCC and CORE— Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, James Foreman, and others—were taking the struggle to a more advanced level than Malcolm. Later, some held the same view toward the Black Panther Party.

Unfortunately, not only have these leaders failed to enrich and extend Malcolm's thinking but they never even absorbed his most important contribution—his strategy for organizing a mass movement of the Black community. There are even those like Harold Cruse, who deny that Malcolm had a program.

But Malcolm definitely did have a program, the heart of which was to project Black control of the Black community as the solution to the day-to-day problems faced by the masses of Black people: unemployment, poor schools, drug addiction, police brutality, and lack of political power. Because he understood the depth of capitalist oppression of Black people, and the power of the masses of people, he knew that struggle around these questions, rather than radical rhetoric, is the way to realize the revolutionary potential of the Afro-American struggle.

A little more than a year after Malcolm's split with the Black Muslims, he helped found the Organization of Afro-American Unity for the purpose of organizing masses of Blacks in struggle. At the founding meeting held in Harlem on June 28, 1964, Malcolm presented a program for the OAAU, major portions of which we are reprinting here with Malcolm's comments. (The entire speech is in *By Any Means Necessary*, Malcolm X, ed. by George Breitman, Pathfinder Press, 1970.)

At the time that Malcolm presented this program, *The Militant* was the only newspaper to publish it. We are printing Malcolm's speech on the program not only as a memorial to him but also to indicate the relevance of the OAAU's program for the Black movement today.

The formation of the OAAU was Malcolm's attempt to build a nonreligious, political movement after he left the Black Muslim movement in March 1964. The program for this organization is his most concrete statement of what an organization of the Black liberation movement should do to liberate our people.

First of all, he stressed the power of the mass of Afro-Americans, rather than actions by small

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handfuls, or actions depending on white liberals and capitalist politicians.

Secondly, organizing the Black community should be done under the total control of Black people. Whites or other outsiders were to play no role. Blacks must do it by ourselves. Flowing from this was the necessity to totally break with the Republican and the Democratic parties and to run candidates against them.

He said: "We won't organize any Black man to be a Democrat or a Republican, because both of them have sold us out." The program of the OAAU stated, "We propose to support and organize political clubs to run independent candidates for office." This concept of independent political action by an oppressed nationality is being discussed more widely today in the Black movement than at the time of Malcolm's death. It is beginning to be tried in the Chicano movement with the formation of La Raza Unida parties in Texas, Colorado and California.

Also key to Malcolm's strategy was self-defense. He said that only an unintelligent person was non-violent, and correctly placed the blame for the violence in the struggle not on the Black movement but on the racist system. He called not for small armed groups but for the organization of the entire community to defend itself from attacks.

The pertinence of this concept can be seen today in Cairo, Ill., where the Cairo United Front is organizing the Black community to defend itself from the violence of racist cops and white vigilantes.

Of key importance was his understanding of the importance of Black cultural and historical identity and links with Africa. There are those today, even in the Black movement, who attack "cultural nationalism," labeling it as reformist. In part, this is simply bending to the antinationalist, anti-Black prejudice of America's racist society.

Those who emphasize the cultural aspects of nationalism to the exclusion of taking revolutionary action are not wrong because they are cultural nationalists but because they refuse to fight militantly against the system that has oppressed Blacks.

Malcolm correctly pointed out how the growth of Black cultural awareness and historical identity is important for inspiring self-confidence and a determination to struggle. Knowledge of the fact that Black people were not always degraded as we are today leads to the awareness that we won't always be in this position.

The development of a distinct Black identity can only lead to the increased consciousness of the distinct oppression that Blacks suffer and a willingness to struggle against the barriers this society has placed against our gaining a consciousness of ourselves.

Malcolm blamed the white rulers for making the Black community a center of poverty, crime, ignorance and oppression. To their dominance, he counterposed the demand that Black people control their own communities. Even prostitution and drug addiction, he said, existed to the extent they do in the Black community because the police and the government are controlled by forces more favorable to organized crime than to the Black community.

Preparing to launch organizing campaigns on this basis, Malcolm was a serious threat to the ruling class. He was assassinated to prevent the Organization of Afro-American Unity from successfully implementing its program.

Although the OAAU was unable to recover from the loss of Malcolm X, it is still the task of the Black liberation movement to organize our people around the lines projected in the program of the OAAU. This is the highest tribute we could pay to Brother Malcolm.

—TONY THOMAS

THE FOUNDING RALLY OF THE OAAU

Salaam Alaikum, Mr. Moderator, our distinguished guests, brothers and sisters, our friends and our enemies, everybody who's here.

As many of you know, last March when it was announced that I was no longer in the Black Muslim movement, it was pointed out that it was my intention to work among the 22 million non-Muslim Afro-Americans and to try and form some type of organization, or create a situation where the young people—our young people, the students and others—could study the problems of our people for a period of time and then come up with a new analysis and give us some new ideas and some new suggestions as to how to approach a problem that too many other people have been playing around with for too long. And that we would have some kind of meeting and determine at a later date whether to form a Black nationalist party or a Black nationalist army. . . .

So we have formed an organization known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity which has the same aim and objective—to fight whoever gets in our way, to bring about the complete independence of people of African descent here in the Western Hemisphere, and first here in the United States, and bring about the freedom of these people by any means necessary.

That's our motto. We want freedom by any means necessary. We want justice by any means necessary. We want equality by any means necessary. . . .

The purpose of our organization is to start right here in Harlem, which has the largest concentration of people of African descent that exists anywhere on this earth. There are more Africans in Harlem than exist in any city on the African continent. Because that's what you and I are—Africans. . . .

Black unity

So the purpose of the Organization of Afro-American Unity is to unite everyone in the Western Hemisphere of African descent into one united force. And then, once we are united among ourselves in the Western Hemisphere, we will unite with our brothers on the motherland, on the continent of Africa. So to get right with it, I would like to read you the "Basic Aims and Objectives of the Organization of Afro-American Unity," started here in New York, June 1964.

"The Organization of Afro-American Unity, organized and structured by a cross section of the Afro-American people living in the United States of America, has been patterned after the letter and spirit of the Organization of African Unity which was established in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May of 1963.

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"We, the members of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, gathered together in Harlem, New York:

"Convinced that it is the inalienable right of all our people to control our own destiny;

"Conscious of the fact that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are central objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the people of African descent here in the Western Hemisphere, we will endeavor to build a bridge of understanding and create the basis for Afro-American unity;

"Conscious of our responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of our people for their total advancement in all spheres of human endeavor;

"Inspired by our common determination to promote understanding among our people and cooperation in all matters pertaining to their survival and advancement, we will support the aspirations of our people for brotherhood and solidarity in a larger unity transcending all organizational differences;

"Convinced that, in order to translate this determination into a dynamic force in the cause of human progress, conditions of peace and security must be established and maintained;"—And by "conditions of peace and security," [we mean] we have to eliminate the barking of the police dogs, we have to eliminate the police clubs, we have to eliminate the water hoses, we have to eliminate all of these things that have become so characteristic of the American so-called dream. These have to be eliminated. Then we will be living in a condition of peace and security. . . .

"We are resolved to reinforce the common bond of purpose between our people by submerging all of our differences and establishing a nonsectarian, constructive program for human rights;

"We hereby present this charter.

"I—Establishment.

"The Organization of Afro-American Unity shall include all people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as our brothers and sisters on the African continent." Which means anyone of African descent, with African blood, can become a member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, and also any one of our brothers and sisters from the African continent. Because not only it is an organization of Afro-American unity meaning that we are trying to unite our people in the West, but it's an Organization of Afro-American unity in the sense that we want to unite all of our people who are in North America, South America, and Central America with our people on the African continent. We must unite together in order to go forward together. Africa will not go forward any faster than we will and we will not go forward any faster than Africa will. We have one destiny and we've had one past. . . ."

Self-defense

"II—Self-defense.

"Since self-preservation is the first law of nature, we assert the Afro-American's right to self-defense.

"The Constitution of the United States of America clearly affirms the right of every American citizen to bear

"Since they say that they can't improve these schools, why should you and I who live in the community let these fools continue to run and produce this standard of education?"

arms. And as Americans, we will not give up a single right guaranteed under the Constitution. The history of unpunished violence against our people clearly indicates that we must be prepared to defend ourselves or we will continue to be a defenseless people at the mercy of a ruthless and violent racist mob.

"We assert that in those areas where the government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives and property of our people, that our people are within our rights to protect themselves by whatever means necessary." . . .

This is the thing you need to spread the word about among our people wherever you go. Never let them be brainwashed into thinking that whenever they take steps to see that they're in a position to defend themselves that they're being unlawful. The only time you're being unlawful is when you break the law. It's lawful to have something to defend yourself. Why, I heard President Johnson either today or yesterday, I guess it was today, talking about how quick this country would go to war to defend itself. Why, what kind of a fool do you look like, living in a country that will go to war at the drop of a hat to defend itself, and here you've got to stand up in the face of vicious police dogs and blue-eyed crackers waiting for somebody to tell you what to do to defend yourself! . . .

So it says here: "A man with a rifle or a club can only be stopped by a person who defends himself with a rifle or a club." That's equality. If you have a dog, I must have a dog. If you have a rifle, I must have a rifle. If you have a club, I must have a club. This is equality. If the United States government doesn't want you and me to get rifles, then take the rifles away from those racists. If they don't want you and me to use clubs, take the clubs away from the racists. If they don't want you and me to get violent, then stop the racists from being violent. Don't teach us nonviolence while those crackers are violent. Those days are over.

"Tactics based solely on morality can only succeed when you are dealing with people who are moral or a system that is moral. A man or system which oppresses a man because of his color is not moral. It is the duty of every Afro-American person and every Afro-American community throughout this country to protect its people against mass murders, against bombers, against lynchings, against floggers, against brutalizers and against exploiters." . . .

Schools

"III — Education.

"Education is an important element in the struggle for human rights. It is the means to help our children and our people rediscover their identity and thereby increase their self-respect. Education is our passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs only to the people who prepare for it today." . . .

"Our children are being criminally shortchanged in the public school system of America. The Afro-American schools are the poorest-run schools in the city of New York. Principals and teachers fail to understand the nature of the problems with which they work and as a result they can-

not do the job of teaching our children. . . .

"The Board of Education's integration plan is expensive and unworkable; and the organization of principals and supervisors in New York City's school system has refused to support the Board's plan to integrate the schools, thus dooming it to failure before it even starts.

"The Board of Education of this city has said that even with its plan there are 10 percent of the schools in Harlem and the Bedford-Stuyvesant community in Brooklyn that they cannot improve. So what are we to do? "This means that the Organization of Afro-American Unity must make the Afro-American community a more potent force for educational self-improvement.

Black control of schools

"A first step in the program to end the existing system of racist education is to demand that the 10 percent of the schools the Board of Education will not include in its plan be turned over to and run by the Afro-American community itself." Since they say that they can't improve these schools, why should you and I who live in the community let those fools continue to run and produce this low standard of education? No, let them turn those schools over to us. Since they say they can't handle them, nor can they correct them, let us take a whack at it.

What do we want? "We want Afro-American principals to head these schools. We want Afro-American teachers in these schools." Meaning we want Black principals and Black teachers with some textbooks about Black people. "We want textbooks written by Afro-Americans that are acceptable to our people before they can be used in these schools.

"The Organization of Afro-American Unity will select and recommend people to serve on local school boards where school policy is made and passed on to the Board of Education." And this is very important.

"Through these steps we will make 10 percent of the schools that we take over educational showplaces that will attract the attention of people from all over the nation." Instead of them being schools turning out pupils whose academic diet is not complete, we can turn them into examples of what we can do ourselves once given an opportunity.

"If these proposals are not met, we will ask Afro-American parents to keep their children out of the present inferior schools they attend. And when these schools in our neighborhood are controlled by Afro-Americans, we will then return our children to them.

"The Organization of Afro-American Unity recognizes the tremendous importance of the complete involvement of Afro-American parents in every phase of school life. The Afro-American parent must be willing and able to go into the schools and see that the job of educating our children is done properly. . . .

"We call on all Afro-Americans around the nation to be aware that the conditions that exist in the New York City public school system are as deplorable in their cities as they are here. We must unite our efforts and spread our program of self-improvement through education to every

Afro-American community in America. . . .

Black political power

"IV — Politics and Economics."

And the two are almost inseparable, because the politician is depending on some money; yes, that's what he's depending on.

"Basically, there are two kinds of power that count in America: economic power and political power, with social power being derived from those two. In order for the Afro-Americans to control their destiny, they must be able to control and affect the decisions which control their destiny: economic, political, and social. This can only be done through organization.

"The Organization of Afro-American Unity will organize the Afro-American community block by block to make the community aware of its power and its potential; we will start immediately a voter registration drive to make every unregistered voter in the Afro-American community an independent voter."

Republicans and Democrats

We won't organize any Black man to be a Democrat or a Republican, because both of them have sold us out. Both of them have sold us out; both parties have sold us out. Both parties are racist, and the Democratic Party is more racist than the Republican Party. I can prove it. All you've got to do is name everybody who's running the government in Washington, D. C., right now. He's a Democrat and he's from either Georgia, Alabama, Texas, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, from one of those cracker states. . . .

"We propose to support and organize political clubs, to run independent candidates for office, and to support any Afro-American already in office who answers to and is responsible to the Afro-American community." We don't support any Black man who is controlled by the white power structure. We will start not only a voter registration drive but a voter education drive to let our people have an understanding of the science of politics so they will be able to see what part the politician plays in the scheme of things; so they will be able to understand when the politician is doing his job and when he is not doing his job. And any time the politician is not doing his job, we remove him whether he's white, black, green, blue, yellow or whatever other color they might invent.

Economic exploitation

"The economic exploitation in the Afro-American community is the most vicious form practiced on any people in America." In fact, it is the most vicious practiced on any people on this earth. No one is exploited economically as thoroughly as you and I, because in most countries where people are exploited they know it. You and I are in this country being exploited and sometimes we don't know it. "Twice as much rent is paid for rat-infested, roach-crawling, rotting tenements."

This is true. It costs us more to live in Harlem than it costs them to live on Park Avenue. Do you know that the rent is higher on Park Avenue in Harlem than it is on Park Avenue downtown? And in Harlem you have

everything else in that apartment with you — roaches, rats, cats, dogs, and some other outsiders — disguised as landlords. "The Afro-American pays more for food, pays more for clothing, pays more for insurance than anybody else." And we do. . . . I'm telling you we do it because we live in one of the rottenest countries that has ever existed on this earth. It's the system that is rotten; we have a rotten system. It's a system of exploitation, a political and economic system of exploitation, of outright humiliation, degradation, discrimination — all of the negative things that you can run into, you have to run into under this system that disguises itself as a democracy, disguises itself as a democracy. And the things that they practice against you and me are worse than some of the things that they practiced in Germany against the Jews. . . . And you run around here getting ready to get drafted and go someplace and defend it. Someone needs to crack you up 'side your head.

Housing

"The Organization of Afro-American Unity will wage an unrelenting struggle against these evils in our community. There shall be organizers to work with our people to solve these problems, and start a housing self-improvement program." Instead of waiting for the white man to come and straighten out our neighborhood, we'll straighten it out ourselves. This is where you make your mistake. An outsider can't clean up your house as well as you can. An outsider can't take care of your children as well as you can. An outsider can't look after your needs as well as you can. And an outsider can't understand your problems as well as you can. Yet you're looking for an outsider to do it. We will do it or it will never get done.

Rent strikes

"We propose to support rent strikes." Yes, not little, small rent strikes in one block. We'll make Harlem a rent strike. We'll get every Black man in this city; the Organization of Afro-American Unity won't stop until there's not a Black man in the city not on strike. Nobody will pay any rent. The whole city will come to a halt. And they can't put all of us in jail because they've already got the jails full of us.

"V — Social.

"This organization is responsible only to the Afro-American people and the Afro-American community." This organization is not responsible to anybody but us. We don't have to ask the man downtown can we demonstrate. We don't have to ask the man downtown what tactics we can use to demonstrate our resentment against his criminal abuse. We don't have to ask his consent; we don't have to ask his endorsement; we don't have to ask his permission. Anytime we know that an unjust condition exists and it is illegal and unjust, we will strike at it by any means necessary. And strike also at whatever and whoever gets in the way.

"This organization is responsible only to the Afro-American people and community and will function only with their support, both financially and nu-

merically. We believe that our communities must be the sources of their own strength politically, economically, intellectually, and culturally in the struggle for human rights and human dignity. . . .

Community control of police

With all the police in Harlem, there is too much crime, too much drug addiction, too much alcoholism, too much prostitution, too much gambling.

So it makes us suspicious about the motives of Commissioner Murphy when he sends all these policemen up here. We begin to think that they are just his errand boys, whose job it is to pick up the graft and take it back downtown to Murphy. Anytime there's a police commissioner who finds it necessary to increase the strength numerically of the policemen in Harlem and, at the same time, we don't see any sign of a decrease in crime, why, I think we're justified in suspecting his motives. He can't be sending them up here to fight crime, because crime is on the increase. The more cops we have, the more crime we have. We begin to think that they bring some of the crime with them.

So our purpose is to organize the community so that we ourselves—since the police can't eliminate the drug traffic, we have to eliminate it. Since the police can't eliminate organized gambling, we have to eliminate it. Since the police can't eliminate organized prostitution and all of these evils that are destroying the moral fiber of our community, it is up to you and me to eliminate these evils ourselves. . . .

War on drug addiction

"The Afro-American community must accept the responsibility for regaining our people who have lost their place in society. We must declare an all-out war on organized crime in our community; a vice that is controlled by policemen who accept bribes and graft must be exposed. We must establish a clinic, whereby one can get aid and cure for drug addiction."

This is absolutely necessary. When a person is a drug addict, he's not the criminal; he's the victim of the criminal. The criminal is the man downtown who brings this drug into the country. Negroes can't bring drugs into this country. You don't have any boats. You don't have any airplanes. You don't have any diplomatic immunity. It is not you who is responsible for bringing in drugs. You're just a little tool that is used by the man downtown. The man that controls the drug traffic sits in city hall or he sits in the state house. Big shots who are respected, who function in high circles—those are the ones who control these things. And you and I will never strike at the root of it until we strike at the man downtown. . . .

"The Organization of Afro-American Unity believes that the Afro-American community must endeavor to do the major part of all charity work from within the community. Charity, however, does not mean that to which we are legally entitled to in the form of government benefits. The Afro-American veteran must be made aware of all the benefits due to him and the procedure for obtaining them. . . .

"The veterans must be encouraged to go into business together, using GI loans," and all other items that we have access to or have available to us.

"Afro-Americans must unite and work together. We must take pride in the Afro-American community, for it is our home and it is our power," the base of our power.

"What we do here in regaining our self-respect, our manhood, our dignity and freedom helps all people everywhere who are also fighting against oppression."

Lastly, concerning culture and the cultural aspect of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Black culture

"A race of people is like an individual man; until it uses its own talent, takes pride in its own history, expresses its own culture, affirms its own selfhood, it can never fulfill itself."

"Our history and our culture were completely destroyed when we were forcibly brought to America in chains. And now it is important for us to know that our history did not begin with slavery. We came from Africa, a great continent, wherein live a proud and varied people, a land which is the new world and was the cradle of civilization. Our culture and our history are as old as man himself and yet we know almost nothing about it."

This is no accident. It is no accident that such a high state of culture existed in Africa and you and I know nothing about it. Why, the man knew that as long as you and I thought we were somebody, he could never treat us like we were nobody. So he had to invent a system that would strip us of everything about us that we could use to prove we were somebody. And once he had stripped us of all human characteristics—stripped us of our language, stripped us of our history, stripped us of all cultural knowledge, and brought us down to the level of an animal—he then began to treat us like an animal, selling us from one plantation to another, selling us from one owner to another, breeding us like you breed cattle.

Why, brothers and sisters, when you wake up and find out what this man here has done to you and me, you won't even wait for somebody to give you the word. I'm not saying all of them are bad. There might be some good ones. But we don't have time to look for them. Not nowadays.

"We must recapture our heritage and our identity if we are ever to liberate ourselves from the bonds of white supremacy. We must launch a cultural revolution to un-brainwash an entire people." . . . When you tell this Black man in America who he is, where he came from, what he had when he was there, he'll look around and ask himself, "Well, what happened to it, who took it away from us and how did they do it?" Why, brothers, you'll have some action just like that. When you let the Black man in America know where he once was and what he once had, why, he only needs to look at himself now to realize something criminal was done to him to bring him down to the low condition that he's in today.

Once he realizes what was done, how it was done, and who did it, that

knowledge in itself will usher in your action program. And it will be by any means necessary. A man doesn't know how to act until he realizes what he's acting against. And you don't realize what you're acting against until you realize what they did to you. Too many of you don't know what they did to you, and this is what makes you so quick to want to forget and forgive. No, brothers, when you see what has happened to you, you will never forget and you'll never forgive. And, as I say, all of them might not be guilty. But most of them are. Most of them are.

"Our cultural revolution must be the means of bringing us closer to our African brothers and sisters. It must begin in the community and be based on community participation. Afro-Americans will be free to create only when they can depend on the Afro-American community for support, and Afro-American artists must realize that they depend on the Afro-American community for inspiration."

Black artists

Our artists—we have artists who are geniuses; they don't have to act the Stepin Fetchit role. But as long as they're looking for white support instead of Black support, they've got to act like the old white supporter wants them to. When you and I begin to support the Black artists, then the Black artists can play that Black role. As long as the Black artist has to sing and dance to please the white man, he'll be a clown, he'll be clowning, just another clown. But when he can sing and dance to please Black men, he sings a different song and he dances another step. When we get together, we've got a step that nobody can do but us, because we have a reason for doing it that nobody can understand but us.

Black history

"We must work toward the establishment of a cultural center in Harlem, which will include people of all ages and will conduct workshops in all the arts, such as film, creative writing, painting, theater, music, and the entire spectrum of Afro-American history. . . .

"This cultural revolution will be the journey to the rediscovery of ourselves. History is a people's memory, and without a memory man is demoted to the level of the lower animals." When you have no knowledge of your history, you're just another animal; in fact, you're a Negro; something that's nothing. The only Black man on earth who is called a Negro is one who doesn't know where he came from. That's the one in America. They don't call Africans Negroes. . . .

"Armed with the knowledge of our past, we can with confidence charter a course for our future. Culture is an indispensable weapon in the freedom struggle. We must take hold of it and forge the future with the past." . . .

This is our aim. It's rough, we have to smooth it up some. But we're not trying to put something together that's smooth. We don't care how rough it is. We don't care how tough it is. We don't care how backward it may sound. In essence it only means we want one thing. We declare our right

on this earth to be a man, to be a human being, to be respected as a human being, to be given the rights of a human being in this society, on this earth, in this day, which we intend to bring into existence by any means necessary. . . .

No organization that is financed by white support can ever be independent enough to fight the power structure with the type of tactics necessary to get real results. The only way we can fight the power structure, and it's the power structure that we're fighting—we're not even fighting the Southern segregationists, we're fighting a system that is run in Washington, D.C. That's the seat of the system that we're fighting. And in order to fight it, we have to be independent of it. And the only way we can be independent of it is to be independent of all support from the white community. It's a battle that we have to wage ourselves.

Now, if white people want to help, they can help. But they can't join. They can help in the white community, but they can't join. We accept their help. They can form the White Friends of the Organization of Afro-American Unity and work in the white community on white people and change their attitude toward us. They don't ever need to come among us and change our attitude. We've had enough of them working around us trying to change our attitude. That's what got us all messed up.

So we don't question their sincerity, we don't question their motives, we don't question their integrity. We just encourage them to use it somewhere else—in the white community. If they can use all of this sincerity in the white community to make the white community act better toward us, then we'll say, "Those are good white folks." But they don't have to come around us, smiling at us and showing us all their teeth like white Uncle Toms, to try and make themselves acceptable to us. The White Friends of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, let them work in the white community.

The only way that this organization can be independent is if it is financed by you. It must be financed by you. Last week, I told you that it would cost a dollar to join it. We sat down and thought about it all week long and said that charging you a dollar to join it would not make it an organization. We have set a membership joining fee, if that's the way you express it, at \$2.00. . . .

This is why Garvey was able to be more militant. Garvey didn't ask them for help. He asked our people for help. And this is what we're going to do. We're going to try and follow his books. . . .

You and I want to create an organization that will give us so much power we can sit down and do as we please. Once we can sit down and think as we please, speak as we please, and do as we please, we will show people what pleases us. And what pleases us won't always please them. So you've got to get some power before you can be yourself. Do you understand that? You've got to get some power before you can be yourself. Once you get power and you be yourself, why you're gone, you've got it and gone. You create a new society and make some heaven right here on this earth. . . .

"We must recapture our heritage and our identity if we are ever to liberate ourselves from the bonds of white supremacy. We must launch a cultural revolution to un-brainwash an entire people."

Calif. MAPA leader calls for support to Raza Unida Party

By FROBEN LOZADA

LOS ANGELES — Bert Corona, a long-time figure in liberal Democratic politics and former chairman of MAPA (Mexican-American Political Association), which traditionally has supported liberals in local, state and national elections, was the keynote speaker at a Jan. 29 meeting here to discuss organizing a Raza Unida Party in California.

Corona stressed the need for La Raza to organize independently of the two parties of capitalism—the Democrats and the Republicans. Speaking before an audience of about 130 persons at the All Nations Center, Corona pointed out how these two parties were "not created to meet the needs of the Chicanos. It's these two parties," he continued, "that have always used the Chicanos. We have never had a chance to use them. These are the same parties that are responsible for the theft of our land, the continuous exploitation of our peoples."

"A Raza Unida Party was needed 40 years ago, 60 years ago, 100 years ago," he said. "We have been taken for granted for too long. We must follow the example of the Chicanos in Texas and Colorado and organize on our own. Only then can we expect any response from those parties who have forgotten us."

In an interview two days later at the Chicano Moratorium demonstration, Corona again emphasized the need for a Raza Unida Party: "Supporting La Raza Unida Party is the only course for Chicanos because the other two parties aren't ours. On the contrary, they represent the same vested interests who conquered the Southwest and stole our land. We need a party that will reflect our interests."

Asked if, on the basis of his own experience of trying to work within the Democratic Party, he believed that Chicanos can no longer expect "deals"



Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles Jan. 31

Photo by Dave Saperstein

from the Democrats and Republicans, Corona replied without hesitation, "We cannot negotiate for the best deal. The only deal is to organize out of our own strength, and by working outside, force their policies to take our unity into consideration. Even though they have much more than us in terms of money, tools and power, we can always remove our vote from their ability to get it and thereby force them to deal on our terms and not on theirs."

He said that the kind of response the party would receive in California "depends on us, how we develop our steps. It must be broad and flexible to bring in as many people and organizations as possible. Through education we can then establish the fact that we can no longer play tiddlywinks with those two parties. La Raza Unida Party can lend itself as a vehicle to organize our people, to edu-

cate them, to draw them in. There's a definite need for a political arm."

MAPA, Corona stressed, is "not a political party but a civic organization. It was a necessary vehicle to break from an era of fear of going into politics that the Chicanos found themselves in a few years ago. La Raza, only a few years ago, was still afraid of going into politics and considered politics as a 'dirty game.' That fear, motivated by deportations, oppression, exploitation, and intimidation on the job, had to be overcome. MAPA was able to do this because it served to bring our people out of social activities and into politics. Hopefully, MAPA should help bring these people into La Raza Unida Party. MAPA can provide valuable help by registering people, setting up headquarters, canvassing, and in general helping to develop the campaign. I see no conflict with MAPA and La

Raza Unida Party. In fact, I feel that MAPA, in order to fulfill its aims and goals, must now involve itself in La Raza Unida Party."

When asked if he agreed with the preamble of the Raza Unida Party now being organized in Northern California, which calls for a complete break from the Democrats and Republicans, Corona answered affirmatively that "a strong line is needed and we must break from these two parties; why else organize another party? It must be clear that we are not willing to be junior partners of the Democrats or Republicans."

Bert Corona added that the Los Angeles group will be taking a delegation to the next Northern California Raza Unida Party meeting to be held on Feb. 21 in Stockton. Jose Angel Gutierrez, a founder of La Raza Unida Party in Texas, will attend and address the meeting.

In another development, Cesar Chavez, who has also been invited to attend the Feb. 21 meeting, recently released the following "Message to our Raza brothers of Mexican descent:

"Register TODAY to VOTE intelligently in governmental, local, statewide, and national elections in order to elect our RAZA brothers—for an improvement in our deplorable economic situation and our housing, for jobs and fair salaries, and for equal education for our RAZA. We will only be able to solve this through a COLLECTIVE VOTE in UNITY for 'LA RAZA UNIDA.'"

This statement, while it stops short of support for a Chicano party, is clearly a sign of the pressure that is being brought to bear on pro-Democratic Party forces like Cesar Chavez by La Raza Unida Party. It will make it easier for the Raza Unida Party to approach the ranks of the farm workers and the boycott movements.

Free Ruchell Magee!

SAN FRANCISCO (LNS)—All across America and throughout the world, rallies, speeches, benefits, telegrams are insisting: "Free Angela." At a preliminary hearing at the Marin County courthouse, the chants were "Free Angela," and "Free All Political Prisoners," but there was no mention of Ruchell Magee.

Ruchell is the one surviving member of a dramatic Aug. 7 escape attempt, where Jonathan Jackson, brother of George Jackson of the Soledad 3, entered a Marin County courtroom with guns under his coat. Three Black prisoners from San Quentin were on trial.

Jackson distributed the guns, took the judge and four jury members hostage, and tried to escape with the three prisoners—William Christmas, James McClain, and Ruchell Magee. They told the courtroom: "We are the revolutionaries. Free the Soledad 3." Then they got into a van and tried to drive away. Police fired round after round into the van, despite the fact that the judge was inside. Jackson was killed immediately. Christmas, McClain and the judge were also killed.

Magee, who was wounded by police bullets, is now being charged with first degree murder for the death of Judge Haley. The prosecution is hoping to send him to the gas chamber.

Angela Davis was charged with supplying the guns for the escape—the guns were legally registered in her name—and under California law, she is held responsible for the death of Haley, as a "knowing accomplice" to the murder.

Until Angela was caught in October, all of Ruchell Magee's hearings and his endless fights to represent himself took place in a makeshift secluded "courtroom" in San Quentin. Spectators who wanted to support Magee were discouraged by distant parking lots, endless waiting in line, thorough searches, and stiff regulations.

Magee repeatedly demanded his rights to defend himself, presenting writ upon writ, while burly guards chained him to his seat, then dragged him off and beat him. Ruchell is still not being allowed to defend himself.

He has been fighting the California Adult Authority and its penal system since he first came to San Quentin, eight years ago, when he was given a life sentence for a \$10 marijuana score. Magee is 31.

The life sentence was imposed on him, he charges, after both he and his cousin LeRoy Stewart, were tortured, the only prosecution witness had his testimony thrown out as perjury, and the trial transcript was falsified.

On March 23, 1963, Ruchell paid a "Ben Brown" \$10 for marijuana, and then had Brown drive himself, his cousin Stewart, and a young woman to a corner in Los Angeles.

There he got into a "brief struggle" with Brown over an earlier argument. Brown ran, leaving his car, and called the sheriff. Magee was arrested, charged with kidnapping, and when he told the sheriff he didn't have the car keys, was beaten so badly he was later taken from his cell coughing blood. He spent five days in Los Angeles County General Hospital.

Magee charges his cousin Stewart was beaten into confessing to the kidnap charge. At the trial, after Brown's testimony was thrown out, the prosecution played a tape of Stewart's confession and told the jury that since Stewart had pleaded guilty (on advice from the public defender), Ruchell should be found guilty as well.

They did find him guilty. The sentence—for a poor Black immigrant from Louisiana, for a \$10 beef with a dope dealer—was life. That is, one year to life under California's indeterminate sentence law, which has chained away more people for longer sentences than any other state.

When Ruchell tried to appeal, he found he could not get a complete copy of the original trial transcript.

And the part he did get contained what he considers to be important errors. Yet he did manage to get a reversal of his conviction. But at the retrial, when he tried to defend himself, he was at one point grabbed by the bailiffs and beaten within sight of the judge and spectators.

During his second attempt at a retrial, a lawyer Ruchell had never seen before had him plead guilty by reason of insanity, over Ruchell's objections. And again Ruchell was dragged out of the courtroom.

With altered testimony from the same dope dealer whose testimony was thrown out in the first trial, and a judge's instructions to find Ruchell guilty or innocent by reason of insanity, the jury found the angry Black man guilty.

Again he was sentenced to life in prison.

After Angela was apprehended, one of Magee's state-appointed "public defenders" (a rightist law-and-order candidate for Marin County D.A. in 1966) threatened him with the gas chamber if he didn't testify against Angela. Then Ruchell was offered parole if he would "cooperate." The state has also tried to get other prisoners to influence him. But he has refused to make any deals.

Free Ruchell Magee!

A powder keg in world politics

By GUS HOROWITZ and BARRY SHEPPARD
(Tenth of a series)

The Middle East is one of the powder kegs of the world. The United States and the Soviet Union confront each other there under the omnipresent danger of a nuclear showdown. Britain and France, nuclear powers too, remain deeply entrenched in the area, although to a lesser degree than before World War II. On top of this, Israel has the potential to build atomic weapons, and may even have them already.

The root cause of the war danger in the Middle East is to be found in the determination of Western imperialism to maintain its grip on the area. There are three major reasons why world imperialism is willing to risk all-out war in this venture: 1) the strategic importance of the Middle East; 2) its importance in the worldwide confrontation between capitalism and socialism; and 3) oil.

The Middle East has traditionally been strategically important. As the juncture of Africa, Asia and Europe, it is traversed by the main air and water routes between the population centers in Europe and South Asia. It borders upon the Soviet Union. Both from the standpoint of trade and global military strategy, the geographical situation and configuration of the Middle East make it an area of vital concern to world imperialism.

Another aspect of imperialism's interests in the Arab world is the international impact of the politics of the region. If the Arab people succeed in tearing the Middle East out of imperialism's orbit through socialist revolution, it would have a profound effect on the other colonial and semicolonial areas of the globe and would deal imperialism a mighty blow on a world scale.

Of most immediate interest to imperialism, however, and an object of day-by-day calculation in the counting houses and political centers of England, France, Japan and the U.S. is—oil. The proven oil reserves of the Arab countries in the Mideast and North Africa amount to 60 percent of the world total. Counting Iran, a non-Arab country, the figure rises to 70 percent. Saudi Arabia alone, ruled by a monarchy backed up by Washington, has oil reserves of 112 billion barrels, compared to reserves of 38 billion in the United States.

The stakes in oil are high. Capitalist Europe relies on Mideast and North African oil for 75 percent of its needs, and Japan, 90 percent. While the U.S. draws only 3 percent of the oil consumed here from this region, the tremendous oil reserves there make it important for the U.S. in the long run.

But U.S. imperialism has much greater stakes in this oil than the 3 percent it consumes domestically. Most of the major international oil companies exploiting Mideast oil are owned by American capitalists whose investment there runs into the billions. So do profits, with production costs in the Mideast averaging around 20 cents a barrel, compared to \$1.75 in the U.S.

Imperialist policy

Imperialist policy is designed to defend and extend its interests. Since the rise of the colonial revolution, especially after World War II, imperialism—and that means above all U.S. imperialism, which has stepped into the center of the stage in the Mideast—has been forced to make a tactical retreat, allowing formal political independence in the Arab world. This is coupled, however, with more indirect forms of imperialist political domination of these "independent" countries.

Where they can get away with it, as in Saudi Arabia, the imperialists back outright conservative and reactionary regimes which pretty much guarantee imperialist interests. In relation to the "progressive" Arab regimes, Washington has at times utilized economic reprisals (like Dulles' cancellation of aid to Egypt) while simultaneously holding out the prospect of certain advantages if "closer relations" were to be established. Always, there is the implicit threat of military intervention.

While imperialist diplomacy is designed to maintain its essential interests through the Arab bourgeois regimes, the imperialists are, at the same time, the key force behind the maintenance of Israel. This situation can lead to a seeming contradiction, with the imperialists at times playing "both sides" in certain conflicts between Israel and the Arab countries.

This "contradiction" is more apparent than real, however. First of all, imperialism backs Israel against the Arab states in any showdown. This occasionally makes for some awkward moments for imperialist diplomacy, but in overall terms, it is fundamental to its strategy vis-a-vis the Arab regimes themselves.

Imperialist support for the Zionist colonial adventure is a key element in maintaining maximum imperialist pressure in the region. Israeli forces and Israeli diplomacy are actively engaged to hold back and contain the Arab revolution. Israeli policy is to do everything it can to keep the Arab world divided and as backward as possible. Thus we saw the willingness of the Israelis to come to the aid of the anti-Semite Hussein last September, against the revolutionary Palestinians, who call for equal rights for Jews and Arabs in a future democratic Palestine. Following the Jordanian civil war, there was the "contradiction" of Israel giving the green light to Washington to rearm the king's forces as quickly as possible.

Soviet interests

The Soviet Union's interest in the Mideast is of a different nature than that of the U.S. The Soviet Union is not imperialist. There are no Soviet investments in the Middle East, and no internal drives in the Soviet economy to make such investments necessary and even vital, as there are in the imperialist countries. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is not predicated on that type of economic consideration.

The Soviet Union has been under constant threat

of imperialist attack ever since the Russian Revolution of 1917. As a result of the global nature of modern politics and military strategy, the Soviet Union must deal with U.S. imperialism nearly everywhere. Areas like the Mideast—on the Soviet border—loom especially important.

Ever since the rise to power of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the U.S.S.R., Lenin's policy of revolutionary internationalism has been replaced by the opposite one of "socialism in one country." Exhibiting the typical conservatism of a privileged bureaucracy, Moscow relies upon arms and diplomacy alone for defense of the Soviet Union. The Stalinists not only reject the program of world revolution as "utopian" but mortally fear and oppose the extension of the revolution, for this could pose an alternative to the bureaucracy, which falsely claims to represent socialism.

Under the banner of "socialism in one country," the Stalinists converted the Communist parties of the world from revolutionary instruments into pressure groups to further the Soviet policy of seeking an accommodation with world imperialism.

During World War II, for example, "in return" for the alliance with Britain and France, the Kremlin ordered the CPs in the Arab world to "postpone" the struggle for independence from these powers. During and after the war, the French CP was a key supporter of French rule in Algeria.

In 1947-48, the Arab states were either outright colonies or were dominated by very conservative governments closely allied with imperialism. Zionist groups had been fighting Britain in order to increase Jewish immigration to Palestine and lay the groundwork for the Israeli state. In this situation Moscow hoped to make quick diplomatic gains by establishing good relations with the projected Israeli state, even though this would be at the expense of the Palestinian people.

So Moscow opposed independence for Palestine and supported the UN partition plan to establish the settler-colonial state of Israel—and Czechoslovakia supplied it with arms. The Communist parties in the Arab world, following Moscow's lead, also supported the creation of Israel.

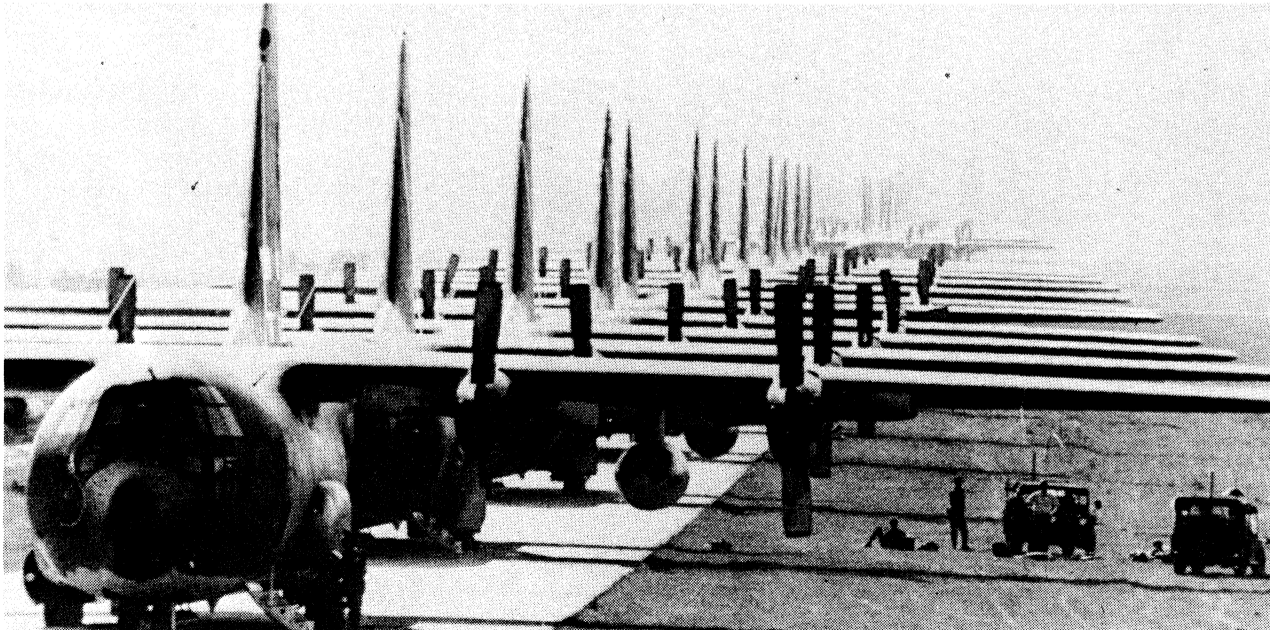
Since the mid-1950s, Moscow has been able to take advantage of the rifts that have developed between imperialism and sectors of the national bourgeoisie in some of the Arab states to further its diplomatic and military interests in the area. Moscow is in an unquestionably stronger position in the eastern Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean than ever before.

No revolutionary perspective

But the gains of Soviet foreign policy have not been designed to advance the socialist revolution in the Mideast. Moscow does everything it can to insure that revolutionary developments do not threaten those bourgeois regimes in the Arab world with which it has developed friendly diplomatic relations.

The policy of the Arab Communist parties, flowing from the foreign-policy interests of the Soviet bureaucrats, is much the same as in other parts of the colonial world. They relegate the socialist revolution to the distant future and put all their emphasis on establishing governments which will, they hope, enact a few reforms and establish friendly relations with Moscow. These parties subordinate themselves to the "progressive national bourgeoisie," and are dead against a revolutionary struggle that would combine national and socialist demands, because this would require a political break with their capitalist allies.

In the Arab countries, the Communist parties have been strong at times, even holding office in capitalist governments on occasion. At other times, they have been outlawed and viciously repressed. But at all times, even when illegal, their basic policy has been to support one or another section of the national bourgeoisie, and to oppose mobilizing the masses in an independent revolutionary direction. In Iraq in 1958, for example, the Communist Party's support of the national bourgeoisie led it to utilize its influence to defuse



U.S. planes waiting in Germany for possible deployment to Jordan during last September's civil war. For U.S. government there is no real contradiction between backing Israel and providing arms for Jordanian monarchy.

Third World Liberation Notes

a revolutionary mobilization which had the potential of overturning capitalist rule.

In Syria and Lebanon, the Communist Party program had for many years spoken in generalities about independence and social justice, but not in terms of a thoroughgoing land reform which would have alienated large sectors of the national bourgeoisie. The Syrian Communist Party opposed federation with Egypt in 1958, and after the federation broke up in 1961, it cheered the denationalization measures that were undertaken in Syria. The Communist Party of Egypt, although persecuted for years in that country, decided to dissolve itself in April 1965, issuing a declaration that hailed the "socialist policy of Nasser."

The existence of the Soviet Union provides an alternative source of international support as against imperialism for the "progressive" Arab regimes, who have attempted to play off the two super powers in an effort to find breathing space for an "independent" policy. The Kremlin, on the other hand, relies on its relations with these regimes, especially Egypt, as its entree into the area. Moscow must both pose as a supporter of the Arab revolution and provide material aid and defense for Egypt to maintain this position. A complete imperialist-Israeli victory in the Mideast could only be viewed as a very dangerous diplomatic and military development by Moscow. Thus, the Kremlin has real interests and commitments in the Mideast which could draw the Soviet Union into war in the event of an imperialist assault in the area.

However, seeking above all an accommodation with Washington, Moscow is doing all it can to achieve a "settlement" whereby Israel would agree to stop threatening the Arab countries in return for an Arab agreement to guarantee the existence of the Israeli state. In addition to the fact that any such agreement would certainly not check the expansionist drives of Israel or the imperialist intentions of Washington, such a "settlement" could only be implemented with the effective destruction of the Palestinian movement. Thus the Kremlin portrays the Palestinians as "ultraleft" and "disruptive" of "peace."

Peking's diplomacy

Peking, although only minimally involved in the Middle East on a state level, pursues the same type of narrow diplomacy as does Moscow. In 1965, for example, when the Algerian revolution was dealt a grave setback by the Boumedienne coup, Peking rushed in to recognize the new regime.

The political line of the Maoist groups, while verbally sharper against Washington and Israel than that of the pro-Moscow parties, is similar in its essentials.

The Maoists make a sharp distinction between the "principal contradiction" (between the colonial world and imperialism) and the "secondary contradiction" (between classes within the colonial and semicolonial countries). The Maoists contend that the central task today is to solve the "principal contradiction" by uniting "all classes" against imperialism. The "secondary contradiction," which is to be solved by a socialist revolution, is put off until the distant future.

In practical terms, this policy leads the Maoists to subordinate revolutionary demands to the interests of the "progressive national bourgeoisie," whom the Maoists regard as key allies in the effort to solve the "principal contradiction." Thus, they peddle the same old Stalinist line as the pro-Moscow parties.

History has proved time and again that the national bourgeoisie cannot solve the problems of the colonial and semicolonial countries. These problems can only be overcome through a socialist revolution that embodies the carrying out of national-democratic and socialist tasks.

This revolutionary-socialist approach is also necessary to prevent the perpetuation of a situation that can lead to a nuclear war. In this respect, the situation in the Middle East shows the interrelation and interdependence between the socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, the combined democratic and socialist revolution in the colonial and semicolonial countries, and the political revolution to unseat the bureaucratic layers in the workers states.

(To be continued)

In San Benito, Texas, situated in the Rio Grande Valley, over 1,000 Chicanos demonstrated Jan. 24 at the home of Cameron County Sheriff Boynton Fleming and in front of the local police station. The object of their protest was a grand jury decision whitewashing the killing of a 14-year-old Chicano youth by a deputy sheriff in nearby Brownsville.

Victor Manuel Nava and some friends were just glue-sniffing last Dec. 10 when Nem Bryan, off-duty at the time, appeared on the scene. Since the youths had seen Bryan "in action" before, they instinctively ran. Bryan then let loose his dog, which caught Nava. Nava defended himself with a stick. So Bryan pulled out his gun and shot him through the head. This the grand jury ruled "justifiable homicide."

South Africa has friends in the U.S. Congress. Rep. John R. Rarick of Louisiana had the following to say in the House in response to the recent Polaroid ad on South Africa. The ad was Polaroid's response to a group of Black workers (the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement) who demanded that the corporation get out of South Africa (see Feb. 5 Militant).

"Mr. Speaker, apparently the Polaroid Corp., in its efforts to achieve good employee relations, has now embarked as a full participant in the international revolutionary movement.

"In December of 1970, the Polaroid Corp. was blackmailed into a \$20,000 contribution supposedly earmarked for Boston's United Black Appeal for assistance to low-income and unemployed Blacks. The \$20,000 booty did not reach the poor Blacks, but rather ended up in Cairo, Ill., subsidizing a group of Black revolutionaries and to South Africa, bankrolling an aggressive militant Black front warring against the responsible governments in that area.

"The diversion of funds by the United Front was purportedly in support of a small group of Polaroid employees demanding that Polaroid cease its trade with South Africa—which most assuredly any corporation has the right to do at any time.

"However, following the December incident, the Polaroid people, while not cutting off trade, ran full-page ads attacking the government of South Africa, the South African people, and their way of life. It was further announced that they would use the small income from their operation in that nation to bring about internal changes which are blatantly in violation of the law of that nation. This the Polaroid people announced as an experimental program.

"I have written to the president of the Polaroid Corp., but I have received no answer. Is the U.S. State Department now using private industry to condition the American people to accept unpalatable foreign policy?" (From the Jan. 21 Congressional Record.)

In what seems like a spin-off from the campaign of the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement, the U.S. Episcopal Church is urging General Motors to cease manufacturing in South Africa. The church owns 12,574 of the 285.5 million outstanding shares of General Motors stock.

The Feb. 2 New York Times quotes the following perspicacious letter sent by church leaders to James M. Roche, chairman of the board of GM: "We believe that the apartheid policies being presently pursued by the Republic of South Africa in its own territories and in South-West Africa will lead inextricably to great instability and turmoil in South Africa. . . . We are further convinced that this turmoil will inevitably result in the destruction of the foreign capital invested in South Africa."

—DERRICK MORRISON

National Picket Line

The Bureau of Mines broke a 60-year precedent on Jan. 29. It asked the Department of Justice to prosecute "those responsible" for the mine disaster in the Finley Brothers' coal mine near Hyden, Ky., last Dec. 30.

The clue to possible indictments lies in the words "those responsible." The Bureau's request to the Justice Department does not mention the Finley Brothers by name. Unlike most final reports on mine disasters, the usual concluding remarks—"the disaster was caused by . . ."—were omitted. And the report itself, after careful editing, was not issued by the Bureau but by Undersecretary of the Interior Fred J. Russell.

The Bureau's request included possible perjury indictments against Finley mine employees who gave conflicting testimony regarding the use of illegally strong dynamite and fuse cord by the "shot man," Walter Bentley, who also died in the explosion. In the Bureau's report, according to the Jan. 30 New York Times, Bentley appears as "a chance taker with little mining experience and doubtful knowledge of his underground trade."

If the Justice Department decides criminal proceedings are in order, it must present its findings to a federal grand jury in Kentucky, and if that body hands down indictments, those named must stand jury trial in Kentucky.

Since the Bureau of Mines was first established in 1910, more than 80,300 miners have met death in this most hazardous industrial occupation. Other accidents have resulted in the maiming and injury to another 120,000 workers. (This figure does not include the estimated 100,000 miners who now suffer from black lung disease.) According to the Jan. 30 New York Times, official investigations have attributed these deaths and injuries to "calculated management cost cutting, backward mining technology, a preoccupation with maximum production, or the carelessness of individual miners."

The requested Justice Department action is the

first time the Bureau of Mines or the Department of the Interior have asked for criminal indictments.

The Washington D.C., bureaucratic tangle revealed on Jan. 27 that the Department of Labor is also getting into the coal-mine safety act. Prior to the Passage of the 1969 Coal-Mine Health and Safety Act, the Department of Labor was in charge of violations of coal operators under the Walsh-Healy Act—if companies holding government contracts violated provisions of the Public Contracts Act. The Walsh-Healy Act is supposed to set certain health and safety standards before government contracts can be awarded, and can impose a three-year suspension of such contracts if the companies violate these standards.

Now the Labor Department is threatening, on safety grounds, to bar the Island Creek Coal Company, a subsidiary of the Occidental Petroleum Corp., from obtaining future government contracts.

Officials of the Bureau of Mines are puzzled as to why this case is being handled by the Department of Labor instead of the Bureau of Mines. A spokesman for the Labor Department admitted that the case against Island Creek dates back to 1968 and only now has "emerged from the administrative machinery." He added that in the future the Labor Department would probably leave enforcement of coal-mine regulations to the Bureau of Mines.

This means it has taken the Labor Department two years to report that they have found 147 violations against three Island Creek mines in West Virginia.

In the meantime, of course, the company goes right on violating both the Walsh-Healy Act and the Mine Health and Safety Act. Thousands of workers—Island Creek is the United States' third largest producer of bituminous coal—continue to risk life and limb every time they go down into the pits.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

A Militant Interview

West Bengal: Peasant union fights for land

By CAROLINE LUND

Naren Bose is a 35-year-old former teacher who is presently an organizer of a union of poor and landless peasants and agricultural workers who are fighting for land and for improvement of their miserably poor wages and working conditions in West Bengal, India. Bose was invited to the United States by the Young Socialist Alliance to attend the December YSA convention. In January, he toured some areas of this country to explain and win support for the peasant struggles now going on in India.

I had a chance to interview Bose about the situation in West Bengal.

Bose is secretary of the West Bengal Socialist Workers Party (the Indian Section of the Fourth International) and also editor of the revolutionary Marxist newspaper in West Bengal, *Larai* (Struggle).

Bose began by explaining that 1967 was a turning point in Indian politics, particularly in West Bengal. "In 1967, the Congress Party, which had been ruling India since the end of World War II, failed for the first time to win a majority in the assemblies of seven states, including West Bengal.

"The character of this reversal was different in West Bengal from other states. In Bengal, 14 left parties formed a popular front government, which included the capitalist Bangla Congress Party, the two Communist parties (the Communist Party of India, which is pro-Moscow; and the Communist Party, Marxist, which is neutral between Moscow and Peking), and other left parties.

"But this popular front lasted only nine months and then collapsed. It was followed by a midterm election in West Bengal in 1969, and the popular front won the election again with a very big majority.

"This new popular front government lasted only 13 months before it broke up in March 1970 from its inner contradictions. Since then, West Bengal has been ruled by the central government."

Bose described the situation in West Bengal now as very explosive. "Unemployment in Bengal is now at 65 percent," he said. "Every day there are political meetings and street demonstrations with workers, students, middle-class people, unemployed, each raising their own demands."

He described the history of the struggle of peasants and agricultural workers which is gaining momentum in West Bengal. "The Socialist Workers Party was only established in West Bengal in the beginning of 1969," he began.

"We were successful in April of 1969 in helping to mobilize the agricultural workers and poor peasants in one area into their own organization, the PSKS [the Village Workers and Tillers Union]. Within three months, the PSKS had mobilized a large proportion of the rural laborers to demand a raise in their daily wages from the landlords.

"The daily wages of the poor peasants and workers were very meager—three kilos of rice. We demanded a raise to six kilos. I think this was the first time in the history of West Bengal that poor agricultural laborers had organized to demand higher wages.

"A strike was launched and continued for seven days, spontaneously winning massive support in the district. In the negotiations that followed, we won our demand of six kilos per day.

"So this was the first stage of our victory; we saw the increase in wages not as our final goal, but only as a beginning.

"Then the PSKS began a movement to seize land—some was land owned by the government, some was owned by rich landlords, some was owned by the forestry department. We were successful in seizing about 300 acres.

"But the union did not distribute this land among the poor as individual owners; the land was owned and farmed collectively by the poor peasants. This also was a new step in the history of the peasant movement in Bengal.

"The union elected a committee of 21 people to be responsible for the cultivation, from the sowing to the harvest, gathering it into the storage bin of the collective farm, and then distributing it in the way they felt most just.

Struggle deepens

"This is the way in which we began our struggle in this area. But the police and the rich peasants did not look with good will upon our efforts. During the harvesting season last November and December, the rich people, with the help of the police began to try to suppress our movement. They carried out such cruel, inhuman measures against the poor people of the district that to our comrades in the PSKS it seemed almost impossible to fight them. Special police camps were even set up around our collective farms.

"The PSKS had a meeting in November, where we publicly warned the rich people that the police could not protect them forever; the police could remain for only two or three months.

"As a result, some rich peasants tried to negotiate with us; some even tried to join the PSKS as members. But we knew their motive was to break the organization, so they were refused membership.

"On Nov. 20 [1970], which was the first day of cutting the crops, police and semimilitary forces came into the area to try to keep our workers from harvesting the crops. But as soon as the poor workers saw the police coming, they began to beat their drums, which is a signal for help to the people of the surrounding area.

"The drum signal soon brought about 10,000 people to the area from different villages to resist the police forces. Most of the rich peasants fled, and the police finally surrendered to the crowd, which was ready to fight. It was women workers who came forward first and took away the arms from the police.

"After this, the workers cut the whole field and put the crops into the storage bin of the collective farm. Then they returned the guns to the police, to avoid giving the police any pretext for another armed attack.

"Then, on Nov. 24, an incident occurred in a village called Fulmoti near the Taldangra police station. The poor agricultural laborers had finished their whole harvest, stored the crops, and then they left the area. The police came when there were very few people in the vicinity, and arrested 11 workers from the PSKS and the SWP. They also fired two or three rounds of shots just to terrorize the people.

"These arrests created great indignation throughout the area, and on Nov. 26 police and semimilitary forces came early in the morning to arrest one of the leaders of the PSKS who is most widely known and popular in the area, Jagdish Jha, who is also a member of the SWP. Police had been hunting for Jha for many weeks, but he had evaded arrest.

"When the police couldn't find Jha, they decided

to go after another leader, Sadhan Dulley. But Dulley had fled the area to avoid arrest. Frustrated, the police mercilessly beat Dulley's wife, his small daughter, and his mother-in-law. At dawn, when this outrage was discovered, all the women of the village came out and fighting started with the police.

"The police were very nervous and pretended to retreat. Then, from a safe distance, they fired at the crowd. Fortunately no one was hit, but the police molestation of the village women and the beating of the women relatives of Dulley was seen by the people as a vicious crime on the part of the police and the authorities.

"This crime was reported differently, however, to the district police headquarters, which is the main police station. Here it was reported that Jagdish Jha and his supporters came to attack a police camp—a complete lie. So we protested to the governor of West Bengal and other responsible persons. But to no effect.

"This is the sort of trick the police play again and again: they attack first, and then they create a story that we attack police stations, that we are very dangerous people in the PSKS.

Krishnapur

"On Dec. 14 during the last part of the harvesting, large police forces from three police stations came and surrounded the whole village of Krishnapur, which is the location of the headquarters of the PSKS. The police were told that they could arrest all able-bodied people in the village, as well as their leader Jagdish Jha.

"Fortunately the village people had known that the police might come, so none of the able-bodied men were in the village, only the women and the aged were there. When the police couldn't find any of the men, they began beating the women and the old people. As the beatings took place, all the womenfolk began to cry out and to shout, which attracted people from neighboring villages to help resist the police. As a result, there was a clash between the police forces and the PSKS and SWP members there.

"One of our comrades, Nagan Roy, who is 22 years old, suffered a bullet injury in the chest, and another member of the PSKS, Dhukit Roy, was injured by a bullet in the leg. Nagan couldn't flee but Dhukit fled from the spot to avoid arrest. As friends and relatives were carrying Nagan Roy to the hospital, they were again attacked by the police and beaten, and Roy was arrested. He was sent to the hospital under arrest. Dhukit Roy escaped arrest for the time being, but he also was later arrested, because he was identified by the bullet wound in his leg.

"Then, on Dec. 18, police came again when there were very few villagers in Krishnapur, and they raided each of the houses, including the house of Jagdish Jha, where they beat the 95-year-old mother of Comrade Jha. All the papers and files of the PSKS office were torn or taken, and many other things were thrown in the nearby well.

"Police carried out still another raid on the village on Dec. 24, and this time they raided all homes, took money and stole or broke the utensils of the poor villagers.

"So there are now many of our comrades of the PSKS in jail. One of those arrested is Haripada Roy, who is chairman of the collective farming committee. Also Doctor Murmu, a village doctor; Daran Sarang; and Sambhu Sarang. At the present time, there are legal cases pending against

a total of about 200 PSKS and SWP workers. These are framed-up cases against these people; each of them faces from three to 15 charges against them. Such cases are very dangerous and difficult for poor people because they have no money to fight in the courts, which is very expensive in our country.

"The police clearly have the idea of increasing these cases against the poor workers until, out of fear and harassment, they will submit. But the police have the wrong idea of these village workers; these workers are still fighting with full energy and vigor against the rich people and the police."

The Naxalites

Bose went on to discuss other aspects of the situation in India. I asked about the size, influence and orientation of the Naxalites, who are often portrayed by the American press as the most important revolutionary group in West Bengal. "It is true," said Bose, "that the Naxalites are an

two-stage theory of revolution to struggle for socialist revolution.

The Naxalite movement, Bose explained, took its name from a peasant struggle in an area called Naxalbari in West Bengal after the so-called United Front Government came to power in 1967. The UF Government, a government of leftist parties, had promised to support and bring solutions to the peasant movement in that state.

"But they didn't do this. To the contrary, they played the role of policemen guarding a capitalist state. Right after the UF Government took power, there was a very popular and spontaneous upsurge of the poor villagers in Naxalbari, and the government, headed by the CPM, moved to suppress the whole movement. About 14 villagers were killed.

"Since then a new movement started, called the Naxalites, which opposed both the United Front Government and the Congress Party."

I asked about the composition of the "United Front" government and its record in regard to

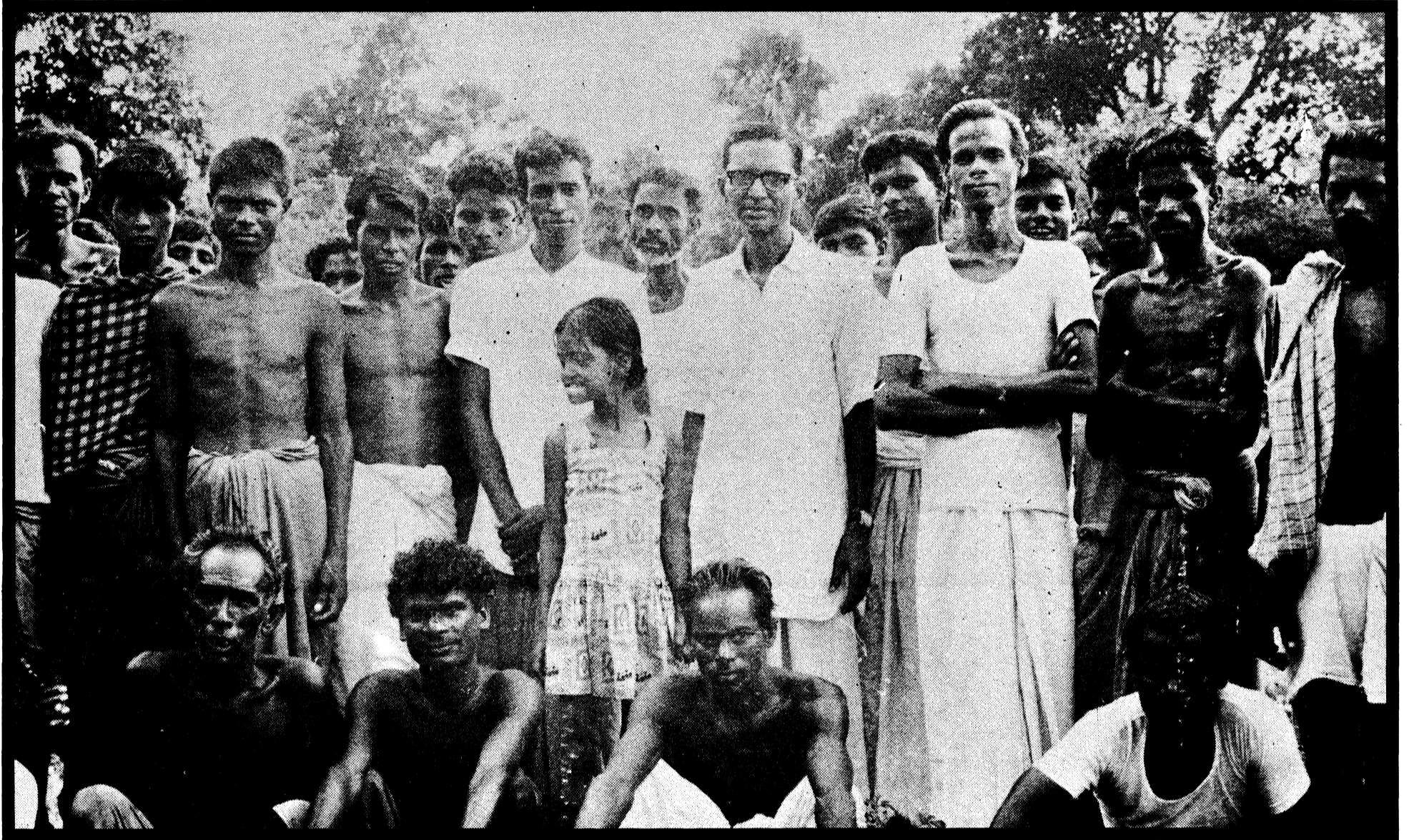
united on any important issue except elections."

Another very ominous and dangerous sign of the degeneration of the left parties since 1967 has been the phenomenon of murder and armed clashes between the various parties of the popular fronts. "Each party," said Bose, "wanted to grow and spread its influence into areas where it was weaker, so in the name of 'expansion' the parties began to murder their political opponents. This practice was started by the CPM, but then the other parties joined in, claiming they were simply 'resisting' the CPM and maintaining the status quo.

"You could call it a riot between the political parties, unleashed by the party leaders themselves.

"But one thing we have noticed," he continued, "is that it is very seldom that the big party leaders are assassinated—it is only the rank-and-file workers who are slaughtering themselves. These murders occur every day.

"In the state of West Bengal, it is my impression that an average of 10 murders occur every day, either by the political parties or by the po-



Members of West Bengal Village Workers and Tillers Union. Standing in center with glasses is Jagdish Jha, a leader of the union and of the Socialist Workers Party of India.

important force in West Bengal and are gradually spreading to other parts of India."

Bose explained that the SWP of India disagrees with the orientation of the Naxalites toward individual terrorism. "They believe that what we are doing in West Bengal with the PSKS, and our activities in other places—all these actions are not revolutionary and, in fact, are against the revolution. Also, we disagree with their Stalinist, 'two-stage theory' of revolution. They say that now is not the time to project a socialist revolution but rather a 'people's democratic revolution.'

"By 'revolution' they mean annihilation, individually, of the rich peasants and capitalists.

"At the same time," continued Bose, "they have the reactionary policy of trying to destroy the educational institutions, in the name of a 'cultural revolution.' Wherever possible, they break up laboratories, they destroy buildings, they have called for boycott of the examinations, and they have even gone so far as to murder the vice chancellor of Jadavpur University, Dr. G. Sen. Dr. Sen was a very popular figure at the university because he had tried to prevent police from coming onto the campus.

"The Naxalites are mostly between the ages of 13 and 18. They are misguided and have illusions, but they are very devoted. The revolutionary forces of India must build an alternative to the Naxalites, a movement based on a revolutionary Marxist program. This is the only way we can win over the youth of Bengal to a perspective which can make a revolution: that is, from individual terrorism to mass revolutionary action; from individual terrorism to class struggle. And from the

making social changes through winning ministries in a capitalist government. "The UF Government has not helped the poor people of West Bengal in any respect," responded Bose. "In fact, as I just mentioned, this 'leftist' government crushed the Naxalbari peasant upsurge. And when our movement began—the movement of the PSKS—the UF Government reacted in the same way. They tried to crush our movement, but they failed.

Communist parties

"There are three main Communist parties," he continued, "the Communist Party of India (CPI) is pro-Moscow; the Communist Party, Marxist, (CPM) has no political affiliation with any other communist party of the world; the Communist Party, Marxist-Leninist, (CPML) is Maoist. Only the CPML did not participate in the UF Government in 1969. Another party, the Bangla Congress Party, is a capitalist party like the ruling Congress Party, but they claim to be leftist, and participated in the Bengal United Front Government.

"Since the victory of the United Front Governments in 1967 and 1969, their success in the elections and their acceptance of ministries in the capitalist government gave them the taste of power and money. Now the political parties which participated in the United Front Government are interested only in power, money and ministries—nothing more and nothing less.

"So on any important political issue these parties first of all try to judge which parties are involved in it, and what gains they could make from participating, rather than considering the class character or justice of the issue. These parties are never

lice. In our country, there is the custom, especially among the Hindus, that dead bodies should be burned. Recently it has been noted in the newspapers that police have been burning bodies in the dead of the night, and nobody knows who these dead people are. Even the parents of these dead young people are afraid of coming forward to claim a body if they think it is their son or daughter, because they fear reprisals.

"It is truly a reign of terror," concluded Bose. And this terror is very much favored by the ruling class, because they know that they are stronger when the left parties are fighting amongst themselves rather than uniting to fight against the capitalist parties."

The last topic of our discussion was the Socialist Workers Party of India and how it differs from other left groups in its perspectives for the Indian revolution.

"The SWP," he began, "was formed in the mid-1960s in Bombay and Gujarat. It then expanded to Uttar Pradesh, Behar, and Kerala, and in 1969 we established a group in West Bengal.

"We have a very sharp and clear difference with the other Indian political parties. We may participate, if we are elected, in the parliament or in the state assemblies, but under no circumstances will the SWP accept ministries in a capitalist government.

"This is a very sharp difference, because in India these days all of the other parties, except the CPML, are thinking in terms of joining cabinets and winning ministries. We say that independent revolutionary struggle, and not the parliamentary road, is the only way to achieve the Indian revolution."

In Review

Records

Cancion Protesta: Protest Song of Latin America (Paredon P1001). **Angola: Victory Is Certain!** (Paredon P1002). **FTA! Songs of the GI Resistance** (Paredon P1003). **Huey Newton Speaks** (Paredon P1004).

These four records are the first to be produced by a new venture called Paredon Records. They are accompanied by ample explanatory notes, librettos (with translations for the non-English songs), numerous illustrations and photographs, and attractive cover jackets. The quality of the sound reproduction is generally good, even where the recordings were made under difficult conditions (with battery-operated tape recorders in some cases). This was a serious, professional endeavor, and one obviously executed with great care by those involved.

Judging from these records, Paredon is an ambitious undertaking. In her introduction to the first, *Cancion Protesta*, Barbara Dane explains how the idea originated. Parallel to the July 1967 conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity, singers from all over the world met at the Varadero seashore in Cuba "to sing for each other and the Cuban people and discover the ways in which they could better serve the powerful currents of history moving around us all." The U.S. was represented by Julius Lester, Irwin Silber, and Barbara Dane.

It was, Dane explains, out of the exchanges between artists that took place then that Paredon Records was born. Paredon will document the work of musicians throughout the world who "prefer to serve the people's movements instead of pursuing individual careers. In every case, we will stress the movements rather than the performers, and will try to present the best representatives of particular developments."

One thing that characterizes the first three of these records is their diversity. They contain a variety of tones, a mixture of the simple and the complex, belly humor, and sophisticated poetry.

Singers from Argentina, Chile, Peru, Uruguay, and Cuba are heard on *Cancion Protesta*. It features the Cuban artists, especially the famous Car-

los Puebla. One of his songs, "It Makes Me Laugh!", pokes fun at the Organization of American States: "How am I gonna keep from laughing at the OAS/ If it's something so ugly/ So ugly it's just a laugh?" This song works so well it actually makes you laugh to hear it. The record also contains two stunning poems written and sung by the young Cuban singer Silvio Rodriguez.

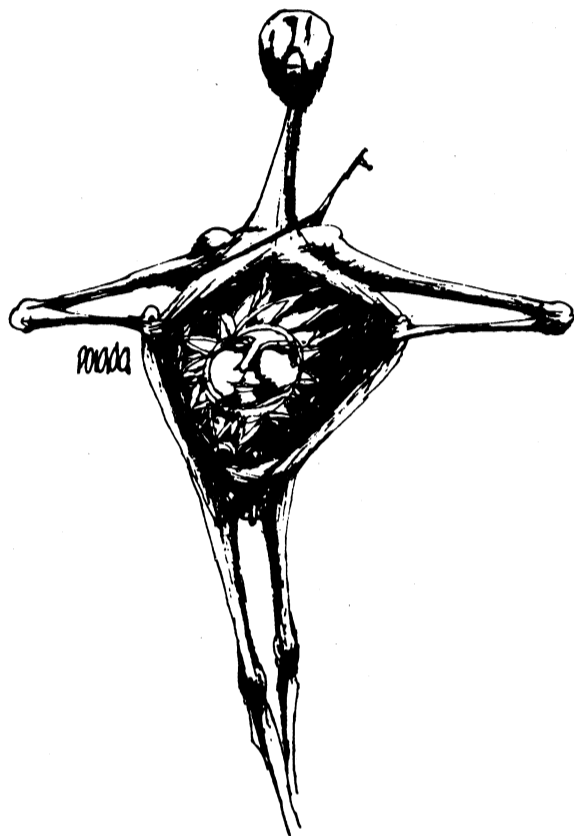
Musically, the Angola record is perhaps the most successful. Sung in Umbundu, Kikongo, Chokwe, Kimbundu, and Portuguese, it brims with dynamism and confidence. Some songs suggest the influence of Portuguese music. These songs, many recorded in liberated areas, are songs of the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and it figures prominently in many of the lyrics: "With the MPLA flag/ Salazar runs away/ Hurry, comrades, chase him/ Even if we have to cross/ Mountains and valleys."

FTA! Songs of the GI Resistance, recorded live by Barbara Dane at GI coffeehouses in Fort Hood, Fort Benning, and Fort Bragg and edited by Irwin Silber, masterfully—and for the first time, really—captures on record the spirit of the GI and antiwar movements. Not only is Barbara Dane able to draw her audiences into the songs, but she displays a remarkable versatility and sensitivity. From the boisterous bounce of "Insubordination" (in which she accompanies herself on a kitchen pan) to the sinewy "Ballad of Richard Campos" by Danny Valdez to the macabre irony of Bill Frederick's "Just Another Day," she has everything under control. My favorite is the poem "Last Drink With Don" for whose sensuous symbolism she has composed a brilliant musical line. This is a tour de force.

The least rewarding of these records is the interview with Huey Newton, given to Mark Lane on July 4, 1970, when Newton was still imprisoned at San Luis Obispo. It adds nothing to what is already known about Newton and the Panthers, tends to ramble, and seems a bit superfluous in light of the fact that the printed text of his remarks is available (it comes with the record).

These records may be purchased at \$4 each from Paredon Records, P. O. Box 889, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11202.

—DAVID THORSTAD



Guerrilla from Paredon Records trademark

Books

The Press and the Cold War by James Aronson. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis and New York, 1970. 308 pp. \$8.

Does America have a free press? In a formal sense, the answer is obviously yes. That is, there are no operative laws that seriously interfere with the expression of opinion in print and there is no government bureau of censorship. Moreover, the radical press is free to operate openly and, in the main, without interference.

But it does not require much reflection to realize that this is not a full and complete answer to this question. The daily, mass circulation press requires huge sums of money to operate, and the profits raked in by the commercial press are also huge. The press in the United States has in fact become an integral segment of corporate enterprise, whose economic and political interests it operates to defend. In other words, it acts as a self-regulating, voluntary arm of government.

In *The Press and the Cold War*, James Aronson, former editor of the *Guardian*, shows in carefully documented detail just how the corporate press acts to manipulate public opinion in the interests of the foreign and domestic policy aims of the government. Aronson demonstrates how the press built up the anticommunist hysteria after World War II that gained public support for the Cold War and the witchhunt of the 1950s. The American press, for example, carefully censored virtually all news of the worldwide campaign to save Julius and Ethel Rosenberg from execution on frame-up spy charges (while the defense campaign received tremendous publicity abroad).

On basic questions, the press invariably falls into line. It deliberately covered over the government lies about the Korean war and the circumstances surrounding the Cuban invasion of 1961 and the 1962 Cuban missile crisis (to name a few of the topics that Aronson covers).

Aronson deals in some detail with the press conflicts over the Vietnam war and demonstrates that it was a dispute not for and against the war but over how to win it. "After reading and analyzing dispatches from Vietnam for more than 10 years, as well as a flood of books by correspondents and govern-

ment officials and critical articles in publications devoted to journalism; after discussing in person with returned correspondents the coverage of the news—after all this, I have come to the conclusion that the so-called war between the foreign correspondents and the United States government was not a war at all.

"Rather it was a serious conflict between some correspondents and almost all official functionaries as to how to carry out American policy most efficiently—in brief, how to win the war in the shortest possible time. This is not to deny that there were first-rate examples of honest and courageous reporting both in the field and in Saigon (where the flak from the Diem government sometimes was heavier than the attacks from the National Liberation Front).

"But what was so glaringly apparent was the contradiction between the reporting of the correspondents and the conclusions they drew, about both United States policy and the aspirations of the Vietnamese people."

Aronson documents the ways that Washington occasionally intervenes to bring the press into even closer alignment with basic administration policy—Agnew's attack on the news media being only the latest instance in a long series.

In the final section of the book, Aronson outlines the possibilities he sees for countering the mass media. He is especially encouraged by the spectacular growth of the underground press. In this section, Aronson also gives an account of what he had originally hoped to do with the *Guardian* and what he thinks of the way things have been handled by his successors (he left in 1967). He feels that after his departure "the paper veered erratically, seeking a base of operation within the radical movement."

Aronson's book makes fascinating reading and—a rare phenomenon for me—I couldn't put it down. I think this is because Aronson is pioneering in a new area. He has done a thorough, convincing, and well-presented anatomizing of a segment of the capitalist system that has been generally under-scrutinized by radical writers.

—ARTHUR MAGLIN

The following are major excerpts from an article that appeared in the Jan. 8 issue of the Belgian revolutionary-socialist weekly *La Gauche*. The arguments it deals with are being raised not only by the Belgian Communist Party, but by CPs everywhere, including in the U.S. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

The Popular Unity [Unidad Popular] victory in the Chilean elections, with 36 percent of the vote, and the installation of a popular front government, presided over by the Social Democrat Salvador Allende and including three Communist ministers, has inspired hosannas from the Belgian Communist newspaper. Bursting with joy and pride, the comrades of *Le Drapeau Rouge* are congratulating themselves on being in the center of things. After so much fratricidal warfare, they are overcome with a feeling of renewed brotherhood among the CPs of the world.

They are already raising the shout of victory. But whose victory? The victory of an alliance of Social Democrats, Communists . . . and bourgeois liberals—an alliance that exercises power only within the framework of a bourgeois government and only on the condition that it maintain bourgeois order and respect both "personal human rights," that is, essentially, private property, and the honor of the army.

But the electoral successes of the Unidad Popular (UP) and the CP's achievement in finally getting accepted into a bourgeois government cannot be mistaken for a victory of the Chilean revolution. A revolutionary victory would take something more than the sort of promises of profound refashioning of the existing structures contained in the UP program to which Salvador Allende is committed!

But for traditional Communists, victory is nothing more than the UP and the CP getting the upper hand in dominating the Chilean masses.

On this subject, you have to read the interview with Luis Corvalán, the general secretary of the Chilean CP, in the January 1 issue of *Drapeau Rouge*. Here the confusion of the electoral victory with a victory of the revolution stands out clearly. It is deliberate. The objective of advancing and developing the UP is substituted for developing and advancing the Chilean revolution.

Of course, Luis Corvalán does not claim that the revolution has already come to pass. Nor has he yet forgotten about it. He begins in fact by noting that the steps that have been taken in this direction are still far from irreversible. He points out that the UP enjoys only a plurality in the government, that the administrative personnel remain bourgeois, and that the imperialists and the oligarchy still control the centers of economic power.

But, Corvalán says, the UP program is not reformist because it includes measures of a really fundamental character. And, in moving without delay to carry it out—if unity, the Allende government, and the "Party" are defended—the decisive stage will be passed in the next three months.

"Our strategy of unity has not always been understood by everybody," Luis Corvalán dares to say. And he repeats the explanation aimed at justifying the unprincipled alliance with the petty-bourgeois parties.

The difference between a workers' united front and a popular front (which includes the bourgeoisie) has been understood by everyone who has any clear idea of what happened in France and Spain in 1936, in China in 1927, or more recently in Indonesia. It would be understood all too well by those who perished as a result of this criminal policy promoted by Stalin, which the CPs that identify with Moscow or Peking continue obstinate-

ly to defend today. This is the policy that tends to disarm the workers and peasants and finally gets them to lay down their arms before the bourgeoisie when the counterrevolutionaries ultimately turn their weapons against the revolutionaries.

Who has not understood the limits and dangers of the popular front strategy? Who but our good Stalinist comrades. Closing their eyes even to the glaring evidence of the massacres in Indonesia, they are starting again with their arguments, their accusations of sectarianism and ultraleftism, to drown out all discussion by sending up a chorus of cries for "unity"!

We are far from denying the need

success in the elections and which has since broadened further.

The creation of a national economic council including representatives of the unions and the social organizations along with representatives of the state and the employers (it goes without saying that representatives of the capitalists and their government will be included but Luis Corvalán neglects to mention this) is simply an institutionalization of the situation where the unions are integrated into the capitalist state. We do not see any means here for assuring the working masses real control over the administration of public affairs and the economy . . .

Establishing diplomatic relations

What is in store for the Chilean masses?



Chilean Communist Party decorated its headquarters with poster of Allende during last fall's election campaign.

for tactical and temporary alliances with bourgeois forces. But such alliances must not lead to letting yourself be tied up by these forces and then smothered or massacred. It is equally obvious that the primary task of any Communist party worthy of the name is to help the workers to organize independently and to move toward arming them. Parallel to this, it must work for the practical realization of a program including nationalization of the essential sectors of the economy and of foreign trade, as well as a radical agrarian reform.

Isn't this precisely what Allende is doing? No! It would be precisely the worst deception to claim this.

Of course, the promised 66 percent increase in the minimum wage, free hospital and clinic care, rescinding price-rise decrees, a free half-liter of milk for children, and dissolving the mobile police (a special antiworking-class brigade) would represent extraordinary gains. We would never deny this. But this is not enough. This could simply be the ransom the bourgeoisie had to pay to curb the powerful mass mobilization which assured the UP

with Cuba, China, and North Korea? That is unquestionably positive. But there is still nothing here absolutely unacceptable for imperialism. It tolerates a lot of other countries. These are minor concessions that can easily be taken back when the flood of mass mobilization has receded to safe channels, or resumed an obscure course through the subterranean depths.

Finally we come to the difficult stage: passing the point of no return. Isn't President Allende quickening the advance of the revolution by nationalizing the copper mines, coal mines, and private banks, as well as by undertaking an extensive and deepgoing agrarian reform?

The Brazilian masses are waiting for this and applauding Allende; certainly the Latin-American masses are, too. And this is true as well of the masses of the entire world, who, while apprehensive about the reaction of American and international imperialism (five of the nationalized, or rather, statized, banks were owned not only by American but also French, Italian, English, and Brazilian capitalists),

hope for a revolution in Latin America.

But nothing in these measures is yet of a nature fundamentally inimical to the interests of imperialism or the Chilean oligarchy.

Nationalizing the copper mines has been the most spectacular of all these measures. But this sort of action is no longer an affront to the imperialists. In view of the continually mounting dangers of revolution on the Latin-American continent, which threaten to definitively undermine their interests, the imperialists have decided—after Nelson Rockefeller's reconnaissance in South America—to modernize the forms of their penetration in the area.

Now imperialism is withdrawing on its own from extracting and exporting raw materials, which was the chief form of pillaging the third world, and the crudest. Today it seems more inclined to resort to other, less obvious forms of pillage, involving especially processing plants. Such a shift also permits an apparent liberalization of the economy and social life, in limited sectors of course. This is why the atmosphere seems to be easing in Latin America. Imperialism has new perspectives. The "left" nationalist military regimes have the wind in their sails. And with this in prospect, Allende could very well offer a democratic variant fitting in perfectly with the development projects of neoimperialism in Latin America.

This is true, so long as he doesn't go too far. In that case the bourgeois army, which still constitutes the capitalists' best guarantee, is always ready to intervene. But so far no fires have been lighted!

Under state control the banks will continue to function according to their charters. The measure is in fact a statization and not a nationalization. This is all the more true because it is announced that foreign banks will be accorded special conditions and the stock will be repurchased by the state at an advantageous rate for the holders.

It was Luis Corvalán, in his interview in *Drapeau Rouge*, who listed among the government's achievements the expropriation of the important Bellavista-Tome textile concern. Its principal stockholder left the country taking 2,000,000,000 pesos [8.57 Chilean pesos equal US\$1] with him. Ironically Corvalán says: "This is the first decree of this type and President Allende has said that it will not be the last."

The real challenge is to make a genuine start on agrarian reform, that is, speed the movement of land occupations by the most underprivileged peasants. This must be done not so as to form a layer of favored peasants all devoted to the regime, but to satisfy the most poverty-stricken class in the country and genuinely transform Chile's economic and social structures.

Where are we now in this regard? The agrarian reform corporation (CORA) has announced that sixty-two holdings have been expropriated, but the decision to do this was made by the preceding regime. The Unidad Popular program calls for eliminating the class of 4,500 big landowners existing today in Chile, "with the most complete respect for personal human rights." What heavy burdens in compensation will this mean for the national treasury? Already the opposition is up in arms against granting the additional credits that were supposed to be accorded to the office of the president and the Ministry of Agriculture.

Allende would like to remain faithful to his program and, also, insofar as possible, avoid clashes with forces inside and outside the country. Nonetheless, the time is coming when he will have to choose between being faithful to the bourgeoisie or to the working class whose votes brought him to power.

Continued on page 22

Calendar

BERKELEY-OAKLAND

MALCOLM X MEMORIAL MEETING. Speaker: Dr. Nathan Hare, publisher of *Black Scholar*. Fri., Feb. 19, 8 p.m. 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Contrib.: \$1. Ausp. East Bay Socialist Forum. For further information, call 654-9728.

CHICAGO

UNITED FRONT OF CAIRO SURVIVAL DAY. Guest speakers from across the country will be present. Everybody is invited to attend. Sat., Feb. 27 at Holy Angels Church, 607 E. Oakwood, Chicago. For further information call, in Cairo: (618) 734-0376 during the day, 734-1058 at night. In Chicago, call the United Front office: (312) 493-1281.

IN DEFENSE OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Peter Buch, author of *Burning Issues in the Mideast*. Fri., Feb. 19, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Drive, Rm. 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

KNOXVILLE

THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION AND ISRAEL. Speaker: Joel Aber, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 20, 8 p.m. at U of Tenn. Sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.

LA CROSSE, WIS.

RADICALIZATION AND REVOLUTION: A five-part series. Speaker: Lee Artz, Young Socialist Alliance. Tuesdays, Feb. 16, 23, March 2, 9, 16. 4 p.m. Newman Center, 1800 State St. Ausp. Campus Free University.

LOS ANGELES

FREE ANGELA DAVIS. Hear the facts behind the Angela Davis frame-up. Representatives of the L.A. Angela Davis Defense Committee will speak. Fri., Feb. 19, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Donation \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

CHILE—CAN YOU ELECT A REVOLUTION? Speaker: Will Reissner of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 19, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.) 8th floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

RIVERSIDE

THE ARAB REVOLUTION. Discussion leaders: Dennis Cain, Irv Hall, and Gordon Pederson. Tues., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. International Lounge (University Commons

area), U of California at Riverside. Ausp. Revolutionary Socialist Forum. For further information, call 687-1129.

SAN FRANCISCO

SEMINARS FOR WOMEN: WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM. Thurs., Feb. 18, 8 p.m.: *The Politics of Women's Liberation: Current trends and issues in the movement.* Sponsor: YSA and SWP. 2338 Market St.

INDEPENDENT BLACK POLITICAL ACTION: The need for an independent Black political party. Fri., Feb. 19, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

...Laos

Continued from page 4

ties by the smaller bombers and fighters. American warplanes, including helicopter gunships, also fly close combat support for Laotian troops."

Yet despite the mercenary armies and the murderous bombing campaign, the resistance continued. That's why Nixon opted for the present invasion. Like the Cambodian invasion, which was justified with stories about wiping out a mythical "Vietcong headquarters" just over the border, this one is justified with stories of eliminating North Vietnamese "sanctuaries" and supply lines in Laos.

Vietnamese "sanctuaries" could not be long maintained in Laos if the Laotian people supported the right-wing "neutralist" regime of Souvanna Phouma. But they don't, and he is incapable of holding back the revolutionary forces in Laos. That's why the U. S. launched the present attack.

At the same time, however, the anti-war sentiments of the American population have severely limited Nixon's room for maneuver. The "embargo" on the "embargo" of news coverage of the Laos invasion, as well as the fact that unlike Cambodia 10 months ago, the invasion did not include substantial numbers of U. S. forces, shows the extent of the administration's fears of the public response to its murderous plans. The attempt to placate U. S. opinion by pulling some U. S. ground troops out of Vietnam is dependent on being able to get the Saigon troops to do a larger share of the fighting—in Vietnam, Cambodia, and now Laos.

In the past year, it is reported, desertions among the Saigon forces increased 50 percent—from 8,000 a month to 12,000. It is not unreasonable to assume this figure will now escalate.

The Feb. 9 *New York Times* reported a revealing incident. A correspondent on the Vietnam-Laos border described Saigon troops being loaded onto U. S. helicopters for delivery into Laos.

He reported: "At times, because of language difficulties [!], the United States pilots had trouble getting the soldiers to board the helicopters, six or seven at a time, but in the end they succeeded."

"An American sergeant helping with the ferrying procedure said, 'Do they want to go? Hell, no!'"

Combine that with the opposition to the war among the American GIs and the people of the United States, and Nixon may well find he's ordered more than he can pay for.

...Chile

Continued from page 21

Sit-in strikes have occurred in factories in Santiago, in various provinces, and in various industries—in the postal and telegraph system, municipal services, and education. The workers are demanding that the promises made to them be kept, and first of all the wage increase that the still thoroughly bourgeois government set "for next year." And we are now in 1971!

On several large agricultural estates in Chile, the farm workers have occupied the land to press their demands for better wages and working conditions.

In answer to the chairmen of the farmers' associations, who, alarmed by this wave of land occupations, asked him to set the rules of the game, the president said that he considered these actions "improper." Some occupations were understandable, however, he said, in cases where the owners abandoned their land.

That, alas, is how Allende seems to think he is going to carry out the fundamental structural transformations he promises. He seems to think that he can do this by taking advantage of the

indifference, default, and complacency of those who own the country.

It has already come to light that big landowners have formed private armed forces. Where is the revolutionary party that will be capable of organizing the popular masses for the confrontation that is building up? Will it be the CP?

Let's go back to *Drapeau Rouge* and Luis Corvalán, general secretary of the Chilean CP:

"The eventuality of an armed confrontation cannot be entirely excluded. Our task is to do everything to prevent this, to put a straitjacket, not on the opposition but on the imperialists and oligarchs, that will render them incapable of unleashing a civil war."

But what is the oligarchy concretely, if not the opposition? The opposition and the army?

Is an armed clash inevitable? "Some ultrarevolutionary circles," Corvalán said, "consider it inevitable [the traditional logic of the Stalinists is well known!]. There is no basis for such a categorical judgment."

"In the meantime, the position that an armed confrontation is unavoidable—as some suggest—would require the formation of armed popular militias."

In the face of the danger inexorably looming up, the CP leaders know what they must do. But they shirk their responsibility. Why?

"In the present situation that would be equivalent to showing distrust in the army. But the army is not invulnerable to the new winds blowing in Latin America and penetrating everywhere. It is not a body alien to the nation, in the service of antinational interests. It must be won for the cause of progress in Chile and not pushed to the other side of the barricades."

But where has anyone ever seen a bourgeois army so transform itself as to go over to the service of the workers intact? What has, alas, been seen are Communist parties degenerated to the point where they renounce their class positions and, for all practical purposes, play the game of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. This is what threatens to happen when the barricades go up in the near future in Chile.

Socialist Directory

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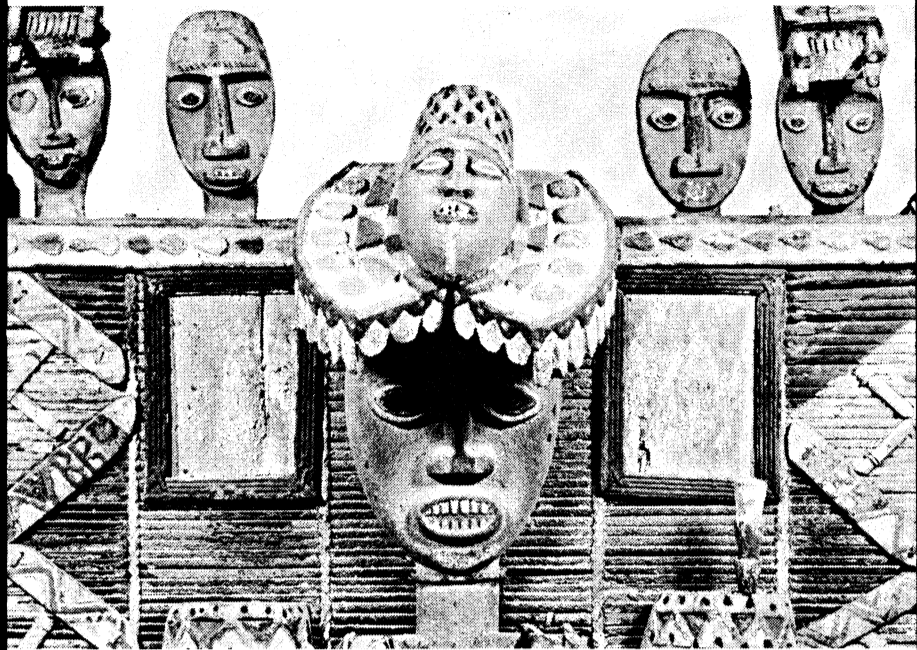
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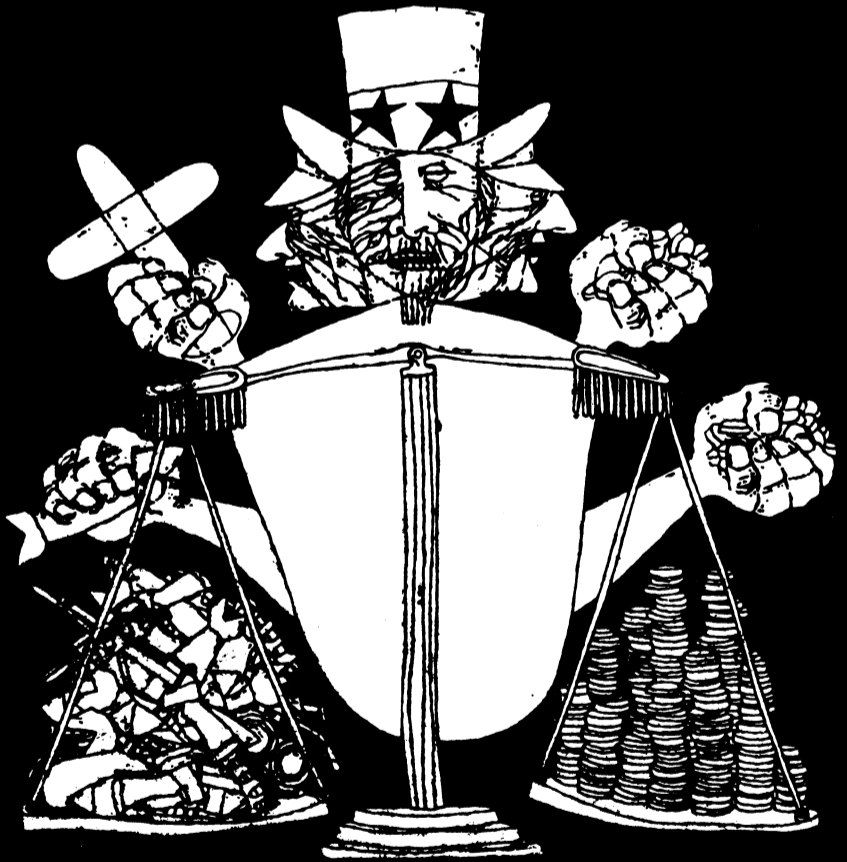
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LENIN AS ELECTION CAMPAIGN MANAGER by Doug Jenness. The electoral policy of the Bolshevik Party is analyzed and related to the current role of revolutionaries in the electoral arena.

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THE MILITANT

SMC builds emergency conference

By LEE SMITH

FEB. 10—City-wide antiwar actions were slated this afternoon in every major American city and demonstrations were taking place on scores of campuses throughout the country, as public anger at Nixon's invasion of Laos continued to mount. The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which called for teach-ins and protests on campuses last week, announced plans for an emergency National Student Antiwar Conference at Catholic University in Washington, D. C., Feb. 19-21, "to plan a full reaction on a national scale to the escalation."

At a Feb. 9 news conference in Washington, SMC National Organization Secretary Deborah Bustin said, "The potential of the student movement to join with antiwar forces in the community has yet to be fully realized. The SMC sees this escalation, coming at the time of the National Student Antiwar Conference, as a historical moment."

Bustin pointed to the massive demonstrations called by the National Peace Action Coalition for April 24 in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco as the focus for the SMC's spring program. She said these demonstrations "will be like the powerful mobilizations in November 1969 except that they will reflect another year's

frustration and anger over the continuation of the war."

Bustin said that city-wide antiwar demonstrations were slated in Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Washington, D. C., for Feb. 10. Actions are also scheduled for that date in New York; New Haven, Conn.; Boston; Cleveland; and other cities.

Other developments also confirmed Bustin's analysis of the public reaction to the events in Laos.

A Feb. 9 news conference of the West Coast Student Mobilization Committee announced a Feb. 10 demonstration in San Francisco and an

SMC-initiated mass meeting that night at the University of California, Berkeley, to plan for a further response to the widening of the war.

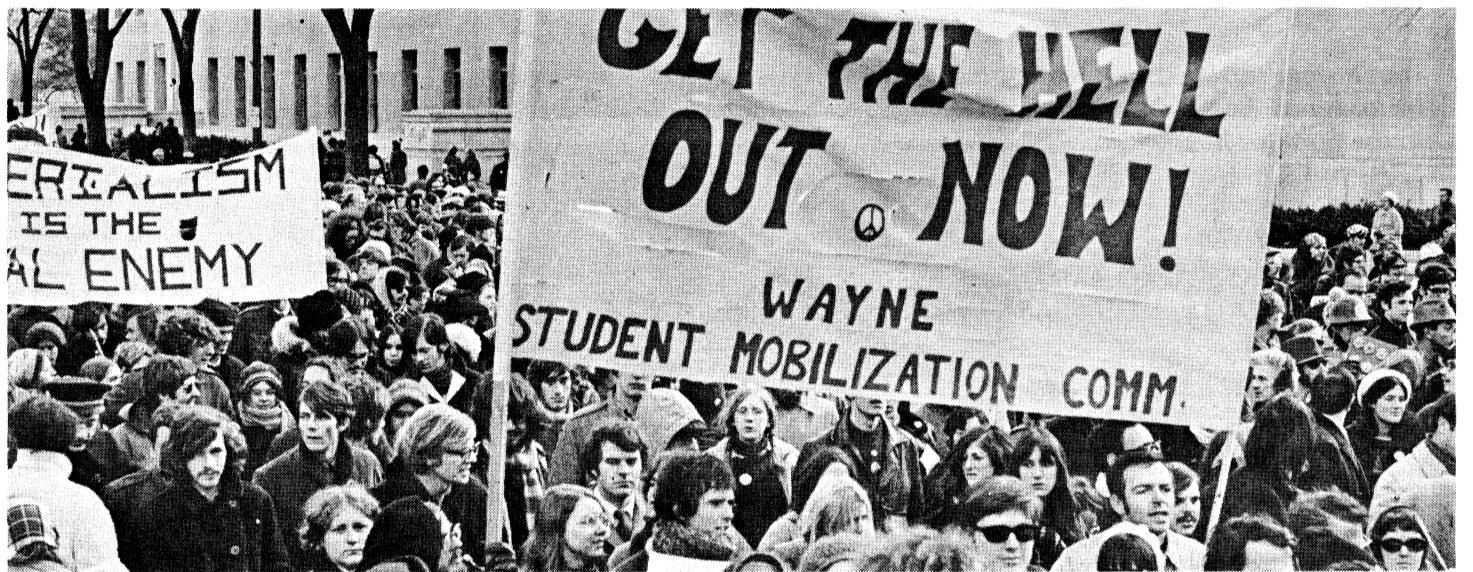
The Boston University SMC was slated to hold a Feb. 9 teach-in with Noam Chomsky and other speakers. At the University of Wisconsin in Madison, 2,000 students met Feb. 8 to plan activity for later in the week.

The city-wide Boston SMC was to host a New England regional conference following the city-wide action in Boston Feb. 10.

At Antioch College, 400 students met Feb. 9 and mapped an area-wide de-

monstration in Dayton for the next day. A correspondent reported the campus atmosphere was "like last May" and that the students had voted to again utilize campus facilities to promote antiwar activity. The school was to provide transportation to the demonstration and agreed to give employees time off to participate.

Five hundred University of Minnesota students attended a planning rally sponsored by SMC, the Minnesota Student Association, and the University Board of Governors. The meeting voted to organize a Feb. 10 demonstration.



Washington, D. C., November 1969

Howard Petrick wins honorable discharge

By HUGH MORGAN

NEW YORK—The U. S. Army received orders Feb. 4 to give an honorable discharge to Howard Petrick, one of the first antiwar GIs to gain national attention during the Vietnam war. The instructions came from District Judge Constance Baker Motley. Petrick had been given a "less than honorable" discharge by the Army in March, 1968, allegedly because of his membership in the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. The brass was really concerned because he expressed his antiwar and socialist views to fellow GIs.

The case of Pfc. Howard Petrick was one of the first defense cases involving a GI attacked by the brass for exercising his constitutional rights. He received wide publicity and broad support within the antiwar movement and among those concerned with civil liberties.

Petrick's socialist and antiwar views were well known to the Army when he was inducted in July 1966. Only three weeks earlier he had been arrested in Minneapolis for selling the antiwar *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter* at a shopping center. In fact, the Army interceded on Petrick's behalf when the case came up for trial after his induction and had the charges dropped.

Despite the Army's knowledge of his views and despite his excellent service record as a cook with the Second Armored Division at Fort Hood, Petrick became the target for harassment by the brass beginning on April 1, 1967, when he returned from attending a YSA convention during a leave. Harassment continued until he was given an undesirable discharge one year later.

There was never a question of any infraction of Army regulations. Pe-

trick's sole offense was discussing politics with other GIs. A provisional defense committee was immediately formed, and an energetic campaign to rally support was launched during the massive antiwar actions on April 15, 1967.

In the weeks and months that followed, the Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick mobilized an impressive list of 500 sponsors, including Eric Bentley, Murray Kempton, Noam Chomsky, Howard Zinn, Ron Dellums, and Julian Bond. Distinguished civil liberties attorneys Leonard Boudin and Victor Rabinowitz acted as Petrick's civilian counsel on behalf of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Faced with such a show of support, the Pentagon backed off from its original intention to court-martial the antiwar GI under Military Code of Justice Article 134 for "disloyal utterances." On Sept. 13, 1967, Petrick received a letter from his commanding general telling him his presence in the Army was contrary to the "interests of national security" because of his membership in the YSA and SWP.

The general's letter implied that he would be given a less than honorable discharge. Petrick wrote a reply in which he stated, "I do not object to a discharge under honorable conditions; indeed, I request it . . . because I and my fellow servicemen have been subject to harassment with respect to activities . . . the Army has conceded to the press and elsewhere to be lawful and protected by the First Amendment." His letter pointed out that if his membership in the YSA and SWP

were relevant to military service, he should not have been drafted in the first place.

Petrick was discharged from the Army on March 15, 1968. On March 29, the defense committee held a news conference in New York at which he and others discussed his plans to fight for an honorable discharge, the growing dissent in the Army, and his plans for a national speaking tour on these issues. During the next seven weeks, Petrick spoke before antiwar audiences in every part of the country.

When the federal district court decision was announced early this month, *The Militant* discussed its significance with Petrick. "Without the publicity and activity made possible in my case by the civilian antiwar movement," he said, "the situation would have been completely different." He said he believed the growth of antiwar activity by GIs was a natural consequence of the rise of antiwar sentiment among the entire population that has come largely as a result of the mass mobilizations of the organized antiwar movement.

"The main difference in the Army today from the time I was in is that GIs have learned they can exercise their rights to express their ideas about the war and count on the support of the antiwar movement for those rights. Very few GIs were for the war when I was in, but not many were ready to act on their opposition," Petrick said.

He added, "That difference is due for the most part to actions like the upcoming April 24 demonstrations in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco."

Cortright wins suit

New York — In a decision that represents an important victory for the antiwar movement, Federal Judge Jack B. Weinstein ruled here Feb. 9 that the Army has to rescind its punitive transfer of Specialist 4 David Cortright. Cortright, who was a member of the 26th Army Band at Fort Wadsworth, Staten Island, was transferred to Fort Bliss, Texas, last July, as punishment for his antiwar activities. Six other bandmen were also given punitive transfers. Cortright brought suit against the Army on behalf of all seven GIs.

While Judge Weinstein denied the pleas of the six other bandmen for an injunction, he ruled that Cortright had been transferred solely because of his antiwar activities and that such punitive measures were a violation of the constitutional right to freedom of speech.