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# Nixon's anti-pollution plan: More hot, polluted air

-see pages 7, 10



Ray Matjasic/Cleveland Plain Dealer

ANTI-POLLUTION MEASURE. Cleveland officials of United Auto Workers and United Steel Workers unions enter city hearing on pollution. After hearing industry spokesmen express view that pollution really isn't all that bad, union officials threatened to join with students in march on state capital to force some action on issue. Story p. 6

## Women's liberation in Australia

#### Seek literature from U.S. movement

Sydney, Australia I recently read the middle page feature on Women's Liberation in The Militant and was very impressed. The article on the teach-in at San Francisco College and the subsequent demands formulated was particularly helpful to some of us here who are just starting a Women's Liberation group at Sydney University.

A group called the Sydney Women's Liberation Group has been functioning for about three months — a socialist group with no single tendency dominating. It has been concentrating on internal education but already in the short time of its existence has come to the notice of the left in general, e.g. in the form of requests for articles, speakers, and provision for a Women's Liberation Workshop during the antiwar activists conference to be held this month as well as gaining the predictable reactions from the mass media.

As the moment we have very little material from other Women's Liberation groups. Anything we can get hold of is a valuable impetus to the sophistication of our own ideas and we hope will hasten our development to the stage where we can publish our own pamphlets, etc. and use them in the theoretical and tactical debate within the movement.

Barbara Levu The address of the Sydney Women's Liberation Group is: 67 Glebe Point Rd., Glebe, Sydney, NSW, Australia. - Editor.

#### Militant sales quota doubled

Evanston, Ill. Nothing better confirms the evaluation of the campus political situation made at the recent YSA convention than the increased demand for Militants we are experiencing here at Northwestern University. Therefore we are doubling our sales quota.

It doesn't seem possible that The Militant can get better each week, but that is exactly what happens. Keep up the excellent work.

> Lane Satterblom Chicago YSA

#### Women's liberation and self-defense

Boston, Mass. We were glad to see an article on Female Liberation (The Militant, Dec. 26) more to the point of the contradictions between men and women. But we take issue with one point especially. We disagree that women are not being killed off as a group in large numbers or in such obvious ways as Black and Vietnamese people. Each year people are murdered in this country because they are Female - because of sexism.

### **Letters from** our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

Anton Costa, Richard Speck, Jack the Ripper, The Boston Strangler are the logical outcome of sexism. Why are women afraid to walk the streets day or night? To be alone in their homes? Not because they fear other women! Why are wives beaten by their husbands? Why do all women suffer verbal and physical abuse and humiliation from men wherever they go? Girl watching, rape, beating, brutal murder and dismemberment—all these actions are based on sexism—the hatred of Females.

These actions are not accidents. They are political crimes against Females as a group. Also in the cartoon of Popeye and Olive Oil there would be no question in Popeye's mind if Olive Oil had knocked him out. This is why we advocate self-defense for Females. All oppressed people must practice the right to defend themselves. Women must understand that any defenseless people are slaves or subject to slavery at any given moment. Until women begin to believe in their right to self-defense they will not begin to believe in their basic right to live.

Also we are outraged by the substitution of the abridged Women's "Lib" for the word liberation. This word liberation signifies to us freedom from oppressive social relations, sexual humiliation, fear and daily outrages and indignities which are our lives. The word liberation, because of its reference to all oppressed peoples, Blacks, Orientals, Third World and Working Class people, constantly relates our movement to these others. You show lack of respect for the Female Movement by not using this word in all its strength and dignity.

Evelyn Clark and Jeanne Lafferty

#### On YSA convention coverage

Madison, Wisc. Your coverage of the national Young Socialist Alliance [convention] was excellent except for one very important

The Militant should devote one feature article to the explanation of the need for the deepening radicalization

to reach all high school students and the discussion at the convention of how this can be better realized.

Once a high school student reaches a level of radicalization, that of understanding that the United States needs a socialist revolution, he can enter college and be ready to learn how to become a leader in the movement by joining the YSA as a freshman or even becoming a member in high school. If you wait until he is a sophomore, junior or even senior in college, you cut short the experience he can get by leading campus, antiwar, worker and other activities in the college sphere. Only by a long experience in the YSA can a person get the depth he needs to become a true revolutionary.

The high school student also may directly enter the service or become a worker. He must be armed with information of how to organize his fellow GI and worker to lead them on in the struggle ahead.

Warren Metzger

#### GE articles well received by strikers

Ashland, Mass.

The articles about the GE strike are well received by the strikers here in Ashland. Spirits remain high despite the fact that [the strike] is now 12 weeks old and the UE Local 205 lost quite a few Christmas jobs.

Things are getting tough now. Nobody wants to go on welfare even when they are eligible, and you can't draw unemployment in Massachusetts like you can in New York (after eight weeks).

As long as Erie, Schenectady and Lynn stay solid, GE is hurting and we're in good shape, everything con-

The salary people at GE are shouting through their hats these days, thinking they may be laid off. We feel sorry for them, too. Strikes win higher pay

M. T.

#### On 'Sterile Cuckoo' review

San Francisco, Calif. I take strenuous exception to Evelyn Sell's review in your Jan. 16 issue of the movie, "Sterile Cuckoo." I object in particular to the line, "And there is the hero—on the surface not very masculine but underneath it all, a real man."

The traditional definition of "real manhood," whose ultimate criterion of heterosexual activity her statement upholds categorically, has been a chief instrument not only in the oppression of homosexuals, but also in perverting heterosexuality into something quite less than satisfying for both parties. A man hides his virginity behind boasting or treats a woman callously in bed precisely because he fears that someone like Evelyn Sell will interpret his failure in living up to society's expectations of male behavior as lack of a "basically masculine nature" and will tell him he is not the "real man" his upbringing places such importance on.

Michael Cooke

#### Heartened by occupation of Alcatraz

London, England We read about the occupation of Alcatraz in your paper. We are greatly heartened to know that the real and original owners are claiming the land.

We have sent translations of the news to various groups in Latin America and express our solidarity with the Red Power movement of America, from many representatives of indigenous "indians," Quichuas and Aymaras of Peru and Bolivia and Araucos of Chile. For the first time American Indians of both north and south parts of the continent join hands in their task to win land.

We strive for the release of agricultural union leader Hugo Blanco who is serving a brutal sentence of 25 years

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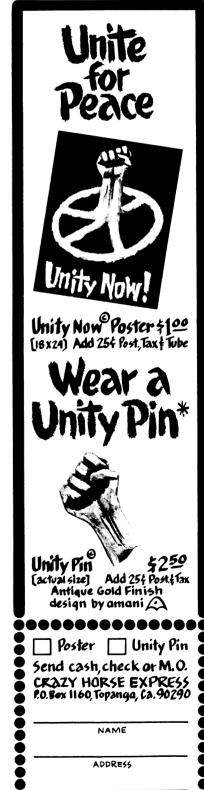
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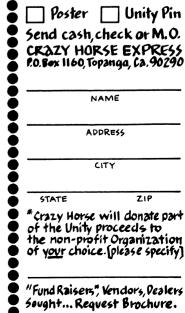
for his peaceful efforts to raise the standard of the farm workers in the haciendas in the Andean highlands of Cuzco and the Valley of the Convencion in Peru.

Demand the release of Hugo Blanco by writing to General Velasco, Palacio Gobierno, Lima, Peru.

John Edmunds The Committee for Solidarity with the Victims of Repression in Peru

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#### IF YOU SUPPORT THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, THE BLACK LIBERA-TION STRUGGLE, THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT, THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, A SO-CIALIST AMERICA, YOU BELONG IN THE YSA. . . ———————— clip and mail ————— Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. ☐ I want to join the YSA ☐ I would like more information \_\_\_\_\_ State . . . . . . . . . . Zip . . . .

JOIN THE YSA

#### A MILITANT INTERVIEW

## How N.Y. Panther was taken from hospital bed

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—On Feb. 2, 15 of the New York Panther 21 will go on trial—a trial spawned by the Lindsay administration—on trumped-up charges of conspiracy to bomb department stores and police stations. Of the 21, three have yet to be found and two are doing time in New Jersey on other charges.

The leaves one, one by the name of Lee Berry. Berry may not make it to the trial because he is on the critical list at Bellevue Hospital.

In an interview that I had with Marva Berry, Lee's wife, she described the circumstances that led to his present condition.

As she ran it down, her husband was arrested in a Veterans Administration hospital, where he was a patient for an epileptic condition incurred as a result of service in Vietnam. He had been in the hospital for three days when he was informed by his mother that the police were looking for him for

questioning. This was at the end of March or early April 1969, when the police conspiracy to bust the New York Black Panther Party was being hatched.

"He was given a telephone number to reach them" Mrs. Berry said. "He in turn called them and they asked him if he was able to walk, able to get out of bed, and that they wanted to question him on certain things. And he said, 'all right,' and told them exactly where he was. About 20 of them came down there and ordered him out of bed. He was placed under arrest.

"They said that he was a murderer, a Panther, and an arsonist. He was released from the hospital and taken down to the DA's office. From there, he was taken to the Men's House of Detention, arraigned the following day, and bail was set at \$100,000.

"For the first three months of his incarceration, he was denied any medical treatment whatsoever, in spite of the fact that he was removed from the hospital. The cell that he was in had

Berry joined the Black Panther Party in August 1968, about two years after his return from Vietnam. It was deterioration of his epileptic condition that placed him in the hospital at the time of the police bust. Jailing him for three months without his medicine

has seriously compounded and exacer-

no mattress, and he slept on the bed

springs for the first three months."

bated an already worsening situation.
Only by way of a court order in
July was Berry even allowed to take
his medication. But the conditions of
confinement continued to aggravate his
ailment. That same month, Berry was
attacked by one of the guards, which
got him, not the guard, a week in soli-

tary confinement.

It was not until November, after eight months of penal servitude, that Berry was transferred to the city's butcher shop, Bellevue. The court order for this transfer was only obtained through strenuous petitioning of the courts by Berry's lawyers. Marva Berry pointed out that this was "after having any number of seizures in the Tombs /Men's House of Detention/."

Then, on Dec. 25, Berry was given an appendectomy without his wife's knowledge. The doctors later found that the appendix was not inflamed, thus negating the need for any operation. According to Marva Berry, this was part of a probe to determine the source of abdominal pains that Lee was experiencing.

In January, Berry developed a blood clot in the groin which then affected his left lung, putting his temperature at one point up to 106 degrees. Although his condition has calmed somewhat, Lee Berry still remains on the critical list. The gravity of the situation has prompted the Republic of New Africa and other Third World militants to form the Ad Hoc Committee to Free Lee Berry, in which Marva Berry is active.

The Ad Hoc Committee is circulating a petition demanding medical treatment for Berry by a doctor of his choice; a court order that he be returned to his bed at the Veterans Hospital or that the Veterans Administration supervise his medical treatment at Bellevue Hospital prison ward; total freedom, since



Jan. 26 demonstration for Panther 21 Photo by Michael Hardy

# S. Carolina meeting maps plans for new party

By DOUG JENNESS

COLUMBIA, S. C., JAN. 25—About 50 people gathered here this afternoon to form the Richland County section of South Carolina's newest political party—the United Citizens Party.

John Harper, University of South Carolina law student, opened the meeting by quoting Malcolm X: "You know the best way to get rid of segregation? The white man is more afraid of separation than he is of integration. Segregation means that he puts you away from him, but not far enough for you to be out of his jurisdiction; separation means you're gone. And the white man will integrate faster than he'll let you separate . . ."

Harper then went on to describe the nature and plans of the United Citizens Party, a statewide political organization which represents a form of political separation from the Democratic and Republican parties who share a "callous indifference for Black and oppressed people."

The party, whose formation was announced at a press conference in early December, aims to represent "Black people and other powerless people." Its major activity at present is waging a petition drive to obtain official ballot status so it can run its own candidates.

"We are building a grass-roots movement independent of all other parties," Harper stated. "In South Carolina there are no Black U.S. senators, U.S. representatives, state legislators, county officials, or members of school boards and very few Black city officials."

Mrs. Majesta Simkins, a veteran fighter for the rights of Black people in South Carolina, gave an inspiring talk describing how Black people had to fight for every single gain they have made. "We shouldn't expect people who have privileges as a result of our powerlessness to give up their power voluntarily. We don't want to form coalitions with the opposition. We have to develop our own strategy and out-think them."

The meeting constituted itself as a county executive committee and selected a 15-person county steering committee with John Harper as chairman. A speakers bureau and task force were also established. The statewide petition goal of 40,000 signatures was discussed, and plans for obtaining 4,000 in Richland County in the next two weeks were laid. A 14-person statewide steering committee already exists, and an open statewide meeting will be held in Charleston on Feb. 7.

The platform and candidates of the new party haven't been selected yet and probably won't be until the party is safely on the ballot, probably sometime in March

# Emory U forum opens with issue of Mideast

ATLANTA—The Emory University YSA sponsored a four-member panel Jan. 23 on the Arab-Israeli crises as the first offering of its winter quarter forum series

During both the presentations and the question period afterwards, two main points were brought out. First, the myth was dispelled that the war was between all the Arabs against every Jew with the aim of extermination of the Jewish population. It was very clearly proven that the struggle is between the Palestinian Arabs attempting to reclaim their homeland and Zionist Israel which is attempting to set up a uniracial, Jewish nationalist state. Secondly, the myth of a "progressive," even "socialist," Israel was dispelled by pointing to Israel's lining herself up with the reactionary foreign policies of the imperialist powers.

The defense of the Arab revolution through this and similar panels held across the U.S. is having its effect in countering the wide-scale pro-Zionist propaganda. For the last statement of the evening, a woman got up and said that she had come to the panel neutral, trying to find out the facts of the case. By the end of the evening she had been convinced that when the Israelis said "Peace" what they meant was "a piece of Lebanon, a piece of Jordan and a piece of Egypt."



Photo by Charles Gatewood **Marva Berry** 

further incarceration in his physical condition would constitute cruel and inhumane treatment; an investigation of the department of correction by a citizen's committee regarding prison conditions and treatment of Lee Berry and the rest of the Panther 21.

People wanting to get petitions and contribute funds can contact the Committee to Defend the Panther 21, 2026 7th Ave., New York, New York 10027.

### Queens Panthers press fight on narcotics issue

NEW YORK — The Black Panther Party in the Coronoa-East Elmhurst area of Queens announced Jan. 22 a concerted drive against narcotics pushers in the Black community.

The move was prompted by the death, due to an overdose of heroin, of a 15-year-old Black student, Steve Wilson. He lived right around the corner from the Panther headquarters.

In announcing the drive, several known pushers in the community were listed. The Panthers also described how the police aid and abet the circulation of drugs. A couple of the pushers listed were said to be federal narcotics agents. Most of the people arrested in connection with drugs are the users rather than the dealers.

The Panthers also cited the fact that the Community Corporation of Corona, a local anti-poverty agency, has refused to deal with the drug problem. Although the CC was granted \$15,000 for the purpose of setting up a drug rehabilitation program, no motion has been made in that direction.

The Panthers stated that they would confront the pushers by circulating their pictures in the community.

#### LEON TROTSKY

### The Man and His Work Reminiscences and Appraisals

By: Joseph Hansen, James P. Cannon, Natalia Sedov Trotsky, Jan van Heijenoort, Farrell Dobbs, Li Fu-jen, Charles Cornell, John G. Wright, Ernest Germain, Alfred Rosmer, Pierre Frank, George Novack, Rosa Luxemburg, Larissa Reissner, Karl Radek, Anatoly V. Lunacharsky, Adolf Joffe, Victor Serve

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#### **CAMPAIGNING IN CALIFORNIA**

## Socialist nominees set extensive speaking tours

By SHARON CABANISS

SAN FRANCISCO—The California state Socialist Workers Party campaign has announced extensive speaking tours for five candidates: Dianne Feeley for U.S. senator, Herman Fagg for governor, Phil Conner for treasurer and Antonio Camejo for superintendent of public instruction. These simultaneous



Photo by Ron Payne

Patti Iiyama
Calif. SWP nominee for sec'y of state

tours will cover the entire western region of the United States.

Candidates have already received enthusiastic responses from audiences in Arizona, Los Angeles, the Bay Area and the San Joaquin Valley. The campaign has also received good coverage in the media.

An ambitious research project has also been launched by the campaign to study some of the crucial issues facing California and to dig up the facts on all the candidates. Campaign supporters from all over the state will be working on this. The topics broadly include research on facts of importance to Third World liberation struggles and women's liberation, facts on education, the Vietnam war, big business, labor, agriculture, welfare, tax structure, population, pollution and ecology, and legal aspects of the California ballot law.

Information on any of these issues is needed. Supporters of the campaign with information or time to contribute to this project are urged to contact the state campaign office.

Another important way supporters can help the campaign is to contribute financially. This is vital if we are to maintain and escalate the current level of activity. Many imaginative and energetic fund-raising activities are being planned by various campaign committees, but individual donations are still essential. Mail contributions to: California State Campaign, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114.

# Black Panther newspaper faces conspiracy frame up

By HERMAN FAGG

Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 17—A federal grand jury probe here is threatening the Black Panther Party with possible indictments under a federal conspiracy law or under the Smith "thought-control" Act.

On Jan. 14, three Black Panthers, Raymond "Masai" Hewitt, managing editor of the *Black Panther* newspaper, John Seale, the paper's production manager and brother of BPP chairman Bobby Seale, and Samuel Napier, the paper's circulation manager, were called before the grand jury to testify on their activities in publishing the Panthers' weekly newspaper.

San Francisco attorney Charles Garry, who has been the Panthers' general counsel for the past two years, said he advised his clients to neither testify nor to produce the records sought by the government. All three Panthers took the fifth amendment and were dismissed until Feb. 11 when the grilling will continue.

The federal grand jury probe, which is being handled by a team of lawyers from the Justice Department's criminal division in Washington, has been conducted since at least April, 1969.

At that time the government announced they were looking into possible violations of the Smith Act. This notorious law, used originally against the Socialist Workers Party, permits imprisonment solely for the advocacy of ideas. It provides a maximum penalty



Photo by Dave Wulp

**Attorney Charles Garry** 

of 20 years imprisonment and a \$20,-000 fine. In addition, the investigators are

In addition, the investigators are looking into possibilities for indicting the Panthers for "mail fraud" involving contributions to the party and its several defense funds and for interstate travel for "violent" purposes.

The Panthers and their lawyer, Garry, have vowed to fight these additional pernicious attempts to crush the Black Panther Party. The greatest possible support is needed to carry out this fight.

# California pollution board seeks smog in back yards

By TERRY HARDY

Socialist Workers Party candidate for California controller

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 29 — Most Bay Area cities have either flunked or come close to flunking the lenient smog standards of a Bay Area six-county Air Pollution Control District.

The official California standard is 60 micrograms of solid waste particles suspended per cubic meter. Last year Fremont, San Jose, and Pittsburg all went over with scores of 76, 62 and 67 respectively. Other Bay Area cities came close: Richmond, 58 and San Francisco, 53.

Milton Feldstein, the district's director of technical services, estimates that most of these particles are poured into

the atmosphere by industry. About a fourth of such pollution comes from motor vehicles.

The atmosphere poisoning alarm seems clear. Yet, the district board has not come up with one proposal for controlling the big businesses who profit from the unrestricted industrial pollution

The district's board of directors did manage one piece of legislation, however. As of Jan. 1, they have banned trash burning in homeowners' backyards. Backing up this "rigorous attack on causes of smog," the district's "enforcement division" has even managed to find 21 violations of this rule during a period of steady rain here this month.



CALIFORNIA SWP CANDIDATES. (Left to right) Terry Hardy for controller; Dave Frankel for lieutenant governor; Herman Fagg for governor; Dianne Feeley for U. S. senator.

# Berkeley Tenants Union votes Feb. 1 rent strike

By BRENDA BRDAR and HAL WHITE

BERKELEY, Jan. 25—The Berkeley Tenants Union (BTU), organized during the fall as a bargaining agent against the landlords, has voted overwhelmingly in favor of a rent strike to begin Feb. 1. Nine hundred tenants crowded into the Martin Luther King School auditorium on Jan. 21, where BTU organizers recommended that immediate strike action be taken against the landlords.

The strike has been called in protest against exorbitant rent rates and wide-

# San Francisco peace groups in joint action

By GEORGE JOHNSON

SAN FRANCISCO—The Bay Area Peace Action Council joined the Downtown Peace Coalition here Jan. 15 in setting up 21 antiwar literature tables in the city's financial district.

The action was the major Moratorium action for January here. Activists at the tables reported a friendly reception in discussion of the war. Collections also did well.

The Downtown Peace Coalition, which called the action, is a white-collar group that held successful protests at the city's stock exchange during last year's fall antiwar offensive. BAPAC joined the action after deciding it fit into the BAPAC perspective, recently adopted, of mass national antiwar actions in the spring, with interim regular local actions as they can be realistically organized.

BAPAC voted, as part of its perspective, to call for mass national actions in April, encouraging other groups and national conferences to join the call. BAPAC is organizing a western regional antiwar conference for Feb. 28-March 1 in San Francisco.

spread building code violations. (Many landlords have been able to overcharge tenants since students here find it preferable to live close to the U.C. Berkeley campus.)

The BTU is attempting to financially cripple the landlords by withholding rent, and by jamming the courts with hundreds of rent dispute cases to stall the costly eviction proceedings. To avoid unnecessary victimizations, striking tenants are not only making demands to lower rents and improve housing conditions, but are putting forth one non-negotiable demand, which is the recognition of the Berkeley Tenants Union by the landlords as the sole bargaining agent in rent disputes.

One of the chief concerns of the BTU is its call for an end to discrimination against women by landlords. It seeks to have an addition to the Civil Rights Act that will provide legal protection against discrimination on the basis of sex. Such a law may help to stem such discriminatory practices as those cited in a recent issue of Tenants Rising, the BTU newspaper, wherein a young divorcee was denied an apartment solely because she was divorced and had a child of about six. Tenants Rising also points to the most blatant form of discrimination against women—that of denving decent apartments to women on welfare who have children.

The BTU plans to conduct an educational campaign throughout the Berkeley community explaining the reasons for the strike in order to create sympathetic juries for the rent dispute cases which do come up in court.

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U. S. soldiers guard "Vietcong suspects"

## Suppressed report details atrocities in S. Vietnam

By DICK ROBERTS

A secret report indicating the extent of U.S. atrocities during the 1968 Tet offensive was revealed in Washington, Jan. 21. The report stated that "excessive and misdirected" U.S. bombing of the towns and villages occupied by revolutionaries during the offensive had made many refugees hostile to the Saigon regime.

Len Ackland, a 25-year-old graduate student at the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies, stated that he had submitted the report to the Rand Corporation after interviewing some 200 refugee victims of the bombing.

The report was never released by the Rand Corporation, a ruling-class "think tank" that was set up after World War II to recommend policy to the Air Force

A 37-year-old woman living in Giadinh Province near Saigon was one of those interviewed by Ackland. "I spread a straw mat under our bed and shoved all our children in there to be safe from the bullets," she said.

"And then the airplanes came and bombed. The whole bunch got killed. My eldest son was killed when he was struck by bomb shrapnel in the belly and his entrails came out. My 14-year-old daughter was hit in the knee. I took her to the police station at Vuoncosu, but they didn't have any bandages or anything so she died a moment later due to loss of blood.

"All in all we lost five lives. The other families staying at the same place as we lost 10 lives . . . I only know that the Government has killed my children and that I don't like. The VC came and fired some shots and then the plane came and bombed us."

The refugees also complained about heavy looting by Saigon troops. A 30-year-old South Vietnamese soldier stationed in Giadinh stated: "The VC didn't steal directly from the people. The ARVN troops did.

"In the Xommoi area, a lot of people were looted of their property, and the thieves were ARVN soldiers. They didn't steal in small scale. They used army trucks to remove all the merchandise in the shops whose owners had evacuated the area."

Ackland said in explaining his re-

#### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

#### Israel and the Arabs

Militant readers debate Mideast conflict

40 cents

Pathfinder Press

(formerly Merit Publishers) 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003 port, "The striking thing is that almost 50 percent of the interviewees willing to voice their opinions put the blame on the Government." He reported that he had been told by a Rand official

it was "too controversial."

The Rand Corporation is privately financed. Its board of trustees consists of corporate executives and other ruling place opents.

his report was not published because

of corporate executives and other ruling-class agents.

"In 1963," according to Prof. G. William Domhoff, "the board included representatives from CBS, Hewlett-Packard, Owens-Corning Fiberglass Internation-

liam Domhoff, "the board included representatives from CBS, Hewlett-Packard, Owens-Corning Fiberglass International, Monsanto Chemical, and New England Electric System, as well as the president of one of the Carnegie foundations, a leading official of the Council on Foreign Relations, the former vice president of the Carnegie Corporation (then president of Cornell), and the presidents of MIT and Rice universities." ("Who Made American Foreign Policy, 1945-63," an essay in Corporations and the Cold War, Monthly Review Press, 1969.)

# Move to oust socialist prof fought in Arizona

TEMPE, Ariz.—On Jan. 19, in an attempt to revive McCarthyism in Arizona, a vicious attack was made on the floor of the state legislature against Professor Morris J. Starsky. The attack came as a direct result of Prof. Starsky's appearance at a student rally on Jan. 14 at the University of Arizona in Tucson. The rally, estimated at 3,500, was called by the Bear Down Offense Committee (BDOC) in support of eight students 'and one nonstudent who were arrested while protesting the university's athletic ties with racist Brigham Young University.

The protest was the latest in a series of attempts by Black and white students to force the university to cancel athletic events with Brigham Young. Several schools in the Western Athletic Conference have already given BYU notice that they will no longer schedule athletic events with the Mormon-run Utah university.

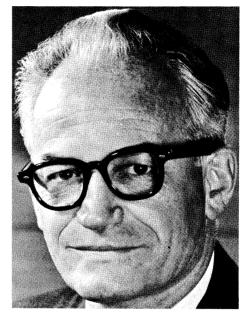
The eight students and the nonstudent were charged with felonies ranging from inciting to riot to assault. The charge against the nonstudent was subsequently dropped when the police were forced to admit that he wasn't even at the demonstration.

Among the students arrested were John Heard, president of the Black Student Union, Mark Ginsberg, student body president, and Bill White, student body vice president.

The Jan. 14 defense rally was held at noon, and the attack against Prof. Starsky was based on his absence from one class which was scheduled to meet at the same time. The attack was endorsed editorially by some of the news media. The stated purpose of the attack was to force the firing of Prof. Starsky for his political beliefs and activities.

According to one legislator, Dr. Starsky's lectures are "un-American." When asked what activities warrant firing Starsky, the legislator asserted, "He's been active in leading demonstrations, lecturing his students on things I consider detrimental to the good of the United States and the state of Arizona."

Another legislator said he will refuse to vote for the university's appropriation if Prof. Starsky is not fired. The



GOLDWATER. His spirit is alive and well in his home state legislature. But there are also significant forces standing in opposition to the efforts to curb free speech there in Arizona.

following day, Jan. 20, the dean of the liberal arts college of Arizona State University issued a strong reprimand to Prof. Starsky for having failed to meet his class on the 14th. This reprimand was in itself unwarranted since Prof. Starsky had informed his class at the previous meeting that he would be away on the day of the next class. This is a common practice at ASU.

The reprimand did not satisfy the politicians. As a result of the pressure from the state legislature, the Arizona State board of regents announced that it will discuss Prof. Starsky's position at ASU during its next meeting on Jan. 31.

Prof. Starsky has been a leader in the antiwar movement in Arizona since 1965. He has also been in the forefront of supporting Black, white and Chicano student groups in their struggle for university reform. He is faculty advisor to the Young Socialist Alliance. In the 1968 election he was a presidential elector for the Socialist Workers Party. Prof. Starsky's adherence to Trotskyist views is a public matter in Arizona.

Prof. Starsky's political views and his dedication to free speech and association are the substantive reasons for the latest attacks made against him. (An Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee of the university is investigating why he hasn't been getting raises.)

The Committee to Defend the Right of Prof. Starsky to Teach at ASU has been formed. Sponsors include a significant number of ASU faculty members. The honorary co-chairmen of the committee are Marcus Whiffmen, a professor of architecture at ASU, and Sherri Finkbine, a local TV personality. Letters of support may be sent to the committee c/o David Murphy, 122 Ash Ave. #8, Tempe, Arizona.

# Phoenix cops try to frame militant campus activist

By JIM ROWLAND

PHOENIX, Ariz. — David Murphy, Phoenix Young Socialist Alliance organizer and leading Student Mobilization Committee activist, was detained and politically interrogated for four hours by the police the night of Jan. 23 in Mesa, Arizona. Murphy was held without charges for two hours while first the arresting officer, and then a man who identified himself as an FBI agent questioned him regarding his leadership of peace actions in the area. The arresting officer refused to explain to Murphy why he was being taken to the station, but he did ask, "What's that 'Don't Eat Grapes' sticker all about?"

It was only after the interrogation had gone on for two hours that he was charged with improper lane usage, and then with driving while intoxicated—both completely false. He was not permitted to call an attorney, even though he specifically asked to do so. Finally he was permitted to call a bail bondsman after being formally charged.

Murphy pleaded not guilty to both charges, and will be tried on March 11 in Mesa. At a press conference held on the Arizona State University campus he said:

"The procedures used by the police were totally unconstitutional and clearly indicated that their primary interest was in my political activities, and not in any alleged traffic violation. This incident falls into a general pattern of attacks, both legal and extra-legal, against the antiwar movement, the movement for self-determination among Blacks and Chicanos, the labor movement, and the socialist movement in this country.

"The fact that the charge of driving while intoxicated is sufficient to jeopardize my status as a student and teaching assistant is not only serious in itself, but invites comparison with the felony charges brought against the anti-BYU demonstrators in Tucson and the political attack on Prof. Starsky in Phoenix.

"I want to make it perfectly clear that political harassment will not stop the growing radicalization of the American people, and it certainly will not stop my own activity."

At the press conference, letters of support were also read from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Civil Rights Board, Student Mobilization Committee, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, Revolutionary Youth Movement, and David Hawk of the national Moratorium Committee in Washington, D. C.

A defense committee to defend Murphy has been organized by the Arizona Student Mobilization Committee. Contributions and letters of support can be mailed to SMC, P. O. Box 1020, Tempe, Arizona 85281, c/o Hank Benoit.

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## Cleveland's pollution hearing

CLEVELAND—An elderly man eloquently expressed the feeling of several thousand participants in hearings before the Ohio air pollution control board held here Jan. 20-21. He dumped a bucket full of iron dust, collected from the eaves of his house, on the table in front of the board's chairman, Dr. Emmett Arnold, saying that he wanted board members to share in the pollution that people experience all the time. He told Arnold not to clean up the mess until 1975, the proposed state deadline for implementation of pollution standards.

Cleveland is the fifth dirtiest metropolitan area in the country, and the hearings here brought the largest turnout of any of the 27 federal, air-quality hearings so far held across the nation.

On the first day, the board was forced to move the hearings to larger facilities after some 600 people were excluded from the city-council chambers and, during Mayor Carl Stokes' testimony, representatives of the United Steelworkers began to chant, "We want to be heard; get a bigger hall."

Marcia Sweetenham, Socialist Workers Party nominee for governor of Ohio, read a statement to the board. She was given vigorous applause as she underscored that pollution is the result of the actions of profit-seeking industrialists, and that capitalist politicians, beholden to these same industrialists, appointed the pollution control board.

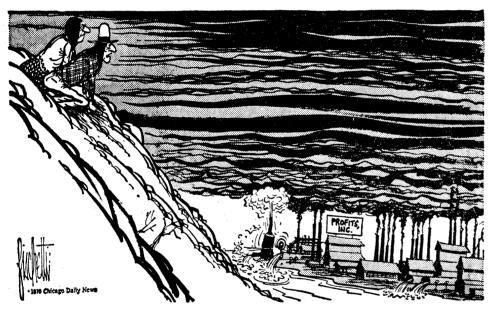
"The Ohio socialist campaign opposes appointed boards like this making the



Marcia Sweetenham

decisions on such vital issues," she said.
"Both standards and enforcement measures should be under the direct control of the people affected by a polluted environment. . . .

"The government will act only under pressure. Industry has the power of its wealth working for it. As in the case of the movement against the war, we need the pressure of millions of people who can say, 'Stop it now!'



"White man's smoke signals spell disaster."

"Citizens' groups should be formed to educate and act on the question of pollution. Picketing, strikes and boycotts can all prove effective tools against the offending industries. Only if we organize and act independently of the government, can the government ever be forced to act in our interests."

Marcia Sweetenham was also given strong applause when she protested the hearings being held during working hours, when the majority of people would find it very difficult if not impossible to attend.

A delegation of 130 union officials, many wearing surgical masks to dramatize their fight for stronger pollution control, led a march to the hearing and helped set a militant tone.

Jerry Gordon, chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, was warmly applauded when he identified himself. He discussed the relationship between the war in Vietnam and the unwillingness of the government to act on curbing pollution.

A spokesman for a group of 105 scientists and engineers at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Lewis Research Center reported that they had formed a group which was volunteering its services to local, state and federal agencies as well as antipollution groups to study the harmful effect of air pollution.

James Seymour, counsel for the Ohio Manufacturers Association, expressed the position of industry spokesmen most clearly when he said, "There is no evidence that the air quality in this area affects human health." He argued that the standards must be "reasonable." His testimony evoked loud boos from the audience.

After the hearings were declared closed, dozens of angry people ran up to the board members shouting, "We want to be heard." Many accused the board of violating the Clean Air Act.

Joseph J. Kender, director of District 28, United Steelworkers, jumped on the stage demanding to be heard. As a representative of 35,000 steelworkers, he threatened to lead an antipollution march on Columbus, the state capital, if the board didn't adopt satisfactory standards. "The citizens and students," he said, "will get together. We will have a march on Columbus that will paralyze the city."

The hearings here were held under the provisions of the Air Quality Act of 1967, which leaves establishment of pollution limits up to the states. As

## SWP in Ohio opens campaign

CLEVELAND — The Socialist Workers Party's 1970 Ohio election campaign opened here Jan. 20, when the party's candidate for governor, Marcia Sweetenham, presented a statement before the state's air pollution control board. (See story, this page.)

The other 1970 socialist nominees in Ohio are Herman Kirsch for lieutenant governor, Al Budka for attorney general, Bob Schwarz for state treasurer, James Harris for U.S. senator, and Syd Stapleton for representative from the 22nd congressional district.

originally proposed, the bill would have set nationwide standards, but industrial lobbyists succeeded in pressuring Congress to pass the weaker version.

The hearings here came about a month after the board's undemocratic proceedings in Cincinnati aroused a big protest. In the Cincinnati hearings, the board first went to industry, using up most of the time, and most people representing antipollution forces were never permitted to speak. Following the Cincinnati hearings, the board made a "preliminary decision" to accept the state's recommendations on pollution standards, which are extremely lax and contain no enforcement provisions.

After the hearings here, the board announced that it was raising the standards in its recommendations. As a consequence of the reaction to the high-handed methods used in Cincinnati, speakers were chosen by lot for the Cleveland hearings.

# A note to Nixon on what he can do to clean air

The fact that Nixon felt compelled in his "State of the Union Message" to talk about the need to do something to save the environment, and to do it "now," is a good gauge of the rising concern among the American people over the problem of pollution

The Republicans praised Nixon's words as masterly, impressive, historic, and uplifting. The Democrats regarded it as a skillful political speech, Senator Edward M. Kennedy, the heir of the Kennedy dynasty, praising it as a "well-constructed speech."

James Reston of the *New York Times* was more accurate in describing it as "a fairly artful if not artistic performance."

Three proposals can be made to Nixon to test his sincerity:

- 1. Stop destroying the ecology of Vietnam. Do it *now* by getting the U.S. troops out of Vietnam *now*.
- 2. Stop the oil interests from their projected destruction of the ecological balance in Alaska. As a first step, fire Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel, a servile tool of the plunderers. Do it now.
- 3. Stop polluting the air waves with your rhetoric. Do it now.

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### Garment workers still shortchanged

Boasting that the Dressmaker's Joint Council's newly signed contract with the New York Metropolitan Dress Market is "the largest ever negotiated in the history of the union," Charles S. Zimmerman, vice president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, announced on Jan. 22 a 20-percent increase in wages over three years.

In addition to the 20 percent (broken down to 10 percent on Feb. 15, and five-percent increases on Feb. 1, 1971, and Feb. 1, 1972) the union "also retains the right to seek an additional increase during the three-year pact if the cost of living continues to rise."

The new pact also provides for increases in the monies paid by the employers into the health, welfare, and retirement funds, and to provide an additional week's vacation pay. The birthday of Rev. Martin Luther King will also become a paid holiday.

All of which sounds as though the garment workers got a real package Except for the fact that the new wage minimums still keep the membership of this trade union—one of the oldest—at the poverty level. Consider:

In this so-called metropolitan area, which for the dress industry includes

## The National Picketline

New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware and Maryland, the cost of living is highest in the country. During December 1969 living costs went up one full percentage point, to seven percent for the year, in the New York-New Jersey area.

Yet the wages agreed to by the ILGWU average less than \$100 a week!

For instance, piece workers will now earn (before taxes, social security, etc.) the following:

• Operators, \$2.80 per hour (\$98 weekly); finishers, \$2.57 (\$89.95); pressers, \$3.15 (\$100.25).

Weekly workers (35 hours):

● Cutters, \$135; sample makers, \$105; drapers, \$95; examiners, \$87; cleaners and floor workers, \$84; assorters, \$87; shipping clerks (category 1) \$90; and category 2, \$95.

Keep in mind that the majority of all dressmaking industry workers today are Third World people, most of them women with large families.

And keep in mind also that their union is controlled by a bureaucracy which tends to act as "statesmen" toward the bosses and as dictators over the

A wave of teachers' strikes has hit New Jersey, as the New Jersey Educational Society membership in 40 localities fight to force local city councils to include a sizeable raise for teachers in the budget estimates which must be presented to the state assembly by Feb. 2.

As reported here last week, the teachers in Passaic, N.J., went out first and won their demands. They had asked for a package of \$779,300 but settled for one amounting to \$704,000. This package is to be divided by the union to provide new and higher minimum wages for all teachers in that city.

Currently most of the schools in the strike areas are closed. The NEA expects that the Passaic settlement will serve as a model for future settlements.

 $-{\tt MARVEL~SCHOLL}$ 

#### The President's pollution program

# How to make world a place no one lives

By ROBERT LANGSTON

President Nixon devoted a substantial part of his State of the Union message to pollution. With a slight tremor in his voice, he inquired, "Shall we surrender to our surroundings or shall we make our peace with nature and begin to make reparations for the damage we have done to our air, to our land and to our water?" And he answered this rhetorical question with the meditation, "Restoring nature to its natural state is a cause beyond party and beyond factions."

There is no reason to doubt the President's sincerity. Like every other capitalist politician, whenever an issue so grips the populace that it might decide the next election, a motion grips his bowels like unto that called forth by the sight of Our Country's Flag. And pollution is such an issue. For many people, the limit of stench endurance was long-since reached, and our cup of turgid poison, flowing each morning from our kitchen spigots, runneth over.

If the President's sincerity about retaining his high office in 1972 cannot be questioned, the seriousness of his concern for the natural environment is open to doubt. In fact, his pretensions are a fraud.

The President promised to propose to Congress "the most comprehensive and costly program in this field in America's history." This program consists of the following items:

• "A \$10-billion nationwide clean waters program to put modern municipal waste treatment plants in every place in America where they are needed to make our waters clean again and do it now";

• "New financing methods" for purchasing open space and park lands before they are swallowed up by urban expansion;

• Intensified research, "increasingly strict standards, and strengthened enforcement procedures" regarding air pollution produced by automobiles.

Those are Nixon's proposals in all their concreteness. All else is economic and moral wind. Air and water, the president proclaimed, must be treated as scarce resources, and this will require that "to the extent possible the price of goods should be made to include the costs of producing and disposing of them without damage to the environment." Further, he delivered himself of the Presidential admonition to "each of us," his countrymen, that each should each day "leave his home, his property, the public places of the city or town a little cleaner, a little better, a little more pleasant for himself and those around him."

There is no mention of solid-waste disposal. There is no mention of *industrial* air pollution. There is no mention of thermal pollution of lakes and rivers, the destruction of their established ecological relations by using their waters as an industrial cooling agent and thereby raising their temperatures. There is no mention of the tissue-mutilating, mind-unhinging noise that pervades our cities.

Even Nixon's "clean water" proposal—the only one provided with that aura of seriousness conferred by a price tag-is a fraud. He does not explain how even the most "modern waste treatment plants" established now will reverse the ecological changes wrought in the past. And a subsequent "clarification" of the speech makes clear that the 10-billion dollars he speaks of refers to total expenditures by municipal and state governments as well as the federal government. The federal contribution he will propose will amount to some \$445-million a year spread over fiscal 1971-1979. This is less than



"Like the president said, we all have to keep things a little cleaner"

the 800 million Congress appropriated for this fiscal year for water-pollution control, which Nixon has refused to spend.

Nor does the President indicate how including the cost of pollution avoidance in the price of goods is going to significantly lessen pollution. Laws may well be passed requiring capitalists to produce without pollution. Regulatory boards may well be established to enforce these laws. Monopolistic firms will then no doubt include the cost to them of antipollution measures in their prices.

At this moment, though, the great cost-reduction, profit-maximizing scramble will begin, and that scramble will be to evade the antipollution regulations. All past experience with regulatory agencies—capitalists policing themselves—indicates that this will not be hard to do. Or where it promises to be cheaper, capitalists will substitute new methods of production that are not covered by existing regulations

but that may well pollute as vigorously as the old methods. The consequence will be that prices will include the cost of pollution control, monopoly profits will thus be higher, and there will be no long-term decline in the rate at which capitalism is making the world physically unlivable.

Finally, there is no hint in Nixon's speech of the "ecological concept": recognition of the truth that the natural environment is a complex system of systems in which natural changes brought about by humankind's production and consumption can spread through the whole natural environment. But recognition of this truth, of course, logically implies that only through comprehensive economic planning—ultimately on a world scale—can that delicate relationship — on which human survival depends - between the human species' continuous transformation of the natural environment and that environment's own internal equilibria, be maintained.

The only truthful moment of Nixon's lucubrations on the environment arrived in his mindless phrase about "restoring nature to its natural state." If capitalism and all its antipollution ideologues and politicians hold sway over human beings and nature much longer, nature will indeed be restored to its natural state. There will be no humans cluttering up the landscape.

#### **BIG, BRASSY BROTHER**

## The U.S. Army is watching you

The United States Army is now developing the most extensive and sophisticated system in the country's history for spying on the legal and constitutionally protected political activities of civilians. This conclusion emerges from an article, "CONUS Intelligence: The Army Watches Civilian Politics," by Christopher H. Pyle in the January issue of *The Washington Monthly* magazine. Pyle is a PhD candidate at Columbia who recently finished a two-year hitch with one of the Army intelligence services. He knows whereof he speaks.

"Nearly 1,000 plainclothes investigators," Pyle writes, "working out of some 300 offices from coast to coast, keep track of political protest of all kinds . . ." Their reports are sent to CONUS [Continental United States] Intelligence



Branch, Operation IV, U.S. Army Intelligence Command, at Ft. Holabird, Md. Here, a major, a civilian civil servant, and a dozen or so WAC clerks and teletypists collate, file—and distribute "their" information. "To assure prompt communication of these reports," Pyle writes, "the Army distributes them over a nationwide wire service. Completed in the fall of 1967, this teletype network gives every major troop command in the United States daily and weekly reports on virtually all political protests occurring anywhere in the nation."

"The Army," he continues, "also periodically publishes an eight-by-ten-inch, glossy-cover paperback booklet known within intelligence circles as the 'blacklist.' The 'blacklist' is an encyclopedia of profiles of people and organizations who, in the opinion of the Intelligence Command officials who compile it, might 'cause trouble for the Army.'"

When the Army first began its surveillance of civilian activity back in 1965, it used as justification the purported "need" for early warning of "civil disorders" it might be called on to suppress. But by 1967, Pyle reports, the scope of Army surveillance "had widened to include the political beliefs and actions of individuals and organizations active in the civil rights, white supremacy, black power and antiwar movements."

For the brass snoopers, there is still better to come. Their teletype machines will soon be hooked in to a computerized data bank. "This computer," according to Pyle, "to be installed at the Investigative Records Repository at Fort Holabird in Baltimore, eventually will be

able to produce instant printouts of information in 96 separate categories. The plan is to feed in both 'incident reports' and 'personality reports'. . . The personality reports—to be extracted from the incident reports—will be used to supplement the Army's seven million individual security-clearance dossiers and to generate new files on the political activities of civilians wholly unassociated with the military."

This data bank will be unique among government computerized spy systems in that it will not be limited to people who have been arrested or convicted. "Rather," says Pyle, "it will specialize in files devoted exclusively to descriptions of the *lawful* political activity of civilians."

The Army's guardians of civilian political purity are, however, not stingy. Because their data bank will be part of the Investigative Records Repository, its tidbits will be available by instant retrieval to the FBI, Secret Service, Passport Office, Civil Service Commission and — probably — every other "federal agency that issues security clearances, conducts investigations, or enforces laws." In addition - given the free if "unofficial" flow of information that arises because of interbureaucratic cooperation - every witch-hunting congressman and red-squad boss in the land will no doubt also have virtually complete access to the Holabird brain.

Given the probable level of competence of most of the Army's thousand field investigators, Big Brother's eyesight may not be too good. But His memory is getting better all the time.  $-{\rm ROBERT\ LANGSTON}$ 

### **CALENDAR**

#### MINNEAPOLIS

YSA'S ANSWER TO TERRORISM. Speaker: Laura Miller, national secretary of the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks. Sat., Feb. 7, 8 p.m. Skoglund Hall, 1 University Ave. NE. Ausp: Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

#### NEW YORK

GRAND LAUNCHING OF THE 1970 NEW YORK SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN. Featuring a performance by the New Feminist Theater. Speakers including: Clifton DeBerry, candidate for governor; Randy Furst, staff writer, Guardian; Myrna Lamb, playwright and women's liberation activist; Mike Weisman, high school SMC leader; Fred Halstead, 1968 SWP presidential candidate. Banquet 6:00 p.m. Rally and entertainment 8:30 p.m. Entire evening, \$3.00. Rally and entertainment only, \$1.50; h.s. students 50c. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Tel: 477-8950.

FILM: BLACK GIRL. The story of a poor African woman whose pursuit of a better life traps her into an existence of monotonous drudgery. Sat., Feb. 7, 8:30 p.m. Wash. Sq. Methodist Church, 133 W. 4 St. Donation. Ausp: Redstockings.

WOMEN'S RIGHT TO ABORTION. Speakers: Cindy Cisler, New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal; Nancy Stearns, Law Center for Constitutional Rights; a lawyer for Women's Abortion Suit; Ruthann Miller, candidate for comptroller, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 6, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Contrib: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

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# The family institution:

By EVELYN REED

As women gain greater militancy, solidarity and determination in their ongoing struggle for liberation, they are also looking for answers to fundamental problems. One key question is the part played by marriage and the family in chaining women to their degraded, inferior status. The more they suspect that this sanctified institution is an instrument of their oppression, the more they are inclined toward Marxist positions both for understanding and a guide to action.

If they turn to the Communist Party's explanation of these matters, however, they will be sorely disappointed. Their position is neither communist nor Marxist. It is a liberalistic position that can be held by any reformist critic of American capitalist society. This is made explicit by Clara Colon in an article in the June 1969 Political Affairs, which voices the views of the Communist Party.

"The Family: Obsolete Idea or Revolutionary Force?" is the query posed in her title. Colon's answer is that woman's oppression is not rooted in the marriage and family institution, an assertion that runs directly counter to the views held by Marx and Engels themselves. What they outspokenly condemned as reactionary, she upholds as a "revolutionary force," and she sets about to explain why the CP has so much better an approach to the question than did the founders of Marxism. Let us examine her arguments.

Colon does not deny the Marxist proposition that the family is rooted in property relations, male supremacy and the subjugation of women to domestic servitude. "The family dominated by man's authority was developed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining the man's prior right to the family property and his right to pass it on to his heirs." Thus, she says, "the bourgeois family with its roots in property relations comes in for a sharp tongue-lashing by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto."

Having made these theoretical concessions with regard to the fundamental basis of the family institution, Colon then proceeds to suggest some reforms which will halt its deterioration and prop it up. Male supremacy is its principal flaw and that must go. A good working man must learn how to be "a good father and husband at home." (Colon's emphasis) That means "not only helping with the home chores" but exchanging and sharing his experiences as an equal with the harassed homebound wife. The advocacy of this houshold reformation purportedly shows that Colon shares "wholeheartedly in the revulsion and resistance against male supremacy." (While implicitly accepting that "home chores" are basically women's work, in which men should be "helping.")

Even the flaw of male supremacy, however, does not alter the immense revolutionary virtues of marriage and its home ties in her view. She enthusiastically lauds them. Marriage "still holds rich reserves of revolutionary vigor" and the family is "still in the process of dynamic development."

To prove her point, Colon spells out the ideal "family concept" in more detail. It differs in no wise from the old-fashioned lyrical bourgeois and even clerical preachments on the "holy family." It is "the place where elders and children alike had roots, where the children received their earliest training as social, ethical human beings, where they first

### PROBLEMS OF **WOMEN'S LIBERATION**

by Evelyn Reed

**CONTENTS:** 

Women and the Family, A Historical View

The Myth of Women's Inferiority

Sex Against Sex

— Or Class Against Class?

"The Feminine Mystique"

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PATHFINDER PRESS, INC. 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003 learned the meaning of love and respect for fellowhumans." It is "a haven where the stresses of everyday life would be discussed and resolved, a source of personal warmth, affection, security. In most instances, despite male supremacy, the woman emerged as the soul and organizer of the home.'

This is not exactly the was the family in capitalist society is described in the Communist Manifesto, to which Colon gives lip service. That document declared, "The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation." And again, "The bourgeois claptrap about the family and education, about the hallowed correlation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more by the action of modern industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor."

Colon admits that the essential character of the family has not changed since 1848. It is still founded upon property relations, male supremacy and the subordination of women. "On the face of it, then," she says, "it would seem that the ancient oppressive institution of the family should be tossed onto the rubbish heap of history."

Not at all! According to this CP theoretician, everything changes in the course of history and the formerly oppressive patriarchal family has now been virtually transformed into its opposite. "Has the family by some miracle escaped this dynamic process of change and development? Has it always remained and is it today an instrument to uphold the status quo?" she asks. "Or is it a force for revolutionary progress?"

Some rebellious women would maintain, and Marxists would agree, that the family has indeed changed—it has gone from bad to worse. But Clara Colon thinks otherwise, according to her starry-eyed view, the family has changed from a reactionary institution serving the propertied class into a revolutionary force serving the best interests of the work-

How did this amazing transformation come about? "Let's get below the surface," Colon invites us, "and see what happened to marriage and the family since the early dawn of civilization when it all began." Her great revelation is that love led to the transformation — a factor whose importance the unsentimental Marx and Engels were presumably too shortsighted and fuddy-duddy to detect.

Love conquers all

"Enter love!" is the dramatic exclamation -- and explanation of the CP historian of the family. "Originally the family concept contained not the slightest concern for personal feeling, emotional or sexual, between the two partners to a marriage. Whatever relationship of sex-love may have developed was purely accidental. Marriage was an economic arrangement, pure and simple . . . uniting the wealth of dynasties, strengthening the power of large landowners, without regard for the personal sentiments of the man and woman involved." Sex-love existed. as in the affairs of the aristocratic ladies of the middle ages who were pursued by impassioned knights while their husbands were away from the castles on the crusades. But marriages were made for propertied considerations and not for love.

Then, through some magical wand, love was inserted into the marriage relationship. Although sex-love began as "secret, illicit emotional relationships" between furtive lovers, it "later became the acknowledged essence of the marriage relationship" between the legally wedded pair. "A drastic change began developing with the introduction of individual sex-love into the relationship between man and wife," says Colon. In short, a formerly hard-bitten commercial institution had now become purified and sanctified by love.

This cleaned-up, virtuous institution was then passed on to the common people, including the proletariat of capitalist society. "Just when and how love entered the marriage scene among the common people we may never know," says Colon. "But we do know that love did develop as the chief basis for marriage among the propertyless classes. More than that, the sanctity of marriage became a revolutionary force." Just like the happy ending of an old-fashioned Hollywood movie, it seems that "love conquers all!" And if the downtrodden, oppressed, exploited working masses have no property and no economic security, they at least have a legally sanctified family institution blessed by "love."

What is the motive behind this rehash of 19th century bourgeois morality and sentimentality by the Communist Party? Clara Colon makes the political purpose very clear when she lashes out against certain radicals in the women's liberation movement for their forthright statements about the oppressive and degrading features of the family in our society. Denying, as they rightfully do, the sanctity of this institution, these militant women are the main target of her indignation.

This is made explicit by her condemnation of Beverly Jones and Judith Brown who wrote: "Now, with birth control, higher education for women, and the movement itself, it is becoming clear to some women that the marriage institution, like so many others, is an anachronism." ("Toward a Female Liberation Movement," Southern Student Organizing Committee, 1968.) Colon shudders at this and at the assertion by Martha Weinman Lear that "any real change in the status of women would be a fundamental assault on marriage and the family. People would be tied together by love, not legal contraptions. Children would be raised communally; it's just not honest to talk about freedom for women unless you get the childrearing off their back." ("The



MOSCOW VIEW. Photos such as these, glorifree women ing the marriage institution a la Hollywood, occumunity k a prominent place in the Moscow publication, Sorces ro viet Life. In the early Soviet Republic, under Leny Stalin and Trotsky, the revolution sought to end the oand prog pression of women and the strictures of the bowevolution geois family through a series of social reformivorce v including liberalization of divorce laws, legalizingain bed abortions, and making birth-control facilities avacan CP able on a mass scale. Programs were initiated ionary p



MOSCOW VIEW. Photos such as these, gloriffree women from household drudgery through coming the marriage institution a la Hollywood, occumunity kitchens and nurseries. When conservative a prominent place in the Moscow publication, Sorces rose to power in the USSR, as represented viet Life. In the early Soviet Republic, under Lemy Stalin's bureaucracy, these liberating concepts and Trotsky, the revolution sought to end the oand programs were thrown back, along with other pression of women and the strictures of the bourevolutionary practices. Strictures on abortions and geois family through a series of social reformlivorce were reintroduced and the "sacred" family including liberalization of divorce laws, legalizing ain became the subject of glorification. The Amerabortions, and making birth-control facilities ava can CP hacks then also proclaimed the "revoluable on a mass scale. Programs were initiated ionary potential" of the nuclear family.

MOSCOW VIEW. Photos such as these, glorifying the marriage institution a la Hollywood, occupy a prominent place in the Moscow publication, Soviet Life. In the early Soviet Republic, under Lenin and Trotsky, the revolution sought to end the oppression of women and the strictures of the bourgeois family thru a series of social reforms including liberalization of divorce laws, legalizing abortions, and making birth control facilities available on a mass scale. Programs were initiated to free women from household drudgery through community kitchens and nurseries. When conservative forces rose to power in the USSR as represented by Stalin's bureaucracy, these liberating concepts and programs were thrown back, along with other revolutionary practices. Strictures on abortions and divorce were re-introduced and the "sacred" family again became the subject of glorification. The American CP hacks then also proclaimed the "revolutionary potential" of the nuclear family.

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# a force for progress?

Second Feminist Wave," New York Times Magazine, March 10, 1968.)

Such demands as the collective care of children, the socializing of family functions, and the liberation of love from the decrepit institution of legalized marriage horrify this self-styled Marxist. She regards these as "an ideological attack against the very concept of the family" which she thereupon rushes to defend.

Thus she contends in a highly dubious statement that, under the beneficent influence of love, woman has been elevated from her former status as slave and household drudge to equal partnership with her husband today. "Just as the man-woman relationship in marriage has changed from that of master and slave to one of individual love and mutual respect . . . woman has risen from slave to central figure in the home. . . ."



se, glorifree women from household drudgery through comod, occumunity kitchens and nurseries. When conservative cation, Sorces rose to power in the USSR, as represented nder Leny Stalin's bureaucracy, these liberating concepts end the oand programs were thrown back, along with other f the borevolutionary practices. Strictures on abortions and al reformlivorce were reintroduced and the "sacred" family, legalizingain became the subject of glorification. The Amerlities avacan CP hacks then also proclaimed the "revoluinitiated ionary potential" of the nuclear family. She points out, to be sure, that this domestic elevation of woman has been offset by the downfall of the working-class husband "from master to partner in misery." Under capitalist exploitation, under conditions of unemployment and underemployment, the equal partnership of husband and wife has resulted in little more than "partners in misery." In the end, then, love is completely helpless to change a system that breeds millions of miserable families.

Engels pointed out that, while love-unions are more possible and prevalent among working people where property considerations are absent, the bonds of affection are curtailed and mutilated under exploitative capitalist conditions. Mutual love between married partners can become liberated only with the removal of these conditions. Colon, however, obliterates this all-important point and proceeds as though love defines the character of the marriage and family institution today.

Merely to consider the mounting number of marriages which end in divorce or separation, the tens of thousands of "crimes of passion" committed each year, the "battered child syndrome" by which parents injure unwanted children, the resentment that even overindulged children feel for their parents who "give them everything" except a world fit to live in—these and other frustrations that mark the family unit applauded by Colon hardly reinforce her theory that it is an institution based on "love."

To try to save her case, Colon attempts a cunning trick. She uses the outrageous injuries and indignities heaped upon Black and Third World families, which tear asunder their sexual and family relations, to justify her efforts to patch up and rehabilitate an institution that contributes to these evils. If you do not accept as a solution her reformist plea, "Don't Destroy Our Families," the implication is that you are indifferent to the problems of these poorest of families.

But the family institution did not develop in the first place to foster either economic security or love and affection among the working masses; it was designed to serve the interests of the propertied classes. Under these conditions it became a supplementary instrument for the exploitation of the working people. The wealthy ruling class has dumped insufferable economic and social burdens upon these poor families, all in the name of the "sanctity" of love, marriage and the family.

The economic burdens heaped upon so many Black families are intolerable. A very large number of Black and Third World families are headed by women who have been forced to the very bottom of the economic scale in this country, pushed into the lowest paying, most alienating work. The fact that such families so desperately need another full-time supporter, but are prevented from raising themselves above the level of the most debilitating poverty by all the obvious and subtle means devised by the capitalist system, only highlights the fundamental role of the family as an institution based not on love but the economic requirements of class society.

The reverence of the CP for marriage and the family not only departs from the views of the foremost scientific socialists, from Marx and Engels to Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg; it is less progressive than the positions of such eminent 19th century Utopian Socialists as Fourier and Robert Owen. Here is how Owen indicted the white, middle-class family in pre-Victorian England, which was not essentially different from the white, middle-class family in America today.

In his lectures on marriage (1835) Owen condemned that institution as "the sole cause of all the prostitution and of more than one half of all the vilest and most degrading crimes known to society." And the effect of the family unit upon the children was just as bad. "The children within those dens of selfishness and hypocrisy are taught to consider their own individual family their whole world, and that it is the duty and interest of all within that little orb to do whatever they can to promote the advantages of all the legitimate members of it. With these persons, it is my house, my wife, my estate, my children, or my husband; our estate, and our children; or my brothers, my sisters; and our house and property." (Robert Owen, by Frank Podmore, pp 491-2)

Owen's denunciation of the me-and-mine greed and selfishness of the narrow, exclusivist family and the harm it does to children for the rest of their lives, which influenced the pioneer Marxists, is a far cry from the CP's ecstatic celebration of its virtues.

Exactly how far removed the CP's version of marriage is from the comprehension and insight of the leaders of the Russian Revolution can be judged by comparing Colon's praise to Lenin's

uncompromising condemnation:

"The coercion of bourgeois marriage and bourgeois legislation on the family . . . is the coercion of 'sacrosanct' property. It sanctifies venality, baseness, and dirt. . . People revolt against the prevailing abominations and perversions. . . . Sexual and marriage reforms in the bourgeois sense will not do. In the sphere of sexual relations and marriage, a revolution is approaching." (V. I. Lenin, "On the Emancipation of Woman," excerpt from My Recollections of Lenin, by Clara Zetkin.)

Hitherto it was the capitalists and the church that came forward as the saviors of the family. They are now joined by the U.S. Communist Party leaders, who agree with them that the task of the day is "Keep the Family Together."

What accounts for the surprising *de facto* united front of such forces against the radical wing of the women's liberation movement? The CP is neither a revolutionary nor a Marxist organization. It is a reformist outfit that long ago abandoned revolutionary politics. It limits itself to proposing modifications in the existing system rather than fighting to abolish it.

And so, when the rebellious women of the liberation movement criticize an institution that they see as one of the prime instruments of their oppression, the CP intervenes and attempts to make it more palatable to them. Their leaders take the same reformist approach to this institution of capitalist society as they do to the Democratic Party. This method is part and parcel of their Stalinist training and outlook.

After the process of bureaucratic degeneration began in the USSR under Stalin, the bureaucrats turned against the aims and achievements in emancipating women initiated in the early years of the Bolshevik revolution. The cult of the family was revived, with the wife encouraged to be a breeder for the state. This is one of the underlying reasons why the American CP (ever the apologist for Moscow) today upholds the family institution. If they did not develop the theme that it is a revolutionary force, they would have to explain why it continues to exist and is shored up by reactionary laws in the Soviet Union—which they contend has a revolutionary government.

Here is what a former editor of *British-Soviet Friendship*, Pat Sloan, wrote on the sexual counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in the fourth quarter 1969 issue of the pro-Moscow *New World Review* under the title, "Sex, Morals, Family: A Look at Soviet Experiences."

"From the permissiveness of the first 15 years, marriage and divorce laws were tightened up, so that divorce was made progressively more difficult. Abortion was again made illegal. Homosexuality was again outlawed (a decision apparently never since revoked)." Birth certificates were given only to children bearing the name of a father inscribed

on them, while "The Order of Heroine of Mother-

hood was created for mothers of large families."

What Clara Colon, the American CP theorist, is counseling in the face of the rising and radicalizing women's liberation movement is essentially the same thing—a move "back to the home and family." What a pitiable minor edition in the field of ideology of the reactionary attitudes toward the family enforced by the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Soviet Union!

Two Works on Women's Liberation

## REVOLUTIONARY DYNAMICS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

By George Novack 25¢

PIONEERS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

By Joyce Cowley 25¢

PATHFINDER PRESS, INC. (formerly Merit Publishers) 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

#### Nixon's message to Congress:

### "SOCK IT TO THE POOR"

By DAVID THORSTAD

In his State of the Union message, President Nixon pledged himself to "a new quest for a new quality of life in America." He further elaborated on this pledge on Jan. 26 by stating his desire to "improve the quality of education and health care in America." He stated this while vetoing as "inflationary" a bill providing miserably inadequate funds for education and health.

The \$19.7-billion measure adopted by Congress doesn't begin to provide for the health and educational needs of the American people. Nor would its costs have approached what is spent in one year alone on the Vietnam war. And yet Nixon vetoed it as too costly.

This veto not only deprives millions of Americans of social services they desperately need. It also reveals Nixon's determination to make them pay for the inflationary Vietnam war, as well as to push the economy into a slow-down and bring about a recession, resulting in greater unemployment and hardship for working people.

Under the guise of fighting inflation, Nixon has decided to cut back on federal spending—but only in areas where workers, Black people and poor people can be made to pay for it. If he was really serious about stopping inflation, one sure way to do it would be to slash the gargantuan "defense" budget to zero. Instead, he proposes to cut back on programs affecting the education, health and welfare of the American people. More taxes, higher prices, fewer jobs, less social welfare—this is the "quality of life" he offers the poor and oppressed.

Nixon's veto, coming a merefive days after his State of the Union message, exposes that speech for the cheap demagogy it was.

Replete with generalities, saturated with platitudes, immodest about even imaginary accomplishments, and timid or stingy in all proposals except the one for giving more hardware to the police—this speech attempts to cover over a multitude of sins by repeatedly insisting on Nixon's commitment to a "new quality of life."

# Columbia Senate votes to end war projects

By PAULA REIMERS

NEW YORK—The Columbia University Senate passed a resolution Jan. 16 banning all university participation in classified research projects for the government or private companies. The decision today follows the passage of a resolution Sept. 26, 1969, which formally declared the University's opposition to the war in Vietnam and its support for the demand of immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops.

The new regulations prohibit faculty members from taking on classified research projects in which Columbia would be directly or indirectly involved. All existing contracts must be modified to conform with the new regulations or, should this prove impossible, terminated within one year after the adoption of the regulations. The vote to adopt the new regulations was nearly unanimous.

The University Senate is the highest governing body of Columbia, second only to the board of trustees, and therefore has the authority to make policy decisions, like the one adopted, which are binding on the University as a whole. Composed of 101 members representing the four sectors of the academic community—students, tenured and non-tenured faculty, administration—the Senate's decision represents a broad cross-section of opinion at Columbia.



To promote quality of life

Photo by Sheldon Ramsdell

This speech is a fraud.

Nixon takes as his theme the notion that life should have some "quality" in an attempt to at once exploit and divert the widespread and steadily growing concern over the miniscule role played by "quality" in the lives of most Americans.

On the question of war and peace, the piety was matched only by the fraud. "No goal could be greater," he asserts, "than to make the next generation the first in this century in which America was at peace with every nation in the world."

What this means in everyday language is that Nixon plans to pursue the war in Vietnam. He is determined to commit his administration to a policy of continuing to try and defeat the Vietnamese revolution and of manipulating the mass sentiment in favor of ending the war now. Hardly disguising his warlike intentions, Nixon calls on "our generation" to rise above its warinspired suffering so that it can be remembered for having had "the courage and character to win the kind of a just peace that the next generation was able to keep."

This goal of ending the war with the added toll of only a generation, great though it may seem, takes a back seat in Nixon's outline to the "battle" against rising prices. Nixon blames the racing inflation on the fact that during the (Democratic) sixties, the federal government spent \$57-billion more than it took in in taxes. But the reason for that unbalanced budget was to finance the escalation of the Vietnam war, a policy wholeheartedly and consistently supported by Nixon and the Republican Party.

In one area Nixon felt that an increase in the quality of life required an increase in federal expenditures. That is the area of "law and order," delicately referred to as "the war against the criminal elements which increasingly threaten our cities, our homes and our lives"

By "criminal elements" Nixon does not mean the corporate interests that are destroying the atmosphere and upsetting the ecological balance; he does not mean the government that continues to send our youth to die in Vietnam; nor is he referring to price-gouging merchants and landlords or any one of a hundred other causes of the low quality of life in America.

Any knowledgeable person today knows that whenever a politician starts talking about "law and order" and "crime in the streets" he is merely using polite language for the racist program of "keeping Black people in their place." Nixon proposes to do this by doubling federal spending for "local law enforcement" in the next fiscal year.

The last part of the speech deals with pollution (see article, page 7). For big city dwellers, some of Nixon's admonitions on this subject might be difficult to carry out. Especially: "Each of us must resolve that each day he will leave his home, his property, the public places of the city or town a little cleaner, a little better, a little more pleasant for himself and those around him." Someone might have pointed out that although this thought may still apply to San Clemente or Key Biscayne, in most cities today it is, alas, impossible by anybody's standards to keep anything clean.

Several times the congressmen interrupted Nixon's speech with applause, possibly for its central aim of making the poor, not the rich, pay the cost of a decaying social order and its wars. One suspects that the American people will not be as impressed.

### Pill probers hear from D.C. women

By CAROL SITRIN

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 24 — The Senate hearing on the safety of birth control pills was closed to the public this week after 30 young women, members of Washington Women's Liberation, objected to the way the hearings have been conducted. The interruption occurred when Sen. Gaylord Nelson, chairman of the subcommittee, refused to respond to the women's request from the floor that they and other women be permitted to testify.

Members of Women's Liberation have attended these hearings for the last two weeks, listening with growing concern to the many possible dangerous side effects of the pill reported by researchers. It is significant that no women (neither those who have suffered side effects nor qualified female research scientists) have been given a voice in the hearings. Significant also is the fact that the only researchers reporting the pill as safe were those funded directly or indirectly by the drug companies.

Seated in twos throughout the hearing room, women rose during a pause in the proceedings and addressed numerous questions to the subcommittee such as: "Why are drug companies deliberately withholding available information on side effects?" "Why are no women testifying on an issue of vital concern to their health and safety?"

When Senator Nelson perceived the women were not going to be seated until their questions were answered, and women allowed to testify, a subcommittee member threw a master switch cutting off the microphones and TV cameras and Nelson ordered the room cleared for a "recess." The hearings resumed in closed session with only the press and witnesses permitted to enter.

Much of the press tended to be either cool or hostile to the intervention of women into the hearings. A notable exception was Nicholas Von Hoffman, the widely-read columnist for the *Washington Post*. Writes Von Hoffman in a column titled, "A 'Recklessly' Marketed Drug":

"Another reason that the pill may have been passed out in such casually large numbers is that women were destined to take it. Any fair person who looks over the history of the pill's distribution and who knows the position women occupy in America must wonder. . . . Would we have the problem of the pill or all this fuss and claptrap over abortions if it were men who got pregnant?"

The women, in both their press release and in discussions with the press and others attending the hearing, stressed, "We are not opposed to oral contraceptives for men or for women. We are opposed to unsafe contraceptives foisted on uninformed women for the profit of the drug and medical industries and for the convenience of men."

## Midwest women's rights meeting held in Kentucky

By ED JURENAS

LEXINGTON, Ky.—One of the most militant radical gatherings in Kentucky's history took place here the weekend of Jan. 23-24. The event was a Midwest Women's Liberation Conference sponsored by the University of Kentucky Women's Liberation Group. Over 350 people attended the conference, with individuals and groups coming from throughout the Midwest.

Highlights of the conference included addresses by Marlene Dixon of the Union of Radical Sociologists and by Roxanne Dunbar, formerly of Cell 16 in Boston, now a women's liberation organizer in New Orleans. A mixed-media show presented by Bread and Roses, a Boston liberation group, visually depicted the oppression of women as did an Oberlin women's liberation slide show entitled "Look Out Girlie!"

Women's Liberation's Gonna Get Your Mama." Workshops restricted to women were held all day Saturday while the men who registered for the conference caucused to discuss the role they could play in supporting the women's struggle.

Although the conference as a whole arrived at no mutual agreements or plans of action, its general tone was militant and anticapitalist. The point was repeatedly stressed that women's liberation is very much related to a host of other issues, including the establishment of alternative economic, political and social forms. The contributions made by the Black and Appalachian women in attendance reinforced this idea as well as dramatically illustrating the extent of women's opposition to their enslavement in this society.

#### A MILITANT INTERVIEW

# The attempt to extradite Williams

By JOHN HAWKINS

Q. Of five people charged with the alleged kidnapping of the white couple in Monroe, only you are being singled out for extradition. Could you describe what they are trying to charge you with and why the ruling class fears your presence so much?

A. Five of us were charged with this so-called kidnapping, but the fact that they haven't tried to get the other four means that they are not guilty. You see, the idea is that none of us are guilty of these charges, and the power structure knows that we are not guilty. The fact is that they have to have some-

thing to get me on.

I think that it is important to note that when I was in Africa—the United States has diplomatic relations with Tanzania and other African countries that I traveled in - I went to the U.S. Embassy and got an import license to return my things, Chinese manufactured things, to the states. They knew where I was at all times. In fact, when I applied for a document to return, for my whole family, it was suggested to me that I could stay in Africa on an American document for five years. What they were telling me was that they didn't want me in America and if I stayed out, everything would be all right.

So when I got to England I was arrested and put in jail for a week there. What happened was that the British had built up such criticisms of themselves and they had aroused so much animosity among their own people, with demonstrations starting, that the British relented. So it fell back into the laps of the Americans again.

When I came back into the country, the governor of North Carolina, Bob Scott, had said that he had hoped that the government would charge me with sedition. If so, North Carolina would drop the kidnapping charges. But then Attorney General Mitchell refused to go along with the state of North Carolina and said that they didn't think they had enough evidence to convict me of it. So they issued this extradition warrant. The governor only made his decision on the 11th hour of the 30th day. If he had gone past midnight when he handed down his decision, according to the law I would have been free.

Now some reporters have asked the woman who came here, who was sent up from the attorney general's office in North Carolina, why was it that they were only interested in me, in the extradition proceedings against me. And she said well, we don't know where the



Robert F. Williams

others are. But yet, one of the persons in particular was given a passport last year to visit me in Africa and try to talk me into not coming back to the states. Now what kind of business is this, that they "don't know." In fact, people have not hidden where they are, that they live in different states.

The fact is that North Carolina also lifted the bond, \$37,000 worth of bond. They only wanted the bond money from those people, it was a frame-up. So they got the bond money and don't want to have to give it up. They are only interested in me because it's a political thing. I've been in exile, I've been abroad, and I haven't tried to endear foreigners to the American Way of Life, I told it like it was, I told what they have done, I've cited their history abroad and their racism. So they would like to get rid of me in the same manner as they got rid of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Medgar Evers, and others.

Q. Right now, you are remaining in Michigan on a temporary injunction in light of the extradition that Governor Milliken issued a few weeks ago. What is the state now of the proceedings to make this temporary injunction permanent?

A. This is some technical matter now that the lawyers are moving on. In fact, the states of Michigan and North Carolina, instead of my trying to prove that I shouldn't be sent back, the lawyers have put the burden on the states to come into court and show cause why

### Note about this interview

By DERRICK MORRISON

On this page is an interview John Hawkins, a Detroit Young Socialist active in the Black liberation struggle, obtained with Robert F. Williams. Given on Dec. 6, 1969, it deals with the defense campaign now being waged to prevent Brother Williams' extradition from Michigan to North Carolina.

This defense campaign is intimately connected with events that went down in Monroe, North Carolina, over a decade ago. In 1957, Robert F. Williams and others who headed the local chapter of the NAACP initiated organized, armed self-defense of the Black community.

Although Black self-defense is not as hotly contested today, at that time the civil-rights leadership, as well, naturally, as the power structure, was violently opposed to it. The idea of Black defense against white racist attacks was construed to be sheer lunacy, extremism, suicidal and un-American. Nonviolence, it was held, was the only way to proceed. This meant that the full weight of the power structure and most public opinion was against the advocates of selfdefense.

But the movement Williams built based itself on reclaiming the civil rights of Black people, utilizing either nonviolence or armed self-defense in accord with the circumstances.

In the course of the struggle, the government and national

leaders of the NAACP sought to isolate and crush the Monroe movement.

One day in the summer of 1961, the armed self-defense unit rescued a group of freedom riders in the center of town from a white mob. Right after the rescue, the mob began to indiscriminately attack Blacks on the streets.

A white couple, who Williams and others say were members of the Klan, drove into the Black community. They were caught by over a hundred enraged Blacks and turned over to Williams. A few hours later, the couple left the community unharmed.

Because state troopers were being massed for an invasion of the Black community, Williams and his family left that night for New York City, where he hoped to rally national and international support for the struggle in Monroe. The invasion didn't materialize, but Williams found out over the radio, after he had arrived in New York, that, along with four others, he had been indicted for kidnapping the white couple. The FBI entered the case to launch a nationwide search, even though Williams did not leave North Carolina as a fugitive, but as a free man.

Williams and his family escaped to Cuba in the fall of 1961. In September 1969, after living in Cuba, China and Africa, he and his family returned to the U.S.

For more information on the defense, our readers can write to: Committee to Aid the Defense of Robert F. Williams, Box 666, Detroit, Michigan 48206.

I should be sent back, which means that this will bring about an open hearing in Michigan, where the facts of the case will be brought out in court, which would be unprecedented.

You see, under Michigan law, there are two points under which an extradition should not be honored. One is if it is a political case, if the state is seeking a man because of his political activities. The other is if it is a mali-

cious case, where it's not based on crime but on malice.

Q. A defense committee has been formed here in Detroit, the Committee to Aid the Defense of Robert Williams. How is this being organized at present, and what plans are being made to gain mass support?

A. This is actually a petition campaign to get people to write letters and to send petitions to the governor of Michigan to ask him not to extradite me, to reverse his decision. Also people are raising money to help in the legal fight. Groups are showing up at the court to give moral support. To give moral support is very important because this is part of the legal aspect.

All of this is being done in support of the legal aspect to prove that not only has the governor violated the laws of Michigan, and not only would he have the strength of the law behind him in not sending me back, but that he is going against the moral attitude of the people, that great masses of the people are in support of a different decision than he has rendered, that the people themselves don't believe that I should be sent back.

Q. How can non-all-Black groups participate in your defense?

A. One of the first groups to get started in my defense was a Unitarian group, the First Unitarian Universalist Church here in Detroit. And it's not a matter of a group being Black. The fact is that whites are working among whites in their communities, working among the church people and other groups. White lawyers are helping me and supporting me in this case. We need whites to help publicize the case through the mass media and draw attention to it.



Photo by Michael Hardy

fund cut-off. Center has operated under control of community for four years; now city is attempting to usurp community's authority.

BE-IN. Nursery school students, accompanied by parents and teachers, occupied New York Day Care Center on W. 80th St. Jan. 26 to protest a slated

# Discussion is opened in Student Mobilizer

By DAVID THORSTAD

The latest issue of the Student Mobilizer, published by the Student Mobilization Committee, effectively provides the basis for a thorough discussion of the perspectives for the antiwar movement at the SMC's national conference in Cleveland Feb. 14-15.

Its attractive 24 pages will be educational and informative for both long-time activists and newcomers to the movement. They contain a history of the student and GI antiwar movements, an assessment of the strategy of mass demonstrations as a means of ending the war, a review of current SMC projects, and major proposals for future antiwar actions.

The SMC proposals for on-going campus antiwar activity include three major campaigns; 1) for a High School Bill of Rights: 2) to kick the war machine off campus; 3) in support of the striking unionists against the war-profiteering General Electric Corp. Each of these proposals is extensively motivated. They are all tailored for militant, mass struggle.

Typical is the draft of the High School Bill of Rights. Accompanying the document itself is a memorandum prepared by attorney Jerry Gordon of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council enumerating legal precedents which establish the right of political activity in the high schools. Proposing that SMC initiate a nationwide campaign to implement it, the *Student Mobilizer* states: "This is a document of struggle; it is not a formal legal document. It is a statement of basic rights that high school students should have and can win by united action."

In an article entitled, "War profits are their most important product," Carol Lipman, National SMC Executive Secretary, outlines a spring offensive against GE. Besides detailing GE's interests in the Vietnam war and sketching the interlocking relationship between its directors and a dozen universities, she proposes a campus campaign to drive GE off campus by demanding university boycotts of GE products, an end to university recruiting by GE, and an end to all university ties to GE.

The SMC wants these and other proposals for the antiwar movement to be discussed by the entire movement between now and the conference. To in-

### Pre-conference meeting held by Chicago SMC

By RICK FEINBERG

CHICAGO, Jan. 24—The Chicago Student Mobilization Committee held its first citywide meeting of the new year today with over a hundred participants voting unanimously for a perspective of mass action and building the national Student Mobilization Committee Conference to be held in Cleveland on the 14th and 15th of next month. The decision came after extensive discussion and debate on perspectives for the SMC.

An overall perspective for the coming period was projected in an office report by John Studer of the SMC staff. He emphasized the need to keep up the mass demonstrations and to continue broadening the base of the antiwar movement to include increasing numbers of Third World people, GIs, high school students and workers. For the immediate future, Studer urged a major effort to build the SMC's national conference as well as building a mass demonstration to greet Agnew when he comes here Feb. 2.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the meeting was the large number of representatives from high schools and colleges where there had never before been an SMC.



Carol Lipman

sure the most fruitful exchange of views, it is encouraging all local SMCs, antiwar organizations and individuals to submit position papers for publication in the *Student Mobilizer*.

This issue contains the first of such discussion pieces. One is a proposal by Staughton Lynd that demonstrations be held at stockholders' meetings of corporations with major defense contracts.

Another is a position paper by two members of the International Socialists entitled, "Toward the Working Class." This article proposes an escalation of the demands of the antiwar movement to include such slogans as "Immediate Withdrawal from All Foreign Bases and Military Alliances" and for an "Anti-Imperialist Foreign Policy." It also calls on the movement to engage in electoral actions "that are genuinely oriented toward working people" as a "step toward the formation of an independent political party. . . ."

The issue also includes a reprint of Prof. Noam Chomsky's penetrating Vietnam analysis, "After Pinkville," which appeared in the Jan. 1 New York Review of Books. In it Chomsky masses the evidence to demonstrate the fact of U. S. plans for continuing aggression in Vietnam and develops his thesis that mass actions are necessary to prevent the total destruction of the Vietnamese

Anyone concerned about the future of the antiwar movement should be sure to read this pre-convention issue. It is a useful contribution to the important discussions that will be taking place in Cleveland. Copies may be obtained at 15c each or \$7 per 100 from SMC, 1029 Vermont Ave. N. W., Washington, D. C. 20005.

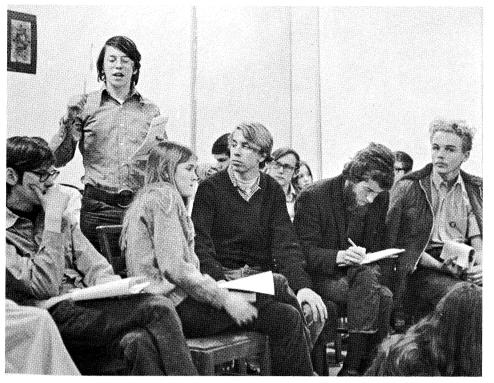
## Nixon picketed in Philadelphia

By RICK FEIGENBERG

PHILADELPHIA — President Nixon was here Jan. 24 for the 113th anniversary of the Academy of Music and Eugene Ormandy's 70th birthday. The president kept it quiet that he was coming until but two days in advance, "to surprise Eugene Ormandy." (And the antiwar movement?)

Nevertheless the SMC went to work on the basis of its national perspective of no-peace-for-Nixon-until-the-troops are-home. A demonstration was hastily organized with the co-sponsorship of the New Mobe, Women Strike for Peace, Vets for Peace, Black Panthers, and the Tri-State NAACP.

With more than 300 demonstrators on the street Nixon chose to motor-cade the half block from his hotel to the hall.



Atlanta High School Mobe meeting

## Highschoolers in Atlanta hold antiwar conference

By MEG ROSE

ATLANTA — Seventy-five spirited high school students attended Atlanta's first high school antiwar conference here Jan. 24. The conference was called by High School MOBE, which had been closely associated with the Atlanta Mobilization Committee, a broad adult antiwar coalition.

The students in attendance, however, unanimously passed a proposal to form a citywide independent organization which will fight for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam. They also voted to put out their own bi-weekly newsletter and to design and put out a button.

Discussion at the conference centered around four major topics: the war in Vietnam; high school organizing; women's liberation; and racism. A student from each of the 17 high schools represented reported on what kinds of activities had been taking place and the opposition those activities were met with.

Speakers were emphatic in stressing the political oppression of high school students. The conference voted to send as many high school students as would go, with eight spokesmen who were selected, to a meeting of the Atlanta City School Board. They will present a petition to the Board with four major demands: 1) the right to leaflet; 2) the right for all political organizations to use school facilities; 3) the right for students to invite speakers of their choice into the classroom; and 4) the right of women to wear whatever they please to school. The petition passed by students will have the Bill of Rights printed on the back so that signers can refer to it.

The fourth demand in the petition was raised by a women's caucus which met to discuss the nature of the oppression of women by high school administrators. The women's caucus of the conference made four proposals:

1) that one-half of the spokesmen to the school board be women;

2) that the dress code demand mentioned above be added to the list of demands in the petition;

3) that a high school women's contingent at an upcoming demonstration against Agnew by organized; and

4) that a high school women's conference be tentatively scheduled for Feb.

Support was voted for the National Student Antiwar Conference to be held in Cleveland Feb. 14-15. The students agreed that they would send as many representatives from High School MOBE as possible.

A demonstration has been planned by Atlanta MOBE for Feb. 21, when Agnew comes to Atlanta. The conference voted to organize a high school contingent for this demonstration and for future actions. In Atlanta, where many public schools are now being integrated for the first time, many high school students have reacted strongly to the racist sentiment prevalent among parents, students and teachers. High School MOBE passed a resolution to: 1) support the right of Black people to choose any schooling they desire; 2) support of Black control of Black schools; and 3) attack any demand for white control as being a racist demand.

Drawing comparisons between the GI movement and the high school movement, ex-GI Ed Glover asked the conference to aid Fort Benning GIs in the distribution of RAP!, an antiwar GI newspaper. The conference agreed and pledged its support to the GI movement.

For the first time, high school students in Atlanta and surrounding areas are operating as a cohesive, well-organized group with open communications. The excitement of the students who attended is an indication of the growth of the antiwar movement and its tremendous potential for reaching new layers of the American population.

# Antioch students support moves against GE

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio — The Student Mobilization Committee at Antioch College has launched a petition campaign to force the college to boycott GE products in conjunction with the GE strike. More than 300 out of some 1,100 students have already signed.

Support for the strike became an important issue on campus this month after workers at GE's Evandale plant (near Cincinnati) asked for student help in maintaining picket lines. The request came as a result of an injunction restraining striking GE workers from picketing directly in front of plant gates in the morning hours when most of the non-union, white-collar employees come to work.

At a mass meeting on the Antioch campus Jan. 18, more than 100 students expressed a willingness to picket. However, picketing was called off at the request of union officials pending decision on the constitutionality of the injunction.

Meanwhile, support is building for the Student Mobilization Committee national conference in Cleveland Feb. 14-15. More than 70 activists are expected to attend from the Southwestern Ohio region.



Japanese American protest war

## L.A. Japanese community stages Viet war protest

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES— The silence of the "quiet Americans" was broken in this city's Little Tokyo Jan. 17 when 400 militant young Asian-Americans heard speakers at an Asian-Americans for Peace rally call for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. The quick response from the crowd was "Right on!" and repeated shouts of "Power to the people!" with fist upraised.

The demonstrators marched through Little Tokyo, business center for the approximately 100,000 Japanese-Americans in Los Angeles County, with signs reading "No Vietnamese Ever Called Me a Fat Jap," "We Are All Brothers Under the Sun—The Sun is Yellow," "Not One Death More For the Power Elite."

There were also "peace now!" chants and many "peace now" posters.

Most of the demonstrators were Sansei (third generation Japanese) but included the previous Nisei generation which remembered the Manzanar California concentration camp during the Second World War through personal experience.

Two strong supporters of Asian-Americans for Peace in evidence at the rally were the Asian Radical Movement (ARM) and the newspaper *Gidra*.

An ARM leaflet widely distributed at the rally said, "Asian Americans should oppose the war because it constitutes a

racist attack on all third world people. The prevailing attitude of American and foreign policy disregard the Vietnamese as human beings. The very Moratorium, which many Americans are involved in, calls for immediate troops withdrawal, yet it makes no statement on the fact that if U.S. troops are withdrawn the killing will continue; perpetuated by U.S. brainwashed South Vietnamese troops. This is done for one reason: to protect U.S. interests—business interests-in Asia. U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia is not a mistake but a calculated attempt to protect those interests."

Gidra is the voice of militant Asian-American youth with a staff of 63 including a sprinkling of Chinese names among the Japanese.

A Gidra book review of Nisei: the Quiet Americans concludes with, "In this time of political, social and moral crisis in America, old and new problems demand radical approaches, not tired orations. And so having had their testament for posterity written, we bid the old guard to retire as 'quiet Americans."

A tiny old Nisei man in a black suit and black hat and a middle-aged Nisei woman in a kimona watched from the edge of the crowd as the Sansei generation, their monitors wearing yellow armbands with Japanese characters, shouted "Power to the people!"

# Panther coroner's jury --a mass of police lies

By DERRICK MORRISON

It is a scathing indictment of justice in America when a Chicago special coroner's jury can deliver a verdict of "justifiable homicide" in the police murders of Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Virtually a search and destroy mission, the whole operation was whitewashed by the jury. The excuses and explanations offered by the police for the raid have been exposed in the press for what they areout and out lies. Even racist newspapers found it difficult to accept police photos indentifying nail marks as bullet holes and the outsides of bulletriddled doors as the insides, especially when they had a chance to examine the apartment for themselves.

The mass of flat contradictions and conflicting "facts" palmed off as a verdict were taken apart recently by John Kifner in the Jan. 24 New York Times. He includes a diagram of the apartment in the article and demonstrates that it was physically impossible for the events to have occurred the way the cops swore under oath that they did.

The police testified they were met by a heavy volume of fire from the apartment in their predawn raid on December 4. Yet, the testimony of John M. Sadunas, a police firearms expert, reveals that of the five shell casings of .32-caliber bullets fired during the raid, no .32-caliber weapons were found in the apartment. And the police claim they had no such weapons either.

Sadunas also testified that of the over 130 shell casings and slugs recovered in the apartment, none of them matched 17 of the 19 Panther weapons seized by police. The three shot gun casings matching the two Panther shotguns produced no pellets in the areas where police say they were fired on.

Concerning Fred Hampton, the jury "determined that the shots that killed Hampton went through the wall, but we couldn't determine who fired them." Hampton was shot twice in the head, both wounds made by bullets entering in front of the ears and leaving through the lower face and neck, and once in the left shoulder by a bullet found in the left chest cavity. However, the autopsy revealed no plaster on this latter bullet or in the wound resulting from it.

The police testified that they found Hampton's body face down with his head toward the doorway. And from the diagram of the room, the only wall from which the bullets could have entered is on his right side, which makes it highly improbable for the bullet in



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Fred Hampton

the left shoulder lodged in the chest cavity to have entered from this wall. Only if he were lying on his back, with his left shoulder toward the wall could the wound have been made. Regardless, all three wounds could not have been made through the wall. The evidence makes clear the cops went to Hampton's room and killed him in his bed as he slept.

This was reinforced by the findings of Dr. Victor Levine, a pathologist who examined Hampton's body with two family doctors. He said that he found an unusually heavy dose of seconal, a sleeping drug, in Hampton's blood.

The proof that the cops are lying came directly from their own contradictory testimony. The Panthers didn't even submit the evidence they have. They're saving it for the "attempted murder" trial they expect will be coming down on the surviving victims of the police attack.

The cynical whitewash by the coroner's jury makes it all the more imperative for a tribunal to be assembled by the Chicago Black community, a tribunal that will make known to the world the war crimes of the Chicago police.

# Latin students slate teach-in at N.Y. college

NEW YORK, Jan 30—LUCHA, a Puerto Rican student organization based at Manhattan College, will be sponsoring a Latin America week program entitled, "The Unknown America." Programs for the week of Feb. 2-6 will include guest speakers, films, seminars and literature dealing with the economic, social, and political realities of Latin America.

Highlights will include a debate between Edward Boorstein, author of *Economic Transformation of Cuba* who spent two years in Cuba acting as an economic adviser to the Cuban government, and Abenole Franco, a Cuban refugee who was active in the student movement in Havana and who now opposes the revolution. The debate will be on Feb. 3 at 7:00 p.m.

On Feb. 4 at 12:15 p.m., a speaker from the Young Lords Organization will be discussing the problems of Puerto Ricans in New York city, and on Feb. 6 at 12:15 p.m., a speaker from MPI along with Miguel Padilla, Socialist Workers candidate for attorney general, will be discussing the revolutionary dynamics of the struggles for Puerto Rican liberation on the island and within the borders of the U.S. For further information contact LUCHA, c/o Alfredo Lopez, TR 8-1794.

#### MEXICAN PUBLIC REACHED

## Prisoners end hunger strike

By Gerry Foley

The political prisoners in Mexico City's Lecumberri jail ended their hunger strike January 20, after forty days. Even the assault which the penal authorities organized January 1, inciting and leading the common convicts in a brutal attack on the political prisoners, could not break the strike.

The majority of the hunger strikers continued their action unfalteringly for nearly three weeks after the prison administration had resorted to the use of physical and psychological terror against them. The political prisoners ended their hunger strike only when they had reached the limit of their endurance and were assured that their principal political objectives had been achieved.

On January 18, the representatives of the political prisoners held a press conference in Lecumberri, announcing that they would end their strike at

noon on January 20, exactly 1,000 hours after it began.

As reported by the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* (January 19), Federico Emery, one of the prisoners, summed up what had been achieved: "We did not win our release but we raised the consciousness of the people."

The spokemen for the political prisoners listed a number of specific gains, according to the January 19 El Día. The main objective of the strike was won, these spokesmen said, when it succeeded in mobilizing the students and the people in general in support of the prisoners' release. The action publicized the irregularity of the political trials that have been pending since July 1968.

The strike brought pressure on the government to end its unconstitutional procedures. It won wide support for the campaign to release the political prisoners, including statements from General Zuno, General Lázaro Cárdenas, and Bishop Sergio Méndez

Arceo, as well as from several committees in other countries.

Two days before the hunger strikers announced their decision to end their protest, tens of thousands of Mexican students went on strike demanding the immediate and unconditional release of the political prisoners.

The January 1 attack on the political prisoners galvanized broad support behind their demands. On January 5, 300 prominent figures, representing a considerable part of the Mexican intellectual community, placed an advertisement in *El Día* calling on the public to express solidarity with the prisoners and to demand their release.

In a dispatch published January 17, the special correspondent of the Paris daily *Le Monde* described growing support for the political prisoners: "Alerted by the positions taken by leading personalities, public opinion has begun to be aroused by the dramatic plight of the political prisoners."

Intercontinental Press

#### REPORT FROM FRANCE

# Movement developing behind soldier's rights

By DANEIL ELKAN

PARIS, Jan. 21—A broad campaign has begun in France to defend four soldiers charged with carrying on political activities in the French army. In the first week, over a hundred individuals, most of them prominent, have signed an appeal on the soldiers' behalf. These include Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir as well as numerous other writers, trade union leaders, educators, artists and stage performers.

The signers of the statement have agreed to be present at the trial, which will probably take place in February. In addition to individuals, so far three political groups will press this effort: the Ligue Communiste (French section of the Fourth International), the Unified Socialist Party (PSU), and the Lutte Ouvriere (Workers Struggle) tendency.

The four soldiers are Serge Devaux, a technical school instructor, Michel Trouilleux, an electrician, Alain Herve, a technician, and the soldier Divet. The first three have been held in Rennes departmental prison since Oct. 20, accused of "incitation of military personnel to disobedience and acts prejudicial to the morale of the troops." Their only crime, however, was to possess a mimeographed newspaper which explained the repressive role the army plays in capitalist society, and a petition denouncing the recent brutalizing of a soldier by an officer of the tank regiment at Vannes.

In addition, Divet has been imprisoned incommunicado in Germany with a number of his comrades. Devaux faces a year in prison; the others four to six months.

The Committee for the Liberation of

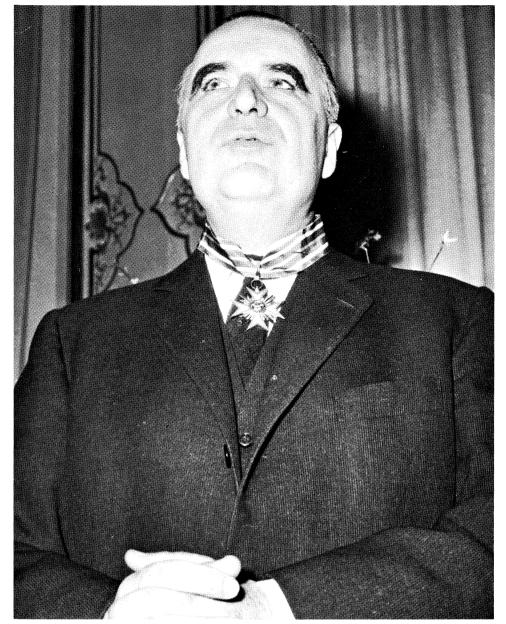
the Imprisoned Soldiers, which is organizing the campaign, has called for the establishment of chapters of the committee in schools, factories, places of work and in the communities.

The committee has called for the immediate release of the four, full exposure of barracks conditions, and political rights for all soldiers. In addition, since the three soldiers have been imprisoned on political charges, the committee is asking for a trial on the basis of the political rather than civil statute. Telegrams and letters to this effect should be sent to Juge d'Instruction au T.P.F.A. de Rennes, M. Becquet, Quartier Foch, Bd de la Tourd'Auvergne, 35-Rennes, France.

The committee has issued 50,000 posters and hundreds of thousands of leaflets. Material aid and statements of support should be sent to Dr. Marcel-Francis Kahn, 15 rue Cler, Paris 7eme, Paris, France.

Soldiers' rights as citizens are recognized by law and practice in France even less than in the U.S. For example, when a French citizen becomes a soldier he must give up all political and trade-union associations. What he can read is strictly limited. The left press is forbidden, though fascist literature flows freely.

The French military is one of the most hierarchical, archaic, and regimented in the world. It has played the role of a colonial army in Algeria, and the soldiers are oriented to hate the workers and students in preparation for their role as strikebreakers and tools for repression as in May-June 1968. Nevertheless, there is interest in left politics among the rank-and-file sol-



HEAD MAN. French President Georges Pompidou. His regime now faces developing opposition to denial of even minimal liberties to French soldiers.

diers and hatred for barracks conditions and day-to-day repression. Consequently the current campaign is important both for the soldiers and for politics in France generally.

The soldiers initially appealed to the Ligue Communiste for aid. Because of the importance of the case, the Ligue initiated a major campaign around the

question of the army. It has run regular articles in the newspaper Rouge, and has called on all left groups to defend the soldiers. In the next weeks or months, the Ligue will develop a generalized campaign of education and action against the bourgeois army's repressive character and for full democratic rights for soldiers.

## Ammon Hennacy, lifelong liberation fighter, dies

By GEORGE LAVAN

Ammon Hennacy, a veteran of 60 years of radical activity and one of the left's most picturesque figures, died at the age of 77 in Salt Lake City, Utah, on Jan. 14.

Hennacy joined the Socialist Party in Lisbon, Ohio, in 1910 while he was still a teenager. When he went to work in the nearby pottery plants he also joined the Industrial Workers of the World. He became a strong supporter of the Socialist Party left wing and the antiwar program adopted at its St. Louis convention. When the U.S. entered World War I, and opportunism and backsliding to a pro-war position became rampant in the party, Hennacy was among those who stood firm with Eugene V. Debs in adhering to the antiwar position. Caught distributing antiwar literature, he was sentenced to a term in the federal penitentiary in At-

Though it has been obliterated in school-book histories and largely forgotten even by the left, the assorted socialists, anarchists, IWWs, pacifists and unaffiliated radicals who were sent to jail in this country during World War I underwent physical and psychological tortures which demonstrated that the authorities in the self-styled land of the free had little to learn in brutality or sadism from the prison-keepers of the Czar or Kaiser.

Hennacy's great ordeal came when he was put in solitary in Atlanta for eight and a half months and subjected to psychological torture to turn stool pigeon. He was denied all mail and reading matter except a Bible. To the intensive study of the latter he attributed the retention of his sanity and his evolvement of a radical Christian creed similar to the passive resistance, nonviolence of Leo Tolstoy, the great Russian writer.

Despite these views, when he emerged from prison he joined the young Communist Party, principally out of loyalty to the old Socialist Party left wing which constituted the basic cadre of the new party. But as his own views became more pronouncedly anarchist and the CP became more and more bureaucratized, he dropped out.

During the 1930s he became identified with the Catholic Worker movement



which had been started in 1933 by Dorothy Day, a former prominent member of the CP, and Peter Maurin, an anarchist. This movement tried to reconcile socialism and Roman Catholicism. It maintained soup kitchens and shelters in the skid row sections of several cities, ran a cooperative farm, and published its newspaper, the Catholic Worker, which supported trade unionism, civil liberties, and pacifism. Hennacy and other devoted supporters of the movement faithfully hawked the Catholic Worker in front of churches at considerable risk of life and limb since the American Catholic hierarchy was rabid in its support of Franco's fascist movement in Spain and the anticommunist crusade on the home front.

The quiescence of the labor movement and the repression during the 1950s made the personal acts of protest of courageous individuals like Hennacy all the more conspicuous. He became well known nationally for his peace vigils, public hunger strikes, and one-man picketing operations. In 1954 he wrote The Autobiography of a Catholic Anarchist, an immensely readable book which, in addition to interesting reminiscences about the radical movement and the men and women who constituted it, gives an excellent picture of the author's purity and strength of character and eccentricities. The section about his term in Atlanta is a classic of prison literature.

In 1961 Hennacy resigned as associate editor of the *Catholic Worker* in New York and moved to Salt Lake City. There he set up the Joe Hill House, named in memory of the IWW poet framed-up and executed by firing squad in Utah in 1915. It was a combination shelter, radical reading room, and base

for Hennacy's antiwar and anti-capitalpunishment activities. He served as a gadfly to the conservative, Mormondominated city and soon came into conflict with the Catholic bishop who, he eventually concluded, was even more reactionary and intolerant than the Mormon leaders.

In a 1968 edition of his *Autobiography*, Hennacy announced his break with the Catholic Church. "Whether I left the Church or the Church left me depends upon how you look at the question," was the way he put it.

In a personal letter to a former editor of *The Militant*, written a few months before his death, Hennacy described his activities as follows:

"I go out each Saturday 85 miles in the desert to Dugway, where they killed the sheep, to picket. . . . This Saturday a group of students at the U will form a caravan and go with me out there to picket. Then on Wednesday they will take a day off and march and picket at the U and downtown against the

"This state has hanging or shooting as forms of execution. I fasted for 45 days and picketed the governor and finally one kid got life (he had been up seven times to be shot), and the other one took poison. Then I have been picketing for the past five years for a feeble-minded kid by the name of Poulsen. He has been up seven times also. . . . There are four in the death house now, so after the coming Supreme Court decision I may have to picket some more. . . . This is a town where they need an anarchist. . . .

"Beautiful snowy mountains here, and it will never get big and noisy like Phoenix. I plan to stay here the rest of my life."

## The Great Society

Dep't of changing proverbial sayings-Assailing Nixon for allegedly "appeasing" the Arab states, Rep. Jonathon Bingham (D-N.Y.) said that while he is pro-Israel he is not anti-Arab. In fact, he said, "Some of my best friends are Arabs."

They just pack it in — The Agriculture Dept. explained it is not yet enforcing its ruling limiting the fat content of hot dogs to a mere 30 percent out of concern for the little man. Some of the smaller packers, it said, simply lack the facilities or knowledge to measure

Packer's formula — Maybe there's enough young people around so that we can get away with recalling the oldie about the packer charged with putting horsemeat in his frozen rabbit stew. Admitting guilt, he insisted he had done it fairly-half a horse and half a rabbit.

Sum and substance — Those packers who can't figure out how much 30 percent is reminded us of another oldie: The rags-to-riches slum area merchant who bought a large but failing business and put it on its feet. "I don't know modern business procedures," he explained. "All I know is I buy something for a dollar, I sell it for two. I'm satisfied with my one percent prof-

Sporting note—We were pondering a Sportseye headline, "Trots Return to New York," when we received a Cleveland Plain Dealer item headed, "Invaders Vie for Trot Gold.'

Tougher than dirt, and people-We

don't want to add to your list of concerns, but those enzyme presoaks which eat away the substances that hold dirt and grease to your clothes may also eat away at your skin and lungs. The FDA says it's looking into the matter but, an official explains, "We really have no power here until something disastrous occurs." Meanwhile, avert your face while pouring the stuff and rinse

Dark days dep't-Businessmen are depressed by the growing youth radicalization, according to William Jones of the Washington Post. The really able and ambitious youth are shying away from business careers and "some of the most articulate young people, although definitely a minority, actively search for alternatives to the capitalist

How cussed can these kids get? - A gloomy prediction was offered by Columbia University business professor William Newman who says young people are going to be "less willing to settle for jobs whose only aim is to increase their company's share of the market."

Knotty problem — Meanwhile Dr. Norman Ferin, chief psychologist at the Cleveland Guidance Center, points to a new problem, the "political delinquent" and the difficulty of treatment. "We can't say to him to conform to society, as we do with other types of delinquents, because he says that it's society that needs to change, not himself. We have no real treatment for him. If we punish him, we simply confirm for him that society does need to be changed."

- HARRY RING

### Speech Nixon banned

REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY IN THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES. By Ernest Mandel. Pathfinder Press. New York. 15 pages. 35 cents.

This is the speech Ernest Mandel was to give at a New York conference last November which met to discuss revolutionary strategy for advanced industrial countries. He was prevented from appearing by decision of Attorney General Mitchell who refused to issue a waiver under the McCarran-Walter Act. The conference did, however, hear a tape recording of Mandel's speech.

The subject matter of this talk is a basic one facing revolutionaries in the advanced capitalist countries at the present time. Some people who regard themselves as revolutionaries have come to the conclusion that the workers of the capitalist nations have been "bought off" by steady work and relatively good wages and are now part of the estab-

Professor Herbert Marcuse is probably the best known spokesman for this point of view. On the opposite side, Mandel, who is emerging as one of the most internationally prominent spokesmen for Marxist ideas, holds that the material conditions themselves will ultimately propel the industrial workers onto the path of revolution.

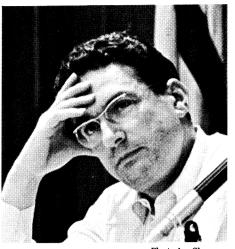
Mandel begins with an analysis of the historical period through which we are now passing. He shows that objective conditions are favorable for the revolution, despite what any particular class or part of a class may think at any particular moment.

He takes up the actions of the workers, citing examples from the general strike in France in the spring of 1968, the current wave of strikes in Italy and Britain and the beginnings of strike struggles in West Germany. He shows how many of the demands actually raised by the workers in some instances and the implications of some of the struggles lead in the direction of the socialist revolution.

The author examines the question of consciousness among the workers and shows how the relationship between the actual struggles and the understanding of them are developed. Some of the transitional demands already raised in certain strikes plus the more generalized kind of demand, for workers' control, for example, are discussed and put into the context of the living struggle.

Mandel's conclusion is that a revolutionary socialist party must be organized and that it must become the conscious expression of the many-sided struggles of the workers. He calls for "The unique unity of spontaneous mass revolt and mass organization in the

The works reviewed in this column are generally available from Pathfinder Press (formerly Merit Publishers). For a free catalog write to Pathfinder Press, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.



**Ernest Mandel** 

full flowering of workers' democracy, on the one hand; and the concentrated consciousness, the distilled lessons of four centuries of modern revolutions and a hundred and fifty years of working-class struggles which is represented by a revolutionary party, on the other hand. . . ."

Those who have prematurely written off the industrial workers of the advanced capitalist countries can benefit from a study of the excellent argument set forth by Ernest Mandel which undertakes to show that this class will be the principal agency of social change in our times.

-MILTON ALVIN

#### Phila. coalition to support Arab revolution

PHILADELPHIA — The Palestine Week Committee, a new coalition of organizations and individuals, has been formed at the University of Pennsylvania to support the Palestine liberation struggle. The coalition now includes the Arab Students Organization, Ethiopian Students Union, Middle East Coordinating Committee, Palestine National Liberation Movement, and the Young Socialist Alliance. An open invitation to participate has been issued to all sympathetic forces.

The focus of the committee's activity is Palestine Week, Feb. 2-6, which will be devoted to a presentation of the history, culture, present condition and politics of the Palestinian people. Activities will include a display and lecture on contemporary Palestinian art and poetry; traditional food, folk songs and dances of the Palestinians; and a day of workshops and speeches on the politics of the Middle Eastern crisis.

Those interested in participating in the week's activities, or who would like to contribute (financial assistance is especially needed) should contact Natalie Bombaro, Department of Psychology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104.

## **Meet Socialists in Your Area**

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Strnad, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-

Hayward: YSA, Gerald Clark, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hillary St., Hayward, Calif. 94544. Tel. (415) 537-3656 or (415) 537-3657.

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

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

San Diego: Alan Stancliff, 4143 Georgia, San Diego, Calif. 92103.

Turlock: Valley YSA, Michael Klein, c/o Associated Students, Stanislaus State College, 800 Monte Vista Ave. Turlock Calif. 95380.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Lyle Fulks, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Col. 80302.

FLORDIA: Gainesville: YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

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

ILUNOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Bill Moffett, P.O. Box 166, Carbondale, III. 62901. Tel: (618) 549-6214.

Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Sta. A, Champaign, III. 61820. Tel: (217) 359 -1333.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago, III. 60606. Tel: (312) 939-2667. DeKalb: YSA, Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, III. 60115.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Marilyn Vogt, University Apt. 3-E, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Fred Murphy, 1510 Kentucky, Apt. G. Lawrence, Kansas 66044. KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University

Sta., Lexington, Ky. 40506. MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 491-8893, 547-8557.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-

East Lansing: YSA, c/o Alec Harshey, 914 Lilac #7, East Lansing, Mi. 48823.

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

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and

Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Paul Schmidtlein, 4409 Virginia, K.C., Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 561-0872. St. Louis: YSA, c/o Larry Swingle, 5817 Waterman, St. Louis, Mo. 63112.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, c/o Alan Pump, 158 Hamilton St., E. Orange, N.J. 07017. Tel: (201) 678-

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Bill O'Kain, 313 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Peter Gellert, Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. New York City: SWP and YSA and bookstore, 873

Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-6051. NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill-Durham: YSA, c/o Bob Friedman, P.O. Box 10, Carrboro, N.C. 27510. Tel: (919) 942-3024.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, P.O. Box 899, Athens, Ohio

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 13900 Euclid Ave., East Cleveland, Ohio 44112, Tel; (216) 249-8250.

Columbus: YSA, P.O. Box 3006, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 294-2047.

Kent: YSA, P.O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Duncan Williams, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Oh. 45387. OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Tonie Porter, 6770 S.

W. Taylors Ferry Rd., Portland, Ore. 97223, Tel: (503) 246-9245 PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686

N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE6-6998. RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, c/o Jeff Powers,

15 Creighton St., Providence, R. I. 02902. TEXAS: Austin: Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box

5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703. Houston: YSA, Campus Activities, University Center, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, c/o Sterne McMullen, 763 E, 9th North, Logan, Utah 84321. **WASHINGTON** D. C.: YSA, 1319 F. St., Rm 1010

Wash., D. C. Tel: (202) 638-0610 or 965-0253. WASHINGTON: Cheney: E. Wash. State YSA, Sub

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## THE MILITANT

# Women's theatre slated at N.Y. socialist rally

NEW YORK, Jan. 30 — The New Feminist Theater, a New York-based group which is winning a growing reputation for its imaginative women's liberation drama, will help launch the New York State Socialist Workers Party election campaign at a buffet dinner and rally Feb. 7.

The talented young playwright, Myrna Lamb, will be one of the speakers, and the New Feminist Theater will perform one of her plays, "But What Have You Done for Me Lately," a lively spoof on proponents of anti-abortion laws.

Other rally speakers will include Clifton DeBerry, SWP candidate for governor and long-time labor and Black liberation movement activist; Guardian staff writer Randy Furst; Mike Weisman, leader of High School Student Mobilization Committee; and Fred Halstead, national antiwar leader and 1968 SWP candidate for president.

Although the SWP campaign was announced to the press only last week, New Yorkers are already becoming familiar with the candidates. Clifton DeBerry has been heard on the major Afro-American and rock radio stations.

Campaign supporters in the women's liberation movement have been circulating a draft of a campaign leaflet on women's struggles, getting comments and pledges of support from many women's liberation activists.

Hedda Garza, SWP candidate for Nassau County Executive (the equivalet of mayor), spoke out at a Jan. 26 hearing on proposed increases in Long Island Railroad fares. "Most people no longer take the financial statements of big corporations as the gospel truth," she said. "There is widespread disbelief in the transit authority's cry of poverty. The LIRR should be required to open their financial books for public inspection."

Hedda Garza demanded that all public transportation be free, "paid for by the taxes of the industries and companies that need to transport us to the cities to do the work that makes them rich."

On the same day, Jon Rothschild, candidate for lt. governor, participated in a demonstration called to support the Panther 21. Clifton DeBerry spoke at a defense rally for the Panther 21



Clifton DeBerry

at the Militant Labor Forum the week before.

On Jan. 26, Kipp Dawson, candidate for U.S. senate, went on the offensive against New York state Republicans and Democrats who have already begun to try to lull antiwar voters into their snares by posing as opponents to the war. The N. Y. Democratic State Committee has called on Nixon to "move promptly and decisively toward a complete military withdrawal" from Vietnam. Sen. Javits, a leading Republican, has made a similar call for an end to the war.

Dawson issued a statement that charged, "like Nixon's 'Vietnamization' both of these statements are designed to sound like calls to end the war, while they are really covering up for it. Neither points out that the U.S. government is responsible for the war—that it is carrying out a war of aggression against a people who are fighting for self-determination, and that the only way to end the war is to bring all the troops home now."

For more information about the campaign, and about the Feb. 7 dinner and rally, phone (212) 477-8950.



Red Star photo agency/ LNS

CANE CUTTERS BALL. Members of Venceremos Brigade, North American volunteers helping in Cuba's cane-harvesting drive, celebrate achieving their goal of cutting 25 million pounds of cane in five weeks. The 216 young North Americans went for three months to help Cuba achieve unprecedented harvest of ten million tons of sugar. They'll be returning this month and new group will be going down.

## Blacks at U of Florida fight racist victimization

By FRANK LORD

GAINESVILLE, Fla.—Three Black University of Florida students were arrested Jan. 22 and charged with aggravated assault for allegedly forcing four white students at gunpoint to clean up trash in a dormitory hallway. Earl J. Wilcox, Ronald J. Jackson, and Joseph E. McCloud, receiving two-counts of aggravated assault each, were held in Alachua County jail with bond set at \$1,000 on each count.

The Black Student Union issued a press release Friday stating: "The real issue on this campus is whether or not Black people have a right to live, study and work on a predominantly white campus without having their pride, their dignity, their very humanness threatened by racist attitudes of many at this university.

"Last quarter, in December, the Black Student Union brought before the university housing authority, and substantiated, charges that white students in the campus dorm living areas were creating excessive and unnecessary work for the Black janitorial staff. White students in these dorm areas were engaging in various acts of vandalism that Black students feel create dehumanizing conditions.

"The Housing Authority promised the Black Student Union that something concrete would be done to eliminate these conditions.

"To this date, nothing has been done.

"We feel that Housing's response to this situation created the incident which occurred last Tuesday morning. And that furthermore, UF President Stephen C. O'Connell's handling of the Black student issue on this campus has perpetuated the kind of volatile atmosphere that now prevails between Black and white students on the campus dorm areas."

Listing other grievances that have been systematically ignored by the school administration, the statement concluded: "Black students on this campus have decided that we will take these kinds of injustices no more. . . . Our brothers in jail are not guilty of any crime. And we shall work to insure their speedy release."

Alachua County sheriff's deputies have indicated that further arrests will be made. Meanwhile, a rally in support of the three students is slated for Jan. 26. The rally has the backing of a broad coalition of individuals and organizations including the Black Student Union, Student Mobilization Committee, Young Socialist Alliance, Revolutionary Youth Movement and independents.

Contributions and letters of support are urgently needed to insure that these students will not be further victimized by the UF administration. They should be sent to: Black Student Defense Fund, P.O. Box 12503, University Station, Gainesville, Fla., 32601.

# Northeast U students tell GE recruiter: 'Off campus!'

By MIKE KELLY

BOSTON — Over 300 students at Northeastern University protested the presence of General Electric recruiters on campus Jan. 27.

Organized by the Student Mobilization Committee and two factions of SDS (Cienfuegos SDS and the Worker-Student Alliance), the students set up a militant picket line for several hours outside the building housing the recruiters. They were joined by three carloads of striking GE workers from the Ashland, Mass., plant, members of United Electrical Local 205. The strikers carried signs protesting the use of injunctions against both workers and students, GE's ties with the war, GE's unfair treatment of its workers.

The protest took place in spite of a ourt injunction which denied protesting students the right to assemble near the recruiting sites. The large size of the demonstration was probably the reason why the injunction could not be enforced. Unlike previous demonstrations against GE recruiters called by SDS, which were small and thus easily victimized, well organized demonstration marshals prevented provocations by right-wing vigilantes from breaking up the demonstration. Prior to the demonstration, friendly fraternity sources had revealed that the president of the university was organizing vigilantes to attack demonstrators.

The presence of eight university security police and 60 uniformed and plain-clothes Boston cops prevented the demonstration from directly confronting the GE recruiters. Whenever scabbing students, came through the picket lines, they were greeted by mass chants of "Scab!, Scab!"

As a result of the protest, the second day of GE recruiting was cancelled, the first clear victory against General Electric recruiting by the students in the Boston area.

This campaign began when the Boston Student Mobilization Committee invited other groups to join in a United Strike Support Committee at Northeastern. The USSC conducted an intensive education campaign around the GE issue. The Northeastern SMC focused on the complicity of General Electric with the war in Vietnam. The issues were discussed and debated at four mass meetings, which included speakers from the United Electrical Workers.

This campaign against Northeastern's and General Electric's complicity with the war in Vietnam was supported by an editorial in the Northeastern University newspaper.

## Army backs off on GI newscaster

JAN. 29 — The Army has dropped charges against Sp/5 Robert Lawrence, the Vietnam GI telecaster whom the brass tried to frame after he exposed military censorship of news broadcasts over the Armed Forces Vietnam Network. Lawrence was hit with trumpedup charges of "disrespect to a superior" and "AWOL" after his regular Jan. 3 newscast, when he appealed to GIs to help end censorship. Lawrence was immediately taken off the air, and he has been transferred "up country" from Saigon.

A suit on behalf of Lawrence and several other military newscasters to enjoin the brass from censoring news is planned.