

THE MILITANT

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

Biggest bomb attacks on Indochina since 1968

— page 24

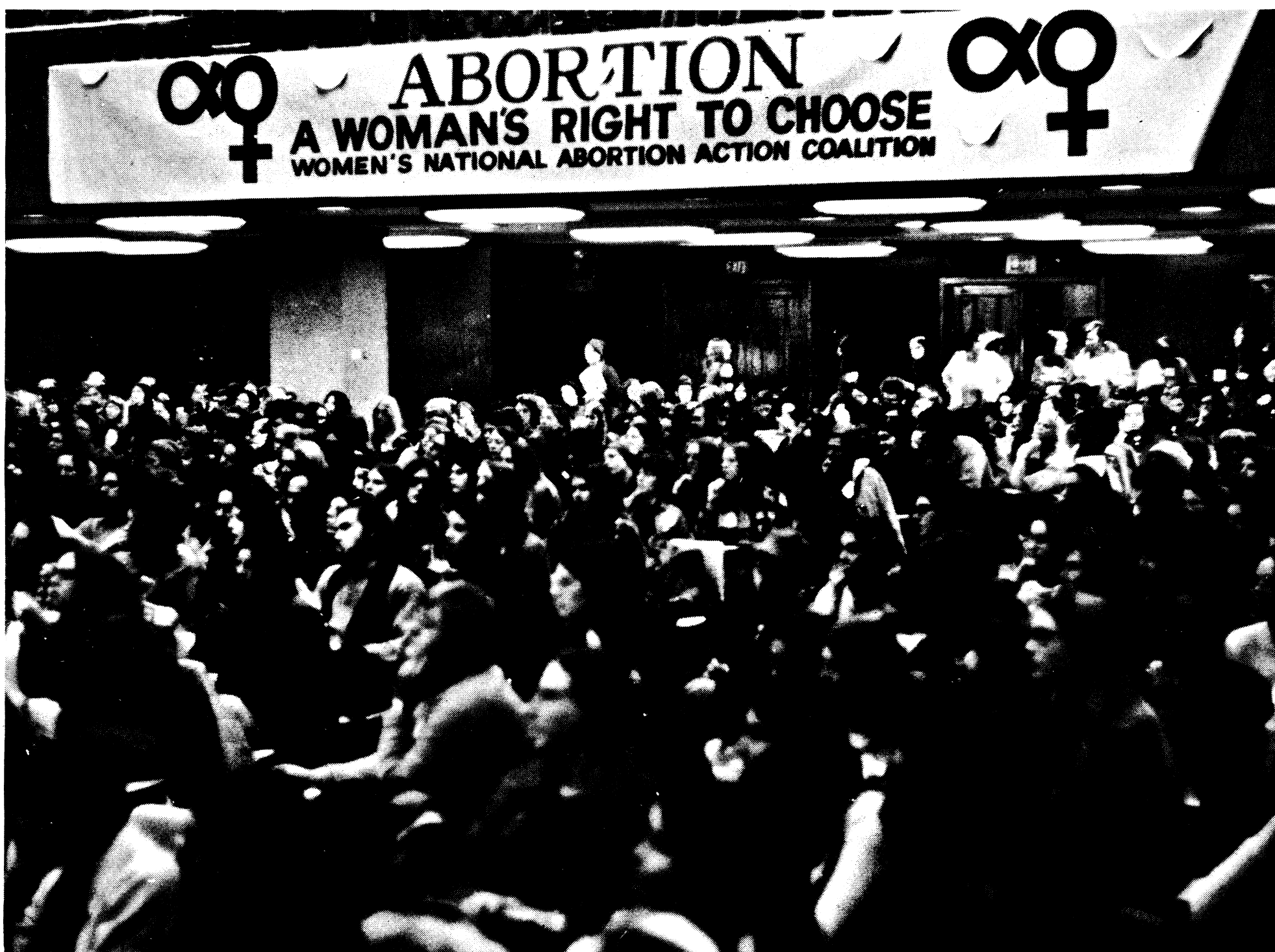


Photo by Charles Williamson

1,300 women at second national abortion conference in Boston call Abortion Action Week, May 1-6. See page 5.

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BROAD SUPPORT FOR ANGELA DAVIS: According to the Jan. 26 *Daily World*, nearly 1,000 people heard Fania Jordan, Angela Davis' sister, speak in her defense at West Virginia University in Morgantown, W. Va. The audience, attending the first in the spring semester's Black Experience Series, responded to Jordan's speech with "a standing ovation." Such meetings show the depth of the support for the civil liberties of the Black Communist soon to be on trial for her life in California.

SALLYE DAVIS SPEAKS IN DETROIT: On Jan. 28 more than 200 people came to hear Sallye Davis, Angela Davis' mother, at Wayne State University. Militant reporter Paul Adams writes that she expressed her fears for Angela's life and stated that the murder of George Jackson shows how far the government will go to silence those who speak out and struggle against oppression. She said, "Angela symbolizes this racist government's idea of justice for Black people. . . . As long as Angela and other political prisoners are denied their rights, no one is safe."

The meeting was sponsored by the *South End*, the campus newspaper, and the Michigan Committee to Free Angela Davis. Among those sharing the platform with Davis was Maceo Dixon, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Michigan's First Congressional District.

NEWSFLASH

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 16—A federal judge has ordered that Chicano leader Rosalio Muñoz be acquitted of charges of violating the selective service law. Muñoz had refused induction in 1969 on the grounds that the selective service law and the Vietnam war itself constitute genocide against the Chicano people. The acquittal came after the defense established that the selective service board had not respected its own procedures and regulations, and that Muñoz had not been given his full right of appeal.

ATTICA LEADER RELEASED: Richard X. Clark is the first of the leaders of the prisoner rebellion at the Attica Correctional Facility to be released. "Brother Richard" had been isolated from the rest of the prisoners since Sept. 13, as were other spokesmen of the prisoners. His mail was held for these last four months as "contraband." Officials tried to keep him in jail 30 days past the previously scheduled release date, but a federal judge overruled them. Clark was freed on Feb. 8. Clark, who is 25, was imprisoned for 32 months for an armed robbery he says he didn't commit.

As part of his effort to get support for the prisoners still at Attica, Clark will speak at the Lower Manhattan Militant Labor Forum on Friday, Feb. 18.

ABORTION LAW FOUND UNCONSTITUTIONAL: Florida's 103-year-old law that prohibited abortions except where necessary to preserve the woman's life was declared unconstitutionally "vague, indefinite and uncertain" by the state supreme court. According to the Feb. 15 *New York Times*, the 6-to-1 decision upheld a county judge "who had refused to try an accused abortionist on the ground that the law was an invasion of a woman's privacy."

NOT EXACTLY A JURY OF PEERS, BUT . . . A jury of nine women and three men has been selected in the Harrisburg seven conspiracy case. The defense thinks the jury may have turned out better than anticipated. Several of the jurors are against the war, one is Black, and one is a Catholic (all the defendants except one are Catholics). A woman with four sons who were conscientious objectors is on the jury.

The Harrisburg *Independent Press* quoted defendant Eqbal Ahmad as saying, "We have hope that we have a jury that might give us at the very least a fair ear."

BU STUDENTS FIGHT ADMINISTRATION: The Boston University Student Union is funded by an \$11 fee collected from all students with their tuition. This gives the student government a \$140,000 budget, the only funds on campus not controlled by BU President John Silber. Recent Student Union projects have included the distribution of a birth-control handbook, and a tenant's handbook, which exposed many of BU's trustees as slumlords. Recently the union allocated \$2,888 to the BU Abortion Action Coalition.

Silber announced on Jan. 27 that BU would no longer collect the fee and that a previously agreed-upon student referendum on the question would not be binding. The Committee to Defend the Student Union was set up at a Feb. 7 meeting of more than 100 students. A resolution was passed repudiating the administration's actions. It demanded that the referendum be held as planned and that it be binding on the administration.

LARGE DEFENSE RALLY AT SIU: On Feb. 2, more than 600 students at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale attended a rally in defense of Doug Allen, the philosophy professor who has been fired for his opposition to SIU's complicity with the war (see In Brief, Feb. 11). Speakers included faculty members, an ACLU representative, a speaker from the Southern Illinois Peace Committee, and Mark Harris of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The student senate has agreed to finance buses to the board of trustees' meeting on Feb. 18 on the SIU campus at Edwardsville, about 100 miles from Carbondale. The board decided to move their meeting off the Carbondale campus due to their fear of a demonstration.

Comprehensive fact sheets are available from the Committee to Defend the Right to Speak, University Park, Wright III, Room 110, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.

ANOTHER MARTHA MITCHELL TANTRUM: After Carol Feraci of the Ray Conniff Singers denounced the war in Vietnam during President Nixon's tribute to the co-founders of the *Readers Digest*, Martha Mitchell had to be rushed off by her husband, the attorney general. The Jan. 29 *New York Post* quoted her as saying, "I think she ought to be torn limb from limb."

PACIFIST ARRESTED WITH 'DANGEROUS WEAPON': Bayard Rustin, a long-time pacifist, was arrested by New York police after they inspected his cane and found a sword inside—a dangerous weapon under the state penal code. The Feb. 1 *New York Times* quoted Rustin: "I find it quite ironic that a man who has preached non-violence all his life should be charged for such a thing and for God's sake didn't know the cane had a knife concealed within it." He was released on his own recognizance and is awaiting action of the Manhattan grand jury.

GAY LIBERATION RECOGNITION FIGHT: The Gay Liberation Front at the University of Kansas has been trying to get official campus recognition, including the use of student-fee money. After being refused, the students went to court, hoping to be represented by attorney William Kunstler. U. S. District Judge George Templar barred Kunstler from arguing the case on the grounds that he had shown "disdain and contempt" for the judicial process. Kunstler, who was a defense attorney in the Chicago Seven conspiracy trial, called the action "unconstitutional and unconscionable."

WHEN A DENIAL IS NOT A DENIAL: The military dictatorship in Greece has "denied" the charge that 124 books had been blacklisted as "Communist and anti-government" to intimidate bookstores and potential readers. According to the Feb. 5 *New York Times*, a "spokesman said that although the circulation of all publications—even of *Pravda*—was totally free in Greece, the Constitution prohibited Communist propaganda against democratic institutions." The list had been prepared for the "'usual briefing correspondence among competent state officials' regarding subversive Communist activities."

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND I: The *Gay Liberator* of January 1972 has reprinted with credit Lee Smith's review of the movie *Sunday, Bloody Sunday*, which appeared in the Nov. 5, 1971, *Militant*.

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND II: The Dec. 6 *Flat Bottom News*, a Chicano paper in Victoria, Texas, reprinted with credit "Raza Unida in Texas goes statewide" by Antonio Camejo and Tank Barrera from our Nov. 12 issue. *Columnas*, a Chicano paper from Davenport, Iowa, featured on the front page of its Nov. 12 issue Camejo's report on the National Spanish-speaking Conference held in Washington, D.C., Oct. 23-24. The Dec. 16 *Columnas* reprinted Harry Ring's article "San Juan, Texas, Chicanos win gains with Raza Unida administration."

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND III: The *Fixer* newsletter dated Feb. 6-12 reprinted with credit a recent *Great Society* column by Harry Ring. The *Fixer* is published by students at Madison College in Harrisonburg, Va.

MILITANT FORUMS: Public forums associated with *The Militant* are held regularly in some 20 cities. These forums carry on the tradition of free speech and debate within the left that flourished in the days of the IWW and the pre-WWI Socialist Party and in the early years of the Communist Party. A few of these forums take advantage of our Calendar on page 22 to inform readers in their city and around the country of the topics and speakers of the week. We think that our readers would be interested in reading about the results of especially noteworthy forums. Short reports on such forums can be sent to In Brief.

—JOEL BRITTON

Boston leads in sub renewals

By MIKE LUX
and SHARON CABANISS

FEB. 14 — *The Militant's* renewal campaign netted 171 renewals last week, bringing the total to 521. Although the bulk of the renewals are received in response to letters sent out from the business office, more areas participated in visiting *Militant* subscribers this week than in any previous week. Forty-six of last week's renewals, or 27 percent, were a result of these visits. Renewals were sent in from Boston; Cleveland; Washington, D.C.; Houston; Los Angeles; Nashville; San Francisco; Oakland-Berkeley; Lower Manhattan, N.Y.; College Park Md.; Riverside, Calif.; and Worcester, Mass. Boston now has the highest number of renewals with 37.

Many areas have only recently launched their local renewal campaign because the schools in their vicinity are just beginning to reopen following semester breaks. Joe Vass, renewal drive director in San Francisco, reports that even though schools there just reopened and most subscribers there haven't been visited yet, more than 16 percent of those *Militant* readers who have so far been visited have renewed their subscriptions.

Renewal teams have taken on other projects when visiting a campus, such as building Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley meetings, selling single copies of *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*, and selling revolutionary literature at tables. For example, Joe Vass reports that "Since Linda Jenness will be in Northern California Feb. 9-19, we are using renewal blitzes to build Jenness meetings on various campuses in the region. Besides talking to subscribers, each team will do paste-up on the campuses they visit."

Militant renewal teams are also selling many new subscriptions. Last week 140 new subs came in, including 19 full-year subscriptions and 31 campaign endorsements.

Many people find out about *The Militant* from unexpected sources. One new subscriber from California, Pa., sent in for a 10-week introductory subscription and wrote that she read about the special \$1.00 offer in *The Debate Handbook on: Invasion of Privacy* by J. Weston Walch and Bruce A. Kimball. A request for a sample copy came in from a man in Portland, Ore., who saw *The Militant* mentioned in *The Anarchist Cookbook*.

A reader from Seattle, writes, "I've recently been freed from two years in the army. While waiting for my flight home, I was turned on to *The Militant* and brought a subscription. I'm glad someone has the guts to tell the truth! Keep up the good work, you're doing a fantastic job!"

And from Mt. Pleasant, Mich., "I've noticed quite a few students getting your publication and from what I've experienced in underground journalism, your paper ranks at or near the top. I've been into the 'radicalization' for around five years now and the Jenness-Pulley campaign has my support in 1972."

Many areas that have been going out visiting *Militant* readers will be happy to learn that the total of renewals from each area is higher than they may have anticipated because of those renewals sent directly into the business office. The following is the tally from the areas of the country that have been reporting regularly to the business office. The large "General" category includes the initial 71

renewals we had when the campaign was launched.	37
Boston, Mass.	34
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	32
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	31
Washington, D.C.	28
San Francisco, Calif.	25
Upper West Side, N.Y.	24
Los Angeles, Calif.	23
Brooklyn, N.Y.	15
Detroit, Mich.	15
Twin Cities, Minn.	13
Chicago, Ill.	12
Philadelphia, Pa.	10
Austin, Texas	10
Houston, Texas	9
Atlanta, Ga.	9
Denver, Colo.	8
Cleveland, Ohio	4
Bloomington, Ind.	4
New Haven, Conn.	4
Milwaukee, Wis.	4
Providence, R.I.	4
Seattle, Wash.	4
Tucson, Ariz.	4
Colorado Springs, Colo.	3
Madison, Wis.	3
Portland, Ore.	3
Worcester, Mass.	3
Amherst, Mass.	2
Ann Arbor, Mich.	2
Boulder, Colo.	2
Claremont, Calif.	2
DeKalb, Ill.	2
Durham, N.H.	2
San Antonio, Texas	2
Santa Barbara, Calif.	2
Tallahassee, Fla.	1
Binghamton, N.Y.	1
Champaign, Ill.	1
College Park, Md.	1
Columbus, Ohio	1
Edinboro, Pa.	1
Knoxville, Tenn.	1
Phoenix, Ariz.	1
St. Louis, Mo.	1
Yellow Springs, Ohio	1
General	123
TOTAL	521

U.S. moves to deport Iranian student

By MIKE KELLY

SEATTLE, Feb. 11 — An Iranian student who is president of the University of Washington Foreign Student Council told a news conference here yesterday that the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Department was attempting to deport him because of his political beliefs. Babak Zahraie, 21, is the coordinator of the Council of Student Delegates to Roll Back Tuition, which has been fighting a tuition increase this year at the University of Washington.

Zahraie was arrested Feb. 9 by the Immigration Department and escorted to a hearing concerning his right to remain in the country. At yesterday's press conference Zahraie noted that immigration authorities picked him up the day after he had spoken at a campus rally against the tuition hike and had appeared in television coverage of the rally. Zahraie told reporters at the press conference that an immigration official had told him "it was a disgrace to this nation that I appeared on television in the news for that rally."

"Moreover," said Zahraie, "they told me that they are going to hand me over to the Iranian Government authorities to 'take care of me.' To 'take care of me' could mean anything from execution, to a life in prison."

"At this moment there are 4,000 political prisoners and intellectuals that have recently been arrested and 120 of them are facing execution, not to mention the barbaric tortures of thousands of others. I, as the president of the Foreign Student Council, have always stood for the right of political prisoners to a public, open, civilian trial according to the United Nations charter of human rights. This issue was endorsed in a public meeting by Senator George McGovern when he visited the University of Washington in January of this year."

The only charges against Zahraie are vague technicalities concerning the renewal of his visa and his activities to roll back tuition.

The Feb. 10 news conference was sponsored by the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie. Some of the 14 organizations sponsoring the committee include MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan — Chicano Student Movement), Graduate Professional Student Senate, Young Democrats, Foreign Student Council, the Iranian Student Association, and the Student Mobilization Committee.

The news conference heard a statement by Ralph Anderson, president of the Associated Students of the University of Washington, who declared: "We, the elected representatives of the students on this campus, stand in support of the defense of Babak Zahraie." He urged students to attend the next hearing on Zahraie's deportation which is scheduled for Feb. 22.

The Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie urges that protests be sent to John Boyd, director of Immigration, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Dept., 815 Airport Way, Seattle, Wash. 98134. Send copies to: committee to Defend Babak Zahraie and the Rights of Foreign Students, c/o University of Washington "Hub," Seattle, Wash. 98105. Donations are needed and should be sent to the same address.



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PHOTO: British cavalry moving into Dublin for use against the 1916 Easter rebellion

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- () 4. GIs SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE WAR
- () 5. INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY
- () 6. THREE PAMPHLETS ON THE CHICANO STRUGGLE: Chicano Liberation and Revolu-

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NOW women turn to Dems, GOP in '72

NEW YORK—An 11-state Eastern Regional Conference of the National Organization for Women convened here Feb. 12 for two days of discussions. The theme of the conference was the winning of political representation for women. Keynote speeches were given by presidential candidate Shirley Chisholm, NOW founder Betty Friedan, and Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.). More than 1,200 women and men registered for the gathering.

The conference was not a decision-making body and it took no votes. Conference participants, including a great number of young women, attended workshops on some 30 different topics. The workshops presented suggestions to the plenary session on action programs that could be carried out in local areas.

Although attention was given to a number of feminist issues, hardly any mention was made in the workshops or in plenary sessions of NOW's relation to the abortion law repeal movement, to the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), or to the Nov. 20 demonstrations for abortion law repeal. A workshop entitled "Reproduction and its Control: Focus on Legislative Action" was held, but it dealt mainly with pending legislation in New York

win power through the Democratic and Republican parties.

Friedan introduced Shirley Chisholm as "the first serious woman candidate for president of the United States"—implying that Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, is not "serious." Chisholm received a prolonged standing ovation.

Chisholm indicated that she saw the power to change women's condition in the Democratic Party rather than in a mass movement of women when she stated: "When we go to the convention [the Democratic Party convention] you can say 'woman power, here we come,' but if you don't have delegate power, it means nothing."

Representative Bella Abzug stressed that women should "cross slate lines" and join together in seeking "representation in the power structure." She declared that women will be wearing all kinds of buttons—Muskie buttons, Humphrey buttons, Nixon buttons, and Chisholm buttons. "But we will also be wearing 'woman power '72' buttons because no matter what slate we are on, we are going to act together as women."

Abzug and Chisholm made little mention of the specific issues facing women and all Americans except to express vague opposition to the war



Women's Political Caucus leaders Gloria Steinem, Representative Bella Abzug, Representative Shirley Chisholm, and Betty Friedan. The NOW conference focused on working with Women's Caucus in 1972.

and New Jersey.

The NOW conference took place on the same weekend as the second national abortion conference sponsored by WONAAC at Boston University.

The workshop on "War and Peace," attended by about 100 people, heard several panelists, including Katherine Sojourner, a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition. Sojourner received a very enthusiastic response when she discussed the relation of feminist issues to the war in Indochina and told the workshop participants about the massive antiwar demonstrations planned for April 22. The workshop voted to endorse the April 22 demonstrations and to recommend that NOW form a peace taskforce to coordinate women's antiwar activity.

In the workshops on "Practical Politics" NOW members discussed their relationship to the National Women's Political Caucus. It was noted that NOW as an organization could not take positions on candidates without losing its tax-exempt status, but NOW members were urged to be the activist core of the Women's Political Caucus.

The conference culminated on Sunday in a campaign-rally atmosphere with speeches by Betty Friedan and congresswomen Shirley Chisholm and Bella Abzug. Betty Friedan was greeted with applause when she stated, "I intend to replace Senator Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) in 1974." The theme of her speech, like the speeches of Chisholm and Abzug, was that the solution to women's oppression is for women to

and to inequality. They said nothing to indicate that this society must be changed in a fundamental way in order to win freedom for women. On the contrary, Abzug declared that what women should demand is simply "that we have half the cabinet posts for women, that we get half the administrative posts for women, that we get at least one woman on the Supreme Court and women on all the other courts, that we get our share of the economic resources of this country."

Thus the conference had a mixed character. On the one hand, it reflected the strong, militant enthusiasm of NOW members for the idea that women should step outside their traditionally assigned roles and fight on all levels for their freedom, including challenging the power of the government itself. On the other hand, the present orientation of NOW is to seek this change through the corrupt and undemocratic parties of the capitalist class, the Democratic and Republican parties.

Although NOW leaders profess to encourage women from all parties to run for office on feminist issues, this attitude was not extended to the campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Muriel Fox, a member of the NOW governing board, told supporters of Jenness and Pulley they would have to take down the literature table they had set up alongside tables of many other organizations at the conference.

Dixon debates Reed on abortion issue

The following is based on an article by Brenda Zannis that appeared in the Feb. 14 Labor Challenge, a revolutionary-socialist biweekly published in Canada.

MONTREAL—On Jan. 31 a week-long conference on women at McGill University began with a sharp debate over the validity of the women's liberation movement. Before an audience of 800 McGill students, Marlene Dixon, a sociology professor and former feminist, launched an all-out attack on the women's liberation movement, focusing much of her fire on the movement for the right of women to abortion.

Of the four panelists at the opening session of the conference, only one—Evelyn Reed—took a clear position in defense of the feminist movement and the struggle for abortion law repeal. A Marxist anthropologist and spokeswoman of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S., Reed provoked the debate by leading off the panel discussion with an analysis of the present stage of the feminist movement. She projected that the women's movement would be built into a powerful force by mass action around specific issues such as abortion on demand.

Marlene Dixon, on the other hand, attacked the feminist movement for its focus on the abortion issue. She made the incredible statement that the campaign for abortion is "all wrong" because people talk too much about abortion and not about what leads the woman to the "agonizing decision in the first place to kill the child she carries."

Another panelist, Donna Cherniak,

co-author of the *McGill Birth Control Handbook*, a pamphlet used by pro-abortion activists across the country, also attacked the abortion movement. She argued that women shouldn't fight for legal abortion because it is simply a reform and, if won, might be taken away at any time by the ruling class.

These arguments, although they come from women of the left, capitulate to the basic reactionary arguments against a woman's right to abortion—that abortion is murder; that abortion is not really important to women; and that changes are won and secured not by mass movements of people demanding their rights but solely by the lawmakers.

In addition to Evelyn Reed's presentation, women in the audience also rose to defend their struggle and the basic right of every woman to control her body. But the discussion period was dominated by the men in the audience, who not only spoke one after another but booed and heckled loudly at all the women who defended the feminist struggle.

Although this meeting launched an attack on the struggle for abortion, it was not indicative of the real sentiment at McGill. Three days later, on Feb. 3, a meeting of 200 came out firmly behind the movement for the right to abortion. A small group of ultralefts who had sided with the right-wing at the earlier meeting didn't gain any sympathy for their anti-woman positions from the Thursday audience. The meeting made a strong appeal for a united campaign to eliminate all laws that stand in the way of a woman's right to abortion.

1,000 rally for Davis

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 14—About 1,000 people rallied today in front of the San Jose, Calif., courthouse where trial proceedings are scheduled to begin this month for Angela Davis. Speakers at the rally congratulated the crowd because the demonstration had forced the state to halt its enforcement of a law that bans picketing with "intent to influence any judge, witness, or officer of the court in the discharge of their duties." During the previous week 24 people had been arrested and charged with violating this unconstitutional law.

The National United Committee to Free Angela Davis called the demonstration after the Santa Clara County sheriff's office refused to reply to its demands, which included halting the enforcement of the anti-picketing law, the dropping of charges against the 24 who were arrested, dismantling security equipment, and supplying more space for spectators in the courtroom.

Superior Court Judge James Scott imposed an extraordinary gag rule on Sheriff James Geary on Feb. 7 that prohibits him from publicly discussing the Angela Davis case. The rule was issued after Sheriff Geary indicated that he saw nothing in the behavior of Davis as a prisoner that should prevent her from receiving bail. Although Sheriff Geary is a police functionary, he is not directly involved with the trial proceedings, nor did he have anything to do with the original indictment.

Under these circumstances, use of a gag rule against Geary could provide a dangerous precedent for silencing members of the press and supporters of the defense.

On Feb. 8 the presiding judge, Richard E. Arnason, announced that his previous decision allowing the press to interview Davis once a week was being suspended and that future interviews might be totally prohibited.

The state also passed a special law to subsidize Santa Clara County's cost of constructing an elaborate security network that serves mainly to harass spectators. It includes procedures for searching and photographing those who enter the courtroom. The defense has pointed out in its motion to change the trial site that the intimidating security measures have fostered a climate of fear and prejudice in Santa Clara County.

When the defense counsel made a motion that the state subsidize the defense on a par with its handouts to the prosecution, Chief Prosecutor Albert Harris lamely repeated Governor Reagan's allegation that it would be "utterly ridiculous" for the state to pay the defense costs unless Davis were to dismiss her lawyers and utilize the services of a public defender appointed by the state. Davis took the stand on Feb. 2 to respond. "We intend to subpoena Ronald Reagan and put him on the stand to explain about this conspiracy against me. How would a public defender feel about that? Would he want to bite the hand that feeds him? The public defender's office has participated in the railroad-ing of thousands of my brothers and sisters."

Judge Richard E. Arnason is expected to rule this week on the pretrial motions of the defense.

By CINDY JAQUITH

BOSTON, Feb. 13—The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) conference held here this weekend was not only an exciting and enthusiastic gathering, it was also unprecedented in the degree to which the 1,308 participants planned an entire strategy for attacking the abortion laws through the courts, legislative actions, and marching in the streets. The women here voted to make May 1-6 "Abortion Action Week" and began planning activities around the three demands of WONAAC—repeal of all restrictive abortion and contraception laws, and an end to forced sterilization. The week will culminate in local and regional demonstrations on May 6.

The conference also voted to actively support the Abortion Rights Act of 1972, a proposed bill drawn up by Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) to eliminate all abortion laws.

This conference was larger than the founding meeting of WONAAC last July. Women came from as far away as California, Florida, and England, and from 75 women's liberation groups and 42 abortion law repeal organizations. The seriousness with which the conference was conducted showed the participants' determination to unite to win the right to control their own bodies and to defeat the recent attacks by anti-abortion forces.

The Friday night rally reached a high point with the standing ovation given to Shirley Johnson (Wheeler), the Florida woman convicted of manslaughter for having an abortion. Rally speakers included Dr. Barbara Roberts, a national project director of WONAAC; Lana Clarke Phelan, vice-president-West of the National Association to Repeal Abortion Laws; Sarah Weddington, the attorney who argued the Texas abortion law case before the U.S. Supreme Court; Elma Barrera, organizer of the May 1971 Houston Chicana Conference; and Frances Howard-Gordon, an activist in the British abortion rights movement.

Other speakers were Florence Luscomb, longtime feminist and suffragist; a representative from Bella Abzug's office; Judy Syfers, a coordinator of WONAAC-West; Sadie Jackson, chairwoman of the Brooklyn Welfare Action Council; a woman from the National Organization for Women (NOW); and a high school woman.

Men were invited to this Friday night session of the conference.

The rally ended on an inspiring note with the showing of a 10-minute color film of the Nov. 20, 1971, WONAAC demonstration in Washington, D.C.

A small group of people opposing abortion appeared at the beginning of the rally. They attempted to block the doorways of the hall but were unsuccessful.

Prior to the conference, women from many different parts of the country submitted proposals on how to fight



Photo by Charles Williamson

Sadie Jackson, speaking at Friday night rally.

the abortion laws. These resolutions, which were circulated to the movement in the WONAAC Newsletter, served as the focus for discussion at the conference.

The "Abortion Action Week: May 1-6" proposal, endorsed by WONAAC leaders in many different areas, was adopted overwhelmingly at the Saturday night plenary session. During the day, women had discussed this and other proposals in workshops. The main debate was whether to maintain WONAAC's demand for repeal of all abortion laws, or to change the slogan to "free abortion on demand."

Free vs. repeal

At the Saturday night plenary, a thorough discussion of this question helped clarify the issue. Virtually every woman was in favor of free abortions, but it became clear that the main obstacle to women getting abortions at the present time is the fact that abortions are illegal.

A number of women who put for-

ward the demand for free abortion argued that repeal would be a meaningless gain for women. They stated that "middle class" women have no problem obtaining abortions now, while Black, Latina, and poor women couldn't afford them even if they were legal. In answer to this, other women pointed to the significant gains made by women in New York, including Black and Puerto Rican women, since the reform of the New York abortion law. They explained that the attacks by right-wing forces in New York now placed in jeopardy all women's right to abortion.

In the course of the debate, it also became clear that repeal of the abortion laws and free abortions are two related but separate questions. The majority of women felt that making free abortions a major demand of the coalition at this time was not the most effective way to confront the government and the anti-abortion forces; that the strongest issue to raise now is a woman's right to choose whether or not to bear a child—rather than the issue of free medical care.

A proposal from Sisters in Struggle, a Black feminist organization in Cleveland, elaborated on the importance of WONAAC's demands for re-

peal of restrictive contraception laws and for an end to forced sterilization. The conference adopted this proposal and the specific suggestions it contained, including pressuring the government and drug companies for safe contraceptives and fighting against the coercion of welfare mothers and others to be sterilized.

The relationship of the "no forced sterilization" demand to WONAAC's overall campaign was discussed both in the workshops and in the plenary sessions. Part of a proposal passed by the conference explains, "We have made it clear that for us abortion is not a population issue, but an issue involving the fundamental rights of women. We see both forced motherhood and forced sterilization as serious crimes against women." The conference voted to intensify its educational and action campaign against attempts to impose sterilization on women against their will.

The relationship of WONAAC to various political parties was also dis-

1,300 women plan spring abortion action week

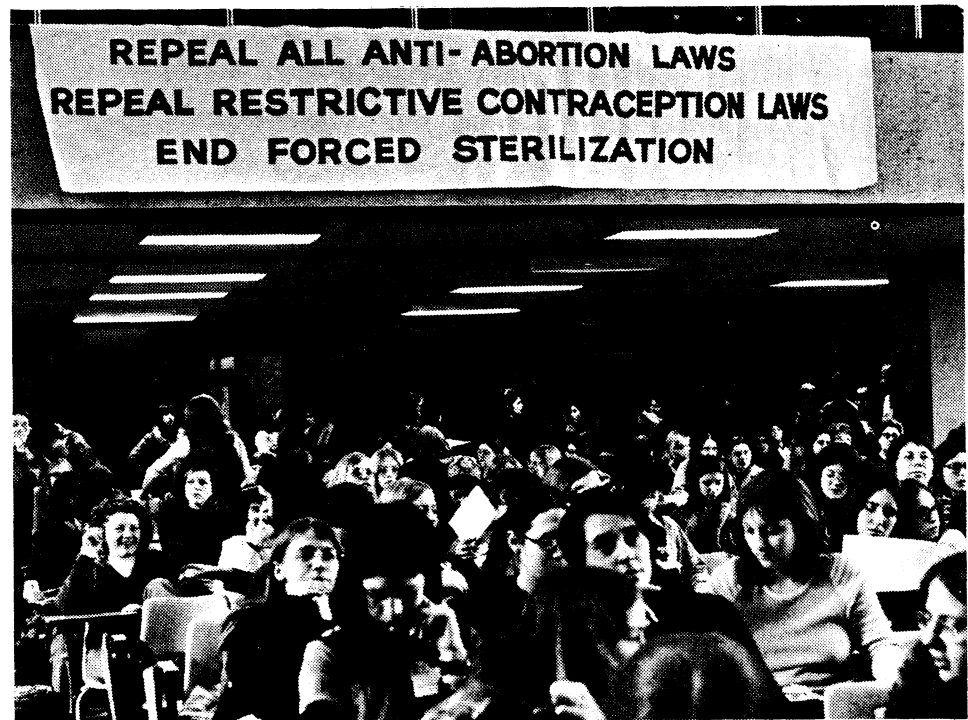


Photo by Ellen Lemisch

One of the conference plenary sessions where women related local experiences in fighting the abortion laws, and planned activities to involve new women in the struggle to control their own bodies.

cussed, and a motion was passed reaffirming the coalition's nonpartisan character. The International Socialists (IS) presented a motion to exclude all politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties from speaking on WONAAC platforms. In opposition to this motion, Ann Davidson, a leader of the Philadelphia abortion movement, explained, "I'm a member of the Democratic Party and I'm running for committeewoman. This motion would exclude me and many other women like me." Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, also took the floor on this question and said: "I stand totally opposed to the Democratic and Republican parties, I'm campaigning against them, but I'm certainly glad to work with women from those parties in this coalition for abortion law repeal." The IS proposal was defeated.

Abortion Rights Act

Once the major decisions had been made for continuing the abortion campaign, the conference discussed and approved proposals from workshops on every aspect of the struggle for a woman's right to choose. One of the most important proposals passed by the conference was support

to the Abortion Rights Act of 1972, which women saw as an important national focus of the abortion campaign. This bill states that "Neither the United States nor any State shall enact or enforce any law, State Constitutional provision, regulation, policy or any other device which infringes the right of any woman to terminate a pregnancy she does not wish to continue, or which deprives any woman of adequate medical assistance in the exercise of such right." If passed in its present form, this bill would effectively eliminate the abortion laws in every state.

The workshop on anti-abortion attacks proposed that WONAAC send telegrams to Governor Nelson Rockefeller and the New York Court of Appeals condemning the recent court ruling that would deny Medicaid payments to New York women to cover the cost of abortions. The conference approved the telegrams as well as a proposal that WONAAC investigate and take action against the Family Planning Services and Population Research Act, which prohibits the use of Health, Education and Welfare Department funds for federal programs "where abortion is a method of family planning."

The conference also passed the proposal from the Black, Chicana, Latina, Asian, and Native American workshop, which reaffirmed the relevance of WONAAC's three demands to women of the oppressed nationalities. Thirty-five women participated in this workshop.

The lesbian workshop brought in a proposal, which the conference adopted, to continue the involvement of gay women in WONAAC activities. The 80 women at the lesbian workshop voted almost unanimously for this proposal.

Virtually every workshop presented constructive suggestions for drawing the largest possible number of women into activity around Abortion Action Week. The Sunday conference sessions were devoted to an informative and exciting discussion of the workshop reports from high school women, working women, and college women. Ideas were presented on how to answer the anti-abortion forces; the importance of defending victims of the abortion laws such as Shirley Johnson; the use of class action suits, referendums, and hearings to protest state abortion laws; the need for education on women and their bodies; and the importance of confronting candidates for office on their position toward abortion law repeal.

The widespread support for action against the abortion laws was reflected in the statistics on attendance at the conference. Women from 92 colleges and 20 high schools participated. The largest number of women—350—came from Massachusetts. Sixteen women came from Canada.

Women from a wide variety of organizations attended, including NOW, the YWCA, New York Radical Feminists, the National Welfare Rights Or-

Many women at the conference were interested in socialist ideas. Thirty-seven women signed up as endorsers of the Jenness-Pulley campaign, and 190 bought copies of The Militant. The Pathfinder literature table sold more than \$400 worth of literature.

ganization, the Black Feminist Coalition, New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal, the Women's Political Caucus, the Student Mobilization Committee, the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, the Young Socialist Alliance, the International Socialists, the University Action Group, Students for a Democratic Society, and Women in Revolution.

Continued on page 22

In Our Opinion

A balance sheet

It has now been six months since Nixon announced his New Economic Policy on Aug. 15, 1971. Nixon claimed that his program was a step toward solving the problems of inflation and unemployment. How does the balance sheet look so far?

First, prices are still rising dramatically. Although the Consumer Price Index shows a decline in the rate of inflation, this does not mean that inflation has declined. It only means that the speed at which inflation is increasing has slowed down slightly. From August to December, 1971, inflation increased at an annual rate of 2.4 percent, while the annual rate averaged 4.1 percent in the five months preceding Nixon's new policies.

But even this modest decline will be partially offset by the Cost of Living Council's decision last month to exempt from all controls three-fourths of all retail stores and 40 percent of all rental units in the country.

Second, there has been no significant change in the high level of unemployment, with the official number of jobless continuing to hover around 5.9 percent.

Third, the wage freeze and wage controls have succeeded in grinding down wage increases. The average annual hourly wage increases were only 4.3 percent in the last three months of 1971, while average increases for the year as a whole were 6.9 percent.

Nor do the figures on the decline in wage increases reflect the provisions for speedup and automation in many of the contracts approved by the Pay Board.

Such provisions for greatly increased labor productivity (i.e., the number of units produced per hour of labor) were part of the coal and rail industry contracts that were approved by the Pay Board even though they greatly surpassed the 5.5 percent wage-increase limit set by the board. Because of the productivity provisions, these contracts were not challenged by employer representatives on the Pay Board.

A fourth development that has accompanied Nixon's New Economic Policy is soaring profits. The Commerce Department reported that the profit increase for 1971 over 1970 was the sharpest gain for any single year since 1965.

These results demonstrate the real aim Nixon and the capitalist rulers of this country had in mind in the first place: not to end inflation and unemployment, but to improve the competitive position of U.S. industry on the international market by holding down wages and stimulating productivity through speedup and automation.

Meanwhile, the top labor bureaucrats remain on the Pay Board, lending their stamp of approval to its antilabor actions. Likewise, they continue telling trade unionists to place their trust in the same Democratic and Republican party politicians who have supported the wage controls from the beginning.

The only presidential ticket with a program that goes to the heart of the problems facing working people today is the Socialist Workers Party slate of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

The Socialist Workers candidates call for: 1) immediate withdrawal from Indochina to end this war, which is a major cause of inflation; 2) provision in all contracts that wages will increase automatically with increases in the cost of living; 3) a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay in order to eliminate unemployment; 4) the convening of a national conference of labor to discuss united action against the wage controls, inflation, and unemployment; and 5) the formation of a labor party based on the unions.

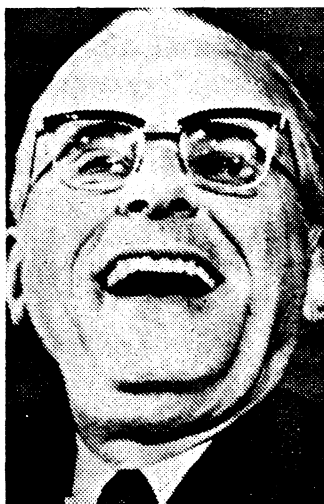
'Let them eat cake'

Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz, who opposes price controls for raw agricultural products, has come out with his answer to those who criticize the sharply rising food prices: the consumers themselves are to blame for rising prices! Testifying before a congressional committee, Butz asserted that meat prices are rising because "Mrs. Housewife has so much income—supplemented with food stamps and everything else—she has created tremendous demands for meat."

He complained that "We've got more and more to spend. We eat out more . . . women don't bake a cake anymore—they stir it up."

Speaking in opposition to placing price controls on meat, Butz declared that those who feel meat prices are not fair can "shift from steak" to cheaper meats or simply eat less.

The truth is that fat cats like Butz and his associates in the ruling circles of this country do have too much money to spend, and it would do most of them good to eat less. But his implication that working people, including those eligible for food stamps, are eating steak and rolling in spending money demonstrates again the arrogance of this administration and the class it represents.



Earl L. Butz

April 22 in Scotland

This is just a note to let you know that a committee has been formed here in Glasgow to organize an anti-Vietnam-war demonstration on April 22 in answer to the call by the U.S. antiwar movement for international solidarity actions.

At the first meeting (Feb. 2) a number of interested individuals and members of sympathetic organizations resolved to build the demonstration around the slogans: "U.S. out of Indochina now," "End British support for U.S. aggression," and "Solidarity with Indochina's struggle for self-determination."

We are starting the campaign immediately, contacting student organizations, labor parties and organizations, and trying to mobilize all layers of the community.

Right on for April 22!

Patricia Brodie, Secretary
April 22nd Indochina Committee
c/o Patricia Brodie
Nurse's Home
Western Infirmary
Dumbarton Road, Glasgow, Scotland

Fox and wolf trick

In an attempt to win the 18-year-old vote, the Democratic Party, with the aid of the Humboldt State College student-body president, conducted a "Conference of New Voters" in the college gymnasium on Jan. 29. The show included local politicians from both the major capitalist parties and co-starred Donald Brewster, an ultra-right aide to Henry Kissinger, and the liberal chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, Allard Lowenstein.

The Humboldt Veterans for Peace, after considerable haggling during the days preceding the conference, were allowed to give a five-minute presentation during the four and one-half hour program. There were no questions from the floor allowed after any of the speeches.

The veterans, about 30 in number, carried two coffins to the foot of the speaker's platform while their spokesman had the podium. One coffin was shrouded in a U.S. flag and the other in an NLF flag. The spokesman for the veterans pointed out the exploitation of GIs by both the Democratic and Republican parties and emphasized that "50,000 GIs have died for a lie in Indochina."

Brewster followed with a speech that seemed calculated to enrage the veterans. For 25 minutes he fired lie after lie and insult after insult at the audience. For instance, he said that no "illiterate Vietnam veteran knows anything about the real situation over there."

Lowenstein followed Brewster's tirade with a 30 minute speech in which he superficially condemned the Nixon administration's policies in Indochina. The gist of his speech was that the war was now a "dirty war" and was not an effective way of fighting communism. He urged the people to oust Nixon.

In talking with some of the veterans after the program I found that they saw through Lowenstein's bid to woo votes to the Democratic Party. It was the old "fox and wolf trick" so aptly described by Malcolm X.

D. W.
Humboldt State College
Arcata, Calif.

Supports Jenness and Pulley

As a new subscriber to *The Militant* and being confined in one of Nixon's concentration camps, I would like to say a few words to the people on the minimum side about the coming elections. I find it hard to believe that people will vote for Nixon or one of his cohorts when for years they have been lying to the people.

I find Pulley and Jenness to be the ones for the people. Being Black, I would want Black control of the Black community. We, the Black and all oppressed people of the Third World, must realize what and who we want to lead us in the coming years. I am for Pulley and Jenness.

Kevin Lopes
Bristol County House of Correction
New Bedford, Mass.

Answers red-baiting

[The following is a letter from Theodore Johnson to the editor of the *Times-Democrat* of Davenport, Iowa. Johnson is responding to an article in the Jan. 27 *Times-Democrat* on the Young Socialist Alliance convention in Houston Dec. 27-31. The article says, among other things, "According to a report at the convention, YSA now has 56 chapters on campuses throughout the U.S. Carefully not disclosed is their location. . . . Many of them [YSAers] have surreptitiously gone to Cuba as participants in the so-called 'Venceremos Brigade'—presumably to cut sugar cane for dictator Castro, but actually to be trained in guerrilla warfare and making revolutions." It also asserts that the Student Mobilization Committee and National Peace Action Coalition are "dominated" by the SWP, and that SWP control of NPAC was the reason for the defeat of a proposal by Jerry Gordon, a coordinator of NPAC, at the Cleveland NPAC conference Dec. 4-6. It says: "With the Vietnam conflict phasing out, Gordon and his group proposed that NPAC broaden its scope to include major domestic problems—particularly economic. The SWP elements promptly and flatly slapped him down."]

You lied about the SMC, the YSA, the SWP, and the NPAC in your Jan. 27th article by Robert S. Allen.

First, the bookstores and the mailing addresses of the SWP and YSA are listed in their weekly working-class periodical, *The Militant*.

Second, the meetings of the SMC, of which I am proud to be a member (I'm a registered Democrat), and the NPAC are open to everybody from extreme reactionaries like Wallace or Agnew, to extreme terrorist radicals like the Weathermen or Progressive Labor Party.

The Venceremos Brigade is a sugar-cane-cutting brigade, not a warfare-learning one.

NPAC was started by a coalition including Democrats, Republicans, and a handful of SWP-YSA people.

The Vietnam issue is not dead. It will be dead only when we are completely out of Southeast Asia, both militarily and financially.

If you want to learn the truth (the SWP-YSA side) their address is listed in the 1972 World Almanac on page 792 under Other Chief Political Committees, along with other groups.

A West High junior,
Theodore Johnson
Davenport, Iowa

The Great Society

Civil war in Ohio?

I thought it might be interesting to compare how the recent tensions at the Lordstown, Ohio, GM plant were reported in *The Militant* and in the *Bulletin*, a super-sectarian newspaper that specializes in calling general strikes and denouncing the antiwar movement.

The Militant gave a highly informative report of what the workers and their union are doing to resist GM's wild speedup. The *Bulletin's* article was headlined "Civil war explodes at Lordstown plant."

Civil war exists when all-out war occurs within a country in a struggle for state power, such as in Russia during the counterrevolution after 1917, or for many years in Vietnam. It would be very surprising if civil war existed today in Ohio. But even according to the *Bulletin*, so far there haven't been any punches thrown. The only basis for the *Bulletin's* headline is that a worker there supposedly said it was civil war.

When Nixon's wage-freeze was announced last Aug. 15, the *Bulletin* very optimistically claimed that this was the first shot of the American socialist revolution. Half a year has gone by, and class struggle has intensified significantly, but not a fraction of what the *Bulletin* expected. Rather than admit that they were exaggerating last August, the *Bulletin* instead exaggerates more now.

At this rate, there's no telling what they'll be imagining a year from now. It's so good to have a newspaper like *The Militant*, which always sides with the oppressed but doesn't leave reality to do it.

Bob Geb
Boston, Mass.

Correction

Frank Lovell's article "Suit to challenge aerospace ruling," in your Jan. 21 issue, while generally correct, is a little wrong in detail.

Archie Wilson was threatened with criminal charges of trespassing if he didn't leave his office, and was informed he was suspended. Then, he and the Negotiating Committee were suspended for four and one-half days. There have been 15-20 similar cases with suspensions for as many as ten and one-half days. One case was for disobeying a command from a steward while writing a grievance when the worker was punched-out on his own time.

An interesting aside is the fact that the head of Nixon's "Wage Review Board," J. Curtis Counts, is by coincidence the former Personnel and Public Relations Director of Douglas Aircraft, before McDonnell merged and became McDonnell Douglas. In this manner, an ex-Douglas employee cripples the International Association of Machinists negotiations still pending in aerospace, and saves McDonnell Douglas 17 cents an hour.

H. D.
Toronto, Canada

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

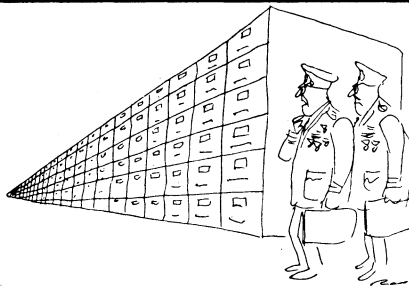
Tender, loving cop—Those who hold to the view that a person who devotes a lifetime to snooping can't be all bad will be gratified to learn that J. Edgar Hoover, who has outlived seven of his pet dogs, buries them in a pet cemetery. The cemetery owner observed: "I think he's got a heart like all the rest of us. A man buries his wife because he has to, but he buries his dog because he wants to."

Professional courtesy—Wayman Dial, who drew but 90 days for a 1970 Beverly Hills burglary, was just released from a Texas prison after serving four months of a four-year burglary term there. Mr. Dial is the former police chief of San Marcos, Texas.

Prophesized postmortem dues—A cost-cutting shift of operations to Mexico by the Bendix bicycle coaster brake company recalled the dim view of the free-enterprise system held by the man who perfected the coaster brake. As a retired executive, Alexander Morrow observed: "I have increasing sympathy for the workers, the backbone of the nation, and less ability to understand the attitude of the capitalist who is apparently unable to appreciate that when he dies he leaves his money behind but may

meet in the hereafter those whom he oppressed unduly."

L.A. bust stirs rights controversy—A massive bust ordered by Mayor Yorty's office has touched off a controversy in the rights-conscious Los Angeles Police Department. What the officers object to is being leaned on to help defray the cost of the bust, a bronze likeness of the good mayor, slated for display in the Yorty Room of the Los Angeles Convention Center.



"It does frighten one. It is the special file on dissenters."

Silver-lined smoke cloud—Despite the ban on radio and TV commercials, coffin-nail consumption increased 2 percent last year. And what with only part of the money previously spent on commercials being allocated to other advertising, the industry saved \$37-million on promotion.

That answers that—The *Hollywood Paper*, voice of the Jesus People, offers a reasoned response to some of the most common arguments against Christianity. Sample: "'You Christians say you've got the only way.' WRONG. We don't say our way is the only way . . . CHRIST DOES."

Science fiction dep't—Hoping to cash in on having the same name as Superman's home base, the town of Metropolis, Ill., (pop. 7,000) has enlisted the cooperation of the publisher of Superman comics to erect a huge illuminated figure of their hero atop the town water tower. A usually reliable source advises that Whittier, Calif., which bears the same name as the town where Richard Nixon grew up, is talking to his publisher.

A living example—Vice President Agnew dissented from the view that billions to be spent on a space shuttle would be better used combating poverty and other social ills. Those who hold this view, Agnew said, make the mistake of thinking that cash can solve humankind's problems. "In my judgement," he said, "the natural imperfections in man's character make this utopian view unrealistic."

— HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

THE CONDITIONS IN WOMEN'S PRISONS is the topic of a lengthy article by Ben Bagdikian in the Feb. 2 *Washington Post*. One in a *Post* series on prisons, the article reveals a lot of information about women prisoners, despite the author's negative treatment of lesbian prisoners.

Most of the article is about the conditions at the Federal Reformatory for Women in Alderson, W. Va. The institution holds 530 inmates, of whom 54 percent are Black and 70 percent are less than 30 years old.

On the surface, Alderson appears to be less grim than men's prisons. The women live in "dormitories." Each woman has her own room, and from the outside, the institution looks more like a college campus than a prison. There the resemblance stops.

The women at Alderson earn between 19 and 47 cents an hour for their labor. Fifty-five percent of the women have children. But because they have been convicted of a federal offense, the women have no legal rights to their children. The children are subject to adoption, and once they have been placed in foster homes, adoption agencies can legally prevent the women from any further communication with them.

While the Alderson warden told Bagdikian that there was no discriminatory treatment of lesbian prisoners, former inmates described to him repressive actions taken by guards against sexual relations between inmates.

A little publicized fact about Alderson is that last September the inmates took over the prison clothing factory during a strike protesting the Attica massacre. They held the factory for four days and issued a list of 42 demands to prison authorities. The demands included ending censorship of mail, more vocational training, and an end to arbitrary punishment. Finally, the warden sent in male guards to smash the strike. They singled out 66 women as leaders of the rebellion, packed them into buses, and transferred them to maximum-security prisons in Kentucky and Texas.

The *Post* article also describes practices at the infamous Arkansas State Penitentiary, where Warden Tom Murton was fired after he exposed the murders of scores of male prisoners under the previous warden. In the Arkansas women's prison, Black inmates were forced to "cut" grass with their fingers and were served leftovers from the meals of white women prisoners. The warden who preceded Murton had a buzzer installed next to his bed. He would push the button whenever he wanted his staff to bring

him a woman prisoner for his own personal use.

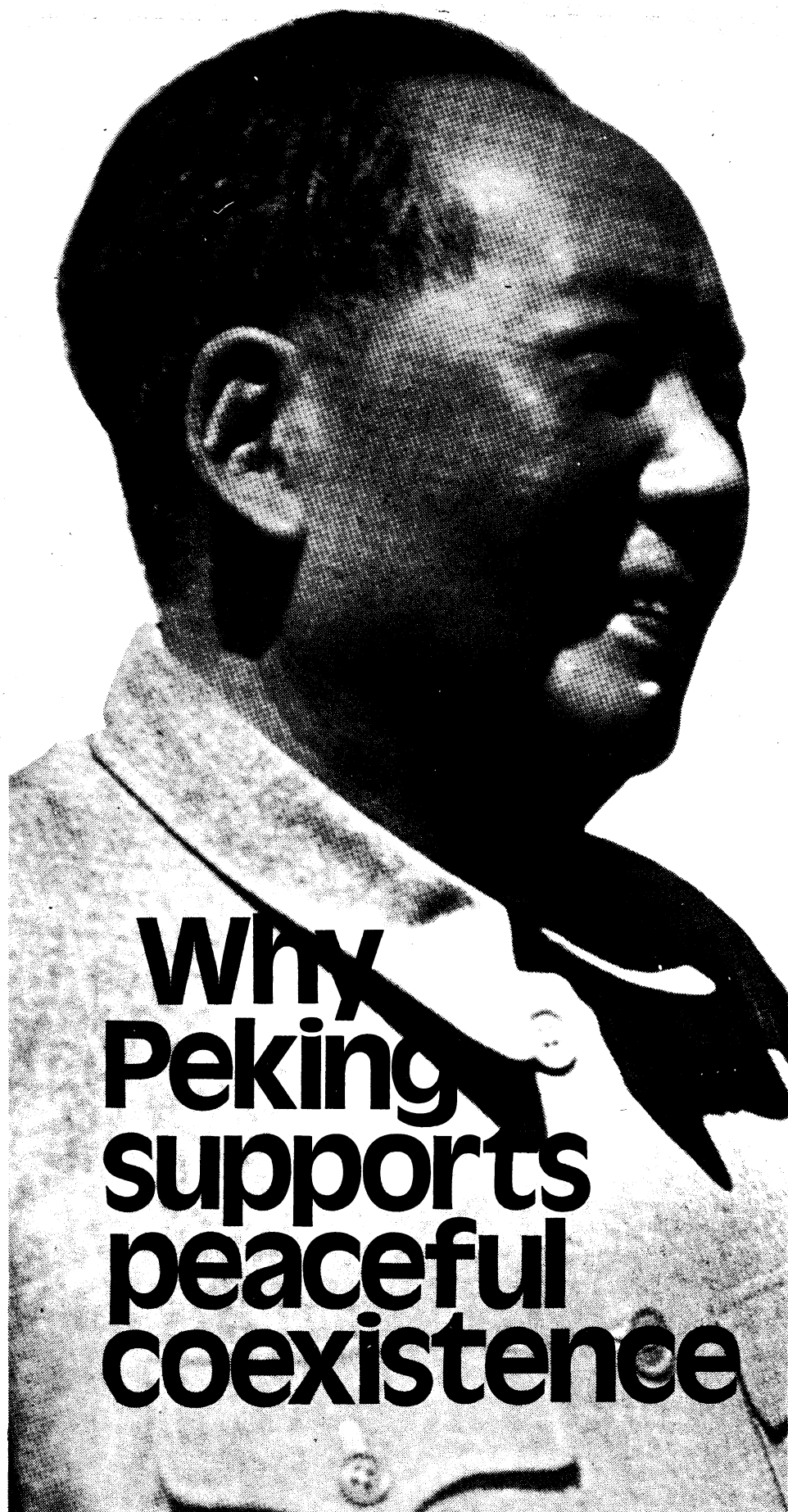
The barbaric treatment of women in prisons is not as well known as that of men, but it is clear that in future protests of prison conditions, women inmates will play an important role in exposing this brutal aspect of capitalist society.

ABORTION RESTRICTIONS IN THREE NEW YORK COUNTIES were knocked down on Jan. 31 when the New York State Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional the Hempstead, Long Island, ordinance prohibiting all abortions not performed in hospitals. The unanimous court decision affects Nassau, Suffolk, and Albany counties, all of which have restrictions preventing abortions in doctor's offices or clinics.

UPI—AN UPPITY REVUE, produced by the Feminist Collective at Westbeth, will be performed in the Westbeth Cabaret, 155 Bank St., New York City, Feb. 17-20, Feb. 24-27, and Mar. 2-5 at 8 p.m. The playwrights are Gwen Gunn, Patricia Horan, Chryse Maile, Sally Ordway, A. Piotrowski, Dolores Walker, and Susan Yankowitz. For more information or reservations, call (212) 691-0015.

NEW YORK STATE'S DIVORCE LAW may be reformed if a series of bills passes the current session of the legislature. The proposed bills call for an equal division of assets upon divorce; for alimony and child support to be payable by either husband or wife regardless of "fault"; and for reducing the grounds for divorce to two conditions—establishment that the marriage is "irretrievably broken," or that the couple has been separated for at least six months. The present law states that property and assets go to whoever has legal title, which is usually the husband. In addition, although wives can be ordered to pay alimony under the current law, the courts can deny alimony to the wife if she has "committed adultery" before the divorce. There is no similar provision denying alimony to the husband. Under the present law a couple must have been separated by agreement for one year to get a divorce. The present law also lists five other grounds for divorce, including adultery, imprisonment for three years, legal separation for two years by court order, mental or physical cruelty, and abandonment for two years.

— CINDY JAQUITH



Why Peking supports peaceful coexistence

By TONY THOMAS

In his letter printed on this page, Ike Nahem praises the *Militant's* "excellent coverage" on many issues. However, he feels that our opposition to the policies of the Maoist leadership in China is "rank opportunism."

While he admits that Peking has been "opportunistic" in its policies toward Ceylon and Pakistan, he claims that we fail to take into account the "concrete defensive realities the Chinese leadership must face just as Lenin and Trotsky faced with the young Soviet state." Moreover, he implies that we do not see China "in the context of the long, heroic, intensive, protracted liberation struggle. . . ."

Nahem raises many questions that deserve an answer, but space permits me to take up only a couple in this article. On the role of the Chinese Communist Party in the Chinese revolution, I suggest Tom Kerry's article in the September-October 1969 *International Socialist Review*, "A Mao-Stalin Rift: Myth or Fact?" For a discussion of inner-party conflicts, see *Behind China's 'Great Cultural Revolution'* by Peng Shu-tse, Pierre Frank, Joseph Hansen, and George Novack. (Available from Pathfinder Press.)

In this article I will discuss China's policy in relation to Pakistan and Bangladesh, and how it is not an "opportunistic" aberration but an example of a consistently counterrevolu-

tionary policy that has been carried out by China's leaders for nearly 25 years.

First of all, I want to indicate that *The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party completely support the abolition of capitalism in China as a victory against world imperialism and a necessary basis for improving the status of the Chinese workers and peasants. We see the defense of that revolution against capitalist forces as a responsibility of all socialists. (See "In Defense of the Chinese Revolution: An Answer to Progressive Labor," in the Oct. 1, 1971, *Militant*.)

Defense of the Chinese revolution, however, does not mean blind support to the policies of the leaders of the Chinese state. It involves the responsibility of criticizing those actions of the Chinese leaders that harm the Chinese workers state and the world revolution. Our criticism of Maoism is based on the fact that the policies of the Maoist leaders of China have weakened the Chinese workers state internationally as well as internally.

This was particularly demonstrated in Peking's policy of supporting and aiding Pakistan's capitalist government in its attempt to suppress the Bangladesh national liberation struggle. China provided arms, aid, and according to some Bangladesh leaders, military advisers to the Pakistani campaign that killed more than one million Bengalis in a period of nine months. This was motivated by the Chinese-Pakistani military alliance

against India, their common military and diplomatic enemy.

Was China's policy based on a correct, revolutionary appraisal of "the concrete defensive realities the Chinese leadership must face . . . ?" Or would a different policy have strengthened the defensive position of the Chinese revolution?

Workers states can sometimes make diplomatic, military, or economic agreements that allow them to take advantage of divisions between capitalist states. On other occasions such agreements may be forced upon a workers state as the result of a military defeat. During the first years of the Russian revolution, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, the Soviet Union made diplomatic and economic agreements with imperialist countries like Germany. However, the Russian Communist Party of that time never demanded that the working class in the countries with which they made agreements collaborate with the capitalist class in those countries.

Pakistan

Peking's policy toward Pakistan, on the other hand, is based on the subordination of the struggles of the Pakistani and Bengali workers, peasants, and students to the diplomatic alliance that China and Pakistan made in the early 1960s.

any claim to leadership either because of their opposition to the nationalist struggle or because of their past association with China. Other Bengali Maoists (such as the section of the National Awami Party led by Maulana Bhashani)—even though they repudiated Mao's position on Bangladesh—followed their Maoist training of class collaboration and supported the capitalist Awami League government. Neither course strengthened the Chinese or world revolution.

China's attitude toward Bangladesh, however, is not an "opportunistic" aberration but flows from the class-collaborationist international policy the Maoist leadership has followed since it assumed power in 1949. This is documented in the accompanying column by the examples of China's actions in Ceylon, Vietnam, Indonesia, and elsewhere. In each instance China's consistent policy of opportunism set back the world revolution and weakened China's defense.

For example, by helping to force the Vietnamese to allow partition of Vietnam in 1954, both China and the USSR hoped to gain "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism and security from attack. But this course actually paved the way for American imperialism to build an entrenched base in South Vietnam for operations

Questions stand on China

The *Militant* provides excellent coverage and guides to action on the mass movements which complement the new radicalization and are the embryonic stage of the revolutionary proletarian movement based on Marxism-Leninism, which will ultimately decapitate history's most vicious and powerful imperialist power. Outside of rank opportunism on the question of the nature and evolution of the Chinese Revolution your paper is excellent, particularly your principled stands on the antiwar movement, women's liberation and the Arab Revolution.

It is a pity that local Trotskyists in the YSA (Young Socialist Alliance), when pushed for content behind their ludicrous anti-Chinese rhetoric, can say nothing but "What about Pakistan?" refusing to read or in other ways find out the truth of the heroic struggle of the Chinese people led by the Chinese Communist Party and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. There is, of course, no excuse for Chinese opportunism in Pakistan or Ceylon, but please, let us be historical in our criticisms and take into consideration the concrete defensive realities the Chinese leadership must face just as Lenin and Trotsky faced with the young Soviet state. How about an analysis of the theory of Maoism and People's war, the theory which, when put into practice, was responsible for the liberation of one-fourth of humanity, needless to say other struggles in the Third World. . . .

No doubt the Chinese Revolution should be criticized when necessary, but criticism should always be in the context of the long, heroic, intensive, protracted liberation struggle, plus a world outlook and not motivated by opportunism. . . . In Struggle,

Ike Nahem, Bloomington, Ind.

A revolutionary Chinese leadership would have given support to the national liberation struggle of the Bengali masses and the struggle of the workers and peasants in West Pakistan. It would have explained that national liberation could not be fully realized there—or anywhere else—without following the example of China and Cuba and abolishing capitalism.

Such a course would have been far more effective than Mao Tse-tung's policy, which helped strengthen capitalist India and the pro-India, capitalist Awami League leadership in Bangladesh. Mao's military and economic aid to West Pakistan's suppression of the Bengalis—not to mention the pictures of Mao Tse-tung put up by the occupation forces in Dacca last summer—have had the effect of increasing the hostility of the oppressed Bengalis toward the Chinese workers state.

China's opposition to a revolutionary program for the Bengali liberation struggle may have played a decisive role in maintaining capitalism in Bangladesh. Many of those in Bangladesh who followed "Mao Tse-tung Thought" were eliminated from

against the people of Indochina. As the Pentagon Papers have revealed, it also led to the establishment of a ring of nuclear bases around China.

The seeds of renewed war—a war in which the U.S. has not only attempted to subdue the Vietnamese people but has threatened China itself—were an integral part of the 1954 Geneva Accords.

Indonesia

In 1965, the pro-Maoist PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia—Indonesian Communist Party) was the largest workers party outside the Soviet Union and China, with three million members and 10 million organized supporters. Yet this party was crushed in October 1965 by a military coup d'état. Hundreds of thousands of Communists and other militants were slaughtered. A major reason for this tragic defeat can be attributed to the policy of the PKI.

The PKI supported and collaborated with President Sukarno and the other capitalist leaders of Indonesia, who, like Pakistan's capitalists, were aligned with China. It participated in NASAKOM, a national front composed of nationalist capitalist pol-

iticians like Sukarno, right-wing Muslim extremists (who later led the murder of the Communists), and the PKI. In 1965, D.N. Aidit, chairman of the PKI, characterized Indonesia's capitalist government as having taken "revolutionary anti-imperialist measures." (*Castrophe in Indonesia*, Merit Publishers, pp. 15-16.)

Even though Indonesian workers and peasants demanded arms to defend themselves against rising right-wing terrorism, the PKI opposed arming them beyond the limits prescribed by China's friend Sukarno. This set the stage for the butchering of hundreds of thousands of PKI members and supporters.

The largest workers party in the capitalist world was thus destroyed in the name of China's "defensive realities," with the result that Indonesia's capitalists are now firmly and openly hostile to China. A carefully prepared armed struggle of the masses of workers and peasants defending their rights against the right-wing terrorists and the army—a struggle that might have led to the downfall of the capitalist government—would have done far more to strengthen the defense of China and to inspire liberation fighters throughout the world.

It is because of this record that supporters of the Chinese revolution around the world are alarmed that President Nixon's recent détente with Mao may lead to a betrayal of the revolutionary struggle in Indochina.

Since 1949 the Chinese leaders have consistently carried out a foreign policy based on the subordination of the international class-struggle to their nationalist diplomatic and military deals with capitalist and imperialist governments. China's policies during this period have differed from those of the Soviet Union only in that China has attempted to appear as the principal champion of the colonial revolution and has often utilized ultraleft rhetoric to mask its opportunist policies. In fact, the Chinese officials claim that they, not the Soviets, are the orthodox followers of Stalin, who originated the reformist concept of "peaceful coexistence."

This assessment poses a few ques-

tions that Nahem must answer. If the Chinese government is so consistently wrong in the sphere of foreign policy, how can it have a revolutionary policy inside China, as Nahem seems to believe? If the Chinese workers and peasants democratically determine governmental policy through their own organizations, then how does Nahem explain the reactionary nature of China's foreign policy? Does he deny the capability of the workers and peasants of China to carry out a revolutionary, internationalist policy?

The explanation is that the masses of workers and peasants in China do not determine either foreign or domestic policy. The leadership of the country is in the hands of a privileged bureaucratic caste. The hallmarks of this bureaucracy, much like the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union are: subordination of the world revolution to deals with capitalist states; the banning, jailing, purging or murdering of those who criticize the party and state leaders; no workers control over government policies; and the absurd cult of the Mao leadership, elevating it to near-divine stature. The Mao cult is very similar to the Stalin cult of the 1930s and 1940s.

Both the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies are principally concerned with preserving their own narrow interests. In foreign policy this has led to the erroneous concept that socialism can be built in a single country. With this theory Communist parties in other countries simply become agents for aiding diplomatic deals and maneuvers—not instruments of struggle for socialism. This is why Stalin junked the Third International and why Mao has never attempted to build a revolutionary-socialist international in the tradition of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. An international party assumes an international program, linking together the struggles for socialism in all sectors of the world.

A revolutionary internationalist policy in China will be achieved only with a political revolution that ousts the bureaucracy and establishes workers control over the socialized property relations won as a result of the 1949 revolution.

tionary terrorism because it would offend China's ally, Sukarno. In October 1965, more than 500,000 Indonesian Communists and their supporters were killed by rightist elements in Sukarno's "national bloc." China praised the Indonesian Communists' tactics.

BANGLADESH AND PAKISTAN, 1968-1972: China openly supported and aided Pakistan in its war to suppress the Bengali struggle for national liberation. In 1968 and 1969 mass actions against the Pakistani regime in West Pakistan and East Bengal were opposed by the Chinese bureaucrats, who supported Yahya Khan and his predecessor, Ayub Khan.

CEYLON, 1971: China gave complete support to the Bandaranaike regime's murderous repression of thousands of Ceylonese youth who demanded that Bandaranaike carry out her election promises. Chou En-lai publicly praised Bandaranaike's actions and granted Ceylon a loan to finance the repression even though leaders of Ceylon's pro-China Communists were arrested by Bandaranaike.

NIXON GOES TO CHINA, FEBRUARY 1972: ???

Indochina: key issue in Nixon-Mao talks

By DICK ROBERTS

Washington and Peking are deliberately conveying the impression that the war in Indochina has not been a major factor in the détente between President Nixon and Chairman Mao.

In his Washington, D. C., press conference Feb. 11, Nixon stated that both governments have agreed not to divulge the agenda of Nixon's forthcoming talks with the Chinese leaders. The loyal press corps present at the news conference did not ask the president whether he has already discussed, or plans to discuss, the Indochina war with Peking.

But it is inconceivable that Indochina has not been the major point of the secret Washington-Peking negotiations already taking place in preparation for Nixon's trip. The war is Nixon's number-one foreign policy problem, and he hopes that Peking will put pressure on Hanoi for a settlement in Indochina that will leave the imperialists a foothold in South Vietnam.

"I can't believe that the real meat—the real substance of the talks—won't be Vietnam," Senator Edward W. Brooke, the Massachusetts Republican, said in an interview with the *Christian Science Monitor* printed Feb. 10. Brooke, who is often used as a mouthpiece for administration leaks, added, "There is a great chance that a formula will be found at the Peking talks to resolve that conflict."

On the details of the settlement demanded by Nixon, Brooke was more vague. "... Premier Chou and President Nixon 'will work out the mechanics for a free election' and thus open the door for an agreement based on 'a phased withdrawal of troops and return of prisoners of war—much in line with the provisions of the Mansfield amendment,'" the *Monitor* stated, quoting Brooke. This remark is significant in that Senator Mike Mansfield, the influential Democratic Party majority leader, has been an outspoken advocate of a redivision of Indochina along the lines of the Geneva Accords (see *The Militant*, Feb. 18).

Brooke was asked by *Monitor* reporter Godfrey Sperling Jr. whether the settlement would "permit a Communist take-over."

"We're not going to agree to a Communist take-over of the south," the senator replied.

It is unlikely that any deals between Washington and Peking will be revealed to the public. The secret summit agreements over the division of Europe during World War II between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin have never been disclosed, although Churchill himself indicated in his memoirs that they determined the fate of all Europe. Stalin at that time, and Mao today, insist upon keeping their betrayals of revolutionary movements hidden from the eyes of the world.

"No one expects the Nixon-

Chou talks to produce any public agreement on ending the Vietnam war," *U.S. News & World Report* stated Feb. 14. "But American authorities hope that 'understandings in principle' reached in Peking may, in time, result in a softening of Hanoi's rigid stance, on the battlefields and at the Paris talks. Most officials agree that even if Peking thinks it worthwhile to bring pressure on Hanoi it could be months before signs of success would appear."

Nixon's trip to Moscow, following the Peking journey, is part of the same scheme. A forced settlement of the war would require the cooperation of the Kremlin bureaucrats along with Chou and Mao. On Feb. 4, the *Christian Science Monitor* speculated on the following "scenario":

"President Nixon may be able to persuade the Chinese and/or the Soviet Union to bring some pressures to bear on Hanoi.

"The Soviets are still providing most of the major military equipment used in the war effort by the Communist forces. And the Chinese are providing a great deal of rice and other food to help out. Thus, both major Communist nations have some hold over North Vietnam . . .



Richard Nixon

"If pressures can be brought to bear, the first important step might be agreement to a cease-fire sometime in late spring at the best."

What can Washington offer Mao in return for the pressure on Hanoi? Correspondent André Fontaine speculated on the question in the Feb. 5 weekly English edition of the Paris newspaper *Le Monde*: "Admittedly the United States continues to bomb Vietnam and protect Taiwan. But the possibility of an overall agreement on neutralising Indochina cannot be ruled out. And Mr. Kissinger, who is aware that Chiang Kai-shek is getting on in years, has already given a hint of a spectacular policy reversal to come on Taiwan by broaching the prospect of direct negotiations between Peking and Taipeh."

Lin Piao still alive?

From *Intercontinental Press*

Lin Piao has been "politically eliminated" but is still alive, according to Chinese government officials. A group of French members of parliament who spent three weeks in China was told this version of the vice-chairman's fate, Jonathan C. Randal reported from Paris in the February 10 *Washington Post*.

According to the legislators, Wu Fan-wu, director of the European section of the Foreign Ministry, denied reports that Lin was aboard the mys-

terious plane that crashed in Mongolia last September 12.

Asked if "eliminated" meant that Lin is dead, Wu replied, "No, it was a political elimination. In China we never confuse political errors with persons," according to a United Press International dispatch.

Randal wrote that Wu had also told the French delegation that Liu Shao-chi "is now in the north on a people's commune, where he can return to the true doctrine based on experience."

Newry march: an eyewitness report

From *Intercontinental Press*
By WATARU YAKUSHIJI

NEWRY—I arrived in Newry from Belfast the evening before the February 6 march. There were many roadblocks maintained by the British army and the Ulster Defense Regiment (UDR). Driving around Newry late at night, I was often stopped and searched by British soldiers and UDR men.

The border with the Twenty-six Counties was sealed as early as February 4. Despite this, some 10,000 persons came to join the march from all over the South—Cork, Dublin, Galway, Limerick, etc. Their buses were stopped at the border, but the marchers came over the hills on footpaths into Newry.

In preparation for the march, the British reinforced their army in the Six Counties with the 550-strong Second Battalion Light Infantry—an obvious attempt to intimidate the nationalist population.

The Stormont regime filled the mass

communications media with threats, saying that the Newry march would be a repetition of Bloody Sunday in Derry. The bus I rode from Belfast was stopped and searched by UDR men, who told us: "It will be another Derry tomorrow. We will be waiting for you. In Derry it was thirteen, but in Newry it will be much more."

On the morning of the march, the streets of Newry—a town of 15,000 population, about 90 percent of it nationalist—were filled with people who had come to participate. Along the Newry canal and the River Clanrye, about 2,000 British troops could be seen. Early in the afternoon they built a strong barricade at the bottom of Monaghan Street, which leads up to Camlough Road, along which the march was expected to pass.

The march organizers took steps to avoid any confrontation with the troops that might lead to a pogrom. Some 800 stewards helped to direct the demonstrators.

As an additional precaution against

confrontations, Rooney's Meadow housing estate, about half a mile from the center of Newry, was chosen as the rally site. The march began at 3:00 p.m., and although it took only thirty minutes for the head of the procession to reach the housing estate, marchers were still arriving at 5:30. Placards carried by the demonstrators had slogans like "End the internment," "Free all the political prisoners," "Abolish Stormont," "Withdraw all the British troops now," and "Abolish the Special Powers Act." There were also infrequent slogans criticizing the Lynch government.

Speakers at the rally included Social Democratic and Labour party (SDLP) members of parliament and Bernadette Devlin. The cheers of the crowd of 100,000 reached a peak when Devlin began her speech.

"We have had our Bloody Sundays before," she said. "We have lost our people. They have lost their lives in the struggle before. So let us pledge today that in the face of repression—we have been batoned, intimidated, interrogated, interned, and slaughtered on the streets—that we will continue in the struggle until we have finally defeated British imperialism."

Devlin criticized the statements of SDLP speakers that "peaceful means" were the only way to win democracy. She explained that they would not be permitted to achieve their objectives peacefully by British imperialism, which "neither knows nor cares about the meaning of peace or justice or freedom or democracy." She went on to explain why a united socialist Ireland is the only solution, and concluded to thundering applause.

There was then a minute of silence in honor of the thirteen persons murdered in Derry. The stony silence of the huge throng was awe-inspiring.

The February 7 issue of the Belfast *Irish News* made the following evaluation of the march:

"Ireland will remember Newry yes-

terday as the finest day in the history of the Civil Rights Association's struggle against Stormont and the Special Powers Act.

"To make it possible 60,000 people—some estimates were as high as 100,000—marched two miles in stony silence and showed their contempt for Stormont by breaking the Government ban on parades."

The Civil Rights Association had originally expected only about 30,000 demonstrators, but the political awakening in the Twenty-six Counties and the deepening determination of the nationalist population of the North combined to produce a march that is being described by movement leaders as the largest since the 1920s.

The demonstration showed that the people of the South have begun to go beyond verbal solidarity with their compatriots in the North—a fact also indicated by marches the same day in Dublin, Dundalk, and Cork.

NEW YORK—As a result of the recent events in Northern Ireland an Anti-Internment Coalition has been formed here and is organizing a march and rally for March 4. Demands of the demonstration are for the end to internment and for the immediate withdrawal of all British troops from Northern Ireland.

The Feb. 6 meeting that called for the demonstration was attended by more than 150 people, including representatives from the Irish Republican Clubs, the Irish Northern Aid Committee, the Socialist Workers Party, the National Association for Irish Freedom, the International Socialists, the American Committee for Ulster Justice, and Clann Na Gael.

The march will be from Columbus Circle (59th St.) to Bryant Park (42nd St.). For further information, contact the Anti-Internment Coalition, c/o Irish Institute, 326 W. 48th St., New York, N. Y. 10017. Phone (212) CO5-3305.



Photo from the Irish Times

Demonstrators duck as paratroopers open fire in Derry, Sunday, Jan. 30. Newry march protested the "Bloody Sunday" massacre and internment.

British miners confront Tory government

FEB. 15—On Feb. 14 the British government issued emergency regulations under which more than 20,000 British factories are forbidden to operate more than three days a week. As a result hundreds of thousands of British workers have been suspended from their jobs. The government order was in response to the strike of Britain's 280,000 miners, which has entered its sixth week. It is Britain's largest industrial crisis since World War II, and some say, since the general strike of 1926.

The miners walked off their jobs Jan. 9 demanding a 47 percent wage increase. Their present final demand is for a 25 percent increase, while the Coal Board has raised its offer to only 12 percent.

According to a report from London in the Feb. 21 *Intercontinental Press*, the miners have been traveling up and down the country picketing power stations, coal deposits, and docks. Their militant pickets have succeeded in tying up the coal supplies going into practically every major power station in the country.

On Feb. 8 the Tory government invoked a "state of emergency," which empowers the government to counter the effectiveness of the miners strike by cutting off electric-power supplies. It also permits the use of British troops to disperse pickets so that scabs may transport coal.

The government has threatened an almost total electric-power blackout and a complete shutdown of industry—which would result in the lay-off of 20 million workers—if the strike continues for two weeks longer.

Despite these threats and the discomfort from intermittent lack of heat and lights in homes and the cancellation of commuter trains, support for the miners is strong among other working people in England. *Intercontinental Press* reports that "Oil workers have refused to cross picket lines and railwaymen have refused to carry coal. S-U carburetter men in Birmingham have walked out in a 24-hour strike. . . . Some Labour [Party] MPs, themselves members of the National Union of Mineworkers, have joined the picket lines alongside the miners. Many student groups are calling meetings at their colleges and universities to discuss the strike and to give financial assistance and to help out on the picket lines."

A Feb. 15 dispatch from London in the *New York Times* quoted a 25-year-old miner, James Traynor, as saying: "Sure it's rough when thousands of people are laid off and the factories are closed down because of us. But the workers know that if the government and the bosses break us today, they'll break someone else tomorrow. If we lose, the union movement loses."

The miners' case is unimpeachable. The *Intercontinental Press* report notes: "In 1947, when the mines were nationalized, there were 985 mines; since that time, 770 have been closed; with new openings, only 292 remain. More than 400,000 jobs have been lost, creating derelict communities, moving miners and their families to other areas like refugees, many having to move two or three times. "Since nationalisation 6,545 men have been killed at work, and 38,000 miners have been injured in accidents."

The Feb. 15 *New York Times* noted the feeling of most miners that their job is "a dead end" and that they deserve a better wage in order to have a decent life. Twenty-eight-year-old Ken Devine, on his way to a picket line, told *Times* reporter Bernard Weintraub: "It's like being an animal. The dust, the water, crawling on your stomach half the day with the roof scraping your back. On your hands and knees with a pick and shovel, the mud. It's a bloody miserable way to earn a quid."

When negotiations between the union and the Coal Board broke down, a three-man court of inquiry was named by the government Feb. 11. Any settlement coming out of the court of inquiry will be subject to approval by vote of the rank-and-file miners.

The determination of the miners was expressed by a striker, Ronald Victor Jones, who was interviewed by Weintraub. He said: "I'm working in the pits 47 years. I got a cough and my eyes are bad. This time, me and all the lads are going to get our due."



Birmingham workers show solidarity with miners strike.

Kutcher retires: undefeated fighter for civil liberties

By MICHAEL SMITH

On Jan. 28, James Kutcher, a revolutionary socialist and World War II disabled veteran, retired from his clerical job at a Newark, N.J., Veterans Administration hospital. He received a pin for 30 years of meritorious service and a small retirement pension.

Routine? No, not for Kutcher. In one of the most dramatic cases to come up during the McCarthy witch-hunt period, he had to fight the government for the right to hold that job and its benefits. It took eight years, but he won. In the process he revealed the government's real policy with respect to civil liberties, and how cruelly it can treat its veterans.

Drafted in 1942, Kutcher fought as a rifleman in North Africa, Sicily, and up the Italian peninsula. The action was extremely heavy. Near San Pietro he was hit by a mortar shell. "I was examined by two different doctors at the same time," he wrote. "They told me my legs were in pretty bad shape and both would have to be amputated. I told them to go ahead and so they operated on me simultaneously, and they both came off around the same time."

After two years in the hospital, Kutcher was honorably discharged with a purple heart and returned to Newark, his home town. He learned how to walk on artificial limbs and got a job for \$38 a week with the Veterans Administration. Remembering that he hadn't had a steady job during the depression, Kutcher remarked, "For the first time in my life I had a sense of security."

Two years later came another bombshell. Kutcher was told that he was scheduled to be fired for being "disloyal" to the government of the United States and that he had to appear before a Loyalty Board in 30 days if he wanted to clear himself.

How did this come about? The government hadn't shown any interest in Kutcher's socialist and antiwar views when they drafted him and marched him up against an artillery barrage.

Kutcher was a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938 and had been active in the Newark branch of the party. In 1947, President Truman, a Democrat, tried to outflank his Republican critics from the right. In response to their accusations that his administration was "soft on communism," coddling subversives, and "harboring spies," he launched a witch-hunt to weed out "un-Americans" from government employment.

The real purpose of rooting out "subversives" was to whip up a hysterical atmosphere poisonous to those like Kutcher who actively struggled for social change.

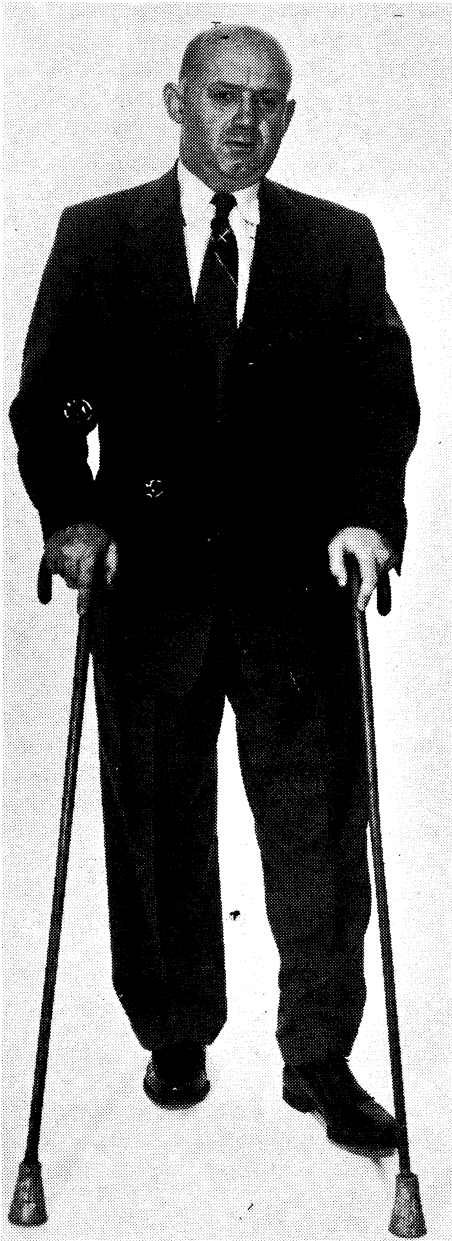
The attorney general, without giving the SWP a chance to defend itself, arbitrarily put it and scores of other organizations on his blacklist. The First Amendment and due process of law were ignored. Kutcher's political party was judged to be for the overthrow of the government by force and violence, which it did not advocate, and Kutcher was faced with the prospect of appearing before the Loyalty Board.

Kutcher had a difficult decision to make. He could have chosen, like many others, to quit his government job, duck the Loyalty Board procedure, and quietly seek other employment. Shy by nature and self-con-

scious about his disability, he hesitated to be placed in the public spotlight. Yet he knew his only chance to defend himself, his party, and the rights of other Americans was in the court of public opinion. He chose to fight, to deal a counterblow to the real subverters of democratic liberties.

"In most respects I am an ordinary man. I have no special talents. I never showed any capacity for leadership," Kutcher wrote in his book, *The Case of the Legless Veteran*. This is overly modest, for in making his choice he became the first public employee to challenge the fundamental constitutionality of the loyalty purge.

Appearing before the Loyalty



James Kutcher

Board, Kutcher challenged the government's right to classify organizations as subversive without a hearing and to then summarily fire someone for being a member of that organization—that is, merely for their ideas, not for any illegal act.

The right to hold political ideas and to associate with others of similar persuasion is a basic guarantee of the First Amendment. The Loyalty Board, however, refused to consider this constitutional issue, found (as if it were a secret!) that Kutcher was a member of the SWP, and had him fired.

The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee was formed. It was a nonpartisan group whose purpose was to obtain wide public support by getting out the facts of the case and explaining the issues at stake.

Kutcher toured the country, sometimes speaking to eight or nine different groups in a day. His case became widely known and served as a rallying point for opponents of the witch-hunt. Many people—professors, unionists, Chicanos, religious figures,

Blacks, and Japanese-Americans recently released from internment camps—supported Kutcher. Many unions supported the case. One local of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO, enthusiastically endorsed his case after hearing Kutcher speak. Then they took him out and fitted him with two new suits and a topcoat. Altogether almost 800 organizations gave aid.

The American Communist Party was not among Kutcher's supporters. Instead it went out of its way to influence people not to support him, shamelessly saying he belonged to a movement whose members were agents of Wall Street, fascists, finger-men for the FBI, and preachers of the violent overthrow of the government. The CP was itself under attack by the government at the time. Their slanders and lack of solidarity with fellow victims hurt them and caused some dissension within their own ranks. Eventually they reversed their position.

Rolled up victories

Meanwhile, Kutcher began rolling up an impressive record against a government that acted with consistent vindictiveness.

He was receiving a small monthly payment for his disability, something that all disabled vets get. Shortly before Christmas in 1955, the government moved to revoke it. Kutcher forced the government into the first open hearing in a "security" case. Loss of the pension would have left him destitute, and the courtroom scene was a dramatic one. Kutcher took the witness stand.

"If the government drops these proceedings will you renounce your views?" he was asked.

"No sir."

"If the government takes away your pension will you renounce your views?"

"No sir," he answered again.

Kutcher won the right to keep his pension.

A second victory was won in the New Jersey Supreme Court against the eviction of Kutcher and his aged and sick 73-year-old parents from their low-income apartment. This was a test case and a key factor in dissuading Congress from conducting loyalty purges of federal housing tenants in the next year.

Finally in 1956, eight long years after he was fired, Kutcher won a favorable decision in a federal court of appeals. He got his job back, becoming the first member of a black-listed organization to vindicate his right to government employment. Still the government held out on the question of back pay. It took another law suit and two years to settle that—in Kutcher's favor.

Last summer when Kutcher decided to retire, it appeared that government officials computing his retirement pension did not credit him for the eight years he was illegally suspended from his job. The decision on that issue was referred to Washington officials. In view of the clear terms of the court decision and Kutcher's known record as a fighter, the government again gave in and credited him with 30 years of employment.

As he discussed this last incident with this reporter, the legless veteran added a final irony. "Lately I've noticed their advertisements for new job applicants. And the ads read, 'all are eligible regardless of race, religion, or political persuasion.'"

Sadat rebuffs Egyptian students

By TONY THOMAS

FEB. 6—Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's trip to Moscow Feb. 3-4, which resulted in a "peace proposal" to Israel, shows that the Egyptian capitalists and the Soviet bureaucrats have totally disregarded the demands of Egypt's militant students for firmer resistance against Israel. The students expressed their demands in demonstrations that rocked Egypt during the first three weeks of January.

Hedrick Smith, writing in the Feb. 5 *New York Times*, reports that the conclusion of the Moscow meetings between Sadat and the Soviet officials was a demand "that Dr. Gunnar V. Jarring, the United Nations special representative for the Middle East, 'should immediately resume' consultations with the Arabs and Israelis aimed at promoting a political settlement involving full Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territory."

Israel has occupied large portions of Jordan, Syria, and Egypt since the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war. During the last four and a half years, the Egyptian capitalists, led first by Nasser and now by Sadat, have depended on diplomatic negotiations to regain these territories. But despite a United Nations resolution—passed more than four years ago—calling for withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories, Egypt and the other Arab countries have gained nothing from these negotiations. This includes the negotiations conducted by Jarring during the past few years.

The Egyptian students called for arming the Egyptian masses, release of Palestinian commandos arrested for allegedly assassinating reactionary Jordanian Premier Wasfi Tal, nationalization of U. S. industries in Egypt, and political freedom for all Egyptians.

One of the Sadat regime's chief fears was that the militant nationalist student demonstrations would help stimulate other sectors of the Egyptian society, especially the organized workers, to wage radical protests.

Sarah-Krasny, writing in the Jan. 29 issue of *Rouge*, a French revolutionary-socialist newspaper, reports, "above all, [the Egyptian students] demand the release of the workers arrested following the August 1971 strike in the iron foundries at Helwan. . . . Sadat himself, on Jan. 25 . . . denounced [the student unrest] as the result of a plot from outside the university—the wholesome students had been led astray by the misguided workers of Helwan. High school demonstrations have also been held in this city, and workers in the Helwan complex sent them a message of support."

According to the Jan. 30 *New York Times*, Lebanese students held demonstrations during the previous week "demanding that the Soviet Union provide the Arabs with offensive weapons with which to liberate the land Israel seized in the 1967 war."

Before leaving for Moscow, Sadat stated, "I am delaying the zero hour [for war with Israel] until I have discussed the international situation with the Soviet leaders." (*Washington Post*, Feb. 3.) But the outcome of Sadat's trip to Moscow shows that both Sadat and the Moscow bureaucrats have not abandoned their strategy of relying on negotiations with Israel and imperialism. This strategy has not worked, and the Sadat regime's prestige among the Arab and Egyptian masses continues to fall.

Black Democrats to repair the party

By DERRICK MORRISON

On Jan. 30 the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) and other Black leaders announced plans to hold a national Black political convention in Gary, Ind., March 10-12. Temporary co-chairmen of the convention are Representative Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D-Mich.), former chairman of the CBC; Mayor Richard G. Hatcher of Gary; and Imamu Amiri Baraka (Le-roi Jones) of the Congress of African People.

The convention had been called by a national conference of almost 200 Black elected officials held last November in Washington, D.C. That conference, sponsored by the CBC, had slated the convention for April or May. But when it became clear to some organizers that a number of primaries and state delegate-selection conventions would have occurred by then, the date was moved up.

Along with the announcement of the new date, the organizers set March 1 as the deadline for holding statewide conventions to select delegates to the national gathering in Gary.

According to the Feb. 5 *Amsterdam News*, the formula for delegate selection "is based on an allocation of a minimum of five delegates from each state; plus, that state's percentage of the total national Black population." Black elected officials automatically have delegate status.

The Gary convention comes after a series of meetings held last year between Black reformists such as the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Blacks attached to capitalist foundations, Black elected officials, and reformist nationalists. Its purpose is to finally crystallize what has been billed as "a national Black strategy for the 1972 elections and beyond."

The convention represents an attempt by the Black Democrats to adapt to the growing nationalist consciousness of the Black community. The fact that they hope to gather 4,000 Blacks in Gary, and expect no serious challenge from the left, shows that despite the extension of the Black awakening (into the military and prisons, for example) there is still virtually no significant comprehension of the need for an outright break with the political parties of the white capitalist oppressor.

This gesturing by the reformists to nationalist sentiment on a nationwide level began early last year with the organization of the Congressional Black Caucus. During the summer, more than 300 Black Democrats gathered in Mobile, Ala., to form the Southern Black Caucus. And last November, plans for organizing Black caucuses on the local, county, and state level emerged from the conference of Black elected officials in Washington.

The aim, as it is now stated, is to elect as delegates to the Democratic Party national convention a substantial number of Blacks who are not committed to any white presidential hopeful.

A look at how the reformists have sought to accomplish this feat provides some valuable lessons about the nature of the Democratic Party.

The 1972 elections became the topic

of serious discussion among Black elected officials last summer. At that time Julian Bond, a Georgia state legislator, began circulating a paper urging Blacks to field favorite-son candidates in the 1972 presidential primaries.

After repeated back-room meetings, another idea emerged: running a Black Democrat for president. The proponents of this plan felt it would provide a sharper focus for "nationalizing" the Black vote and building an independent bloc of delegates for the Democratic Party convention. The chief backers of this plan were Percy Sutton, Manhattan borough president in New York City; Representative John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.); Representative Louis Stokes (D-Ohio), and the Reverend Jesse Jackson.

It is no accident that the momentum behind this plan gained ground with the ascending political fortunes of Cleveland Mayor Carl B. Stokes. Although not running for office, Stokes sought to use the city elections that fall as a testing ground for his brand of machine politics. Success on the local level would have enabled him to become a "national power-broker," which was his intention. However, despite an impressive showing for his city council and mayoral candidates in the Sept. 28 primary, which brought him much national publicity and attention, Stokes' candidate lost city hall to the Republicans in November. This dismal result reduced him from a would-be national power-broker to a campus lecturer and put a damper on talk of a presidential bid in Black Democratic circles.

Shirley Chisholm's campaign

Before his debacle though, Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.), to the chagrin of the Stokes supporters, announced that she would run for the Democratic Party presidential nomination. This—coupled with sexist notions that the candidate ought to be a "Black male"—explains why Chisholm received much static from some of her colleagues.

This abuse reached its height at the November conference of elected officials. The CBC organizers did not include her on the main panel discussing Black political strategy. Instead, she was relegated to a committee on "early childhood education." Some of the officials, especially the females, raised heated objections to this maneuver.

Later that month, Black Democratic Party leaders met with Lawrence O'Brien, the party national chairman. According to the Dec. 20 issue of *Time* magazine, he promised (as usual) "that 20 percent of the membership of all convention committees will be black." This figure is derived from the estimate that 20 percent of the 31.2 million votes cast for Hubert Humphrey in 1968 were from Blacks.

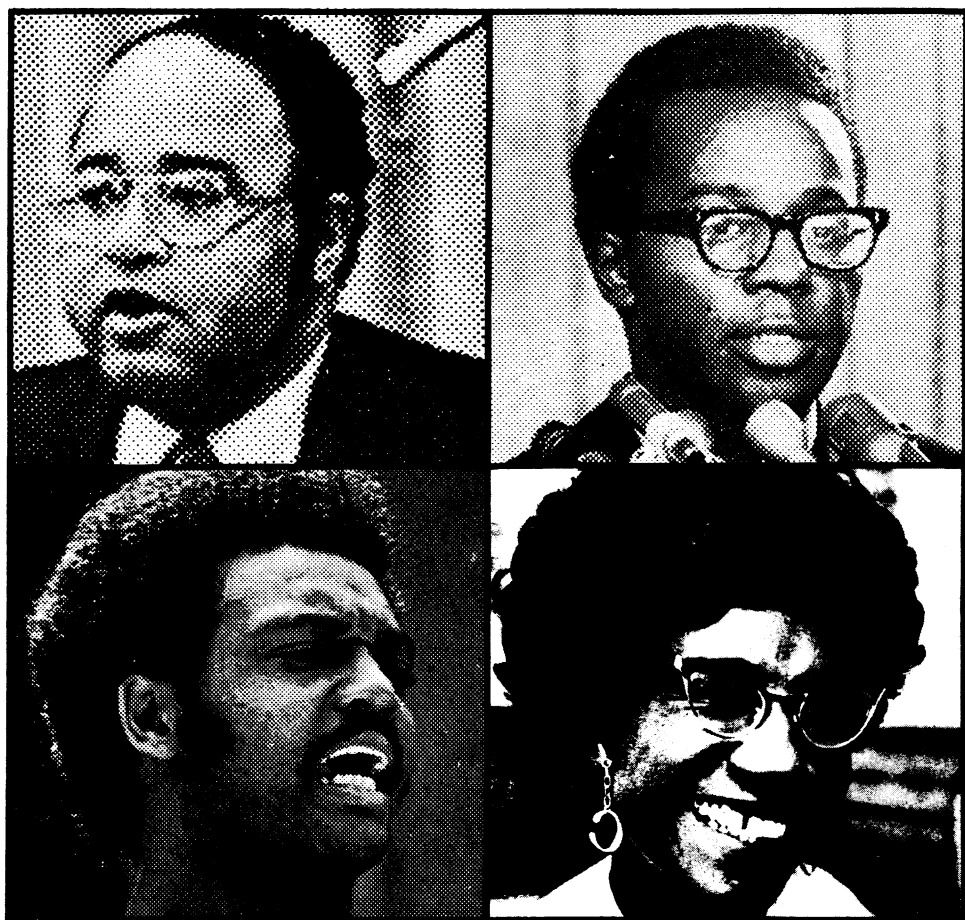
The 20 percent concept has been extended by some leaders beyond the convention to cover the on-going apparatus of the Democratic Party.

Nevertheless, the Black Democrats know that to bargain successfully at the Miami convention in July, they must not only have the delegate strength but also a semblance of harmony, that is, Black unity.

So, after Chisholm formally announced her campaign in Brooklyn Jan. 25, Sutton spearheaded a drive to rally Black politicians in her behalf. "Shirley was out there and we had to make a decision. . . . She put a number of us on the spot. I found I could not run around the country committed to a black Presidential candidate concept and not supporting Shirley. Then, I decided, if I join her, she is accountable to me. I called Dick Hatcher [mayor of Gary] to try

According to Sutton, "We hope to create a climate there [Gary convention] to make it extremely difficult for anyone claiming to be black to support a white candidate." Yet, Mayor Hatcher, in the Jan. 31 *Chicago Sun-Times*, said it would be a "serious mistake" if the major white presidential hopefuls did not address the convention.

Furthermore, in the Feb. 5 *Sun-Times*, David S. Robinson writes that



Top: Charles Diggs, Jr. (l); Richard Hatcher (r). Bottom: Jesse Jackson (l); Shirley Chisholm (r).

to convince him. The question was, is it possible, can we work effectively in the convention, can we keep some unity," Sutton was quoted as saying in the Feb. 4 *New York Times*.

According to the same article, the Reverend Jesse Jackson said Chisholm's candidacy was "consistent with the national black political strategy."

To facilitate the rapprochement, Chisholm agreed to the formation of a predominantly Black (according to the *Times*) 15- to 20-member advisory group to be headed by Sutton. She also agreed not to run in the May 2 primary in the District of Columbia, where Walter E. Fauntroy, the District's nonvoting congressional delegate, announced last Dec. 7 that he would be a favorite-son candidate. Moreover, she will leave the Ohio primary to Carl and Louis Stokes, who have not yet unveiled their plans.

Members of the CBC who have already endorsed Chisholm are Representative Ronald V. Dellums (D-Calif.) and Representative Parren J. Mitchell (D-Md.).

But leaving aside the programmatic aspect, can any meaningful unity of Blacks in the Democratic Party be achieved? Can the Black Democrats really take an independent bloc of Black delegates to the Democratic Party convention?

Hatcher hasn't endorsed Chisholm, and that in the minds of some of the Gary convention organizers, leverage at the Democratic Party convention "can best be achieved . . . by carefully choosing candidates, either black or white, who promise the most power to blacks, then supporting those candidates in upcoming state primaries."

This plan would involve scrapping the idea of an independent-delegate bloc and jumping on the coattails of the white capitalist presidential hopefuls now.

Such is the case already with Fayette, Miss., Mayor Charles Evers. Evers, the first Black to sit on the national executive committee of the Democratic Party and one of the co-chairmen of the Southern Black Caucus, is running around Florida and Arizona campaigning for New York Mayor John Lindsay.

Fauntroy, who hopes to lead 15 Black delegates to the Miami convention by winning the D.C. primary, has had to include some pro-McGovern delegates on his slate in order to keep McGovern out of the primary.

Bargains and concessions

More bargains like this will be struck before the Miami convention. In fact, it is not inconceivable that the Gary convention will come out

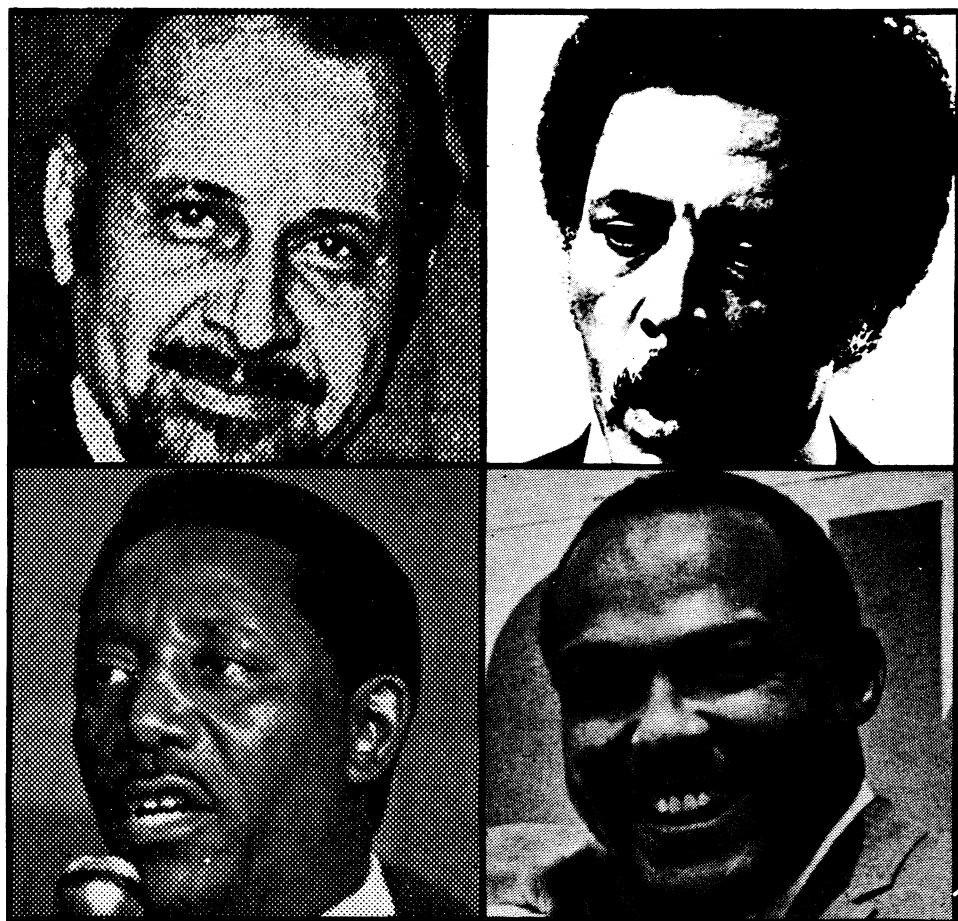
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for Muskie or Humphrey—since all that is required for endorsement are the candidate's verbal promises and assurances. And if that doesn't materialize, it is more than likely that some of the key supporters of running Black favorite-sons or a Black presidential candidate will pay their dues to one of the major white presidential hopefuls long before the Democratic convention.

This will be the case because—contrary to some illusions—Black Dem-

at large.

Diggs displays an interest in Africa, Dellums in the plight of Black GIs, and Chisholm in the problems facing Black women. But they have not called for the Democratic Party to bring an end to U.S. support of the South African and Rhodesian regimes; they have not asked the Democratic Party to support the right of Black GIs to organize against racism, and to abolish the army itself; and they have not petitioned the Dem-



Top: Percy Sutton (l); Ron Dellums (r). Bottom: Charles Evers (l); Carl Stokes (r).

ocrats do not own or control the Democratic Party. They are just appendages, mere pawns, to be dangled in front of the masses in order to more easily wed them to the party. O'Brien will not have to make good on his promise of 20 percent because it is very likely that Black reformists will be in complete disarray by the time of the Democratic convention.

Even if there is a semblance of unity, all the Democratic Party chieftains have to do is to make a few token gestures, and the appetite of the Black Democrats will be satisfied.

In a paper they are now circulating, Sutton and others say they see "real power in a black being Secretary of the Treasury or chairing the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, and Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Reserve Bank and other such nonblack positions in America's power structure."

These are not earth-shaking proposals. They would do little more than provide a grease job for the apparatus of exploitation and oppression. Adding a few Black faces to the upper echelons of the Democratic Party will not change its function as an organ of capitalist domination in this country in general and in the Black community in particular, and as an organ of imperialist rule for the world

ocratic Party to support the struggle to repeal all abortion laws, and the struggle for equal pay for equal work.

They will not ask the Democratic Party to get behind the struggle for Black control of the Black community, nor to throw its weight into the drive demanding freedom for Angela Davis.

These and other demands are relevant to the masses, not just the few. And they strike at the very vitals of the capitalist system responsible for exploiting and oppressing Black people.

The Black Democrats display a thorough understanding of the nature of the machinery they operate in. The new glitter that they have given the machine has served to derail and disorient countless numbers of nationalist militants, ranging from the Black Panther Party to the Congress of African People.

Only by comprehending the role of the Black Democrats, and the nature of the party they represent, can the struggle for Black community-control, for a mass, independent Black political party, go forward. And in the 1972 elections, the only campaign urging this independent Black political perspective is that of the Socialist Workers Party and its candidates, Linda Jenness for president and Andrew Pulley for vice-president.

Newark Black parley supports Democrats

By JOHN HAWKINS

NEWARK — In September of last year, an eastern regional conference of the Congress of African People (CAP) meeting here announced a national convention for 1972 to launch a Pan-Africanist political party.

Following this, a conference of almost 200 Black elected officials met Nov. 18-20 in Washington, D. C. The conference, sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), announced plans to convene a national Black political convention in April or May of this year. In the words of Representative Charles C. Diggs (D-Mich.), chairman of the CBC at the time, the convention would undertake "developing a National Black Agenda and the crystallization of a national Black strategy for the 1972 elections and beyond."

The question of how the CAP and CBC conventions would relate to each other was answered here Jan. 15 at the Essex County Black Political Convention. This conference, sponsored by the Newark Black Leadership Congress and the Newark Congress of African People, marked the formal entry of the Newark CAP into Democratic Party politics.

Organizers at the November conference of Black elected officials had urged those assembled to organize county and statewide conventions, and to set up local and state Black caucuses. The immediate aim of this "strategy" was to prepare for the national convention (now slated for March 10-12 in Gary, Ind.) called by the Congressional Black Caucus. Its primary objective, however, lay in the election of Black delegates to the national convention of the Democratic Party. It was on this strategy—far removed from any thought of a Pan-Africanist political party—that the Essex County meeting proceeded.

The more than 250 conference participants were treated to a host of speeches by local elected officials, including Newark Councilman Sharpe James, who represented Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson; Essex County Freeholder (commissioner) Thomas Cooke; and State Senator Wynona Lipman.

In a speech delivered to the conference, Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones), program chairman of the national Congress of African People, outlined the purpose of the convention, the history of recent national discussions of Black elected officials in which he had participated, and the role the CAP plans to play in the 1972 elections.

Paraphrasing Malcolm X's speech on the ballot or the bullet, Baraka pointed to the potential power of Black voters in the U.S. He concluded from this, and from the fact that Blacks are oppressed as a nationality, that any Black is "more progressive than America," and that the use of the ballot would be transformed in a progressive direction by the "quality" of Blacks.

In motivating CAP's support to the CBC-called national convention, Baraka pointed to the possibility of repeating the Newark experience—electing Blacks to office as a bloc rather than as individuals—on a national scale. He took note of the fact that the national conventions of the Democratic and Republican parties would

be attempting to decide the fate of African-Americans. In answer to this he proposed the establishment of a national Black political caucus that would act as a pressure group on the conventions of both capitalist parties, and that would be a permanent structure.

As though to put at ease those in the audience who may have remembered the official position of CAP in favor of forming an independent Black party, Baraka gave token mention to the formation of such a party—but not now. "Let's talk about a structure that can influence the Democratic Party," he stated.

The subordination of the CAP to the Democratic Party via the Congressional Black Caucus was further confirmed in the main address given by Walter Fauntroy, the nonvoting congressional delegate from Washington, D. C. During his speech Fauntroy conducted an impromptu class on what he and other CBC members are fond of labeling "the arithmetic of power."

Replete with charts of the number of delegates needed to nominate the Democratic Party presidential candidate, Fauntroy outlined a plan for acquiring enough delegates—through collaboration with the National Women's Political Caucus and the National Youth Caucus—to wield the deciding influence over the outcome of the nomination.

He urged the audience to "master the arithmetic of power," (that is, go out and hustle delegates to the Democratic Party convention) and wound up his speech with an unaccompanied rendition of the song "To Dream the Impossible Dream."

A better name for this "arithmetic of power," which Baraka and the Newark CAP have apparently mastered, would be a "political numbers game." And the pronouncements of Baraka, Fauntroy, and others on the power they will be able to wield at the Democratic convention are worth about as much as a dream book.

Not only do these aspirants to power and influence disregard the fundamental nature of the Democratic Party, a party serving as one of the main political instruments of white American capitalist rule at home and abroad, but they also miseducate as to what it will actually take to gain full liberation for African-Americans in this country.

Any gains that have been won by Black people in the U.S. over the recent past have been won in struggles organized outside of the Democratic and Republican parties. The strategy put forth by the CBC, and now being endorsed by the CAP, subordinates the struggle of African-Americans to working in the Democratic Party, thus choking off the logical electoral expression of the struggle—a Black political party independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

The CBC and CAP are offering the same old strategy—although in a new cloak—of counseling Black people to rely upon the promises of one or another white capitalist politician. This strategy was and remains, when it comes to winning liberation for the majority of Black people, an impossible dream.

Traveling team in Fla. builds SWP campaign

By ALEX HARTE

MIAMI, Feb. 6—In 1904 the Socialist campaign of Eugene V. Debs put 22 full-time organizers on the road. In the first months of 1972, the Socialist Workers Party Presidential campaign is putting six teams on the road, each with three full-time volunteer organizers. The first team began its canvassing in Florida.

Recently, I talked with the team members about their experiences during their first two weeks in Florida.

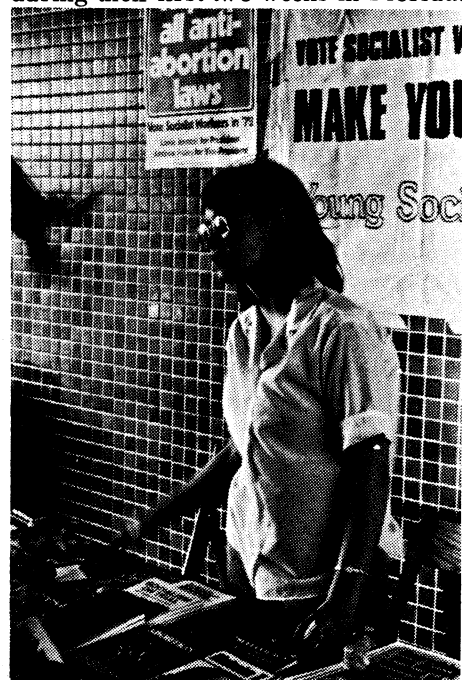


Photo by Michael Maggi

"Make your first vote count," reads sign behind Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley literature table set up by team on the road in Florida.

"It is encouraging to see how big an impact the Socialist Workers campaign has already had," said Jack Lieberman, who has just announced his candidacy on the Socialist Workers Party ticket for the U.S. House of Representatives from Florida's Second Congressional District. Lieberman, who was dismissed from Florida State University in Tallahassee because of his revolutionary ideas, has joined the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley team.

"Interest in the abortion issue is high. More than one-third of the 55 endorsers we obtained in the first two weeks are women, and the best selling pamphlet is *Abortion: A Woman's Right*," [Pathfinder Press] stated Debbye Chlosta, another team member. I asked her why she thought this was true. "People here have become active in challenging the anti-abortion laws," she replied, citing the case of Shirley Wheeler, a Florida woman who has been charged with manslaughter for having an abortion. She also referred to the case of the editor of *The Alligator*, the campus newspaper at the University of Florida in Gainesville who is being prosecuted for printing abortion-referral information. "The Florida chapters of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley," Chlosta continued, are urging women to attend the national conference of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition [WONAAC]."

"Black students have also been particularly receptive to the ideas of the Socialist Workers Campaign," interjected Michael Maggi, who is captain of the YSJP team in Florida. "The SWP campaign poster, Black Control of the Black Community, is especially popular," Maggi continued. "Almost one-quarter of the endorsers we obtained in the past two weeks have signed up as Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley."

"Even at a small school like Daytona Beach Junior College, which has no history of radical activity," added

Chlosta, "students are receptive to a campaign that supports all movements fighting for radical change. In the course of one hour we signed up six campaign supporters in the snack bar of Daytona Beach Junior College, three of them Black students. The president of the Black Cultural Society on the campus offered to sponsor tables and rooms for meetings of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley in the future," Chlosta said.

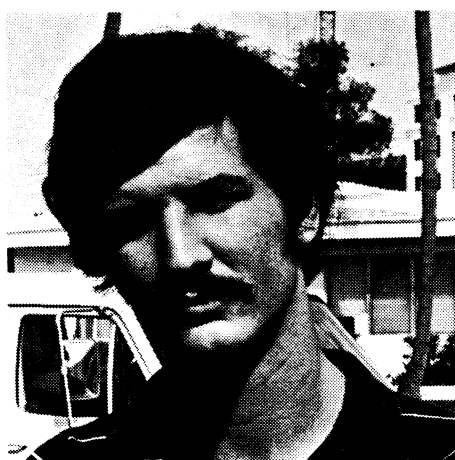
Lieberman cited the broad support the SWP campaign had gathered so far. "Afro-American endorsers include Willie Holden, statewide president of the Florida Association of Black Student Unions, and Raleigh Jugger Jr. chief of staff of the Malcolm X United Liberation Front in Tallahassee."

"One of the most important aspects of the team," Maggi stated, "is confronting the capitalist candidates while they are stumping the state of Florida for the primary. They spend their time dodging questions and avoiding issues we raise during the question and answer period. At the University of Florida in Gainesville, for example, we distributed over 1,500 pieces of campaign literature at a [Senator] Henry Jackson [D-Wash.] rally and confronted Jackson on his anti-abortion stand. The crowd was very receptive to our positions on the issues."

"People are getting fed up with the problems and the oppression of this society," commented Chlosta. "They are looking for radical alternatives. Even the liberals are less inclined to attempt half-hearted measures and are faced with the choice of breaking with Democrats and Republicans or supporting them."

"Allan Rockway, a statewide officer of the People's Party, told me that the People's Party had intended to run a campaign in the Second Congressional District," Lieberman said, "but after my announcement they decided they didn't want to run against us. He said they might even support my campaign."

Maggi noted that groups of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley are organizing on campuses throughout Florida. "Nowhere are Students for McGovern much larger than YSJPs in terms of activists," Maggi commented, "and from our experiences so far, we have found YSJP groups to be better organized and at least as large as campus groups for Muskie, Lindsay, Humphrey, or Jackson."



Jack Lieberman Photo by Michael Maggi

"When we talk to McGovern supporters," added Chlosta, "we spend most of our time explaining what McGovern's record has been. The pamphlet *Everything you always wanted to know about George McGovern* . . . has been in great demand. At the University of Florida in Gainesville, after YSJP national coordinator Laura Miller debated two McGovern supporters, several ex-McGovern supporters became active in the YSJP group there," Chlosta said.

Continued on page 22

'72 Socialist Campaign

Four Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley paid a visit to George McGovern's campaign headquarters in New Hampshire on Feb. 5 to sell Militants and McGovern truth kits and talk to McGovern volunteers.

"After McGovern loses in Miami in July, I am planning to come to work for you," one high school McGovern supporter from Philadelphia told the YSJPs. He continued, "You don't have to argue with me about that. I am closer to your campaign than I am to McGovern's, but you have to be practical."

"I know about the SWP. I once heard your candidate for U.S. Senate debate Kennedy at Boston University. He made some good points," said a student from Boston's Suffolk Law School. He stated that if McGovern ends up supporting Muskie, "I will come by your office to work for you."

Eleven Militants and six McGovern truth kits were sold.

The Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley are planning to go back before the New Hampshire primary.

The Feb. 6 New York Times, under the headline "Muskie's Grade a 'C' in Politics on Campus," reports that when "Muskie toured the student union at the University of Wisconsin . . . he was prepared with questions about his support of the war in 1968, his refusal to pledge amnesty to draft evaders and his rejection of abortion. . . ."

According to the Feb. 5 Washington Post, McGovern's national political coordinator, Frank Mankiewicz, said Feb. 4 that Muskie should accept McGovern's challenge to debate because Muskie "is projecting this notion of openness and candor. . . . I don't see how he cannot debate."

Two days earlier, McGovern had told members of the New Hampshire Junior Council on World Affairs that to debate Linda Jenness would be a "waste of time" because she is under 35.

Burned up: After debating Laura Miller, author of "Everything you always wanted to know about George McGovern . . .," Rick Fine of the University of Houston Students for McGovern was quoted by the campus paper as saying, "I felt like a wienie at a wienie roast. . . . The whole thing was set up to suck in Mr. and Miss Naive Student, and feed them a lot of ideological, propagandistic garbage."

When a representative of the Socialist Workers campaign asked Wendy Sears of the Lindsay '72 Scheduling Office why the Democratic hopeful had not replied to a letter by Linda Jenness challenging him to debate, Sears had "no comment."

As of Feb. 10, a total of 3,836 people have endorsed the Jenness-Pulley ticket, an increase of 352 over the previous week.

Of the 352 endorsers, 86 were Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley.

Michigan, where Andrew Pulley was recently on tour, sent in 109 this week, and California sent in 107.

The Feb. 2 issue of The New Paper, an underground paper at West Georgia College in Carrollton, Ga., reprints major portions of Everything

you always wanted to know about George McGovern

The following are excerpts from mail recently received by the SWP national campaign office:

"I support the Socialist Workers Party team of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. This will be the first time I will be voting and I want to make my first vote count!"

Jerry H. Yatt, Baltimore, Md.

"Please send me a copy of the truth kit, Everything you always wanted to know about McGovern. . . . I am interested in what you have put together to degrade McGovern, whom I support wholeheartedly for the Democratic nomination. Yours for peace, Ms. Lori Elliott, Chairwoman for McGovern for President Committee, Moses Lake, Wash.

P.S. How come a Chicano woman isn't running for SWP president? Jenness is too white—come now!"

"Please send me eight truth kits on George McGovern. It's important. I know people who actually believe he is an honest politician."

Pat Dahl, Aurora, Ill.

"I am seriously considering your party and its candidates for election in this year's presidential race. To make an objective decision I am requesting campaign literature. I found Miss Jenness' debate with McCloskey most illuminating as reported by The Militant."

Dennis O'Hara, Milwaukee, Wis.

"Enclosed please find a check for 25 cents to cover the cost of one truth kit, 'Everything you always wanted to know about McGovern. . . .' Thank you for your attention. Very truly yours,"

Reid Holkesvitz, Steve Heintz, McGovern for President Headquarters, New Haven, Conn.

A new antiwar poster is available from the SWP national campaign office. The poster has the following statement over a scene of the bombing in Vietnam: "From 1965 to 1971 the Democrats and Republicans dropped more than six million tons of bombs on the people of Vietnam. They're still doing it in 1972. Stop the Bombing, Bring the troops home now, Vote Socialist Workers." The poster costs 10 cents, 4 cents each on orders of 100 or more.

Henry Scheer of the Southwest YSJP campaign team reports that the majority of students at the University of California at Santa Barbara are aware of the socialist campaign, with a large percentage already supporting the campaign or seriously considering it. Many others have promised that if McGovern and Chisholm are defeated for the Democratic nomination they will switch to Jenness and Pulley.

The Southwest team sold 40 McGovern truth kits in their first three days.

Address all requests for campaign materials to Socialist Workers Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

— STEVE BEREN

Jenness, Pulley tour Bay Area and Michigan

By CECILY ASHTON

BERKELEY, Feb. 11—Linda Jenness spent two busy and successful days touring the San Francisco Bay Area, Feb. 9-10, before flying to Boston to attend the second national conference of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

After an initial news conference, Jenness spoke to meetings at the University of the Pacific in Stockton and the University of California at Berkeley. These two campus appearances were highlighted by five requests to join the Young Socialist Alliance, 12 new campaign endorsers, and over \$100 collected for the Socialist Workers campaign. Monthly and weekly



Linda Jenness

Photo by Harry Ring

pledges of additional financial support were also obtained.

The meeting at Berkeley was an all-women's meeting, cosponsored by several women's groups in the Bay Area, including the Northern California National Women's Political Caucus, UC Berkeley Female Liberation, San Francisco State Independent Campus Women, and UC Berkeley Women for Jenness and Pulley.

In her 20-minute speech Jenness called for the organizing and building of massive social movements out-

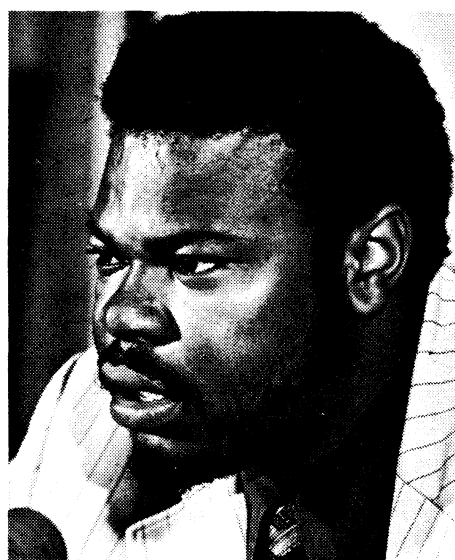
side the Democratic and Republican parties. "Both parties equally have the lives of the Vietnamese on their hands, the life of George Jackson on their hands, and are responsible for butchering women with their abortion laws." She further stated that only by people "standing up, thinking for themselves, organizing for themselves, and fighting for themselves," could real social change be won.

The following day's activities, in addition to TV and radio interviews, included a highly successful meeting at the Stanford Women's center. Of the 80 women attending, 20 signed as "Women for Jenness and Pulley" endorsers of the campaign. Twenty dollars was collected.

At all of Jenness' meetings, campaign supporters reported an excellent response to the campaign literature, and especially to *The Militant*. Jenness will return to Northern California after the WONAAC conference to complete her tour.

By DEBBY DEEGAN

DETROIT—The most enthusiastic response to Andrew Pulley's two-week campaign tour of Michigan came Feb. 10 and 11 from 1,300 students at three Detroit inner-city high schools. 150 of these students endorsed the campaign, bringing the total endorse-



Andrew Pulley

Photo by Howard Petrick

ments obtained during the tour to 275. One hundred ninety-seven of the endorsers signed as Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley.

At Martin Luther King High School in Detroit's East Side ghetto, 400 students listened to Pulley at a four-class combined assembly during lunch hour. Fifty-three people endorsed the campaign, and the entire audience gave the candidate prolonged applause and sympathetic shouts of "Right On!" for his comments against the war in Indochina, oppression in

the Black community, and planned obsolescence.

At a Mumford High School meeting of 500, more than 30 students—many of them members of the Angela Davis Defense Committee—endorsed the campaign. At Murry Wright High School, 68 new endorsers were obtained, including two teachers. Pulley also spoke to large and enthusiastic audiences at two junior high schools in Ann Arbor earlier in the week.

Radio and TV appearances included a one-hour appearance on a late-evening TV program with a large Black audience. One radio interviewer endorsed the campaign.

At an informal plant-gate rally at the Dodge main plant in Detroit, five workers out of an audience of 15 endorsed the campaign.

YSJP helps organize Choice '72

Students in high schools and on college campuses will have a chance to make their voices heard this spring through Choice '72, a nationwide project involving campus presidential-preference polls and student referendums on the major political issues in the 1972 campaign. Much of the initiative for the Choice '72 effort is coming from the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. YSJPers are taking the lead in organizing broad-based committees to coordinate the event and are encouraging student governments and student newspapers to sponsor the poll.

Laura Miller and Tom Vernier, who are currently touring the country for the YSJP, report that student leaders on many campuses are interested in the idea. In Florida and Wisconsin, YSJPers found that some student government officers were already discussing plans for a student poll this spring.

"Everyone can see the importance of letting the opinions of students be heard," reports Miller, who has been in the South and Southwest recently. "The students can make a big impact on this country through Choice '72, because everyone knows they are a real political force now, especially with the 18-year-old vote." Choice '72 will

also provide the opportunity for many young people who can't vote, in spite of the Twenty-sixth Amendment, to express their views. Some of them are not 18, and others are prevented from registering where they go to school. In addition, there are thousands of foreign students who can't vote, although they go to school here.

"Taking Choice '72 into the high schools will be extremely important," notes Miller, "because so many high school students will be ineligible to vote in November."

"Even in states where reactionary laws keep independent candidates off the ballot," emphasized Tom Vernier, whose tour has taken him through the Northwest and Northern California, "students will be able to cast their ballot for Jenness and Pulley or for the other radical candidates. Choice '72 can in this way aid the growing movement to eliminate all restrictive ballot laws."

In addition to presidential preference polls that would include all "major" and "minor" party candidates, the YSJP is suggesting that students be asked their opinion about such questions as the war, the right to abortion, and Black control of the Black community. Other issues of a regional and local nature could be added.

The YSJP is proposing that Choice '72 polls be conducted around the middle of April, just before the April 22 antiwar demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles, and the May 6 regional and local demonstrations for repeal of all anti-abortion laws called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. This will give the activists in these movements a chance to campaign for the referendum issues, and will help build these demonstrations.

On some campuses, other dates may be preferable because of Easter vacations, or in order to have Choice '72 coincide with previously scheduled student government elections.

"Whatever students' opinions," Miller said, "the entire student body can be united around the slogan 'Get out the vote!' We are going to be talking to Youth for McGovern, Youth for Muskie, Lindsay, Chisholm—all of them. We are suggesting that we work together on setting up symposiums and debates between the candidates or their representatives."

YSJPers will ask student newspapers to set aside space for written discussion on the candidates and issues. Student governments can help finance the project and organize special forums and debates at which candidates from all the political parties—as well as leaders of the antiwar movement, the abortion movement, and other movements—could speak on these issues.

Membership votes on longshore contract

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 16—The Coast Caucus of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union voted here last night to recommend acceptance of the proposed West Coast longshore contract. The final vote of the 95 delegates, some of whom have more than one vote, was 99 for the new contract, 36 against, and 11 abstentions. Of the 99 "yes" votes, 10 were cast by delegates from Hawaii, where the union struck no ports. The 11 abstentions came from longshore walking bosses, who were also not on strike.

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 15—Every day, reporters and TV camera crews gather on the sidewalk in front of 150 Golden Gate Ave., the headquarters of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). And every day they go away without the story they want: that the strike is over.

Inside, a bitter debate proceeds in

the union's 95-man Coast Caucus over the proposed new contract that will determine ILWU-shipowner relations for the next 17 months, until July 1, 1973. The caucus, which will decide whether or not to recommend the contract to the membership for a "yes" vote, has now been in session for four days.

As expected, when the caucus convened a motion was made to send the men back to work at the 24 struck ports while the discussions continued. The opposition to this was so strong that the motion was ruled out of order.

In the Feb. 11 *ILWU Dispatcher*, ILWU President Harry Bridges writes: "The strike was won, and won hands down! If any striking members don't really believe this, it's their duty to cast a 'no' vote against accepting the proposed contract, and therefore a vote to keep the strike going."

It appears that many of the assembled delegates "don't really believe" the strike was won. The discussions thus far have revealed: 1)

the proposed "guaranteed wage" is a fraud, providing only a few weeks of guaranteed pay; 2) the "tax on containers," which is designed to compensate the ILWU for loss of jobs due to mechanization, has been diverted into the Guaranteed Wage Fund—to help out the shipowners (the Pacific Maritime Association); 3) the hated "steady-man" section 9.43 is still in the contract.

Dissatisfaction is such that it provoked a split in Bridges' Coast Negotiating Committee—resulting in three minority reports, one recommending a "no" vote.

Threats of a government-imposed settlement hang over the caucus deliberations. This is the ultimate argument of the Bridges leadership, and it would be a mistake to discount its pressure on the delegates.

On the picket lines there is anger and frustration. How the vote will go cannot be predicted. However, if one major local votes "no," that vote counts as a veto. Then a second Coast-

wide vote must be taken. This time a two-thirds vote would be required. If the voting procedure goes this far, the contract could be rejected.

A rejection would mean a massive government attack on the ILWU. It would also signify the necessity for a massive defense effort by the entire labor movement. The ILWU, in order to win, would be forced to take the initiative in organizing a conference of labor to plan a united defense. Sections of the local leadership—but not Bridges—understand this.

A resolution that would force West Coast dock workers to accept contracts imposed by a "mediating board" was passed by the Senate on Feb. 8. The Senate forced-arbitration bill received overwhelming approval, 79 to 3. Democratic Party presidential hopeful George McGovern was among the 79 who raised their hands against the dock workers. Senators Edward Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey, Vance Hartke, and Edmund Muskie abstained from the vote.

By LARRY SEIGLE, national director of the Socialist Workers Party campaign.

On Aug. 25, 1971, the Communist Party announced that it was fielding a presidential slate in the 1972 elections. The ticket is composed of Gus Hall, the 61-year-old general secretary of the CP, and Jarvis Tyner, the 30-year-old president of the Young Workers Liberation League.

Throughout the fall and early winter, the CP campaign committee did not publish one piece of campaign literature. They didn't organize a single public campaign meeting. There were no public speaking tours.

Now, according to recent articles in the *Daily World*, a newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party, the CP has evidently decided to step up its campaign. Gus Hall has recently appeared at news conferences in such cities as Los Angeles and Cleveland, and several campaign rallies have been organized, including a major

their own thing," which serves to "boycott the fight within the Democratic Party." He issues a stern warning to these upstarts: "One fact about our hallowed 'two-party democracy' is not fully understood by the people. It is true that the low voter participation is a symptom of a crisis of confidence in our institutions. But boycottism is also useful to reaction. Encouraging Democratic voters to stay home will be one of Nixon's trump cards. The mass alienation of voters is a deliberate, calculated policy."

Of course, by such reasoning, urging voters to cast a ballot for a working-class party costs the Democratic Party votes just as staying home on election day does. Is casting a vote for the SWP therefore helping reaction? And how about a vote for the CP?

The CP's support to the liberal wing of the capitalist class flows from its loyal adherence to the Soviet bureaucracy's goal of maintaining "peaceful coexistence" with American imperialism.

But why did the CP decide to run its own cam-

In a recent report to the Central Committee of the YWLL, Mike Zagarell made the same point: "The action level of most young people today is independence within the two-party system."

It is certainly true that most radicalizing youth remain convinced that the most effective electoral strategy is to work within the Democratic Party. The role of Marxists, however, is not to support and encourage reliance on capitalist parties but to explain what is wrong with this view, and present a clear alternative to it.

The CP justifies their subservience to the capitalist parties by telling its members and supporters that any other course would "isolate" them from the masses. Even in a period of reaction, it is self-defeating to support capitalist parties as a means to "combat" isolation.

But this is not a period of reaction; just the opposite is the case. Members of the CP and the YWLL should take a look at the SWP presidential campaign. It is proving in action that opposing participation in capitalist parties doesn't isolate socialists from the masses. The Jenness and Pulley campaign has done more to inform and educate people about socialism than a thousand years of support to the Democratic Party by "Marxists" will ever do. Nearly one million pieces of socialist campaign literature have already been distributed. The candidates have spoken directly to almost 100,000 people and have reached literally tens of millions through newspaper, radio, and TV coverage.

Young people, even those who still have illusions about the Democratic Party, are attracted to the powerful and effective attacks by Jenness and Pulley on the capitalist parties and candidates. The SWP is winning a hearing for socialism among tens of thousands of young activists.

The CP is so totally committed to the perspective of aiding the Democratic Party to victory in November that it even views with alarm the "left" Democrats who, according to the bourgeois electoral analysts, don't have enough support to beat Nixon.

Incredible as it seems coming from a party that calls itself "Communist," the CP has even attacked Eugene McCarthy for being too far left. In the Jan. 13 *Daily World*, Tim Wheeler criticizes McCarthy for his position on the war:

"From a left guise, McCarthy let President Nixon off the hook by refusing to comment on Nixon's glaring lie on television recently that he had offered to 'set the date' to end the war.

"McCarthy said he opposes a 'date certain' for withdrawal of U. S. troops. He said he wants the war ended 'here and now.'

"In contrast, Sen. Edmund Muskie (D-Maine) shrewdly anticipated the political dynamite in the 'set the date' demand and capitalized on the outrage of the nation over Nixon's bald-faced lie. In his press conference, Muskie said his first act on assuming the Presidency would be to name a 'date certain' for withdrawal of troops subject only to the release of U. S. POWs."

The CP doesn't support just any Democrat for president but one it hopes can win against Nixon in November.

Who's the CP really campaigning for?

one at New York's Town Hall set for Feb. 19. The CP has filed for ballot status in Ohio and is petitioning in Michigan. It has announced plans to circulate petitions in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and other states. "Early publication" of campaign literature is promised. In the course of this stepped-up electoral activity, the CP has made it abundantly clear that its campaign is merely a vehicle for promoting support to Democratic Party candidates. Unlike the SWP campaign—which has as its goal promoting political activity on all fronts, independent of the capitalist parties—the central aim of the Communist Party's electoral strategy is to help put a Democratic president in office in November.

In an article in the Dec. 4 *Daily World*, Donna Ristorucci puts it succinctly: "The main aim must be to defeat Nixon and reaction. . . . As Jarvis Tyner . . . has said, if we work correctly and mobilize youth into a powerful bloc, in alliance with the working class, the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican people as a whole, and women and other progressive forces, we can elect a progressive President."

A few days later, in the Dec. 14 *Daily World*, Tim Wheeler polemicized against those who "favor a 'fourth party now'" and who "go off and 'do

paing at all? Why doesn't it just work in the Democratic Party?

The reason is that they feel pressure from the many young activists who are becoming disenchanted with the Democratic Party and are willing to engage in independent political action. This sentiment is one of the factors behind the significant gains made by the SWP in its 1968 presidential campaign and the success already registered in its current campaign.

In order to appear radical to the growing number of young militants, including young people in its own periphery, the CP has been forced to adapt to the sentiment for independent political action and run its own ticket. The CP also feels pressure from the gains made by the SWP's national and local campaigns.

Sometimes the CP supports reformist "third-party" groups like the Peace and Freedom Party in addition to its own campaigns. Such support, however, is subordinated to its overall strategy of supporting liberal Democrats.

But in 1972, the CP does not appear to be active in such groupings. As Tim Wheeler notes in the Jan. 11 *Daily World*, "'Go-it-alone' formations such as 'new' parties, have tended to cut activists off from mass struggle inside the Democratic Party. . . ."

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Teachers strike at three Seattle colleges

By MIKE KELLY
and GARY JOHNSON

SEATTLE, Feb. 3 — The Seattle Community College Federation of Teachers (SCCFT), an affiliate of the AFL-CIO, struck three of the city's community colleges today in the first teachers strike in the history of the state of Washington. The three campuses hit are North Seattle, South Seattle and Seattle Central.

Support for the strike among faculty and students is strong. No more than 5 percent of faculty or students are crossing picket lines, according to union officials.

Support has also come from other unions and from students at other schools. Pickets have joined the striking teachers from the King County Labor Council (AFL-CIO) and the Washington Education Association, an affiliate of the National Education Association. Messages of support and promises of aid came from other AFT Affiliates at Tacoma and Shoreline community colleges and the University of Washington. Laborers union Local 242 walked off a school construction site in support of the strike. The Graduate Professional Students Senate of the University of Washington called upon its members to reject the offers of scab jobs coming

from the community college trustees.

Strong student support has been organized by the Student Strike Support Committee. Dozens of students joined the picketing today. Hundreds of students on various campuses have participated in a series of meetings where the issues of the strike were discussed. These meetings have been the largest campus political meetings since the May 1970 student strike.

Although many students initially had questions about the strike most were won over to the teachers' side. A number of groups, including the Students Committee Against Racism and the Young Workers Liberation League, demanded that the union adopt a variety of their demands or they would not support the strike. The overwhelming majority of the students, however, voted to unconditionally support the strike.

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley at Seattle Community College is helping to organize student support for the strike.

The central demands of the union include a 5.5 percent wage increase; equitable pay for part-time faculty; three faculty members and three students to be elected by their respective constituencies to the Community College Executive Committee; and a real-

location of college funds to cut down class sizes and provide more equipment and supplies. At present, 59 percent of the college budget goes for administration and only 41 percent for instruction.

The best offer from the board of trustees came last night. It amounted to only a 1 percent pay raise and a refusal to negotiate other demands. At the same time, the administration was voted an average raise of over \$600 a year.

John Barton, president of the SCCFT, stated in an interview that "the main issue is not money—we are more concerned with the quality of education. We want a voice in how the budget is allocated. The students and faculty need more say."

When asked about his union's attitude toward Nixon's wage controls, Barton replied that "The SCCFT took a strong stand against the wage-price freeze at last summer's Washington AFL-CIO convention, which passed our resolution unanimously. We called upon the union leadership to come up with some new economic programs. A resolution was also passed defending the right of teachers to strike."

Gary Johnson, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for state superinten-

dent of public instruction, issued a statement of support for the striking teachers and called for public backing to the just demands of the strikers. Johnson then joined the picket line along with other SWP campaign supporters.



Gary Johnson, SWP candidate for superintendent of public instruction in Seattle.

Steelworkers fight 'profit-sharing' plan

By JACK BURTON

LOS ANGELES—The Kaiser Steel company's "Fruits of Progress Sharing Plan" appears to have ended as striking members of United Steelworkers (USW) Local 2869 established picket lines at the huge Fontana mill Feb. 1.

The plan, which is the central issue in the strike, provides "incentive" bonuses on the basis of the workers' contributions to speeding up production and cutting operating costs.

Since its introduction, the plan has been a bone of contention among Kaiser workers. In previous contract-negotiation periods, continuation of the plan won slim majorities in plant referendums. This time the plant production and maintenance workers voted to reject it 2,446 to 2,179. Kaiser clerical workers, organized separately in Local 3677, voted 316 to 29 to continue the plan. While combining the votes in the two locals would give a majority to those favoring continuance of the plan, union officials held that the majority vote of the production and maintenance workers was decisive.

USW officials say they intend to negotiate a new agreement patterned after those in effect in the rest of the industry. These are based on individual incentive plans for units and departments within the mills, rather than the overall bonus used by Kaiser.

The campaign to vote down the Kai-

ser plan was led by the leadership of Local 2869. In an almost unprecedented display of agreement, practically every sector of the local leadership urged a "no" vote.

When the Kaiser plan—conceived in 1959 and introduced in 1964—was initiated, workers already on individual incentives were given the option of joining the new plan or sticking with what they had. Practically all opted in favor of keeping their individual incentive.

However, workers hired afterward were consigned to the sharing plan. As a result, older workers were making 45 to 65 cents more an hour than newcomers working on the same job.

In its organizing days back in the 1930s, the USW, and the CIO generally, advanced the slogan "equal pay for equal work." This was aimed at the wage inequities rampant in the open-shop industries. The wage differentials at Kaiser, sanctioned by a union contract, are an example of how the USW officialdom has ignored some of the union's founding principles.

The Kaiser sharing plan was a product of the 1959 strike in the steel industry. After 105 days of the shutdown, Kaiser broke the corporate united-front and settled with the union. It was then that management and union officials announced they would develop a plan that would eliminate

future strikes. It is ironic that the sharing plan has brought the industry's first contract strike since then.

The plan, of course, doesn't provide a sharing of profits. It is a cost-saving program that is supposed to give the workers \$1 of every \$3 saved through increased efficiency and improved production methods. (The other \$2 is split between the company and the "public.")

A number of factors contribute to worker dissatisfaction with the plan. Sharing-plan bonuses have averaged 19 percent of base pay while individual incentive bonuses have ranged from a low of 35 percent up to 95 percent. In addition to the substantial wage inequities among workers doing the same job, fluctuations in actual production produced wide variations in monthly bonuses. In recent months the plant has been operating at 60 percent of capacity with a reduced work force, and the monthly bonuses have fallen to token amounts.

To deal with this, the union originally asked for a 15 percent bonus guarantee. The company responded with an offer of 5 to 15 percent for workers in various categories and also offered to stop financing fringe benefits out of sharing-plan funds.

In defense of the plan, Kaiser argues that its workers average 21 cents an hour more than the rest of the industry. But if Kaiser wages have gone

up more than those of other companies since the plan was introduced, so have Kaiser profits. The company's dreary profit record in 1970-1971 was not due to its Fontana operation but to the heavy losses of its Canadian coal-mining subsidiary, Kaiser Resources. The financial disaster in Canada has provided big tax write-offs against the profits produced by the Fontana mill and other Kaiser operations.

The Kaiser strike has probably ended the illusion in some quarters that a sharing plan can ensure long-range peace between capital and labor. But the union's continuing reliance on individual incentive plans as a means of promoting wage equity and job security is also an illusion. Incentives in any form are based on speedup and job cannibalism. The aim is always to get more production from ever fewer workers.

The sharing plan that steelworkers need today is one that retains jobs by reducing the number of hours worked with no reduction in pay. About 30 percent of the steel-union membership is now unemployed. Under the impact of today's economic conditions and continuing automation, the time may be coming when steelworkers will be changing their minds not only about such sharing plans as Kaiser's but on many other questions facing labor as well.

Fisk University women workers on strike

By OLLIE BURNS

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — Fisk University clerical workers forced the administration to meet their demands after a one-week work stoppage that received support from Fisk students and the Teamsters.

Fisk is a predominantly Black, private, liberal arts college. The all-female work force of 65 people initiated an informal work stoppage Jan. 25, the day contract talks began between them and the administration.

These talks occurred more than 14 months after the Fisk board of trustees had recognized the workers' right to form a local of the Distributive Workers of America. The grievances

prompting the formation of the union were inadequate vacations, insufficient accident insurance, poor wages, lack of a pension plan, and general ambiguity about the classification status of workers.

If a worker received an injury on the job, she could not get sick leave. If she were sick for an extended period of time she could come back to work and find her job taken. With no base salary, a recently hired worker might often earn more than an employee who had been there for five years or more. In addition, some of the students working on campus earned more per hour than some of the clerical workers.

Because the first day of contract talks were held on campus, eight students and a faculty member walked in to observe the proceedings. They were ordered out by the administration. The next day talks were moved downtown to the Federal Mediation Service.

On Jan. 27 the administration told the union representative, a national leader of the Distributive Workers union, that there was nothing to discuss, so he walked out.

The next day the strike was formalized. At a rally of almost 300 students and faculty, the workers asked the students to boycott classes in solidarity.

Late that night, in order to spread confusion, the administration placed a memorandum in each student's mailbox, declaring that an "agreement" had been reached with the union.

This was quickly exposed as a lie, and at a student rally of 300 on Jan. 30 plans were laid to boycott classes.

On the morning of Jan. 31, picket lines were in front of the classroom buildings and Teamsters transporting food to the cafeteria honored lines thrown up by the workers.

After this display of power, the administration announced the following day that it had reached a contractual agreement with the union.

The origins of the New Democratic Party



The founding convention of the New Democratic Party, Ottawa, Ontario, August 1961

Militant reporter David Thorstad traveled to Ontario last November to gather material on Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party. The following is the first in a series of six articles in which he relates developments in the NDP to questions about a labor party in the United States.

By DAVID THORSTAD

Marxists understand that the historical task of replacing capitalism with socialism can only be accomplished by the working class. They also recognize that in the United States, the organized labor movement not only has not yet embraced this goal, but it does not even have its own party to fight for its interests in the political arena. It has abandoned politics to the capitalist parties, and for more than 30 years has openly supported the Democratic Party. It is led by a bureaucracy bent not on getting rid of capitalism but on helping it to work better.

Little wonder that in the face of the antilabor moves of the Nixon administration, its freeze on wages, skyrocketing inflation induced by war spending, and mounting unemployment, the Meanys and Woodcocks have no better solution to the shrinking belts and pocketbooks of the American workers than to sit on a government-sponsored Pay Board designed to legitimize the entire wage-freeze swindle.

Labor deserves and needs better leadership than that. It needs to break with capitalist politics and form its own party, a labor party, to campaign for its interests and provide a clear alternative to the political show run of, by, and for big business.

More than a decade ago, the Canadian working class took this step and formed its own party, the New Democratic Party. Whatever the NDP's shortcomings—and there are many—it is still a more advanced form of independent labor political action than anything yet developed in the U.S. And while there are many differences between Canada and the U.S., there are enough similarities to make it worthwhile to take a look at how the NDP fits into the political life of Canada, how the Canadian left relates to it, and what the revolutionary perspective is for the NDP.

What is the NDP?

The New Democratic Party was launched at a founding convention in

Ottawa in August 1961. Today it is in power in two provinces—Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

Since its formation, it has created a whole new atmosphere favoring reform. One of the ways it has already had a lasting, positive impact on Canada was through its introduction of a form of socialized medicine in Saskatchewan a decade ago. While the Saskatchewan plan was seriously undercut by reactionary opposition and a retreat by the party leadership, nonetheless, thanks to this action by the NDP, today most provincial governments have been compelled to concede advanced medicare programs.

From the outset, the NDP was a mass, cross-Canada party with important trade-union and farmer support. While there had been some labor support for such a party in the past, the union movement was brought more firmly behind the new party by an antilabor drive that peaked in 1959.

At the May 1960 convention of the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC), which encompasses Canadian national unions and AFL-CIO affiliates, the 1,600 delegates representing a million and a half organized workers had jumped to their feet amidst cheers and whistle calls when the vote was taken to launch the new party. Strains of labor's traditional song "Solidarity Forever" swelled up and drowned out "O Canada." Then, in August 1960, the primarily agrarian-based Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) voted unanimously to join the CLC in building the new party.

Of the 1,801 delegates to the NDP founding convention, 681 were union delegates representing bodies affiliated to 49 national or international unions. Some 76 unionists from British Columbia participated in defiance of provincial legislation barring the use of union funds for political purposes. (Similar legislation exists in the United States.) There were 707 delegates representing the CCF, 248 representing white collar and professional people belonging to predecessor groups called New Party clubs, and 53 from the militant Newfoundland Democratic Party. There were 200 delegates from Québec. Many delegates had been active in the farm movement.

A large number of the delegates were from unions in basic industry, from steel, auto, packinghouse, and textile.

Since 1961, union support for the NDP has tended not only to remain firm, but to increase. Today, for instance, the leaders of Canada's fastest-growing union, the 156,000-member Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), are clearly identified with the NDP.

The NDP was from the very start, and has remained to this day, a reformist party, not a revolutionary party. On occasion, leading spokesmen will say that it is a socialist party, but its socialism seems more part of a social-democratic past than a goal to be achieved through determined struggle. It belongs to the Second International, although most NDPers are quite unaware of this and very few have any idea what the Second International is.

An important controversy at the founding convention was over whether the new party should have a firm and consistent anticapitalist program or follow an open-ended policy, with its program determined on a day-to-day basis that would give its leadership considerable latitude to interpret and apply its "humanitarian" creed. The latter position—advocated mainly by the trade-union bureaucracy—won out, and the NDP was saddled with a program that is a patchwork of piecemeal reforms and of peaceful coexistence with capitalism. The bureaucrats arm-twisted out of the delegates a decision to commit the party to supporting NATO, thus insuring that it would not get off the ground as a solid antiwar force.

This reformist perspective is reflected in the name of the new party. Although Canadian radicals had urged that it call itself the Labor Party to clearly identify it as a party of the working class, the name New Democratic Party was selected out of admiration for President John F. Kennedy and his "New Frontier."

The mood of the delegates to the founding convention was much more radical than that of the leadership. For instance, one delegate, who had just returned from a visit to the young workers state of Cuba, was cut off by the chairman from reading a message of solidarity from the Cuban trade-union movement. Later, when a list was read of organizations across the world that had sent greetings, a wave of applause and whistling went up at the mention of the Federation of

Cuban Workers, indicating the especially high esteem of the delegates for the embattled Cuban working class. One participant recalls this as the most enthusiastic moment of the entire convention.

The CCF

In a sense, the NDP is a continuation of the old Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, an agrarian-based party whose main strength was in the prairie provinces. But it is a continuation with an important difference: While the CCF was labor-endorsed, the NDP is labor-based. The NDP is not only endorsed but financially supported by the union movement, and labor is represented in it as the major component. In addition, the NDP is a cross-Canada party, while the CCF had been quite weak in Eastern Canada.

The CCF arose in the early 1930s during the depression and under the looming threat of war. The Regina Manifesto, the document adopted at its founding convention in July 1933, reflected the radicalism of the day by branding capitalism a "cancer which is eating at the heart of our society." By 1950, when its status as a major party was on the wane, it was beginning to look more like the conventional capitalist party and its ideology reflected what Leo Zakuta, in his book on the CCF, *A Protest Movement Becalmed*, describes as a "diminished hostility to the social order." Still, the Regina Manifesto's straightforward anticapitalism was kept afloat until it was finally sunk in 1956 by the joint efforts of CCF leaders like David Lewis and the labor leadership, both of whom regarded it as an obstacle to full-fledged support by labor for the CCF. This act really helped clear the way for elements of the labor bureaucracy to come over to help found the new labor party, the NDP.

Actually, the CCF has always enjoyed some labor support. In the early 1940s, for instance, the Canadian Congress of Labor, CIO—which later, with the Trades and Labor Congress, AFL, was to merge into the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC)—endorsed it.

In addition, the CCF had responded to opportunities to relate to the union movement when they occurred. As a result, today many Canadian labor leaders are former members of the CCF or of its youth organization, the Cooperative Commonwealth Youth Movement (CCYM). This helps explain why many Canadian labor leaders—unlike their U.S. counterparts with whom they otherwise share a desire to reform, not eliminate, capitalism—have nothing to do with the capitalist parties. Rather, they have tried to gain the support of the union ranks for the NDP as in the past they did for the CCF.

But despite some labor endorsement for the CCF, the great trade-union reinforcements that some anticipated never came. And this was in spite of the important post-war consolidation into the CIO of the industrial unions that had really been established in Canada only with the productive expansion during World War II. Today the NDP has the support of the leadership of most, if not all, of the organized labor movement and has the possibility of mobilizing the decisive sectors of the working class.

How the NDP is structured

The NDP is organized according to electoral districts, called ridings, both on the provincial and federal levels. In provincial ridings party members elect delegates to a provincial council, as in federal ridings they do to a federal council. Many unionists, active in the provincial and federal ridings, represent these ridings on the Councils—but the federal council also has formal representation from the union movement as such. Both councils have executive committees. In addition, cities like Toronto elect members on a provincial riding basis to a city-wide coun-

cil. Federal conventions are held every two years, with provincial conventions held on off years.

For a mass party, the NDP's press is an embarrassment. Its main newspaper is *The Commonwealth*, a small tabloid published by the Saskatchewan NDP twice monthly, except when the Saskatchewan house is in session, when it goes weekly. Like the British Columbia, Ontario, and Nova Scotia NDP papers, which appear monthly, bimonthly, or irregularly and are considerably more modest, it is a house organ designed not to be read by the masses but almost exclusively by its membership. More than a month after the NDP setback in the Ontario election it had expected to win last October, its Ontario newspaper, *New Democrat*, had still not appeared with an analysis of the defeat. These papers do not reveal a very dynamic internal life, but by and large reflect the electoralism and reformism of the leadership. Even the most devoted member must find reading them a bit of a chore.

The basic unit in the NDP is the provincial electoral district riding association, which is generally based on population. Meetings of NDP riding associations vary in attendance from under 50 to several hundred, depending on the occasion. Some meet monthly, others only once a year. Inner-city ridings tend to have more radicals.

Last November, in order to get an idea of what the party looked like close up, I attended a meeting of the NDP's St. David's riding association in Toronto. It is considered a solid rank-and-file riding, and is not particularly radical. The purpose of the meeting was to elect new officers and to discuss the recent Ontario elections.

About 50 of the 300 members were present. More than one-third were women, a sizable number were middle-aged, a handful were elderly, and there was a scattering of Blacks. Women, including elderly women, played an active role in the discussion, and held the posts of president and vice-president, as well as the key post of organizer.

Spirits were high, in spite of the NDP's failure to win power in the election, and most seemed to approach the coming year of activity with enthusiasm. The atmosphere was relaxed but business-like.

Several people ran for office who had only joined the party within the last year. Conflicting political views were expressed in the discussion, but all were listened to. One woman thought the party should help actively support the campaigns of the women's liberation movement as a way of reaching broader sections of the population. Another, who identified herself as a member of the left-wing caucus called the "Waffle," emphasized the need for NDPers to educate themselves on the independence struggle in Québec. Another said she thought "people are sick of party politics" and that the NDP should not run at all in the next municipal elections.

In the election, the NDP had increased its vote in the riding but had come in a poor second with 30 percent of the vote. There was a vigorous and lengthy discussion of the NDP's involvement in the political life of the riding, and a detailed breakdown of

Continued on page 22

Labor Challenge

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More college grads jobless

By MILTON ALVIN

"I wouldn't wish this job on anybody unless he were desperate," said Franklin College graduate Jeffrey Leavitt, member of Lambda Chi, the college fraternity. Leavitt was speaking from a garbage truck on which he is a member of the crew in one of Cleveland's suburbs.

In his apartment he has a diploma that qualifies him as a school teacher plus 100 rejection slips from schools who do not want to hire him in that capacity.

Leavitt is one of many thousands of college graduates who cannot find work in the fields they want and for which their education qualifies them.

According to John D. Shingleton, director of placement at Michigan State University, a large number of 1971 graduates are still unemployed. There seems to be a surplus of college graduates seeking work as teachers and various kinds of engineers. Future prospects for these people are not good, even if there is an improvement in the economic picture, which is itself a doubtful proposition.

Herbert Bienstock, New York regional director for the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, is pessimistic about employment prospects for college graduates in the 1970s compared to those of previous decades all the way back to the 1930s.

In 1971 just over 700,000 college graduates came into the labor force, an increase of almost 13 percent over the previous year. However, hiring fell 25 percent in the same period.

This reflection of the economic crisis has hit college-trained men and women very hard. A typical case is that of Michigan State graduate Lucinda M. Hearl, who wrote 200 letters and spent \$100 on phone bills trying to find a teacher's job. "Sometimes, when I get depressed," she said, "I think



Unemployment lines—getting longer.

it was a waste to spend all that money on a college degree." She finally found work as an \$80-a-week switchboard operator.

Government expert Bienstock is concerned about the effect of the shrinking labor market on the increased number of youth from oppressed nationalities who are presently still in college. "... when these people get out," he says, "and have trouble finding jobs, they'll say, 'Now we've made it through college, and you've changed the rules of the game.' I think there's social dynamite here."

Bienstock is correct about the explosiveness of the situation facing Black and Chicano graduates as well as others who have invested heavily in time, effort, and money to secure a decent education. They did this in the belief that they would graduate to better paying jobs than working on garbage trucks and telephone switchboards.

If college-trained young people cannot find decent jobs, it is easy to imagine what other youth, with no col-

lege education, face in the labor market. The inability of capitalism to furnish useful, well-paid, and rewarding employment for many of the youth is an important symptom of the extent of its overall decline as a viable system.

The youth who are affected by the present unfavorable circumstances, as well as all others who understand the fundamental importance of these conditions, must ask themselves if the capitalist system is worth saving. Should it not be replaced by a planned socialist society that will give all youth free college training if they want it and employ everyone in useful and satisfying work?

Just as one example, there is a terrible shortage of doctors in America, despite the fact that this is the richest nation in the world. At the same time capitalist planlessness has produced more teachers than can be used, at least under present conditions. Under socialism, planning would end such imbalances.

The National Picket Line

THE SHORTER WORKWEEK with no reduction in take-home pay is a good way to create more jobs and ease unemployment. It is sometimes confused, however, with a vastly different "shorter-workweek plan" sponsored by some employers and occasionally accepted by some local unions.

The employers' idea of a "shorter workweek" is four days, 10 hours a day, with no increase in pay. Unions that have experimented with this remarkable idea include the United Auto Workers (UAW), the Teamsters, and the Machinists. In all cases union officials sooner or later got the message that extending the length of the working day is not popular with the workers.

Such an experiment was recently discontinued as a failure at the Heath Tecna Corp. plant in Kent, Wash. Some workers came in on Monday through Thursday to make their four-day, 40-hour week. Others started on Tuesday and worked through Friday.

A Machinist business agent reported that error increased, production went down, and orders were difficult to handle on Mondays and Fridays when the plant was short-handed. This report may have originally been drafted by the boss.

Surely displeasing to the boss was the fact that a "most severe drop in efficiency was noted during the final two or three hours of the working days, particularly in hot-weather months."

The union agreed that the experiment in the extended workday should be discontinued.

WHEN THE GOVERNMENT-FINANCED AMTRAK took over operation of passenger trains in May 1971, it struck a deal with the major railroads for the use of rails controlled by these private companies.

A recent survey shows that about half of all passenger trains run from one to 13 hours behind schedule. The cause of this scandalous lack of passenger service is the railroad companies, according to an anonymous Amtrak official quoted by reporter Albert R. Karr in the Jan. 24 *Wall Street Journal*. "They weren't successful in passenger business, they don't want anyone else to be successful,

and they don't want anything to get in the way of their freight trains," said the Amtrak official.

Amtrak is asking Congress for an additional \$170-million to continue passenger service, mostly to pay the railroads for use of rails.

Anthony Hasswell, chairman of the National Association of Rail Passengers, charges that Amtrak managers "are just abject tools of the railroads."

THE PRESIDENT EMERITUS OF THE UNITED TRANSPORTATION UNION, Charles Luna, was one of the incorporators of Amtrak appointed by Nixon. Luna recently appeared before the government Pay Board to urge approval of a government-recommended rail pact that will eliminate thousands of rail workers' jobs. Luna has also joined Stirling Homex Corp., a modular housing manufacturer, as vice-president and director of transportation.

Too old to continue serving as president of the UTU, Luna retains his union connection through a handpicked successor. After announcing his job as vice-president of Stirling Homex, Luna also reported that he is resigning as a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council "to avoid any possible conflict of interest."

Railroad workers who know Luna well report there has never been any conflict of interest in any of his various activities. He never had but one interest, they say, and that is Charles Luna.

PRESIDENT LEONARD WOODCOCK OF THE UAW recently told 1,800 delegates attending the union's Community Action Program conference in Washington that their purpose was "to galvanize Congress into action in these three areas—jobs, health, and peace." He said the main thing is to defeat Nixon at all cost, later expressing his personal hope that Muskie will be the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party. Woodcock also made a meager proposal for solving unemployment. "Part of the answer to unemployment," he offered, "is to change the time and one-half penalty for overtime work to double time."

—FRANK LOVELL

Film 'Winter Soldier'

Winter Soldier. A documentary by Winterfilm in association with Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Running time: 93 minutes.

Wintersoldier is a documentary film of the Winter Soldier Investigation held last February in Detroit (see Feb. 12, 1971, *Militant*) under the auspices of Vietnam Veterans Against the War. One hundred twenty-five Marine Corps, Army, and Air Force veterans—representing every major combat unit to see action in Vietnam—gave eye-witness testimony to war crimes and atrocities they either participated in or witnessed. The testimony spanned three days and drew much public attention.

The film is done simply in black and white. Excerpts of the testimony are interlaced with personal interviews with the veterans and Defense Department and TV footage of Vietnam. The makers of this 90-minute film have succeeded admirably in distilling but not distorting the essence of the Winter Soldier Investigation. The viewer comes away with some idea of the magnitude of the slaughter and the constancy of the terror to which the Vietnamese people are being subjected. The film also conveys empathy for the veterans who have surmounted their own brutalization and joined ranks with the antiwar movement.



Photo by Mike Smith

Witnesses at Detroit Winter Soldier hearings, February 1971.

What is the testimony like? Here are three men's statements that stick in my memory:

- "We were shooting gooks, slants, zips . . . you could do anything you wanted, we didn't give a shit about those people."
- "A dink was less than a human being."
- "The way we distinguished between civilians and Vietcong was if they were dead they were Vietcong."

Torturing prisoners, killing them, mutilating bodies (especially women), randomly using artillery or chemicals (like white phosphorous—it can't be extinguished and burns slowly clear through the body) are described. They are corroborated by other men who had served in other branches and at different times. S. O. P., standard operating procedure, that is, was the refrain I often heard.

As distorted and warped as people can be when molded by this society, they nevertheless aren't immediately ready to pitch prisoners out of helicopters or stone children to death. It takes a lot of supplemental conditioning, and the military brass, knowing this, obligingly provides it.

One ex-Marine related his last session of training before being sent to 'Nam.' His sergeant had the platoon sitting on the grass. He talked to them while he was playing fondly with a little rabbit. "We all got to love that rabbit." Then the sergeant picked up the rabbit, took out a knife, slit its belly open, and spread its guts out on the lawn. This is what it's like in Vietnam, said the sergeant, dismissing the men.

Another ex-soldier recited the prayer he was forced to repeat at night while ridiculously lying at the position of attention in bed.

"Pray for war,
"Pray for war,
"God bless the Marine Corps,
"God bless the Marine Corps,
"Kill,
"Kill,
"Kill."

A Native American vet talked about the racist heritage of this society. "Nowadays they use chemical warfare but a century ago they just put smallpox germs in the blankets and gave them to the Indians. It got so bad . . . I used to watch TV and cheer for the cowboys." He began to weep.

The convening of the Winter Soldier Investigation was a historic landmark for the antiwar movement. It showed that sentiment against the war was so broad and so deep that these men were able to reassess their former beliefs, face what they had gone through, and redefine the meaning of 'patriot.'

In the winter of 1776 Thomas Paine wrote, "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it *now*, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman." Seeing themselves as the "winter soldiers," to paraphrase Paine, these men are fighting now to make their experience common knowledge to the American and world public.

The Winter Soldier Investigation was historic in a second sense as well. Imagine. In the midst of an imperialist war, the most credible witnesses against the government, its own unwitting tools, come forward to describe and denounce the criminality and betrayal of that self-same government! This is unprecedented.

But to say that this film is a historic documentary does not mean that it belongs resting in an archive. Not at all. This is a film to be used by activists in the antiwar movement. It is a powerful weapon in this battle. Antiwar activists are in debt to those who produced *Wintersoldier*. Inquiries about the film should be directed to the national office in New York of Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Telephone: (212) 725-5680.

—MICHAEL SMITH

'One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich'

One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich. Screenplay by Ronald Harwood from the novel by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. Made in Norsk Film Studios, Oslo, Norway. Starring Tom Courtenay.

Technically quite faithful to the events described by Solzhenitsyn in his novel on a typical day in a Soviet labor camp under Stalin, this film fails in two important respects.

Filmed in Norway, it fails to convey convincingly the real cold of the Siberian winter. Moreover, the state of health of the inmates—supposedly in transit toward death due to malnutrition, inadequate medical care, ant-colony living conditions, and exposure—appears more robust than it must actually have been.

More vitally, the viewer cannot establish the same relation to the film that one can with the book. Somehow the secondhand reproducer cannot authentically recreate the voices of the millions of Soviet citizens who were incarcerated as scapegoats, or for being critical of Stalinism, but who for the most part were far more loyal to the socialist cause than the regime that jailed them.

The book, despite the fact that its publication in 1962 was authorized by the bureaucratic Soviet regime, then headed by Nikita Khrushchev, was still a gut plea for real socialism ("socialism with a human face," as the Czechs said in 1968). The movie, however, simply appears as a description of an historic event that happened 30 years ago. The film thus has an effect similar to what Khrushchev may have hoped the book would have: to pay respect to the sufferings of the past without challenging the present.

But that is not the way Solzhenitsyn wanted his work to be taken. His subsequent novels *Cancer Ward* and *The First Circle* bear this out. Their artistic level is just as high as *Ivan Denisovich*, but they are more explicitly prosocialist and anti-Stalinist. As a reprisal, not only have they been refused publication in the USSR but *Ivan Denisovich* has been withdrawn from libraries.

—MARY and JAN GARRETT

Records Songs of struggle

"Tengo Puerto Rico en mi corazon." Songs of the Puerto Rican independence movement sung by Pepe and Flora Sanchez, in Spanish. Paredon Records. Brooklyn, New York. \$4.

"Tengo Puerto Rico en mi corazon" (I have Puerto Rico in my heart) is an album of songs reflecting the aspirations and struggles for Puerto Rican independence. Pepe and Flora are one of the many groups of protest singers the Puerto Rican independence movement has gathered around itself.

The songs on this record reflect traditional Puerto Rican folk music and depict the various struggles that are being waged by the Puerto Rican movement. The subject of "Culebra y Vieques," for instance, is the two small Puerto Rican islands the U.S. military has been using for target practice. Another song, "Puerto Rico tiene minas" (Puerto Rico has mines) deals with mines found on the island that North American companies are preparing to loot.

The spirit that inspires the record as a whole is summed up in the words from one song:

... the Puerto Rican people are waking up
now
And it is the dawn of a people
Ready to shout, 'Long Live Free Puerto Rico!'

The album is accompanied with a booklet of notes written by Sonya Marrero, member of the newly formed Puerto Rican Socialist Party, formerly the Movimiento Pro Independencia (Puerto Rican Independence Movement), and Alfredo Lopez, an activist in the defense committee to free Carlos Feliciano. Besides including the lyrics of the songs in both Spanish and English, the notes also provide a good political and historical commentary on the Puerto Rican liberation movement.

—RUBEN MONTARES



LNS photo

Puerto Rican high school students on New York march for independence.

Antiwar students' letter answers Nixon

By DAVE FRANKEL

FEB. 16—With a little more than a week remaining before the Feb. 25-27 national student antiwar conference at Washington Irving High School in New York City, support for the conference continues to grow. Many students are convinced that the war in Indochina is far from over, according to Fred Lovgren of the national staff of the Student Mobilization Committee. The SMC will be hosting the conference.

A Feb. 11 letter urging students to attend was signed by Lovgren, Layton Olson, the executive director of the National Student Lobby; Ed Fischer, the N.Y. campus coordinator of Students for McGovern; and Mark Bruzonsky, the chief representative to the United Nations of the International Student Movement for the U.N. Sent to over 3,000 people who had attended the Dec. 3-5 Emergency Conference for New Voters in Chicago, the letter points out that the continuation of the war "coupled with the attack on the right to dissent by both [White House staff chief] H.R. Haldeman and Nixon himself, makes it crucial that the student antiwar movement come together to map out a broad-based program of opposition to U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia for 1972, a Presidential election year."

SMC leaders feel that the agreement of both the Lindsay and Muskie cam-

paigns to have official representatives on the conference organizing committee—especially in the wake of Senator George McGovern's endorsement of the conference last week—is a reflection of the pressure from antiwar students.

Supporters throughout the country report considerable interest in the conference. In Oregon, the Columbia River District Council of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union unanimously endorsed the antiwar conference, as well as the April 22 demonstrations planned by the National Peace Action Coalition for New York and Los Angeles. This branch of the ILWU includes Portland, one of the four largest ports on the West Coast.

In San Francisco, a press conference will be held Feb. 21 to publicize the New York antiwar convention. Representatives of the SMC, Youth for Muskie, Students for McCarthy, and Students for McGovern are scheduled to attend. A similar press conference is also planned for Chicago with representatives of the SMC, Illinois Youth for McGovern, and Illinois Youth for Muskie.

Minneapolis has raised some \$600 for buses through a telephone campaign, and Washington, D.C., is planning to send two buses to the conference.

Seattle is organizing a teach-in at the University of Washington for Feb. 23. Speakers will include ex-senator Ernest Gruening, a representative from the Black Student Union, a Vietnamese student, and Stephanie Coontz, a national coordinator of NPAC.

New York activists, in addition to organizing a protest demonstration today against the escalated bombing in Indochina, have put out 20,000 posters, 50,000 leaflets, and 30,000 stickers in a final push to publicize the conference.

Chicanos force probe of killer-cops

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Authorities in Albuquerque, N.M., have convened a grand jury to "investigate" a police killing of two Chicano activists associated with the Black Berets.

The grand jury was convened by Albuquerque's district attorney, who had already determined that the killings were "justifiable homicide." He announced this finding within 48 hours of the killings even though there were major gaps and contradictions in the official police report.

The police story is that shortly after midnight on Jan. 29, Rito Canales and Antonio Cordova were killed at a freeway construction site while attempting to steal explosives stored there. When confronted by the police, the two Chicanos supposedly opened fire, and the police gunned them down.

But Canales and Cordova had no vehicle at the site to transport the explosives they were to steal. Canales was said to have "a cocked automatic weapon," but no such weapon has been produced by police. A photograph of the dead Cordova holding a carbine—after being hit with nine bullets!—was shown by police. But Cordova suffered from a shoulder separation that prevented him from using a stick-shift in a car, let alone fire a rifle.

Many in the angry Chicano com-

munity in Albuquerque suspect that the police killed Cordova and Canales elsewhere and took their bodies to the site to justify the killings. Steps have been taken to conduct an independent investigation.

The two Berets were slated to appear on a local television show the next day, where they were to present information about inhuman conditions at the New Mexico state penitentiary and about police brutality in the area.

Canales and Cordova were both 29 years old. Canales, a parolee, had been an inmate at the state prison during a rebellion there last October. He was among those beaten by guards after the rebellion ended. Cordova had been a photographer for the Chicano newspaper *El Grito Del Norte*. He had filed a complaint with the U.S. Civil Rights Commission that he had been beaten by an Española, N.M., policeman. The complaint was being investigated by a federal official.

News of the alleged shoot-out was kept from the news media for 12 hours. As the police story was finally being released, a raid took place on the Black Beret headquarters. The police stole files and documents, including materials being prepared by the two slain men on police brutality and prison conditions. Explosives stored by the landlord in the basement—to which the Berets had no access—were seized, and a small amount of marijuana was supposedly found. Six Berets were arrested on charges of possession of explosives and marijuana. The explosives charges were later dropped.

In a telephone interview, this reporter talked to Antonio Lecero, Black Beret Lieutenant of Justice, about Cordova and Canales. Lecero said that "They knew their lives were in danger" because of their scheduled TV appearance. "I don't think they would jeopardize their lives by going there."

Continued on page 22



Nixon wants to continue the war. Don't let him!

National Student Antiwar Conference

New York City/Feb.25-27

WASHINGTON IRVING HIGH SCHOOL 40 Irving Place (one block east of Union Square)

SPONSORED BY THE

Student Mobilization Committee

Bring all U.S. forces home now!

Nixon has one big problem, us. Every time he starts up a campaign of lies, we tell the truth. Every time he escalates the war, we answer, 'OUT NOW!'

In 1972 the power of the student movement will be more crucial than ever before. In order to plan our most effective strategy, we need to meet together to compare our experiences and decide on a course of action. The Student Mobilization Committee, along with many other organizations, is sponsoring a National Student Antiwar Conference to be held in New York, February 25-27. The conference is open to all young people who want to end the war. Every person has voice and vote. Add your voice. Be there!

- ☐ I will attend the National Student Antiwar Conference. Enclosed is \$3 advanced registration.
- ☐ Send me more information on the SMC and the Conference.
- ☐ I want to join the SMC (\$1 membership fee).
- ☐ Enclosed is a \$_____ donation.

Name _____

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SMC/ 150 Fifth Avenue, Room 911/ NYC, NY 10011

Calendar

BOSTON

VOICES OF DISSENT. Memorial to Malcolm X. Wed., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. on **WTBS-FM, 88.1.** Sat., Feb. 26, 8 p.m. on **WBUR, 90.9.**

BROOKLYN

SEE THE NEW BROOKLYN SWP HEADQUARTERS. Party following the Saturday night SMC conference session, Feb. 26. Refreshments served. 136 Lawrence St. (take the RR train at Union Square to Lawrence Street stop in Brooklyn).

DURHAM, N. H.

JENNESS-McCLOSKEY DEBATE ON TV. March 2 at 7:30 p.m. March 3 at 3 p.m. and 6:30 p.m. Channel 11. (Videotape of Jan. 15 debate at Colby Junior College.)

HOUSTON

BLOODY SUNDAY—IRELAND 1972. Speakers: John Cannon, charter member of the Texas Committee for the Reunification of Ireland; Martin Delaney, Irish nationalist; and a representative from the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. 6409 Lyons Ave., Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

HOUSTON CAMPAIGN BENEFIT DINNER. Featured speaker: Richard Garcia, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, plus local candidates. Sat., Feb. 26, 6 p.m.: refreshments. 7 p.m.: dinner. 8 p.m.: rally. 6409 Lyons Ave. Donation: \$2.50, h.s. students \$1.25. Rally only, \$1. For more information, call (713) 673-9445.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

PARTY FOLLOWING SATURDAY NIGHT SMC CONFERENCE SESSION, Feb. 26. Refreshments served. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party.

PHILADELPHIA

DEFEND LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS. Speaker: a representative from the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Thurs., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of 10th and Market Sts.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information, call WA5-4316.

SEATTLE

LINDA JENNESS, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, speaks at the University of Washington, HUB Auditorium, Thurs., Feb. 24, 12:30 p.m. For more information, call (206) LA3-2555.

LINDA JENNESS, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, speaks at **Seattle Community College, Central Campus,** Summit Bldg., Room 106A, Fri., Feb. 25, 1:30 p.m. For more information, call (206) LA3-2555.

CAMPAIGN RALLY. Featured speakers: Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for president; Doug Swanson, SWP candidate for governor of Washington; Larry Bizzell, member of the U. of Wash. Black Student Union; Valerie Valrejean, Gay People's Alliance. Fri., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. University Tower Hotel, Condon Room, 45th St. and Brooklyn Ave. N.E. Rally followed by revolutionary entertainment and party. Donation: \$1.50, h.s. students 50c.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 7 p.m. every Thursday, **KPFK-FM, 90.7.**

WASHINGTON, D. C.

SISTERS IN STRUGGLE: Seminars on Women's Liberation. Feb. 23: The First Wave of Feminism. March 1: Current Trends in the Feminist Movement—a study of the Dialectic of Sex by Shulamith Firestone. Classes start at 8 p.m. and are free. All women invited. Militant Bookstore, 746 9th St. N.W.

ANDREW PULLEY, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, will be on tour in the Washington, D.C., Virginia, and Maryland area Feb. 16-25. For information about his meetings, call (202) 783-2363.

...YSJP

Continued from page 14

In Miami Beach, several Cuban exiles at the north campus of Miami-Dade Junior College attacked the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley campaign table four times in two days. No one was hurt, although much literature was destroyed. The YSJP team, along with local campaign supporters, is organizing a campaign to secure the right of all political groups to set up tables free from right-wing terrorist harassment.

Florida readers of *The Militant* who would like to have the YSJP team visit their town or campus should contact the SWP national campaign office.

NEW YORK — Two of the other YSJP campaign teams have just begun to canvass the West Coast. The Southwestern team, composed of Henry Scheer, Louise Halverson, and Martin Rothman, will be visiting campuses and cities in Southern California, Arizona, and New Mexico. The Northwestern team, composed of Marc Bedner, Susan Welch, and John Goebel, will cover Northern California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Nevada.

...killings

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It makes no sense."

In response to the killings, nearly 800 people attended a memorial mass for the slain activists. About 300 attended a special meeting of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), where an independent committee of people respected in the community was established to conduct its

own probe.

The local Anglo press, and the Anglo ruling structure it speaks for, summed up its attitude toward the killings in an editorial in the *Albuquerque Tribune*. It said, "No reasonable person could feel any grief for any Beret."

The developing sentiment in the Albuquerque Chicano community may make them regret this candid expression of cold-blooded racism.

...women

Continued from page 5

Four Black New Jersey women from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union attended after hearing about the conference at their local union meeting.

Among the newspapers represented were the *Washington Post*, *Off Our Backs*, *Womankind*, and *Woman's World*.

The conference as a whole was a model of how movement gatherings can discuss political differences in a constructive and serious manner. Unlike the last WONAAC conference, red-baiting was absent throughout the whole weekend, and every woman's ideas were considered on their political merits. One incident of disruption occurred at the Friday night rally when 20 men and women unsuccessfully tried to drown out the speech by Jessica Josephson, legislative assistant to Bella Abzug, with chants of "No ruling-class speakers!" The hecklers walked out after the body voted that they should be asked to leave.

The success of this conference means that the struggle to repeal all restrictive abortion and contraception laws and to end forced sterilization will continue to be a focus for action during the election year. The gathering ended on a spirited note with a discussion of the need to hold another national conference following the May 6 demonstrations to plan further actions.

...NDP

Continued from page 19

the election results was distributed. But the discussion was superficial. It focused on electoral techniques, such as polling, designed to get out a higher vote. It in no way attempted to relate

the election results to political questions on either a local, national, or international level. The party worker who analyzed the results concluded only that people vote in a "trendy" way and "apparently the NDP was not very trendy this time." He felt there was nothing the party should have done differently.

Still, there was some good-natured self-criticism, although it too was not very political. "We're a lot more grass-rootsy than the other parties, but we leave a lot to be desired," someone observed. "In comparison to the socialist parties in Europe," said another, "we are a very undisciplined group."

It is a very heterogeneous mixture of social and political forces that make up the NDP. The party includes farmers, labor, social-democratic bureaucrats from the old CCF, young people politicized by the current radicalization, and the revolutionary left. The NDP is a big box with everything ricocheting back and forth inside it while the box itself, under the impact of the radicalization, generally moves to the left. For the NDP came onto the scene at the beginning of a radicalization that has brought deepening crisis at home and intensifying anti-imperialist struggles abroad. Even the most protective bureaucrats have not been able to shelter it from the impact of these events.

CHILE... The Coming Confrontation

Is the Allende government taking Chile toward socialism? When the chips are down where will the military caste stand? What should the workers and organizations of the left do?

Read the views of the Fourth International on the Chilean experiment.

In the February 24 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

Send 50¢ for a copy.

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THE MILITANT

New U.S. bombing heaviest since '68

By DICK ROBERTS

FEB. 16—The U.S. supposedly observed a 24-hour "cease-fire" during the Vietnamese Tet new-year celebration Feb. 14. Here's how:

For four days up until the hour of the "cease-fire," U.S. bombers conducted the heaviest attacks against South Vietnam since June 1968. During the 24-hour "cease-fire" period the bombing continued against Laos. The hour the "cease-fire" ended, the bombers returned to South Vietnam. The Pentagon has indicated that this massive bombing campaign will be continued at least until President Nixon arrives in Peking.

At the same time, Washington has scuttled the negotiations in Paris. William J. Porter, the chief U.S. delegate to the Paris talks, seized on the Versailles antiwar conference to justify the U.S. walkout. But this was only a pretext. Washington's real intentions were spelled out in a front-page dispatch written from Paris Feb. 12 by *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger.

"The indefinite postponement of the Paris peace talks by the United States," said Giniger, "... is understood to constitute a warning to North Vietnam that Washington is losing interest in the weekly meetings. ... Among informed diplomatic sources, the explanation appears to be that this is a way of signaling to the North Vietnamese that the United States is prepared to suspend the sessions for considerable periods unless, whether in private or public, some serious give-and-take negotiating can take place."

The meaning is: Either the Vietnamese revolutionists accept the surrender terms outlined in Nixon's eight-point demands, or the murderous U.S. bombing will continue—on the scale of 1968 or greater.

It is hard to get a precise picture of the extent of the renewed heavy bombing. According to Associated Press correspondent George Esper, figures released by the U.S. military headquarters in Saigon indicated "that Navy and Air Force fighter-bombers flew 176 strikes in South Vietnam during the 24 hours before dawn [that is, before the beginning of the supposed "cease-fire" Feb. 14—D.R.]. B-52 heavy bombers added another 27 missions, the most flown since June, 1968.

"This brought the total since Wednesday [Feb. 9] to 766 strikes, and informants said more raids between dawn and dusk today pushed the total past 800." (*New York Post*, Feb. 14, 1972.)

New York Times correspondent Craig R. Whitney, present at the same military briefing, stated in the Feb. 15 *Times* that "The number of air strikes is the highest that the command has reported since it began keeping such statistics in June, 1968. During the height of the enemy's 1968 Tet offensive, B-52 missions flown inside South Vietnam were far fewer every day. ... In other words, Nixon's renewed bombing of South Vietnam could be the heaviest in the history of the war.

To reinforce its Southeast Asia bombing fleet, the Pentagon announced Feb. 10 that it had shifted "about 30" B-52s from the United States to Guam.

Much has been said by U.S. military authorities in the last six weeks about an "impending Tet offensive"

that would "test the strength of Vietnamization." It appears now that this publicity may have been mainly aimed at preparing the public for the escalation of U.S. bombing now being carried out. An "exceptionally well-informed analyst" admitted to *Times* correspondent Whitney in Saigon on Feb. 15, "We have discounted a major effort during Tet and think it will come later. We don't really think they will do it before Nixon's visit and think they would not be terribly in-



terested in giving Nixon talking points in Peking by staging a big offensive while he is there."

In addition to suggesting that there may not be a new Tet offensive, this U.S. authority indirectly admits that "talking points" in Peking between Nixon and Mao will center on the war in Indochina. (For more details, see pages 8-9.)

While Nixon was stepping up the air war in Indochina, an event took place near Saigon that says much about the character of the regime Washington is backing. This was the police assault on an orphanage at Longthanh Village. A special dispatch to the *New York Times* printed Feb. 14 gave details:

"South Vietnam's largest orphanage was silent today following a police action Friday [Feb. 11] during which the orphanage was shut and nearly 3,000 Vietnamese children were carried away in trucks. ...

"The national police first raided the Buddhist orphanage eight days ago. Fifteen truckloads of policemen entered shortly after midnight, armed with clubs and water hoses, and firing tear-gas grenades, according to Buddhist nuns there at the time. ...

"The nuns said that three boys died from tear-gas poisoning and that others were seriously injured in the raid. ...

Saigon authorities claim that draft resisters were hiding in the orphanage. Washington authorities say that this is an "internal matter" for the Saigon regime.

Paris conference sets world antiwar actions

PARIS—The Assembly for the Peace and Independence of the Indochinese Peoples held here Feb. 11-13 called for an extensive program of antiwar activity around the world this spring. Included in the conference action resolutions was a call for support to the April 22 mass demonstrations scheduled for New York and Los Angeles by the National Peace Action Coalition.

The conference, convened by the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam and the World Peace Conference, was attended by more than 1,200 delegates from 84 countries, including substantial delegations from Laos, Cambodia, and North and South Vietnam. More than 120 Americans were present, including representatives and supporters of the National Peace Action Coalition, Student Mobilization Committee, and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

The key debates and discussions at the conference took place over two questions: first, whether there would be an emphasis on mobilizing masses of people in many countries around a specific program of action against the war in Southeast Asia, or whether a more diffuse approach of organizing around several issues should be adopted; and second, the issue of non-exclusion—that is, building a movement that can include all the forces that support actions against the war.

A resolution calling for a World Peace Week in mid-April, culminating in massive demonstrations on April 22 in all countries, was introduced by six coordinators of the National Peace Action Coalition: John T. Williams, James Lafferty, Jerry Gordon, Stephanie Coontz, Ruth Gage-Colby, and Debby Bustin. (Bustin is also national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee.)

This mass-action resolution was opposed by representatives of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, who counterposed smaller actions and actions around issues other than the war to a clear call for international mass antiwar demonstrations. PCPJ representatives proposed that the conference endorse various actions taking place in the United States between April 1 and May 15, and declared this six-week period as one of international solidarity with the Indochinese. But they opposed a clear call for either a specific date or a week of international massive street demonstrations.

The final resolution was drafted by the conference organizers before the last session. It attempted to present a compromise between the two positions. The resolution listed April 22 as a day of "national mass actions in New York and Los Angeles to demand an unconditional end to U.S. involvement in Indochina" and further stated, "the delegates to this assembly have decided to organize, simultaneously, with the most important initiative of the U.S. movement, big, multiform rallies and actions aimed at demonstrating political and material support to the peoples of Indochina fighting for peace and independence."

Other actions listed in the resolu-

tion were: the April 1 actions in defense of the Harrisburg defendants and Angela Davis, to take place in Harrisburg and San Jose respectively; April 15 local actions against the cost of the war, including resistance to tax payments for the war; and a May 1-15 period, projected by the PCPJ, consisting of local actions against corporations producing for the war, actions in support of active-duty GIs, and other activities ranging from lobbying to civil disobedience.

The World Peace Conference proceedings did not permit a full and free discussion and exchange of opinion. For instance, delegates were not able to speak from the floor at plenary sessions. Jerry Gordon and James Lafferty, coordinators of NPAC, were denied the floor when they rose to propose that international mass demonstrations be specifically called by the conference for a given day or week in the spring.

The most serious violation of democratic procedure at the conference was the exclusion of the French Indochina Solidarity Front (FSI). The FSI, a coalition of groups and individuals, was responsible for organizing the massive Nov. 6 French antiwar action in which 20,000 people marched in Paris and a total of 30,000 marched throughout France. The exclusion of the FSI was initiated by leaders of French organizations, including the massive French Communist Party. The pretext was the standard Stalinist slander that militant youth are "provocateurs," and that seemingly, at least in France, those who organize mass actions against the war are "divisive."

No procedures existed in the conference for appealing this exclusion to the entire assembly. A number of protests, however, were made on the floor of the Action Commission by NPAC leaders and prominent French individuals.

A noticeable absence in the discussions on the floor of the conference and in the Action Commission was the lack of any statement by PCPJ leaders protesting the exclusion of the FSI. This was especially striking since in the first plenary session the conference organizers gave two leaders of PCPJ—Sidney Peck and Al Hubbard—the floor as representatives of the American delegation.

Supporters of the right of the FSI to participate pointed out that the fight against political exclusion has been key to the success of the American antiwar movement.

After the conference adjourned, the French conference organizers held a demonstration of 15,000 in Paris. Twenty-five hundred of the demonstrators marched in a contingent organized by the FSI, which supported the demonstration in spite of its exclusion from the conference.

The key result of the Paris conference was the call for international mass actions simultaneously with the U.S. April 22 demonstrations. Antiwar forces around the world must now begin to organize for the largest possible demonstrations for immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Indochina.