

# THE MILITANT

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



## Why French antiwar activists were excluded from Versailles conference

— page 4

## Angela Davis free on bail

By NORTON SANDLER

SAN JOSE, Feb. 23—After 16 months in jail, Angela Davis was released tonight on \$102,500 bail. Davis, a member of the Communist Party, faces murder charges stemming from a courtroom kidnapping attempt in San Rafael, Calif., in August 1970.

San Jose Superior Court Judge Richard E. Arnason had previously refused to set bail on the grounds that California law prohibits bail in "capital cases."

Today's decision followed a State Supreme Court decision last Friday abolishing the death penalty in California.

Conditions of bail are rather harsh—she cannot leave the six Bay Area counties, she is not allowed to speak about her case at public meetings or in interviews, she cannot possess or have a firearm, and she has to report to a probation officer every week.

Davis' trial begins here Monday, Feb. 28.

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**RIGGED HEARINGS ON PUERTO RICANS:** The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights tried to hold "public hearings" on the problems of Puerto Ricans in New York Feb. 14 and Feb. 15 but without letting the "public" speak. The esteemed commission, headed by University of Notre Dame President Theodore Hesburg, was slated to hear from such experts as Albert Shanker, the racist president of the United Federation of Teachers, and various federal, state, and city officials, themselves accomplices to the systematic oppression of Puerto Ricans.

The hearings, held in the Brotherhood in Action Building in Manhattan, were called off in the face of demands by Puerto Rican activists that they be allowed to speak. Among groups demanding that the hearings be open were the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Congress of Puerto Rican Hometowns.

**FREE SPEECH VICTORY IN DENVER:** The Committee for Democratic Rights at the University of Colorado, Denver Center, has won a free speech victory—the right to leaflet, sell literature, and set up tables. The committee's efforts were supported by the campus Student Mobilization Committee, Chicano student groups, Women's Liberation, the Black Student Alliance, and the Young Socialist Alliance. The Colorado American Civil Liberties Union lent active support.

Lynn Rashkind of the Denver YSA predicts that "Heightened political activity on campus this spring will be the direct result of this important victory."

**FOREIGN STUDENTS SPARK TUITION FIGHT:** A broad coalition spearheaded by the Foreign Student Council is waging a campaign to cut tuition for all students at the University of Washington in Seattle. Tuition has doubled over the last several years, with no end in sight. The demands of the Council of Student Delegates to Roll Back Tuition were approved "in a landslide victory" in a campus referendum on Feb. 10, according to Militant reporter Lucy Roedder. A successful petition campaign (3,000 signatures in three days) and campus rallies are also part of this effort.

Those attending coalition meetings have included the student government, the Black Student Union, the veterans association, the Young Democrats, the Young Socialist Alliance, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, and the Chinese, Arab, and Iranian student associations. U.S. immigration authorities have intervened by initiating deportation proceedings against Babak Zahraie, an Iranian student who is a coordinator of the tuition coalition. (See *The Militant*, Feb. 25.)

**STRIKE LEADER AT SEATTLE FORUM:** John Barton, president of the Seattle Community College Federation of Teachers and leader of Washington's first public employee strike, spoke at a Feb. 11 Militant Forum attended by more than 40 people. Also speaking were William Jungers, student-strike-support picket captain and leader of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, and Gary Johnson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for state superintendent of public instruction.

Barton outlined the issues in the strike (see *The Militant*, Feb. 25). The teachers have been forced back to work under a court injunction on the grounds that strikes by public employees are illegal under Washington law.

Jungers detailed how student support was won for the strike through a series of mass meetings involving hundreds of students. Johnson discussed the strike in the context of the wage controls and the Nixon administration's attack on the right to strike.

**RACISM DURING 'WAR FOR DEMOCRACY':** Three hundred fifty volumes of the British War Cabinet's papers covering the years 1941-45 are being published in London. It turns out that the war minister, Sir James Grigg, wrote a memo on how to educate British armed forces, especially women, "to conform with American attitudes toward Negro soldiers arriving in Britain with the United States Army," as Anthony Lewis delicately put it in the Jan. 3 *New York Times*.

"The people of this country should avoid becoming too friendly with colored American troops," Sir James wrote.

A cabinet committee wrote a secret paper for senior officers. "It provided this convenient (racist—J. B.) analysis of American racial attitudes for the uninformed: 'The South is semitropical, where labor is more fitted to the colored man . . . the white population still tend to regard Negroes as children for whom they have a moral responsibility; like children Negroes commonly inspire affection and admiration, but they are not considered equal to white men and women any more than children are considered equal to adults.'"

**STANFORD SPARED NO EXPENSE TO FIRE PROF:** The Stanford University faculty Advisory Board hearings that led to the firing of Professor H. Bruce Franklin (see

*In Brief*, Jan. 28) cost the school about \$180,000, according to a Feb. 19 dispatch from Palo Alto, Calif. Franklin was fired for his antiwar and radical views.

**STRIKE AT U.S. PEN IN MARION, ILL.:** Militant correspondent Stuart Vyse from Carbondale reports:

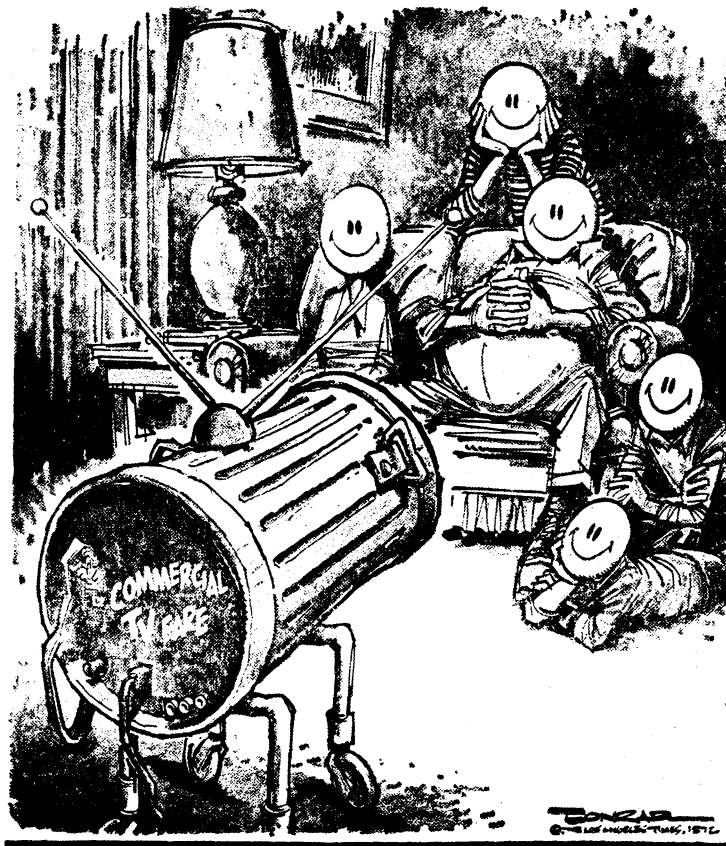
"On the morning of Jan. 31, 40 to 60 inmates of the Marion penitentiary sat down in a hallway and refused to move. They were successful in getting a handful of prisoners released from the segregation-cell house and returned to the normal prison population.

"A few days later, three prisoners were put in segregation after testifying against the government in U.S. District Court in a case involving an alleged escape attempt. This caused all 500 men to stop work in the prison's furniture factory and printing plant. Fifteen demands were presented, including the right to testify in court without fear of being punished, an end to mail censorship, improved medical treatment, and the right to be politically active.

"After a six day lockup, the strike was ended with Warden George W. Pickett's acceptance of a watered-down version of some of the demands. No concessions were made on the demands to exercise the right to political activity and to testify in court without fear of being punished."

**THE MILITANT GETS AROUND I:** The February *Radical Therapist*, now published in Somerville, Mass., reprinted Arthur Maglin's "American Way of Life" from the Jan. 14 *Militant*. Credit was given to Liberation News Service and *The Militant*.

**THE MILITANT GETS AROUND II:** The American Civil Liberties Union newspaper *Civil Liberties* featured in its January issue an article on racism in the U.S. Army, by Thomas Culver. Entitled "Darmstadt 53: Race at German Bases," the article was illustrated by a picture of Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley and a group of Black GIs. *The Militant* was given credit for the photo.



**TV WRITERS BLAST CENSORSHIP:** Members of the Writers Guild of America recently told a Senate subcommittee hearing about censorship by television executives. The Feb. 9 *Los Angeles Times* quoted some of the testimony.

The guild's chairman, David W. Rintels, told of his experiences with "The FBI" series. "If you want to do a kidnapping, great; Communist espionage, wonderful; organized crime, marvelous." But "civil rights, never . . ." The broadcast executives, Rintels said, "allow laughter but not tears, fantasy but not reality, escapism but not truth. . . ."

"Seventy-five million people are nightly being fed programs deliberately designed to have no resemblance at all to reality, nonsense whose only purpose is to sell snake oil and laxatives and underarm deodorants."

Liam O'Brien, a screenwriter, said he was forced by CBS to put more "action . . . the CBS euphemism for violence" into the "Hawaii Five-O" series in 1970.

—JOEL BRITTON

# 1-year subs are goal of renewal campaign

By SHARON CABANISS

FEB. 22 — Seventy subscription renewals came into the *Militant* business office this past week, bringing the total to 591. The leading area was Oakland-Berkeley with 13.

The *International Socialist Review* is doing quite well in the joint renewal campaign with 148 renewals so far, which is more than 4 percent of the 3,325 subs sold in last fall's subscription drive. Many areas report that *Militant* subscribers are often interested in reading the *ISR* and have been purchasing either the three-month introductory *ISR* sub for \$1 or the special combination offer of six months of the *ISR* and one year of *The Militant* for only \$8.

A key consideration of the renewal campaign is to get as many one-year renewals as possible so that readers can follow the SWP campaign through the election.

Ruth Getts, Portland renewal drive director, reports that *Militant* supporters take samples of the free book choices to show subscribers what they can get with a one-year renewal.

Since some people cannot afford a one-year sub right away, *The Militant* is also offering a six-month renewal for only \$3.

Last week, 23 introductory subs to *The Militant* and five introductory *ISR* subs were sent to the national campaign office.

A total of 131 new introductory subs and 18 new one-year subs came in this past week. Madison led the way with 11, and Chicago and Cleveland each sent in 9.

More than 100 *Militants* were sold at a recent rally held at the BOAC offices in New York City to protest Britain's internment policy in Ireland. Also selling well was the December 1971 *International Socialist Review*, which carried an interview with Cathal Goulding, chief of staff of the Irish Republican Army.

Does your school or local library have a subscription to *The Militant*? Also, you might find that your local high school or college student government and the campus newspapers would be interested in subscribing.

# Black student killed; community angered

By MERYL FARBER

CHICAGO — On Tuesday, Feb. 15, two students from Olive-Harvey Junior College entered Kenwood High School to receive tutoring from a teacher there. Located in Chicago's South Side, the high school is 70 percent Black. At one point in the afternoon they were approached by an armed security guard and told to leave.

The guard then proceeded to arrest them for trespassing. A scuffle started and a second armed guard came to aid the first. According to Bernard Martin, an off-duty cop serving as a security guard, one of the students pulled a pistol and threatened to shoot. Martin then shot and killed him.

The dead man was identified as Cornell Fitzpatrick, a 21-year-old Vietnam veteran. Several students who were eyewitnesses to the incident say that they did not see a gun anywhere near Fitzpatrick when he fell dead.

On the following day, the students of Kenwood High, outraged at what had happened, held meetings to decide what course of action to take. A mass community meeting was called for Thursday night to discuss the problem of armed guards in the school.

Approximately 800 parents, students, and teachers attended this meeting, which overwhelmingly passed a

motion to have the armed guards removed by 8 a.m. Friday, Feb. 18. The motion also called for a student boycott of classes with the full support of the community if guards were found in the school after that time.

In addition, the students raised demands centered around student control. They included, among others, a student protection committee to screen all personnel, no armed guards in the school, and the handing out of passes to visitors so that they may be allowed into the school.

When armed guards were discovered in the school the next day, 50 to 60 students and parents set up a picket line outside the school demanding "No armed guards in Kenwood!" A board of education spokesman, however, contended that there were no armed guards in the school.

Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cook County state's attorney, issued a statement giving full support to the struggle taking place at Kenwood and to the seven demands calling for student control of the school. "The killing at Kenwood," the statement said, "raises the vital question of who actually controls the schools. Who made the decision in the first place to have armed guards in the schools? Not the parents, the students, or teachers."

# Frame-up of Chicano falls apart in court

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — Efforts by federal and local authorities to frame up former attorney Oscar Z. Acosta ended in failure when a jury here found him not guilty of illegal possession of benzadrine. The jury deliberated less than two hours after an eight-day trial that ended Feb. 16.

Acosta was for many years a prominent Chicano attorney. He retired from practice this past year and is now living in Northern California.

Acosta represented many Chicano activists and was counsel to the widow of Rubén Salazar, a Chicano journalist killed by police during their attack on the Aug. 29, 1970 Chicano Moratorium demonstration against the Vietnam war.

Acosta's arrest on the drug-possession charge came on the eve of the anniversary of the Moratorium. On that day a Los Angeles jury had rejected all but several lesser charges against the Biltmore Seven, a group of Chicano activists indicted for allegedly seeking to commit arson at the hotel during a demonstration there.

That evening, Acosta, who was attorney in the case, went out with two of his just-freed clients and two other friends. Driving in Acosta's car, they visited several bars. As the evening went on, it was apparent to them that they were being followed each step of the way by police.

Finally, Acosta decided to challenge being followed, drove his car off a freeway ramp and parked. The police stopped behind him and ordered the occupants out of the car. An agent of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms enforcement division of the Treasury Department (ATF) then held aloft a crumpled cigarette package containing several dozen benzadrines and announced that Acosta had flung it from the car just before stopping.

The federal agency insisted they had no idea of the identity of Acosta and

his friends and that they were being followed simply because their conduct was suspicious.

Pretrial investigation by Acosta's attorney, Neil Herring, unearthed quite a different story. It was established that the day prior to the anniversary of the Chicano Moratorium a meeting had been held of members of the Los Angeles Police Department, the L.A. sheriff's office, and the ATF to plan how they would deal with demonstrations anticipated for the next day. Part of their plans included having extensive forces from the three agencies in the Chicano community the night prior to the anniversary. At that meeting, it was officially established by the investigation, a list was circulated of "leading militants" deserving attention. Acosta's name was on that list.

The defense also exposed the false claim of the ATF agent, who made the official charge against Acosta. The agent had asserted that he didn't know the identity of the man he arrested, but the police blotter he signed showed the arrested man identified as "Chicano attorney Oscar Acosta" and referred to him as "a Chicano militant."

Apparently, it was such facts as these — coupled with the defense argument that someone with Acosta's legal experience would not be carrying illegal drugs when he knew he was being followed by police, no less do so while acting to challenge their harassment of him — that convinced the jury.

An aspect of the attempted frame-up that is of special interest is the role of the ATF. Recent revelations here by Eustacio (Frank) Martinez, a former ATF informer in the Chicano movement, put the spotlight on the fact that this agency is increasingly playing the role of political persecutor of Chicano activists. He revealed that it uses informers and provocateurs to penetrate Chicano organizations for the purpose of illegal surveillance and entrapment.

All  
Out on  
April  
22

End  
the war  
now

Militant

Militant

On to  
April  
22

Out  
now

**We'll campaign for the April 22 antiwar actions... Don't miss an issue of The Militant.**

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## Special Interview

# Why French antiwar group was excluded at Versailles



Photo by Elie Kagan

French Indochina Solidarity Front contingent of 2,500 on march of 15,000 that concluded Versailles antiwar conference Feb. 13.

By DAN ROSENSHINE

PARIS—Following the Feb. 11-13 antiwar conference in Versailles, I interviewed Dr. Marcel-Francis Kahn.

Dr. Kahn has been one of the most consistent and untiring organizers of French opposition to the U.S. war in Indochina. He is a member of the national board of the Indochina Solidarity Front (Front de Solidarité Indochine—FSI), which has organized a series of antiwar actions in France in the last year.

Dr. Kahn is also the national vice-president of the Franco-Vietnamese Medical Association, which recently organized a world conference on the Indochina War and Medicine. The conference was attended by more than 200 doctors from different countries, including the U.S. and the countries of Indochina.

The Indochina Solidarity Front was excluded from the World Assembly for the Peace and Independence of the Peoples of Indochina, held Feb. 11-13 in Versailles. No explanation was given by the conference organizers for this exclusion, nor did they recognize any right to appeal the exclusion to the assembly.

A delegation from the U.S. National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), including six of its seven national coordinators, attended the conference and raised two important questions: 1) that the exclusion of the FSI—the most active French antiwar organization—be reversed; and 2) that the conference call international mass demonstrations for a specific day or week in the spring.

Discussion of the NPAC mass-action proposal was also ruled out of order in the final plenary session. The conference did, however, specifically endorse April 22 as the day of national mass demonstrations in the United States.

The decisions and debates of the Versailles conference are of considerable importance to the antiwar movement in the United States. Coming issues of *The Militant* will carry analytical articles on this subject.

The following interview with Dr. Kahn provides a valuable background for an understanding of the French antiwar movement and the exclusion of the FSI.

**Q. First of all, Dr. Kahn, how did**

**you become involved in the antiwar movement?**

A. The Algerian war ended in 1962 and you may remember that the first steps of the escalation in Vietnam began at that time. Those of us who had been deeply involved on behalf of the Algerian people immediately took up the struggle against the American war in Indochina.

At first, our campaign around Vietnam was of an educational nature. We organized meetings and wrote articles in journals. But when President Johnson sharply escalated the war in 1965 we began mobilizing mass opposition in France. We were very inspired by the example of the first mass demonstrations and teach-ins in the U.S.

I personally participated in three efforts at this time. First, I helped found the Franco-Vietnamese Medical Association. The association has very broad support within the medical profession for its efforts to organize medical support for the people of Indochina.

Second both as a doctor and a political activist, I helped establish, in 1966, the International War Crimes Tribunal, better known as the Russell Tribunal. I was a member of the scientific commission devoted to the study of fragmentation bombs and chemical warfare and I also helped organize the tribunal sessions and publications of reports. I wrote extensively in the areas of CS and war gases.

In 1967, as part of the tribunal's medical-staff investigation team, I went to Vietnam two times; both to the North and to the liberated zones controlled by the NLF in the South. I reported to the Tribunal on the bombing of hospitals, schools, and nurseries in the North, and the use of chemical warfare, destruction in "free-fire zones," and the achievements of the NLF (National Liberation Front) health services in the South.

Third, I was a member of the French National Vietnam Committee, a militant action organization created at the end of 1966. This organization built a series of massive street demonstrations in 1966 and 1967 and received support from a very wide spectrum of political forces.

Actually, it was initiated by various forces on the French left who were

dissatisfied with the existing peace movement led by the French Communist Party. In spite of the vast resources and following of the French CP, its activities were not sustained, and it did not throw its forces into this vital work.

At this time the May-June 1968 events occurred in France. The Vietnam issue had been very important in organizing the radicalization of the young students and workers. It is often said that the militant defense of Vietnam was one of the origins of the radicalization that led to the May-June events of 1968.

But in 1968, we entered a period of decline in organized activity against the Indochina war. One reason was episodic and temporary. The great upsurge of the French workers and students in May and June riveted everyone's attention to the domestic political situation in France.

A second reason was more serious. In the very same week the May-June events began, the Paris negotiations also began. I believe that a certain section of public opinion in Europe was deceived by these talks and later by Nixon's propaganda that the war is "winding down."

Actions in solidarity with Vietnam were held, but they were rather small. One accomplishment was the creation of the International Center for the Denunciation of War Crimes, chaired by two very prominent intellectuals, Jean-Paul Sartre and Laurent Schwartz.

We held a conference in July 1968 where the Mylai atrocities were completely described. The details were obtained from Vietnamese sources. The center published a book in September 1968 called *Vietnam '68, 8 Reports and 7 Testimonies*, which contained an explicit account of Mylai. However, this was ignored by the mass media.

In the beginning of 1971 we felt it was absolutely necessary to create a new movement to continue activities on a higher level. A number of prominent personalities and representatives of political tendencies issued the first appeal of the Indochina Solidarity Front in April 1971.

**Q. What activities has the FSI carried out?**

A. Last April we received a call from

the American antiwar movement to organize a demonstration in solidarity with your own on April 24.

This was the first public appearance of the Indochina Solidarity Front. We began organizing shortly before the action and 3,500 people came out.

In the late spring of 1971 we organized mass meetings and teach-ins in Paris and throughout France.

The most intensive activities of the FSI began in the fall of 1971. We put all of our emphasis on a mass mobilization in solidarity with the Nov. 6 antiwar actions in the United States.

Committees were organized to support the Nov. 6 demonstration everywhere—in the high schools, universities, factories, and neighborhoods. And the FSI succeeded in organizing the largest mass demonstration in France for Indochina in 1971.

Twenty thousand marched in Paris, and a total of 30,000 in all of France. In many cities the demonstrations were the largest ever seen for Indochina.

On Nov. 10 we organized a large meeting in Paris, where representatives of the U.S. antiwar movement and the Indochinese struggle spoke. The meeting was addressed by Jerry Gordon of the U.S. National Peace Action Coalition; Al Hubbard of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice; Py Toureth of the Cambodian National United Khmer Front; Dr. Nguyen Van Loch of the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government delegation in Paris; Le Van Sinh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam delegation to France; Pham The Truc, a former opposition member of the Chamber of Deputies in Saigon; and Boun-Sang of the Union of Lao Students.

Indochinese delegations also came to many of the regional meetings. Since November there has hardly been a week when we haven't had a support meeting somewhere in France. This is important because most of the demonstrations of the 1960s took place in Paris.

We have also worked to expose the complicity of the French government on Indochina. It claims to be neutral and sometimes even sympathetic to the Vietnamese cause, but in fact it is aiding the U.S. We know, for example, that France is selling electronic military equipment to the U.S.

**Q. Could you describe the forces involved in the Indochina Solidarity Front?**

A. The FSI was initiated by prominent personalities and representatives of political tendencies who have been active in the antiwar movement for a long time. For example, Laurent Schwartz, the former executive-president of the Bertrand Russell Tribunal and a world-famous mathematician; several dozen academicians who had left the Communist Party since 1968; and also some members of the Communist Party—even though the Communist Party has taken a very hostile attitude toward the FSI.

Among our supporters is the Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International, whose members were very active in the National Vietnam Committee.

The Unified Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste Unifié—PSU) is also represented in the FSI. Michel Rocard, a PSU member of the chamber of deputies, signed the appeal to form the FSI.

Another participating group is the Committee for Communist Initiative, consisting of individuals expelled from the French Communist Party or still working secretly within it trying to reform it. It has in its ranks some very famous figures in the history of the French Communist Party.

Another organization that is part of the FSI is the French branch of the International Conference for Disarmament and Peace, headed up by Claude Bourdet, well-known radical pacifist.



**Q. How do you explain the exclusion of the FSI from the Versailles conference?**

**A.** The exclusion was initiated by the French Communist Party and the organizations it controls, including the powerful CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor) unions.

They did not regard the defense of the Indochinese people as the primary objective. They did not recognize the need for unity on this issue, regardless of other political differences. Instead, they used the participation of Trotskyists from the Communist League in the FSI as a basis for exclusion.

In fact, they excluded not only the Trotskyists but the FSI itself—the one organization that has been carrying out active and consistent antiwar work in the last year.

**Q. Had the FSI formally requested to be included in the conference?**

**A.** Yes, the leaders of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam had decided to hold the conference in Paris. We informed each of the French organizations that were preparing for the conference that we wanted to participate in their work. We were told we should apply to the Stockholm Conference itself. We did so in October and received a positive response.

It was then decided that the Versailles conference would be organized by two different bodies—one would be delegates from the Stockholm Conference and the other would be delegates from 40 or 48 French organizations. The trick—and it was a trick—was to change an informal grouping of French organizations into a formal organization in which member organizations could veto any other group that might want to affiliate. This was done in order to exclude the FSI.

The participating organizations consisted of a number of small groups in the periphery of the CP; CGT unions where many of the national board members are in the CP; the CFDT (another trade union federation); and, in the last six months, the French Socialist Party.

Within this grouping an official statement was made by leaders of the CP saying there were people they would not associate with in any way, referring specifically to the Trotskyists. I might point out that there are organizations where the CP is forced to work alongside Trotskyists. In these organizations, the CP claims members of the Communist League are "simply individuals," whereas in the case of the FSI, the Communist League is an "official supporter." This was their stated reason for exclusion.

When the Stockholm Conference was asked by a number of organizations to overturn this exclusion, their answer was that "this is a French organizational affair and we cannot intervene in French domestic affairs." At the executive board of the Versailles conference, a Soviet delegate gave the same answer to a member of the International Conference on Disarmament and Peace.

**Q. Were there specific charges against the FSI in addition to including Trotskyists?**

**A.** They charged that the FSI creates incidents at demonstrations. This is so untrue that they had to retreat and drop this charge. We understand that it was revived at the conference, where the FSI was not officially present to answer it.

At the Versailles conference, French CP members also claimed that the FSI was campaigning against the National Liberation Front for not being "revolutionary enough" and condemning the Vietnamese for participating in the Paris negotiations. These charges were made only in Versailles—they never dared say anything equivalent in the French newspapers.

**Q. Is the FSI getting support in its fight for nonexclusion?**

**A.** We contacted many people. We did not protest on the basis of the single fact that we were excluded and were upset—that would not be a political standpoint. We protested because we think the exclusion of one part—any part—of the movement weakens the entire movement throughout the world.

We received support from many people throughout France. Within the conference, prominent individuals like Claude Bourdet and Hélène Parmelin took the floor in the commissions (workshops), as did representatives of NPAC. Hélène Parmelin is both a member of the FSI and the French CP and she protested very firmly against the exclusion. This was a commendable act.

We received a number of informal assurances from representatives of the U.S. Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice that they were against our exclusion. I must say, regrettably, that they took only informal and private steps and decided not to raise the question publicly or on the conference floor.

I believe it is very difficult for them to show any reason why the FSI should be excluded. Now they should send a formal communication to the Versailles conference organizers—this would be better than nothing. They could also send us a communication saying they are against our exclusion from the Versailles conference.

**Q. What steps do you believe are necessary for the antiwar movement on a world scale?**

**A.** We have found that the effectiveness of antiwar activity is multiplied 5, 10, or 20 times if there is worldwide coordination.

If on the same day, or week, you can have tens and hundreds of thousands of people in the streets of Berlin, Paris, Rome, New York, Los Angeles, and Tokyo, it makes clear that the struggle against imperialism is worldwide.

We plan to carry out large demonstrations in connection with yours on April 22 and hope that a number of other countries do the same.

In Europe on Nov. 6 we saw demonstrations in France, Switzerland, Sweden, Luxemburg, Germany and Italy. And perhaps you know that 500 Spaniards under Franco's fascism demonstrated in Madrid on that day—even though they had to assemble, demonstrate, and disperse within 15 minutes so they would not be caught by the police.

What we want to do in Europe is promote the formation of organizations similar to the FSI. These organizations can then meet the potential that exists for large mass demonstrations.

**Q. You mentioned that there have been incidents within demonstrations against contingents organized by the FSI.**

**A.** Yes, most recently on Feb. 12 and 13. The French groups involved in the Versailles conference planned demonstrations throughout France to coincide with the closing of the conference. We supported these since they were antiwar actions.

In Paris, 15,000 people marched; 2,500 of them in the contingent organized by the FSI. No incidents occurred in Paris. However, in several towns, marshals organized by the Communist Party and the CGT attacked the FSI contingents.

Such attacks occurred in Rouen and Montpellier. Some people were badly hurt, and one woman is now in the hospital. In Montpellier the marshals attacked not only the FSI contingent but a delegation of school teachers who complained about these attacks.

Different organizations have protested against these activities. And I should add that even among members of the CP we know a lot of people who are thoroughly disgusted with these physical attacks on the FSI.

# Canadian actions set for April 22

The following are major excerpts from an article that appeared in the Feb. 14 *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist biweekly published in Canada. By CARL FLEMING

The spring antiwar offensive was launched Feb. 5-6 when regional conferences set April 22 . . . as the date for mass demonstrations across Canada. The peace actions will demand immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces and matériel from Southeast Asia and an end to Canada's complicity in the war.

The focus of the April 22 actions will be a "Peace Train," carrying demonstrators from Southern Ontario to a rally in Ottawa, where the Trudeau government will be challenged to break its ties with the U.S. war machine and its aggression against the people of Indochina.

The conferences were the largest in some time (Vancouver, 125; Saskatoon, 88; Toronto, 150) and included many of the new young activists who joined the antiwar movement from the experiences of the protests against Nixon's Amchitka nuclear blast last fall.

Student meetings held in conjunction with the conferences in Saskatoon and Toronto established Student Mobilization Committees on a regional basis. March 29 was set as a student day of protest, to culminate a drive to expose and rid the university campuses of war research.

The Saskatoon conference called a

prairie-wide demonstration in Suffield, Alberta, site of the Canadian government's chemical and biological research center, sometime during the summer. . . .

In Vancouver, featured speaker Robert Scheer, editor of *Ramparts* magazine and a former Democratic Party "peace" candidate in California . . . proposed that the movement drop its demand for immediate withdrawal and substitute the seven-point peace proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, which calls on the U.S. to set a date for withdrawal. . . .

The conference reaffirmed the demands "Out Now" and "End Canada's Complicity" as the main demands of the movement. . . .

The Toronto conference was confronted with an action proposal from Gordon Massie of the Communist Party, which, while posing no concrete actions for the antiwar movement, wanted to make the PRG's seven-point proposal a major demand of the antiwar movement.

The conference rejected the Massie proposal and adopted an action proposal for the April 22 March on Ottawa put forward by George Addison, outgoing executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee. . . .

Dennis McDermott, Canadian director of the United Auto Workers, told the Toronto conference that [the] labor movement must play a bigger role in the antiwar movement.



## Right to organize won by Portland students

By JOHN LINDER

PORTLAND, Ore.—High school students here won a victory Feb. 8 in a year-long fight for the right to form political organizations in the schools. In a unanimous decision the school board voted to overturn its previous policy of barring all political organizations other than the Democratic and Republican parties from meeting in the schools.

The victory was spearheaded by the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), with the support of such organizations as the Portland Federation of Teachers, the Lincoln High School student government and Black Student Union, the local chapter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Oregon McGovern campaign.

Most recently, when a new principal at Adams High School granted a charter to a chapter of the SMC and was then forced to revoke it by the superintendent of schools, the SMC launched an intensive campaign of leafletting and education. SMC members picketed and spoke at the Jan. 24 meeting of the school board, which was attended by more than 200 people. The board agreed to reconsider its policy at its next meeting, scheduled for Feb. 7.

The SMC campaign continued, and on Feb. 7, 50 students picketed the

board meeting demanding their rights. An overflow crowd turned out to witness the debate. The board adopted a policy granting all political organizations the right to meet and organize in the schools, but continued to deny the right of all organizations to be chartered. It is by being chartered that a group gains access to money from the school system and use of all school facilities, from mimeo machines to bus transportation for group activities.

SMC activists considered the new policy to be a victory, but stated their determination to continue the fight until they win all the rights and privileges accorded to other organizations within the schools. This stage of the fight for the rights of high school students was launched by an SMC member who challenged the superintendent of schools to a debate on high school rights. He accepted, and the debate was scheduled for Feb. 18 at Adams High School.

The SMC plans to take immediate advantage of the new policy by setting up chapters in the Portland schools to organize participation in the National Student Antiwar Conference planned for New York Feb. 25-27, and to begin organization for the April 22 demonstration planned for Los Angeles.

# In Our Opinion

## Nonexclusion...

A promising indication of the breadth of the student antiwar movement was revealed at a Feb. 23 news conference announcing plans for the Feb. 26-27 national student antiwar conference called by the Student Mobilization Committee. Participating in the news conference and adding their support to the Conference Organizing Committee were representatives of Students for McGovern and the National Youth Coalition for Muskie, as well as other organizations. Students for Lindsay is also part of the Conference Organizing Committee.

All antiwar activists should welcome the participation of young supporters of Democratic or Republican Party presidential candidates at the student antiwar conference. They will contribute ideas, resources, and activists to the organization of the spring antiwar activities.

It is important to make the distinction, however, that while these young campaign supporters are supporting the antiwar conference, the SMC is not endorsing and should not endorse their particular candidates or the program of particular candidates.

Also participating in the press conference was a representative of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. The Socialist Workers Party candidates give wholehearted support to the SMC and everywhere they speak urge support to the April 22 antiwar actions in New York and Los Angeles. While the SWP candidates welcome support from antiwar activists, they do not ask that the SMC as an organization support their campaign.

The diversity of support for the student antiwar conference represents the real strength of the SMC. This support includes women's liberation activists, GIs, veterans, unionists, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Asian-American activists, and gay militants. The political spectrum goes from Youth for Muskie, to Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, to the International Student Movement for the UN.

The SMC plays a key role in the student movement precisely because it can unite all young people who want to organize actions against the war, whether they are Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Communists, or politically unaffiliated. This nonexclusionary character of the SMC means that it can accomplish what none of the groups participating in it can accomplish alone: to give massive, visible expression to the demand of the majority of college and high school students in this country—"Out Now!" Although students have differences on other issues, on the war they are to a great extent united. The function of the SMC should be to express this unity as a force the government cannot ignore.

If the SMC were to give up this perspective and vote to endorse and work for one or another of the presidential candidates, it would split and irreparably weaken the SMC as an antiwar organization. It would exclude all those who wanted to fight against the war but who did not support that particular candidate.

It is especially urgent in 1972 that the SMC reaffirm its character as a nonexclusive antiwar organization, not a campaign committee for any candidate. Nixon's aim is to keep the Vietnam issue under the rug as much as possible while he runs for reelection. Students, who have been the backbone of the antiwar movement, must not allow this to happen.

The answer to Nixon's phony "peace plan" is to join the tens of thousands who will be in the streets April 22 demanding that all U. S. military forces be pulled out of Indochina now.

## ...and exclusion

The violation of the policy of nonexclusion at the Paris Assembly for the Peace and Independence of the Indochinese Peoples held Feb. 11-13 was a negative experience for the antiwar movement. The Indochinese Solidarity Front (Front de Solidarité Indochine—FSI), the antiwar coalition that organized the biggest antiwar actions in France last year, was excluded from participating in the conference, largely due to the influence of the French Communist Party.

The FSI was responsible for organizing the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstrations in France, which involved some 30,000 people. These actions across France were in solidarity with the demonstrations held on that day in 17 cities in the U. S., which were sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

We condemn the exclusion of the FSI at the international antiwar conference and call upon all radical and antiwar organizations in the United States to repudiate this exclusionary action, which only serves to weaken the antiwar movement.

In this country we have the experience of seven years of building the antiwar movement. It is a massive movement that can mobilize a million people in the streets—as it did April 24, 1971—because it is open to all who want to unite in action against the war. This key principle should be extended to the international antiwar movement as well.

## Letters

### Correction

Concerning the article entitled "Partial victory won against 'subversive list'" in your Feb. 18, 1972, issue. Mr. Gordon and the Socialist Workers Party were *not* represented "in this case by Dorian Bowman from the New York law firm of Rabinowitz, Boudin and Standard," but by Dorian Bowman acting for the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. This case is a NECLC test case. We would appreciate it if you would inform your readers of the error.

*Edith Tiger*

*Director, National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee*

### To the Workers League

As a former member of the Workers League, now a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, I would like to use this letter to address my former comrades.

In the last six months disillusionment has been spreading through the ranks of your party. To counter this, your leadership has taken a course of undemocratic expulsions of those who question the League's policy toward the various mass movements.

The next few years will be ones of great challenge to the American revolutionary movement. The government will be attempting to get the American people out of the streets and into the Democratic and Republican parties. The antiwar, feminist, gay, Black, and Chicano nationalist movements have been taking on an increasingly anticapitalist nature. The government fears these movements so much that it must employ people like George McGovern to get them out of the streets.

For years the Workers League has labeled these movements as nothing but middle-class hysteria and has opposed mass action in the streets. Will you continue to oppose the mass antiwar movement for your own narrow, sectarian rhetoric, or will you join the American people in their fight?

The Workers League sees itself as the party that will lead the future revolutionary movement. What they don't seem to understand is that women, Chicanos, Blacks, working people, and gays are organizing *now*. The longer you abstain from their struggles, the more alienated you will become from the coming American socialist revolution.

I joined the YSA because it was the only youth group that was actively building movements in opposition to the reactionary Democratic and Republican parties. I say to those in the Workers League who are willing to struggle for a real change, come out of hibernation, join the YSA!

*Mike Priddy*

*College Park, Md.*

### Angela Davis film

I read an article in the Feb. 11 *Militant* where Baxter Smith reviewed a film *Angela Davis: Portrait of a Revolutionary*. I was wondering if it would be possible to rent the film to show at my school and around the Long Beach area. The two objectives that could be accomplished are educating the people to the oppression of Miss Davis because of her political beliefs and

raising money for her defense fund. By charging an admission fee, donations could be raised which would help to free her.

*M. G.*

*Long Beach, Calif.*

*In reply*—The film *Angela Davis: Portrait of a Revolutionary* is distributed by New Yorker Films, 2409 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

### Right-to-Life?

One of our greatest semantic disadvantages has been wide acceptance and use of the misnomer "Right-to-Life" by the opponents of women's right to abortion. This term implies they embrace a positive or affirmative position, while leaving the abortion law repeal advocates as presenting an anti-life or negative view.

To combat this, I find myself looking for a semantic "key" to unlock this mystique and turn it to our advantage.

Would it be useful to do something like this? We could use a phrase like the following when we refer to these people in articles or speeches:

"Right-to-Control-Life people, groups, etc." The word "control" adds a definite note of alarm and causes people to look much more closely at *who* is proposing *what* control. The "Right-to-Lifers" cannot stand objective scrutiny and still enjoy the positive position now implied by their clever use of a name which directly contradicts the real effect of their position on the welfare of all women and children in our society.

*Lana Clarke Phelan*

*Long Beach, Calif.*

### Male-domination

I am posing this question to all my sisters involved in the feminist movement, in regard to your article "Red-baiting in the women's movement" [in the Jan. 28 *Militant*]. I am under the impression that our movement is universal, and that it does not exclude any woman on the basis of race, background, or political affiliation. Though I am not a member of the Young Socialist Alliance or the Socialist Workers Party, I fail to see how any Democrat or Republican can accuse SWP of being male-dominated when it remains the only party with a woman candidate (with the exception of Shirley Chisholm) for president and for other political positions that have previously been held by capitalist-party males.

*A High School Feminist*  
*Aurora, Ill.*

### Micronesia

I would like to know what Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley are going to do, if elected, to Micronesia, a U. S.-protectorate group of islands in the western Pacific.

I am a student from that area presently studying in the U. S. mainland, and a subscriber to *The Militant*. I really do enjoy reading it very much. You should have more information on Micronesia. It is a crucial issue in relation to the U. S. foreign policy as well as military build-up. Your paper should teach the public about the U. S. handling of this area.

*Alex Phillip*

*Hayward, Calif.*

*In reply*—The Socialist Workers Party presidential candidates stand for the complete right to self-deter-

# The Great Society

mination for all territories and countries—including Micronesia—that are dominated by U.S. imperialism. If elected, Jenness and Pulley would immediately withdraw all U.S. military bases from Micronesia and allow the peoples of Micronesia to decide what relationship they want to have to the United States.

The *Militant* carried a review by Tony Thomas of publications of the Friends of Micronesia in our Feb. 4 issue.

## New Peter Weiss play

Houston as a rule gets movies or plays months after they have opened in other major cities. However, an exception took place last weekend. Peter Weiss' play *Discourse on the Progress of the Prolonged War of Liberation in Vietnam and the Events Leading up to it as Illustration of the Necessity for Armed Resistance Against Oppression and on the Attempts of the United States of America to Destroy the Foundations of Revolution*, or simply *Vietnam/Discourse*, opened here before any place else in this country.

The first two nights were donated to the Houston Committee Against the War in Vietnam as benefit performances.

The two-act play deals with Vietnam from the 1600s to the Gulf of Tonkin attack. The first act is Vietnam's history and the plight of its people facing foreign aggressors.

In the second act the nine actors take on the roles of America's chief architects of the war—Mansfield, Dulles, JFK, LBJ, Eisenhower, etc.—using their own words. In fact, the intentions of the U.S. are summed up succinctly in the cheer: "For what, for what, for what are we trying to do? We're trying to destroy the roots of revolution."

Those who have read the facts and seen the pictures depicting the Indochina war will appreciate this living-theater form of protest against the war. And those who enjoyed Weiss' *Marat/Sade* will appreciate this new play.

Mareen Jasin  
Houston, Texas

## Antiwar rally

On Feb. 12 there was an antiwar rally here across the street from the Nixon campaign headquarters, where the Republican Party was having a campaign kick-off rally for Nixon. The demonstration was called by Vietnam Veterans Against the War and Service People for Peace and Justice.

As soon as the rally started, the cops said that the demonstration had to break up, even though there was a permit to demonstrate. Then the cops started making arrests and swinging their clubs at random and with no justification whatsoever. Of the 12 arrested, one was a GI and two were high school students. The demonstrators reassembled, took a collection for bail money, and wrote a press release protesting the denial of their right to demonstrate.

Calvan Vail  
Manchester, N. H.

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.

**Family plan**—Ever alert to the prospect of squeezing a buck from new developments, a company has opened the first of 20 "frozen-sperm banks" across the nation. The service is aimed at men undergoing sterilization operations who may later want to have children. For \$180, three portions may be frozen and stored for 10 years. Master Charge cards welcome.

**Worth its weight in mercury**—A refrigerator truck carrying frozen shrimp and lobster-tails worth \$40,000 was hijacked in New York. The owner of the truck said it was the only one in his fleet of 20 not yet identified with a large number on the roof for easy spotting by helicopters in the event of a hijacking.

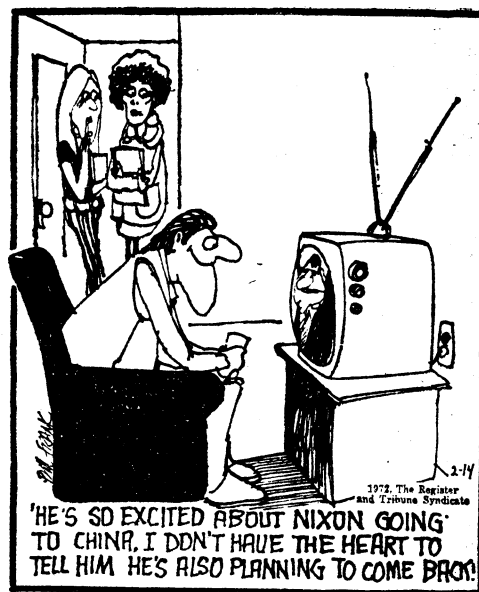
**Dribs and drabs**—The biggest problem in moving the Southern California Bank of America headquarters a few blocks in downtown Los Angeles will be the transfer of \$5-billion in securities. It will be shuttled across

by Brink's trucks with a moving insurance proviso stipulating that no more than two trucks and \$100-million be on the street at one time. Small wonder hijackers are turning to shrimp and lobster.

**Toonful Tribute**—At the Los Angeles Democratic Caucus meeting for George McGovern, his supporters sang a campaign song that went, "Born in South Dakota/ with strong points more than quota/ look for faults, you won't find one iota . . ."

**Favors aid equity**—Clay Felker, publisher of *New York* magazine, thinks the new playground in Central Park, used mainly by children of the wealthy, is a great idea. "I'm all for helping children in the ghetto," says Mr. Felker, "but not at the expense of the people who run the businesses and create the jobs in this city."

**A balanced American diet**—According to figures compiled by Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, the



average American eats five pounds a year of chemical stabilizers, preservatives, disinfectants, antioxidants, extenders, emulsifiers, tenderizers, growth promoters, bleaches, sweeteners, conditioners, colors, and flavors.

— HARRY RING

## Women: The Insurgent Majority

JUDGE DOROTHY KENYON, an outspoken fighter for women's rights and civil liberties, died Feb. 12 at the age of 83. Right up to the end of her life, she campaigned against the oppression of women in her capacity as a lawyer and as a justice in the New York Municipal Court.

In 1936, heading a study on women's courts, Kenyon attacked the prostitution laws for their victimization of women. She attempted to work through the United Nations in the late 1940s to establish an international treaty guaranteeing women around the world equal pay for equal work, equal property rights, and equal political rights. During Senator Joe McCarthy's red-baiting rampage in the 1950s, Kenyon's activities with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and her advocacy of women's rights resulted in her being investigated by a Senate subcommittee.

In recent years she became well known in the women's liberation movement for her enthusiastic support of the resurgence of feminism. As early as 1965 she was fighting against the New York abortion laws. She asserted at that time that "For a state to force a woman to bear a child against her will is outrageous." Kenyon was one of the first endorsers of the People to Abolish Abortion Laws (PAAL) demonstration on March 28, 1970, in New York. She participated in building the August 26, 1970, Women's Strike, which drew 50,000 women into the streets. One of her last efforts to win women's rights was the support she gave to the Nov. 20, 1971, abortion law repeal demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

For many years Kenyon was one of the few women speaking out against the sexist institutions of this society. But as she explained in 1938, "I think I am helping women by my kind of life."

**SONI ROMANS WINS!**—The Channelview, Texas, School Board can no longer exclude married or divorced students from extracurricular activities. A U.S. district court ruled on Jan. 31 against the school board's action in response to a suit filed by Soni Romans, a 16-year-old junior at Channelview High School. Romans went to a court after her school told her she was ineligible for the choir, drama club, and the National Honor Society, because she is divorced. (Presumably, married or divorced students, especially women, corrupt the morals of other students.) In the course of winning her victory, Romans had to undergo a series of degrading hearings delving into her personal life. Attempts by school officials to intimidate her seem only to have fired her determination to win. As she is quoted in the Feb. 3-9 *Space City*, "I wasn't embarrassed. I'm not ashamed of anything I have done in my life." Romans does not think of herself as a radical. "We're just telling them that they can't run our lives," she says.

**A SETBACK FOR NEW YORK WOMEN** occurred on Feb. 10 when the New York State Court of Appeals ruled that the state can deny women Medicaid payments for

abortion on demand. The 4-3 decision upheld as constitutional a 1971 State Services Department order granting Medicaid funds only for abortions that are "medically necessary." Governor Nelson Rockefeller backed the order in a move described by the Feb. 11 *New York Post* as "a deal with upstate abortion foes in the Legislature to get their support for other parts of (his) program."

Hardest hit by this new ruling will be poor women, especially Black and Puerto Rican women. Thirty-one percent of the abortions performed for New York state residents in the first six months of the state's reformed law were payable by Medicaid. By giving the state power to determine when it will cover abortion costs, the court decision undermines the constitutional right of a woman to choose if she will bear a child.

The second national conference of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), held Feb. 11-13, voted to send telegrams of protest to Rockefeller and the Court of Appeals. New York City's Health and Hospitals Corporation plans to appeal the ruling.

**THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS TWO FACES WHEN IT COMES TO PROSTITUTION.** Despite the legal harassment of prostitutes in this country, it's another question for U.S. military officials in South Vietnam. On Jan. 24 the brass opened up several bases in South Vietnam to Vietnamese prostitutes. According to the Jan. 25 *New York Times*, the move was justified by the need "to keep peace within the increasingly disgruntled ranks of Americans still left in Vietnam."

— CINDY JAQUITH



Women won seven of the eight gold medals captured by the U.S. team at the Winter Olympics. Above is Barbara Cochran, gold medalist in the women's slalom race.



# Chicano, Black students launch struggle

By DEREK JEFFERS

AUSTIN—A struggle for increased admission of Chicano and Black students and for Chicano and Black studies programs is rapidly growing at the University of Texas.

Of the 37,000 UT students, fewer than 2 percent are Chicanos, and only 1 percent are Black. (Chicanos make up 16 percent, and Blacks, 20 percent, of the Texas population.)

The university has hardly made even token efforts to recruit more Black or Chicano students. The two programs aimed at doing this have aided only a handful of students in the past and have now been terminated by the board of regents.

Since February 1971 UT has had a program in which students could obtain degrees by majoring in ethnic studies with a concentration in Mexican-American studies.

At the beginning of the spring 1972 semester, James Roach, the dean of general and comparative studies, announced that such a program does not exist. Dr. Paredes, the Mexican-American studies director, and his assistant, José Limón, resigned in protest of the administration's actions.

A lawsuit was filed Jan. 25 charging the UT administration and board of regents with having "knowingly discriminated against Blacks and Chicanos." Plaintiffs include Chicano and Black students and organizations, and civil liberties groups. The suit is connected with similar demands that have been raised by Chicano students at the University of Texas at El Paso.

The Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO) secured an appointment with UT President Stephen Spurr on Jan. 28 to talk about their demand for a Mexican-American Studies Center. In less than a day, MAYO built a rally outside the building where the meeting was being held.

Two to three hundred students, mostly Chicanos, attended the rally. Homer García of MAYO reminded the crowd that 10 undergraduates and two Ph.D. candidates, including José Angel Gutiérrez, a founder of the Crystal City, Texas, Raza Unida Party, were enrolled in this "nonexistent" program.

A number of students, including members of the Student Mobilization Committee and the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, spoke at the rally and expressed their support. Placards at the rally read, "Chicano studies will live as long as there are Chicanos," "Chicanas por mi Raza," and "Quit the gringo runaround and give us our center."

The rally continued while 10 students were allowed to meet with Spurr.

One Chicano student reported later that the rally outside could be heard during the entire meeting. It had a visible effect on the administrators, he said. "You could see Spurr's hands shaking."

A MAYO press release issued after the meeting reported that the administrators blamed "a bureaucratic error" for their statement that the old program did not exist. "They said that the program stayed in a file and was never circulated," according to the release.

MAYO demands at the meeting included: Abolish the ethnic studies program and establish separate Chicano and Black studies programs offering Bachelor of Arts degrees; no person be appointed director of the Mexican-American Studies Center without the approval of the Chicano students and faculty; a recruitment program for Chicanos be reestablished under the auspices of the center; double the budget for the center and hire more Chicano professors; establish a clearinghouse for financial aid to Chicano students; a better bilingual education program.

The student senate passed a resolution Feb. 1 in support of the MAYO campaign. The Chicano students are arranging another meeting with Spurr to discuss their demands. They are asking that letters of support for the demands be sent to President Stephen Spurr, University of Texas, Austin, Texas 78712.

## Day-care groups in N.Y. sit in against Lindsay

By RUTHANN MILLER

NEW YORK—After months of threats, New York City's Agency for Child Development finally announced its decision to cut off funds to day-care centers that have refused to comply with the fee scale adopted by the state last spring. About 50 centers that have refused to furnish income reports on the families using their services received notice on Jan. 12 that they would get no funds for the month of February.

In response to the city's action, the Committee for Community Controlled Day Care, which is a coalition of day-care groups, held a sit-in at Mayor John Lindsay's campaign headquarters on Jan. 19. Three hundred fifty parents, children, and day-care workers from various centers in the city participated.

Robert Gangi, coordinator of the Committee, was quoted in the Jan. 19 *New York Post* as saying that Lindsay's campaign office was chosen because: "the Mayor is going all over the country saying how great the city's

day care system is, how much he cares for people. But does he care about the 3500 day care kids being forced back out on the street?"

Representatives from the Mayor's office (Lindsay himself was out on the campaign trail) hastily met with Dorothy Pitman Hughes, head of the West 80th St. Day Care Center, and Gangi. The city officials were forced to make an agreement with the demonstrators that funds would not be cut off in February and that the Mayor would intercede with the state to try to change its income restrictions.

The day-care budget for New York City is \$60-million. Seventy-five percent of this amount comes from the federal government, with the remainder divided equally between the city and the state. These funds finance 245 centers, which serve a mere 18,000 children.

Both the federal and New York State governments have recently applied strict income-limits on the participation of families in day-care programs. If parents earn more than a certain amount, they must pay the full cost, \$2,700 a year, for their children's care. The state's income limits are: \$6,600 for a family of two; \$7,500 for a family of three; \$8,500 for a family of four; \$9,200 for a family of five; and \$9,900 for a family of six. The limits set by the federal government are \$1,000 less than those set by the state.

In an effort to stave off a confrontation, Governor Rockefeller announced on Jan. 22 that the fee scale would not go into effect until March 1. He said that new categories of deductions would be allowed in determining family income. Rockefeller also announced that he was proposing to the federal government a plan to determine eligibility for inexpensive day-care on the basis of family residence in "an impoverished area," rather than on the basis of income.

An article in the Jan. 23 *New York Times* made it clear that these were merely token measures. "The Governor's office," the *Times* reported, "said it was 'unlikely' that the revised formulas would result in a large number of new families qualifying for day-care service, or that the revision would mean that more families now paying some fees would receive the service free."

The Committee for Community Controlled Day Care is protesting the fact that the prohibitive cost of the city's centers effectively keeps families above the absurdly low income-limit—families of the working poor—from even attempting to place their children in day-care centers. It also locks women on welfare into menial jobs at minimal pay if they want to qualify for the service. A higher-paying job would force them to pay more than a quarter

of their income for day care.

The groups involved in this struggle are also fighting to extend the control of these centers by those who use them, including the right of parents to decide who will be hired or fired on center staffs.

There are more than four million working women in the United States with children under six years of age. Present facilities care for only 640,000 children, and more than a third of these spaces are in expensive private centers. Nixon's recent veto of the federal child-care bill makes it clear that the need for adequate child-care is not just limited to New York, but is a nationwide problem. Unless public pressure forces Lindsay and Rockefeller to withdraw the restrictive new fee scale, some 3,500 children will be threatened with returning to the streets on March 1. The Committee intends to organize more actions, involving as many people as possible, to ensure that these centers are not closed.

The Committee can be contacted at: West 80th St. Day Care Program, 223 W. 80th St., New York, N.Y. 10024. Telephone: (212) 737-3415.

## Injunction hits Cleve. abortion referral center

By JEAN Y. TUSSEY

CLEVELAND—In a move calculated to divide and destroy pro-abortion forces, John T. Corrigan, prosecuting attorney of Cuyahoga County, secured a preliminary injunction Feb. 7 barring the West Shore Center "and those persons in active concert or participation with them" from any activities regarding pregnancy termination.

Common Pleas Judge Bernard Friedman, in a sweeping injunction, restrained the West Shore counseling service from doing anything related to abortion counseling "for compensation, direct or indirect." He did not specifically cite the Ohio anti-abortion law as a basis for his ruling, but stated:

"The Court . . . finds as reasons for the issuance of a preliminary injunction that the actions described . . . contravene Section 4731.34 [practice of medicine] of the Revised Code of Ohio, are inimical to the public policy of the State of Ohio, and constitute irreparable harm to the populace of Cuyahoga County and the State of Ohio."

Assistant Prosecuting Attorney John L. Dowling, who has vigorously pressed the action against the West Shore Center, failed to provide evidence that West Shore helped women seeking abortions to have them in Ohio, or by "back-alley butchers." Rather, testimony showed that women had been aided in securing legal abortions in New York.

Defense Attorney John D. Cannell has stated that his clients will appeal the decision.

Local activists in the women's liberation movement see the action against West Shore as an attempt to set a precedent for closing all abortion counseling centers and as an effort to confuse pro-abortion forces by implying that "free" counseling versus paid counseling is the issue, rather than the burning need to repeal the oppressive Ohio abortion laws.



Jan. 19 sit-in by parents and children in Mayor Lindsay's campaign headquarters.

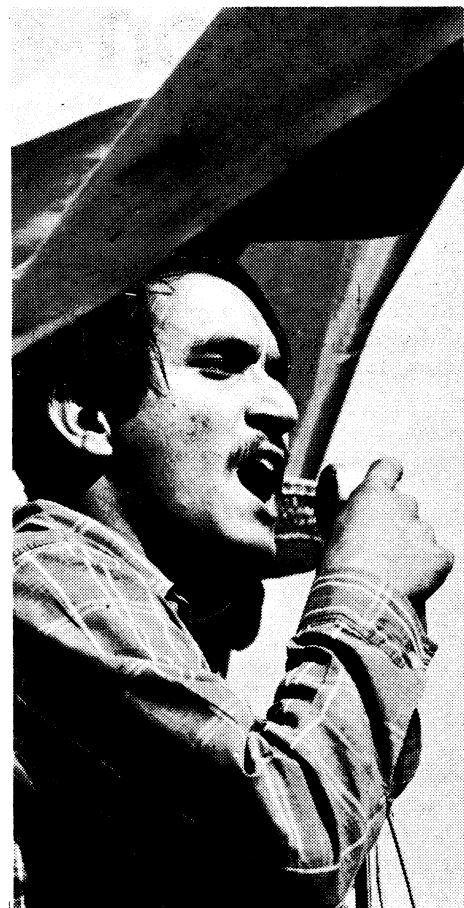
# Muñoz' draft acquittal sets precedent

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The acquittal Feb. 16 of Chicano activist Rosalio Muñoz on charges stemming from his refusal to be drafted may possibly open the door for review of the cases of other draft resisters who—like Muñoz—may have been denied their proper rights in the Selective Service process.

Muñoz, former chairman of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee, had been indicted for refusal to report for induction Nov. 18, 1969. His acquittal was ordered by Federal Judge Warren J. Ferguson during the second day of the trial while the government was still arguing its case.

The trial was, in many respects, a dramatic one. It was to begin last year but was postponed after the then-presiding judge and the government prosecutor agreed that Muñoz' attorney, Michael Tiger, was "unqualified" because he had not been admitted to the California bar. Last month the U.S. Supreme Court overturned this



Rosalio Muñoz

Photo by John Gray

ruling and the trial began again.

In ordering Muñoz acquitted, Judge Ferguson commented on the irony of the attempt to bar Tiger from the case, saying that it was not unlikely that if Muñoz had not retained a lawyer of Tiger's caliber, he might well have been convicted. He said he has tried numerous draft cases, but that in this one, key information about Selective Service procedures that he had previously been ignorant of and that might have influenced his rulings in other cases was brought to his attention.

The defense based its case on two essential points. The first was that Muñoz had not been accorded due process within the Selective Service system.

The second was Muñoz' belief that we are living under a social system that oppresses the Chicano people, and that as victims of cultural, political, and physical genocide, the Chicano people cannot participate in wars

waged by this system.

The contention that Muñoz had been denied due process was so clearly established that the acquittal came before the political defense was unfolded.

The government's case was marked by a combination of political arrogance and legal bungling.

Their case fell apart when it was established that on the very day his induction notice was being mailed out, Muñoz had notified the board by telegram that he wished to apply for conscientious-objector status.

It was further established that even while arguing that Muñoz had forfeited his claim to CO status, his board had postponed his induction, granted him a hearing that proved to be a farce, and then again ordered him inducted without the right of appealing the decision denying his CO claim.

At the draft board hearing, which lasted less than half an hour, Muñoz, who is bilingual, had insisted on his right to testify in Spanish. This was denied, and the hearing ended.

As these facts emerged, the government moved to reopen its case, presenting added evidence and witnesses. Judge Ferguson interrupted the new government presentation to order Muñoz acquitted.

The judge said that there clearly was merit to the defense contention that the courts must consider the issue of the prejudicial character of a selective service system that results in Chicanos, who constitute 10 percent of the population, suffering 25 percent of the war casualties. However, he added, there was no basis for getting to that issue in the Muñoz trial since it had already been clearly established that he had not been accorded his full right of appeal in claiming conscientious-objector status.

On leaving the courtroom, Muñoz said he was, of course, happy about the outcome. He was glad, he said, to be able to continue his political activity. He stated that he would continue his opposition to the draft and to the war, as well as his present activity in behalf of Chicanos facing deportation to Mexico for lack of U.S. documents.

## Gov't forces settlement in N.Y. strike

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK, Feb. 21—A settlement recommended by J. Curtis Counts, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, was accepted last week by 38,500 telephone workers on strike here since last July. Acceptance came after announcement that a vote by mail ballot was 13,769 for the contract and 9,193 against.

The outcome of the vote was accepted by Joseph Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), AFL-CIO, and Morton Bahr, New York regional head of the CWA. Both had approved the method of balloting imposed by the government mediator and had recommended acceptance of the new contract.

Leaders of the 23 striking CWA locals had demanded that terms of the contract be discussed and voted upon at union meetings so that the strikers would have an opportunity to know what they were accepting and what

others thought about it.

Ricky Carnivale, president of the 17,000-member CWA local 1101 covering Manhattan, the Bronx and Brooklyn, issued a memo to all officers and stewards to urge rejection of the contract by all members.

John T. Renck, president of CWA local 1106 in Queens, told a membership meeting of more than 1,000 strikers that the settlement was "a sign of the contempt the company feels for us."

Strikers feared that the settlement will allow the company to "fire anyone charged with a criminal offense" for strike activity. It was expected that the company would fire several hundred strike leaders who have been charged with, but not convicted of, destroying company property. If the company is permitted to move in this manner, it could harass and greatly weaken the local unions, intimidating thousands.

Word went out after the vote that the company had agreed to a 15-day cooling-off period during which there will be no disciplinary action or firings. What happens after the 15 days remains to be seen.

The settlement provides only \$1 per week more than had been negotiated last July, and this to only 5,000 of the highest-paid workers. This was the only new financial gain, although money was a major issue from the beginning of the strike.

The wage offer made last July included raises of 33 percent. This was rejected by all 23 locals in New York State, although it was accepted nationally.

The settlement allows only 10 percent more pay for Saturday work. The union was asking for time and a half.

The real gain from the strike was the new solidarity it forged among the workers.

The CWA won a full agency shop out of it, more than was asked or expected. "The fact that they got more than they asked for on this point is proof that a deal was made," according to Dennis Serrette, vice-president of Local 1101 and head of the strike committee. "The International will get a lot more money in this way," he said.

## British mine strikers defeat Tories

From Intercontinental Press

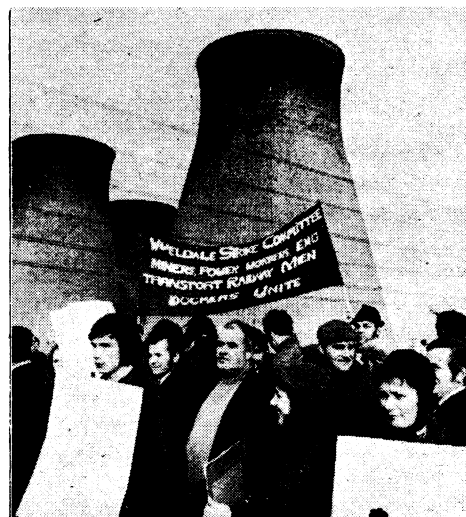
Leaders of the British National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) reached agreement on a new contract with the National Coal Board February 19 and urged miners to end their forty-one-day-old strike. The three-man court of inquiry set up by Secretary for Employment Robert Carr on February 15 offered the miners weekly increases of £5 to surface workers, £6 to underground workers, and £4.50 to face workers, against the miners' demands of £8, £9, and £5 respectively. The terms were initially rejected by NUM negotiators, who held out for an extra £1 for the lowest-paid workers, but they soon reversed their position. Rank-and-file voting on the pact is expected to last about one week.

The settlement was widely regarded

by the British press as a victory for the miners against the Heath Tory government's incomes policy. Heath has insisted that no wage increase exceed 8 percent. The miners' increase is approximately 20 percent.

Heath called representatives of the NUM to his Downing Street headquarters on February 18. This was considered a capitulation on his part, since he has steadfastly maintained that he would not indulge the miners with a Wilson-style beer party.

But the power of the British miners was on the verge of bringing the entire British industrial system to a total halt. NUM pickets at power stations throughout the country prevented the use of coal reserves, which the government counted on to starve out the



Miners demonstrate during coal strike.

strikers. The power crisis resulted in an extensive program of temporary blackouts, both of residential and industrial areas.

Britain depends on coal for about 75 percent of its electric power, and it was estimated that if the strike had continued, the point of complete breakdown would have been reached in about two weeks.

The government counted on public opinion becoming disgusted with the inconvenience (blackouts, etc.) created by the strike. But the militant action of the miners, combined with the clear justice of their case, produced no such reaction. Other unions honored the miners' pickets, and the British population blamed Heath, not the miners, for the blackouts. The solidarity with the strikers shown by the rest of the population prevented Heath from calling out troops to break the strike.

By February 18, approximately 1,600,000 workers had been laid off because of plant closings due to lack of power or coal. With the "normal" unemployment figures added in, more than 2,500,000 British workers were idle by that date. The British capitalists were especially upset by that development. The London *Observer*, for example, noted in a February 20 editorial: "It could conceivably become common practice for postmen or teachers or any other group of aggrieved people to press their claims by applying a stranglehold on what, in this technological age, is its most vulnerable point [that is, the power stations]."

Despite the miners' temporary overturning of the Tory government's attempt to make the workers pay for the crisis of British capitalism, that plan, under the guise of "the war against inflation," will continue. Under the headline "Losing the battle but not the war," Alan Day wrote in the February 20 *Business Observer*: "The best bet I can make in a very unhappy and uncertain situation is that the miners' victory is something like the German advance in the Ardennes in the final months of the last war—namely, a near-catastrophe which delays, but does not prevent, some kind of victory."



# Right of Blacks to non-ghetto housing is issue in Forest Hills



Meeting of racist Forest Hills residents against low-income housing project.

By ELIZABETH JAYKO

NEW YORK—The recent controversy over the construction of a federal housing project in the Forest Hills section of Queens raises in a fundamental way the question of whether Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed nationalities have the right to live anywhere they choose in New York City.

The controversy concerns the construction of three 24-story apartment buildings to accommodate 504 low-income families and 336 elderly families in a community that is overwhelmingly white, middle-class, and Jewish.

Tensions that had been building for a year exploded on the night of Nov. 18, 1971, when several hundred Forest Hills residents staged a demonstration at the construction site. Lighted torches were hurled at the construction trailers by some of the demonstrators. Two days earlier, New York Conservative-Republican Senator James L. Buckley had asked George Romney, the Nixon administration's secretary of housing and urban development, to review the project.

These events, along with further demonstrations by white Forest Hills residents, thrust Forest Hills into the national limelight. On Nov. 22 Rom-

ney told Senator Buckley that the project would not be reversed. On Dec. 9, however, White House press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler informed reporters that President Nixon had been reviewing the project ever since Senator Buckley's request. (*New York Times*, Dec. 10, 1971)

Queens Congressman Benjamin S. Rosenthal and Manhattan Congressman Edward I. Koch, both liberal Democrats, criticized the housing project, expressing the residents' fears about "crime," and "loss of property values" (code words for anti-Black sentiment). Those protesting the housing project received another big boost on Feb. 15 when State Supreme Court Justice Irving H. Saypol ruled that construction be halted until new hearings are held.

The demonstrations in Forest Hills have brought to public attention the city government's plans for getting rid of ghetto housing. The plan, inaugurated by Mayor John V. Lindsay's first administration back in 1966, is clearly described in the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*.

The report, which was published in 1968 after widespread upheavals in the Black community, states on the opening page of its summary, "Our nation is moving toward two societies,

one black, one white—separate and unequal. . . ."

This is documented in the section on housing, where the report notes, "To date, housing programs serving low-income groups have been concentrated in the ghettos. . . . We believe that federally aided low and moderate income housing programs must be reoriented so that the major thrust is in nonghetto areas. Public housing programs should emphasize scattered site construction. . . ." (p. 482)

And, the *Report* warned, "If this is not done, those programs will continue to concentrate the most impoverished and dependent segments of the population into the central-city ghettos where there is already a critical gap between the needs of the population and the public resources to deal with them. This can only continue to compound the conditions of failure and hopelessness which lead to crime, civil disorder and social disorganization." (p. 474)

This is the lofty aim of the plan Lindsay has dubbed "scatter-site housing." The protesters in Forest Hills were the first manifestation of the widespread racist opposition to it. Under the impact of this opposition, the liberal Mayor Lindsay began to buckle and compromise.

In December 1971 some members of his administration initiated a rumor that the buildings might be reduced from 24 stories to 12, while others suggested that future tenants be screened. A more decisive indication of retreat had occurred on Nov. 23 when the Board of Estimate, the city agency that originally approved the Forest Hills project in 1966, turned down a zoning change in the Lindenwood section of Queens that would have permitted the construction of a similar low-income housing project. According to the Nov. 24 *New York Times*, the "Board's rejection of the development it had approved twice before touched off astonished jubilation among the 200 people from Lindenwood who had crowded into the City Hall hearing room."

On Dec. 21 civil rights leaders and officials led by NAACP executive director Roy Wilkins held a press conference to express their support for the project. According to the Dec. 25 *Amsterdam News*, a newsweekly published in Harlem, they stated that "Aside from the elderly white occupants, only approximately 2,000 low-income residents will occupy the Forest Hills development. Two thousand occupants in a population of over 150,000. After

the Forest Hills development is fully occupied, only about three percent of the population will be non-white."

Although they pointed to these facts to prove that the residents' fears about the neighborhood being turned into a slum were groundless, these same figures also demonstrate the Lindsay administration's token approach to better housing for ghetto residents.

Another view toward the housing problems of Black people came to light in January with the pronouncements by NEGRO, the National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization. This is a reactionary group of Nixon-oriented Blacks headed by Dr. Thomas W. Matthew. At a Harlem press conference Jan. 4, Matthew announced NEGRO's opposition to the housing project. At his side was Jerry Birbach, a real estate agent and leader of the Forest Hills Residents Association, the group organizing the racist actions against the project.

On Jan. 6 Matthew led members of his group in occupying the offices of the *Amsterdam News* and on Jan. 12 he led an occupation of the offices of the NAACP. Despite this gangster-like activity, the editors of the *Amsterdam News* went ahead with plans to run two articles by Matthew in reply to Bayard Rustin, a civil rights liberal, on the Forest Hills project.

Matthew couched his attack on Rustin in the phraseology of Black control of the Black community. He correctly pointed out that unemployment, crime, and other ghetto ills originate from the lack of such control. But he neglected to mention his support for the racist protesters, which makes a mockery of his stance on Black community control. (*Amsterdam News*, Jan. 15 and Jan. 22)

Lindsay uses his half-hearted support to the Forest Hills project as an escape valve for doing nothing about the housing situation in the Black community. He, along with the authors of the government's 1968 *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, is opposed to the main route to ending the miserable housing conditions in which Blacks live — allocating substantial government funds administered under Black community control to rebuild housing in the ghetto.

Support to the right of Black and Puerto Rican people to live in Forest Hills must therefore be combined with, not counterposed to, a program of Black and Puerto Rican control of the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

## Broad support in Fla. for Quincy Five

By BILL BOYD

QUINCY, Fla., Feb. 14—Three of the Quincy Five have won a brief delay in their trial here as a result of a defense motion that all prosecution witnesses be required to undergo an eye examination. This will give the defendants two weeks to raise the money they need to hire a non-court-appointed lawyer.

The five Black men from Quincy, along with three men from nearby Tallahassee, were arrested in January 1971 on charges of robbing a grocery store and killing a customer who happened to be a local sheriff's deputy. Last May, four of the eight men were sentenced. David Keaton was sentenced to death in the electric chair. John Fredericks and two of the Tallahassee defendants received life imprisonment.

Of the three remaining Quincy Five defendants, John Burns is in a mental hospital with charges being held in abeyance; David Charles Smith and Alfonso Figgers are awaiting trial.

When the men were first arrested, they were assigned a court-appointed lawyer through the public defenders' office. Keaton and Fredericks denounced the public defender after their trials for not showing any commitment or enthusiasm for their case.

Keaton said, "He was working with the state." As a result, the remaining three do not wish to go to trial with a court-appointed lawyer.

The Quincy Five are well-known activists in Quincy, a town of 40,000, of which 65 percent is Black. Over the past few years, voter registration has been a major activity for Black activists here.

Despite heavy resistance from town officials and big farmers, 45 percent of the Black population is now registered to vote. The Quincy Five, who played a major role in this voter-registration drive, were continually subjected to police harassment.

Since they have been in jail, all the defendants have been brutally treated by the guards. John Burns, founder of the Concerned Community Citizen's Organization (a local Black group primarily involved in voter registration), has been beaten and stabbed by guards. A heavy steel door was slammed shut on his foot, almost severing his toe. He was denied medical treatment for a week, and his toe became gangrenous and had to be amputated. His lawyer had him committed to the state mental hospital in Chattahoochee in an attempt to protect him from the harsh treatment

in jail. If he is released from the hospital, the state will again press charges against him.

Keaton and Fredericks, along with John Britt from Tallahassee, "confessed" to the crime. They have since retracted the "confessions" and stated that they were beaten until they made phony statements. Britt was able to prove that he was at work in Newark, N.J. at the time the crime took place.

All the defendants face life imprisonment or death, despite the fact that out of the more than 500 fingerprints found at the scene of the crime, none match those of the defendants. No murder weapon has been produced, and the owner of the grocery store has changed his testimony twice.

Blacks throughout northern Florida have responded with broad support for the defendants. Up to this point, activity has largely centered around raising funds to meet legal expenses for the five defendants from Quincy. The People's Legal Defense Fund is also attempting to put public pressure on the Florida authorities to release them.

The Quincy Five urgently needs funds. Send all contributions to the People's Legal Defense Fund, 1405 Melvin St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32310.



# Black congress calls Africa liberation day

By MALIK MIAH

MONTCLAIR, N.J.—May 27 should be marked on every African-American calendar in the country. This is the date of the first national African Liberation Day demonstration in Washington, D.C., to protest the repression in Zimbabwe. The action was announced and endorsed at a statewide conference of the Congress of African Youth (CAY), held at Montclair State College on Feb. 11-13.

Owusu Sadaukai, Mwalimu (head teacher) of Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, N.C., stated that the purpose of the action is "to let white people in the United States, Portugal, Zimbabwe, France, West Germany, wherever they are, to let them know in no uncertain terms that there are some people of African descent inside this country, inside Canada, and in the Caribbean, that are demanding that they cease and desist the killing of our people throughout Southern Africa."

The successful organization of a national Black demonstration in solidarity with Africans struggling for national liberation would have international as well as national significance. It would be the first national demonstration organized by Black Americans in support of Africans on the continent since the re-emergence of the Pan-African movement in the U.S.

The conference did not mention where the organizing center for this action will be or what materials will be available for building it. However, Sadaukai discussed the perspective of saturating the Black community with hundreds of thousands of leaflets, buttons, and other materials.

More than 200 high school and college-age youth attended the CAY conference. There were four workshops. The most important, the community organizing workshop, discussed the May 27 demonstration.

Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) spoke at the closing session. Baraka, a leader of the Committee For a Unified Newark, is one of the three temporary chairmen for the national Black political convention called for Gary, Ind., on March 10-12.

He discussed the Gary convention, sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus, and its possible benefits for Black people. "We hope out of this

convention will come a national Black political caucus that might be the seed of a national Black political institution, a political party."

While this is how Baraka may see developments after Gary, that is not how the CBC looks at it. They have no intention of splitting from the Democratic Party. The name of their game is bolstering the image of the Democratic Party, making any post-Gary political caucus an obstacle and a brake on motion toward a Black party.

Baraka himself has admitted in the past that a national Black political caucus would be just a pressuring device on both the Democratic and Republican parties and their national conventions. So either he is deluding himself with talk of a Black party, or he is consciously deluding others. Either way, the effect is the same—cultivating the political dependence of Black people upon the Democratic Party.

Besides discussing the Gary convention, Baraka blasted the tactics of ultraleftism. He also attacked some of the more virulent anti-nationalist Black Democrats in Newark who have not gone along with his concept of "operational unity."

Sadaukai took up efforts by the capitalist class to co-opt the Black nationalist movement and direct it toward reformist channels. His main line of fire was directed at the advocates of Black capitalism. He made no mention of or reference to the moves of the Black Democrats.

Sadaukai also discussed his recent trip to Tanzania and to the liberated areas of Portuguese-held Mozambique.

Other speakers at the conference included Les Campbell (Big Black) of The East, an African-American cultural and educational center in Brooklyn; David Barrett of the Newark African Education Alliance; and Larry Hamm, the 18-year-old member of the Newark board of education who introduced the resolution to place the Black liberation flag in Newark schools.

A Northeastern regional CAY conference is slated for late March, and a New York conference will be held in April. A national conference of the Congress of African People, to which the CAY is affiliated, is scheduled for Labor Day weekend in San Diego.

## Argentine prisoners win support in U.S.

A broad spectrum of support is developing for the campaign to protest the abduction and torture of Argentine dissidents and to demand freedom for all political prisoners in Argentina. The campaign was launched at the end of December by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Among those who have endorsed the campaign to date are: Skip Ball, contributing editor, *Colorado Daily*; Carl and Ann Braden, *The Southern Patriot*; Bert Corona, Hermandad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers) of Los Angeles; Barbara Dane, folksinger; Emile de Antonio, filmmaker (*Point of Order* and *Milhouse*); Jules Feiffer, cartoonist; Ruth Gage-Colby, a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition; Mario T. Garcia, professor at San Diego State College; and Karl Lenkersdorf, professor, Antioch College.

Other endorsers include *The Root*, an underground paper in Grand Rapids, Mich.; Richard M. Dudley, pro-

fessor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Josephine Hulett, National Council on Household Employment; Florynce Kennedy, attorney; Barbara Roberts, M.D., a coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition; Al Senia, editor of the ASP (Albany Student Press); the Reverend William L. Wipfler, Latin American Section of the National Council of Churches; Carmen Baerga, Puerto Rican Socialist Party; and the Third World Cinema Group.

USLA has set the goal of obtaining an even more extensive list of prominent endorsers for a press conference projected for the middle of March. In every area in which it has active supporters, USLA aims to have from two to 15 well-known people sign cards endorsing the campaign.

To join in the effort to achieve this goal, phone or write the USLA office for the necessary materials. The office is located at 137A West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 924-0894.

## Militant forum hears leader of Attica revolt

By JOANNA MISNIK

NEW YORK—In his first speaking engagement since his release from prison Feb. 8, Richard X Clark, a leader of the Attica rebellion, spoke to the Feb. 18 Malcolm X memorial meeting sponsored by the Lower Manhattan Militant Labor Forum. More than 125 people attended, including a number of former prisoners.

Clark was named by most major news accounts as one of the central leaders left alive after the Attica massacre. Born in New York City, he spent five years in the Navy. Shortly after his release from the service, he was convicted of armed robbery—a crime he says he did not commit—and sentenced to four years. He has just completed 32 months of that sentence, serving time in Sing Sing, Auburn, Walkill, Elmira, and finally Attica. Clark's early release had been authorized prior to the events at Attica.

Since the September 1971 massacre, 70 inmates labeled as instigators have been isolated in one cell block where they are not allowed to see anyone except their attorneys. The Wyoming County Grand Jury has been investigating the Attica rebellion since mid-December, and indictments are expected to be handed down for murder, kidnapping, or manslaughter. Clark is the first to be released who faces possible charges. In preparation for the expected wave of indictments, he plans to make a vigorous speaking tour for the Attica Defense Committee.

Rather than giving a prepared speech, Clark opted for an hour of answering questions from the floor. He began by explaining that "Every prison can be Attica. It was not premeditated. We were pulled too tight, like a rubber band."

Clark cited a list of dehumanizing conditions to which prisoners are subjected. One of these is censorship of personal letters and political literature. "I've never seen so much literature dealing with Black people till I got here today. They won't let inmates have anything to enhance their knowledge."

He reported that windows are often opened at night in cold weather. When prisoners build small fires in tobacco cans to keep warm, they are drenched with fire hoses. Prisoners sleep on metal slabs with a two-inch mattress. Black prisoners who will not eat pork for religious reasons often just don't eat. Clark said the food was uncooked, unsanitary, and frequently inedible. Toilet paper is handed out only once every six weeks. Prisoners are now forced to use experimental toothpaste, which was at one time voluntary.

A former prisoner in the audience reminded Clark of "Black and white ice." During the hot summers, ice is brought into the prison yard. Ice for whites is in a bucket. Ice for Blacks is thrown on the ground.

Clark likened prison to a plantation. Each prison, he said, has a special item that it manufactures. At Attica, the prisoners calculated that the metal shop produced a net value of \$1.7-million yearly. The inmates are paid 25 to 35 cents a day. Food for pris-



Photo by Mark Satinoff

Richard X Clark at N.Y. Militant Labor Forum.

oners comes from a prison farm, and clothing is made at the women's prisons. The prisoners, Clark reported, are well aware of being economically exploited.

"You can get any drug in the joint," Clark continued. "The Man knows when I shoot I'm not concerned with what's going on around me. We formed vigilantes to get at the pushers in prison. As long as they keep you escaping from the problem, how can you get together? The most high is to get involved."

Clark's talk indicated that many of the prisoners have come to understand the need for a revolution in this country. "A lot of the brothers said they were Maoist, Trotskyist, or what have you. We don't designate one precise doctrine. We took a little bit from all ideologies to apply it here. We had 39 hostages and Rockefeller sent the storm troopers. If we would have just one corporation owner, all the brothers would be up here talking to you. The politicians came up and made promises but never did a thing. Talk about Democrats and Republicans—they got a man for all seasons."

"We were successful—in a morbid way—because we all came together, white, Black, Spanish. We took the position that if we had to give our lives to get the word out to people, that was enough. If the Man snuffs me out now, don't sit and watch me die; step over me to get to him. One thing he's afraid of is solidarity, and that's what we had," he concluded.

Contributions can be sent to the Attica Defense Committee, c/o New York Lawyers Guild, 1 Hudson St., New York, N.Y. 10013.

# Radical publisher

By MICHAEL SMITH

More radical literature is being printed and read today than at any other time in U.S. history. Radical books, once hard to get in libraries, are now available even in airports and bus stations. From prisons to classrooms, people are seeking books relevant to their lives. Pathfinder Press anticipated this development and has become an increasingly important source of radical literature.

I recently discussed Pathfinder's current publication plans and the goals it has for future expansion with editor George L. Weissman, and Louise Armstrong, who works in the sales department at Pathfinder's offices in New York City.

**MILITANT:** How would you assess Pathfinder's standing?

**WEISSMAN:** The goal of Pathfinder Press from the start was to offer to the public a list of Marxist and radical books and pamphlets.

From the response we've received in the last few years, I think we're beginning to get known for our pub-

**WEISSMAN:** We have more than 60 books and 125 pamphlets. That's quite an achievement, in my opinion, for a radical publisher. But to give you some comparison, a firm like Random House, which is one of the biggest, will put out 300 new books in a year. The big publishers also buy a lot of advertising space in magazines, so the magazine editors are more easily disposed to review their books.

**MILITANT:** And how is Pathfinder treated by reviewers?

**WEISSMAN:** Ordinarily, pamphlets are just not reviewed, and we still have not broken into literary journals.

But our new books now get reviewed almost regularly in the book-trade journals read by buyers for libraries and bookstores. This is an important achievement for us. *Publisher's Weekly*, for example, one of the prestigious trade-publications, reviewed *Towards an American Socialist Revolution*. They called it lucid, refreshing, and forthright, and said that the authors, who are leaders of the Socialist Work-

pamphlets. Our growth over the last few years can be accounted for by the fact that our publications are relevant to radicals.

We have published a wide variety of material on the student movement, the Indochina war, Black liberation, the Chicano struggle, the colonial revolution, and women's liberation. We have devoted our attention and resources to these areas and have developed a rich list of titles.

Whenever an issue has stirred the public—from Nixon's wage freeze, to the rebellions of the prisoners in Attica or the people of Ireland—we have tried to put out a Marxist analysis of these events by qualified writers.

**MILITANT:** What about the "classical" Marxist authors?

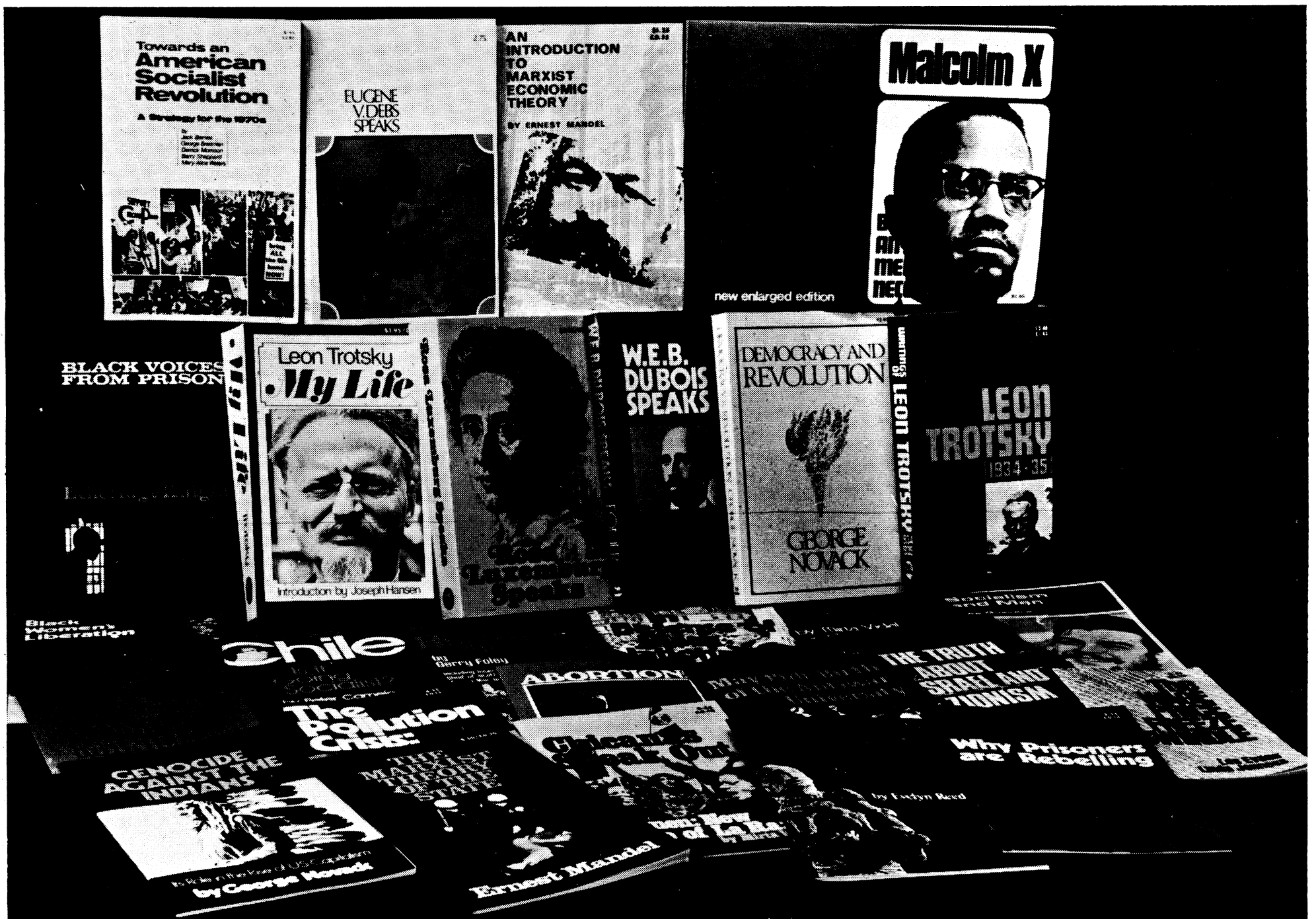
**WEISSMAN:** One of our major efforts has been to publish the writings of Leon Trotsky from 1929 until his death in 1940. This was his politically most mature period, and we wanted these works to be made available to the present generation of young radicals—while they are still young.

event. It's a companion volume to *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany* published last year and is particularly useful in assessing present day "popular front" governments like Allende's Chile.

Another, *Leon Trotsky Speaks*, reveals a side of Trotsky that isn't so well known to today's generation. Trotsky was one of the great orators of the twentieth century, perhaps excelled only by the French socialist Jean Jaures. The book opens with Trotsky's famous 1906 speech before the Czarist court in defense of the 1905 insurrection. It contains his speeches given on the day the Soviets took power in October of 1917 while he was organizer of the Red Army, and includes "I Stake My Life," his stirring defense against the Moscow trials.

We have also published anthologies of speeches by Che Guevara, Eugene Debs, James P. Cannon, Malcolm X, Rosa Luxemburg, and W.E.B. DuBois. This book will be part of that "Speaks" series.

Pathfinder will be publishing two



Write for our 1972 catalog of books and pamphlets: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

lications. I emphasize "beginning." Pathfinder is still small, even among left-wing publishers. Monthly Review Press brings out more titles than we do, and so does International Publishers. However, Pathfinder's recent rate of growth has been very good, especially in the pamphlet field. In the last two years we sold 325,000 pamphlets.

Our plans for 1972 include a dozen new books and two or three times as many pamphlets.

**MILITANT:** How many titles do you have altogether?

ers Party, "offer specific constructive suggestions for building a new political party that could turn the country around." You can imagine our surprise when we saw that. Our first small printing sold out and we had to reprint the book.

**MILITANT:** Your point then is that Pathfinder literature is politically relevant.

**WEISSMAN:** Exactly. Relevance is a key criterion for the editors in deciding what to print. We're what you might call an "activist" publishing house, especially when it comes to

We've published five volumes so far, and another, *The Writings of Leon Trotsky (1933-34)*, will come out this spring. There will be 11 volumes in all.

This is not simply a historical project, because Trotsky's ideas are a touchstone for an increasing number of present-day revolutionaries.

**MILITANT:** Do you have plans for additional Trotsky titles this year?

**WEISSMAN:** Yes, for several more. I'll mention two. One, *The Spanish Revolution (1931-1939)*, contains virtually all his writings on that key

timely books on the Soviet Union. *Samizdat: Memoirs of a Bolshevik-Leninist and Other Soviet Opposition Writings* is a collection of writings that have been secretly and widely circulated, usually in typewritten form, in Russia.

*From Lenin to Stalin* by Victor Serge is a new edition of that first-hand account of the early years of the revolution and its subsequent degeneration. It's a refutation of the threadbare argument so often put forward that Lenin and Trotsky were leaders of a party whose policies automatically gave rise to totalitarianism.



# expands

**MILITANT:** What about Marx, Engels, and Lenin?

**WEISSMAN:** Most of the writings of the classic Marxist authors are published by other publishers, and we distribute these works. Unfortunately, most of these items could do with new and accurate introductions, bringing them up to date for the modern-day reader.

One of our major new projects is precisely in this area. A couple of years ago we put out our own edition of the *Communist Manifesto* with an introduction by Leon Trotsky. This generated more interest than we had anticipated, and we are now making arrangements to distribute some other Marxist classics with special introductions. Evelyn Reed, the Marxist anthropologist and well-known women's liberation fighter, is planning to write an introduction to a new edition of Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. George Novack, a prominent Marxist writer on philosophy, is doing the same for Engels' *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*. We hope to make the same type of arrangement for three works by Lenin—*Imperialism, State and Revolution*, and *Left-Wing Communism*.

**MILITANT:** What about contemporary Marxist authors?

**WEISSMAN:** *Land or Death: The Peasant Struggle in Peru* by peasant leader and revolutionary-socialist Hugo Blanco will be out in the spring. Blanco was recently released from prison—where the book was written—after serving eight years of a 30-year term. Fearing his stature and popularity, the Peruvian generals then had him deported to Mexico.

*Understanding History: Marxist Essays* by George Novack is also to appear this spring. It includes an analysis of some of the most interesting historical problems, such as the role of the individual in history. Pathfinder has published a number of titles by Ernest Mandel, the European Marxist economist. We now have scheduled a new book by him, *The Decline of the Dollar*, which analyzes the crisis of the international monetary system.

As you know, Nixon's problems with the dollar devaluation are closely related to his wage controls and the fight that's brewing by workers to protect their standard of living and their unions. In line with this, and because it represents an important chapter in U.S. labor history, we are publishing Farrell Dobbs' book *Teamster Rebellion*. Dobbs was a central organizer of the great 1934 Minneapolis strikes which unionized that open-shop city and helped lay the basis for the subsequent organization of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

**MILITANT:** Given your expansion, what changes are you making in your promotional and sales work?

**ARMSTRONG:** Our sales force was small a few years ago, but this is changing. Pathfinder sales representatives in Boston, New York, Chicago, the San Francisco Bay Area, and Los Angeles—all major book buying areas—have been successful in placing our books in retail bookstores, especially those on campuses. In fact, two-thirds of our major accounts have been opened in the last two years. We want to continue this. We have added a sales coordinator to our staff in New York to continue this work and we plan to consolidate a sales force in all the major cities.

We have also added a person to our promotional department and we now have a number of professional, at-

tractive leaflets describing our titles. These are used in mailings to libraries, professors, bookstores, and wholesalers.

**MILITANT:** Will professors use your titles in their classes?

**ARMSTRONG:** Yes. The most common response of professors to our books and pamphlets is "Where have you been?" We're beginning to develop a reputation within academic circles as a major source of radical publications, and of course, we want to continue this. In the last two years, some 1,200 classes have used Pathfinder literature—totalling more than 40,000 books and pamphlets.

**MILITANT:** You might say you're part of what is called the "paperback revolution."

**ARMSTRONG:** We want to be a big part of it, and I think we can be. Last year 33 percent more Pathfinder literature was used on campuses than the year before. That's a significant move into this market and it points the way for one of our main areas of expansion.

**MILITANT:** How do you plan to do this?

**ARMSTRONG:** Initially, we want to get broad distribution of the new 1972 catalog of our titles. The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party will help out. They are organizing a major campaign on campuses across the country from March 7 to March 17.

Professors who might use such literature—primarily in the social sciences departments—will be visited and given the catalog. For most professors it will be their first introduction to Pathfinder. If they find a title that relates to their course they can request an examination copy and then consider the title for classroom adoption. The volunteers who help sell our books give us a great boost. We couldn't afford to reach out to as many potential customers in any other way. More importantly, personal visits by people who have read our literature and are enthusiastic about it are the most effective method to get out our name, titles, and ideas. That's something that Random House couldn't do.

**MILITANT:** What titles do professors use most often?

**ARMSTRONG:** The top title is Ernest Mandel's *Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory*. Last year some 3,400 were used in classrooms. Let me also give you an example of an "extra-curricular" use of the book. Last year a man who had just been paroled from Attica came into Pathfinder. He had been in a political study group there that had one copy of Mandel's book. His cell block was cut off from the other three blocks in the prison. But he had a typewriter, so he retyped the entire book, and the manuscript was "circulated" into the rest of the prison. That's *samizdat*, American style.

We also get a lot of orders for our literature on the Afro-American struggle. Pathfinder was one of the first publishers to put out works by Malcolm X, and we continue to help get his ideas known. Comparable, but still on a smaller scale, is the increasing classroom use of titles on Chicano nationalism and women's liberation. We've had some large orders for *La Raza Unida Party in Texas* by Mario Compean and José Angel Gutiérrez. Evelyn Reed's *Problems of Women's Liberation* is in its sixth printing and continues to be often used.

## Harrisburg frame-up depends on the word of agent-provocateur

By LEE SMITH

FEB. 22—The case for the prosecution was opened yesterday in the government's frame-up trial of Father Philip Berrigan and six other anti-war activists with the initial presentation by U.S. Attorney William S. Lynch. The key feature of his opening statement was its confirmation of speculation that the state's case rests fundamentally on testimony from agent-provocateur Boyd F. Douglas Jr.

Father Berrigan and the other defendants (Eqbal Ahmad, Sister Elizabeth McAlister, Father Neil McLaughlin, Anthony Scoblick, Mary Cain Scoblick and Father Joseph Wenderoth) are charged under a catch-all conspiracy indictment with "plotting" to kidnap presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger, to bomb government heating units in Washington, D.C., and to destroy draft records.

Lynch charged yesterday that Berrigan, who has been in jail since April 1970 for burning and pouring blood on draft files, acted from his cell as ringleader of the defendants, who "banded together, conspired and planned a series of illegal acts, the thrust of which was to disrupt governmental activities. . . ." Lynch indicated that information from Douglas led to each charge in the indictment.

Who is Boyd F. Douglas Jr., the government's star witness in this frame-up? He is a man who, as Defense Attorney Ramsey Clark said in his rebuttal yesterday, "has made lying a way of life."

Information on this unsavory character began to filter into the media after the government handed down its original indictment on Jan. 12, 1971. (The current indictment, superseding the original one, was handed down on April 30, 1971. It is built around substantially the same outlandish charges, but lightens both the possible sentence facing the defendants and the burden of proof placed on the government.)

One of the more thorough accounts of Douglas' background and relationship to the defendants appeared in a full-page *New York Times* article by John Kifner Feb. 21, 1971. Kifner notes that during the time Philip Berrigan was in jail but his older brother, Daniel, was still at large—from late April 1970 to Aug. 11, 1970—he was kept in the prison's maximum security section.

In fact, in a crude attempt to flush Daniel Berrigan from hiding, authorities treated his brother with especial cruelty, repeatedly putting him in "the hole" (administrative segregation) for minor rule infractions. In spite of these conditions, fellow prisoner Douglas was able to present himself to the priest as a link to the outside world.

"Although Father Berrigan was closely watched at Lewisburg—his cell and the chapel in which he said Mass were searched—his fellow convict, Boyd Douglas, had easy access to him for conversations and the smuggling of notes," Kifner observes.

Enrolled at Bucknell University under a special program, Douglas had a surprising amount of freedom for a federal prisoner. He was free to go to Bucknell all day, six days a week. He kept an apartment in the town and stocked it with expensive clothes and liquor, he bought a new Javelin, and stayed at parties as late as 10 p.m.

"And," writes Kifner, "he carried a brown spiral-bound classroom note-

book. Letters to and from Father Berrigan passed through the prison walls written in the pages of the notebook. *The messages also went to the FBI.*" (Emphasis added.)

In and out of prison since 1963 on charges of fraud and passing bad checks, it is fairly evident that at the point he encountered Berrigan, Douglas had been recruited as a police agent. During the time he wormed his way into friendships with people on the Catholic left, including some of the defendants, Douglas made up some tall tales about himself. For example, according to Kifner, he told one woman he would be dead in a year from cancer and begged her to marry him. He told many people he was a Vietnam veteran and "that he had been trained as an expert in explosives, a skill, he hinted, that might come in handy."

In his rebuttal yesterday, Clark disputed Lynch's claim that Douglas had been "recruited" as a courier by Berrigan. Douglas had offered the service, Clark said. As the trial unfolds, it will undoubtedly become clear that this is not all the agent offered. An article by Lee Lockwood in the May



Boyd F. Douglas Jr.

21, 1971, *Life* magazine discussed the personal letters released by the government with the second indictment, in which Elizabeth McAlister and Father Berrigan mention the idea of a "citizen's arrest" of a policy-making official.

"What the government did not make public," Lockwood reports, "is a remarkable letter which Douglas himself wrote to Elizabeth McAlister and sent to her in the same envelope with the letter from Berrigan. . . ."

"According to Sister Elizabeth," Lockwood continues, ". . . Douglas expressed his enthusiasm for the kidnapping 'plan,' saying that he was 'delighted' to be part of a really big action at last. . . . He then went on to say that he thought it was going to be necessary to use a gun, that people would have to decide whether it should be a real gun or an imitation, but that his preference was for a real one, and that he had connections in Washington, D.C., who could furnish him a weapon that could not be traced."

It is obvious that Douglas has "connections" in Washington, D.C., all right. Sister Elizabeth told Lockwood the letter finished any notion of a citizen's arrest. "It was like holding something hot and horrible," she said of the letter. "I could hardly even bear to look at it."



# '72 Socialist Campaign

Recently, the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign has received extensive coverage in the underground and movement press.

The Feb. 11 Los Angeles Free Press reprinted in full the remarks made by Linda Jenness at the Jan. 30 Open Rap Session for Women held at Hollywood High School in Los Angeles. Jenness appeared on the panel along with Gloria Steinem and other women's liberation activists. The Free Press reports that Jenness was interrupted by applause when she said that the Democratic and Republican parties "are equally responsible for the war in Vietnam, they are both racist and sexist parties."

An article entitled "Chisholm for President???" in the Feb. 14 Great Speckled Bird says that while "Shirley Chisholm is operating strictly by the rules of partisan politics," Linda Jenness "is using the campaign to educate people to the wider issues of who controls this country and what they're doing."

A recent issue of the Crystal City News (Bowling Green, Ohio) reprints part of a statement by Women for Jenness and Pulley, urging women to endorse the campaign and outlining the SWP platform on women's liberation.

And the Feb. 4 Free Medicine Rally (Flint, Mich.) reprints excerpts from Andrew Pulley's Dec. 30 speech to the Young Socialist Alliance's national convention in Houston.

The Feb. 16 issue of The Advocate, a Los Angeles-based gay newspaper, reports:

"The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is taking gay civil rights issues onto college campuses and into high schools in three West Coast and six East Coast states during February in the course of pushing their presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Linda Jenness, 30, and Andrew Pulley, 20. . . .

"The SWP appears to be the only political organization that projects gay civil rights prominently in most of its campaign literature. . . ."

During the week ending Feb. 17, the SWP national campaign office received signed endorsement cards from 521 supporters, more than in any previous week. Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley made up the largest category of new endorsers for the week with 166. So far the total number of endorsements is 4,357.

Militant readers in Wyoming, South Dakota, and Delaware are urged to endorse the campaign. These are the only three states where there are no endorsers of the Jenness-Pulley ticket yet.

Now available from the SWP national campaign office is "Socialist Campaign in the News," issue number 2, a four-page, printed brochure containing highlights of the press coverage received by Jenness and Pulley in the last few months.

Peter Camejo, national chairman of the Socialist Workers campaign committee, spoke to more than 125 people at the University of Colorado in Boulder on Feb. 8. The meeting received front-page coverage in the Colorado Daily, the student newspa-

per there. Thirty-eight people at the meeting signed up as endorsers of the SWP campaign.

The following day, Camejo "got an excellent reception" from more than 200 people at Kansas State College, reports Jana Pellusch of the Pittsburg, Kan. YSJP.

**YSJP campaign teams are traveling in cities and campuses throughout the country.**

The Southwestern team will go through Southern California, Arizona and New Mexico. A Northwestern team plans to tour Northern California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Nevada, while a Southeastern team will cover Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

The Mid-Atlantic team, which will begin its campaigning in late February, plans to visit Western New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia. A Midwest team, to go through Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, will start its tour in early March.

If you would like one of the YSJP teams to visit your campus or neighborhood, contact the SWP national campaign office.

John Miles of the Washington, D. C., Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, was narrowly defeated 170 to 140 in the Feb. 2 election for sophomore-class president at Woodrow Wilson High School. His campaign was enthusiastically received by the students, 15 of whom joined the YSJP as a result of the campaign.

Bill Kiezel, writing in the February Labor Temple News (UAW Local 1364, Fremont, Calif.) calls for "an emergency congress of labor . . . to fight inflation and unemployment." He writes, "The bi-partisan wage-freeze—supported by every politico from Goldwater to McGovern—shows that Republican and Democratic office-seekers, who are glad to accept our votes and financial contributions, line up with the employers in every pinch. . . . (Union members) should consider the ideas of independent candidates who oppose the freeze like Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. You may not agree with everything these Socialist candidates say, but they never froze our wages, they defend our right to strike, they mean business about getting out of Vietnam and they wouldn't touch either big business party with a ten-foot pole. Also they don't talk out of both sides of their mouths. That in itself is enough to make them worth looking into."

A supporter from Columbia, Mo., writes, "if the SWP candidates are on the ballot in Missouri, I will vote for them."

Campaign supporters will begin petitioning in Missouri in late April to put the names of presidential electors on the ballot there. A minimum of 18,000 signatures must be obtained. Missourians who would like to participate in this effort should get in touch with the national campaign office.

Address all correspondence to: Socialist Workers Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

—STEVE BEREN

## Banquet climaxes tour of N. Calif. by Jenness

By CECILY ASHTON and CAROLE SEIDMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—During her recent nine-day campaign swing through Northern California, Linda Jenness spoke directly to more than 1,700 people at a total of 16 meetings. The extensive media coverage her tour received introduced socialist ideas to several hundred thousand more people.

Highlights of the visit were a tour through the women's facility of the San Francisco county jail in San Bruno; appearances on all the major TV and radio stations, including a debate with a member of the American Independent Party, and a special interview on "La Raza," a TV show viewed by an estimated 200,000 Spanish-speaking people in the Bay Area; and a meeting of 60 sponsored by San Francisco's largest gay rights organization, the Society for Individual Rights (SIR). Twenty-four media representatives covered the tour.

As a result of the campaign meetings 12 people asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance and one joined the Socialist Workers Party. One hundred and eighty new campaign endorsers were signed up, including 40 at a University of California at Berkeley meeting attended by 300 people.

The tour concluded in high spirits at a Feb. 19 campaign banquet and rally attended by 175 supporters. A gourmet dinner was prepared by Chefs for Jenness and Pulley under the skillful guidance of chef Paul Montauk. Speakers at the rally, in addition to Jenness, included Ken Milner, SWP candidate for the Seventh Congressional District seat currently held by Ronald Dellums; Brenda Brdar, the SWP candidate for the Sixteenth Assembly District; and Sandy Knoll, SWP candidate for the Fifth District

Alameda County Board of Supervisors. The rally was chaired by Nat Weinstein, recent SWP candidate for mayor of San Francisco.

In her remarks Jenness pointed to the success of her tour in Northern California as an example of the kind of support the SWP campaign is receiving nationally.

"It is becoming more and more clear that all over the country our campaign is being seen as the movement campaign, the only voice in 1972 not capitulating to and not being suckered into the two-party farce," she asserted. "It is also becoming clear that people know that what is needed is a program that encompasses all of the movements for social change and leads them in an anticapitalist direction. That is the socialist program."

The rally program also included greetings to the Jenness-Pulley campaign from Barbara Macnab, chairwoman of the Northern California National Women's Political Caucus, and from the Reverend Tom Sanders, of the New Earth Brotherhood (a denomination of the Universalist Church). The evening was topped off by the performance of several satirical skits lampooning the capitalist candidates, especially Nixon.

The enthusiasm of the audience at the rally was illustrated by the results of a collection—taken after an appeal from Nancy Mackler—which netted approximately \$1,000 for the campaign. In addition to this figure, \$1,839 had previously been raised during the tour through collections at meetings, and an additional \$1,275 was raised in honorariums. Several sizable contributions were also received from individuals who did not attend any of the public campaign activities.

## Pulley wins support of Arab students in D.C.

By CALVIN GODDARD

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The first leg of Andrew Pulley's two-week campaign tour of the Washington, D. C.-Virginia area was highlighted by a very successful campaign banquet on Feb. 19. Despite a heavy snowfall, 55 people attended and heard speeches by the SWP vice-presidential candidate; Herman Fagg, SWP candidate for D. C. nonvoting delegate to Congress; and others. More than \$800 was pledged to the campaign, including \$50 that was given by a group of Arab students. One high school student asked to join the YSA.

During a busy week of campaigning, meetings were held for Pulley at Maryland University, where he was interviewed by the campus paper and radio station, and at McFarland Junior High School. At McFarland, an

all-Black school, Pulley and Joe Miles, a founder of Fort Jackson GIs United Against the War, spoke to 140 students.

After a meeting at Palestine House, a political center for Arab students in Washington, five people signed up as endorsers of the campaign. Pulley also spoke at a meeting of the Concerned Officers Movement, an antiwar military organization. The discussion after his talk lasted two hours. Three of the antiwar officers endorsed the campaign and bought Militant subscriptions.

Pulley was also interviewed by United Press International and by the student newspaper at Howard University. Honorariums from Pulley's speaking engagements have totaled \$950 so far during the tour.



Photo by Walter Lippmann

Harry Ring, head of The Militant's Southwest Bureau, addressed Los Angeles SWP campaign banquet Feb. 5.

# YSJP leaders debate young Dems

By STEPHEN BLOOM

Two national coordinators of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, Tom Vernier and Laura Miller, have been challenging representatives of the two capitalist parties on the question of how young people can be most effective during the 1972 elections.

At Stanford University in California, Vernier's debate with Larry Diamond, an organizer of the National Youth Caucus, was carried on the campus radio station. Vernier also spoke at the Militant Labor Forum in San Francisco, along with Michael Thayer, California youth coordinator of the Eugene McCarthy campaign; Terry Friedman, former president of the California Young Democrats, representing McGovern; and Howard Vickery, a youth coordinator for the Muskie campaign.

The two meetings were attended by 40 and 85 people respectively, and several new endorsers for Jenness and Pulley were obtained. At the Militant Forum, despite the differences among the participants, all endorsed the idea

Channel 11 TV in Durham, N.H., will broadcast a videotape of the Jan. 15 debate between Linda Jenness and Representative Paul McCloskey, candidate for the Republican Party presidential nomination, at 7:30 p.m. on March 2, and at 3 p.m. and 6:30 p.m. on March 3.

of organizing "Choice '72" referendums in the high schools and colleges in California.

During his tour through Los Angeles, Vernier was able to debate representatives of the Chisholm and McCloskey campaigns.

Miller has also debated several supporters of the liberal Democrats. While in Houston, she debated Rick Fine, a McGovern supporter at the University of Houston, and in Austin she debated Dan Boyd, president of the University of Texas Young Democrats.

In addition to the debates, the YSJP coordinators have been winning large numbers of new supporters to the SWP 1972 campaign through campus meetings, meetings with YSJP groups, and interviews and articles in newspapers, and on TV and radio. In Huntsville, Texas, Miller spoke to more than 75 people. Sixteen campaign endorsers were obtained and three *Militant* subscriptions were sold. In addition, 16 people attended a "join-the-YSA" meeting afterwards and are planning to set up a local of the Young Socialist Alliance. At Lamar State College of Technology in Beaumont, Texas, 12 people endorsed the campaign and two asked to join the YSA.

Miller helped organize a YSJP group at the University of Kentucky in Lexington. In Louisville, she met with YSJPers from Moore High School who expect to organize a recognized YSJP chapter at their school. These YSJPers will be able to help with the petition drive, which will start soon, to put the SWP on the ballot in Kentucky.

An active YSJP chapter was organized at Antioch College during an earlier stop on Miller's tour. Three of the YSJPers there have since asked to join the YSA.

# Socialist GI runs for Congress

By SUSAN LAMONT

SAN ANTONIO, Feb. 15 — Pfc. Steven Wattenmaker, a socialist GI stationed at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio, was threatened with court-martial if he appeared at a press conference here today to announce his candidacy for U.S. Congress. Wattenmaker is running from the Twentieth Congressional District, on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. The press conference took place as scheduled, without Wattenmaker, and was widely covered on TV and radio.



Pfc. Steven Wattenmaker speaking at GI antiwar rally in San Antonio, Aug. 6, 1971.

Wattenmaker, 23, has been a staff member of *Your Military Left*, a GI antiwar paper, and has worked with the GI Coordinating Committee while at Fort Sam Houston. He helped build GI actions against the war in Vietnam in the fall of 1971 and chaired the Nov. 6, 1971, Houston antiwar demonstration.

Last spring, while on the staff of the New York Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), Wattenmaker was inducted into the Army. At that time he informed the military that he would continue to exercise his constitutional right to oppose the war while in the army.

In early February of this year, Wattenmaker agreed to accept the nomination of the SWP. He did so without any direct or indirect solicitation of the candidacy on his part. Such solicitation is prohibited by Article 600-20 of Army regulations.

On Feb. 14, the day before he planned to announce his campaign to the news media, Wattenmaker was summoned to appear before his commanding officer, Captain Paul R. Meinardus. After consultation with the Judge Advocate's Office, Meinardus told Wattenmaker he would face a general court-martial if he appeared at the press conference, on the basis

that such activity allegedly violates Article 600-20.

The SWP intends to fight this denial of Wattenmaker's democratic rights and to mobilize support for his right to campaign. The GI antiwar movement in Texas has a long history of organizing to force recognition of the constitutional right of GIs to oppose the war while in the armed services. Wattenmaker's campaign will bring the question of the right of GIs to run for public office to people throughout Texas, especially to the thousands of men and women in the armed forces. Already there is broad support for the concept that GIs and all other federal employees have these rights and that regulations to the contrary are unconstitutional and should be abolished.

Wattenmaker has written a letter to his commanding officer, with a copy to the Judge Advocate's Office, stating that he has accepted the nomination of the SWP for the Twentieth Congressional District race. His letter requests permission to actively campaign for that office, with the understanding that he would not campaign while on duty nor would he allow his campaign to interfere with the exercise of his normal military duties. He has yet to receive a reply.

## Texas; Calif. launch campaigns

In recent weeks the Socialist Workers Party has launched new campaigns for local and statewide office in California and Texas, bringing the total number of candidates running on the SWP ticket to 68. SWP local campaigns are now in progress in 14 states—Illinois, Minnesota, Oregon, Georgia, Michigan, New York, Massachusetts, Washington, Texas, California, Colorado, Florida, Pennsylvania, and Ohio—and in the District of Columbia.

The following are new candidates: Texas: Richard Garcia, U.S. Senate; Steven Wattenmaker, 20th Congress-

sional District; Richard Finkel, 18th C.D.; Evelyn Sell, State Board of Education; Mareen Jasin, County Commissioner, Precinct 3; David Rossi, State Representative, District 86.

California: Susan Vass, 5th C.D.; Dean Reed, 17th C.D.; Peggy Bunn, 6th C.D.; Brenda Brdar, 16th Assembly District; Sandy Knoll, 5th District Alameda County Board of Supervisors; Laura Moorhead, 37th C.D.; Mariana Hernandez, 30th C.D.; Bonnie Aptekar, 28th C.D.; Dennis Scarla, 19th C.D.; Carole Newcomb, 26th C.D.; Don Bechler, 21st C.D.



Laura Moorhead Photo by Walter Lippmann

## Jenness attacks Democrats' compromise on rights bill

[On Feb. 22, after five weeks of debate, the U.S. Senate adopted a bill that would give the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) power to take employers and unions charged with job discrimination to federal court. However, on Feb. 15 the Senate defeated a stronger provision that would have given the commission the power to issue "cease and desist" orders—that is, the power to order an immediate halt to discrimination without the need for costly and time-consuming court suits.]

[The defeat of this stronger provision was a compromise between "liberal" senators, and the Dixiecrats backed by President Nixon.]

[The EEOC, which was originally established to mediate violations of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, has never had any enforcement powers. It can only try to convince employers to stop discriminating.]

[The measure passed by the Senate also included a watered-down provision to widen the jurisdiction of the EEOC. At present, the commission is limited to jurisdiction in cases involving firms with 25 or more employees and unions with 25 or more members. The bill passed by the Senate reduces the number to 15, but the original bill would have lowered the number to eight.]

[The bill adopted would for the first time require local, state, and federal

governments to comply with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. However, under this bill suits against discrimination by government employers can only be initiated by the U.S. attorney general, not by the EEOC.]

[On Feb. 23 Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, issued the following statement condemning the Senate's failure to give full enforcement powers to the EEOC.]

The Senate's refusal to pass a bill giving cease-and-desist powers to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission represents a setback for women, Blacks, Chicanos, and all others who face job discrimination in this country.

The denial of equal job opportunities to women and the oppressed nationalities is of such magnitude that in fiscal year 1971, 22,920 charges were filed with the EEOC against employers. The number is expected to climb to 32,000 in 1972. These figures show the extent of the discrimination by U.S. employers and underline the fact that such discrimination is an integral part of the capitalist system.

The weakened bill passed by the Senate Feb. 22 means that challenges to employment discrimination must take the time-consuming route of the federal courts—at the expense of the plaintiff, who is usually without the necessary financial resources.

So-called "liberals" in the Senate can-

not pass off responsibility for this weakened bill to Nixon and the Dixiecrats. It is precisely these "liberal" senators who offered a compromise in order to pass the bill! Their cynical action shows that they have no interest in enforcing Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. Rather, they side with the corporations, who doubly exploit women and the oppressed nationalities.

In addition, it was the Southern Democrats who filibustered in the Senate to prevent passage of a bill giving the EEOC cease-and-desist powers. Thus the Democratic Party, which claims to represent working people and Blacks in this country, spearheaded the move to capitulate to Nixon and kill the stronger enforcement provision.

Equally revealing is the fact that several of my opponents in the presidential race—including Democratic senators Muskie, Humphrey, Jackson, and Hartke—didn't even bother to show up for the session where the amendments to weaken the bill were passed, despite their claims to be supporters of civil rights.

As candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, Andrew Pulley and I will campaign for granting full enforcement powers to the EEOC. In addition, we are against any special provisions making it more difficult to force government employers to comply with Title VII.

# Communist Party convention: 'defeat Nixon,' build the CP

By JOEL BRITTON

NEW YORK — The Communist Party USA has concluded its twentieth national convention, the first in three years. The four-day meeting in New York, Feb. 18-21, set "the defeat of Nixon" as the top priority for 1972. To further this goal, which means electing a Democrat, the CP's campaign for Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner for president and vice-president is to be stepped up, and "left and right opportunism" are to be combatted.

According to accounts in the Feb. 19 and Feb. 22 issues of the *Daily World*, a newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party, 254 delegates and "several score visitors" from 36 states and the District of Columbia attended the convention. According to the Feb. 22 *Daily World*, "The credentials report indicated that 34 percent of the delegates were under 30 years of age. And 58 percent of the delegates were under 50 years of age. [This means, of course, that 42 percent were over 50.]

"Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican delegates were 33 percent of the total. Women were 30 percent."

Delegates who were trade unionists were said to number 123. Two delegates were high school students, and 15 were college students.

An "international solidarity rally" on Feb. 19 was open to the public and drew about 1,000 people, most of whom were older, but a sizable minority were youth.

The rally was to have heard from a number of CP co-thinkers from other countries, but the only one who spoke was Luis Figueroa, a Chilean senator and head of the United Federation of Labor. Other observers present were from Canada and Puerto Rico.

The rally protested the exclusion by the State Department of many who had been invited to attend the convention.

Figueroa brought greetings from the "160,000 members of the Communist Party" of Chile and spoke glowingly of the popular-front government of "Comrade Salvador Allende."

CP youth leader Mike Zagarell had attended the Versailles peace confer-

The following telegram was sent Feb. 18 to Communist Party presidential candidate Gus Hall from Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

*We join with you in vigorously protesting the State Department decision to deny visas to invited guests to your convention. The Nixon administration has repeatedly barred from this country those whose views it wants to keep from being heard. A recent instance is the case of Ernest Mandel, now before the Supreme Court. These unconstitutional actions of the government must be opposed by all defenders of civil liberties.*

ence the weekend before the CP convention and brought greetings from the Vietnamese Workers Party (CP of North Vietnam). Zagarell spoke in generalities about the need to oppose the war in Indochina and force Nixon to set the date for U.S. withdrawal.

Jarvis Tyner and Gus Hall were the featured speakers at the Feb. 19 rally. Hall was introduced as "the only can-

didate saying something." What Hall had to say dealt mostly with "the danger to world peace" inherent in Nixon's trip to China. The "danger" comes, according to Hall, not from the likelihood that Mao will consider reaching an agreement to betray the Indochinese liberation fighters, but from the objective shared by the U.S. and China of combatting a mutual "obstacle," the Soviet Union.

Hall was echoing the draft theses on which he had given a three-hour report the first day of the convention. The theses attack Maoism and Trotskyism as forms of "left opportunism," "ideological trends which profess to be socialist and anti-imperialist but are at the same time anti-Communist and anti-Soviet." The attacks on Trotskyism are made because we oppose the CP's support to Democratic Party candidates as well as Moscow's peaceful-coexistence policies.

The CP convention took place five and a half months after the announcement of the Hall-Tyner ticket, and was said to constitute "the national opening" of the campaign. However, no campaign literature or buttons were available at the public rally.

The CP's reformist "three prong" election policy was spelled out for delegates by Hall and reported in the Feb. 19 *Daily World*. Conjuring up the specter of reaction, Hall stated that "the nation is on a very dangerous reactionary course." Nixon is said to represent "the reactionary fascist danger." This is done to scare the innocent into believing things are so bad that there is no alternative to supporting a lesser-evil Democrat, meaning virtually any Democrat.

How the three prongs become one

Continued on page 22

# Fink testifies in Soledad frame-up

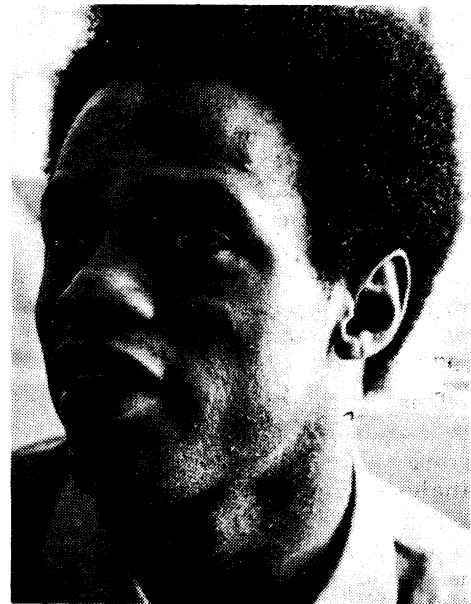
By NORTON SANDLER

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 15 — The prosecution has rested its case in the murder trial of Soledad Brothers John Cluchette and Fleeta Drumgo.

As prosecutors Ed Barnes and William Curtis unraveled the state's case, it became obvious that the entire frame-up was originally constructed to railroad George Jackson to the gas chamber. Since Jackson was shot to death by San Quentin prison guards last Aug. 21 — a few days before the scheduled opening of the trial — the state has attempted to rapidly reconstruct the frame-up to give more prominence to Cluchette and Drumgo.

Most of the testimony provided has focused on Jackson's alleged involvement in the Jan. 16, 1969, death of prison guard John Mills on the third tier of "Y" wing of Soledad prison. But one inconsistency after another has riddled the stories of the state's witnesses.

The testimony of former Soledad



Fleeta Drumgo

Photo by LNS

inmate Manuel Green is a perfect example. Green, a self-proclaimed "snitch" who is now on parole, was initially scheduled to testify for the state against Jackson. However, after representatives of the district attorney's office visited him, he changed his story. In testimony last November — a mere 22 months after the events in Soledad — he stated that Cluchette and Drumgo were on the tier of "Y" wing at the time of Mills' death.

Although a dozen witnesses were paraded to the stand by the prosecution, only one claimed Cluchette was involved in Mills' death.

Due to the lack of evidence the prosecutors have attempted to capitalize on statements that might make it appear to the all-white jury that Cluchette and Drumgo are violent men. A series of prison guards testified that Drumgo had threatened them. At one point, the prosecutors produced an old note from Drumgo's prison file that supposedly contains a threat directed at a particular guard. It now seems evident that the note was the sole basis for the original indictment of Drumgo at a time when prison officials were feverishly searching for scapegoats to stand trial along with their primary target, George Jackson.

The prosecution has been aided daily by rulings from Judge Spiro Vavuris, who has persistently sought to rush the proceedings along. In the process, Judge Vavuris has seriously limited the amount of time that defense counsels Richard Silver and Floyd Silliman could spend on cross-examination.

**Nixon, Muskie, McGovern, Hartke, Ashbrook, McCloskey, Chisholm, McCarthy, Jackson, Yorty, Mills, Wallace, Humphrey & Lindsay will all campaign in New Hampshire and Florida between now and March 14.**

**So will Linda Jenness!**



The Jenness-Pulley campaign will be in the center of the battle in all the presidential primary states. But we need your contributions to do it.

(Clip and mail to 1972 SWP Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003)

( ) Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_.

( ) I pledge to contribute \$ \_\_\_\_ per month until the election.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_



# The student movement today



Rally at San Francisco State College during the massive strike there in 1968-1969.

Today the campus is quiet.

By DAVE FRANKEL

In an article in the Dec. 24, 1971, *Militant* Frank Boehm refutes mass-media commentators who contend that radical consciousness among students is subsiding and college campuses are returning to the apathy of the 1950s. There is, however, another important aspect to the current situation in the student movement. Since the antiwar upsurge of May 1970 there has been a visible decrease in the number of large-scale struggles on college campuses compared to the period of 1968-1970.

This article does not pretend to be an exhaustive study of this question; rather, it is a first attempt at such an analysis. Hopefully, it will encourage a response from readers of *The Militant* on their observations that will help establish more exactly some of the trends on the campuses.

Recently, two articles have appeared that are useful in this discussion. Writing in the Jan. 30 *New York Times Magazine*, John Leggett discusses his observations at the University of Iowa. He indicates that "The silence in town is such that casual observers size up the mood as a new campus apathy and suggest it is a return to the political indifference of the nineteen-fifties—but it is not that at all."

"The radicals are few," Leggett continues, "a scarcely discernible number in so large a state school as this one, and some of them have only a tenuous relationship to the university. Yet their effect on student thought is considerable."

He goes on to point out a very extensive interest in the women's liberation movement on the campus and comments that "If the active revolution is over, the theoretical one is surely not. History professors notice that their brightest students are Marxist and that their teaching assistants make up reading lists heavy with Fanon, Cleaver and Debray."

A sociologist teaching at the University of California at Berkeley is quoted in a similar vein in an article by William Trombley in the Jan. 28 *Los Angeles Times*. Trombley writes: "Professor Bellah believes that President Nixon has skillfully defused the student protest movement by withdrawing most American combat soldiers from Vietnam and sharply reducing draft calls, but he does not believe students, even if temporarily peaceful and studious, are pleased with American life."

"The percentage of students who are deeply alienated with the central values and meaning of American society is probably much higher than it

was seven years ago," Bellah said, "so we are not back to the 1950s."

"I have spoken on a good many campuses recently and I would say the number of young people who believe in the American free enterprise system is almost a vanishing breed."

The conclusions of Trombley and Leggett—that the campuses are relatively quiet right now, but that receptivity to radical ideas is quite high—are supported by the growth of some radical youth organizations, including the Young Socialist Alliance, the success of *The Militant's* subscription drive last fall, the general increase in sales of radical literature, and the wide interest shown by students in the 1972 Socialist Workers Party election campaign. But why is there a lull in activity?

While there can be little doubt that Nixon's "Vietnamization" maneuver has had a significant impact on the student antiwar movement, there are additional important factors affecting the current situation on the campuses, beginning with the previous experiences of the student movement.

May 1970 represented the high point of the student movement in the United States. Hundreds of campuses across the country went out on a spontaneous student strike involving literally millions of people. Students in many schools took over campus facilities and used them for organizing the antiwar movement. While the student movement was not defeated in May 1970—and in fact won significant victories that helped force an early end to the invasion of Cambodia, forced ROTC off many campuses, and won greater use of university resources and greater freedom to operate than ever before—it was unable to end the war or achieve any basic change in the society as a whole. The mobilization of the students could have helped to spark a reciprocal movement among the working class and the Black community (such as occurred in France in May-June 1968), but this didn't happen.

Once this possibility of a broader struggle was closed off, a downturn was inevitable. The daily meetings, leafletting, political discussions, and other forms of activity were conducted at a pace that could not be maintained over a long period of time.

## Role of ultraleftism

Another aspect of the lull is the disenchantment with the ultraleftism that had been widespread in the student movement. Ultraleftism was already beginning to wane prior to the May upsurge, and the inability of the ultra-

leftists to propose any adequate program or direction for the student movement during May led to their complete isolation.

Students had good reason to reject the course advocated by the ultraleftists. The experience of literally hundreds of campus struggles in 1968 and 1969, many of which were characterized by relatively small groups of students occupying buildings, confronting the police, or smashing or burning property, amply demonstrated the ineffectiveness of these tactics. Most often, instead of sparking a mass upsurge, they led to the isolation of radicals from the masses of students who were becoming receptive to new ideas and willing to engage in activity. Moreover, the ultraleftists often led people into needless victimizations.

When ultraleftists assumed the leadership of mass struggles it was generally in situations where large numbers of angry students were responding to the brutality of the police, as in the famous Columbia strike in the spring of 1968.

The futility of ultraleft tactics and the frustration they bred led some people to resort to individual acts of terrorism. The tragic explosion in the New York townhouse in March 1970 and the bombing at the University of Wisconsin at Madison in August 1970 during which an antiwar graduate student was killed, further confirmed students in their rejection of this course. Others who had looked to the ultraleftists simply dropped out, many turning to drugs or joining various types of utopian communes. Unfortunately, most students had identified militant struggle on the campuses with ultraleftism and tended to reject the two together.

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was one of the casualties of the rejection of ultraleftism by the students. SDS, just as the other ultraleftists, was unable to see that the student movement was a force that, although it could not change society on its own, could help in the organization of other sectors of society and the transmission of radical ideas to masses of people.

It was in this context, with no authoritative radical leadership of sufficient size and influence to fill the vacuum created by the break-up of SDS, that the intervention of the capitalist class and its agencies had a significant effect. Some students were simply intimidated by victimizations such as the expulsion and suspension of radical students from school, fines and jail terms, and the beatings inflicted on demonstrators, such as those at Columbia in 1968. The brutal

crushing of the San Francisco State strike in January 1969 is probably the most significant reason for the lull that now exists on that campus.

## Use of concessions

However, while continuing to use repression and the threat of victimization, since May 1970 the overwhelming majority of college administrators have relied much more on a conscious policy of attempting to avoid confrontations by granting concessions. Often, these are concessions they strongly opposed only a few years ago. For example, as a result of battles for Black and Chicano studies programs waged during the campus upsurge a couple of years ago, many schools are now granting such programs, as well as women's studies programs, with a minimum of pressure. They have decided that this costs them less than provoking mass struggles.

The funding of radical organizations through student governments is also a common practice today. For instance, the University of California at Berkeley women's liberation group was given a budget of over \$10,000 in 1971. On many campuses gay liberation organizations have been chartered with little or no fight. Also, many of the most galling restrictions and aspects of campus life have been removed or toned down as a result of the student upsurge of the late 1960s. The easing or removal of dress codes and dormitory restrictions, and free speech gains such as the right to leaflet and have literature tables and speakers are examples of some of these changes.

No analysis of the student movement would be complete without discussing the role of Black students. Since the days of the early civil rights movement, students were inspired by the Black struggle. Its tactics, such as sit-ins, were emulated by the student movement, and Black organizations on campus played a central role in initiating many of the big campus battles. This was the case in the struggles for Black studies programs controlled by the Black students and community at San Francisco State in 1968 and 1969 and at the University of Wisconsin at Madison in 1969, and in the fight for open admissions at New York's City College in 1969. Also, many campus actions that were not directly initiated by Black students involved demands raised by the Black struggle or resulted from the racist practices of the universities, as in the Columbia strike in 1968.

However, over the last two years there has been a withdrawal from political activity on the part of many Black organizations and students on campuses. One reason for this, in addition to those having to do specifically with the Black struggle, is that there has been a concerted effort to buy off the developing Black leaders on the campuses. Government-financed "self-help" projects, financial dependence of a high percentage of Black students on scholarships, and offers of lucrative posts within Black studies programs and poverty programs have all been used to sidetrack Black students from political struggle.

One example of the magnitude of this effort was the announcement in June 1971 that the Ford Foundation was allocating \$3.1-million for scholarships for Black and Raza students. This was followed four months later by the announcement of a \$100-million Ford Foundation program for Black colleges and students. It would seem reasonable to suppose that this has had some effect on the student movement as a whole, particularly in the context of high unemployment.

## Capitalist parties

In addition to all this, there was a major effort following the May upsurge, and in fact while it was still

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# Transit union vote smells fishy

By JAMES MENDIETA

NEW YORK, Feb. 10—The Transport Workers Union has again pulled the proverbial rabbit out of the hat. On Feb. 8 the American Arbitration Association announced that transit workers had approved a new 27-month contract with the Transit Authority by a majority of nearly three-to-two. The American Arbitration Association is a group of lawyers who mediate labor disputes for a price. They said that there were 15,176 "yes" votes and 11,703 "no's."

These figures may seem like a close and reasonable vote to an outsider, but there are few transit workers who honestly believe that count.

The Transport Workers Union claims to have 38,000 members, and yet the Transit Authority has only 22,000 hourly paid employees who are eligible for membership in the TWU. The rest of the 42,000 work force are clerks, office workers, transit police, supervisory personnel and others, some of whom belong to other unions.

So where did the 26,879 votes that were counted by the American Arbitration Association come from?

Another factor to consider is that nearly half of the 5,000 railroad clerks have quit the TWU and many other departments have a large number of people who have quit and joined the Rank and File Committee for a Democratic Union. This is a group of transit workers who have been fighting the TWU's autocratic form of rule for 10 years.

The Rank and File Committee has just won a court decision granting

the right to have an election to determine the new sole bargaining agent for the transit workers.

Once a date has been set, however, the Rank and File Committee will be hard pressed to find some way of getting an honest election. Union members are questioning the whole issue of the mail ballot. The undemocratic and fraudulent aspect of this method is clear. People want to go to a hall or meeting place and discuss the management's offer, not just vote through the mail.

## Con Ed claims New York air isn't so bad

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK—"Con Ed Blames the Wind." That was the headline on an article by Steve Lawrence, environmental writer for the *New York Post*, in that paper's Feb. 17 issue.

The headline referred to arguments put forward by Consolidated Edison gas and electric company against a proposed state plan to meet federal clean-air standards by 1975. The point of the giant utility's 28-page comment on the plan, Lawrence explained, "is that though it may be putting out thousands of tons of all kinds of contaminants each year, if the winds are good and the smoke stacks are high, these contaminants never come to rest in the lungs of city residents."

The *Post* writer observes that while this argument "may thrill city dwellers . . . it probably won't sit well with people living in Long Island, Connecticut, upstate New York and other places. . . ."

Actually, New York City residents have no call to be thrilled by the performance of Con Ed or other

polluters—unless their thrill comes from living dangerously. The plan against which Con Ed is arguing includes special compromise allowances for the utility. These were worked out in a series of meetings between company representatives and city, state, and federal officials during January.

However, even without special exceptions, the proposed plan falls short of meeting federal requirements on time. Furthermore, the federal clean air standards themselves are judged inadequate by environmental experts (so much that several states, including Montana and Arizona, have passed their own stricter requirements).

Even as outlined, let alone the way it will be implemented, the plan fails to reduce five of the six key pollutants sufficiently to meet national standards by 1975. A group of attorneys concerned with the environment, the Natural Resources Defense Council, called the New York plan "the worst one we have seen with the possible exception of Louisiana's." It is over this plan—with added special consideration!—that Con Ed is kicking up a fuss.

The utility's public statement was issued a little more than a week after the New York City Department of Air Resources admitted for the first time that the city's air is getting worse instead of better.

The Feb. 9 *New York Times* reported that the city department had conceded that the amount of "suspended particulate matter" (more commonly known as dirt) in the air increased 7 percent over the last three years. "Previously," the *Times* said, "the city had been emphasizing another air pollutant—sulphur dioxide, an irritating gas—that has been reduced 50 percent over the last three years, mainly as a result of regulations requiring the burning of low-sulphur fuel."

It's true that there has been a 50 percent reduction in the amount of sulphur dioxide, but whether this has been mainly due to regulations or has been accidental is open to debate. City air resources commissioner Fred Hart told Steve Lawrence the causes were the fuel regulations and "the weather."

Translating the latter factor, Lawrence wrote in the Feb. 8 *New York Post*: "When winters are mild, less fuel is burned and there is less pollution. The brisk winds also tend to disperse contaminants better." So, in fact, the arguments of Con Ed a week later could actually have been borrowed in part from the company's supposed adversary, the Department of Air Resources.

Finally, sulphur dioxide (which allegedly has been reduced) and particulate matter (which has increased) are only two of the pollutants that befoul the city's air. There are also nitrogen oxides, other oxidants, and hydrocarbons. These have not been monitored sufficiently, so far as is known, to scientifically determine whether the air has more or less of them. There is scant reason to believe that monitoring will show them to be declining.

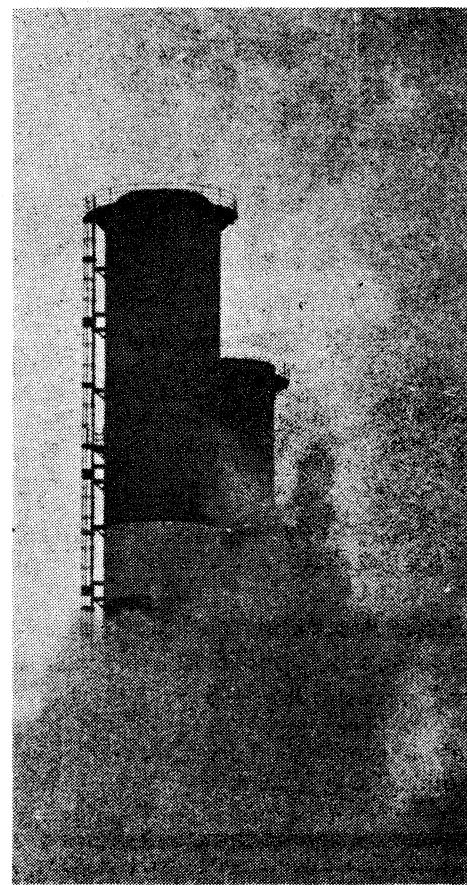


Photo by Howard Petrick

Con Ed claims its high stacks (shown above) and stiff winds keep New York City's air relatively free of dangerous pollutants.

# The National Picket Line

THE UNION MOVEMENT is headed by old and peculiar persons. Their age is accounted for by the fact that they managed to keep away from hard work most of their lives and can afford the best medical attention. Their peculiarities must be explained differently, not only by how they live but by the company they keep. They associate mostly with employers or representatives of employers, and this has gone on for so long that they think and act like employers. This makes them seem peculiar when they talk about the present problems of workers.

George Meany, the 77-year-old president of the AFL-CIO, is regarded by his peers as the most able spokesman among them. He may not be the oldest nor the most peculiar, but he is typical.

Shortly before convening the winter meeting of the 35-member AFL-CIO Executive Council in Bal Harbour, Fla., Meany answered some questions for a reporter from the business-oriented *U.S. News & World Report*. Meany's remarks on inflation, unemployment, war, politics, etc., are printed in the magazine's Feb. 21 issue.

On inflation: "I think wage increases make their contribution toward inflation. I don't think there's any question about that."

How to end inflation: "Validate the contracts, give us our retroactivity, and we'll take the 5.5 per cent as the formula for new contracts."

On unemployment: "Oh, I'll say it's bad—awfully bad."

On war: "I don't believe in surrender in Vietnam."

On politics: "If we attempted to take over the Democratic Party, why, we'd have to pay more attention to that than to the labor movement. And if we set up our own political party, we'd be telling

this country that we're ready to run the Government. I don't think we're qualified to run the Government."

On Nixon: ". . . it's a funny thing, my personal relations with Mr. Nixon have always been good."

In general: "I think the country, by and large, is in pretty good shape."

**TONY BOYLE, THE 67-YEAR-OLD PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS**, is in deep trouble. The U. S. Department of Labor is seeking to set aside the 1969 union election that returned Boyle to his present high office. On the witness stand, Boyle became so belligerent that the judge warned him "to control your emotions and answer the questions."

Boyle is usually a patient man, especially when dealing with the urgent problems of coal miners. He writes about sick payments and hospital benefits in the Jan. 15 *United Mine Workers Journal*: "I wish only that every benefit could be placed into effect today, but that is not possible."

When will some benefit payments start?

"Our first priority is sick pay for miners unable to work due to illness. . . . I cannot predict the day on which this benefit will start, but it should be a matter of months."

A sick miner can die of starvation "in a matter of months."

When will hospitalization benefits begin for those disabled?

". . . hopefully within the year, we can begin to provide unlimited hospitalization for occupationally disabled miners, and to continue their service credit toward pensions."

When will these promises be met?

"The trustees of the UMWA Welfare Fund alone can determine when the new benefits should begin. Your trustee, Ed Carey, will do everything possible consistent with the financial security of the Fund to have them start as quickly as possible."

Meanwhile, Boyle is appealing a federal-court damage assessment of \$11.5-million against the UMW, the National Bank of Washington, and Josephine Roche and Barnum L. Colton, former trustees of the union Welfare and Retirement Fund. This money, if ever paid, will revert to the fund and presumably trickle down to old and disabled miners, or to miners' widows.

**PRESIDENT I.W. ABEL OF THE UNITED STEELWORKERS**, 63, appears to be in better shape in all respects than Meany or Boyle. There has been talk that Abel may succeed Meany as AFL-CIO president. Like Meany, he is a high-production man and anxious to curb strikes. Abel is a sponsor of union-management production committees. He seeks guarantees that unions and employers will maintain mutually satisfactory relations without strife or discord.

Abel recently addressed a meeting of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service in Washington. There he explained his no-strike plan. "Under the plan," reports the Steelworkers' official paper *Steel Labor*, "unresolved issues in the final two months before contract deadline would have been submitted to a panel of impartial arbitrators—chosen earlier by mutual agreement." This plan was not used in the 1971 steel negotiations because the employers would not accept it. Abel hopes they will accept it sometime in the future when it will suit their needs.

— FRANK LOVELL



## Canada's labor party

# NDP and the trade unions

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 second of six articles in which he relates developments in the NDP to questions about a labor party in the United States.

By DAVID THORSTAD

It has not been easy for young radicals in the United States to see the working class as a potentially radical force. They have grown up with a

themselves. And as long as they do not have their own party, their dissatisfaction will tend to be registered in the political arena either by not voting or by wasting their votes on some capitalist politician who may talk sweet as elections approach, but whose loyalties are opposed to the interests of labor.

Of course, the powerfully entrenched labor bureaucracy not only goes along with it but encourages the subordination of labor to the Democratic Party and capitalist politics. To get

be separated from politics. And labor must ensure that the connection between the two is properly reflected in the political arena. "The job of collective bargaining is enhanced or inhibited by the political atmosphere," McDermott explained. "The collective bargaining process is tied in with the political process. Even a four-year-old child should understand that."

Whether intended or not, the implication seems obvious: U.S. labor leaders may have reached the level of understanding of a four-year-old child, but they have not progressed beyond it. For knowing that there is a connection between trade-union issues and broader political questions is one thing, but knowing what to do about it is another. And leaving the capitalists with a virtual monopoly in the political arena is the one thing definitely not to do.

"I don't think the labor movement can be effective unless it has a viable political arm," he went on. "It can't be a choice between tweedledum and tweedledee or arsenic and old lace." The only difference he sees between Conservative Party head Robert Stanfield and Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau is that "they go to different tailors."

But Canadian labor supports the NDP for more than narrow trade-unions or bread-and-butter reasons. "I'm not supporting the NDP because I'm concerned about changes in the labor relations act," he said. "More important, we're in there because of our social viewpoint." Canadian labor, he said, is concerned about its social role, about decent health standards, educational standards, a "shrinking world," the emergence of the multinational corporation, and the war in Vietnam, which he called "sheer fucking economic idiocy."

"I know the NDP will do something about the fundamental issues."

I asked McDermott if he saw the labor party as a purely Canadian question or if the differences between the Canadian and U.S. wings of the UAW over this question ever came up. While he made it clear that the Canadians do not go to international conventions of the UAW with the intention of making an issue out of the need for a labor party, he was critical of the U.S. labor movement's ties to capitalist politics. "Their friends the Democrats gave Richard Nixon the goddam authority for his economic policy, including the wage freeze," he said. He spoke with contempt of Nixon and approvingly quoted NDP leader T.C. Douglas as having said, "Nixon can go to hell because that's where he's going anyway."

There has been some talk of introducing a wage freeze in Canada too, but he said the NDP would fight it. He called wage controls "absurd," and said a wage freeze "wouldn't work any better here than it does in the States. I don't think Trudeau can afford to ape Nixon, anyway."

It is true that it was labor's "friends" in the Democratic Party who gave Nixon the knife he is now turning into labor's back, but the labor bureaucrats have still shown no sign that they are ready to break with capitalist politics.

Still, McDermott said he thinks his "U.S. colleagues" are "envious" when they see the NDP at work. "I think they feel their investment in the Democratic Party is of too long-standing." But, he added, it would be "fraught with hazards if they were to start a new party."

## Socialists campaign for rights in S.F.

By MARK SCHNEIDER

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 15—Two new developments in the case of the City College of San Francisco Four occurred here today—the defense attorneys announced that a federal injunction to halt the suspension of the three students had been filed, and the Socialist Workers campaign committee announced that the four, along with Jane Sica, will run for the City College governing board.

The four Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley—Joe Ward, Lloyd Kenney, Steve Gabosch, and Jeff Berchenko—were expelled from City College on Jan. 19. At a closed review-board hearing, on Feb. 2 and 3, the four successfully demonstrated their innocence of six vague "charges." Nevertheless, the board saw fit to recommend "mitigation" of the sentences to censure of Ward, and suspension for one term of the others.

The five students announced their candidacy for governing board at a well-attended meeting for Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for president. "We'll take the same issues to the community that we took to the campus," said Kenney. "The key issue is who will run City College, the students and the oppressed communities they come from, along with the faculty, or an administration responsible to the white corporate rulers of San Francisco." The majority of students at City College are from San Francisco's Black, Raza, and Asian communities.

"Another key issue in our campaign," said Sica, "is our demand for full constitutional rights on campus, particularly free speech. The administration here determines what can go on a banner or a leaflet and who says what in the school newspaper. They cut off political rallies at whim. Naturally, if anyone differs with their perspective, they are summarily booted out of school. This is what they are attempting to do with my four running mates."

Jenness sent a letter to Harry Butten, president of the college, protesting the expulsions and the attack on the national SWP campaign.

Just before the Jenness meeting, attorneys Christopher May and Michael Sorgen of the Mission Office of the San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation filed suit in the U.S. District Court demanding the reinstatement of the three students and removal of censure for Ward. The suit, which was filed by the City College YSJP, claims harassment of that organization and states that the First Amendment rights of free speech and association were violated by the college. It also maintains that the review board hearing violated, on a number of counts, the Fourteenth Amendment right to due process.

The Committee to Defend the City College Four needs funds. Send check or money order to P.O. Box 40541, San Francisco, Calif. 94140.



Photo by Jeff White

Grace Hartman, national president of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, speaks at demonstration against the sell-out of Canada's resources to the U.S.

labor movement that lacks its own political party and thus lets capitalist "friends of labor" speak for it. They have learned to have contempt for labor leaders like AFL-CIO President George Meany who have a political outlook to the right of many liberal capitalist politicians. And by often identifying the labor bureaucrats with the working masses themselves, they fail to see how change can come about within the unions, how the present relationship of forces can be overcome, and how the Meany and Woodcocks can be replaced by a militant leadership that fights to defend the interests of the workers.

In Canada the revolutionary potential of the working class is much easier to grasp. Not that there are no bureaucrats. There are. And not that the labor party, the New Democratic Party, is carrying on an active struggle to overthrow capitalism. It is not, but is rather trying to make it work better. Its potential is easier to grasp because there is a labor party and the unions are the dominant force inside it.

It is true that the NDP is a reformist party. But by its very existence it constantly poses the need for working-class power. In the U.S., not only is there no mass revolutionary party, there is not even a reformist labor party. This is not because the American masses are without reformist illusions. Quite the opposite. It means only that these illusions are reflected on a much lower level than they are in Canada. Here they take place not on the plane of whether socialism can be won by parliamentary means, but whether one or another capitalist party can bring about social change.

In such a context, when the U.S. capitalist class moves to defend its interests by promulgating a wage freeze and setting up a Pay Board it dominates, and getting the labor bureaucrats to go along with it, the U.S. workers are left without any effective political voice or vehicle to defend

rid of both the policy and the bureaucrats will require a powerful groundswell among the ranks of labor.

In Canada the situation is somewhat different. There the labor bureaucrats, for their own reasons, took the initiative to form a labor party. There the labor party has many of the characteristics of a machine that was engineered from the top down. It is not primarily the result of a massive upsurge of the rank and file. Thus it is possible, for instance, for virtually the entire leadership of a union like the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) to support the NDP and to commit the union to it financially, on the one hand, and for large numbers of rank-and-file members to not vote for it on the other.

### Why labor supports the NDP

When I was in Toronto in November 1971, I spoke about independent labor political action to Dennis McDermott, United Auto Workers international vice-president and director for Canada. McDermott played a role in the founding of the NDP and has been a firm supporter of it ever since. He terms the relationship between the labor movement and the NDP a "friendly ally arrangement."

While ideologically speaking, McDermott shares the reformist, social-democratic approach of the NDP leadership as a whole, he was able, as head of a union closely tied to the NDP, to provide insight into the outlook of a labor movement that is not tied to a capitalist party. In addition, his views were of interest because he represents the Canadian wing of the UAW, which, like many unions affiliated to the NDP, is U.S.-based, but whose U.S. counterpart is still tied to the Democratic Party.

Why does Canadian labor support the NDP? Perhaps the most obvious reason is that inflation, unemployment, and other key issues cannot

# In Review

## Pamphlets Study offers insight into revolutionary process

Sam Adams and the American Revolution by Harry Frankel. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1971. 47 pp. 75 cents.

This pamphlet is of special interest to serious students of revolutionary social change. In the specific context of the Revolution of 1776, it deals from a historical-materialist approach with many of the questions relevant to the movements for social change in the United States today. Its method also provides insights helpful in understanding their interrelation with world events.

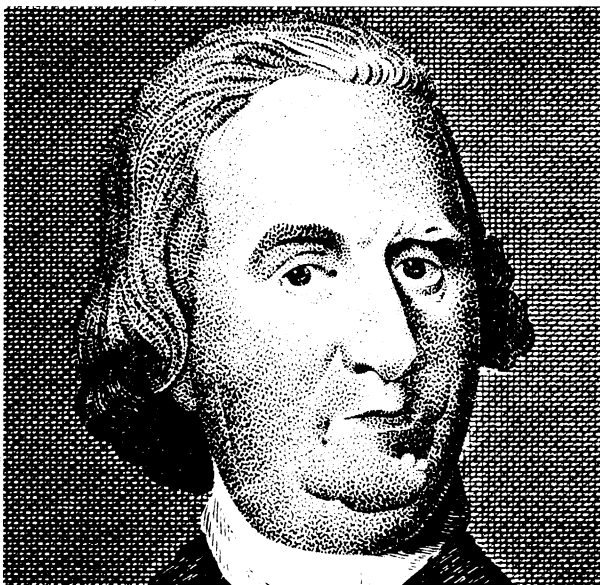
For example, in the chapter on "Democracy and Revolution," Frankel deals with a question often debated by historians: "Was the American Revolution 'democratic?'"

He describes the transition from mass actions with revolutionary implications to mass movements that hold conscious revolutionary convictions and act upon them.

"Thus we have arrived at a peculiar contradiction," the author says. "We have found that men who fight and risk their lives for the revolution

would not necessarily have voted for it! This peculiarity lies at the center of every unfolding revolution.

"This contradiction between the actions and the consciousness of the great mass of the people stems from the fact that the dead hand of the past lies heavily on the brow of the living. The oppressed peoples who enter into a revolution do so because they are goaded into it by conditions that they feel they can tolerate no longer. But the old myths, traditions and political forms still hold them



Sam Adams

prisoners. They succeed in shaking these off only as the social upheaval runs its course. It is precisely this process of re-education of society, of reconstruction of all social forms, that constitutes the heart of the revolution."

new society, a society that people won't need to escape from."

The above quotation is representative of the material presented in the seven collectively written articles in *The Opium Trail*. The authors present a wide range of information and analysis about the drug problem in America and elsewhere. The pamphlet gives the historical background to the role imperialism has played in promoting drug addiction, including the opium wars that were fought to force China to accept the sale of opium to its people.

The story is brought up to date with an examination of the role of the U.S. government's Central Intelligence Agency in promoting the Southeast Asian drug traffic.

The extent of drug use in the armed forces and the role it plays are taken up in an article entitled "The New Action Army." "The extent of heroin addiction among GIs in Vietnam remains a matter of some controversy," the authors explain. "A house investigation team led by Representatives Murphy (Ill.) and Steele (Conn.) cited official addiction estimates of 10 to 15 per cent. The Nixon administration quickly sought to calm public fears of massive addiction. Dr. Jerome Jaffe, Nixon's chief drug advisor, reported after a hasty tour of Asia that only 4.5 per cent (only!) of 22,000 men who were tested were confirmed heroin users. But subsequent reports have exploded Jaffe's claims. Experts noted that he did not include soldiers who had been arrested, granted amnesty, or those who temporarily stopped taking heroin a few days prior to leaving Vietnam."

*The Opium Trail* also discusses the sources of drug addiction in the ghettos of America, the spread of addiction to the rest of the population, and the problem of drug rehabilitation programs.

It is on this last topic, taken up in the final article, "Kicking It: Methadone, Therapy, or Revolution," that the pamphlet moves off its firm ground. Admittedly, this is probably the most controversial and complex aspect of the drug problem. But this would indicate that any discussion of the matter should be dealt with cautiously and with meticulous care. The basic dynamics of what causes a specific person to turn to drugs and how an addicted person can be helped to turn away from drugs are by no means known. Therefore, proposing politically-oriented drug-free therapy as a simple cure-all as the au-

By April 1776, Sam Adams, at the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, received word from a Massachusetts supporter that "The People are now ahead of you, and the only way to prevent discord and dissension is to strike while the iron is hot . . . . All will be in confusion if independence is not declared immediately."

"This sketch of the course of events," Frankel notes, "shows how foolish it is to try to analyze mass sentiment in a revolutionary period in purely static quantitative terms. Mass sentiment is not a quantity but a process, and a contradictory process at that. This is the lesson of the peculiar situation of Sam Adams, who was for years unable to put forward his full program because of the immaturity of popular feeling, suddenly finding: 'The People are now ahead of you.'"

The seventeen chapters in *Sam Adams and the American Revolution* originally appeared as a series of articles in *The Militant* Nov. 12, 1951 through March 3, 1952. (Other articles by the same author appear in *Marxist Essays in American History*, Merit Publishers, 1966.)

The year 1976 will be the 200th anniversary of the revolution in which Sam Adams was an organizer, propagandist and strategist without equal. We can expect that it will be accompanied by an orgy of patriotic celebrations and commemorations in which any resemblance to the true spirit of 1776 will be purely accidental.

This pamphlet is highly recommended as an antidote to the commercial-myth-makers, as well as the annual Fourth of July demagogic fireworks.

Hopefully, Pathfinder Press will publish more of this type of material, writing the role of program, leadership, and class struggle back into American history.

—JEAN Y. TUSSEY

## How imperialism pushes narcotics

The Opium Trail: Heroin and Imperialism by Pat Haseltine, Jerry Meldon, Charles Knight, Mark Selden, Rod Aya, Henry Norr, and Mara. New England Free Press. 64 pp. 25 cents.

"Heroin is an escape. For black people in crowded tenements, for white kids on the street corner, for GIs forced to fight against the people of Indochina, it's an escape from the oppressive existence this society offers. Heroin makes people forget about the miserable realities of their lives and the rich and powerful who live in luxury off their suffering. When you're spending half your time in a euphoric nod and the rest in a desperate search for your next fix, where will you get the time to fight and help make this a decent society for everyone?"

"Such is the role heroin has always played in the ghetto, where conditions are worst and people are angriest. Now that white kids are starting to fight back too, smack is pouring in and getting them strung out. And in Vietnam, smack may be the only thing preventing full-scale mutiny in an army that's sick of fighting the bosses' war. When it comes right down to it, Washington and Wall Street know they'd have a lot more angry people on their hands if they couldn't rely on smack to cool things out.

"That's not to say that the rich have to run around drugging the rest of us against our will. As long as people are as frustrated and miserable as so many are in this society, they'll look for a way to escape. If it isn't junk it'll be something else. The only long-term solution is to build a

thors of *The Opium Trail* do may be one-sided. They state:

"The only rehabilitation efforts that seem to have much hope of success are those that try to fight addiction by involving the addict in struggling to change the society that produced the plague."

The pamphlet cites a few examples of this type of program, but it does not cite any evidence to show that they have greater success records than non-political programs.

The other major form of drug rehabilitation therapy is methadone maintenance. This method entails the daily use of methadone—an addictive narcotic—at a dosage that makes it impossible to get high from heroin. Usually this will enable most heroin addicts to resume normal functioning.

There are several drawbacks to this form of drug rehabilitation, however. First, methadone maintenance is currently considered as something the ex-addict must continue for life. Studies have shown that the overwhelming majority of persons who have withdrawn from methadone maintenance resume the use of heroin. Second, keeping people on methadone gives the government a certain degree of control over them. Third, many important employers bar methadone patients from employment.

The authors of *The Opium Trail* state, "Methadone maintenance, for all its disadvantages, may be the only humane solution now available for a few hard-core addicts. But it should only be used as a last resort, after all else has failed."

*The Opium Trail* supplies a good deal of information on how capitalism and imperialism benefit from drug addiction. The beneficial effect upon the system is undoubtedly the reason why the government makes only an elaborate pretense at fighting the problem. Rehabilitation facilities are grossly inadequate in relation to the number of people seeking their use.

But worst of all, despite the alarming proportions of the problem (an estimated two or three hundred thousand heroin addicts in the U.S.), the federal and state governments allot miserable pittance to funding research into the causes and cures of drug addiction.

Copies of *The Opium Trail* can be obtained by sending 25¢ to New England Free Press, 791 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. 02118.

—ARTHUR MAGLIN

# Why the U.S. is in Indochina

By DICK ROBERTS

President Nixon's eight-point program for settlement of the war in Indochina directly poses the question, who should rule in Saigon? There are only two alternatives.

Either the regime will continue to be a procapitalist dictatorship dependent on the dollars and military backing of the United States, or it will be ruled by the revolutionary peasants and workers who have been struggling against imperialism in Indochina since World War II.

Both Nixon and his supposed critics in the Democratic Party pretend that this is not the case. They would like to shift public attention away from the question of the end results of a settlement to such burning issues as whether Senator Edmund S. Muskie is "patriotic" in his inconsequential criticisms of Nixon's demands.

A more sophisticated view was presented in the Jan. 29 issue of Britain's influential financial weekly *The Economist*. This magazine is unabashedly for an imperialist victory in Southeast Asia. It stated, "*The Economist* has argued ever since 1966 that a place would have to be found for the National Liberation Front in the political structure of South Vietnam, including a place on the ballot forms, but that at first the front would have to accept that it was a minority, and accept the role of an opposition."

Rejection of Nixon's eight-point demands by Hanoi and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam may have an advantage to the imperialists, *The Economist* contends. "At least it may remind the Americans of the issue involved in Vietnam, and that may make it easier for Mr. Nixon to keep a residual force there—including the American aircraft the South Vietnamese army still cannot do without. This is a war that has been stripped down to its essentials. . . . there can be no such thing as a politically neutral government in Vietnam, 'provisional' or permanent. The issue is being fought between two fundamentally different ideas, and it is impossible for a government to represent neither of them, or both."

Couched in the typical hypocrisy of British liberalism, this editorial nevertheless makes a correct point: Either capitalism or socialist revolution will triumph in Vietnam; there cannot be both.

## U. S. counterrevolution

Washington has been embroiled in the effort of world imperialism to crush the tide of revolution in Southeast Asia since the end of World War II. It helped arm and finance the British, French, and Dutch troops that were sent to quell revolutions in India, Burma, Indochina, Indonesia, and Malaya. It directly intervened with U.S. troops in China, Korea, and the Philippines. A revealing summary of the U.S. position appears in the Pentagon Papers. The following is from a telegram to the U.S. Embassy in Paris, May 13, 1947, from George C. Marshall, then secretary of state and main architect of U.S. cold-war policies:

"We becoming increasingly concerned by slow progress toward settlement Indochina dispute. Key our position is our awareness that in respect developments affecting position Western democratic powers in southern Asia, we essentially in same boat as French, also as British and Dutch. We cannot conceive setbacks to long-range interests France which would not also be setbacks our own. . . .

"In our view, southern Asia in critical phase its history with seven new nations in process achieving or strug-

gling independence or autonomy. These nations include quarter inhabitants world and their future course, owing sheer weight populations, resources they command, and strategic location, will be momentous factor world stability. Following relaxation European controls, internal racial, religious, and national differences could plunge new nations into violent discord, or already apparent anti-Western Pan-Asiatic tendencies could become dominant political force, or Communists could capture control. We consider best safeguard against these eventualities a continued close association between newly autonomous peoples and powers which have long been responsible for their welfare." [*United States—Vietnam Relations, 1945-1967* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), Book 8, pp. 100-102.]

As Washington became the dominant counterrevolutionary military force in Southeast Asia, the top-secret National Security Council resolutions emphatically underlined the strategic importance to world imperialism of this sector of the globe. Resolution NSC 48/1, Dec. 23, 1949, declared:

"Asians share poverty, nationalism, and revolution. . . . Asia is an area of significant potential power—political, economic and military. . . .

"The extension of communist authority in China represents a grievous political defeat for us. . . .

"Asiatic assets of potential value. . . include soybeans, tin, rubber, and South China's tungsten. Petroleum coming from Indonesia including Borneo. . . is one of the most important strategic materials in the region.

"Asia is the source of important raw and semi-processed materials, many of them of strategic value. Moreover, in the past, Asia has been a market for the processed goods of industrialized states, and has also been for the western colonial powers a rich source of revenue from investments and other invisible [!] earnings." (*Ibid.* pp.225-264.)

## Imperialism in Indochina

What does imperialist rule mean for Indochina? Ellen Hammer vividly describes the conversion of Indochina into a one-crop economy and source of Western profits in *The Struggle for Indochina* (1954). Hammer quotes Roland Dorgeles on the "miracle of rubber" from his book *Sur la Route Mandarine* (1925):

"Less than forty years ago, there was not a rubber tree in the colony. . . . Today rubber trees can be counted by the millions on immense plantations. . . . [This was accomplished] despite sickness, despite the flight of coolies, despite years of drought, despite plants which died, despite storms which ruined roads, despite fires which devastated the land, despite everything. . . . and these miserable lands which were not worth a piastre bring fortunes: ships take on rubber at Saigon by the thousands of tons."

As the French overlords converted more and more land to large plantations worked by forced labor, the pattern of land distribution was upset and the gap between rich and poor widened. Hammer writes: "The abundant benefits of usury, combined with the French practice of granting extensive concessions in undeveloped land to French companies and rich Vietnamese, led to the development of many large estates owned by absentee landlords. These estates were worked by tenant farmers and landless agricultural laborers. The *ta dien*, or sharecropper, worked between 60 and

80 percent of the Cochin Chinese farmland. He generally had to give far more than half his annual harvest to his landlord, partly as rent, partly as usurious interest."

These lines go far toward explaining the deep-seated popularity of the peasant revolt that has raged in Indochina since before World War II.

Was Washington's puppet regime in Saigon an "improvement" over earlier French colonialism? Even the *New York Times*, in its summary of the Pentagon Papers, admitted that it was not. "The Diem land-reform program," Fox Butterfield wrote in the *Times*, July 5, 1971, "instead of redistributing land to the poor, ended up taking back what the peasants had been given

ordered the U. S. attack on Cambodia engulfing that country in the escalating war. The dispatch, written from Snoul, Cambodia, stated:

"The French manager of a rubber plantation caught in the fighting here said today that the North Vietnamese had armed most of his 1,600 workers and had taken them along as they fled from U. S. tank and air attacks."

The plantation manager was on his way back to his home in Paris. He told the AP reporter: "They gave guns to the people and now they are fighting along with the Vietcong. . . . We cannot stay. The Americans have been here, and now nobody would ever trust us again."



Indochinese workers and peasants fight to end domination by U.S.-backed landlords.

by the Vietminh and returning it to the landlords. In 1960, 75 per cent of the land was still owned by 15 per cent of the people."

Four Democratic and Republican administrations in the White House have subsequently been taught the difficulties of crushing the Vietnamese peasant revolution. John F. Kennedy sent 16,000 U.S. troops into South Vietnam to attempt to herd the populace of the countryside into barbed-wire concentration camps, called "strategic hamlets."

Lyndon B. Johnson increased the U.S. troop strength 25 times and ordered massive "search and destroy" campaigns accompanied by the heaviest bombing support in the history of warfare. A fifth of the countryside has been demolished. Millions of the farmers have been driven into refugee hovels surrounding the major cities. But President Nixon's recent reescalation of the bombing shows that this revolution has not been crushed. In fact, it has spread into Cambodia and it has deepened in Laos.

On May 7, 1970, a brief AP dispatch, buried on page 31 of the *New York Times*, revealed more about the character of the war in Southeast Asia than many longer articles. This was just one week after President Nixon

It apparently was not noticed in the *Times* editorial office that the words "North Vietnamese" and "Vietcong" were used interchangeably in this article. Today, virtually all of Cambodia outside the capital of Pnompenh is under the control of the revolutionists. The reasons are explained in the AP report: Whoever it is that Nixon is bombing in Cambodia—North Vietnamese troops, the forces of the Cambodian Khmer Rouge, or possibly even members of the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG)—they armed the people.

It never occurred to the generals in Pnompenh to give arms to the Cambodian masses. They were the ones who appealed for outside help. The generals were the ones who cried out to Nixon for bullets and bombs.

In Cambodia, as in Laos and South Vietnam, Washington stands with the largely absentee capitalist landlords, the military cliques, and their armies. On the other side is the armed population.

Nixon hopes to carve out of Indochina a stable base for imperialism, headquartered in Saigon. This is the point of his demands and this is why U.S. bombs continue to rain down on Southeast Asia as Nixon pretends to "seek peace" in Peking.



# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY.** Featured speaker: Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Sat., March 4, 6 p.m.: refreshments. 7 p.m.: dinner. 8:30 p.m.: rally. Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.W. Donation: \$3.50, rally only, \$1; h.s. students: dinner \$2, rally 50c. Aisp. Socialist Workers Campaign '72. For more information, call (404) 523-0610.

## BOSTON

**BANGLADESH AND WORLD REVOLUTION.** Speaker: Malik Miah, Bengali-American, member of the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee. Fri., March 3, 8 p.m., 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

**VOICES OF DISSENT.** The Crisis in Northern Ireland. Guests: Truman Nelson, noted author who has just returned from Ireland; Paul McNulty, Friends of Irish Freedom; and Jim Dunn, Irish Republican Aid Committee. Wed., March 1, 8 p.m., on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sat., March 4, 8 p.m., on WBUR-FM, 90.9.

## BROOKLYN

**ANDREW PULLEY,** Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, speaks at Brooklyn College, Wed., March 1, 12 noon. Whitehead Hall, Room 220. For more information on other meetings, call (212) 596-2849.

## CHICAGO

**FEMINISM AND THE '72 ELECTIONS.** Panel of speakers. Fri., March 3, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 75c. Gourmet dinner served at 6:30. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

## NEW HAVEN, CONN.

**ANDREW PULLEY,** Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, speaks at Yale University, Mon., March 6, 8 p.m. 201 Harkness Hall, College and Wall sts. Sponsors: Afro-American Cultural Center and the Progressive Party of the Yale Political Union. For more information, call (203) 562-1669.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**CAMPAIGN DINNER AND RALLY.** Featured speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, and B.R. Washington, SWP candidate for Congress from the 18th C.D. Fri., March 3, 6 p.m.: refreshments. 7 p.m.: dinner. 8:30 p.m.: rally. 2744 Broadway (at 105 St.). Donation: \$3.50, h.s. students \$2.50. Aisp. Socialist Workers Campaign '72. For more information, call (212) 663-3000.

## OAKLAND-BERKELEY

**BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF NORTHERN IRELAND!** Panel of Irish activists. Fri., March 3, 8 p.m. at 3536 Telegraph Ave, Oakland. Donation: \$1. Aisp. Militant Forum. For more information, call 654-9728.

## PHILADELPHIA

**THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA vs. DEMOCRACY.** A panel discussion with representatives of the political parties kept off the ballot. Fri., March 3, 8 p.m. at 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of 10th and Market sts.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information, call 654-9728.

formation, call WA5-4316. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

## 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, KPFF-FM, 90.7.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**SISTERS IN STRUGGLE:** Seminar on Women's Liberation. Current Trends in the Feminist Movement—a study of the Dialectic of Sex by Shulamith Firestone. Wed., March 1, 8 p.m., Militant Bookstore, 746 9 St. N.W. All women invited. Classes are free.

**REPRESSION IN LATIN AMERICA.** Speakers: Brady Tyson, professor of Latin American Studies at American University, USLA Justice Committee; Philip Wheaton, director of Economic Program for Inter-American Communication in Action—National Council of Churches; Alice Wozniak, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 3, 8 p.m. at 746 9 St. N.W., Second Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Forum.

**CLASSES IN REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.** Every Thursday at 3 p.m. Woodrow Wilson High School, Nebraska and Chesapeake, N.W.

**Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.**

# ...CP

Continued from page 16

was laid out by Hall. "Our aim is to expose and defeat the reactionary candidates [for example, Nixon, Reagan, Wallace—J.B.]—to sharply criticize the liberal candidates [Humphrey, McGovern, Muskie] and to give support to the progressive independent candidates [Chisholm, Abzug, Dellums]. We will expose to defeat, we will criticize to strengthen and we will support to elect." (Emphasis added.)

The Feb. 19 *Daily World* report attempts to make it crystal clear that the real line of action in the voting booth is to support the Democratic Party convention nominee, come what may. "Topping the list of the party's priorities, 'because it's the prong with which we can best influence the total electoral picture,' Hall said, is the defeat of Nixon."

While wanting to orient people in movements for social change toward hustling votes for pro-capitalist candidates of the Democratic Party, the CP leaders also want to build the CP. They want to make their program more palatable, especially to militant youth, in order to make greater gains from the new radicalization. This explains their campaign against "right opportunism."

According to *New York Times* reporter Peter Kihss, who had access to Hall's convention report, "Mr. Hall declared 'right opportunism' was the party's 'main hindrance' decrying this as 'tendencies to submerge the party in the mass movements' and to get 'unduly optimistic' about Democratic party leaders.

"The preconvention 'theses' held that there had been laxness about 'bourgeois ideology,' 'white chauvinism' and 'nationalism,' particularly Jewish, within the party ranks."

Among the steps being taken by the CP to "tighten its structure and discipline," according to Kihss, is the restoration of membership cards and dues stamp books.

The CP told Kihss they have 15,000 members.

A 60-member Central Committee, the "highest leadership body of the Party between conventions" was elected, according to the Feb. 22 *Daily World*, as was a 120-member National Council, whose function was not defined. The *World* reported that "Party Chairman Henry Winston, General Secretary Gus Hall and Organizational Secretary Daniel Rubin were reelected unanimously amid a tumultuous demonstration of Party unity." Angela Davis was elected to the Central Committee.

The *Militant* will analyze in future issues the CP's theses and their perspective for the movements of the oppressed nationalities and the trade unions.

# ...students

Continued from page 17

going on, to involve students in working for the capitalist parties. Many schools offered time off to students who wanted to work in the primaries. Some schools even closed down for a week. This was also done just before the elections in the fall of 1970.

Part of Nixon's motivation for his approval of the 18-year-old vote was the hope that it would encourage participation by students in the electoral politics of the Democratic and Republican parties.

It's not surprising then that the dominant form of political activity on the campuses is currently on behalf of ruling-class candidates.

Along with the lull in radical activity, however, is the fact that larger numbers of students than ever before reject American society as it now exists. They are searching for the fastest and surest way of changing it and are engaged in a serious discussion on the major political questions facing the world today.

# ...docks

Continued from page 24

you're going to work every day?"

The answer is, "Nothing!—as long as everybody has a job." But the situation that prevailed prior to the strike was that steady-men averaged 54 hours per week and others only 30 hours. Moreover, the steady-men tend to become company-minded and anti-union.

# 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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Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.

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

Claremont: YSA, c/o Polly Petersen, Grace Scripps Hall, Scripps College, Claremont, Calif. 91711.

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Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Robert Mattson, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-1988.

**COLORADO:** Boulder: YSA, c/o Barbara Thornton, 1316 Arapahoe Ave., Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 444-1440.

Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1100 Champa St., Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

**CONNECTICUT:** Hartford: YSA, c/o Bob Quigley, 127 Washington St., Apt. 106, Hartford, Conn. 06106.

New Haven: YSA and Socialist Workers '72 Campaign, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

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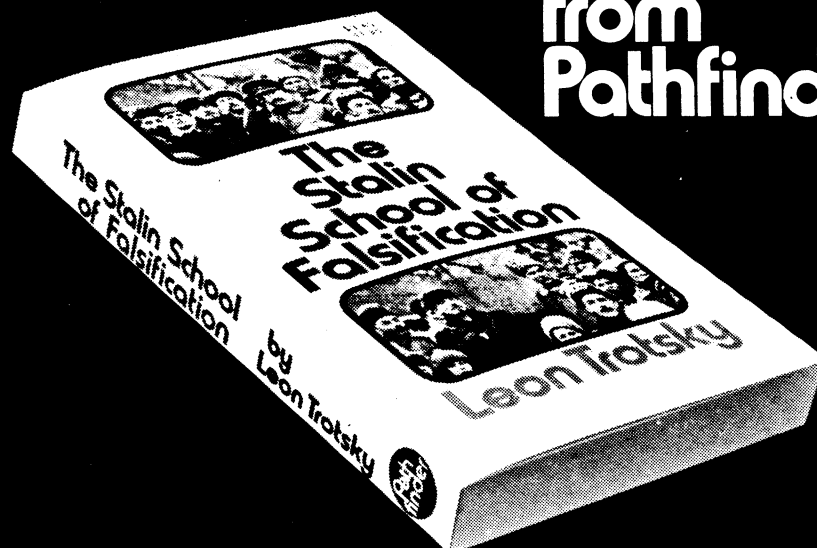
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# THE MILITANT

## Peking talks threaten Indochina revolution

By DICK ROBERTS

FEB. 23—The spectacle that is being played in Peking before international television coverage this week has few historical comparisons. One is reminded of the story of Emperor Nero "fiddling while Rome burned." But in that story only Nero participated in the travesty.

This one involves the top political leadership of two of the three major world powers. It is being dished up at the cost of hundreds of millions of dollars. Possibly most ludicrous of all are the so-called news analysts of the Cronkite variety who have been discoursing for the last three days on the virtues of Peking cooking.

Meanwhile U.S. bombers continue to carry out the heaviest air attacks on Indochina since 1968. As President Nixon clinked glasses with Premier Chou En-lai and toasted Mao Tse-tung in the "Great Hall of the People" [the only workers present were waiters and waitresses] U.S. fighter-bombers carried out air raids in North Vietnam.

President Nixon and the other chief political agents of U.S. imperialism are not in Peking to watch ballets. Their sordid purposes involve nothing less than the future of world revolutionary movements, and above all the future of the revolution in Indochina.

The détente that Nixon is seeking to formalize with the Peking bureaucracy is aimed at stabilizing imperialist rule in Southeast Asia by utilizing Peking's policy of "peaceful coexistence."

Chairman Mao's backing of the West Pakistani regime as its armies attempted to liquidate the Bangladesh liberation movement last summer and Chou En-Lai's letter of congratulations to Ceylonese Premier Sirimavo Bandaranaike as her regime slaughtered thousands of rebelling Ceylonese youth were only the downpayment

for the Peking bureaucrats' rapprochement with Washington. Peking went out of the way to assure that Nixon's trip would not be jeopardized by issuing only the mildest criticism when the president reescalated the heavy bombing of Vietnam in December. Nixon hopes he can persuade Mao and Chou to bring pressure on Hanoi to agree to a settlement that will leave the imperialists a stable foothold in Saigon. This danger is well known to the North Vietnamese leadership.

"The North Vietnamese leaders are watching President Nixon's trip to China even more anxiously than are the Kremlin and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek," *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Louis Winitzer reported from Paris in the Feb. 22 *Monitor*.

"Despite all the public statements of full support that they have been getting recently from Moscow and Peking, the North Vietnamese are worried lest a deal be made behind their back. . . . North Vietnamese and Viet Cong representatives in Paris state as firmly as they did last summer, when Mr. Nixon's trip to Peking was announced, that 'he knocks at the wrong door' and that a solution to the Vietnamese problem can only be found at the Paris peace talks."

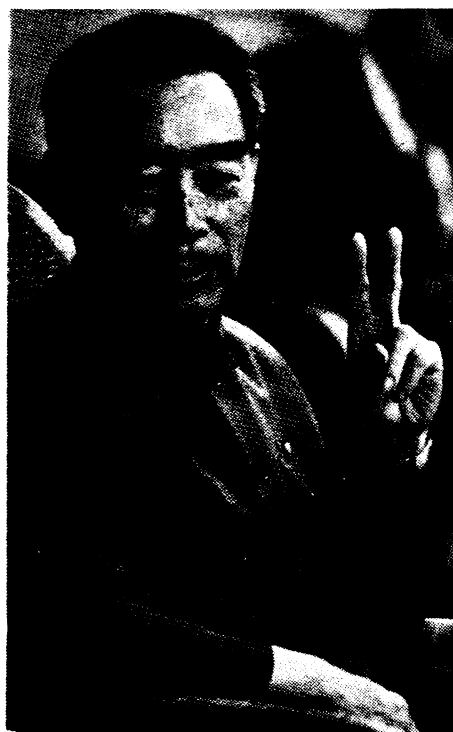
A similar view was presented by Hoang Tung, editor-in-chief of the official Hanoi newspaper *Nhan Dan*, in an interview with British correspondent David Boulton, printed by the *New York Times* on Feb. 20. Nixon "hopes to win by talking in Peking what he has failed to win by fighting on the battlefield," Hoang Tung stated. "He's gone to the wrong place."

The Hanoi official declared that "While Nixon gets his 21-gun salute in Peking, we'll be giving him a different kind of salute in South Vietnam. There will be more than 21

guns. And they won't be firing blanks."

The *Times*' chief correspondent in the presidential entourage, Max Frankel, discreetly underlined Washington's hopes in a front-page article written from Peking Feb. 23. Frankel called attention to the prominent role in the secret talks between Nixon, Kissinger, and Chou played by Chiao Kuan-hua, a deputy foreign minister and the chief Chinese delegate to the United Nations last fall.

This Peking official, Frankel stated, "has been present on every occasion when Mr. Chou pressed the policy of 'coexistence' in international forums—at the Geneva conference on Korea and Indochina in 1954; at the conference of nonaligned nations in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955 and at the Geneva conference on Laos in 1961-62."



Chou En-lai

It was the 1954 Geneva conference that partitioned Vietnam and gave Washington its political-military base in Saigon. Chou played a key role at that time in pressuring the Vietnamese to accept Washington's terms. In the Bandung conference, the Peking bureaucracy proclaimed its open-hearted support for such "neutral" capitalist regimes as that of Sukarno in Indonesia, where the conference took place. Mao's "peaceful coexistence" with Sukarno helped pave the way for the 1965 military coup in that country and the consequent slaughter of hundreds of thousands of members of the pro-Peking Communist Party of Indonesia.

And the 1961-62 Geneva conference on Laos "neutralized" Laos, making room for the CIA's secret army and the counterrevolution that was launched there under Washington's direction.

The main theme of Nixon's dealings in Peking was caught in an ironic description in the Feb. 23 *Wall Street Journal* by correspondent Robert Keatley. "After the full revolutionary ballet company had bounded on stage for the grand finale and the orchestra had struck up the Communist anthem 'Internationale' while a chorus sang in Chinese, 'Arise ye prisoners of starvation,' Richard M. Nixon applauded."

The imperialists have learned to distinguish between the radical phraseology of the Peking regime and its actual counterrevolutionary foreign policy. They hope to exploit the latter in pressing their global interests.

It should be expected that any major decisions made at the Peking summit will be kept as secret as the talks. Neither the warmakers in Washington nor the bureaucrats in Peking have the least interest in letting the world know the real content of their secret negotiations.

## West Coast longshoremen return to work

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 22—West Coast longshoremen and ship clerks are back to work after 135 days on strike. They voted seven-to-three to accept the proposed new contract, which will run until July 1, 1973. Workers are not very happy with the new contract, however. They understand that even the 72 cents per hour wage increase must pass the Pay Board, and therefore is not assured.

Before the vote, union meetings to discuss the contract were called in all 24 West Coast ports. Debate was heated. Among other things, it was pointed out that this contract is essentially the same as the one that was voted down 14-to-1 on Dec. 17, 1971, when Taft-Hartley procedures forced a vote on the "employer's last offer."

In several of the major ports, especially in San Francisco and Wilmington, Calif., those who were for continuing the strike in defiance of the government appeared to have the majority. Yet all ports voted "yes," totaling 71 percent in favor of the contract.

The deciding factor in the vote was the threat of government strikebreaking. The Bridges leadership did not hesitate to use this threat to force a "yes" vote.

In vain did local leaders (and even the three members of the Coast Ne-

gotiating Committee who gave minority reports) denounce the contract and call for a mobilization of labor in order to resist government intervention. The ranks just could not see how such a fight could be won with the top leadership against it. Nor did they see an alternate leadership sufficiently organized to push the old Bridges leadership aside. So they went back to work.

Other factors influenced the vote. The International Longshoremen's Association on the East Coast had extended its contract for 60 days past the Feb. 14 deadline of the Taft-Hartley injunction. This meant the possibility of tying up both coasts was slim. Also, the efforts of Local 10 (San Francisco) to call a conference of labor in support of the strike had been sabotaged.

The 135-day walkout resolved neither of the two basic issues of the strike: the guaranteed annual wage and the hiring hall (or "steady-man") question. The guaranteed-wage settlement is full of gimmicks that favor the employers and make it virtually meaningless for the workers:

1) To draw the guaranteed wage a longshoreman must have worked 80 percent of the average hours of work in his port prior to the week he falls below 36 hours and becomes eligible for the guarantee. However,

any hours over 36 hours worked in any week are counted against the subsequent 26 weeks. Thus a heavy load of work in a port one week would reduce the number of guaranteed hours' pay in a later week when a longshoreman might, for example, work only 10 hours.

2) Any union-organized work stoppage in any port would cancel the guarantee for the entire coast. This is a heavy blow at the militancy that in some ports has maintained a measure of union job-control.

Much has been made of a \$1 per ton tax on containers, which was to compensate the union for loss of work due to use of containers. The containers are large metal boxes that hold up to 50 tons of cargo. They are transported intact from point of origin to destination, eliminating interim handling of cargo. One million containers are expected in international trade by 1975. This process eliminates millions of jobs in the transportation industry.

This container tax was to go into the union treasury. In the contract, however, it is now agreed that the tax will go to help the shipowners' Pacific Maritime Association pay the guaranteed wage. The tax money will in fact be used first. The PMA then will supplement the fund up to \$100,000 weekly. This amounts to 20,000

hours of pay at \$5 an hour, or the top 36-hour guarantee to 555 workers in any one week. There are 13,000 longshoremen and ship clerks on the West Coast.

Further, the fund guarantees only against loss of work due to "technological unemployment," not to loss of work due to "economic decline."

Section 9.43 of the contract still states: "Employers shall be entitled to employ steady, skilled mechanical or powered equipment operators without limit as to numbers or length of time in steady employment." Such "steady-men" are guaranteed 173 hours pay per month.

This section dates from 1966. It has served to divide the union and undermine the ILWU's traditional practice of equalizing earnings through rotation of all work through the union-controlled hiring hall. All major locals wanted section 9.43 eliminated from the contract.

For the PMA, steady-men are the key to undermining the union's control of the job. Bridges has consistently sided with the PMA on this question, and in practice has built himself a base on the most backward elements in the union.

"Why should a steady-man be considered some sort of fink?" he asks. "What's wrong with knowing where

*Continued on page 22*