

THE MILITANT

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

Angela Davis trial begins

By CHRIS HILDEBRAND
and MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN JOSE, Calif., Feb. 28—The trial of Angela Davis for murder, kidnap, and conspiracy began here today. It is expected to take four to six weeks to complete the critical job of picking a jury from a list of 150 registered voters from Santa Clara County. The list reportedly includes only three Chicanos and three Blacks.

Twelve potential jurors were questioned today by attorneys for the defense and the prosecution about the effects pretrial publicity might have had in prejudicing them against Angela Davis. When each of the 12 replied affirmatively to questions by the defense on whether they were aware that Angela Davis had been fired in 1970 from the UCLA faculty because of her membership in the Communist Party, chief prosecutor Albert Harris protested, "The Communist Party is not on trial."

Two witnesses said that they thought Davis



was fired because "she provoked people on campus," and "she had to do with riots."

Most of Davis' supporters who were in the courtroom maintained an attitude of optimism toward the trial proceedings because of their success on Feb. 23 in winning bail for Davis after sixteen months of punitive imprisonment. This victory can to a large degree be credited to the demonstrations around the world supporting Angela Davis. Judge Richard E. Arnason, in granting \$102,500 bail, stated that he was "especially impressed" by the hundreds of letters and telegrams demanding bail that he had received in the last week.

Both Arnason and federal Judge William Sweigert had previously denied bail because of the California law which states that defendants charged with a capital crime (a crime warranting the death penalty) may be refused bail if the court believes that "proof is evident or the presumption of guilt is great."

This law, which defense lawyers contended violates the provisions of the U.S. Constitution granting equal protection and prohibiting cruel and unusual punishment, was indirectly invalidated by the Feb. 18 decision of the State Supreme Court abolishing the death penalty in California.

The prolonged denial of bail was not a "purely legal matter," as Judge Arnason contended, but a political one. It served as a threat of imprisonment without trial for political activists. However, Angela Davis' incarceration was beginning to prove more embarrassing than helpful to the state.

The State Supreme Court decision provided a timely opportunity for Arnason to change his ruling without losing face. Nevertheless, during the coming trial jurors may remember that by his bail denial Arnason implied that "presumption of guilt was great" for Angela Davis, despite the purely circumstantial evidence against her. Most of the "incriminating" material presented to the grand jury

concerned her political associations with George and Jonathan Jackson, and her activities in defense of the Soledad Brothers.

Judge Arnason placed several heavy restrictions on Angela Davis as conditions for bail. Her travel is restricted to the San Francisco Bay area, which does not allow her to inspect evidence or interview witnesses in Los Angeles and other locations. She may not speak at public meetings, nor at the present time grant interviews to the press. She must live with a person designated by the court and report to the court once a week during the trial proceedings.

Angela Davis statement

The following statement was made by Angela Davis at a news conference shortly after she was released from prison on bail Feb. 23.

If it were possible at this very moment, I would like to be meeting with all of the beautiful people who have struggled so hard and persistently and intensively for my freedom. I'd like to meet with them personally and tell them how grateful I am for all the sacrifices they have made over these long, long months, in order for me to be released on bail. Unfortunately, because of a few restrictions in the bail order I can't do that, so I'm going to have to reach all the struggling sisters and brother this way.

See page 21 for a chronology of events in the Angela Davis case since it began in August 1970.

This, of course, has been a true victory for people struggling everywhere. It's a victory in the sense that the abolition of capital punishment is very closely related to all the struggles that were conducted around the prisons over the last year. It is related to the murder of George Jackson, the massacre at Attica.

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1,200 at student antiwar conference

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in editorials.

N.Y. ABORTION LAW VICTORY: A state appeals court voted 4 to 1 on Feb. 25 to reject a challenge to the constitutionality of the New York abortion law. The challenge had been brought by Fordham University law professor Robert M. Byrn, who had been appointed special guardian of all unborn fetuses from abortions to be performed in New York City hospitals. Byrn based his case on the Fourteenth Amendment, which holds that no state shall "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

According to the Feb. 26 *New York Times*, Judge Marcus G. Christ's decision said "that the unborn child was not a 'legal' person."

"While recognizing the opposition to abortion on both religious and philosophic grounds," the *Times* continued, "the court noted that a substantial number of people regard the law as a 'decisive but incomplete victory for enlightenment over an oppressive law which violated a woman's constitutional right to control her own body and intruded into the intimate affairs of the family, marriage and sex without a compelling state interest.'"

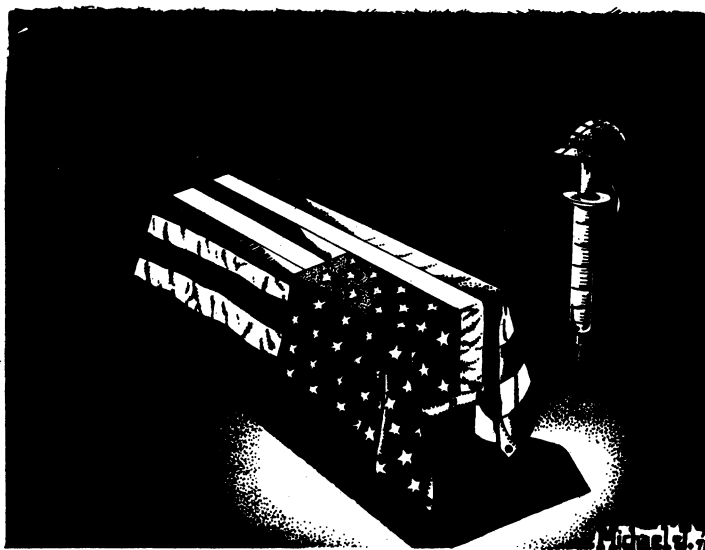
Byrn plans to appeal.

CORKY GONZALES RELEASED: Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, leader of the Denver Crusade for Justice, was freed from jail in Los Angeles Feb. 23 after serving 28 days of a 40-day sentence on a frame-up charge of illegal possession of a weapon. He was given the 12 days off for good behavior.

Gonzales was arrested after Los Angeles police had attacked the Aug. 29, 1970, Chicano Moratorium demonstration against the Vietnam war. The trumped-up weapons charge was based on a gun being found in a truck he was driving. The gun did not belong to him and was not in his possession.

HEROIN KILLS: Facts revealing the magnitude of the drug problem continue to appear. The Feb. 29 *New York Post* reports, "The addict-casualty lists for New York City alone have already exceeded the body counts of Vietnam. Between January, 1961, and March, 1970, there were 3,565 battlefield deaths of soldiers and Marines from New York State. During the same period in New York City alone, heroin killed 4,254 addicts. More than 100 New Yorkers perished as a result of heroin poisoning last year. And the casualty lists didn't stop there. Nearly 500 babies were born addicted. Half the prisoners in our jails were junkies. Addicts accounted for 20,000 felonies—muggings, burglaries, rapes, murders."

no deposit--no return



In an article in the Jan. 2 *Houston Post* dealing with heroin use by GIs in Vietnam, John T. Wheeler predicted that "deaths from confirmed and clinically diagnosed drug abuse may soon overtake military casualties."

PRISONERS UNION REJECTED: New York State Correction Commissioner Russell G. Oswald has rejected the demand by inmates at Green Haven prison to bargain collectively through an inmate's union. The reason: prisoners whose labor power is exploited by the state for pennies an hour are not really state employees and thus not eligible for coverage under the Taylor Law. The prisoners had hoped to affiliate with District 65, Distributive Workers of America (see In Brief Jan. 14). District 65 is appealing the decision through the Public Employment Relations Board, and if necessary, the courts.

PROTEST PRISON MAIL RESTRICTIONS: Fifteen members of the California legislature have publicly protested the reintroduction of restrictive mail regulations that went into effect Feb. 1 at Folsom prison and are soon to be applied at San Quentin. The new regulations limit pris-

oners to 10 correspondents, all of whom have to be approved by the Department of Corrections. Last year the California prison system adopted an open-correspondence policy that permitted inmates to correspond with anyone.

The United Prisoners Union, a California-based organization of inmates and parolees, is circulating petitions directed to state officials protesting the restrictive regulations. They are urging that letters and post cards demanding that the restrictions be lifted be sent to Governor Ronald Reagan and to Raymond Procnier of the Department of Corrections in Sacramento.

Copies of the petition may be obtained from the United Prisoners Union, Local 100, 4718 Melrose Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Telephone: (213) 664-8728. Signed petitions should be returned to the UPU to be forwarded to the proper officials.

AUSTIN GAY RIGHTS STRUGGLE: The right of students to control student facilities has been posed by the Gay Liberation Front's struggle for official recognition at the University of Texas.

The UT student government agreed to sponsor a benefit dance for the Gay Liberation Legal Defense Fund. It then secured the agreement of the majority of the Student Union Board to hold it in the Union despite administration opposition. The administration attempted to bar gay activists from the Union ballroom. A rally of several hundred was held, and an emergency meeting of the Union Board reaffirmed the students' right to use student facilities. Gay activists occupied the ballroom but were evicted by campus police, who made five arrests. A large and successful dance was then held outside the Union.

According to *Militant* correspondent Eric Sell, plans are being made to challenge the administration's actions and to mobilize student support for the right of students to control student facilities and the right of GLF to be a recognized campus group.

TIME MAGAZINE SEES INTEREST IN TROTSKY: *Time* reviewed 1905 by Leon Trotsky, recently published by Random House, in its March 6 issue. The review stated, "interest in Trotsky has persisted into the new revolutionary age. His history of the Russian Revolution is a Marxist classic. *My Life*, his tendentious autobiography, is a perennial paperback. Since January, at least four new books have been published about him."

The books about Trotsky singled out are *Trotsky: The Great Debate Renewed* (Dutton) and Peter Weiss' play, *Trotsky in Exile* (Atheneum). "New York's Pathfinder Press," the *Time* review reports, "continues its reprinting of Trotsky's massive body of political journalism with a volume, covering 1934-35."

Not mentioned by *Time* are the recent reprinting by Pathfinder of *The Stalin School of Falsification* and *The Third International After Lenin*. For a complete listing of Pathfinder's books and pamphlets by and about Trotsky, write for a free 1972 catalog to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

EVELYN REED GETS AROUND: Problems of Women's Liberation by Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed is in its fifth edition in English (Pathfinder Press) and is about to be published in its sixth language. An Argentine publisher is bringing out a Spanish edition. The other languages in which it appears are Dutch, Japanese, French, and Bengali.

CP, OTHERS JOIN SWP IN BALLOT SUIT: The Socialist Workers Party, joined by the Communist Party, the People's Party, the Socialist Labor Party, and the Consumers Party, filed suit Feb. 29 in Pennsylvania against restrictive election-law requirements. The suit seeks to invalidate the new requirement that candidates for statewide office must obtain the signatures of 36,000 registered voters within a three-week period. This is four times the number of signatures previously required. The suit was filed in Harrisburg federal district court by the American Civil Liberties Union. It seeks to place the parties on the ballot by court order. A public defense effort has been initiated by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL).

LATEST IN DOUG ALLEN CASE: The ACLU has filed a suit in behalf of Doug Allen, the philosophy professor at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale who was fired because of his antiwar views. The American Association of University Professors, and the Concerned Asian Scholars are making an investigation to determine whether SIU should be censured.

The last Board of Trustees meeting voted 4 to 1 not to reconsider the Allen case. Two board members who had previously voted for tenure for Allen and a third who had not taken a stand on the case were absent.

Broad student support for Allen's right to teach continues. In less than two weeks, 5,000 signatures were gathered on petitions in his behalf.

—JOEL BRITTON

New subs sold with renewals

By SHARON CABANISS

FEB. 28—The drive to sell one-year *Militant* subscriptions to readers who bought introductory subscriptions last fall brought in 80 subscriptions last week for a total of 671 renewals so far. Renewal teams visiting new readers in campus dormitories also sold 210 introductory subscriptions and 15 one-year subs to students who have never subscribed before. In addition, endorsers of the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket have been obtained.

Philadelphia led the way last week with 21 renewals and 19 new subscriptions.

Steve Chase, the Upper West Side (Manhattan) SWP organizer, reported good results from visiting *Militant* subscribers and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley at Columbia University. The visits were made in conjunction with building a meeting for Andrew Pulley, the SWP vice-presidential candidate. Chase found that even if a subscriber is not in, a roommate or neighbor who has seen *The Militant*, and who would like to subscribe, is often around.

Three hundred ninety-three *Militants* were sold at the National Student Antiwar Conference in New York City this past weekend. Subscriptions sold well, too, with 26 people buying introductory subs and six readers renewing their subscriptions. The bulk of these subs were sold by *Militant* supporters from the Upper West Side in New York. They stressed that *The Militant* is featuring comprehensive

coverage of the build-up to the April 22 antiwar demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles as well as coverage of international solidarity actions.

Sales of the March issue of the *Inter-*



Photo by Ellen Lemisch

national Socialist Review, featuring "Nixon's China Policy: New Tactics for Counterrevolution in Asia" by Dick Roberts, also went well, with 98 copies sold. Antiwar activists were eager to read a socialist explanation of Nixon's China trip. Copies can be ordered by sending 50 cents to *ISR*,

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Single-copy sales were brisk last week as the weather began to improve in some parts of the country. In Minneapolis, 35 *Militants* were sold at a Yevtushenko poetry reading. And in Washington, D.C., *Militants* have been sold regularly at the post office, and plans have been made to sell to other government workers during their lunch breaks and after work.

Houston salespeople report selling at least 20 copies a week at the local Maxwell House coffee plant, plus another 5-10 copies at the longshoremen's pay line.

Henry Scheer, from the Southwest national campaign team reports, "While we were canvassing the student housing in Isla Vista (at the University of California at Santa Barbara), we found Black Muslims covering the same territory. When asked if they had ever seen *The Militant*, one commented, 'We see *The Militant* everywhere we go. It was all over Berkeley, and we even saw it in Bakerville.'"

The editor of a prison newspaper in South Walpole, Mass., writes, "Just yesterday I received from a friend a copy of your publication *The Militant*, and I was very impressed and heartened with what I read. I have already passed around the one copy I had to a number of friends, and a discussion group has already formed over some of the issues raised"

Boston students defend control of funds

By JOE AUCIELLO

BOSTON, Feb. 28—Students at Boston University voted overwhelmingly last week for mandatory collection of student government fees in a campus-wide referendum. Despite the fact that some colleges at BU did not have voting tables set up all week as was required, 4,200 ballots were cast, with 77 percent voting for mandatory fee-collection.

The controversy centered around the \$11 Student Union fee—the only fund on campus not controlled by the administration. This fee gives the union a \$140,000 budget.

Originally the administration had asked for the referendum, but then reversed its decision and declared that the fees were to be voluntary. This meant that each student would decide whether to pay the fee when presented with the tuition bill.

This attempt to prevent the referendum from occurring failed, however, when Student Union President Jim Shrybman and Vice-president John Zirinsky insisted that the decision be made by students as a whole.

Following a meeting of more than 100 students, a Committee to Defend the Student Union was organized. The Committee launched an extensive campaign of petitioning, leafleting, and dorm meetings to explain the issues in the dispute. The CDSU repeatedly emphasized that what was at stake was the question of control—that decisions on student fees should be made by the student body, not the administration.

A brochure distributed by the CDSU asked: "Do you think it was merely a coincidence that he [BU president John Silber] demanded that the Student Union fee be voluntary while all the others remain as they are? Of course not! He has control over all the other fees. . . . The Student Union is beyond his jurisdiction. He seemingly seeks to gain control over the Student Union or dismantle it."

What had appeared as "seemingly" later became very apparent when the administration announced (the same week the voting took place) that a board of faculty, students, and administration would be created to take over the funding of campus programs and organizations presently being funded by the Student Union.

Such a move would threaten several of the most active campus groups. The BU Abortion Action Coalition, for example, was given \$3,000 by the Student Union for the second national conference of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, which was held at BU Feb. 11-13. What would they have received from President John Silber, who considers liberalized abortion laws an example of a deteriorating society?

The CDSU called a news conference for Feb. 29 to publicly announce the results of the referendum.

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Free book offer

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- () 1. **BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY** by Malcolm X.
- () 2. **PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION** by Evelyn Reed.
- () 3. **TWO PAMPHLETS ON THE LABOR MOVEMENT:** *The Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class* by Ernest Mandel and George Novack; and *Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions*.
- () 4. **GIs SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE WAR** by Fred Halstead.
- () 5. **INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY** by Ernest Mandel.

- () 6. **THREE PAMPHLETS ON THE CHICANO STRUGGLE:** *Chicano Liberation and Revolutionary Youth*; *La Raza Unida Party in Texas*; and *La Raza! Why a Chicano Party? Why Chicano Studies?*
- () 7. **THEIR MORALS AND OURS** by Leon Trotsky, George Novack and John Dewey.

() Enclosed is \$6 for a one-year subscription.

() Enclosed is \$3 for a six-month subscription.

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Moscow-CP hypocrites attack Peking

By TONY THOMAS

One of the sharpest reactions to President Nixon's trip to China has come from the Communist Party USA. At a public rally held Feb. 19 in conjunction with the CP's national convention, Gus Hall, the party's general secretary and presidential candidate, denounced China's maneuvers with Nixon as "a danger to world peace."

The March 1 issue of the *Guardian*, a radical weekly published in New York, quotes Hall as saying the Chinese leaders "have won the imperialist door prize for gutter-like anti-Sovietism," have been "toadying and grov-

However, for more than a decade a serious rift has existed between the Kremlin leaders and the Chinese Maoists. This split is so sharp that it has resulted in clashes between Chinese and Soviet troops on the borders of the Soviet Union and China in Central Asia. The CPUSA's attacks on the Chinese leaders flow from adherence to Moscow in this split, not from a revolutionary alternative to Mao's maneuvers.

One of the chief causes of the dispute is the fact that a bureaucratic caste rules both states.

Both China and the Soviet Union are governed by national-minded bu-

perialists. Soviet troops have thrice attacked East European workers states (East Berlin in 1953, Hungary in 1956, and Czechoslovakia in 1968) when the masses threatened to establish workers democracies. While cynically attacking the Chinese government for the Nixon trip, the American Communist Party refuses to criticize—and in fact hails—Moscow for its counterrevolutionary policies of "peaceful coexistence" and "socialism in one country."

These policies account for the Kremlin's willingness to sacrifice assistance and even fundamental working-class solidarity with China in order to make deals with imperialist governments. By following this course the Soviet bureaucrats bear major responsibility for the Sino-Soviet split.

An important issue over which the Soviets forced the split was the question of Chinese nuclear arms. In 1957—before China had nuclear weapons—the Soviet Union agreed to aid the development of Chinese atomic and hydrogen bombs. However, in 1959, both the Soviet and U.S. leaders began to call for a "nuclear-free Far East" as part of their own disarmament program. This would ensure a U.S.-Soviet nuclear monopoly in Asia and deny China nuclear weapons. As part of this deal with U.S. imperialism Moscow repudiated its agreement to help China's nuclear program. The Kremlin's arrogant policy of trying to maintain U.S. and Soviet nuclear hegemony through phony disarmament programs is still reflected in the American CP's attacks on China.

ber of MIG jet fighters sent to India during the 1962 war.

Another issue was that the Soviet Union gave more extensive military and economic assistance to capitalist countries like India than to China. This was aggravated by the fact that all Soviet technicians and aid were withdrawn from China in July 1960, causing major damage to the Chinese economy.

The CP's criticism of the Chinese flows from the spirit of this inter-bureaucratic split, not from revolutionary internationalism. Gus Hall's attempts to claim that Mao is making deals against the Soviet Union with Nixon, or that Mao is placing undue confidence in American imperialism, fall flat on their face in light of the Soviet Union's record in selling out revolution after revolution, including the deals with imperialism and capitalism it has made against the Chinese workers state.

The fact is that while Nixon's trip to China is the first meeting between top-level U.S. and Chinese officials since 1949, every U.S. president since Roosevelt has met and negotiated with top leaders of the Soviet government, and more often than not, counter-revolutionary deals were the result.

In fact, U.S.-Soviet relations are seen by many capitalist commentators as being at an all-time high. The Nov. 28, 1971, *New York Times* carried an article entitled "What Ever Happened To the 'Bad Guys'?" in which Bernard Gwertzman stated: "The White House has decided that the Kremlin is willing to do business with the United States on a range of issues, and that President Nixon's goals of an 'era of negotiations' is upon us."

The CP's policies don't provide an alternative to the danger posed by China's new détente with U.S. imperialism, especially the dangers posed to the Indochinese revolution. As early as 1965, the Soviet Union attempted to aid U.S. imperialism in silencing that revolution: "... the U.S. Government expressed the hope in January [1965] that the U.S.S.R. would use its influence to persuade the North Vietnamese Government to stop supporting and arming the Viet Cong and to end attacks on South Vietnamese cities. These demands ... were passed on to North Vietnam by the Soviet Government." (Keesing's Research Report: *The Sino Soviet Dispute*, Scribners, New York; 1969, page 78.) And it is important to remember that both China and the USSR sat down with the imperialists at Geneva in 1954 to give away much of the Vietnam's military victory.

The policies of the Moscow bureaucrats and the Communist Party USA are based on collaboration with imperialism and are against the interests of the international revolution. Only by rejecting the Stalinist policies of both Moscow and Peking can those who support the socialized property relations in China and the USSR and the extension of the world revolution develop a revolutionary alternative to Gus Hall, Mao, and Brezhnev.



Stalin and German foreign minister Ribbentrop shake hands after signing Stalin-Hitler pact in 1939.

eling" to U.S. imperialism, and have been "embracing the imperialist powers."

Articles expressing a similar line have filled the *Daily World*—a newspaper expressing the views of the Communist Party—since the Nixon trip to China was announced. The CP attacked China for its refusal to support the Indian capitalists during the Indo-Pakistani war, its friendly relations with the Nimeiry regime in Sudan, and its determination to continue developing Chinese nuclear armament.

These sharp criticisms of China's Maoist leadership coming from the CPUSA are the epitome of hypocrisy. What about Nixon's scheduled trip to the Soviet Union in May? What about the long years of "peaceful coexistence" policies that the USSR has carried out? There is no word of criticism coming from the CP about Moscow's many years of maneuvers with U.S. imperialism.

The Communist Party has completely supported the policies of the Soviet government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union since a reformist bureaucratic caste gained control of both in the late 1920s. Until the late 1950s the Communist Party of China also took its cue from Moscow, including support to the 1956 invasion of Hungary.

reaucracies that are determined to place their own short-range interests above those of the international revolution. They follow the theory of "socialism in one country" developed by Stalin in the 1920s, which counterposes the attempt to build socialism in their own countries to extending the world revolution. This false notion fails to recognize that the best way to deepen and defend the revolutions in China and the USSR is for more countries to abolish capitalism.

The Soviet bureaucracy—completely supported by Gus Hall and other leaders of the CPUSA—has led many revolutions to defeat during the last 40 years by adhering to this theory. In Spain in the 1930s, rather than supporting the developing socialist revolution the Kremlin propped up the capitalist republican government in an attempt to forge an alliance with the Western imperialists.

In 1939 Stalin signed an alliance with Nazi Germany and then refused to expose Hitler's crimes until "peaceful coexistence" with Germany was ended by the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941.

After World War II, when armed resistance forces led by pro-Soviet Communists controlled Italy and France, the Soviet Union persuaded them to hand power over to the im-

Gross hypocrisy

Erik Bert, writing in the Jan. 5, 1971, *Daily World*, states that China's refusal to halt the development of their nuclear program is "mocking the millions who ... have participated in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war." Here the CP's hypocrisy is expressed in its most gross form. By Bert's logic the USSR should unilaterally abandon its nuclear arsenal. Does he propose this? Of course not. But if Bert had a truly revolutionary perspective and were genuinely concerned about preventing nuclear war, he would welcome the development of Chinese nuclear weapons as a necessity for the defense of China against imperialist attack, in spite of his differences with China's government.

Another bone of contention between Moscow and Peking was Moscow's willingness to make deals with the Indian capitalists against the Chinese workers state. A long-standing border dispute between India and China flared into a number of border skirmishes in 1959 and 1960. By 1962 this developed into a full-scale war between India and China.

While Moscow claimed it was neutral in the conflict, its real policy was support to the Indian capitalists. The Soviet bureaucrats provided extensive military and economic aid to India during this period, including a num-

Chilean CP calls for turn to right

From *Intercontinental Press*

A confidential report by the Chilean Communist party Political Bureau analyzing the reasons for the Unidad Popular [Popular Unity] defeat in the January 16 by-elections was published February 4 in the influential Santiago weekly *El Mercurio*. The CP pundits ascribe the setback to "sectarian extremism" on the part of members of the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario—Movement of the Revolutionary Left]. The MIR, it seems, alienated "middle sectors" of the population who would otherwise have voted for the UP candidates.

The solution, according to the CP, is to attract "progressive" sections of

the Christian Democrats, small farmers, and businessmen "who have no common interest with the large landowners and monopolists." Toward this end, the document proposed a dialogue with the Christian Democrats "with a view to searching for points of agreement."

Alfredo Lorca, a Christian Democratic senator, described the report as a "critical study, serious and responsible."

The MIR has blamed the CP for the UP's decline in popular support, charging that the CP had discouraged the "revolutionary mobilization of the masses."

On February 9 the Unidad Popular issued an official statement on the election results that virtually endorsed the CP analysis. The document, which presented the conclusions of a secret meeting between Allende and the leaders of UP's component parties, called for the participation of the Christian Democrats and "independents" in decision making at the factory and local level.

"We call upon the conscience of all people of the left to understand that this is not the moment to raise up false alternatives against the political leadership that the working class has entrusted to Popular Unity," the document said.

1,200 at nat'l student antiwar conference plan April actions

By DAVE FRANKEL

NEW YORK—Activists in the student antiwar movement will be throwing their efforts this spring into building massive demonstrations on April 22 in New York and Los Angeles. This was the decision reached by more than 1,200 young people who registered for the national student antiwar conference held at Washington Irving High School in New York City, Feb. 25-27. The conference was hosted by the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC).

Conference participants came from 30 states and Canada. There were students present from 124 high schools and 154 colleges. One hundred thirty organizations, in addition to local SMCs, were represented. These included, among others, Students for Lindsay, Youth for McCarthy, the Young Socialist Alliance, the National Student Lobby, the National Student Association, and the Workers League.

The April 22 resolution passed by the conference was sponsored by Fred Lovgren of the national SMC staff; Debbie Bustin, the outgoing national coordinator of the SMC; Laura Miller, a national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley; Lanny Davis, the national youth coordinator for the Muskie campaign; and Vicki Raphael and John Levine, New York State campus coordinators for the McGovern campaign.

Materials publicizing the April 22 antiwar demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles are now available from the National Peace Action Coalition. In addition to a mass-distribution leaflet, a sticker, a button, and a poster are out. Also in print are three NPAC fact sheets. These are folded four-page newspaper-style leaflets. Available are: "Is the War Winding Down?" "Out Now vs. Nixon's 8-point 'Peace' Plan," and "Why Mass Action?"

Posters are 30c each, 20c/10-100, 10c/over 100. April 22 Out Now buttons are 30c each, 20c/10-100, 15c/over 100, 10c/over 1,000. April 22 stickers are \$1/500. NPAC fact sheets are 15c each, 10c/50 or more.

Write to NPAC at 150 Fifth Avenue, Room 911, New York, N.Y. 10011.

The attendance of official representatives of youth support organizations for various Democratic Party presidential hopefuls reflected the desire of many capitalist politicians to identify their campaigns with the antiwar sentiment of American youth. It also showed a willingness among many of their young supporters to participate in and help plan mass actions during the election period. This will help to build a broader, more effective coalition for the April 22 demonstrations, which are being organized around the demand of immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. troops and war matériel from Indochina.

This favorable development met with sharp factional opposition from a few small sectarian groups at the conference. During a workshop on labor and the war, a motion to exclude a young supporter of Senator George McGovern who wanted to speak was put forward by the National Caucus of Labor Committees. The motion passed. The YSA, together with others in the workshop who supported the principle of non-exclusion in the anti-

war movement, walked out of the workshop in protest of this action. This question subsequently came to the floor of the conference plenary session on Saturday evening when a motion was made by the sectarian Spartacist League "to exclude all liberal politicians and their representatives from participation in the conference."

This exclusionary motion was answered by Andy Tulloch, New York coordinator of Students and Youth for McGovern; and Geoff Mirelowitz of the YSA. Mirelowitz explained that the SMC is not about to initiate a political test for people who want to join in action against the war. The con-



Photo by Ellen Lemisch

Discussion on action proposals at national antiwar conference.

ference voted overwhelmingly to reaffirm the policy of nonexclusion, with fewer than 100 people voting for the exclusionary motion.

The conference began Friday night with a national teach-in on Indochina, attended by about 500 people. The high point of the teach-in was the speech by Jerry Gordon, co-coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition. Gordon gave a rousing defense of the perspective for mass action against the war and received a standing ovation. Other speakers included Richard X Clark, a leader of the Attica prison rebellion; Professors Noam Chomsky and Arthur Galston; Fred Branfman of Project Air War; Valerie Kushner, the wife of a five-year POW; Ngo Vinh Long, a South Vietnamese student; and Fred Lovgren of the SMC. Greetings from the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam were also read.

After deciding on the organization of the convention on Saturday morning, the conference participants voted to hold two sets of workshops and an evening plenary on Saturday, followed by an all-day plenary session on Sunday.

By Saturday night the nine action proposals originally submitted had been narrowed down to three. These were the April 22 proposal; a proposal from the Workers League and their youth group, the Young Socialists; and one from the National Caucus of Labor Committees. The Workers League proposal called upon the SMC to adopt a general program against unemployment, budget cuts, and the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies; and for a labor party. The Labor Committee proposal called for the SMC to adopt a broad program of social reform.

Speakers for the April 22 proposal stressed the achievements of the antiwar movement and the necessity of keeping pressure on the government in order to force it to end the war.

Salm Kolis of the Los Angeles SMC pointed out that the April 22 demonstration would be the first national antiwar action to be held in Los Angeles since the Chicano Moratorium in August 1970 and that activists on

the West Coast felt that it would greatly strengthen the antiwar movement in that area. The final vote was approximately 130 for the Workers League proposal, 70 for that of the Labor Committee, and more than 800 for the April 22 proposal.

Other proposals adopted included a statement opposing the exclusion of the Front Solidarité Indochine (Indochina Solidarity Front) from the world peace conference in Versailles. The demand for total amnesty for all victims of the U.S. war in Indochina—including deserters, draft resisters, and antiwar servicemen who have been victimized for their oppo-

sition to the war—was adopted. A proposal from the high school workshop for the organization of high school speak-outs against the war on April 19 was also approved.

The conference decided to join with the International Student Movement for the United Nations, the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, Youth for Lindsay, and the Youth Coalition for Muskie in organizing Choice '72. Choice '72 is a nonpartisan student presidential preference poll and a referendum on key issues in 1972, including the issue of the war. It will be held in colleges and high schools this spring. The SMC supports this poll as an opportunity to mobilize the greatest possible vote for immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Indochina, and in so doing to help publicize the April 22 actions.

A steering committee of one representative from each chapter of the SMC, and one representative of each national organization and each campus organization working with the SMC was set up to function between national conventions. A working committee of representatives of SMC chapters in East Coast cities and of national organizations was also approved, and empowered to make decisions between steering committee meetings.

Fred Lovgren, a 21-year-old SMC activist and a leader of the May 1970 student strike at the University of Illinois in Chicago, was elected as the new national coordinator of the SMC.

The conference was widely covered in the news media. Articles on it appeared in the *New York Post* and the *New York Times*. WRVR radio taped the whole conference, and reporters from other radio stations, as well as NBC and ABC television, were present. Forty-two high school and college newspapers, along with many underground and radical newspapers, were also represented at the conference.

One exception to the good press coverage of the conference was found in the Feb. 29 *Daily World*, a newspaper that reflects the views of the Communist Party. Donna Ristorucci's account of the conference contains a shameful red-baiting attack on the SMC, which

Continued on page 22

Exclusion at world peace meeting

NPAC statement

The following letter to Bertil Svanstrom, president of the executive committee of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, was released Feb. 29 by the seven national coordinators of the National Peace Action Coalition. Six of the seven NPAC coordinators participated in the Paris World Assembly for Peace and Independence of the Peoples of Indochina, held Feb. 11-13 in Versailles, France.

The Assembly endorsed the April 22 mass antiwar demonstrations scheduled for New York and Los Angeles; it also called for six weeks of international actions, April 1-May 15, including rallies and actions "simultaneously with the most important initiatives of the U.S. movement."

The letter was released to movement papers and antiwar groups in the U.S. and Europe.

The National Peace Action Coalition welcomed the opportunity to participate in the Paris World Assembly for the Peace and Independence of the Peoples of Indochina. It was an important opportunity to meet with representatives of the peoples of Indochina as well as representatives of movements across the world dedicated to ending the U.S. war in Indochina.

However, the coordinators of NPAC wish to express our disagreement with the exclusion from the Assembly of the French group, the Front for Solidarity with Indochina. Experience proves that the forces fighting the U.S. intervention in Indochina achieve maximum strength when they unite for action on the basis of non-exclusion.

The Front for Solidarity with Indochina has made significant contributions to the world-wide antiwar movement in organizing mass demonstrations in France in solidarity with the Indochinese peoples. Last November 6, the FSI demonstration in Paris was the largest outside the U.S. in solidarity with the American antiwar actions organized by the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

In the interest of the largest possible

Continued on page 22

SMC statement

The following statement was adopted by an overwhelming majority at the National Student Antiwar Conference in New York, Feb. 25-27.

The SMC [Student Mobilization Committee] protests against the exclusion of the Front Solidarité Indochine from the recent Versailles conference. Our conference of over 1,000 activists in the student antiwar movement in the U.S. has included participants of all political points of view.

We believe that any division that stands in the way of unified action for an immediate and unconditional end to the U.S. war in Indochina is unjustifiable. It is only by mobilizing the masses of the world, including all social, national and political groups opposed to the war that it can be ended. We believe that the exclusion of the FSI from the Versailles conference was contrary to this need. We call upon the organizations involved in the Versailles conference to help overcome such divisions by recognizing the principle of non-exclusion and the need for a united front of all antiwar forces throughout the world.

In Our Opinion

Act of God?

Five thousand people are homeless in West Virginia, at least 70 are dead, and 200-350 are missing in the aftermath of the Feb. 26 flood that destroyed 14 mining communities along Buffalo Creek.

The disaster brought forth statements of the utmost hypocrisy. Federal mining officials described the flood—caused by the collapse of a coal-waste pile used by the Pittston mining company—as a “tragic mistake.” A vice-president of Pittston said the company considered the death and destruction to be caused by “the flood, which we believe, of course, to be an act of God.”

But this West Virginia disaster was neither a “mistake” nor an “act of God.” It was another catastrophe caused by the negligent practices of a mining company. Responsibility also rests with the federal government and the state of West Virginia, which were fully aware that the waste-pile dam was dangerous. But to the company and its government allies, the risk of causing disaster to the lives of a few thousand mine families in this area, which is called the “billion-dollar coal field,” was outweighed by the loss of profits involved in constructing safe methods for disposing of the mining waste.

In 1967 West Virginia state officials—including Governor Arch A. Moore—were notified by the U.S. Geological Survey that the Buffalo Creek waste pile and 29 others in the state could easily be toppled by rains. The government did nothing.

These dangerous waste piles are just one example of the many unsafe practices of the mining industry—practices that lead to explosions, black lung disease, and many other hazardous conditions. The cooperation of the federal government with the mine owners is evident in the ineffectual Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, passed in 1969 only after demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and wildcat strikes by rank-and-file miners forced it through. This act, for example, says that if a company dams up water in a way that might be dangerous, the dam must be inspected once a week by officials of the company responsible for it. The culprits are supposed to inspect themselves! This is just a sly way of telling the companies they are free to do as they please.

What is being done for the 5,000 victims, most of whom have lost nearly everything they owned? The Federal Office of Emergency Preparedness says that it will be able to provide free rent for one year and possible unemployment compensation, food stamps, and loans. This meager assistance serves to underscore again the priorities of the capitalist government of this country. Its aim is to protect the profits and interests of big business in disregard for the rights and welfare of working people.

What is required is full compensation by the government and the Pittston Company for all property lost as a result of the flood; unemployment payments at union wage levels; support for children and men and women who are unable to work and have no one to support them; and a crash program to provide new housing for all who have lost their homes.

We call for a complete revision of the Mine Health and Safety Act along the lines demanded by the miners, putting teeth into it for the first time.

And we call for nationalization of the mining industry under workers control. This is the only rational way to reorganize this industry along lines that will eliminate its particularly dangerous features while guaranteeing the safety of the mining communities.

They call it ‘justice’

Evidence disclosed Feb. 29 by syndicated columnist Jack Anderson regarding a deal between the Nixon administration, the Republican Party, and International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation merely exposed the tip of the iceberg of government corruption. This deal is only one example of the web of bribes and payoffs that ties capitalist politicians to the owners of the most powerful corporations and banks.

Anderson's information shows that an antitrust case against ITT was settled by the Justice Department out of court and on ITT's terms. The settlement was a payoff for ITT's commitment to help finance the 1972 Republican Party convention to the tune of \$400,000. This illegal arrangement, according to Anderson's information, directly involved the country's highest public officials, including President Nixon and Attorney General John Mitchell, who has since resigned to become Nixon's presidential campaign manager.

The demand by Democratic Party chief Lawrence O'Brien for an investigation of the Republican Party in regard to this scandal is sheer hypocrisy. The Democratic Party operates on the basis of the same corrupt methods as the Republican Party. Democratic Party politicians have been caught time and time again in similar scandals, as in the case of Democratic Congressman from Texas John Dowdy, who was recently convicted on eight counts of bribery, conspiracy, and perjury.

The capitalists and politicians responsible for this corporate and governmental crime involving billions of dollars are rarely prosecuted, while working people, especially Blacks and Chicanos, are imprisoned for years on frame-up charges or for petty crimes stemming from poverty. The Justice Department—the top authority for what passes for justice in this society—is shown by this ITT scandal to be a servant of the corporations and a protector of their crimes.

Letters

Desperate situations

Once again the fact was brought home of the absolute necessity to repeal all anti-abortion laws. In the paper the other day there was an article about a baby being abandoned on someone's doorstep. Once again there was a woman caught in a desperate situation who felt she had no way to solve her problem but to abandon the baby. The laws in this country frown on women who want to give up their unwanted babies; but the laws consider a woman a criminal if she has an abortion so that she wouldn't be faced with a situation of an unwanted baby.

To overcome this situation that millions of women face, it is absolutely necessary to repeal all abortion laws. Until all these anti-abortion laws are repealed women are continually going to be faced with these desperate situations.

Mary Henderson
Minneapolis, Minn.

Two criticisms

With regards to your paper, two criticisms:

One, there is not enough information on the extent of imperialism in terms of actual economic power in the structure of society.

Second, we in Detroit would like more coverage regarding the movements of the revolutionary union groups (League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Black Workers' Congress, etc.) in our area, though there may be ideological questions involved. However, both have a common goal and common enemy, so an exchange of views could be most beneficial and rewarding for the movement as a whole.

Your stand on Native Americans and Chicanos is especially appreciated by myself and other members of these communities in the Detroit area.

Jim Trumbo
Detroit, Mich.

Proof of residence

During a recent voter registration drive at Florida State University, one student was at a loss to produce proof of his six-month residency in Tallahassee. After searching his apartment, he came up with a stack of *The Militant* dating back six months. Deciding that *The Militant* was sufficient proof of his stay in Tallahassee, he took the papers and went off to register. We have not heard whether or not this was acceptable to the officials, but we do know that if this student can vote in 1972, he will vote for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

A Florida reader

Appeal from inmates

We, the inmates (men) of Huntingdon Penitentiary, have formed a fund-raising committee consisting of 11 men and aided by the prison population. This drive pertains to a young Black girl named Sheila Parrish who has been stricken with Venezuelan equine encephalomyelitis

(VEE), a disease that has caused this young girl to have involuntary muscular spasms. She can neither walk nor feed herself.

There is a feeling within each man and woman confined to prison, whether outwardly shown or not, that he or she would like to be recognized as human. We feel our cause here is humane and hope that our actions in starting this fund drive will make society look twice at what they see. We would greatly enjoy seeing Sheila walk, talk, smile, and be a happy child. Only money can help Sheila do these things we take for granted as every day occurrences.

Help us inmates—who are human—help another individual who happens to also be human and in need of brotherly love. Contributions can be sent to: Sheila Parrish Fund, Station 2, Texas Rehabilitation and Research Hospital, 1333 Moursund, Houston, Texas 77025.

The inmates of Huntingdon Institution
Huntingdon, Pa.

Michigan bill

A bill is in the Michigan Senate to reward information leading to the arrest of a person who kills a cop. How about arresting the cops (and their superiors) who kill the people? Like those who killed Fred Hampton and Mark Clark?

Also the Democrats and Republicans are asking people not to vote for a third party because to do so is “throwing your vote away.” I don't think a vote cast for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley is a vote thrown away. As Debs once said, it is better to vote for something you want and not get it than to vote for something you don't want and get it.

Good luck and victory in your great socialist campaign in '72!
Kay Seiferlein
Ann Arbor, Mich

Rail injuries

The statistics for work-connected deaths and injuries quoted by Frank Lovell (“The National Picket Line,” Feb. 18 *Militant*) for U.S. industry as a whole, are today approximately what they were for the railroad industry alone at the turn of the century.

Of course, since that time the introduction and general use of improved devices such as the Westinghouse Air Brake, the Ajax Hand Brake, and the substitution of the knuckle-clasping type coupler for the finger and hand devouring “link-and-pin” type coupler have improved safety conditions somewhat.

However, fatal accidents and maiming injuries remain as much a constant in the life of railroaders as the weather. Recently, on the railroad I work for a young Black Vietnam vet was riding the hind end of a cut of cars being shoved into the “rip” track, where repair work was to be done on them. It was a cold, windy night with temperatures well below zero and ice everywhere on the ground and on the ladders and stirrups used to ride on the sides of the boxcars.

Somehow this switchman ended up between the cars, both legs shattered, bleeding badly. If the engineer had not been extra alert and immediately noticed the disappearance of his

The Great Society

lamp, the switchman would probably have been killed.

I might just add that our new contract doesn't offer much hope for improvement in conditions for either road or yard men and might well mean that the surest form of protection each of us can have is to work even more safely in the future regardless of the delay involved in "moving the nation's freight."

P. D.

Chicago, Ill.

P. S. Could we have more articles by Marvel Scholl? They always have the feel of a slice of life to them.

SMC ad

An advertisement for the Student Mobilization Committee's New York conference, carried in *The Militant* Feb. 25, incorrectly states: "Nixon has one big problem, us." This leaves out the important impact on Nixon's Southeast Asia policies of the international antiwar movement as well as that of the Vietnamese revolutionists who have battled against imperialism in Indochina for the last three decades.

Dick Roberts

New York, N. Y.

It stinks!

It is practically impossible for any person, even one who is well educated, to find satisfactory employment in Western Pennsylvania. Pittsburghers are afraid to walk the streets of any neighborhood in the city after dark. Many men from Western Pennsylvania have been sacrificed for the senseless war in Indochina. This country really stinks! Anyone for Australia?

Matthew Wright

Pittsburgh, Pa.

GI coffeehouse

Haymarket Square Coffeehouse, which for several years now has been working with GIs and dependents at Fort Bragg, has been forced to seek a new lease. We've already found a new facility, which will include an expanded bookstore, newspaper office for *Bragg Briefs*, a counseling room, as well as a center for relating to GI dependents.

Needless to say, the changeover and expansion will require additional funding. We are in the midst of a fund-raising drive and are asking for contributions of all sorts, including green and gold stamps and used books. The most useful assistance would be in the form of a monthly \$5 or \$10 sustainer. Subscriptions to the monthly GI paper, *Bragg Briefs*, will also be welcomed. All contributors will receive a copy of our monthly newsletter, which will keep people informed on what we're doing.

Ronald Haisfield

Haymarket Square Collective

Box 1312

Fayetteville, N. C. 28302

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.

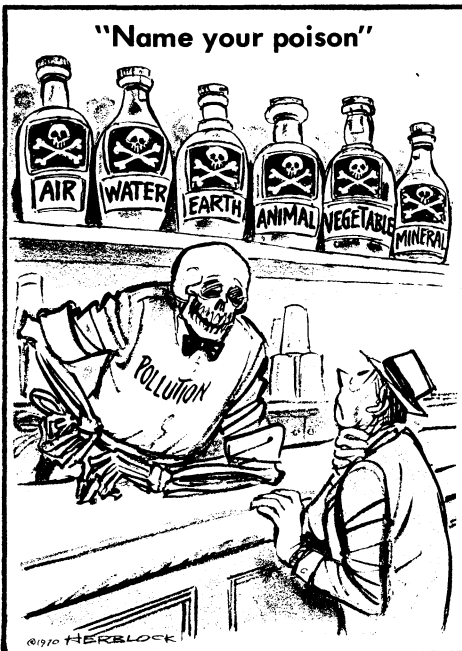
American know-how—The *Wall Street Journal* salutes the coffin nail industry for increasing cigarette consumption despite adversity. Credit, the paper states, is due the Tobacco Institute: "Even the most outspoken antismoking antagonists are quick to congratulate the institute staff's shrewd professionalism, low-key Southern charm and refusal to panic under pressure." We don't know about the Southern charm, but what's the big deal about resisting pressure? It's only people they're killing.

Opening for youth—Mayor Edward Cline of Graysville, Ohio, apparently doesn't agree that it's risky to change horses in midstream. He's retiring at 97 "because it's time to get out and give someone else a chance."

Functional esthetics—Despite the rash of jewelry heists, 400 from the cream of New York's society shelled out \$150 each to attend the annual Diamond Ball. Each was rewarded with a diamond-studded favor—a gilded police whistle set with miniscule gems inserted with a dentist's drill.

Cross of gold?—We've been pondering a *Wall Street Journal* ad placed

by a New Orleans shop offering porcelain figures "in mint condition." They seem to be mostly birds and range in price from \$1,350 for a bobalink to \$12,500 for an Eastern bluebird. Also offered among the birds is a "Crucifix." \$20,000. Sounds a little freaky.



Our sane society—Reporting on the California supreme court decision

voiding the death penalty, the *Los Angeles Times* described the San Quentin death chamber: "Executions take place in the small, light-green, eight-sided cyanide chamber on the prison grounds, a facility that is tested periodically to insure good working order. . . . On weekends it is open to the public."

March of science—Brain surgery is being performed on French geese. The operation damages the satiety center, an area of the brain that tells an animal it has had enough. After the operation, geese eat like pigs and don't have to be stuffed by hand to ensure a properly fattened liver for pate de foie gras. A pill is being researched that will replace the operation. Maybe they'll come up with one that has a reverse effect on the poor.

They're long-lasting—An article in the food section of the *Washington Post* was headlined, "Freeze-Dried Foods—Perfect for POW's."

You better believe it—"We are trying to get food prices up, and you haven't seen anything yet."—Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz.

—HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

MARCH 8 IS INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY. Sixty-four years ago, on March 8, 1908, women garment workers marched through New York City's Lower East Side demanding the right to vote and an end to sweatshop conditions. In 1910 the Congress of Socialist Women, held in Copenhagen, declared March 8 International Women's Day. Since then, March 8 has been an occasion for solidarity with the international struggle of women for their liberation. Today, International Women's Day has regained significance with the resurgence of feminism around the world.

FRANCE—The women at the Foyer Maternal, a government-sponsored home for unwed mothers, went on strike in February and refused to go to school. Ranging in age from 13 to 19, the women were protesting repressive rules at the home that limit when they can go out alone. These rules are based on the fact that the women are under 21. The strikers also demanded that they be given the same financial assistance received by families under the French Social Security system.

After the Health Ministry agreed to investigate their demands, the women returned to school.

CANADA—The Manitoba Abortion Coalition has called a Cross Country Abortion Action Conference for March 18-19 in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Abortion law repeal coalitions in six other provinces are also sponsoring the conference, which will discuss how to answer attacks from right-wing anti-abortion forces and how to organize the fight to repeal Canada's abortion laws. For more information, contact the Manitoba Abortion Coalition at 315B-416 Main St., Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. Telephone: (204) 943-2793.

ENGLAND—The first national conference of the Socialist Woman Groups, supporters of the British magazine *Socialist Woman*, took place Jan. 29-30 in London. The Feb. 14 *Intercontinental Press* reports that more than 100 delegates, members, and observers attended. They discussed such issues as women's liberation and revolutionary socialism, the family, trade unions, nurseries, and rent struggles. Delegates adopted a program of goals for the Socialist Woman Groups and decided to launch a national campaign for equal pay for equal work.

Speakers at the conference included Althea Jones, from the Black Panthers; Rosemary Sales, Irish Solidarity Group; Steve Lynch, an organizer of the General and Municipal Workers Union; and Lone Sorensen, from the Danish section of the Fourth International. Letters of support were sent by Mike Cooley, president of the Technical and Supervisory Section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers; Joan Maynard, National Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers; and from a miner's wife who thanked *Socialist Woman* for its support of the miner's strike. The *Observer*, a major British paper, print-

ed a front-page story on the conference.

WEST GERMANY—A law legalizing abortions in West Germany has been proposed to Parliament by the West German Cabinet. If the bill passes, the Nationwide Sick Benefit Organization, which covers employees and management, will pay the cost of abortions. The law would also legalize the sale of contraceptives in automatic machines and permit voluntary sterilizations for women and men over 25.

THE FIRST WOMAN 'GUM' (GENERAL UTILITY MECHANIC) EVER HIRED BY CONSOLIDATED EDISON is Dourniese Hawkins, a 20-year-old Black woman. As of this week Hawkins begins working in New York's manholes repairing gas leaks and excavating with a jackhammer. She is a former cab driver and letter carrier, and has taken a college-preparatory course at Staten Island Community College that she hopes will lead to a degree in technology.

As the only woman in Con Ed's training program, Hawkins initially evoked scorn from male trainees. But according to her instructor, ". . . when they saw she could do the work they accepted her."

Hawkins told a *Daily News* reporter that she is fed up with the "sexist attitudes" of most businesses. She believes that men and women in this society are forced to play "roles set down by archaic institutions. By the Bible. By the family."

WOMEN'S LIBERATION NOTES ON CHILD CARE II is a 38-page pamphlet available from the Women's Center, 36 W. 22 St., New York, N.Y. 10010 for 50 cents. The collection includes an essay on the need for free child-care centers controlled by those who use them; reports on attempts to set up child-care centers at workplaces and through government financing; an article on child-care centers run by businesses for profit; lists of children's books that treat women in a non-sexist manner; descriptions of how to make children's toys and child-care equipment; and statements by different groups involved in child-care struggles. Among other articles, the pamphlet reprints the statement condemning Nixon's veto of the Child Development Bill by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, at a national meeting in New Orleans on Feb. 7, called for a uniform law that would permit abortion "upon demand" up to the twentieth week of pregnancy. A section of this proposed law would also legalize the "morning after" pill, whose general distribution has yet to be ruled on by the Food and Drug Administration. If taken within 24 hours of intercourse, the "morning after" pill is supposed to prevent pregnancy.

—CINDY JAQUITH

Women speak out on right to abortion

One thousand people attended the public rally that opened the Feb. 11-13 Women's Abortion Action Conference held in Boston. The conference, sponsored by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), called for an Abortion Action Week, May 1-6. We have reprinted here excerpts from some of the speeches at the rally.

Barbara Roberts



Dr. Barbara Roberts is national project director of WONAAC.

Twelve months ago, WONAAC didn't exist. Nine months ago, WONAAC existed in an embryonic form of exactly two people. . . . Between May and July, we grew rapidly, and in July we were born as a national coalition, involving more than a thousand women from all over the country at the first national women's abortion action conference. I won't pretend that it was an easy birth. Those of you who attended last July's conference know that like all births, ours was attended by a certain degree of trauma, pain, and cries of outrage.

Since then, despite various degrees of sniping from groups that disagree with us, our growth and impact have been really enormous. WONAAC may not be a household word in the homes of the silent majority, but in the abortion world, and within the feminist movement, we need no introduction and are considered a force to be reckoned with. . . .

Our marches on Nov. 20 (1971) were seen as such a threat by the foes of abortion that counterdemonstrations were organized and full-page ads attacking us were taken out in major newspapers around the country. . . . On Nov. 20, no one could help but realize that masses of women were starting a united, determined campaign for rights that had been denied them since the dawn of history.

In New York the liberalized law faced its most serious challenge when . . . Robert Byrn got himself appointed guardian of all fetuses between the age of four and 24 weeks who might be in danger of abortion. As fetal guardian he sought, and eventually got, a court injunction against the performance of abortions in all New York City municipal hospitals. WONAAC took the initiative in organizing a defense against this challenge. . . . We demonstrated, and we filed an amicus curiae brief with other groups against the Byrn case, which is now pending.

In Chicago, a 15-year-old woman was denied an abortion that had already been approved when the notoriously racist D.A. (district attorney) there, Hanrahan, appealed and got

the original court approval overturned. The Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition publicized this outrage, and the woman was eventually released to her mother's custody and was able to get an abortion in New York.

We have given our support and also our love to Shirley Wheeler, who was convicted in Florida for having an abortion that was really medically necessary. On Oct. 21 (1971), in response to the illegal and humiliating probation terms imposed upon her, demonstrations were held throughout the country. . . . The widespread support Shirley's case received undoubtedly saved her from a jail term and helped win a stay of probation.

D.C. WONAAC has been counteracting the constant pressure that the Church has put on the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The government dispenses \$120-million a year in aid to family planning services. A Catholic Detroit congressman, at the insistence of a Catholic lobbyist, added an amendment to the bill authorizing this money. The amendment stipulates that no money shall be given to programs where abortion is used as a method of family planning. . . .

WONAAC has been working very closely with (Representative) Bella Abzug's staff in drawing up a nationwide abortion rights act that would repeal all abortion laws. We will play an even bigger role in winning support for this bill and seeing that it is passed. . . .

We know that winning WONAAC'S goals will not by itself end the oppression of women, but it is a necessary first step. I'm sure each of us has her own impression of what the world would be like if gender differences had no significance. . . .

Nineteen seventy-two will be a crucial year for WONAAC. Our strength has forced our enemies to organize against us. The Catholic Church has enormous resources. The old men in the government have immense power. We cannot hope to win our goals without a strong, independent movement supported by masses of women.

We must be wary of placing our trust in politicians. . . . The men running for office, by and large, have become prostitutes. Now, it's one thing to sell your body to keep yourself alive, but it's quite another to sell your soul to gain power. . . . (these politicians) promise better schools in the ghettos and lily-white schools in the suburbs. They promise price controls to labor and unlimited profits to industry. They promise peace to the people and billions to the Pentagon. But they don't even have the guts to make a lying promise about abortion! They give the distinct impression of wanting to pretend that the problem doesn't even exist. We have to mount a united, powerful campaign so that no senile cardinal and no doddering, sexist politician can ever again deny us our constitutional rights.

We can't slow down and we can't give up. Because while we sit here, women are being butchered by back-alley abortionists; they are being sterilized against their will; and they are being harassed by police and judges for trying to control their own bodies. This is the awful knowledge I live with, this is what haunts my dreams. And this is why I and all of us must continue to fight until we win our goal—to secure the right of all women to choose.

Shirley Johnson



Shirley Johnson (Wheeler) was convicted of manslaughter July 13, 1971, for having an abortion in Florida. Her case is on appeal.

WONAAC was formed to bring women from all aspects of life together to repeal the abortion laws. The Nov. 20 demonstrations made the right to legal abortions a national issue. This second national conference here in Boston is hopefully to bring us closer to our goal of legal and free, or low-cost, abortions. I don't claim to know everything about legalizing abortions, but I am proof of what will happen to you if you have an illegal one. You will be jailed, dragged through a humiliating court, and be labeled a criminal by this "humane" society. This is what the state of Florida did to me. If the rest of the female population that will seek abortions in their lifetimes don't want to be subjected to the same kind of treatment, then we must unite for greater and stronger struggles for the repeal of all abortion laws.

Claytee Artz



Claytee Artz is a member of the Detroit Women's Abortion Action Coalition.

Many Black people don't realize just how important the problem of abortion is for Black women until they face it themselves or someone very close to them has to deal with that situation. This is how I first realized the necessity of the abortion law repeal movement. When I was in college, I gave myself an abortion because I didn't have an alternative. I didn't even know of an illegal abortionist, let alone a place like New York. I was lucky, because all I had to do was spend a month in bed.

But this is when I started thinking of the sisters who were in the same predicament I was in. The ones who weren't as lucky as I was—I'm talk-

ing now about the ones who died through self-induced abortions, the women who died in back alleys, on butcher tables, and in empty rooms.

There isn't a Black woman alive who hasn't gone through tremendous suffering because we don't have the right to choose when and if we want to have children. . . . And it's not just the women who get killed, it's not just the women who get sick, it's also the women who go through the terrible fears because they are afraid to get pregnant. The women who can't enjoy life to its fullness, the women who can't enjoy sex without a threat. . . .

Now Black women are beginning to think about the meaning of the abortion movement. . . . They're beginning to think for themselves and they're beginning to use their own minds, not the state's and not the man's. In Detroit some of the Black women are beginning to organize through holding forums, meetings, and talk-ins. Many women are beginning to realize for the first time that there are other Black women who feel the same way they do, and that because we feel the same way, there must be more women out there. They're beginning to unite.

Sadie Jackson

Sadie Jackson, is Chairwoman of the Brooklyn Welfare Action Council. Welfare Rights is working hand in hand with WONAAC. We have been in support of them ever since last year. . . . We are saying that . . . all women should have the right to decide for themselves about their bodies. We're tired of men and other people making decisions for us. Welfare recipients have the hardest way of getting abortions. . . . The legislatures are saying that if you're on welfare, you cannot have a free abortion. So we're saying that all women, regardless of race, creed, or color, must have a right to decide what they do with their bodies. . . . We are working very closely with WONAAC in New York City . . . and we think that if we keep working together, something can come about. . . .

Linda Jenness



Linda Jenness is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. The following are excerpts from remarks she made during the Saturday evening plenary of the conference.

I think we should step back and take a look at what is happening here tonight. At this second national abortion conference we thousand or so

Call int'l abortion action week

The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition issued the following call on Feb. 24 for international activities in support of Abortion Action Week, May 1-6.

women are tackling one of the cornerstones of women's oppression—the fact that we can't control our own bodies, and because of that, we can't control anything else about our lives. . . .

What we're discussing here is how to best carry this struggle forward.

There are a couple of myths that I've heard repeated several times that we should dispel. One of those myths is that middle-class women can get abortions already because they have money; and another is that unless we raise the demand "free abortions," working women, Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican and poor white (women) won't relate to the abortion movement. Both of these statements are absolutely false and fly in the face of reality.

As long as abortions are illegal, all women, and particularly working and poor women,—but also middle-class women—are psychologically, socially, and physically prevented from having abortions. It's the fact that abortions are illegal that makes us feel guilty and afraid to have them. It's the fact that abortions are illegal that forces us to go to butchers (even very expensive butchers). And it's the fact that abortions are illegal that reinforces the idea of this entire chauvinist society that our bodies are not our own.

The struggle must center around repealing the abortion laws because that's how we're being oppressed.

The demand for free abortions raises a whole different question. It raises the question of socialized medicine. . . . I'm for socialized medicine—I'm for socialized everything, including a socialist America. That's why I'm a member of the Socialist Workers Party. I'm one of those people who wants to solve everything. But the fight for socialized medicine is going to take a different kind of coalition, a coalition of different forces.

This coalition here is not the entire women's liberation movement. The broad women's liberation movement, of which I'm a part, raises many feminist demands and fights on many issues. This coalition is not the revolutionary movement, of which I'm also a part. This coalition is an abortion coalition that can, and I think must, undertake the struggle for abortion law repeal—and everyone is welcome. I stand totally opposed to the Democratic and Republican parties, and I am campaigning against them, but I'm certainly glad to work with women from these parties in this coalition for abortion law repeal.

If we adopt here tonight the proposal for an abortion action week, May 1-6, we can have teach-ins, we can have debates with the "right-to-life" and other reactionary forces; we can go on TV and radio and have demonstrators and a variety of activities that can educate people and can reach out to millions of our sisters and let them know that they are not alone and that they should join us in this fight.

Women around the world are rising up angry against the laws which deny us the right to control our own lives, our own bodies. Yet in every corner of the globe abortion is still restricted by law, if not completely forbidden. In some places where we have begun to win victories, even these small steps forward are under attack.

For years we have been working, in various ways, separated from one another, to win our right to abortion. During 1971 we began to move forward together. During 1971 the demand "Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose!" was raised with determination, by growing numbers in a growing number of languages and with growing power, by women in many parts of the world. On Nov. 20 we began to coordinate our actions for the right to abortion, holding demonstrations in a number of countries on the same day. Acting together added force to our demands, and inspired us all with a glimpse of the strength and potential of interna-

tional sisterhood.

Over the Feb. 11-13 weekend 1,300 women attended the Second Women's National Abortion Action Conference in the United States to plan the next steps in our fight. We were joined, in person or through messages, by sisters from Canada, England, France, Holland, Italy, Australia, New Zealand, and other parts of the world. The conference called for an Abortion Action Week, May 1-6, during which a variety of educational and protest actions would culminate in local rallies and demonstrations on May 6.



London, Nov. 20, 1971

Columbia maids continue fight

By STACEY JOSLIN

NEW YORK, Feb. 24—Columbia University received a warning this week from the federal Office for Civil Rights that the school will lose \$13-million in federal contracts if discrimination in university employment is not halted. J. Stanley Pottinger, head of the Office for Civil Rights, also informed Columbia President William McGill that failure to end discrimination might prevent the university from receiving additional federal contracts.

Since Nov. 3, 1971, there has been a freeze on federal contract funds at Columbia due to a charge by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) that the university's employment practices discriminate against women. Columbia has until April 6 to present an acceptable affirmative-action plan designed to correct this discrimination. Three plans

submitted by the university so far have been rejected.

In a related development, on Feb. 7 Judge Edward McCaffrey of the New York State Supreme Court refused to continue the temporary restraining order he had previously issued to prevent Columbia from firing 30 maids. Claiming that the dismissals are a necessary budget cutback, the university is going ahead with plans to fire the women, who are mostly Black and Latino. At the same time, the school is continuing to hire janitors, who receive \$18 more per week than maids, although both perform the same work. The salaries of university professors have also recently been raised.

The Women's Affirmative Action Coalition (WAAC), composed of Columbia women staff members, students, and professors, is preparing to file

a federal suit against the university. The suit will demand equal pay for maids and janitors and retroactive pay for maids. WAAC has also called for a picket line March 8 to protest the plan to fire the maids.

WAAC views support to the maids as part of the overall struggle to end sex discrimination in Columbia's employment. The coalition demands that women have the right to formulate procedure for ending this discrimination. In response to the "secret" affirmative-action plans submitted by the university to HEW, WAAC has issued a statement that reads in part: "Let the women on this campus read the administration's report and let the women decide whether the administration has been honest, ignorant, or flagrantly hypocritical." WAAC has prepared its own affirmative-action plan, which will be submitted to HEW shortly.

Gay groups turn to elections

By ART GURSCH

CHICAGO—A meeting billed as a national gay liberation conference to decide on strategy for the 1972 elections was held here over the Feb. 11-12 weekend.

Hosted by the New York Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) and the Chicago Gay Alliance, the conference was attended by about 100 delegates, approximately 90 of whom were men. The delegates were from gay organizations throughout the country.

The conference was organized by invitation only, and each invited organization was asked to send two delegates. There was no leafletting or other publicity for the gathering.

Richard Wandel, president of New York GAA opened the meeting with a report on the stated positions of different presidential candidates regarding rights for homosexuals. He reported that Eugene McCarthy and Benjamin Spock were the only candidates who had answered a GAA questionnaire favorably. Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, has not yet received her questionnaire, although she has often expressed her support for the democratic and human rights of homosexuals.

Discussion centered on the necessity of confronting all candidates whenever they appeared publicly and pressing

them for their stands on gay rights. Advocates of this strategy said it was designed to serve a dual purpose—to convince candidates that they would not be able to get away with ignoring the issue and to inspire gays not yet in the gay movement with confidence.

A special feature of the conference was a speech by Dr. Benjamin Spock, candidate of the "People's Party." The gay caucus of his organization arranged his appearance at the conference. Spock spoke about his campaign platform, which includes a strong plank on gay rights.

The conference drew up a "1972 Gay Rights Platform" to present to the various presidential candidates.

Late on the second day of the conference, as committees were working on a platform draft, there was a discussion of the criteria for, and the merits of, gay organizations endorsing candidates.

About half the participants favored endorsement of candidates who said they supported gay rights. However, the conference decided not to make any endorsements. A GAA member spoke about what he called the "need for gay political caucuses to endorse or withhold endorsement in order to win the best possible position."

Ron Alheim of Albany, N. Y., made a motion that the conference should

work toward electing delegates to the Democratic Party convention and should send a telegram to the national chairman of the Democratic Party demanding "at least 150 delegates." It was noted that the Democratic Party had reformed its rules to allow minority representation at its conventions. The motion passed.

The conference also voted to hold demonstrations at the national conventions of both major capitalist parties.

The criteria set forth by the conference for endorsement of a candidate included requirements that a candidate endorse the platform drawn up by the conference, propagandize for gay rights, and work to elect gay convention delegates. The conference voted to neither approve nor disapprove these criteria.

The conference voted to establish a National Coalition of Gay Groups with two headquarters, one in Miami and one in San Diego. It was also decided to divide the country into five regions, each with a coordinator and representative.

Another convention was called for the Labor Day weekend, probably in Minneapolis.

A motion to endorse the gay contingent for the April 22 antiwar actions in Los Angeles and New York failed.

Nationalists capitulate to the Democrats

By DERRICK MORRISON

In the January issue of *Black News*, the editors reveal plans for their political surrender to the Democratic Party.

Black News is a Pan-African, Black nationalist-biweekly headquartered at The East, an African-American educational and cultural center in Brooklyn. The editors, who are affiliated with the Congress of African People (CAP), were instrumental last July in holding an East Coast convention from which the African People's Nationalist Party was organized. But the establishment of the party was coupled with the acceptance by the convention of a document written for the occasion by Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) of the Committee For a Unified Newark.

The document, "Strategy and Tactics of a Pan-African Nationalist Party," purported to chart a path toward the formation of an independent Black party. But when stripped of its rhetoric about such a vehicle, it was really a plan for perpetuating the reliance of Black people upon the Democratic Party. This was the conclusion the *Militant* drew in an article on the convention in its issue of July 30, 1971.

Baraka confirmed this estimate in action last month when he gave up all semblance of independence and joined with the Congressional Black Caucus in calling a national Black political convention for March 10-12. The openly stated purpose of the affair is to harness Black political energies for bargaining at the Democratic and Republican national conventions, particularly at the former.

Baraka, as a national leader of the Congress of African People, had previously projected a nationwide Black nationalist convention to set up a Black party. His action in relation to the CBC demonstrates the shallowness of his intent. Or was the plan for a Pan-African convention just a ploy

to maneuver the Black Democrats into calling for a national affair?

Whatever the case, Baraka, and now the editors of *Black News*, are helping to carry out the political capitulation to the Democratic Party of the nationalist current organized around the CAP.

The approach of *Black News* is outlined in the column "Around Our Way" by Big Black (Les Campbell, former leader of the struggle for community control of the schools in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville section of Brooklyn in 1968). To demonstrate to his nationalist-minded readers that this approach is different from that of the antinationalist Black Democrats, Campbell lashes out at Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-NY). "Sis. Shirley Chisholm says that she wants to run for president as the spokeswoman of the poor, the blacks, and the women. The people who pull the strings (\$) behind our black sister happen to be rich, Jewish, whitemen. . . . Is Sister Shirley really setting up a strong front, so at the precise moment in democratic convention history she can throw her support (votes of us bloods) behind the slick, quick, democratic mayor of fun-city Mr. Linseed [John V. Lindsay] and walk away with a pocketful of IOU's (\$Jobs-Titles)."

If "rich, Jewish, whitemen" are behind Chisholm's campaign, what about the rich white protestant capitalists who own and control the Democratic Party? This contention by Campbell amounts to "much ado about nothing," for in reality there is no difference between Chisholm's reformist illusions about the Democratic Party and those of *Black News*.

As Campbell later writes, "Now Sister Shirley Chisholm is not unwise to what's happening. She's got some very sharp pros in her back room office calling the shots for each pocket. She has a network of national figures that have been placed strategically and [are] waiting to come together

tightly when the time comes. . . .

"Now we can lay back and talk stuff and yell and shout . . . but the fact of the matter remains that until we can out-organize, out-research and out-smart our good sister, she'll still be in a position to sell our black vote to Linseed and maybe only for a few trinkets and 24 dollars. *Now make no mistake about this, our vote has got to be sold. . . . But please, we can't sell it cheaply.* We must be in the habit of getting the most for what we got." (Emphasis added.)

Under the cover of out-organizing "our good sister," Campbell betrays the fact that he is actually starry-eyed and dazed at the "heights" to which Chisholm has ascended in the Democratic Party. He perceives her pulling the levers of power rather than being one of the levers pulled. And if Campbell were in Chisholm's position, he wouldn't sell the Black vote to the parties of U.S. imperialism for "a few trinkets and 24 dollars." He'd ask for maybe a bit more, but he would sell it nonetheless.

Fearing that readers have caught on to what he is actually saying, Campbell simply denies that he is writing what they are reading. "Now let me clarify my position before some young gun-in-hand, red book reading, red, black and green button wearing blood accuses me of selling out black folks to the Democratic party. No, American politics won't free us." (Emphasis added.) But, "Most alive, aware black folks in '72' will be trotting off to vote for somebody. So we have to be in the position to make that vote act in the best interest of the black nation and the increasing awareness of black people."

It's true that most Black people vote Democratic, but under the impact of nationalist consciousness spawned by the ghetto rebellions, and the previous struggles from civil rights to community control organized outside of the Democratic Party, the relationship is

being seriously being questioned. This process deeply worries the Democratic Party chieftains, which is why they are enhancing the positions of a few Black Democrats. These Black Democrats are bait for shoring up the image of the party among the masses and luring nationalist militants back into it. And apparently, *Black News* fell for it—hook, line, and sinker.

Campbell adorns his piece with quotes from David Walker, a nineteenth century Black abolitionist who advocated armed struggle against the Southern slavocracy, and Frederick Douglass, who was probably the most prominent abolitionist of that era. But the quotes, which serve more as social descriptions than political prescriptions, don't back up the points that Campbell is trying to make.

Although *Black News* periodically lauds Brother Malcolm X, there is no use for him in Campbell's piece, for Malcolm is not easily bent to such opportunist purposes. Malcolm never had a kind word for the Democrats or Republicans.

Back in 1964, Malcolm, too, knew that most Blacks would vote for the Democratic Party. However, that did not stop him from remaining independent of it and educating Black people about its nature.

In a speech entitled "The Ballot or the Bullet," given in Cleveland in April 1964, Malcolm captured the essence of the deception the Democratic Party practices on Black people. "They [the Democratic Party] get all the Negro vote, and after they get it, the Negro gets nothing in return. All they did when they got to Washington was give a few big Negroes big jobs. Those big Negroes didn't need big jobs, they already had jobs. That's camouflage, that's trickery, that's treachery, window-dressing. I'm not trying to knock out the Democrats for the Republicans, we'll get to them in a minute. But it is true—you put the Democrats first and the Democrats put you last."

Meetings held in tribute to Malcolm X

A number of memorial meetings have been held across the country in tribute to Malcolm X, who was brutally cut down by assassins' bullets on Feb. 21, 1965.

About 60 people heard Roger Newell, a representative of the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU) at Columbia University, and B. R. Washington, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the Eighteenth C.D. (Harlem), at the Upper West Side Militant Forum in New York City on Feb. 18. The audience also had the opportunity to view the Grove Press film *The Struggle for Freedom*, the only documentary film to date that deals mainly with Malcolm's activities during the last months of his life.

In fitting commemoration to Malcolm, both Newell and Washington attacked the Democratic and Republican parties, especially the organizations acting as transmission belts for the influence of those two parties in the Black community. Newell scored the Congressional Black Caucus. He called for a break with the Democratic Party and for the formation of an all-Black political party. Washington, while dealing with the CBC, also took up the demise of the Black Panther Party, pointing to its lack of a program for struggle against Black reformism. This was rooted, he said, in its assumption that the capitalist ruling class always resorts to the stick, and never the carrot, to derail and smash mass movements.

The Lower Manhattan Militant Labor Forum featured Richard X Clark, one of the leaders of the Attica prison

rebellion. (See *The Militant*, March 3.)

Yusef El-Ahkim of the Black Student League and the Black Veterans Student Union at Philadelphia Community College, and James Harris from the SWP were the speakers at a Feb. 18 memorial meeting sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum in Philadelphia.

To the audience of 75, El-Ahkim cited as Malcolm's major contributions his willingness to give his life to the struggle and his advocacy of Black unity. Harris recalled the contributions to nationalist thought of Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. DuBois, and presented Malcolm as the one who finally refined those thoughts, giving them definite direction and program. No nationalist current has yet surpassed that contribution, Harris stated.

In the discussion period a debate took place over strategy for the Black liberation movement in the 1972 elections. El-Ahkim favored a Black party but counseled support to the presidential campaign of Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.). He said that her defeat would prove to the Black masses that they couldn't gain power in the Democratic Party.

Harris said that this reasoning had been used for decades, and that it was not necessary, especially in light of Malcolm's contributions, to support Democrats in order to prove to Black people that the Democratic Party does not represent the Black community.

Derrick Morrison, staff writer for *The Militant*, spoke at the Militant Labor Forum in Chicago on Feb. 18 and at the Detroit Militant Forum on

Feb. 19. Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for Cook County state's attorney—the position now held by the notorious Edward Hanrahan, who holds membership in the Democratic Party—also addressed the audience in Chicago.

In Houston, on Feb. 18, the Militant Labor Forum heard Debby Leonard, Texas SWP candidate for governor, and Richard Garcia, Texas SWP candidate for the U. S. Senate.

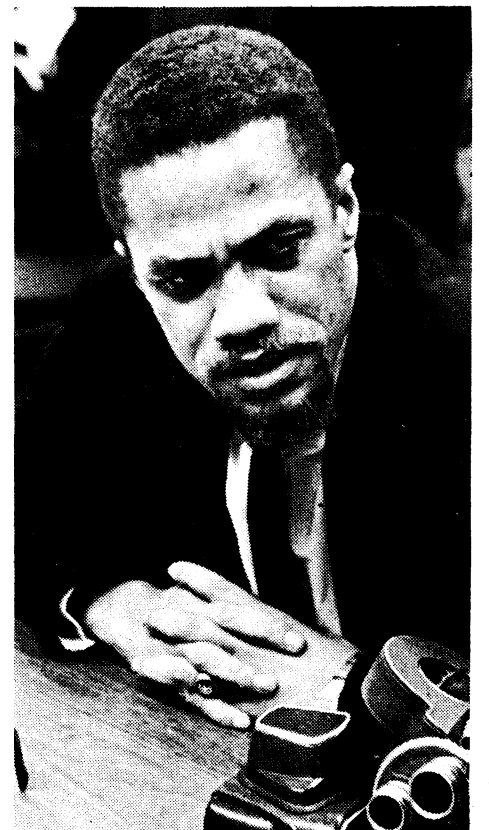


Photo by Robert Parent

Malcolm X

The following statement was issued by Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, on March 1.

The school busing controversy sharply raises the question of whether Black people in this country have the right to equal education.

Busing has become a topic of debate in Congress and among contenders for the Democratic and Republican nominations for president because the issue is no longer regional but is now national. The struggle against legally constituted dual educational systems, which are traditionally common to the South, although outlawed by a U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1954, is now focused on segregated schools in the North and West as well. It is claimed that these latter schools

the dawn of the twentieth century. This was the era when American and European imperialism began the full-scale rape of the continents of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The use of racist ideology to justify the oppression of Black, Brown, Yellow, and Red peoples abroad reinforced racist attitudes against Black people in this country.

But after two imperialist world wars, a socialist revolution in Russia, the overturning of capitalism in eastern Europe, China, North Korea, and North Vietnam, and the rise of the struggle for self-determination in the colonial world, imperialism was forced to retreat. This was an important factor in the emergence of the struggle for Black equality and Black self-determination here in the United States.

That struggle has made serious inroads into the structures of racial discrimination and segregation. Today

outside of mouthing platitudes about racial equality and/or whipping up racial hysteria.

For George Wallace, the Democratic governor of Alabama, the issue of busing is a rallying cry for opposition to all of the civil rights gains won in struggle since the 1954 Supreme Court decision. And if a constitutional amendment against busing—as proposed by some Democratic and Republican legislators—were to be approved, it would help turn back many of those gains.

President Nixon opposes busing as the way "to achieve a racial balance."

Senators Humphrey, Muskie, and McGovern are for varying degrees of busing. Yet they supported the Scott-Mansfield proposal in the Senate to bar use of federal funds for busing unless it is court ordered. Furthermore, this proposal would not permit busing if the "distance of travel is so great as to risk the health of

institutions of capitalist society. They do not offer any specific proposals that will eliminate the miserable conditions under which Blacks receive education.

While the Socialist Workers Party does not see busing as the solution to providing Black students with the best education this society can offer, we feel that it should be supported wherever the Black community sees it as a way to help Black youth obtain a better education. Busing, however, opens up educational opportunities for only a few, leaving the majority in police-occupied buildings resembling jails rather than schools.

Crash program

To remedy this situation we call for a crash program, financed with federal and state funds, to provide the newest, best-equipped schools possible. Such a program would provide the funds to train and pay as many teachers as necessary. It would provide free books and free meals to all students and would provide a curriculum relevant to the lives of the students.

How can such a program be financed? It is certain that the present policy of depending on local property taxes is totally inadequate.

Because of the manipulation and inflation of property values by the real estate business, taxes vary from area to area, causing sharp differences in the amount spent per student in city and suburb. In Detroit, for example, where the majority of students are Black, the amount of money spent in a year on one student is \$675. In the suburbs, however, where the students are mostly white, that figure reaches \$1,200. In Texas, according to the President's Commission on School Finance, the figure varies from \$264 in the poorest district to \$5,334 in the richest district.

The present school tax structure does not overcome but on the contrary aggravates racial and class inequality. Moreover, the schools are now facing cutbacks in personnel and facilities. Some school systems are shortening the school year, others are near breakdown.

What is needed is to take the huge military expenditures, including those for Vietnam, and use them for socially useful purposes like education. We also call for a 100 percent tax on corporate war profits and on all individual incomes of \$25,000 or over. This would bring in more than sufficient federal and state funds to wipe out the school financial plight and to begin a crash program of expansion.

But money alone won't solve the problems of Black education. Black control of Black education must also be established. Black control means Black people electing community councils through which the masses can administer and supervise these funds as well as all aspects of school functioning. This includes personnel and selection of curriculum. And it includes being able to decide whether Black students will or will not be bused.

Socialist stand on busing

result from housing patterns rather than "design." But recent court decisions in the Michigan cities of Detroit and Pontiac, a federal government investigation into the Boston school system, and a report on schools in New York State all reveal that segregated school patterns in the North are as deliberate as those in the South.

That is, racial segregation—not just in education but in all spheres of life—is not a mistake or a fluke. It is seared into the very fabric of American capitalist society and is the mainstay of the national oppression suffered by Black people.

Jim Crow

The purpose of racial segregation is to keep Black people in their "place." To do this they must be denied control over all aspects of their lives. To this end, a system known as Jim Crow was established in the South at the turn of the last century.

In an organized manner, Jim Crow attempted to stamp out the citizenship and humanity of Black people, going further than the pre-Civil War slave codes, or the Black codes instituted in the South in 1865-66. Before the Civil War, when the slaves were marked as personal property to be disposed of by the slavemaster as he would a cow, a chicken, or a horse, there was not much need to delineate in print what the slave could or could not do. The principal purpose of the codes, which varied from place to place and which were erratically applied, was to inform non-slaveholding whites of their police duties in respect to the slave.

Jim Crow was more complex and consistent than the codes, and more methodical in its application. It was a form of apartheid, systematically segregating every aspect of Black life—from the cradle to the grave. There were "white" and "colored" drinking fountains, "white" and "colored" rest rooms, "white" and "colored" eating stands, "white" and "colored" sections of railway cars, "white" and "colored" bus seats, "white" and "colored" residential areas, and "white" and "colored" cemeteries.

This state of affairs was upheld in decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court and enforced by lynch mobs and the police. Dubbed "separate but equal," it was in reality segregated and unequal. Political and social equality were denied to Black people. Control over their lives and destinies was exercised from outside their communities, by whites.

Segregation reached its height during the close of the last century and

one rarely sees the signs "white" and "colored" over public accommodations in the South. The most blatant aspects of Jim Crow have been overturned—but only to disclose the more pervasive aspects of segregation.

The controversy over busing has revealed some of these aspects of segregation in the public schools. To



Linda Jenness

Southern school boards, the 1954 Supreme Court decision simply meant proclaiming every school open for any student who wanted to attend. However, since the better schools were not in the Black neighborhoods and it was made difficult to attend them, segregation was perpetuated.

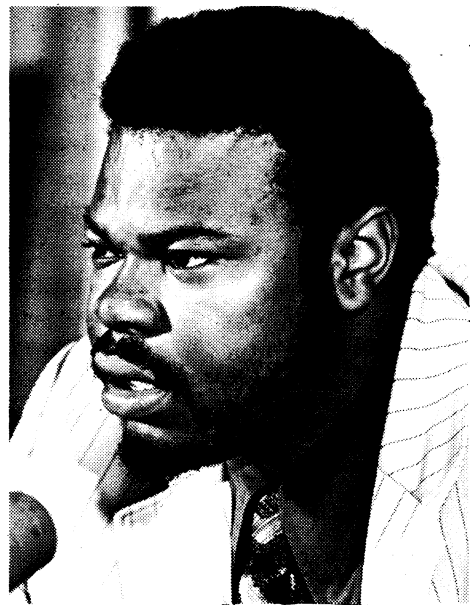
To fight this maintenance of unequal education, Black parents, the NAACP, and other civil rights organizations began to file court suits demanding that busing, racial quotas, or rezoning of the schools be ordered to achieve desegregation. They felt that by attending the relatively superior white schools, Black students could receive a better education; and if white students attended Black schools, it might convince white parents to help make improvements in these schools.

A partial victory was achieved in April 1971 when the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the use of busing to desegregate the Charlotte-Mecklenburg County school system in North Carolina. The court did not intend the decision to apply to the North. However, the effect of the decision was to sanction busing already implemented in the North and West, and to spur its use elsewhere.

Democrats and Republicans

Although the question has now developed as a major issue in the 1972 presidential campaign, the Democrats and Republicans have little to offer

the child or significantly impinge on his or her educational process; or where the educational opportunities available at the school to which it is proposed that such student be transported will be substantially less than those offered at the school to which such student would otherwise be assigned. . . ." This is only a sub-



Andrew Pulley Photos by Howard Petrick

terfuge for saying that no white students will be transported to Black schools, thus perpetuating their privileged position and catering to the racist fears and prejudices of white parents.

Democratic liberals like Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York City and Governor Reubin Askew of Florida are portrayed as staunch defenders of busing. However, behind their support of busing is a demagogic attempt to counter the growing alienation and distrust Black people have toward the



Bus overturned by whites in Lamar, S.C.

By CAROLINE LUND

There has long been widespread cynicism among the American people with the electoral process in this country and with the two-party system. One-fourth to one-half of voters regularly stay away from the polls. Their feeling is that there is not much difference between the candidates or that all politicians are crooks anyway.

This year, signs of dissatisfaction with the two-party setup are particularly evident. With the exposure of such features of capitalist rule as the Mylai massacre, the Pentagon and Anderson papers, the wage freeze, and the Amchitka blast, the credibility of both Democratic and Republican party politicians has deteriorated even further. Since the 1968 elections the increased questioning of this country's political institutions has been reflected most graphically in the deepening antiwar sentiment which has spread to all sections of the population, including the labor movement and the Army. It has also been reflected in the rise of new independent struggles, such as those of Chicanos, women, gay people, and prisoners.

A *Washington Post* voter survey printed Dec. 12 found that 68 percent of those polled didn't believe that politicians tell the truth. The survey concluded that "never have political loyalties and allegiances been weaker."

The Feb. 6 *New York Times* reported an estimate that in New Hampshire, where the first presidential primary takes place March 7, about 140,000 voters have registered as independents, while 160,000 are registered as Republicans and 100,000 as Democrats. A majority of young people registering for the first time in New Hampshire are registering as independents.

Politicians in both parties are aware of the dangers this bodes for the two-party system. The granting of the vote to 18-year-olds was one attempt to bolster the credibility of the two-party electoral system. Another attempt was the reform guidelines mandated by the 1968 Democratic Party convention to try to change the party's undemocratic and machine-ridden image.

In addition, caucuses have been established to lure the most radicalized segments of the population—Black people, Chicanos, youth, and women—into working through the Democratic and Republican parties.

But even those who are relating in some way to the Democratic and Republican parties often do so with a feeling of desperation, believing there is no other realistic alternative. This disgruntlement with the two major parties was voiced in an article called "1972: Choosing the least of ten evils" by Sam Smith in the Dec. 29 *D.C. Gazette*, a Washington, D.C., weekly newspaper. Smith ends his explanation of why he supports Muskie by saying: "One thing we know, we're not going to have a lot to cheer about next fall. If the Democratic candidate comes to our town, about the best we'll be able to say is what the black woman voter told Thatcher Longstreth, the patrician liberal who lost this fall in Philadelphia's mayoral campaign: 'You ain't much baby, but you're all we've got.'"

Is there any alternative to the perspective of the Democratic and Republican parties continuing to rule this country and getting a stamp of approval every four years? In order to answer this question we must first examine the basic character of these two parties and look more deeply into the origins and character of the electoral system in this country.

Political democracy was a tremendous gain won through the American Revolution of 1776. Settlers in this country refused to accept the "divine right" of the King of England to rule over them and proclaimed a republic with sovereignty residing in the peo-

ple. But although the democratic state won by the revolution was a great step forward, it is nowhere near the exalted system of freedom, equality, and opportunity that is taught in school books.

For example, all of the constitutions of the original 13 states limited the right to vote to free, white, adult, propertied males. The concept of the rulers of this country was not that democracy was for everybody, but rather that democracy was for the owners of property. This excluded the poor, the slaves, women and the Native-Americans.

Struggle for suffrage

Democratic ideals were deepened among the masses of Americans with the French Revolution of 1789, and before the Civil War a movement spread throughout the country to extend suffrage by removing property requirements.

The conservative Massachusetts politician Daniel Webster argued against this in the following manner, as paraphrased in Charles and Mary Beard's *The Rise of American Civilization*:

"Webster warned . . . that all the revolutions of history which had shaken society to its foundations had been revolts against property; that equal suffrage was incompatible with inequality in property; and that if adopted it would either end in assaults on wealth or new restraints upon democracy—a reaction of the notables."

The limited degree of democracy we have so far achieved has only been won through massive and militant struggles against the possessors of power and property—by working people, by Black people, and by women. Similarly, the right to vote was only last year extended to 18-year-olds because youth had demonstrated—through their leading participation in the antiwar and GI movements, the Black liberation movement, and campus struggles—that they were going to have their demands heard in the streets if not through the ballot box.

The United States government is democratic in form, claiming to give equal political voice to all citizens, but it contains an insurmountable contradiction: it defends *inequalities* in property. In defending private property, this system of political democracy is actually democracy for the rich. Those who possess the economic power have the power to buy political control as well.

It is widely understood, if not taught in history books, that despite democratic forms, political control is in the hands of the capitalist class in this country. Not only Marxists have said this. Even President Woodrow Wilson stated it outright:

"The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States. It is written over every intimate page of the record of Congress, it is written all through the history of conferences at the White House, that the suggestions of economic policy in this country have come from one source, not from many sources. . . . the men really consulted are the men who have the biggest stake—the big bankers, the big manufacturers, the big masters of commerce. . . ." (as quoted in Ferdinand Lundberg's *The Rich and the Super-Rich*).

Lundberg notes that the 500 largest corporations (one-tenth of one percent of all corporations) do 33 percent of all corporate business, while profits of the top 10 are equal to those of almost half of the remaining 490.

The rich have many methods to exert control over the government—direct and indirect, legal and illegal. One of the main ways is through their control of the Democratic and Republican parties. The ruling class—the businessmen, bankers, and landlords

How the capitalist control the Democratic and Republican



FREEDOM OF CHOICE

who own the major banks, factories and industries—and their political servants have succeeded in monopolizing the political arena in this country with only two parties.

The buying of candidates

One way the capitalists control the Democratic and Republican parties and keep them in power is through the financial influence they have on the candidates of these parties. To get elected as a candidate of the Democratic or Republican party takes a considerable amount of money. The candidate must either be extremely wealthy or he or she must have the support of the extremely wealthy.

Again, it is not only Marxists who recognize this. Senator Russell Long (D-La.) stated in a speech on the Senate floor in 1967: "Most campaign

money comes from businessmen. Labor contributions have been greatly exaggerated. It would be my guess that about 95 percent of campaign funds at the congressional level are derived from businessmen. At least 80 percent of this comes from men who could sign a net worth statement exceeding a quarter of a million dollars. . . . Merely by assiduously tending to the problems of business interests located in one's own state, a legislator can generally assure himself of enough financial support to campaign effectively for re-election."

Time magazine reported Nov. 29, 1971, that in 1968 Richard Nixon spent an estimated \$10-million in his *preconvention* campaign alone, even though he had no serious opponents. And the liberal Eugene McCarthy, despite his cultivation of an "idealistic"

sts Democratic parties



image, outdid Nixon, spending \$11-million prior to the Democratic Party convention.

What working person can get together that kind of money in order to challenge the candidates of the rich?

The Corrupt Practices Act of 1925 was supposed to temper control by the rich through prohibiting corporations and banks from making contributions to election campaigns. But this law has so many loopholes—intentionally included—that it is a farce.

On Feb. 8 consumer rights advocate Ralph Nader filed a lawsuit charging the Justice Department with encouraging "wholesale and flagrant" violation of federal election laws and of being the chief protector of "corruption, fraud and dishonesty" in the

financing of presidential and congressional campaigns. According to the Feb. 9 *New York Times*, the suit points out that there has been only one attempt to prosecute anyone under the 47-year-old law, which has been ignored through the terms of 10 Democratic and five Republican attorneys general.

The Corrupt Practices Act will be replaced on April 7 with Nixon's new Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. Under the new law, supervision of congressional campaign spending is in the hands of the clerk of the House and secretary of the Senate, both appointees of the majority party in Congress. With enforcement in the hands of the criminals' hirelings, it can be predicted that this new campaign-spending law will be no better enforced than the last one.

Presidential aspirant Edmund Muskie has already admitted in a taped interview with Richard Reeves of *New York Magazine* that if he were to disclose all the sources of his campaign finances, "I'd be out of the race." The Sept. 13 *Time* magazine quotes one of Muskie's aides as saying in regard to Muskie's campaign contributors: "These guys want to make investments, not contributions." And they expect a return on their investments, that is, they want some control over what Muskie does if he attains office.

A number of exposés have been written on the extent of corruption of Democratic and Republican party politicians—describing how the rich buy candidates; how they buy votes of members of Congress; how they buy influence over the appointment of the regulatory agencies that are supposed to investigate corporate fraud, deception, and practices endangering public health and safety; and how industrialists buy themselves tax breaks.

But the exposés can give only a hint of the corrupt deals that take place behind closed doors in plush meeting rooms.

In addition to their manipulation of the Democratic and Republican parties and candidates, the capitalists have a huge influence over the elections through their control of the mass media. The owners of the mass media—together with other big capitalist advertisers—control what information the masses of people are allowed to receive. They decide what is news. They give virtually all their campaign coverage to Democratic and Republican party candidates and attempt to black out news about what they can call "minor party" candidates.

According to *America Incorporated*, by Morton Mintz and Jerry S. Cohen, in 1970 only 4.13 percent of cities and towns in the United States had daily newspapers owned by two or more separate publishers.

Undemocratic election laws

Another way the capitalists maintain their control is with the undemocratic election laws that deter or prevent any other party from challenging the two parties of the capitalists.

Consider the case of Illinois, which is not exceptional. According to Mike Royko, in his book *Boss*, Illinois election laws are so restrictive that Chicago has never once in this century had more than two candidates for mayor on the ballot—a Republican and a Democrat. Mayor Daley needs to file only about 3,900 signatures on his nominating petitions to get on the ballot. The Republican candidate needs about 2,500. A candidate from any other party, however, is required to file about 60,000-70,000 signatures of voters who registered as independents. In California an independent candidate for president would need about 330,000 signatures in order to get on the ballot. Another device to screen out candidates who aren't rich or who don't have rich backers are

the high filing fees required in many states to get on the ballot.

And even if an independent party manages to file the required number of signatures, validation of ballot status is in the hands of election boards made up of Democrats or Republicans who have landed their jobs through patronage. Royko quotes a remark by former head of the Chicago Board of Elections Sidney Holzman that shows the contempt with which election boards treat independent nominating petitions: "We throw their petitions up to the ceiling, and those that stick are good."

Election boards are corrupt just like other government agencies. For example, on Feb. 26 the *New York Times* reported that Philadelphia Election Commission Chairman Maurice S. Osser has been indicted on charges of extorting \$101,500 from a voting machine company.

The way in which the Democratic and Republican parties operate—on the basis of patronage, favors, and corruption—is further proof that they are not in business to defend the interests of those who vote for them, but to serve the interests of the rich and powerful.

Patronage, payoffs

Boss provides a good picture of how patronage works. Mayor Daley has control of some 20,000-25,000 government jobs. Every day he goes over the list of all new city employees, down to the most menial jobs. "After each person's name will be an extract of his background, the job, and most important, his political sponsor," writes Royko. "Nobody goes to work for the city, and that includes governmental bodies that are not directly under the mayor, without Daley's knowing about it. He must see every name because the person becomes more than an employee: he joins the political Machine, part of the army numbering in the thousands who will help win elections. They damn well better, or they won't keep their jobs."

Royko describes the methods Daley has developed for getting around civil service procedures and his methods for extracting services for the Democratic Party, such as threats to poor people that they will lose their public housing apartments, or will be cut off welfare.

The Daley machine is particularly well-organized, but essentially the same principles are used by every Democratic and Republican administration. Just recently, for example, the wives of New York criminal court judges were sent invitations to attend a \$100-a-plate fund-raising affair for Mayor John Lindsay's presidential campaign, according to the Jan. 25 *New York Post*. The wives received the invitations because judges, appointed by the mayor to their 10-year, \$30,000-a-year jobs, are supposedly prohibited from contributing to political campaigns.

Through favors and payoffs, Democratic and Republican party administrations use government resources to buy support: by awarding contracts to the right people, by making appointments to regulatory agencies that will give the least amount of trouble to big business, by corruption of the police forces, and by inaction against racism and sexism to curry favor with the employers.

The corruption of the Democratic and Republican parties is manifested in the corruption of police departments in cities around the country, under administrations of both parties. The Jan. 28 *New York Times* reported that "Police corruption, including charges of selling heroin, accepting payoffs from gamblers and procuring prostitutes, has been uncovered recently in police departments and sheriffs' offices in at least 23 states and the District of Columbia."

Anyone who doubts that both the

Democratic and Republican parties have essentially the same program of upholding capitalism should look at how the big capitalists treat these parties. Many of them contribute equally to both the Democrats and the Republicans—as one International Telephone and Telegraph Corp. executive put it, "to 'butter' both sides so we'll be in a good position whoever wins."

Although the fundamental class character of these two parties is the same, they do have minor differences that reflect tactical disagreements within the capitalist class. The capitalist class is not homogeneous, and there are different economic and political interests among capitalists as well as different concepts of how capitalism can best be preserved.

Each party has a "liberal" and a "conservative" wing. The Democratic Party outside the South, for example, tries to project an image of being the party of labor and the oppressed nationalities. But these superficial differences tend to disappear when the candidates get into office and vital issues have to be decided.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties have had ample opportunity to demonstrate in practice what they stand for. They are both responsible for the war in Indochina; the \$80-billion military budget; the wage controls; enforcement of discrimination; the denial of human rights to women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans; the pollution of our environment; the undemocratic activities of the FBI and CIA; the injustice of the prison system.

Their alternate terms in office enable them to serve as safety valves, to absorb discontent without damage to the system as a whole. When one of the parties has discredited itself by its policies while in office, the other party tries to cash in on popular dissatisfaction by promising to act differently if elected. Thus the two-party system is able to absorb dissent by shifting the voters from one party to the other.

These are the basic reasons underneath the growing cynicism with the two-party runaround. Many people sense the fact that we have the forms of democracy, but not the content. The choice we are given between a Democrat or a Republican is not a real choice because both of them serve the interests of the rich. They are in a sense more like two big factions of the same party.

Daniel Webster was right when he said that political equality was incompatible with economic inequality, which is inherent in any system based on private property. Full democracy can only be achieved by abolishing economic control of a few people over the overwhelming majority through private ownership of property. This minority control has been expressed in the social systems of slavery, serfdom, and now in the relatively new form of servitude: wage labor. As long as some own the major means of producing social wealth and others are forced to sell their labor power—completely dependent upon the capitalist for their life sustenance—there can be no political equality.

Ultimately, the fullest degree of democracy can only be achieved under a new system based on social ownership of wealth and production, with direct control by the working people over the government that administers both economic and political affairs. This is what socialists propose as the fundamental solution to the corrupt and undemocratic political system supported by the Democratic and Republican parties.

Future articles in *The Militant* will discuss the various arguments raised in support of continuing to back "lesser evil" Democrats or Republicans, and what can be done in 1972 to help build an alternative to these parties.

'72 Socialist Campaign

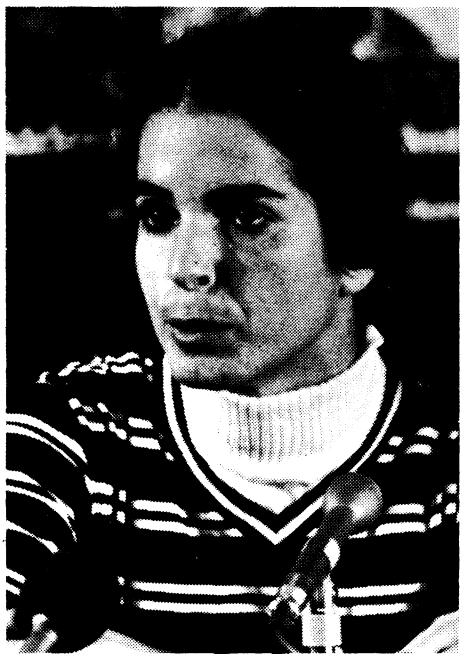
On Feb. 14, Democratic presidential hopeful Eugene McCarthy spoke to an audience of 1,500 at the University of Illinois Circle Campus. Willa Madden of the Chicago Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley reports:

"McCarthy, who was greeted with friendly applause, had the misfortune to call on Andrew Pulley during the question and answer period. Pulley challenged McCarthy to debate Linda Jenness and asked a few questions, all of which McCarthy sidestepped or ignored altogether. Later, McCarthy called on Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for Cook County state's attorney. Oliver drew enthusiastic applause when he talked about the need for an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties, both of which, he pointed out, are unable to serve the needs of the oppressed sectors of society.

"Because of McCarthy's poor answers to questions regarding child care, the Palestinian struggle, etc., the audience responded at the end of the meeting with, at most, polite applause.

"When McCarthy was approached after the meeting, he agreed to debate Linda Jenness. He also verbally agreed to endorse the April 22 antiwar march in New York and Los Angeles, the Feb. 25-27 conference of the Student Mobilization Committee, and the actions called for May 1-6 by the second Women's National Abortion Action Conference."

Mayor Lindsay told a student audience at the University of California in Los Angeles on Feb. 23 that he would be willing to debate all other presidential candidates, including Linda Jenness.



Debby Leonard Photo by Ellen Lemisch

On Jan. 29 Texas SWP gubernatorial candidate Debby Leonard debated three of her opponents before the United Press International (UPI) Editors Association Convention, held at the Rice Hotel in Houston.

More than 175 people heard Leonard; Governor Preston Smith and Lt. Governor Ben Barnes, who are seeking the Democratic nomination; and State Senator Henry Grover, who is seeking the Republican nomination.

Leonard spoke about the abortion law repeal movement, the Black and Chicano movements, and the struggle against the so-called "right-to-work" laws and other antilabor legislation. She called for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Southeast Asia.

In response to Grover's call for a cutback in welfare spending, Leonard said that what was needed was not a cut in welfare for dependent children, but rather an extension of all these services to include free, 24-hour child-care centers controlled by those who use them, and free quality education for all children.

More than 150 women attended the first conference of the Northern California Women's Political Caucus Feb. 5 in Oakland. Marilyn Winch, a member of the Associated Students Senate of the University of California at Berkeley and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, was included in a panel on "Alternatives for Women in the Political Sphere."

The gathering was widely covered by the media, with NBC-TV reporting that the political parties represented at the meeting were the Democrats, the Republicans, and the Socialist Workers.

During the week ending Feb. 24, an additional 574 people signed cards endorsing the 1972 campaign. This is the highest weekly total yet, and it brings the total number who have signed endorsement cards to 4,931. Three hundred twenty of the 574 new endorsers were from California. This week the first endorsement from Delaware was received, leaving only Wyoming and South Dakota without any endorsers of the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

Posters with the slogan "Control Chicano del Barrio Chicano, Linda Jenness para presidente, Andrew Pulley para vice-presidente" are now available from the national campaign office at 10 cents each, four cents each on bulk orders.

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

"I will be voting this November and wish her (Linda Jenness—S.B.) all the luck in the world. Sincerely, T.H., March Air Force Base, Calif."

"Dear sisters and brothers, I support your cause and what you are trying to accomplish to bring about a change in our oppressive society. I realize you need money and I wish I could help, but being in prison leaves me without any funds and I haven't any way to raise funds by working, as I'm in maximum security. But thank you for writing and for remembering me. I shall continue to support your cause the only way I can, with my heart and by never letting the people here brainwash me. Til I'm free and can do more, I send my love! In struggle and solidarity," an inmate at Purdy Prison for Women, Gig Harbor, Wash.

After a tour of the San Francisco county jail in San Bruno, Linda Jenness declared in a Feb. 17 press statement, "even the most reformed prison is still a prison." She called for "a society where human beings have no need to lock each other up like animals."

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

— STEVE BEREN

Pulley visits D.C.; Va.

By CALVIN GODDARD
WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Washington, D. C., Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley have strongly condemned the administration at Marshall High School in Falls Church, Va., for canceling a scheduled talk by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice president, and for using police harassment against the candidate. The YSJP has demanded that future meetings of campaign supporters be allowed at the school without police interference.

YSJPers at Marshall had arranged a meeting at the school for Pulley for Feb. 23, but the principal arbitrarily canceled the engagement and then brought in plainclothes detectives to make sure it did not take place.

As Pulley and a campaign aide, Ove Aspoy, were parked outside Marshall waiting to drive students to a meeting off the school premises, after classes were dismissed, they were approached by two detectives. After demanding to see Aspoy's license, one detective said, "You have 30 seconds to get off this campus or be arrested." No explanation was given. As Aspoy and Pulley drove off, they were followed by the detectives, who later stopped their car and harassed them further.

Despite these illegal actions, a successful meeting of Marshall students

was held at the home of a campaign supporter.

Pulley also addressed 200 students at Wilson High School in Washington, D. C. Twenty-five students signed cards endorsing the campaign, including a woman leader of the school's Afro-American Club.

After a tour of Lorton reformatory in Virginia on Feb. 22, Pulley remarked that the conditions there were similar to what he had experienced as a prisoner in the Fort Jackson stockade. Prisoners at Lorton complained of overcrowding, lack of winter clothing, and almost no vocational training. Three inmates endorsed the Jenness-Pulley ticket, and several others asked for more information.

Other meetings during Pulley's tour here were held at George Washington University, Georgetown University, Howard University, and Trinity College in Washington, D. C., and at William and Mary College in Williamsburg, Va. Extensive coverage was given to his tour in the campus press, and Pulley also appeared on an hour-long radio call-in program.

Prior to Pulley's final speaking engagement at all-Black Hampton Institute in southeastern Virginia, the YSJP announced that it plans to help the Socialist Workers Party obtain the 8,000 signatures necessary to put the Jenness-Pulley ticket on the Virginia ballot.

1,000 in Wash. high schools hear Jenness

By JOANN CORMIER
SEATTLE—More than 250 people signed up as endorsers of the Socialist Workers Party ticket during Linda Jenness' three-day tour of Washington. The socialist candidate for president had her largest meetings at Franklin and Roosevelt high schools in Seattle, where 500 students at each school attended assemblies for Jenness. Three other high schools requested similar meetings.

Jenness spoke to an audience of 250 at the University of Washington in Seattle and to 150 people at Central Washington State College in Ellensburg. Students at Centralia College and Seattle Central Community College also heard the SWP presidential nominee.

A campaign rally for Jenness was held Feb. 25 at the University Towers Hotel in Seattle and drew 100 supporters. The rally began with excerpts from the play *El Hajj Malik: The Dramatic Life and Death of Malcolm X*, performed by three members of the cast from Black Arts West. In addition to Jenness, speakers at the rally included Larry Bizzell from the

University of Washington Black Student Union; Valery Valrejean, feminist and a member of the Gay People's Alliance in Bellingham, Wash.; and Eric Huffman, student senator at Franklin High School and a leader of the High School Student Mobilization Committee. Doug Swanson, SWP candidate for governor of Washington, also spoke. Rally participants donated \$1,700 to the campaign in response to a fund appeal by Helen Meyers.

Eight people at the rally signed cards endorsing the campaign. One person asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance, and one asked to join the Socialist Workers Party.

Jenness appeared on TV channels 4, 5, and 7, as well as on radio stations KUOW, KOL, KING, KOMO, and KIRO. She taped an interview for "Issues '72," a local TV show. At least seven newspapers ran stories on her campaign, including three articles written by women editors of major newspapers.

Jenness received more than \$400 in honorariums, in addition to the money collected at the campaign rally.

Miller tours Mich., builds Choice '72

Laura Miller, a national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, helped set up Choice '72 referendums on six campuses in the Michigan area during her tour there at the end of February. Also as a result of her five-day visit to the state, four new YSJP groups were established on college and high school campuses, and eight people asked to join the YSA.

Miller met with student government leaders and student newspaper editors in Michigan to gain their support for Choice '72, a student referendum on the presidential candidates and major political issues. The YSJP is actively organizing Choice '72 throughout the country and is seeking support for the poll from student governments, school newspapers, candidate

support groups, and other student organizations.

At Macomb Community College in Warren, Miller spoke with the student body vice-president, the campus newspaper editor, and other students, who decided to schedule Choice '72 as the culmination of a week-long "Political Festival" in May.

The Los Angeles tour of national YSJP coordinator Tom Vernier ended last week with a debate at California State College at Los Angeles with Tom Woo, a Lindsay supporter, and a debate with a McCloskey supporter at Los Angeles City College. Vernier also spoke at the University of California at Los Angeles, at Claremont College, and on KTER and KPFFK radio.

Portland 16-yr-old fights election ruling

By GEORGE KONTANIS

PORTLAND—On Feb. 19 the Portland Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley collected more than 600 signatures to place John Linder, 16-year-old SWP candidate for Position 1, Portland School Board, on the ballot. Only 300 signatures are required. Linder's right to be on the ballot has been challenged by the Election Commissioner of Multnomah County, who has invoked a ruling that bars candidates under 18 years of age from ballot status. The Socialist Workers Party intends to take legal action against this discriminatory requirement, which affects Linder and several other high school candidates.

Linder's candidacy marks the first time the Socialist Workers Party has ever run an election campaign in Portland. As a leader of the recent Student Mobilization Committee fight for recognition in Portland's high schools, Linder is a well-known activist.

The successful petition drive coincided with a two-day tour of the Portland region by Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for president. At Portland Community College nearly 300 peo-

Linda Jenness sent the following telegram to the General Secretary of the United Nations on Feb. 25. I support the demands of the Confederation of Iranian Students: to annul the recent death sentences of 10 Iranian political prisoners and to permit international lawyers and doctors to visit the prisoners. I believe that these international observers should be able to investigate reports of torture. I urge you to use your authority in securing these human rights for Iranian political prisoners.

ple heard Jenness and 17 signed cards endorsing the campaign. She spoke to 75 people at Portland State University, where 16 signed up as campaign endorsers and \$35 was raised. The PSU Women's Union also met with Jenness.

At Adams High School more than

200 students attended a meeting to hear Jenness and Ruth Getts, Oregon SWP candidate for U. S. Senate.

Jenness also toured the Oregon State Correctional Institute in Salem and spoke at a campaign forum in Portland, where \$50 was raised.

Daily coverage by United Press International (UPI) and Portland's major newspapers accompanied Jenness' tour here. She also appeared on radio and TV.

Socialist campaign sets new fund goal

NEW YORK, Feb. 26—Larry Seigle, national campaign manager of the Socialist Workers Party's 1972 election campaign, announced here this week that a campaign supporter has offered to match all contributions to the national campaign committee, up to \$10,000, during the next month and a half.

Seigle said that a drive has been launched to raise the \$20,000 total. The drive will include advertisements in *The Militant*, mailings to campaign endorsers, and individual appeals to campaign supporters.

Seigle pointed out that the \$20,000 would make it possible for the Jenness-Pulley campaign to reach thousands of additional people through literature and other expanded campaign activities. Seigle said, "The Jenness-Pulley campaign budget is under terrific strain. We are running a serious national campaign on the amount of money that the capitalists go through in a week. This drive will aid every aspect of campaign work, including tours, publication of literature, the teams of YSJP organizers, and the general operation of the national office of the campaign.

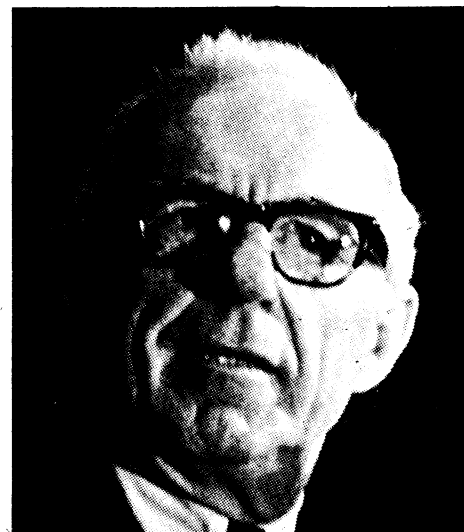
"There have been occasions when we have had to forego a piece of campaign literature or a trip by one of the candidates into a particular area because of a lack of flexibility in our budget. We expect this problem to increase in severity as our activity increases. If we are successful in raising this additional \$20,000 this spring, it will not only be a tremendous help with this problem but a good head start on the maximum effort that we will be making during the summer and fall."

Those interested in making contributions to the drive can send them to: '72 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Jenness, Spock sue Navy, Laird

By JUDY UHL

Linda Jenness joined Benjamin Spock, presidential nominee of the People's Party, in filing suit in Rhode Island federal district court Feb. 24 to reverse a decision barring them from campaigning at the Quonset Point Naval Air Station. The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee are handling the case.



Dr. Benjamin Spock

At a news conference held in Boston on the filing date, New England CoDEL representative Dave Bliss explained how the candidates had jointly requested permission Jan. 19, to meet with servicemen at the Quonset Point Naval Air Station. Commanding officer R. W. Frame denied their request Jan. 27. In identical letters to each candidate, Frame wrote, "It is the policy of the Department of Defense to avoid conduct that either directly or indirectly endorses or selectively benefits . . . any political group."

Jenness and Spock are suing both Commanding Officer Frame and Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird. David Rosenberg of Harvard is the attorney for the plaintiffs.

Benjamin Spock and John Powers, Massachusetts SWP candidate for Congress (Eighteenth C. D.), spoke at the news conference. Spock emphasized the need to reform the two-party system and to allow political expression for all candidates. Powers read a statement by Linda Jenness that said in part:

"My campaign platform calls for the

immediate withdrawal of all troops from Southeast Asia, a position a majority of Americans also support. My running mate, Andrew Pulley, is a former GI who has vigorously protested the war, both in and out of the Army. I believe that our campaign has a great deal to say to the American serviceman. I believe that every soldier or sailor has the same right to meet and hear the views of candidates as do students, workers, housewives, and others, and to support the candidates of his choice openly, in or out of uniform, on or off the base."

Jenness noted in her statement that the Quonset Point commander's action was not the first barring SWP candidates from a military base. SWP candidates have also been refused permission to visit Fort Knox and Fort Jackson Army bases and Wright Patterson Air Force Base. She urged all candidates for public office to support the court action.

Massachusetts State Representative John Businger, a CoDEL supporter, spoke in defense of the two presidential candidates at the news conference. He pointed out that incumbent politicians do not have any difficulty in campaigning on military bases and urged that all candidates be allowed free access to military installations.

Professor Noam Chomsky of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology also supported the candidates' rights. In a statement prepared for the press, he said, "It is essential that they be allowed to speak to their military constituents and to discuss with them the vital political issues of the day."



Laura Maggi

Photo by Howard Petrick

The Austin Socialist Workers Party announced its candidates for Austin Independent School District Board of Trustees on Feb. 23. The candidates for the April 1 election are Eric Sell, for Place 2; Laura Maggi, for Place 6; and Howard Petrick, for Place 7.

\$20,000 Socialist Campaign Fund

You can double your money, if... you support the socialist campaign

Between now and April 14, the Jenness-Pulley campaign can raise \$20,000 by raising \$10,000. A campaign supporter has offered to match all contributions up to \$10,000 during the next six weeks.

If you can contribute a certain amount per month, the total you pledge will count toward the Matching Fund. Every dollar you contribute is worth two dollars to the socialist campaign.

() I can contribute \$_____ to the \$20,000 Matching Fund.

() I can contribute \$_____ to the Matching Fund at the rate of \$_____ per month between now and November.

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

'72 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.



Arrests hit fighters for Czech reforms

From Intercontinental Press

Fears are rising that the regime of Gustav Husak in Czechoslovakia may be organizing trials of leading intellectual figures in the 1968 "Prague Spring"—despite his promise when he took office that there would be no such major political trials.

Over the last three months arrests of persons accused of carrying out "antistate activity" have involved an estimated several hundred people. Very few have been released, and at least two have already been sentenced to prison terms.

In late November about 40 persons—among them Jaroslav Sabata, a former high official in the Communist Party in Moravia and a close adviser of Alexander Dubcek before the latter was replaced by Husak—were arrested for "sabotage of the elections

position groups in Czechoslovakia and Czech emigres in Italy, in particular Jiri Pelikan. Pelikan was the head of Czechoslovak television and later cultural attaché at the Czech embassy in Rome, where he stayed after the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. According to *Le Monde*, *Rude Pravo* claims that Pelikan hoped to obtain secret political and economic information that would be "of interest to imperialist news agencies," and that he and his "contacts" were hoping to "overthrow the present regime" of Husak.

Pelikan refuted the charges against Ochetto in an interview with Agence France-Presse that was reported in the Feb. 8 *Le Monde*. The intellectuals arrested in Czechoslovakia are not "reactionaries," he stated, but people who have "devoted their entire life to



Czechs halt Moscow tank in 1968 invasion

by distributing and producing tracts that were hostile to the state."

This was followed by another wave of arrests near the end of December of persons allegedly engaged in opposition political activity. On Dec. 29, a leader of the former Union of Czechoslovak Students, Ladislav Mravec, was sentenced to a year and a half in prison following a secret trial. Bernard Marguerite reported in the Paris daily *Le Monde* Jan. 14.

Mravec was accused of handing three documents from the student union, in particular a list of demands raised during the student strike in November 1968, to two Polish citizens, and was found guilty of locating a mimeograph machine for them to run off their "non-censored bulletin," thereby attempting to "contribute to the overthrow of the socialist system in a fraternal country."

The arrests continued throughout January. Jiri Lederer, a well-known journalist and commentator in *Reporter*, the former organ of the journalists' union, which has been banned for three years, was condemned on Feb. 2 to the maximum sentence of two years in prison for his "crime." He was found guilty of "defaming an allied state and its representatives." According to the Feb. 4 *Le Monde*, Lederer had "criticized Gomulka for having lost his authority and for being incapable of controlling the situation in his country. The same criticisms have since been made by Gomulka's successor as head of the Polish party, Edward Gierk. . . ."

The arrest of the Italian journalist Valerio Ochetto added a new ingredient to the brew the Husak regime is cooking up. He is accused of having "aided criminal, subversive activity against the Czechoslovak Republic." He could receive a three- to ten-year prison term.

According to the Feb. 8 *Le Monde*, the Czechoslovak Communist Party newspaper, *Rude Pravo*, accused Ochetto of being a go-between for op-

the cause of socialism and freedom." "It is quite clear," he continued, "that Prague wants to prepare the way for a trial against the alleged 'second center' of the party. For that they need activists in the 'Prague Spring,' a foreign agent to serve as a 'liason,' and Czechoslovak exiles who will be presented as agents of 'imperialist' news agencies. But through those arrested, it is the leaders of the 'Prague Spring' such as Dubcek, Smrkovsky, Kriegl, and others—and their 1968 policy—that are the real targets."

Among those who are known to have been arrested in Czechoslovakia are Milan Huebl, former rector of the Communist Party college; Ludek Pachman, former chess champion; Karel Kyncl, journalist; philosopher Karel Kosik; historian Karel Bartosek; journalist Vladimir Nepras; Karel Kaplan, a scientist; Jiri Littera, former secretary of the Prague party committee; Rudolf Slansky, son of the former general secretary of the party who was executed in 1952 after a frame-up trial; and Jan Sling, son of Otto Sling, another Party figure who was executed at the same time.

Both the Italian and French Communist parties have been quick to dissociate themselves from the arrests. The Feb. 12 issue of the French Communist Party newspaper, *L'Humanité*, referring to the present wave of repression, reminded its readers of Husak's promise that there would be no "prefabricated political trials" of persons associated with the 1968 Prague Spring.

The Italian Communist Party's weekly magazine, *Rinascita*, is quoted in the Feb. 12 *Le Monde* as expressing the fear that the current wave of arrests may be a prelude to new trials, pointedly wondering "if the path chosen in August 1968 [the date of the Soviet-led invasion] and thereafter has not only not solved any problems, but if it has not actually created new ones, giving rise to new, more acute crises."

Iranian dissenters face death sentence

From Intercontinental Press

By JAVAD SADEEG

Over a hundred Iranian students attending various European universities gathered at the University of Paris campus to begin a hunger strike on February 14, according to a report received on February 19 by *Intercontinental Press*.

A group of twenty students conducted a simultaneous hunger strike in Washington, D. C.; a forty-eight-hour vigil was held in San Francisco; and a protest meeting was held in Chicago.

These actions are part of a worldwide campaign organized by the Confederation of Iranian Students to protest the harsh sentences rapidly being meted out to opponents of the military regime in Iran. The confederation is demanding that the death sentences be rescinded and that the Iranian government permit lawyers and physicians from other countries to visit the prisoners.

The Iranian students in Washington disclosed that a military court has sentenced the following persons to death: Naser Sadeg, Mohammad Bazergani, Masoud Rajavi, and Ali Mihandoust.

The four are part of a group of eleven prisoners whose trial started on February 14 in Teheran. According to the February 15 air edition of the semiofficial Teheran daily *Ettelaat*, charges against them include hijacking an airplane, attempting to kidnap the shah's nephew and killing a worker who had come to his aid, producing explosives, and establishing contacts with the Confederation of Iranian Students and the Iraqi regime.

Ettelaat reported that the trial of another group, consisting of four persons, started on February 14 in Teheran. They are charged with attacking a police station in Tabriz, Azerbaijan, and killing a policeman.

A trial involving 143 persons is under way, according to the Paris daily *Le Monde* of February 8. There has been no mention of this in the Iranian press.

The group of twenty-three who ap-

pealed their sentences early in February are back in the military courts. Apparently now they are being tried in at least three different military courts. *Ettelaat* reported that Massoud Ahmadzadeh, who was sentenced to death in the first trial, again refused to defend himself in the court of appeals, charging that the military had no jurisdiction over him as a political prisoner.

The Iranian Students Association in New York disclosed on February 14 that the military courts of appeal for the group of twenty-three had confirmed the sentences, issued by the earlier court, of two of the six young revolutionists condemned to death.

The student group also disclosed that parallel to the trial of the first group of twenty revolutionists [see *Intercontinental Press*, February 21, p. 172], there was a second group of oppositionists being tried secretly. No further information was available.

The trial of the first group of twenty ended on February 8, two days after it had started! Colonel Jafar Vosoug, the presiding officer, told the prisoners that he was happy because the court had examined its conscience and issued a just sentence.

The sentences that made the colonel and his conscience happy included life imprisonment with hard labor for Ali-Reza Shokouhi, Mohammad Ahmadian, Hussein Hashemi and Abdullah Razavi-Emad. Massoud Farah, who was not of legal age at the time of his arrest, was sentenced to three years in a "correctional institution." The following fifteen persons were given from three to ten years: Faraj Sarkouhi, Ali Mehdizadeh, Adel Khamsai, Mir-Latif Gavami, Ali-Akbar Majari, Heibat-Allah Tabibe-Ghafari, Aziz-Allah Tabibe-Ghafari, Murtanza Rahmat-Allahi, Mohammad Farsi, Hadi Ghabrai, Mohammad Gharai, Rahmat Khoshk-Daman, Rahim Ansari-Lari, Hussein Ezzati, and Mahmoud Afshar.

According to the Iranian press the "light sentences" were due to the youth, immaturity, and, in some cases, to the poverty of the defendants.

Militiamen confront Bangladesh forces

From Intercontinental Press

Soldiers of the East Bengal Regiment (EBR), the new regular army of Bangladesh, fought with Mukti Bahini militiamen February 16 in a two-and-a-half-hour battle that was ended only through the personal intervention of Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman.

According to an Associated Press dispatch, the confrontation began when the militiamen went to the headquarters of the EBR to complain about wages, food, and facilities. A scuffle broke out, and the two sides took up defensive positions and opened fire. About a thousand men were said to have been involved, and thousands of rounds were exchanged.

Rahman rushed to the scene when he was informed of the fighting and exhorted the militia to "seek the good of the nation rather than their own comfort." Rahman's prestige was apparently able to carry the day. The militiamen ceased firing and shouted, "Long live Mujib!"

The clash was the first between the regular army and the rank-and-file freedom fighters to be reported in the Western press.

It underlies one of the major problems confronting the Rahman government: how to prevent the economic demands raised during the national

liberation struggle from being realized through the armed mass action of the vanguard of that struggle. Rahman's proclaimed adherence to British-style "socialism" will clearly block the radical solution of the vast economic and social crisis facing the country. That he showed up personally to deal with the confrontation indicates that he is keenly aware of the potential explosiveness of such clashes.

So far Rahman has been aided in his efforts to foster an artificial "national unity" by the opportunism of his "leftist" opposition. The popular peasant leader Maulana Bhashani (head of the formerly pro-Peking section of the National Awami party) has, according to the February 16 *Le Monde*, returned to Bangladesh from India and is urging all parties of the left to cooperate with the regime to aid national construction.

Muzaffar Ahmed's generally pro-Soviet National Awami party has said that "all the fruits of independence should be distributed among all classes." Neither of these accommodating political formations, it should be noted, has been offered positions in Rahman's exclusively Awami League regime, despite the fact that Bhashani returned to Bangladesh at the behest of Rahman.

Ex-agent discloses entrapment evidence

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The demand for a new trial for Los Tres del Barrio, three Chicano antidrug activists, continues to be raised here. This demand gained impetus following the recent revelations of a federal agent provocateur and the release of information assembled by the Citizens Research and Investigating Committee (CRIC). (See *The Militant*, Feb. 18, for related stories.)

Los Tres were convicted in November 1971 and sentenced to a total of 75 years in prison for shooting a federal narcotics agent posing as a drug pusher.

The new information provided by Eustacio (Frank) Martinez, an agent of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Enforcement Division of the Internal Revenue Service (ATF), and Michael McCarthy, a CRIC investigator, offers weighty evidence that the ATF entrapped Los Tres with the full knowledge that they were antidrug activists, not drug pushers. It also strongly suggests that the agency deliberately sacrificed a federal operative—the agent who was shot—and that he may have been deliberately misled by his superiors into believing he was dealing with pushers.

Last November a Los Angeles jury found Rodolfo (Rudy) Sánchez, Juan Fernández, and Alberto Ortiz guilty of shooting and robbing Robert Canales, an undercover narcotics agent who tried to entrap the three into a drug deal. The three were active members of La Casa de Carnalismo, an East Los Angeles organization that carries on a variety of community activities with the primary purpose of trying to end the drug traffic in the barrio.

Sánchez has been sentenced to 40 years in prison, Fernández to 25 years, and Ortiz to 10 years in prison and five years' probation.

On the night of July 21, 1971, Rudy Sánchez received a phone call from a man who identified himself as "Bobby Parker." The man said he was a heroin dealer and wanted to supply a quantity of heroin to Sánchez for resale. He said he had obtained

Sánchez' name from Robert Middleton, a man Sánchez had met earlier while in the California state prison at Chino.

Sánchez, who had been involved with drugs at one time but became active in the Carnalismo antidrug campaign after his release from prison, agreed to meet "Bobby Parker" the next night.

Fernández and Ortiz accompanied Sánchez to the meeting to make sure nothing happened to him and to run the pusher out of the barrio.

The meeting took place, a confrontation ensued, and "Bobby Parker" was shot and permanently paralyzed. Five other federal agents waiting nearby seized the three, and they were held without bail.



Photo by Harry Ring

Eustacio (Frank) Martinez

"Bobby Parker" was federal agent Robert Canales. He had acted on the basis of information from Middleton, who told him that Sánchez was a big-time drug dealer in the barrio. But Middleton knew this was not true and so did agents of the ATF.

Middleton, now a fugitive on a bank-robbery charge, has functioned as a police informer and provocateur for state and federal agencies inside and outside of prison.

In 1968, according to the information gathered by Michael McCarthy, Middleton was returned to prison for

violation of parole. He had originally been convicted of armed robbery and while on parole was convicted of illegal possession of a weapon.

Such a charge, according to McCarthy, would normally bring a five-year sentence. Middleton drew 18 months. It was while serving this sentence that he met Rodolfo Sánchez. Both were released toward the end of 1970.

In January of 1971, Middleton made two attempts to obtain drugs from Sánchez. Each time, in the presence of witnesses, Sánchez made it plain to him that he was no longer involved with drugs and was in fact actively involved in combatting them.

On Feb. 5, 1971, Middleton was jailed on a charge of bank robbery. Shortly afterward he was approached by narcotics agent Canales with an offer that if he would set up Sánchez as a pusher he would be released on bail. Middleton agreed. He was released and made two unsuccessful efforts to obtain drugs from Sánchez.

(During this period Middleton also tried to infiltrate the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee, where he made a variety of proposals for illegally obtaining guns and money.)

While Middleton clearly knew that Sánchez was not involved in drugs, it cannot be established whether he told agent Canales this. (Just before the shooting Middleton jumped bail; his current whereabouts are unknown.)

But in any case, the ATF knew that Sánchez was not involved in drugs because of the reports provided them by their informer, Frank Martinez.

Martinez says he was told to infiltrate La Casa de Carnalismo by ATF agents Jim Riggs and Fernando Ramos. The reason they gave was that there had been several bombing incidents in the barrio and that credit for these acts had been taken anonymously in the name of an otherwise totally unknown "Chicano Liberation Front." The ATF agents told Martinez that La Casa de Carnalismo was a "front" for the "Chicano Liberation Front."

He was given a Carnalismo mem-

bership list, he said, and shown photos of "leading militants" associated with the group—including Rodolfo Sánchez. He was advised that these were possible leaders of the elusive "Chicano Liberation Front."

He said he was told that Carnalismo members, in the form of the "CLF," were responsible for the bombings, and that if it was necessary as part of the infiltration process to carry out such acts, he should do so. They would supply the necessary explosives.

Martinez says he made contact with La Casa de Carnalismo on several occasions in the month prior to the entrapment setup and shooting. He talked with various Carnalismo members. He states that he reported back to his ATF superiors that:

- He never heard mention of the "Chicano Liberation Front" at La Casa.

- He never heard any acts of violence discussed by Carnalismo members.

- The Carnalismo program included immigration counseling, self-defense classes, dispensing food to needy families, and other community efforts. The principal focus of the group was elimination of illegal narcotics, especially heroin and barbiturates, from the barrio.

At that time, Martinez states, he was told that this information was "a bunch of bullshit," and that "we are going to close that organization down by any means necessary." He was further advised by his superiors, he states, that his job was infiltration and order-taking. They would worry about the rest.

Federal undercover agent Robert Canales, posing as a heroin dealer, went to meet Sánchez and his friends late at night under a freeway entrance in the heart of the East Los Angeles barrio. It is doubtful that he would have done so had he realized what their actual role was. Was he, as Carnalismo charges, sacrificed in the entrapment?

In any event, the new evidence certainly lends enormous weight to the demand for a new trial.

¡La Raza en Acción!



CHAVEZ ISSUES WORK-STOPPAGE ORDER AFTER MURDER OF FARM WORKER: The fatal shooting of a Chicano farm worker, Rómulo Domínguez Avalos, 21, by an officer of the U.S. Border Patrol on Feb. 11 resulted in a call by Cesar Chavez for union members to stage sit-down strikes whenever armed agents enter the fields.

Los Angeles Times staff writer Frank del Olmo reported Feb. 16 that according to UFWOC (United Farm Workers Organizing Committee), Domínguez was unarmed and the shooting was completely unprovoked. The killing, which took place in the peach orchard near Livingston, Calif., where Domínguez worked, occurred as he was being taken into custody as a "suspected illegal alien." Domínguez, an UFWOC member, was from Ft. Hancock, Texas.

Chavez angrily charged that the Border Patrol never investigates when the growers bring in busloads of scabs to break strikes, but that they harass labor crews at union ranches with constant raids for "illegal aliens."

FARM WORKERS ACCEPTED AS FULL UNION BY AFL-CIO: AFL-CIO President George Meany, who claims he's never walked a picket line in his life, announced in Miami Beach, Feb. 21, that the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee had been accepted in the AFL-CIO as a full-fledged union. The union has had the status of an "organizing committee" for the last several years. According to the Feb. 22 *New York Times*, Meany "said that the . . . union would probably be renamed the United Farm Workers National Union."

RACIST BOOKS REJECTED: The California State Department of Education has requested that several major publishing firms revise their proposed social science textbooks. This occurred after numerous Chicano educators protested what they call racist stereotyping of oppressed nationalities.

According to the Dec. 8 issue of *El Tecolote*, Dr. Julian Nava, a member of the Los Angeles School Board, cited one text that stated, "the malaria-carrying mosquito takes a siesta in the afternoon like a Mexican." Another textbook quoted during a state hearing said that "white people had a duty to bring civilization" to the colonial countries. After the Chicano community brought a little civilization to California state officials, they agreed to have the books revised.

RACISM KILLS: If you are an Anglo and live in Colorado, you can expect to live 67.5 years. But if you're a Chicano, your life expectancy is only 56.7 years. These statistics were reported by Dr. Merlin K. DuVal, assistant secretary for health and scientific affairs of the Department of Health Education and Welfare (HEW), at a conference in Dallas at the end of January.

According to the Jan. 29 *San Antonio Light*, DuVal "said [that] in the 1970 diphtheria epidemic in San Antonio, 80 per cent of the cases occurring over the period of a year were among the Spanish-surnamed."

"Mexican-American migrants in the lower Rio Grande Valley, he said, are still living in abject poverty without access to health services."

In his presentation to the conference, DuVal attempted to give the impression that things have

become different since HEW established an "Office of the Spanish-surnamed Americans" in June of 1970. This assertion was challenged, however, by Domingo Rodríguez, chairman of the board of directors of the Clínica Familiar (Family Clinic) in Raymondville, Texas. Rodríguez explained that HEW had turned down a request by his group for a grant because it "was not written to their [the government's] liking." The *Light* quoted him as saying, "HEW officials have made us rewrite the proposal three times. Now I don't know what happened to it. . . . I can control my feelings, but how can I control the young people coming back from Vietnam?"

U. C. BERKELEY MECHA WINS RADIO TIME: Chicano students at the University of California at Berkeley demanded and won some radio time from KALX, the university radio station, for their "M. E. Ch. A. LIBRE" (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán) program.

First to go on the air were representatives of the Oakland, Hayward, and Richmond Raza Unida parties. The RUP members were able to present their views and perspectives on a two-and-a-half-hour program. According to Chris Vigil, a MEChA spokesman, Raza students will be entitled to two three-hour spots per week.

A week later, KPFA (a Pacifica Foundation FM station) granted Raza Unida Party speakers Ramon Noriega, one of the organizers of the Aug. 29, 1970, National Chicano Moratorium, and Pete Silva, a professor in Chicano Studies at Contra Costa College, two hours to present their views.

— ANTONIO CAMEJO

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

By DAVID THORSTAD

The early 1960s, which saw the formation of Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party, also saw the beginning of a process of radicalization among Canadian youth that is still going on. The protest movements that have characterized this radicalization have tended to occur outside the strictly parliamentary framework within which the NDP operates.

The electoralist, parliamentary approach of the NDP is not one that actively seeks out ways of linking up with and building such extraparliamentary movements. Its reformist leaders are more interested in making capitalism work better than in getting rid of it. So it is to be expected that their initial response to movements with a radical, anticapitalist thrust should be one of indifference and even hostility.

This is not to say that the radicalization has bypassed the NDP. Indeed, it has been reflected inside the NDP, not only in local party associations and union locals, but in federal conventions and even in the NDP's parliamentary caucus. But the points of conjuncture between the NDP and the mass movements of the radicalization have been uneven. This can be seen in the way it relates to three of the major components of the radicalization: the antiwar movement, the women's liberation movement, and Québec nationalism.

The antiwar movement

When the antiwar movement first arose in the mid-sixties, it began, as in the U.S., as a largely student-based movement that sought to branch out and involve other sectors of society. Naturally, a top priority has been to attempt to persuade the NDP to help mobilize the ranks of Canadian labor in the antiwar struggle. This effort has been partially successful.

At first the NDP leadership was hostile to such efforts. This is perhaps not surprising in a party that had failed to get off on a strong antiwar footing at its founding convention, when it endorsed NATO. Today, however, these top leaders grace the platforms of antiwar rallies and march at the head of demonstrations, thus identifying the NDP with the antiwar movement. In fact, having 25 NDP members of parliament means that, in a sense, the antiwar movement has 25 representatives in parliament.

The featured speaker at the Ottawa demonstration sponsored by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee in the spring of 1971 was right-wing NDP leader David Lewis, who is now a federal party leader. A group of Maoists came to the demonstration expecting to get a chance to boo and heckle his speech. But they were disappointed. For Lewis attacked U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese revolution as imperialist, he condemned the Canadian government for its complicity with the war, and he demanded an end to Canadian arms sales and the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Despite such support for the antiwar movement, however, the NDP's leadership has still not gone so far as to take real initiative to involve the party actively in the movement. At its federal convention in April 1971, it adopted a watered-down resolution protesting the war and criticizing "U.S. leaders" for their "lack of proportion between ends sought and means used in Vietnam." And it failed to tie opposition to the war to any concrete campaign of action.

The NDP leadership abstained from building the mass demonstrations last Nov. 3-6 against the U.S. nuclear

test at Amchitka. More than 100,000 persons all across Canada participated in these broad and largely spontaneous demonstrations, which were the biggest in years. In British Columbia, the union movement outdid the NDP parliamentary leadership when the B.C. Federation of Labor called on its 150,000 affiliated members to join in a protest work stoppage against the blast. The Ontario Federation of Labor adjourned its convention to march on the U.S. consulate.

Even the NDP's left-wing Waffle caucus abstained from these actions, despite the fact that it has gained much of its own support from the very same anti-imperialist and "Canadian nation-

liament without Grace MacInnis on her feet demanding that the Trudeau government bring the question of repealing the law before the house.

Yet there is another side to this question as far as the NDP is concerned. Only one of its 25 MPs is a woman. Only two of its 90 members in provincial legislatures are women. And there has never been a woman president in the federal NDP. Moreover, less than 15 percent of the party's federal council members are women.

Despite these figures, which demonstrate that women are grossly underrepresented in the party leadership, the 1971 federal convention overwhelmingly defeated a proposal to ensure greater representation of women.

Canada's labor party

The NDP and the new radicalization



The federal leadership convention of the NDP adjourned for this April 25, 1971, antiwar demonstration in Ottawa. Speaker is Robert Cliché of the Québec NDP.

alist" sentiment that the Amchitka demonstrations reflected. In most cases, it was the established leaders of the antiwar movement, including members of the Trotskyist Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes and League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, who led these demonstrations.

Women's liberation

The first Canada-wide women's liberation action occurred in May 1970. It was a caravan of cars from Vancouver to Ottawa, where a demonstration was held in opposition to the anti-abortion laws. These laws were reformed in 1969 to allow abortion only if a specially constituted abortion committee felt the mother's life or health were endangered. Otherwise abortions are a criminal offense. When the caravan arrived in Ottawa, it found immediate support from the NDP parliamentary caucus. The NDP's Grace MacInnis, the only woman member of parliament, identified the party with the caravan by addressing the rally to welcome it.

Women's liberationists chained themselves to the parliamentary gallery, forcing the government to adjourn this hallowed institution of bourgeois democracy. While the NDP MPs were embarrassed by this militant action, some of them turned up later at a demonstration in front of the house as a gesture of support.

Prior to the Nov. 20, 1971, demonstration for abortion law repeal in Ottawa, hardly a day went by in par-

It passed a programmatic statement on "Women in Canada" that ignored the main demands of the women's movement and in effect told women not to mobilize in action to fight for their goals but to wait until the NDP is elected to power. One Waffle supporter termed it "an insult to women in the party."

Moreover, although the federal NDP has a stand in favor of repeal of the law that makes abortion a criminal offense, the Manitoba NDP chose at its convention last November to dissociate itself from this stand by reversing, though by a small margin, its own previous support to abortion law repeal. Ironically, and sadly, this reactionary decision was made on Nov. 20, the very day the pro-abortion demonstrations were being held in Canada and the United States. And the anti-repeal fight was led by NDP Premier Ed Shreyer himself, who made an emotional appeal for the "sanctity of life" and equated abortion with murder.

Québec nationalism

Neither the NDP nor its predecessor, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, developed strong links with the Québec labor movement or gained a mass base among the working class. And it would appear that with the mass upsurge of Québécois nationalism the NDP has been bypassed, at least for now, by the nationalist movement.

At its convention in Montreal Nov. 30-Dec. 3, 1971, the 235,000-member

Québec Federation of Labor demonstrated the profound growth of nationalist consciousness among the Québec workers by reversing its previous opposition to separatism and overwhelmingly endorsing the right of self-determination, including separation. It also abandoned its former conservative stance and committed itself to political action by the trade unions to "smash the capitalist system."

Yet the workshop delegates voted by large majorities against the "creation of a political party" (350-72) and against "massive participation in a political party" (253-156). The vote on "participation" was reversed in the plenary sessions, however, in favor of a resolution that "the QFL should back the NDP, should encourage affiliated unions to affiliate with the NDP or form clubs to back it and work at election time for NDP candidates."

This is nonetheless not the breakthrough for the NDP it may at first appear to be. In fact, Québec NDP leader Raymond Laliberté had nothing to offer the delegates, for the Québec NDP operates only on a federal plane. It does not field candidates in Québec elections, which it has abandoned to the bourgeois but independentist Parti Québécois. Laliberté said that, in his view, "to support the NDP and the PQ is not contradictory because they work at different levels." And many of the delegates clearly saw the PQ as the main political vehicle for Québec labor at the present time.

Québec has always posed thorny problems for the NDP. For the NDP is a federal party, and Québec is a national question. And the NDP has had great difficulties coming to grips with the conflict. Because the federal NDP has not yet recognized the full and unconditional right of the Québec nation to self-determination, including the right to form a separate French-speaking state, it has been impossible for the provincial NDP in Québec to relate properly to the mass sentiment for independence and French unilingualism.

An example of the confusion that reigns inside the NDP on the Québec question can be seen in the fact that one leading Canadian labor official who is a firm supporter of the NDP, UAW international vice-president Dennis McDermott, told me it was his impression that the NDP had already recognized the right of self-determination and separation for the Québec nation. "But," he added in what is probably a typical attitude among English-speaking NDPers, "we don't want it."

Actually, the NDP tends to regard Canada the same way as the Trudeau government does: as one nation with two cultures rather than two nations within a single state. And as long as it does, it seems unlikely that it will be embraced by the Québec masses as their party.

Still, it is a sign of the complexity of the situation that the NDP—the form the labor party has taken in English-speaking Canada—has been the main political structure to raise the need for independent working-class political action throughout Québec.

Leon Trotsky on the Labor Party in the U.S.

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Working reporters begin to radicalize

By JOHN SPAULDING

CHICAGO—Despite the smooth exterior of the daily capitalist press, there is a rising militancy in the newsrooms of some large metropolitan dailies. In some cases, prerogatives of management, such as the right to decide editorial policy, the orientation of news coverage, and the appointment of department heads, are being attacked by the editorial staffs.

Such is the situation at the *Chicago Sun-Times* and the *Chicago Daily News*, two "liberal" newspapers owned by Field Enterprises and published by Marshall Field, heir to the vast department store fortune. The editorial staffs of the two papers are organized under the Newspaper Guild, which is entering into joint negotiations with Field Enterprises for a new contract. Among the demands placed on the negotiating table are: one-third representation on all editorial boards, with the right to publish dissenting editorials; and veto power over department heads.

Presently, editorial policy is decided by, and the editorials are written by, panels of writers who are excluded by contract from the Guild and generally do not receive assignments to cover major news stories. Editorial content is strictly a reflection of management bias.

Part of the significance of these proposals lies in the fact that they were not demands handed down by the Guild's leadership, but rather were added by the membership of the Chicago local at a meeting called to discuss initial negotiating positions. The new proposals were appended to a list of demands that included the institution of a 28-hour, four-day workweek, with no reduction in pay; the inclusion of abortion and all obstetrical costs in the medical plan; day-care facilities on the premises, and a sizable wage increase.

Originally, the Guild's contracts committee rejected the new demands. The Chicago local then authorized a member to draft a letter in defense of the new proposals, requesting that the contracts committee reconsider the question. Rather than merely mailing the letter, the membership of the local

raised the money needed to send a representative to Washington to present the local's case in person. The contracts committee subsequently approved the demands. At the same time, however, it turned down two other proposals put forth by the local. The first proposal would have given Guild members first option to buy either newspaper should it be offered for sale. If they chose not to purchase the paper, the second proposal would have given the Guild veto power over sale to an unacceptable publisher.

Despite the dropping of the ownership proposals, the three demands finally approved by the Guild's leadership cut across some previously sacred boundaries. As Ron Dorfman points out in the January issue of the *Chicago Journalism Review*, "For the first time in American newspaper history the working stiffs have demanded a broad package of contractual provisions that, if successfully negotiated, will give them a significant voice in determining the quality and editorial direction of their publications."

The increase in political awareness within the ranks of editorial employees finds its roots in incidents going back to the 1968 Democratic Party convention, where reporters found themselves the first targets of Mayor Daley's rioting police. During the first part of the convention week both the *Daily News* and the *Sun-Times* printed stories that accurately reported the facts of the attacks on newsmen and demonstrators alike, and condemned Daley for turning Chicago into a "police state." After Daley had complained about the "unfair press coverage" the word was handed down from the management of both papers that no more stories that were overtly critical of Daley's handling of the convention disorders were to be printed.

Management attempted to justify this move on the basis of "objectivity," but the reporters, many of whom were still smarting from police clubs and mace, reacted with indignation. Cartoonist Bill Mauldin, who likes to depict Daley as a keystone cop, said he would quit if any of his cartoons were pulled from publication. While

management eased the gag somewhat for Mauldin, the majority of the reporters affected did not have the reputation to pull such a move. They reacted instead by publishing the *Chicago Journalism Review*. The *Review's* initial purpose was to continue the attack on the Daley machine and the four major newspapers for their complicity in covering up the convention police riot. Today, the *Review* serves as a liberal journal of newspaper criticism, concentrating on local issues and the manner in which the "straight" press handles them.

Other incidents contributing to the rising militancy of the reporters were the reassignment to menial stories of reporters who opposed the newspapers' endorsement of Daley in last year's mayoral election, the firing of a highly qualified Black reporter for contributing to a Black newspaper on his own time, cutbacks in staff size via attrition, and a backlog of grievances that management has refused to recognize.

A final factor has been the influx in the past three years of many young reporters who have participated in the

growing radicalization taking place on campus. Edwin Diamond reports in the *Columbia Journalism Review*, "As often as not, a good university-trained reporter who is now in his or her late twenties picketed for civil rights while in high school, spent a freshman summer in Mississippi or Appalachia, and sat-in at the Dean's office during senior year—or covered these events for the school paper."

The struggle to gain voice on the editorial boards of the *Daily News* and the *Sun-Times* has been described by one Guild negotiator as an attempt to gain some control over a product that reporters often have to sign their names to. Dorfman states in his article that "Continued refusal to consider seriously demands like these will surely result in more militant demands put forward more stridently. Thus far, Guild negotiators have been successfully bought off for a few more dollars a week or a better overtime clause. But this year's negotiating committee at Field is loaded with field militants and Simon Legree may perhaps be forced to lay down the whip and talk a spell."



Photo by Brian Shannon

Chicago's Grant Park, August 1968. Brutality of cops during 1968 Democratic Convention affected many reporters.

The National Picket Line

WHEN THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL met at Bal Harbour, Fla., Feb. 14-18 it deplored government wage controls because price controls have failed, adding that "the Administration- and business-dominated Pay Board" disrupts the established pattern of union-management relations. However, it failed to take note that union-management relations have changed during the past year without benefit of Pay Board interference and by the agreement of AFL-CIO President George Meany.

Government wage controls were applied in the construction industry several months before Nixon proclaimed the "New Economic Policy" last Aug. 15 and froze all wages for 90 days. The machinery for regulating wages in the construction industry is the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee (CISC), headed by Dr. John T. Dunlop, a Nixon appointee. When this agency was established by executive order last March 29 it was designed as a union-management board with the single purpose of cutting back wages of building tradesmen, on the basis that their hourly wage scale was higher than that in other industries. The building trades unions had assurances from Dunlop that the unique features of the construction industry would be taken into account.

The CISC functions independently of the Pay Board. It served as a pilot project for the Pay Board, was established with the approval and participation of the AFL-CIO and the building trades unions, and has proved to be the greatest money-maker for the contractors since they put rubber tires on wheelbarrows.

Pay raises in the construction industry averaged

11.8 percent last year, down from 14.9 percent in 1970. This year the average increase will be cut to 5.5 percent, the government guideline adopted by the Pay Board. The Feb. 5 AFL-CIO News announced that "the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee accepted for the first time the general wage guidelines of the Pay Board, but was granted near autonomy in applying them."

This "autonomy" is what Meany and his cronies on the Pay Board demanded, and were promised, in exchange for their services. Most construction workers are finding this "autonomy," plus the "substantive regulations" of CISC, a poor substitute for decent wages.

These "substantive regulations" of this union-management agency are an extension of its wage-control powers. The building trades unions, in addition to accepting wage controls, also agreed to a method of settling jurisdictional disputes and enforcing work rules. This agreement went into effect on April 1, 1971, and expires March 31. It specifies that workers shall be at work on time, that there shall be no limit on production, no slowdowns, no strikes. This has worked so well for the contractors that they now want to improve it.

TOP OFFICIALS OF THE BUILDING TRADES UNIONS are cast in the same mold as Meany. So long as the unions could get better wages and a few concessions in work rules, not many workers questioned the policy of the leadership. But the employers are not making concessions any more. They are demanding sacrifices instead.

Support of the latest production plans of man-

agement and government by the ancient heads of the AFL-CIO unions has prompted many union members to hope for a "new type" of leader, someone like James Hoffa or perhaps Walter Reuther. Both were at different times and for very different reasons at odds with Meany and the Executive Council, and both the Teamsters and the United Auto Workers are outside the AFL-CIO. Partly on this account, the leaders of these unions are thought to be "different," and in some important respects Hoffa and Reuther, each in his own way, were unlike the others.

JAMES R. HOFFA, THE 58-YEAR-OLD EX-PRESIDENT of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, has a mentality similar to Meany's, although he has a somewhat different background and set of associates. He always figured he could beat the system, whereas the Meany gang thinks it has found out how to adjust to it and ride with it. There is not as much difference in outlook as there might seem at first to be. Hoffa and Meany both accept the capitalist system and think all the rules apply to them in the same way they do to employers.

Hoffa recently paid his first installment on the ransom deal that got him out of Lewisburg prison on parole. He announced his preference for U.S. president, claiming that Nixon is "the best qualified man at this time." It is doubtful that this will get many truck drivers to vote for Nixon, but it may mean a sizable financial contribution from the Teamsters union to the Republican campaign.

— FRANK LOVELL

Television Assassination of Malcolm X

The Assassination of Malcolm X. *Black Journal*. WNET-Television.

"Black Journal" is a weekly program that presents subjects and personalities of general social, cultural, and political interest to Black America. During the week of Feb. 21, in commemoration of the murder of Malcolm X, it featured "The Assassination of Malcolm X," a re-examination of the facts surrounding the death of Brother Malcolm. In addition, the program raised some new questions in light of relatively new information.

Due to the 1964 split between Malcolm and Eliza Muhammad, the Black Muslims were blamed by some for the murder of Malcolm. This was definitely the contention of the police and the prosecution in the trial of the three men who were held responsible for the killing.

Reports given in court, including the testimony of Talmadge Hayer, contradicted this version. Hayer claimed that the other two defendants were innocent. He further stated that neither the actual men who assisted him nor the man who hired them were Muslims. (Hayer refused to identify the other men, and no investigation was ever made to find them.) Moreover, "eyewitness" accounts of the killing and other testimony was so conflicting as to become ludicrous. (Detailed accounts of the trial, as well as a reply to unanswered questions, appear in *The Assassination of Malcolm X* by George Breitman and Herman Porter, available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N. Y. 10014, for 60 cents.)

For some time Malcolm had believed that the Muslims were going to make an attempt on his life, although in his last two or three days he began to have second thoughts on this. According to his associates, in the speech he was to give at the Audubon Ballroom on the day he was killed, he was going to indicate that he had been hasty in charging the Muslims. While Malcolm recognized that Elijah Muhammad had deep differences with him, he realized that other forces bigger than the Muslims, such as the capitalist government, had more to benefit through his elimination. The police themselves even admitted that they had several agents in the ballroom, pretending to be ordinary members of the audience.

"Black Journal" questions the role of the police, using information from the press. One of Malcolm's bodyguards, Gene Roberts, was present in the ballroom on the afternoon of the shooting. He was, in fact, the man who administered mouth-to-mouth resuscitation to Malcolm just after the shooting. According to the Dec. 8, 1970, *New York Times*, Gene Roberts was a police agent at the time of the shooting. This became known when he was forced to reveal himself on April 1, 1969, during grand jury testimony in the Panther 13 case. While the connection of Roberts to the assassination has not been established, this revelation adds new light to the subject.

It is well known that agents of varying stripes have entered radical and nationalist organizations with the sole purpose of disruption and sabotage. Although it is not to this day publicly known what role Roberts and others like him played in the assassination, it can be assumed that they probably knew about any kind of police or government plot to kill Malcolm.

"Black Journal" has played an important role by publicizing the still-unanswered questions about the real culprits in Malcolm's murder. The program has shown that the questions around Malcolm's assassination refuse to be suppressed seven years after the event.

— BAXTER SMITH



Books Terror in Iran

Documents on the Pahlavi Reign of Terror in Iran. *Published by the Confederation of Iranian Students*. Frankfurt. 1971. 570 pages. \$2.50 (paper).

In October 1970, Dr. Hans Heldmann, an international lawyer from Frankfurt University, and his translator, Hossein Rezai, went to Iran on behalf of Amnesty International to investigate the conditions of political prisoners. Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's government did not welcome the visitors; it intimidated them and threatened the people who spoke to them with imprisonment.

After 10 days Heldmann was expelled from the country. His translator was imprisoned and has reportedly been sentenced to eight years.

In his report to the Amnesty International Dr. Heldmann described his expulsion and provided some information he had been able to gather in the few days he was there.

The German lawyer put the number of political arrests in 1970 at more than 1,000. "Usually the relatives of these people have gone for months without news of their fate, although the Iranian right of notification of the relatives within 48 hours of an arrest is prescribed. The prisoners are held until some sort of judicial process, without knowledge of the accusations against them. . . . Political prisoners are regularly tortured in the prisons, with the exceptions only of those few prisoners who are too well known within or outside the country. The families of the prisoners are frequently exposed to psychological terror and economic pressure (for example, the wife of a prisoner is threatened with being slandered throughout the country as a prostitute, being imprisoned, and being treated as a prostitute)."

Heldmann's report is included in *Documents on the Pahlavi Reign of Terror in Iran*. This book is a compilation of eyewitness accounts and newspaper articles that have appeared in the western bourgeois press, on the political repression in Iran. The book includes material in four languages, English, French, German, and Italian.

The articles cover recent Iranian history, beginning with the 1953 CIA-engineered coup that overthrew the legal government of Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh and brought the shah back to power. It ends with events that occurred less than a year ago.

The reader will learn about only some of the many military trials and executions. The imprisonment and execution of an untold number of revolutionists have been kept secret by the government. Also, the reader will find very few reports from the U. S. press in the book. The American mass media have remained shamefully silent about the reign of terror in Iran, even though the present regime came to power through U. S. intervention.

The book, published by the Confederation of Iranian Students, speaks well for the campaign of the Confederation in defending political prisoners in Iran. Progressive groups and civil libertarians will find it useful in their efforts to arouse world public opinion against the brutalities of the shah's military regime.

— JAVAD SADEEG

Chronology of Angela Davis case

The following is a chronological summary of developments in the Angela Davis case.

Aug. 7, 1970—Shoot-out at San Rafael, Calif., courthouse when Jonathan Jackson attempted to take several hostages in exchange for release of Soledad Brothers.

Oct. 13, 1970—Angela Davis arrested in New York City on charge of purchasing guns used in shoot-out.

Dec. 22, 1970—Appeals to stop extradition from New York to California are denied. Davis is secretly moved to the Marin County jail.

Jan. 5, 1971—Angela Davis is arraigned.

March 17, 1971—Hearing on bail halted when codefendant Ruchell Magee has Judge John McMurray disqualified for prejudice.

April 1, 1971—Angela Davis petitions to disqualify newly appointed Judge Alan Lindsay for prejudice.

April 21, 1971—State appellate Judge Winslow Christian rules Judge Lindsay is not prejudiced.

May 10, 1971—Judge Lindsay withdraws from the case following challenge by Magee's court-appointed lawyer.

May 24, 1971—New judge, Richard Arnason, is challenged as prejudiced by Ruchell Magee.

May 26, 1971—Judge Christian denies the challenge without a hearing.

June 2-3, 1971—Judge Arnason rules that further hearings in the case are prohibited until the federal court acts on Ruchell Magee's motions to remove the case to the U.S. district court. He agrees to hear Angela Davis' motion for bail.

June 14, 1971—Attorneys for Angela Davis submit to the court 35,000 signatures on petitions for bail; signatures were gathered around the world.

June 15, 1971—Motion for bail denied by Arnason on "purely legal" grounds. A probation officer had earlier recommended that Angela Davis be released on bail of \$100,000.

June 28, 1971—Magee's petition to federal court denied by U.S. district court Judge Samuel Conti. Davis' motion to dismiss her indictment because of insufficient evidence is denied.

July 6, 1971—Angela Davis petitions to have her case moved to the federal courts.

July 9, 1971—Judge Conti denies her motion.

July 19, 1971—Magee decides to continue to try to have his case heard in federal court. His case is severed from Angela Davis' by agreement of both defendants.

July 27, 1971—Angela Davis pleads

innocent to charges of kidnapping, murder, and conspiracy.

Sept. 10, 1971—Defense motion to dismiss case because of bias of grand jury is denied.

Nov. 2, 1971—Defense motion to suppress evidence seized by illegal methods (including political literature and letters to George Jackson) is denied. Trial site shifted from Marin to Santa Clara County.

Nov. 13, 1971—Defense efforts to move trial to San Francisco, on grounds that there is less prejudice from the population there, are denied.

Dec. 2, 1971—Angela Davis shifted to makeshift jail facilities in Palo Alto, Calif.

Jan. 12, 1972—Angela Davis points out in federal court that denial of bail is a political gesture that hampers her defense. More than 350,000 signatures on petitions demanding bail are submitted to the court.

Jan. 14, 1972—U.S. district court Judge William Sweigert upholds state court decision denying bail.

Jan. 31-Feb. 2, 1972—Twenty-four supporters of Davis are arrested for peacefully picketing outside courthouse in San Jose.

Feb. 14, 1972—Demonstration of almost 1,000 people successfully challenges law banning picketing.

Feb. 23, 1972—Angela Davis grant-

ed bail as an indirect result of California Supreme Court decision abolishing capital punishment.

Feb. 25, 1972—Angela Davis visits Soledad Brothers trial.

Feb. 28, 1972—Jury selection begins. Prosecution submits list of 104 potential witnesses, including George Jackson's mother, and his former lawyer.



Angela Davis

Iranian student in U.S. wins partial victory

By MIKE KELLY

SEATTLE, Feb. 28—Babak Zahraie, a leader of the University of Washington foreign student community (see *The Militant*, Feb. 25), registered a significant victory when the U.S. Immigration Service was forced to drop two of three charges against him.

On Feb. 22 the government dropped its earlier pretense of merely charging Zahraie with technical violations of immigration statutes and added "subversion" to the list of charges against him. Two hearings later, on Feb. 28, special inquiry officer John W. Keane overruled Immigration Service attorney B.G. Greenwald, forcing him to stop questioning Zahraie about his present student status and about so-called "subversive" ideas or activities.

These developments came in the face of mounting public pressure against the Immigration Service's witch-hunt.

At each of the three hearings held on Feb. 22, 25, and 28, the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie mounted demonstrations, ranging from 40 to 75 people from a broad range of groups, to protest the harassment by the Immigration Service. The demonstrations, coupled with a petition drive on the University of Washington campus, helped focus public attention on the case. The case has received almost daily coverage in local TV and newspapers. The number of groups endorsing the defense committee's campaign has grown to more than 20.

Instrumental in winning these initial victories was the fight to open up the hearings. On Feb. 22 defense counsel had waived the defendant's right to a private hearing, and asked that it be open to the public.

The hearing officer, however, ruled against the defense. This blatantly prejudiced ruling in violation of Title 8, Section 236.2 of the Immigration statutes was exposed in the daily press. When the hearing continued on Friday Feb. 25, it was open to the public. The hearing was held in a very small room, however, severely restricting the number of supporters who could attend.

The case has now been reduced to one issue: whether or not Zahraie is at fault for not having proper papers when he made a short trip to Canada last fall. Immigration contends that his failure to have the proper forms is sufficient grounds for exclusion from the United States.

Defense counsel demonstrated that it was impossible for Zahraie to have the proper forms since the Im-

migration Service itself was holding his passport and other forms, and had done so illegally for two years. Defense counsel Dan Smith also demonstrated that Zahraie had consistently sought to comply with the law over the last two years and had filed proper student-status forms.

Greenwald contended that Zahraie had made no such effort. He was proved to be lying, however, when one of his own investigators was called to testify by the defense and acknowledged that Zahraie had made such inquiries of him. He admitted that Zahraie's passport was being kept in his file in the Immigration Service office during the time of the Canadian trip.

Written briefs will be submitted next week, and a decision is expected within two to three weeks.

YSJP teams tour Black colleges; Calif.

By JANICE LYNN

A team of three Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley have started a campaign tour of Black colleges in the South. At Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn., team captain and national YSJP coordinator John Hawkins spoke to three classes and met with campaign supporters. During the first four days at Fisk, the team sold out its bundle of *Militants*, netted \$60 in literature sales, and obtained 27 endorsers of the Jenness-Pulley ticket. Hawkins reports, "There is a thirst for radical ideas here. Our best sellers are *The Fraud of Black Capitalism* by Dick Roberts, and *Introduction to the Logic of Marxism* by George Novack." (Both pamphlets are available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.)

Since they began visiting Southern California colleges three weeks ago, members of the Southwest YSJP team have signed up more than 200 new campaign endorsers and have sold

57 subscriptions to *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*. According to team captain Henry Scheer, many supporters of other candidates indicate that this is "the last chance" they are giving the Democrats and Republicans. These students say they will support Linda Jenness if "their candidate" loses the nomination.

Southwest team member Martin Rothman reports that the McGovern truth kit is making a "real dent." He writes, "One Muskie supporter enthusiastically told us, 'You wouldn't believe how your McGovern pamphlet has devastated the McGovern campaign.' We quickly promised her that we would publish a truth kit on Muskie."

Scheer says that the team has been able to sell McGovern truth kits to almost everyone at meetings for Shirley Chisholm and Eugene McCarthy. After talking with the YSJP travelers, many McGovern supporters have se-

riously considered switching to Jenness.

"The best response we have had yet was at San Bernardino Valley College. In two days we sold over \$45 worth of literature," Scheer reports. "We learned that this was the first [radical] literature display to be set up at the school for a long time." As a result of the team's visit, three San Bernardino students have joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Southern and Northwest YSJP teams have encountered similar enthusiasm for the Jenness-Pulley ticket. As part of their tours, all four teams are also helping to initiate Choice '72 referendums to be held on campuses and in high schools this spring.

If you would like one of the teams to visit your school or city, contact the Socialist Workers 1972 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-4150.



John Hawkins

Photo by Howard Petrick

Calendar

BOSTON

NIXON'S CHINA TRIP: A MARXIST ANALYSIS. Grand opening of the Militant Labor Forum's new hall. Speaker: George Novack, coauthor of Behind China's "Great Cultural Revolution." Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (opposite South Station). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

VOICES OF DISSENT. Bangladesh: The Meaning of Independence for Bangladesh. Wed., March 8, 8 p.m., on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sat., March 11, 8 p.m., on WBUR-FM, 90.9.

BROOKLYN

THE PRESENT CRISIS IN IRELAND. Speakers: Ray Markey, Socialist Workers Party, member of the Anti-Internment Coalition; and a representative from the Irish Republican Clubs from Dublin. Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (212) 596-2849.

GAINESVILLE, FLA.

LINDA JENNESS, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, will speak at the University of Florida in the Plaza of the Americas. Wed., March 8, 1 p.m. Following the meeting, Linda Jenness and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will be questioning Senator Hubert Humphrey after his 2:30 p.m. speech at the same place.

HOUSTON

CUBA AS SEEN THROUGH THE EYES OF A VENEREMOS BRIGADER—SLIDE SHOW. Narrator: Sue Duncan, who was in Cuba during the winter of 1971 for five weeks. Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 6409 Lyons Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (713) 674-0612.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

WOMEN IN IRELAND. Speaker: Eileen Sheerin, a member of the Anti-Internment Coalition and New York Media Women. Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (at 4th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

NIXON'S CHINA POLICY: NEW TACTICS FOR COUNTERREVOLUTION IN ASIA. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (at 105 St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

THE VOICE OF FEMINISM: Readings from great American feminists, past and present. Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of 10th and Market Sts.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (215) WA5-4316.

SEATTLE

THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THE 1972 ELECTIONS: Panel discussion with representatives from presidential support committees and feminist groups. Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 5257 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (206) LA3-2555.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party,

on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 7 p.m. every Thursday, KPFK-FM, 90.7.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WOMEN AND THE '72 ELECTIONS: Panel discussion: Audrey Colom, D.C. Women's Political Caucus; Lori Collier, representative from Shirley Chisholm's presidential campaign; Laura Miller, a national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. Fri., March 10, 8 p.m. 746 9 St. N.W., Second Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (202) 783-2363.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75c per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. Display ad rates: \$10.00 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.

...Davis

Continued from page 1

This has been a victory for the people, not only in the sense that I am now out on bail, but it means that the legal apparatus can no longer hold political prisoners in prison for long months prior to trial and attempt, by isolating them, to break their will to fight. It is a victory of course, but a larger victory, even in my own case, has yet to be attained. It is a victory in the sense that it ought to teach all who are interested in seeing justice prevail in this country—teach us that we have to intensify our efforts to free all political prisoners. We have to intensify our efforts to free the Soledad Brothers, to free the San Quentin Six and Wesley Wells. There are many, many thousands of sisters and brothers all over this country who are forced to live their lives behind concrete and steel, and we have to free all of them.

...NPAC

Continued from page 5

spring actions—and of the Indochinese peoples themselves—NPAC urges that the World Assembly's call to spring actions be heeded by all around the world who oppose the U. S. war in Indochina. We are going forward with intense preparations for the April 22 national mass actions to be held in New York and Los Angeles—and we urge other nations of the world to join us in massive street demonstrations on that date.

The forthcoming spring demonstrations must be built on a strict basis of non-exclusion; and we hope that future conferences convened by the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam will adhere to this principle.

...SMC

Continued from page 5

she characterized as the "youth arm of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party."

The conference was the scene of vigorous political debate and discussion, especially around the many literature tables in the lobby. Tables ranged from those supporting McGovern and Lindsay to those supporting the revolutionary-socialist campaign of Linda Jenness for president and Andrew Pulley for vice-president. More than \$500 worth of literature was sold at the Pathfinder Press table. Twenty people at the conference asked to join the YSA.

...Ireland

Continued from page 24

that taken by the Attorney General proved ineffective."

The Dublin government has a long history of collaboration with Britain at the expense of the Republican movement, particularly in regard to the exchange of intelligence information with Scotland Yard. British pressure on Lynch for a campaign against the IRA has mounted with the continuing turmoil in the North. In addition, the tumultuous mass upsurge throughout Ireland following the events of "Bloody Sunday" was a sharp reminder of the potential for the struggle in the North to upset the status quo in all of Ireland. In these conditions, it is not surprising that Lynch is moving against the left-wing of the nationalist movement, although he must go carefully because of the popularity of the IRA.

According to one speaker at a demonstration of 5,000 held in Derry on Feb. 27, Lynch's policy is one of "creeping internment." Many of those arrested were held for over two days without charge under the Offenses Against the State Act. This act, although less rigorous, is similar to Northern Ireland's Special Powers Act under which internment has been implemented. Jonathon Harsch, writing in the Feb. 25 *Christian Science Monitor*, points out that "The Dublin government has now invoked this act de-

spite the appearance of supporting British policy in the north and despite the fact that a logical next step under the Offenses Against the State Act would be to introduce internment without trial in the south."

Bernard Weinraub, writing in the Feb. 24 *New York Times*, drew similar conclusions. "There was a general feeling in Dublin today," he says, "that the arrests were a test of public reaction and that further crackdowns on both the Official and Provisional wings were planned."

...China

Continued from page 24

revolutionists to their own narrow aims of reaching agreements with world imperialism. An ironic paragraph appears in the Nixon-Chou statement:

"Both sides are of the view that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or for major countries to divide up the world into spheres of interest."

They protest too much! For it is precisely on the model set by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin during World War II—well known to Mao and Chou as well as to Nixon—of *dividing the world into spheres of interest*, that Washington and Peking are now negotiating in secret.

*Leon Trotsky...
How the workers
in Austria should
fight Hitler*

In the form of a lively dialogue, Trotsky discusses a problem of burning concern to the Austrian workers as German imperialism began expanding in the thirties. Trotsky's reasoning has astonishing actuality in the struggle against reaction today.

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ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Rathens, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, P.O. Box 750, Phoenix, Arizona 85001. Tel: (602) 968-5738.

Tuscon: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tuscon, 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.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815.

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

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THE MILITANT

Nixon for one China; China for negotiation

By DICK ROBERTS

The joint communiqué issued in Shanghai Feb. 27 by President Nixon and Chinese Premier Chou En-lai formally marked the close of a whole period of postwar history: the period of U.S. imperialism's "two-China policy."

Washington has been forced to elevate the Peoples Republic of China to a position of central importance in the determination of United States foreign policy. Nixon seeks to utilize the Peking bureaucracy's strategy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism to strengthen Washington's global counterrevolutionary drive. In this game of crucially high stakes, the military regime of the octogenarian former Chinese dictator Chiang Kai-shek is a pawn that can be sacrificed.

But it is not the joint communiqué and the hours of secret negotiations with the Chinese leadership that authentically represent the strength of the Chinese revolution. On the contrary, these represent the deformities of the revolution, superimposed on it by the ruling bureaucracy headquartered in Peking. It was mainly the unsaid things that millions of Americans viewed as television cameras scanned the Chinese landscape that testify to the accomplishments of China's nationalized and planned economy.

Here, in the most populous nation of the world, no cameras could find the "teeming, starving populace" that was supposed to constitute the "yellow peril," according to two decades of anti-Communist U.S. propaganda. Instead one viewed miles and miles of developed farm land; cities and villages that were clean and uncrowded; wide streets in the biggest cities, where people cooperated daily to rid them of litter.

Even in the poorest working-class quarters of the highly industrialized city of Shanghai, the network crewmen were at a loss to find anything remotely resembling the rat-infested, run-down slums in which a large share of the American population is forced to live.

And for the sake of scientific comparison, utilizing all the techniques of modern telecommunications immediately available to them, why didn't the networks shift their cameras even momentarily from the streets of Shanghai to those, for example, of Calcutta in neighboring capitalist India? There, the appalling misery of a populace stricken by hunger, the tens of thousands of aged and diseased beggars on the streets who are forced to eat garbage, would show the viewer at

a glance which road of economic development, capitalism or socialism, benefits the masses of people.

Indochina

It is, of course, the height of hypocrisy to believe—as the right wing in this country is now asserting—that Nixon made concessions on the Taiwan question "without getting anything in return."

Nixon's visit to Peking, where he was feted by the Chinese leadership while U.S. bombs continued to rain down on the battlefields of Indochina, was a concession in itself to the imperialist rulers of this country. It allowed the capitalist politicians, Democratic and Republican alike, to shift attention from the war question to the supposed "peace trip." This will help the imperialists to buy time from the American voter as they continue to press the war in Southeast Asia. But this is not all.

Nixon's central aim is to gain Peking's aid in putting pressure on the Indochinese revolutionists to negotiate a settlement that will leave the imperialists a foothold in Saigon. Any agreements on this will be kept in secret, just as the talks themselves were secret. But the communiqué Chou and Nixon issued could not have been encouraging to the liberation fighters in Indochina.

The Peking bureaucrats did not place the blame for the war where it belongs, specifically on the invasion of Southeast Asia by the forces of U.S. imperialism, and they did not call for the immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. The *New York Times* editors pointed to the significant wording of the communiqué:

"Peking's continuing demands on these matters have undergone a subtle change," the *Times* editorial stated Feb. 27. "On Vietnam, instead of exhorting Hanoi to fight to the finish, as in 1970, Peking now urges a negotiated settlement, even if ostensibly on Hanoi's terms. On American troop withdrawals elsewhere, Peking seems less interested in speeding American disengagement than in taking out insurance against its consequence, especially replacement of the United States by a revived Japan."

Thus, the *Times* believes, Peking places the question of its relationships with U.S. and Japanese imperialism above the fate of the Vietnamese revolution. This is the essence of "peaceful coexistence." The Peking bureaucrats subordinate the needs of foreign

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Irish gov't arrests Republican leaders

By DAVE FRANKEL

MARCH 1—During the past week the government of Prime Minister Jack Lynch, which rules the 26 counties in the southern part of Ireland, has launched a new attack on the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and Sinn Féin, the IRA's political arm. According to the Feb. 26 *Irish Times*, published in Dublin, 23 members of the Republican movement were arrested in the Republic of Ireland in the three-day period of Feb. 23-Feb. 25.

Although all have been released from jail, six members of the Official Republican movement have been charged with being members of an "illegal" organization (the IRA), and five have been charged with maintaining or attempting to maintain an armed force without constitutional authority. Those facing trial include Cathal Goulding, chief of staff of the Official IRA; Sean Kenny and Tony Heffernan, joint general secretaries of Sinn Féin; and Michael Ryan, manager of *The United Irishman*, the Sinn Féin newspaper.

The government move came the day after the Feb. 22 explosion at the Aldershot army base in England in which seven people died. The outcry

of parliamentary and church leaders in the Republic against the bombing, and their equation of the acts of those fighting against oppression with the violence of those who fight to maintain it, assured the Lynch government that there would be little or no objection in the Irish Dáil (parliament) to the arrests. Although the Sinn Féin is a legal organization, the arrests were mostly aimed at Sinn Féin members who were carrying out open political activity.

The arrests were seen by some as a reaction to the Aldershot bombing, and the shooting of John Taylor, the Northern Ireland minister of state, on Feb. 25. But Desmond O'Malley, the Republic of Ireland's minister of justice, announced on Feb. 20 that seven members of the Provisional IRA would be tried on arms-smuggling charges, even though the charges had been dismissed by a local court due to lack of evidence. In a radio interview reported in the Feb. 21 *New York Times*, Prime Minister Jack Lynch, while ruling out the immediate introduction of military courts, "said that his government would have to reconsider the situation if such action as

Continued on page 22

Israeli forces launch invasion of Lebanon

By TONY THOMAS

FEB. 29—Beginning Feb. 25, Israeli forces carried out a four-day invasion of southern Lebanon aimed at wiping out Palestinian guerrillas and refugees. The Israelis claimed that the action was in reprisal for Palestinian guerrilla actions in adjoining parts of Israel. These attacks followed similar Israeli raids on Palestinian positions in Syria and Lebanon in January.

The following is a chronology of the Zionist invasion:

Feb. 25—"Between 40 and 50 buildings were reported destroyed in the communities that were invaded, 20 of them in Ainata, a village of about 3,000 inhabitants two miles from the northern border of Israel." (*New York Times* dispatch dated Feb. 25.) The villages of Yanta and Deir Ashayer near the Lebanon-Syria border were also bombed by the Zionists. According to the *Times*, "... Israeli land forces backed by tanks entered the Bint Jbail district in the south and attacked the villages of Ainata and Aitarun," while armored forces and heavy artillery attacked the village of Hebbariye, on the slopes of Mount Hermon.

Feb. 26—Israeli planes and artillery attacked Palestinian positions in southern Lebanon. They centered their attacks on Hebbariye, while Israeli bulldozers moved on the village. According to a *New York Times* dispatch dated Feb. 26, this "appeared to indicate that the Israelis might be building a road [through Lebanon] up to the slopes of Mount Hermon for the purpose of establishing observation outposts in the area."

Feb. 27—"Israeli Air Force jets strafed Arab guerrilla headquarters in southern Lebanon..." (*Times* dispatch from Tel Aviv dated Feb. 27.) "Earlier today it was officially reported that ground forces moved

into two Lebanese villages [Kaf Hamam and Raskeiya Fakhar] and dynamited an undisclosed number of buildings said to have been guerrilla quarters." The *Times* also reported that Israeli jet fighters bombed the Palestinian refugee camp at Nabitiyah.

Feb. 28—"Israeli forces withdrew today from southern Lebanon after a four-day reprisal operation against Palestinian commandos based there, an Israeli spokesman reported. . . the spokesman said [that] the Israeli action put pressure on the Lebanese Government to restrain the commandos and demonstrated to the Lebanese civilians in the villages that they were endangered by the presence of the guerrillas." (*Times* dispatch dated Feb. 28.)

The Israelis claimed to have suffered 11 deaths and to have killed 50 Palestinians and Lebanese, and wounded 100 others.

On Feb. 28, according to the Feb. 29 *New York Times*, Lebanese Premier Saeb Salam "warned that if the evacuation was not fulfilled, 'the Lebanese Army would undertake its duty in protecting the country and its territorial integrity.'" Salam's statement was made after the Israelis had withdrawn from Lebanon. While the Israelis were in Lebanon, his government did nothing to repulse them.

In 1970 and 1971 Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq made similar verbal statements while they allowed Hussein to eliminate the main Palestinian bases in Jordan. Similarly, Salam's regime is allowing the Israelis to serve as internal police against Palestinian liberation fighters. The setbacks suffered by the Arab revolution in the past few years give the Israeli and the Arab capitalists the idea that they can get away with anything. But the lessons of these new betrayals are being learned by the Arab peoples.



Nixon at Peking ballet with Chou and Chiang Ching. The president said, "The Red Detachment of Women," which depicts an uprising against landlords, "had a feel of realism that was quite vivid."