

# THE MILITANT

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

## Black reformists choke discussion at Gary convention



Photo by B. R. Washington

8,000 attend National Black Political Convention. See page 5.

## Ernest Mandel banned from West Germany

— page 4

# In Brief

## THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 ITT scandal brings out corruption of both parties  
Campaign brings in 907 renewals
- 4 Mandel barred from Germany
- 5 Black reformists choke discussion at Gary convention
- 8 600 at Calif. Filipino conference
- 9 Killing of French worker has deep impact
- 10 Broad coalition fights Pa. election laws
- 11 SWP files in Kentucky  
Jenness, Pulley tours
- 12 An open letter to Shirley Chisholm campaign
- 14 Youth leaders call for CHOICE '72 vote
- 15 What was wrong with the ALA
- 16 NPAC pushes for unity in L.A.
- 17 The NDP's radical caucus
- 18 Nationalist struggle in Pakistan
- 19 Chinese gov't's deeds betray emptiness of its words
- 21 British women organize for abortion and contraception rights
- 24 Jury selected in Davis trial  
Indian protest forces inquiry

- 2 In Brief
- 6 In Our Opinion  
Letters
- 7 The Great Society  
Women: The Insurgent Majority
- 8 La Raza en Acción
- 14 '72 Socialist Campaign
- 16 The National Picket Line
- 20 In Review

## THE MILITANT

VOLUME 36/NUMBER 11  
MARCH 24, 1972  
CLOSING NEWS DATE—MARCH 15, 1972

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Managing Editor: DOUG JENNESS  
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS  
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n.,  
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486.

Southwest Bureau: 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Phone (213) 463-1917.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$6 a year; foreign, \$7.50. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$22; all other countries, \$24. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$26; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

**U.S. IMPERIALISM BLEEDS HAITI:** For years, U.S. corporations have bought up educated and technically skilled Latin Americans; the affected countries call this process the "brain drain." Now at least one country is being drained of its blood, literally. Liberation News Service reports that more than 300 Haitians per day sell their blood for export to U.S. pharmaceutical firms.

A U.S. company, Hemo Caribbean, ships 5,000 liters of Haitian blood plasma a month to this country, at an admitted profit of \$20,000 to \$25,000. The Haitians who sell their blood, many of whom are "regulars," are paid the equivalent of \$3.



### JERRY RUBIN SUPPORTS CAPITALIST POLITICS:

Last fall, Mayday leader Rennie Davis helped launch the "Evict Nixon" campaign by saying, "I'll probably vote Democratic, but it turns my stomach." Now, he has been joined by Yippie Jerry Rubin, who recently told students at the University of Nebraska: "This sounds reformist, but we have to do whatever we can to drive Nixon out of the White House." For now, this means promoting Shirley Chisholm and hoping the Democratic nominee isn't Muskie. Rubin sported a red, white, and blue T-shirt saying "Vote" and couched his reformist, lesser-evil political perspective in "anti-imperialist" rhetoric.

**S.F. ACTION PROTESTS REPRESSION IN IRAN:** On March 8 more than 250 members and supporters of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) staged a demonstration in San Francisco to protest the recent wave of executions in Iran. After marching from Union Square to the Iranian consulate, they attempted to have a delegation meet with Parviz Adle, the Iranian consul general. Adle refused to meet with the delegation, which included John Thorne (attorney for the late George Jackson), who visited Iran in January on a fact-finding mission for the National Lawyers Guild.

In February, Adle had refused to talk to an ISA delegation that was taking part in a three-day vigil in protest of the trials. Adle referred to those on trial for their opposition to the Shah as "dope pushers and bank robbers" who will receive "open trials with all constitutional rights respected."

The Iranian students have issued an appeal to all organizations to send letters and telegrams of protest to Iranian Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda, Teheran, Iran.

**D.C. PROTESTS HIT IRAN TRIALS:** During the hunger strike organized by the Confederation of Iranian Students in Washington, D.C., in February, delegations approached the Iranian Embassy to protest the trials in Iran.

According to Militant reporter Cappy Kidd, the first delegation was composed of representatives of the Organization of Arab Students, the Palestinian Student Union, Palestine Newsletter, the Organization of Eritrean Students, the Organization of Arab Women, and the Young Socialist Alliance. It was turned away because the ambassador was "too busy."

A second delegation of two professors from the University of Maryland was met by an attache who said there were no political trials in Iran, that those on trial were terrorists, and that those students on the hunger strike represented a tiny minority of Iranian students abroad. Finally, he said the strikers weren't really students after all, but professional subversives.

Andrew Pulley delivered a message to the strikers stating that the Socialist Workers Party supports the international defense effort and condemns the role the U.S. government plays in supporting the Shah's dictatorship.

**SWP FILES FOR BALLOT STATUS IN UTAH:** On March 15, Utah supporters of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley filed 973 signatures on petitions requesting that the Socialist Workers Party be recognized as a political party in that state. Five hundred signatures, with 10 from each of 10 counties, are required by law. The petitioners report that they have complied with the distribution requirement. The Committee for Democratic Election Laws is coordinating a challenge to this undemocratic requirement and has obtained the cooperation of the American Civil Liberties Union.

**SWP BALLOT DRIVE IN INDIANA:** Indiana campaigners for Jenness and Pulley have obtained 14,000 signatures (in eight days!). Eight thousand are required to put the SWP ticket on the ballot, but the petitioners plan to get another 2,000 before filing.

**IN CASE YOUR WARDEN HASN'T TOLD YOU:** A small article in the March 8 New York Times tells of a change in prison mail policy by the Federal Bureau of Prisons. The bureau now permits convicts to send uncensored letters to newsmen.

"In a three-page directive, Norman A. Carlson, the director of the bureau, said that letters to newsmen were to be forwarded 'directly, promptly, sealed and without inspection.'

"Mr. Carlson also said, 'Incoming correspondence from the news media will be inspected solely for contraband, or for content which would incite conduct which is illegal.'

"The new policy went into effect on Feb. 11. A bureau spokesman said no general announcement had been made. . . . it had been left up to the wardens of the separate Federal prisons to inform prisoners of their new right."

**TRIGGER-HAPPY COPS KILL COPS:** Detroit police have a special unit euphemistically called STRESS (Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets). STRESS cops, mostly white, specialize in the use of decoys for entrapment purposes and have killed 12 persons in the process, 11 of them Black. Many Black leaders have demanded that STRESS be disbanded, and broad protest meetings have been held. More fuel was added to this fire on March 10 when STRESS cops blasted their way into a home where deputy sheriffs were playing cards; one deputy was killed and two were seriously wounded in the ensuing shootout. All the cops involved were Black.

Detroit Police Commissioner John F. Nichols has responded to the new demands that STRESS be disbanded by insisting the program would be continued "even though there is always the type of gnawing possibility of mistaken identity."

**MILITANT FORUMS I:** Natalie Bombaro from Los Angeles reports, "On Feb. 25, more than 70 people attended the Militant Labor Forum to hear Bridie Letzer speak on 'The Struggle in Northern Ireland.' Letzer, a member of the Irish Northern Aid Committee, said the main task before the Irish people is to get Britain out of Ireland and called for 'one, united Ireland.'"

**MILITANT FORUMS II:** The Brooklyn Militant Forum on Feb. 18 featured a firsthand report on "The Guerrilla Struggle in Mozambique." Robert Van Lierop showed slides and told of his five-month stay in Mozambique, where he spent time with Frelimo, an organization struggling against Portuguese colonial domination. Van Lierop said Frelimo controls 80 percent of the countryside. Forum director Sally Moore told The Militant, "The daily activities of the guerrillas in their campaign to educate the populace were vividly portrayed in the slides. One is reminded of Felix Greene's film of the Vietnamese struggle against U.S. imperialism."

Robert Van Lierop is available for further speaking engagements and can be reached at (212) 677-1382.

**LIBERAL DEMOCRATS SUPPORT GAY RIGHTS:** On Feb. 26, the Northeast regional division of the New Democratic Coalition adopted a homosexual-rights platform that included the following:

"Millions of Gay women and men in this country are subject to severe social, economic, psychological and legal oppression because of their sexual orientation. We affirm the right of all persons to define and express their own sensibility, emotionality and sexuality, and to choose their own life-style, so long as they do not infringe upon the rights of others. We pledge an end to all social, economic and legal oppression of Gay women and men. We urge the repeal of all laws forbidding voluntary sex acts involving consenting persons in private. Laws prohibiting loitering for the purpose of soliciting for a homosexual liaison are vague and unconstitutional. Nevertheless, they are frequently used as the legal cover for police entrapment of Gay women and men. We urge the repeal of all laws prohibiting solicitation for a voluntary private sexual liaison."

—JOEL BRITTON

# ITT scandal brings out corruption of both parties

By CAROLINE LUND -

MARCH 14—The Republican Party-ITT scandal has confirmed once again what most Americans suspect has been true for a long time: American politics—the politics of the Democratic and Republican parties—is corrupt to the core. It demonstrates how the Democratic and Republican parties and politicians are instruments of the giant capitalists and bankers.

The hearings of the Senate Judiciary Committee that began March 2 have revealed countless lies and inconsistencies in the stories of those involved in the scandal. Here are some of the highlights:

- Acting Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst has been caught in a whole series of lies. At first he denied having anything to do with the Justice Department's decision to settle an antitrust suit against ITT out of court and to ITT's advantage. According to the June 25 memo from ITT chief lobbyist Dita Beard, the settlement was in exchange for a \$400,000 contribution from ITT to the Republican Party convention.

But then in his testimony March 2, Kleindienst admitted that he had set up and participated in a whole series of meetings with ITT representatives to discuss the suit.

- Both Kleindienst and Richard W. McLaren, former head of the Justice Department's Antitrust Division and now a federal judge in Chicago, at first denied they had known of the promised \$400,000 ITT contribution prior to reading news reports about it last November or December.

However, Senator Edward Kennedy produced at the hearings a letter from an associate of Ralph Nader to Kleindienst on Sept. 22 that inquires about rumors of the ITT contribution and of a deal between ITT and the Justice Department. He

also produced a reply to this letter, drafted by Richard McLaren, denying any relationship between the antitrust settlement and the contribution.

- On March 7 Kleindienst refused to turn over the Justice Department files on the ITT case because the material was "confidential" and might be harmful to unnamed persons. This refusal only further undermines his credibility. What other scandals is Kleindienst attempting to hide?

- On the same day, Judge McLaren—who had previously maintained he had not consulted with Nixon's economic advisor Peter Flanigan regarding the ITT settlement—reversed his testimony by conceding there was consultation between them. Flanigan's "advisory" report to the Justice Department on the ITT case played a significant role in the final settlement, thus directly implicating the White House in the deal.

On March 6 Flanigan told a reporter he would decline to testify before the Judiciary Committee hearings on the grounds of "executive privilege."

- One of the most indicting aspects of the scandal has been ITT's handling of their chief lobbyist, Dita Beard. Beard fled to Denver, heeding advice from ITT officials to "get lost" after syndicated columnist Jack Anderson published her memo.

Beard told Anderson's assistant that when her memo had been exposed, ITT agents were sent into her office to mechanically shred all of her papers. What other scandals were contained in those papers?

Dita Beard's doctor, Victor Liskza, who was called to testify at the hearings, contended on March 6 that Beard was in a "distorted and irrational" condition when she wrote the memorandum—a blatant attempt to discredit the memo. He also portrayed her as a drunkard.

Liskza's assertions were immediately refuted by a heart specialist in Denver, where Beard is currently hospitalized. Moreover, it is highly improbable, to say the least, that ITT would hire as its chief lobbyist a mentally disturbed drunkard.

It was also revealed that Dr. Liskza was under investigation for Medicaid fraud at the time of his testimony, and that he had been employed by ITT. After his testimony, however, the Justice Department declared that Liskza had been investigated and "cleared" of Medicaid fraud.

While the Republicans were being raked over the coals for the ITT deal, similar activities on the part of the Democrats were also exposed.

Republican Party national chairman Robert Dole of Kansas counter-charged March 10 that the Democrats had received a \$1.5-million gift from AT&T

in the form of credit for a back phone debt from the 1968 election campaign. Dole charged that AT&T had already agreed to provide phone service for the Democratic Party convention in Miami, overlooking the past debt.

When the Democrats and Republicans get to throwing stones at each other, they expose bits and pieces of the truth about the rottenness of both parties. They show that both parties operate on exactly the same principle: whatever is good for the profits and political interests of the capitalists they serve.

Humorist Russell Baker, referring to the ITT scandal in his syndicated column March 9, asked a pertinent question about the double standard of justice in this country:

"Imagine, by way of example, what might have happened had Father Philip Berrigan, the militant antiwar activist now on trial in Federal court, had the moolah to sponsor a big piece of the Republican National Convention. Would the case have been settled out of court, at a wiener roast perhaps with some of the fellows from the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department?"

"Thank You, Operator"



# Campaign brings in 907 renewals so far

By NANCY COLE

MARCH 13—Subscription renewals from readers who subscribed to *The Militant* during the fall sub drive now total 907. Last week 132 arrived in the business office, making this the second highest number of renewals received during any one week of the spring renewal drive. *The Militant* also gained 155 new introductory subscribers this week, along with 12 new one-year subscribers.

Patrick Hayes, Seattle renewal drive director, reports on the results of systematic visits during the last three weeks to the 130 *Militant* subscribers and eight *ISR* subscribers at the University of Washington and Seattle University:

"We have found that approximately 15 percent of the people are at home on a given night; that 25 percent have moved, leaving no forwarding address; that 8 percent of those we talk to renew (some want us to come back later); and that 38

percent endorse the 1972 Socialist Workers Party campaign."

Hayes reports that the SWP campaign is becoming well known on the campuses. He writes of one incident in which the state coordinator of Youth for McGovern commented, "I don't know how well organized you are in other places, but in some precincts here, Jenness is polling 20 percent."

The following are excerpts from letters received in the business office this week:

From a student in Arlington, Va., "Although I am a student with little money, I feel that I must renew. I have read many papers, off and on, but yours is the best. With few exceptions, I find that the paper's views, and those of the SWP and YSA, most clearly represent mine."

A reader in Lincoln, Vt., writes, "A friend renewed our subscription to *The Militant* and we are ordering the free book. We enjoy the paper. We read news hardly seen in the capitalist media."

And, from a one-year subscriber in Urbana, Ill., "I have been a regular reader of *The Militant* for over one year, and I have found your newspaper very informative and enjoyable. I subscribed to *The Militant* during your fall subscription drive. My subscription ended several weeks ago, and I have been receiving letters from you urging me to renew my subscription. Unfortunately, I do not have sufficient funds at the present time with which to purchase a new subscription. However, if you would continue to send me pertinent information about *The Militant*, especially subscription information, I would be very appreciative. I plan to subscribe to *The Militant* as soon as I am financially able to do so."

The *International Socialist Review* received the following note with a \$10 check sent special delivery from Memphis, Tenn.: "Please send me one copy of the May 1970-December 1971 bound volume of the *ISR*. I've only been receiving the *ISR* a few months, but I'm very impressed with it."

If any *Militant* readers would like to order this

bound volume of the *ISR* with an index, send \$10 to the *ISR* business office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. The index alone is 25¢.

Carol DeBerry reports from Oakland/Berkeley that *Militants* were recently sold to striking beverage workers after a demonstration. One of the young strikers who bought an introductory subscription has since become a supporter of the Jenness-Pulley campaign. DeBerry writes, "The Jenness-McGovern correspondence in the Feb. 4 issue soured him on McGovern, and he and his friends are now Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley."

Six areas raised their *Militant* bundles last week, with plans for a special sales effort to get out the statement by Andrew Pulley calling for an independent Black party. They were Oakland/Berkeley, Upper West Side (Manhattan), Detroit, Boston, and Washington, D.C. The YSJP team of Afro-Americans touring Black schools in the South also doubled their regular bundle. The increases totaled 750 extra *Militants*.

The Northwest YSJP team helped organize a YSJP group in Pullman, Wash., this week, and the group plans to begin selling a bundle of 25 *Militants* per week. If other YSJP groups or *Militant* readers would like to have regular bundles sent to them, they should fill out the coupon below. The cost for bundles is 17¢ per copy. The business office will bill you once a month.

Please send me a weekly bundle of *Militants* (circle one):

5                      10                      25                      other \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

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



Photo by John Hawkins

More than 400 participants bought *The Militant* at Black convention in Gary, Ind.



# Mandel banned from Germany

From Intercontinental Press

The denial of a professorship to Ernest Mandel at West Berlin's Free University, followed by an order barring him from West German territory, has touched off a widespread controversy.

Mandel, the well-known Belgian Marxist economist, had been an extremely popular lecturer as a guest professor during the winter semester of 1970-71. In January of this year, the Free University's council of the economics department voted to nominate him for the vacant chair of "social politics." Because of his preeminent qualifications, the council departed from the usual practice of naming three alternative choices and selected Mandel as the sole candidate.

However, on February 22 the West Berlin Senate, acting on the recommendation of SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands—Social Democratic party of Germany] Senator for Science and Culture Werner

tempted to change planes at the Frankfurt airport for the flight to Berlin, Mandel was informed by immigration officials that he was barred not only from West Berlin, but from all of West Germany. Federal Interior Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher later said that he had issued the ban against Mandel at the request of the West Berlin Senate.

The federal government, headed by "socialist" Willy Brandt, was at some pains to justify denying a distinguished Marxist the right to be heard in West Germany. In a statement on the television program "Monitor" February 28, Genscher provided the following rationale:

"The rebuff of Professor Mandel as he was on his way to Berlin to take part in this protest demonstration was directed not against the Marxist scientist Professor Mandel, but against the revolutionist, against the man who calls for the destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus and for the cre-

Paris. That is why he was expelled from there. The United States has also denied him a visa. Likewise, Switzerland had denied him entry. In other words, the action requested by the Berlin Senate and carried out by us — on the basis of our own conviction — was not occasioned by his theoretical views, but by the fact that he calls for revolutionary action, that he himself engages in such actions, and that he also sometimes appears in a conspirative manner, under the cover of pseudonyms. . . ."

## N. Y. Times' hypocrisy

Genscher's appeal to undemocratic practices in other countries was not the only indication that the attack on Mandel was more than a purely domestic German affair. On March 9, the *New York Times*, which had not yet printed so much as one word on the conflict over Mandel, published an extraordinary editorial on the situation at the Free University in Berlin, entitled "Free University in Danger."

Readers unfamiliar with the Mandel case must have been puzzled by the ominous generalities of the editorial:

"Meetings have been disrupted. Professors have been prevented from teaching. Entire departments have been politicized. . . ."

The paper, in speaking of professors prevented from teaching, was not referring to Mandel, but was complaining of "disruption"—by leftists! The editorial did not even mention the Mandel case, but went on to proclaim its generalities as justification for an international crusade against politics — leftist politics, of course — in the university.

The hypocrisy of the *New York Times* editorial is the more notable when it is recalled that the paper has opposed the refusal of the Nixon administration to give Mandel a visa. The paper, which boasts of presenting "all the news that's fit to print," apparently considers that what is fit for American ears is unfit for German.

The actions against Mandel appeared closely related to decisions reached by Chancellor Willy Brandt and state presidents at a conference in Hamburg in January. That group issued a declaration January 28 stating that positions in the public service should be denied for reasons of "membership . . . in parties and organizations that oppose the constitutional order, whatever may be the other demands of such parties and organizations."

Margherita von Brentano, a vice president of the Free University who

resigned her position February 24 to protest the exclusion of Mandel, alluded directly to this conference in ex-

**Ernest Mandel has been banned because of his political views from the United States, Switzerland, France, and Australia, in addition to West Germany. In the U.S., a suit challenging the constitutionality of the ban has been initiated by eight prominent academic figures from leading universities. A federal district court ruled in Mandel's favor. The government appeal is presently before the U.S. Supreme Court, which has agreed to rule on the case during its current term.**

**Contributions to the defense—which emphasizes the democratic right of Americans to hear all ideas, including those of Mandel—should be sent to: The Mandel Case Legal Defense Fund/ National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 25 E. 26 St., New York, N.Y. 10010.**

plaining her resignation:

"When the decision of the presidents' conference of January 1972 leads to a situation where universities in the Federal Republic and West Germany, unlike universities in France, England, Italy, and even the United States, have no room for one of the most important (if not the most important) theories of the era except in the castrated form, that those who teach it are obligated not to represent it, then these universities are no longer either free or places of science. Science that is required to have no consequences is no longer science. . . ."

Despite the indications that the decision to bar Mandel was made at the highest levels of the federal government, the action aroused opposition in sections of both the SPD and FDP.

The national executive board of the Jungsozialisten [Young Socialists—the youth group of the SPD] called a press conference February 28 to denounce the banning of Mandel as a "throwback to the authoritarian state, which sneers at the democratic rights, the freedom of information and opinion of its citizens."

The March 1 *Kölnische Rundschau* reported that the Schleswig-Holstein SPD had characterized the ban on Mandel as a "political scandal," and warned of "the acute danger of a witch-

**Continued on page 22**



Der Spiegel photo

**Slogan on wall of Berlin Technical University: "Mandel is coming."**

Stein, voted to refuse Mandel the chair. Stein and the Senate could not and did not pretend that there was any question of Mandel's qualifications for the post. The decision was made exclusively on the basis of opposition to Mandel's political ideas.

Students at the Free University responded with a protest teach-in on February 28, to which Mandel was invited. Even though the meeting took place during the semester vacation, the Berlin newspaper *Der Abend* wrote that the Great Auditorium of the university "was filled even to the point where there was no more standing room."

The more than 2,000 students in attendance were prevented from hearing Mandel in person by the ruling federal coalition of the SPD and the liberal bourgeois FDP [Freie Demokratische Partei—Free Democratic party].

At 8:40 that morning, when he at-

tempted to change planes at the Frankfurt airport for the flight to Berlin, Mandel was informed by immigration officials that he was barred not only from West Berlin, but from all of West Germany. Federal Interior Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher later said that he had issued the ban against Mandel at the request of the West Berlin Senate.

The latter accusation, it should be noted, was invented out of whole cloth. Mandel himself, speaking on the same television program, called it "a stupid pretext. I wanted only to teach in Berlin and did not even consider living in the city. In reality, this is a denial of the right of a Marxist to engage in teaching and research at the Berlin Free University. And the barring of entry into the Federal Republic is an escalation of this attack on basic democratic rights."

In his remarks, Genscher went on to picture Mandel as the mastermind of all sorts of dark conspiracies:

"It must be kept in mind that he was one of those pulling the strings during the May 1968 disturbances in

From Intercontinental Press

MEXICO CITY—The Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel recently spent a week lecturing here. He did so in response to an invitation by the UNAM [Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México—Autonomous National University of Mexico] to take part in winter courses in the Department of Political and Social Sciences.

The general theme of the courses was "The Student Revolt and Contemporary Society." They began with Mandel giving a lecture February 9 on "The Proletarianization of Intellectual Labor." This was followed on February 11 by a talk on "The Crisis of the Bourgeois University," and the series concluded February 14 with a lecture on "The Unity Between Theory and Practice." In addition, Mandel participated in a round-table discussion February 15 with Susan Son-tag and Robin Blackburn, who also took part in the winter courses.

The remarkable success of the Mandel lectures was even reflected in the bourgeois press. *Excelsior*, the coun-

try's main newspaper, gave front-page and editorial coverage throughout the lectures to the importance of Mandel's ideas.

Mandel had an enormous impact on the students of Mexico City. Never have these winter courses been so successful, although they have in the past attracted prominent figures like Roger Garaudy, Kolakowski, Marcuse, André Gorz, Colletti, and Edgar Morin, among others. Since the Science Department auditorium (which holds more than 1,000) was too small, Mandel's final two lectures had to be moved to the Philosophy Department. Even there, the 2,500-seat hall was jam-packed for both lectures and for the round-table discussion.

One of the most important aspects of these lectures was the question-and-answer period, which took up a wide variety of topics, including an assessment of the Mexican student struggles of recent years, the course of Maoism, Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, and others.

Mandel's lectures are to be published

in the magazines *Siempre* and *Plural*, and as a pamphlet by *La Internacional*, the organ of the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista [International Communist Group, the Mexican Trotskyist organization].

In addition to the three main lectures, Mandel spoke to more than 1,000 economics students at the UNAM School of Economics on the topic "Primitive Accumulation and Industrialization in the Third World." The lecture was based on a chapter from his book published in Mexico last year, *Ensayos sobre el neocapitalismo* [Essays on Neocapitalism].

Mandel's visit was highlighted by the mass media. In addition to the daily newspaper coverage, he was interviewed on television, as well as by *Solidaridad*, the magazine of the Sindicato de Trabajadores Electricistas [Electrical Workers Union], the review *Punto Crítico*, and—surprisingly—*Oposición*, the voice of the PCM [Partido Comunista Mexicano—Mexican Communist Party].

## Mandel lecture series has major impact in Mexico



By DERRICK MORRISON

GARY, Ind. — The National Black Political Convention, held March 10-12 at West Side High School, was one of the largest gatherings of Blacks to be held in some time. Including the delegates, about 8,000 people attended.

Many of the 4,267 full and alternate delegates came with the intention of discussing the problems confronting Black people. Many were antipoverty workers, students, community activists, and members of nationalist organizations.

However, the discussion they sought never got off the ground. The conveners — the Congressional Black Cau-

The Agenda that was circulated represented an attempt by the Black Democratic politicians to adapt to Black nationalist sentiments. Other wings of Black reformists such as the "integrationist" NAACP, differed in that they were reluctant to make such adaptations, even rhetorically.

The straitjacketing of discussion became more intense on Saturday, the first formal day of the convention. The convention agenda called for speeches, two in the morning by Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher and the Reverend Jesse Jackson of Chicago's Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity); two in the afternoon by Owusu Sadauki of the Black Peoples Union Party of North Carolina and Carl Stokes, the former Cleveland

After a few minutes, Diggs recognized a Connecticut delegate, who appealed the ruling of the chair. At this point Diggs withdrew his ruling. As the delegates offered more nominations for convention chairmen, they made appeals for "freedom of expression," an "open convention," and warnings "not to do to ourselves what the white man has done to us."

Eventually, the three nominees of the rules committee were approved. Shortly thereafter the convention was recessed for the evening.

During the evening, Black nationalists, principally from the New York, Washington, D.C., New Jersey, and North Carolina delegations, held a caucus. Baraka, who chaired the meeting of more than a hundred, admitted

never to get the structure approved without much discussion, which was subsequently done.

Having passed the structure proposal, Baraka then had it read. It called for 10 percent of the delegates to constitute a national Black political assembly. There would be a minimum of two members from each state, with at least one of them an elected official. The assembly would meet at least once a year, and would act as a congress. Conventions to renew the assembly would occur every three to four years. The assembly would elect a national council of 43, in which representation would be along regional lines and would include nationalists, activists, elected officials, women, and youth.

Later on, Alvin Thomas, head of the Louisiana delegation, got the floor and read a resolution calling for a Black party and no support to the Democrats or Republicans. Baraka claimed they hadn't submitted the resolution in writing — they said they had — and passed on to other business without considering the Black party resolution. At this point a resolution calling for freedom for Angela Davis, H. Rap Brown, and members of the Republic of New Africa victimized by the state of Mississippi was passed.

Then Southern delegations from South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana read resolutions on busing. They counterposed Black control of the education of Black children and the allocation of sufficient funds for quality education to busing. They also opposed the dismantling of Black universities and colleges under the banner of "integration." The resolutions were adopted. Later amendments proposed by the New York delegation clearly dissociating the convention from Nixon and other racist opponents of busing, and by the Alabama delegation supporting busing where the Black community thought it would bring quality education, were accepted without any opposition.

In the discussion of a resolution opposing endorsement of any presidential candidate, the Louisiana delegates were able to get the floor again to raise the call for a Black party. They pointed out again that they had submitted the resolution in writing to both the platform and resolutions committees and to Baraka during this session. After Baraka tried to maneuver around discussing this issue by making announcements and claiming he couldn't hear the Louisiana speakers, the Indiana delegation moved for consideration of the proposal before deciding on the nonendorsement resolution.

The Indiana delegation suggested that the convention was too "young" to call for a "third party." It proposed that the idea be researched and studied for a year and taken up again. Reverend Jackson concurred with this view, despite his stated support for a Black party in his speech to the convention on Saturday. He now proposed caution. He said that the struc-

**Members of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party sold 450 Militants and about \$180 worth of literature at the Gary convention. More than 100 copies of "Transitional Program for Black liberation" and 40 copies of "The Case for An Independent Black Party" were sold. About 5,000 copies of the "Black Community and the 1972 Elections" brochure published by the Socialist Workers Party National Campaign Committee were distributed.**

ture set up by the convention would inevitably lead to the formation of a "third party."

This maneuver fooled many pro-Black-party delegates, most of whom were in the New York, D.C., New Jersey, and North Carolina delega-

**Continued on page 22**

## Black reformists squelch discussion at Gary parley

cus and other Black Democratic politicians — organized it so as to place a virtual obstacle course in the way of any meaningful dialogue. Their definition of "unity" was any measure helping to bolster their positions within the Democratic Party, thus giving some trimming to their vaunted image of being the "power brokers" for the Black vote in the 1972 presidential elections.

Their chief allies and props in pulling off this fraudulent affair were the reformist nationalists organized under the banner of the Congress of African People and led by Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) and Hayward Henry.

Not only was the discussion throttled, but the chief political task facing the Black movement — the creation of a mass Black party in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans — was swept under the rug.

During the formal convention sessions on March 11 and 12, the bulk of the discussion occurred around procedural rather than political points. The only time this was reversed was during hearings before the platform and resolutions committees March 10.

The March 10 proceedings did not receive a lot of preconvention publicity. The hearings lasted several hours and were supposed to provide the delegates with the opportunity to contribute "input" to a "National Black Agenda," a statement of aims and perspectives. However, many delegates later complained that they did not know about the committee hearings. Many more did not arrive until Friday night, when the hearings were over.

During the platform committee hearings, Walter Fauntroy, nonvoting Congressional Delegate from the District of Columbia and chairman of the committee, stated that a draft of the National Black Agenda, drawn from platforms submitted by the delegations, would be presented the next day and approved in final form on Sunday.

However, reports on Friday night indicated that the national NAACP disagreed with the preamble to a proposed National Black Agenda already drawn up by Fauntroy and Illinois State Senator Richard Newhouse. The NAACP was said to have charged in a memo that the preamble "is rooted in the concept of separate nationhood of Black Americans" and "calls for withdrawal from the American political process."

Twenty-four hours later, the preamble and the agenda were circulated in printed form, a sure sign that they were drawn up long before Friday, making a further farce of the "input" hearings.

mayor; and three in the evening by Fauntroy, Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam, and Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party.

Representative Shirley Chisholm, a Democratic presidential hopeful, was scheduled Sunday morning, and Julian Bond, a Georgia legislator, was to wrap it up in the afternoon. The

that he and other nationalists were being used by the Black Democrats. But he quickly put a damper on the disgruntlement by citing the importance of getting an ongoing structure out of the convention. This appeal was designed to divert the attention of the militants from the rank, undemocratic procedures and to en-



Photo by John Hawkins

**Louisiana delegation, which raised proposal for Black party, trying to get the floor.**

time allotted for the delegates to discuss the National Black Agenda boiled down to less than two hours on Saturday afternoon!

The delegates sat through the first speech by Hatcher. But when the convention chairman, Representative Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D-Mich.), moved to have Reverend Jackson introduced, a chant went up from the floor, "No more speeches!" Others shouted, "We want Jesse!"

During his speech, Jackson came out for the idea of a Black political party — sometime in the future — and was enthusiastically received. After his speech some delegates who wanted to begin discussion rather than hear more speeches began chanting, "Let's get to work."

Diggs, who seemed oblivious to the action, called for reports from the credentials and rules committees. Delegates were loudly calling, "Mr. Chairman," but Diggs continued. Finally, he called for a vote to ratify the rules committee motion that Diggs, Hatcher, and Baraka be ratified as convention chairmen. The "nays" were thunderous, but Diggs said the "ayes" had it. Upon this call, pandemonium broke loose on the floor, with delegates shouting, "No, no, no."

sure their continued participation in the unfolding farce.

Later that night, the steering committee, composed of the heads of the 43 state delegations, plus the head of the D.C. delegation and representatives from about 10 national Black organizations, such as CORE, National Welfare Rights Organization, Congress of African People, and the convention organizers, met to map out a Sunday agenda.

Baraka chaired the Sunday sessions. Compared to Diggs, he seemed rather responsive to the delegates. But as the sessions proceeded, it became clear that he would allow no more leeway for discussion than Diggs.

After debate on whether the National Black Agenda should come before consideration of a proposal on structure in the convention agenda, Baraka proceeded to a roll call. The agenda as originally read, with structure first, was approved.

Then, Democratic State Senator Waldba Stewart, chairman of the New York delegation, moved to have the points on rules and structure adopted. As some delegations later interpreted the motion, it was simply to move both points for discussion. But for Stewart and Baraka, it was a ma-

## In Our Opinion

### Pay Bd. vs. dockers

As we go to press the Pay Board is in closed session considering whether to rip up the West Coast longshore contract agreed to by both the West Coast shipowners and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union after a 134-day strike. This settlement did not grant everything the workers demanded. Now the Pay Board is considering how much of what they did win can be taken away.

The longshore contract poses a problem for the Pay Board because it calls for a wage increase of some 30 percent over the 18 months of the contract—way over the 5.5 percent annual increase set as a guideline by the board.

The Pay Board has already set a precedent of voiding contracts by denying the 12.2 percent wage increase negotiated in the aerospace industry. They cut the increase back to 8.3 percent. The board approved the rail-union contract providing a 10.5 percent increase in 1971, and the miners' contract for a 15 percent increase. However, the rail contract, like the longshore contract, contains work-rule changes that open the door to large-scale job cuts and increased profits for the employers.

The longshore contract is an even greater test of the Pay Board's ability to carry out its antilabor purpose. The length of the longshore strike—which the workers continued in defiance of President Nixon during the 90-day wage freeze—demonstrated the determination of the dockers to fight for a decent standard of living. The workers have threatened to go back on strike if the board does not approve their negotiated contract. And if the contract is approved, it will set an example of the power of militant strikes and make it more difficult for the Pay Board to enforce its 5.5 percent guideline in the future.

The rationale behind Nixon's decision to establish the Pay Board was that wage increases not based on increases in labor productivity (output per worker per hour) are "inflationary" and therefore should be denied. The shipowners have given ammunition to those who argue along this line by threatening to raise their prices if the contract is approved. This whole rationale is false to the core.

First of all, the basic issue involved here is the right of workers to bargain collectively without government interference. The very existence of the Pay Board brings into question the right of workers to decide collectively under what conditions and for what wages they will sell their labor power to an employer.

Secondly, it is false that wage increases cause inflation. Inflation, one of the recurring features of the capitalist system, is caused primarily by government deficit spending, especially war spending.

Working people are the victims—not the cause—of the recurring crises of the capitalist system, such as depressions, recessions, inflation, and unemployment. Wage increases that workers win are eaten away by rising prices.

The Pay Board's contention that wage increases must be tied to increases in productivity is simply a way of saying that before workers can demand higher wages they must guarantee the bosses higher profits. The capitalists are particularly anxious to increase productivity in order to improve their competitive position in the world market. The Pay Board's concern is to assure the employers' profits, not the workers' right to defend their standard of living.

Increased productivity based on higher technology is progressive—but not at the price of speedup, layoffs, and unemployment, which are increasingly plaguing workers today. It is against these conditions that the young workers at the General Motors plant in Lordstown, Ohio, are presently on strike.

By their participation on the Pay Board, which is stacked two to one against labor, the five labor members only serve to legitimize the board's role in violating the right to collective bargaining and attacking wage gains. The labor members should end their collaboration with the capitalist government's antiunion policies by leaving the board and demanding its dissolution.

To fight against inflation and layoffs due to automation, working people should demand: 1) wage increases and cost-of-living increases, and 2) a shorter workweek at no reduction in pay, in order to spread the existing work to everyone who needs a job. This is the way that workers can enjoy the fruits of labor-saving technology.

#### Lettuce boycott

Please write if the lettuce strike is off or still on.

A suggestion: Since far more persons subscribe to *The Militant* than to the *International Socialist Review*, why don't you combine both, using the middle four pages of *The Militant* for the *ISR*?

A subscriber  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

In reply—Yes, the lettuce strike is still on. If you would like to help, contact José Gómez, 19 W. 34th St., N. Y., N. Y. 10001, phone: (212) 594-0694.

#### Prisoners will vote

I'm a poor political prisoner at the Robert Kennedy Youth Center here and I could dig getting a subscription to *The Militant*, as I would like to know what my brothers and sisters are doing on the streets.

You might be interested to know that one of our inmates found out that all prison inmates can vote in local and federal elections. So everyone here will be voting, and hopefully if the word gets around, all prisons will follow suit! But how will they find out?

J. H.  
Morgantown, W. Va.

#### Prison correspondents

Prison correspondents are urgently needed by all alternative newspapers. Write to the United World Press Co-op about the scene behind the bars near you. Please include copies of any newspapers (authorized or not) which are important to you. The information will be published in *Rama Pipien* and distributed to the worldwide Co-op members.

*Rama Pipien*, the monthly peoples-media digest, is published by the non-profit United World Press Co-op. Subscriptions—which are \$10 a year to libraries, \$5 to individuals, \$25 for supporting subs, and free to prisoners—include several special packets on women, peoplesmedia, prisoners, and more.

*Rama Pipien Collective, UWP Co-op*  
P. O. Box 641  
Newcastle, Calif. 95658

#### High school women

Although your overall coverage of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition conference was good, I felt slighted by your neglect of high school women's participation and spirit. In the article we were always mentioned last, almost as an afterthought.

There was no mention whatsoever of the enthusiastic response given to the proposal from the high school workshop, which was passed by an overwhelming majority. The major points of this proposal were: a) to have a specific day for high school action during the May 1-6 abortion action week; b) to sponsor teach-ins in high schools centered around WONAAC's three demands (repeal of all anti-abortion laws, no forced sterilization, and repeal of restrictive contraception laws); c) to initiate court cases around the specific problems of high-school-age women, which are that it is even more difficult for us

to obtain legal abortions or birth control because we are considered by law as "minor" human beings; d) to institute a "high school notes" column in the WONAAC newsletter.

High school women are doubly oppressed by antiquated laws that deny our rights. Our power and needs must not be misunderstood or neglected.

Andrea Tigar, Belmont High School  
Belmont, Mass.

#### Twin Oaks Community

In a recent issue of *The Militant* you printed an item about Twin Oaks Community in Louisa, Va. (See The Great Society column, Feb. 18.) You have done us, yourselves, and the movement a great disservice by accepting an article in the *Wall Street Journal* as "fact" and by then distorting these "facts" even more by quoting the article out of context. The picture you have presented of us is not accurate, and it saddens me very much.

Twin Oaks Community is neither counterrevolutionary nor capitalistic. We are a corporation only because that is a simple way to own all our property jointly. We are a poor, nearly subsistence-level community; not a money-hungry "business."

If you disagree with our methods of achieving revolution, that's one thing, but please don't misrepresent us. We are your brothers and sisters in spite of our differences.

Marjorie Kalb  
Louisa, Va.

#### Gay rights

We have two children in college, one of whom gets *The Militant* sent to her at college. She brings the back copies home, and her dad and I read them.

We agree with all your views; in fact, we did so before ever reading your newspaper. Everything the government does is to help big business and to make the poor poorer, and to keep the middle class that way too.

However, I do take exception to your stand on homosexuals (that you support them). It will hurt your cause to align yourself with these sort of people. I know it would kill us if one of our children had been like this. Fortunately, they are not.

A Reader  
Washington, N. J.

In reply—The gay liberation movement is raising the issue of basic, democratic human rights. Homosexuals are subjected to job and housing discrimination, entrapment by the police, and brutal physical attacks. They are often forced to hide their sexuality and hate themselves because of the pressures from parents and the community. For gay people to demand their rights as human beings is a contribution to the general struggle to change this society into a humane one that will eliminate racism, sexism, and other oppressive prejudices and practices.

#### Lee Morgan dead

Lee Morgan, famed jazz trumpeter, was shot and killed by his wife on Feb. 19, after a dispute over a family affair. The incident occurred at Slugs' Cafe in New York, where Morgan was appearing at the time.

Close to 300 people turned out to pay tribute to Morgan on Feb.

# The Great Society

27. A memorial meeting on his behalf was held at St. Peter's Church, which is often identified with the jazz community here in New York.

The death of Morgan came as a shock to the entire jazz world. Morgan was a musician who commanded a great degree of musical flexibility. He was popular with most jazz listeners regardless of their school of preference.

In addition to recording and making night club appearances, Morgan spent his spare time teaching music at the Jazzmobile Workshop, where he helped young aspiring musicians. Approximately 15 members of the Jazzmobile Workshop under the direction of Paul West performed four compositions at the memorial meeting.

One of the four compositions performed was *Sidewinder*, Morgan's most popular tune. This tune, on the album of the same name, thrust Morgan into national focus in the mid-sixties. And it is probably through this tune that the brilliance of Lee Morgan will best be remembered by all who appreciated him.

Baxter Smith  
New York, N. Y.

## Nixon and Mao

I noticed that the editors of the *Guardian* in their March 8 issue take *The Militant* to task for telling the truth about the Nixon-Mao entente. In the same issue, a long article by Wilfred Burchett explains how the Peking bureaucrats gave nothing away to Nixon and stuck by their "principles." Perhaps they did stick to their principles—the same principles they stuck to when they sold out the workers and peasants of Bangladesh and Ceylon.

The *Guardian* editors look as foolish now as the *Daily World* editors are going to look in a few months, when they will be explaining what a wonderful thing Nixon's trip to Moscow is.

R. Mann  
New York, N. Y.

## High school rebellion

Your article in the Feb. 4 *Militant* on the struggle of Raza Unida high school students in Texas was just fantastic!

The walkouts reminded me very much of the one here in Vancouver when 15,000 high school students left classes to protest Nixon's Amchitka bomb. And also on Nov. 3 when over 100,000 in Canada voiced opposition to the test. Like the students in *Cristal*, we did not win; we did not stop Amchitka, but a profound radicalization of many layers of Canadian society did take place during this upsurge. These new layers will not in the future allow the U. S. war machine to jeopardize our lives but will fight back in militant action.

Continue the high school rebellion! Two, three, many Amchitka walkouts!  
Stuart Russell  
Vancouver, British Columbia  
Canada

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

**In a manner of speaking**—A Pittsburgh minister who married a couple in a delicatessen said it was the first wedding he'd performed "in a commercial establishment."

**Killing the cure too**—Los Angeles air pollution is such that the area "has been unlivable for the past 10 years," says Sierra Club representative Claire Dedrick. "The side-effects of our culture are killing us," she said, "just as surely as DDT is killing the pelican." Meanwhile University of California researchers reported that photochemical smog reduces the average yield of wine grapes by almost two-thirds.

**Liberal Party goes public**—R. G. Renkin, a leader of Canada's ruling Liberal Party, made a plea at a party gathering for grass-roots financial contributions. "We're trying to broaden the party base," he said. "The Liberal Party has operated for many years on the support of 95 major Canadian corporations."

**Defoliated**—A number of trees have been dying on the University of California Berkeley campus. It could be ordinary pollution, but some experts have diagnosed it as stemming from an overdose of tear gas during the police rampages of a couple of years ago.

**Medical advice**—If you're just sitting around stewing over the evils of this society, get active in the socialist movement. Dr. Leo Madow, a Philadelphia psychiatrist, says his studies show that suppressed anger can cause or aggravate such maladies as arthritis, asthma, the common cold, and urinary disorders.

**Good cover story?**—Acting on a complaint of a "large narcotics party," Los Angeles County deputy sheriffs surrounded a clearing in the Santa Ana foothills and moved in on the revelers. It was, they reported, a group of Boy Scouts camping out. The lawmen said they apologized and withdrew.

**Civil libertarians**—Six broadcasting companies have asked the Supreme Court to reverse the ban on TV and radio cigarette advertising. They argued that the ban is an unconstitutional restraint on free speech. We hear Bon Vivant and Campbell's are considering filing an amicus brief.

**Petty larceny**—We must admit we were somewhat shocked on learning the administration settled that multimillion-dollar ITT trust case in return for a \$400,000 (tax deductible) contribution. The Democrats should have them cited for violating federal graft standards.

**Like preserving profits?**—Asserting that antipollutant devices in 1975 cars would cost \$2-billion, General Motors board chairman Richard Gerstenberg earnestly suggested: "We must ask ourselves, is this the best use of our resources, or could this \$2-billion—or at least a good part of it—be better applied to our society's other serious problems?"

— HARRY RING

# Women: The Insurgent Majority

**UNITED AIRLINES STEWARDESSES** are battling the world's largest airline over weight requirements that have resulted in the suspension of 45 stewardesses in recent months. United demands that its stewardesses "weigh in" each month. A woman who exceeds the company's limit for her particular height may be suspended, or eventually fired. In order to keep their jobs many of the stewardesses find themselves forced to go on crash diets each month and to quit taking birth-control pills.

The weight issue is one of several disputes involving working conditions and wages that may propel the stewardesses to go on strike against United, according to the March 4 *New York Times*.

Stewardesses have won several victories in the past against airline policies designed to use women employees as sex objects. Five years ago stewardesses knocked down a rule barring them from working after they reached the age of 32. They have also won the right to keep their jobs after getting married and following maternity leaves.

The *Times* points out that underlying this latest struggle is a growing rebellion among stewardesses against the sexist treatment they receive from United. The company's attitude is epitomized by a statement from a United official that "it boils down to whether some chicks look good in their uniform. If you have fat stewardesses, people aren't going to fly with you." One stewardess told the *Times*: "Many girls are getting sick and tired of being looked at over the negotiating table as sweet young things who will take anything that the men on the other side want to give you."

## UNITED Weight Limits for Stewardesses

HEIGHT	Maximum Weight
5'2" to 5'3"	118
5'3" to 5'4"	121
5'4" to 5'5"	125
5'5" to 5'6"	128
5'6" to 5'7"	132
5'7" to 5'8"	136
5'8" to 5'9"	140
5'9" to 5'10"	144
5'10" to 5'11"	148
5'11" to 6"	152
6"	156

**AND BEHIND THE TYPEWRITERS**—The traditional secretary who runs to do the boss' bidding—from getting coffee to buying his children's birthday presents to entertaining him and his friends after hours—is dying out fast. Last week the State Department issued guidelines to its

office supervisors warning them that "Secretaries are not housekeepers, office wives, or 'go-fers.' . . . Do not condescend or otherwise assume them to have disabling intellectual limitations."

According to the March 7 *New York Times*, the conservative National Secretaries Association, under pressure from women's liberation groups, is coming out with a position paper on the role of secretaries. The association has 28,000 members.

Secretaries and members of the National Organization for Women (NOW) will be picketing the Olivetti Corporation in New York City on March 15 to protest the company's sexist depiction of secretaries in its advertising.

The *Times* interviewed many secretaries who complained of being treated as sex objects and errand runners. These women said such treatment is no longer being tolerated by secretaries. One woman said she has started addressing women as "Ms." in the letters she types. Another told of being invited to an office "hot pants" party, where secretaries were told to "come and display your wares." This secretary refused to wear hot pants to the party. Instead, she brought a pair of hot pants for her boss.

**STUDENT REFERENDUMS ON ABORTION**—Repeal of Canada's abortion laws won overwhelmingly in three referendums conducted recently on Canadian campuses. Eighty percent of the 5,000 students voting at the University of Alberta (Edmonton) supported repeal. The vote was 262 to 81 in favor of repeal at the Glendon College campus of York University (Toronto) and 1,213 to 412 for repeal at Carleton University (Ottawa). The Feb. 28 *Labor Challenge*, a socialist biweekly published in Canada, reports that at Carleton the referendum "was conducted at the same time as the student council elections, but more students turned out to vote on the abortion issue than for any student council position."

Abortion law repeal will be one of the issues included in many of the Choice '72 polls planned for April on many American campuses and in high schools. Choice '72, which has been endorsed by numerous student governments, school newspapers, and candidate support-groups such as the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, will also include a presidential preference poll and referendum questions on other major political issues.

**THE MARCH WONAAC NEWSLETTER IS OUT**—This issue includes reports and pictures from the Feb. 11-13 conference called by WONAAC (Women's National Abortion Action Coalition), plus articles on WONAAC activities around the country. The newsletter, which has gone over to a new, attractive tabloid format, is available for 15 cents from WONAAC, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 315, New York, N. Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 675-9150. Bulk orders can also be obtained (10/\$1 and 100/\$5).

— CINDY JAQUITH



# ¡La Raza en Acción!



**REDISTRICTING HITS PUERTO RICAN POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN NEW YORK:** Recent remapping of State Assembly and State Senate districts by the New York State legislature has been denounced by the Ad Hoc Committee for Puerto Rican Representation as an example of the "callous disregard on the part of both political parties" for the Puerto Rican community.

Joseph Monserrat, a Puerto Rican member of the New York Board of Education and a spokesman for the Ad Hoc Committee, was quoted in the Feb. 8 *New York Post* as stating, "we believe it will lead to the disenfranchisement of more than one million Puerto Ricans residing in New York City. . . ."

There are presently three Puerto Rican assemblymen and one state senator. The remapping, however, has eliminated the district of Assemblyman Luis Nine. In addition, according to the Feb. 9 *New York Times*, "East Harlem, a traditional Hispanic stronghold (generally bounded by 96th and 125th Streets, Fifth Avenue and the East River), (has) been divided among three Assembly districts so that Puerto Ricans would be a minority in each."

Monserrat was also fearful that plans were underway to eliminate the congressional district of Herman Badillo, the first Puerto Rican congressman. Although the State Legislature is controlled by the Republican Party, a bipartisan committee drew up the redistricting plan. Without the support of the 22 Democrats who voted for it, the remapping bill would have been defeated in the State Assembly.

**RISE IN MIGRANT ILLS LINKED TO PESTICIDES:** A recent study by Dr. H. Peter Chase of the University of Colorado Medical Center indicated, according to the *Denver Post*, that "Farm workers experiencing blurred vision, sleeplessness, headaches, muscle cramps and high blood pressure had higher levels of pesticides in their blood streams than farm workers free of such symptoms. . . ."

The report was based on a study of 182 Chicano farm workers and their children in Center, San Luis, Rocky Ford, and Burlington, Colo. Dr. Chase concluded that further investigation was needed to determine the correlation between the level of DDT in the blood and menstrual irregularities in women and high blood pressure in

men. He recommended establishing regional controls for the use of pesticides. The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee contends that "pesticide poisoning of crops is one of the major causes of death among farm workers. . . ." Although growers are restricted on the use of pesticides where the union has succeeded in getting contracts, dangerous use of pesticides continues not only in unionized areas but even more so on nonunionized farms.

**RAZA YOUTH SUPPORT APRIL 22 ANTIWAR ACTIONS:** Raza youth, meeting in a special workshop at the National Student Antiwar Conference, Feb. 25-27, in New York City, voted to support the April 22 antiwar actions called by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) for New York and Los Angeles. A proposal passed by the workshop stated, in part: "As Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and other Latinos, both men and women, we have been told by the rulers of this country that the antiwar movement has nothing to do with us, that it is a white movement—thereby implying that it is a racist movement."

"But the reality we have seen tells us something else. It is the war in Vietnam which is racist. It is the outrageous casualties our people suffer in Indochina which is racist. What is racist is the fact that our young men are forced into the armed forces completely out of proportion with our numbers in the population."



Chicanos march in Nov. 6, 1971, NPAC antiwar action in Houston. On April 22, La Raza will demonstrate in Los Angeles and New York.

Photo by Gary Orkin

— ANTONIO CAMEJO

## 600 at California Filipino Conference

By KATHRYN PON  
SAN DIEGO, Calif.—A *Pilipino* Student-Community *Samahan* [Conference] was held here over the March 5 weekend. The theme of the gathering—which attracted 600 delegates from Hawaii, Seattle, and all parts of California—was "*Panahon Na!* [It's Time!] Recognition and Power for the *Pilipino* People!" (The *Tagalog* language spoken in the Philippines and in the U.S. does not have the letter "F." People of that nationality, therefore, refer to themselves as *Pilipino* or *Pinoy* [man] and *Pinay* [woman].) The meeting was a preliminary to a conference to be held in Stockton, Calif., Aug. 9-12, where a Filipino cultural center is scheduled to open. The conference was sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee on *Pilipino* Student-Community Affairs, Andres Bonifacio Chapter, at San Diego State College.

The first general assembly opened with the Filipino national anthem, sung in *Tagalog* and then in English. Various approaches to the Filipino movement were presented by the speakers. Ester Soriano from SIPA (Search to Involve *Pilipino*-Americans) in Los Angeles referred to Filipino student activists as sometimes being "ultra-cultural nationalists." Paul Bagnas from San Diego, however, stated that "In our continual search for self-determination," leaders must "adhere to principles of nationalism and community."

Rodel Rodis from the International Hotel Collective in San Francisco said that at this time the "catalyst and sus-

taining force [of the movement] is youth." He traced the history of the more than 200 revolts in the Philippines under Spanish rule, the union struggle in Delano, and the deep sentiment in support of the International Hotel in San Francisco. The hotel, which provides low-cost housing for single, older men (restrictive immigration laws limited early Filipino immigration to single males) was faced with destruction in 1969 by builders who wished to construct a parking lot to serve the financial district. Since the hotel borders on Manilatown and Chinatown in San Francisco, a struggle ensued that involved both communities in a successful fight against the financial district and those proposing the parking lot. The hotel remains a symbol of the struggle to maintain the integrity of the *Pilipino* community there.

Rodis also called for a "militant and uncompromising stand against racism and discrimination," and for a *Pilipino* organization that "must be activist in nature." He refuted the idea that an all-Filipino organization was "racist in reverse." He correctly pointed out that "they [Filipinos and other non-whites] don't have the power to oppress." He also stated that the Filipino movement "should be an active part of the working-class movement as it unfolds in America."

Among the speakers at the conference was Philip Vera Cruz, one of the organizers of the Delano grape strike—which began as a walkout of the 2,000-strong Filipino Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee

(AWOC)—and presently a vice-president of UFWOC (United Farm Workers Organizing Committee). He pointed out that "The *Pilipinos* have done a great deal in the labor movement of America."

Andy Imuton, a vice-president of UFWOC, stressed that while Filipinos were a "minority among minorities," they "must unite toward a common goal." He stated that "Mexicans, *Pilipinos*, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Anglos . . . have organized into a labor union [UFWOC] and will have a voice in changing this system."

Imuton's praise for UFWOC was not shared by Larry Itliong, one of the key initiators of the Delano grape strike. Until recently he was a vice-president of UFWOC. He stated that one of the problems with UFWOC was that *Pilipinos* "were not closely organized as *Pilipinos*," and that an alliance worked only as long as the *Pilipinos* said "yes sir, no sir, to the *mexicanos*." As a result, he said, he and other Filipinos have broken with the union.

Resolutions were presented to the general assembly from workshops on: urban *Pilipinos*—the *Pilipino* ghetto and middle class; organizer-elements of the movement; communications, education, rural *Pilipinos*; *Pilipinos* and other minorities; the *Pilipino* student movement; women—the *Pinay*; the struggle in the Philippines; and art and culture in the movement.

Resolutions passed at the final general session included encouraging campus newspapers to include Filipino community news; a demand for

preferential admissions for Filipinos at U.C. Berkeley Law School and other professional schools; encouraging political development through mixed-media presentations; establishing a "Progressive *Pilipino* Press Association"; and beginning drug re-education and other programs in the community.

The workshop on "*Pilipinos* and other Minorities" presented a statement that emphasized the necessity for Filipinos to maintain autonomy in coalitions with other nonwhite groups. Support to the International Hotel was also expressed.

The resolutions presented by the women's workshop stressed the importance of women becoming involved in the movement and stated that they must not struggle against men but unite with them. A women's workshop was also scheduled for the upcoming Stockton conference.

One resolution that received a particularly enthusiastic response demanded that Filipinos be recognized as a separate ethnic minority. The census surveys conducted up to now have been inaccurate because Filipinos are classified as "Spanish-surnamed" or "Asian."

Delegates at the conference also expressed their support for "the people's national democratic struggle in the Philippines against the vicious oppression by U.S. imperialism, domestic feudalism, bureaucrat-capitalism."

The conference reflected a deepening nationalist consciousness on the part of the *Pilipino* people. Delegates vowed never to be "fooled again by 'Benevolent Assimilation.'"

# Killing of French worker has deep impact

From Intercontinental Press

The murder of Maoist worker René-Pierre Overney outside the Renault plant in the Paris suburb of Boulogne-Billancourt February 25 is continuing to have repercussions throughout France.

The high point of the movement triggered by the murder was the massive funeral procession on March 4 from the Place de Clichy to the Père Lachaise cemetery. The organizers estimated that 200,000 persons participated in the seven-mile march. Most were young, and many were immigrant workers.

"Red was the color of this vast crowd," reported *Le Monde* March 7. "Red with red flags, red carnations, posters and portraits of 'Pierre Overney, murdered worker.' A few slogans, almost always the same, on the banners: 'Abolish the bosses' militias,' 'Freedom for the imprisoned Renault workers,' 'CRS [special police] out of Billancourt.' These last slogans, grouped together on a single placard, were signed by the various participating organizations."

The defense guard was provided by the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.

Solidarity demonstrations took place in cities all across France, among them Marseille, Nîmes, Lyon, Metz, Rodez, Montpellier, Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Toulouse, Rennes, Pau, Nancy, Strasbourg, Aix, Grenoble, Sochaux, Caen, and Compiègne.

Virtually the entire French left supported the call for the mass funeral protest—except for the Communist party and the union it controls, the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor). The CP newspaper, *L'Humanité*, called the march "an indecent demonstration against the CGT and the Communist party," and gave as its size the ludicrous figure of 25,000.

The day of the march, the CGT's general secretary, Georges Ségué, who is also a member of the Political Bureau of the CP, lumped the leftist groups that organized it together in the same camp with the fascist group Ordre Nouveau. Speaking at a meeting in Dijon, he said, "The commandos of Ordre Nouveau might as well go on vacation. Those made up of ultraleftists have taken it upon themselves to do their dreary antiworking-class work for them."

Four days after Overney was buried, four members of a Maoist commando group kidnapped Robert No-

grette, an assistant personnel director at the Renault plant. He was released two days later. The abduction was carried out by the "Pierre Overney Group" of an organization called the New Popular Resistance (Nouvelle Résistance Populaire—NRP), which describes itself as a "clandestine organization for the self-defense of the masses."

The kidnappers demanded that seven Maoists arrested in connection with the rally at which Overney was murdered be released and that workers who were subsequently fired from Renault be rehired.

According to the March 10 *Le Monde*, Nogrette, whose job entailed assessing which workers should be fired, had, together with other management personnel, been called "fascist big shots" by the Maoist Renault Struggle Committee.

In reality, the 63-year-old Nogrette did not much resemble a "fascist." He first went to work at Renault more than thirty-seven years ago as a fitter. He worked his way up over the years, and was planning on retiring at the end of March. In addition, the fact that he was not in the best of health did nothing to rally public support to the cause of the Maoists.

The response to the guerrilla action was predictable. Hundreds of searches of buildings and apartments were carried out by the police, and roadblocks went up. Virtually all the political parties and trade unions condemned the act. The CP said it was proof that it had been right all along when it accused the far left of being in collusion with the government. Overney's murder faded into the background.

Henry Giniger of the *New York Times* (March 11) reported on Nogrette's release March 10: "Mr. Nogrette said that his captors, numbering three or four, including a girl with a submachine gun, conceded they had committed a blunder in kidnapping him. This was an opinion shared by some of their ideological comrades, who in interviews deplored the loss of the sympathy that they had gained by the Overney killing."

The case has now been turned over to a Court for the Security of the State. The kidnappers could receive up to twenty years in prison if convicted, Giniger said. "The severity with which the government was acting and speaking against the Maoists was contrasted by some French commentators with the lack of any similar condemnation of the Overney killing. . . ."

From the very beginning, the leaders of the CP and the CGT have looked on the broad response to the Overney killing with anxiety and hostility, even going so far as to call it a "plot" cooked up by the government, the bosses, and their Maoist "accomplices" to foment disorder. They have repeatedly referred to the May-June events of 1968 as something to be avoided at all costs.

There are two main reasons behind the CP approach. First, it is seeking

ants of ultraleftism." The other major union, the CFDT (Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor), responded by reminding the CGT that the CFDT blamed the bosses for the "escalation toward repression that is raging in the factories," and that it rejected "the trap of antileftism just as much as the trap of anticommunism." The CGT's call, it said, "could only be interpreted as intended to lead a collective struggle simulta-



Photo from Rouge

"Workers self-defense," reads banner in Feb. 28 protest march in Paris.

to establish an electoral bloc with the Social Democrats for next year's elections, and it looks with near panic on any mass, extraparlimentary movement that might rock the boat. Second, it is afraid of being outflanked by groups like the Ligue Communiste who have demonstrated their ability to mobilize considerable numbers of people on their own. Throughout the past year, noted Thierry Pfister in the March 7 *Le Monde*, there have been a number of such demonstrations—Overney's funeral procession was only the largest—which "prove that from this point on, mobilizations can be organized in spite of the hostility of the CP. Furthermore, at René-Pierre Overney's funeral, the Communist party found itself isolated from the other forces on the left."

The day after this march—and four days after Overney's murder—Ségué of the CGT discovered the need for a "mass response" against repression. The need for such a response is widely recognized on the French left, as the support for the Overney funeral procession indicated. The CGT call, however, condemned in the same breath both the bosses and "the different vari-

neously against the bosses and against the activists or groups of the far left."

Since the publication of an interview with the CFDT's general secretary, Edmond Maire, in the March 6 issue of *Le Nouvel Observateur*, the controversy between his union and the CGT has heated up even more. In the interview he accused the CGT leaders of not behaving like unionists when they refused to place the responsibility for the murder of Overney squarely on the shoulders of the bosses and the government, thus sacrificing their obligations as union leaders to the electoral needs of the Communist party.

"We say that the Communist party and the CGT," he told a meeting of strikers in Lyon March 3, "by making ultraleftism the number-one enemy, by refusing to analyze what ultraleftism is expressing, by seeing the heavy hand of ultraleftists in any strike that goes on for a little while, are making a big mistake. Not only are they reinforcing the very thing they think they are fighting against, but they are also acting as a brake on action and on the struggle against repression."

## NPAC meeting is step toward antiwar unity

By DAVE FRANKEL

NEW YORK, March 11—The meeting of the steering committee of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) here today was an important step toward unity in the antiwar movement around building the New York and Los Angeles demonstrations slated for April 22.

Participating in the meeting, which drew representatives from 11 cities, were Irwin Silber of the *Guardian* newspaper and Abe Weisburd of the New York Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, an affiliate of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ). A representative of the Harrisburg Defense Committee also attended.

The meeting showed great interest in the plans for an April 1 demonstration in solidarity with the Harrisburg defendants. After extensive discussion on the importance of the case, it voted unanimously to endorse and actively build the April 1 action in Harrisburg.

A report on the world peace conference at Versailles, France, and the stand of the NPAC delegation at that conference against the exclusion of the Front Solidarité Indochine (Indochina Solidarity Front) was given by Stephanie Coontz and approved by the meeting.

Although the Versailles conference included the April 22 demonstrations (called in the U.S. in December by a national antiwar conference of some 1,400 people) in its calendar of antiwar activity this spring, the PCPJ sent out a mailing on March 3 in which it stated without any explanation that it "has decided not to endorse that date."

Both Silber and Weisburd, who are members of the National Coordinating Committee of the PCPJ, stated their support for the April 22 demonstrations. They said that they would help build the actions and would do their best to see the PCPJ position reversed.

In the meantime, according to Weisburd, the Vietnam Peace Parade Com-

mittee has voted to support and publicize the April 22 demonstrations. Silber indicated that the *Guardian* plans to publish an editorial on this question in its next issue. He stressed the sentiment among the rank and file of the peace movement for united action.

The participation of Silber and Weisburd in the meeting was welcomed by NPAC activists, and the steering committee voted to address an open letter to the PCPJ once again urging united antiwar action this spring.

Reports on the prospects for spring antiwar activity and on the building of April 22 were also heard. It was suggested that local areas which have the resources could hold March 26 actions to coincide with the hypocritical "week of concern" for POWs being organized by the government. The antiwar actions would point out that the most effective way of bringing the POWs home would be to withdraw all U.S. forces from Indochina. These actions, such as the one scheduled

for Washington, D.C., would be building actions for April 22.

The type of local organizing for April 22 that is going on across the country was typified by the contribution of one Washington, D.C., activist, who explained that the Washington Area Peace Action Coalition found out that it qualified for public service advertising and that it shortly expects to have placards announcing the April 22 demonstration on each of the 1,200 buses in Washington.

Fred Lovgren, the national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee, was added as a coordinator of NPAC. In addition, the following were added to the steering committee: Andy Tulloch, New York coordinator for Youth for McGovern; Carl Davidson of the *Guardian* newspaper; Milt Zaslow of the Liberation Union in Los Angeles; and Morris Kight, a prominent West Coast activist in the gay liberation movement. The next steering committee meeting was set for April 9 in New York.



# Broad coalition fights Pa. election law

By MARILYN MARKUS

PHILADELPHIA—The Socialist Workers Party filed suit Feb. 29 against a new Pennsylvania law placing greater restrictions on independent candidates attempting to obtain ballot status. The Communist Party, People's Party, Socialist Labor Party, and Consumers Party are co-plaintiffs in the court action. This may be one of the broadest coalitions of political parties ever united in a challenge to restrictive election statutes.

The suit, which is being handled by the American Civil Liberties Union, seeks to repeal the statute requiring a statewide independent candidate to obtain nearly 36,000 signatures of registered voters in a three-week period. This is four times the number previously required.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) is coordinating publicity for the suit as well as assisting in preparations for the court hearing. CoDEL representative Lea Tammi, in an interview with *The Militant*, described how CoDEL has sought to include a broad number of parties in the action. "We feel that we have been extremely successful in this case," she said, indicating that the joint nature of the challenge would be used as a model in other CoDEL cases this year.

Tammi pointed out that the Democratic and Republican parties are granted automatic ballot status. "There is no purpose to this new law," she added, "other than to prevent independent parties from getting on the ballot."

ACLU attorneys Harry Levitan and Harry Lore are arguing, on behalf of the plaintiffs, that this new requirement violates the First, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. In their complaint, filed in Federal Court for

the Middle District of Pennsylvania, the attorneys assert that the new law "denies the plaintiffs their right to an equal opportunity to present their program to the electorate, and to form . . . a political party."

The attorneys intend to present a number of witnesses at the court hearings to testify on one or another of the discriminatory aspects of the case. They have invited Judy Baumann, CoDEL national secretary, to appear as an expert on election laws and to testify on behalf of the plaintiffs. A representative for each of the parties will also testify.

Representatives of each of the political parties appeared at a press conference in Philadelphia on March 1. Those present included Tony Monteiro, Communist Party; Marilyn Markus, Socialist Workers Party; Dr. John Mock, People's Party; Louis Gesensway, Socialist Labor Party; and Max Weiner, Consumers Party.

On the March 8 filing deadline, the Communist Party filed 40,000 signatures in an effort to qualify its statewide presidential ticket under the new law. The Socialist Workers Party filed 4,500 signatures to qualify its congressional candidate Nancy Strebe for the ballot, and attempted to file a blank nominating petition for the SWP presidential ticket. The blank form was not accepted by the Secretary of the State's office. In a statement, the Pennsylvania SWP Campaign Committee explained why no signatures were filed for its presidential candidates: "We feel that the requirement of 36,000 signatures is clearly unconstitutional, and we fully expect the courts to recognize this. Our presidential candidates have been on the ballot in every election since 1948 and we expect to be on the ballot in 1972."

Both the People's Party and the Socialist Labor Party attempted to collect signatures for their statewide ticket. The People's Party offered 20,000 signatures to the Secretary of State, and the Socialist Labor Party attempted to file 14,000. According to the Secretary of State's office, the petitions were rejected because the minimum signature requirements had obviously not been met.

The Communist Party will not be certified until the signatures it submitted have been verified by the Secretary of State's office. Even then, their ticket may be barred from the ballot because of the Musmanno Act, an anti-communist statute that specifically bars Communist Party candidates from running a campaign in Pennsylvania. The ACLU is considering a challenge to this law, and the Committee for Democratic Election Laws is supporting this action.

A hearing on the suit filed Feb 29 is expected shortly. The lawyers have asked for the convening of a three-judge panel, and for a ruling that

those parties which attempted to file a "nomination paper" within the deadline will have their candidates placed on the ballot. Only the Consumers Party, which is not running a slate of candidates this year, did not file such a paper.

The Philadelphia Militant Labor Forum sponsored a panel entitled "The State of Pennsylvania vs. Democracy" on March 3. Speakers included the attorneys, a representative of CoDEL, and representatives from the SWP, Consumers Party, and People's Party. At the forum attorney Harry Lore described the irony behind the present court action. Harrisburg, he noted, is already the site of one trial—the attempt to convict the Harrisburg Seven for allegedly conspiring in secret. Meanwhile, in another courtroom, the state will be attempting to prevent independent parties from speaking out publicly.

Copies of a brochure outlining the nature of the Pennsylvania case can be obtained from CoDEL, Box 1924, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107 (\$1 per 100).



Spencer Coxe (ACLU), Marilyn Markus (Socialist Workers Party), and Anthony Monteiro (Communist Party) at March 1 press conference announcing suit against Pennsylvania election law.

# Afro-American team tours La.; Miss.

By JANICE LYNN

The team of three Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley has visited cities and campuses in Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana in their first two weeks on tour.

At Mississippi Valley State College, near Greenwood, the school administration refused to allow sales of *The Militant* or other literature. Nevertheless, the team set up a literature display and distributed free campaign material on the campus. Many students were especially interested in the

works of Malcolm X and other publications on the Black liberation struggle. They took Pathfinder Press catalogues and order forms, as well as subscription blanks for *The Militant*. Despite restrictions, the team gathered 31 names of Jenness-Pulley endorsers during their three hours at the table.

Moving south, the campaign travelers spent four days at Tougaloo College and Jackson State College in Mississippi, talking to students and faculty members about the Jenness-Pulley campaign.



Photo by Amanda Dessalines

James Battles, a member of the Afro-American team, talks to Black students about the SWP campaign.

James Battles, a member of the Afro-American team, reports that there is tremendous interest in radical politics among Black students in this area. "For example, our first day on the Tougaloo College campus, we sold over \$40 worth of campaign material and literature and obtained 81 Afro-American endorsers. One of the college librarians bought 14 books and pamphlets to place in the Tougaloo College library, and after reading the Socialist Workers Campaign material, returned to endorse the campaign."

"Hardly anyone we have run into supports the front-running Democratic Party candidates, not to speak of the Republicans," reports Laura Moorhead, another member of the team. "The only candidate for the Democratic nomination with any support at all is Shirley Chisholm."

During their stay in Mississippi, the campaign travelers gathered the necessary electors required to place the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in the state. Several of the electors are sympathetic faculty members.

At Tougaloo College, John Hawkins, team captain and a national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, was invited to speak to several classes.

In Louisiana the travelers were barred from setting up a literature table at Grambling College, but before leaving the campus they obtained 12 new Afro-American endorsers of the Jenness-Pulley campaign. Many endorsers also renewed their subscriptions to *The Militant*.

Hawkins spoke on "The Black Com-

munity and the 1972 Elections" at Southern University in Baton Rouge. Everyone in the class bought a copy of *The Militant*, two bought subscriptions, and one person decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance. From Louisiana the team went to Gary, Ind., to help sell *Militants* and distribute campaign literature at the national Black political convention.

During their two weeks on the road, the Afro-American team has obtained 175 new endorsers of the Jenness-Pulley ticket and has sold 27 subscriptions to *The Militant*.

There are presently five teams of YSJP travelers, and a sixth team is about to begin its canvassing of Midwest campuses. The Northeast YSJP team has obtained 85 campaign endorsements in the two weeks they have been traveling.

Susan Welch reports that on six of the seven campuses the Northwest team has visited, women active in campus feminist groups are extremely interested in the women's liberation aspect of the SWP campaign. She also noted a heightened nationalist consciousness among Native American students and reported on the brisk sales of the pamphlet *Genocide Against the Indians* by George Novack (available from Pathfinder Press).

The Northwest team talked to delegates at the Feb. 25-27 Young Democrats state convention held in Yakima, Wash., and helped convince delegates to pass a motion supporting the April 22 antiwar demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles.



# SWP files in Kentucky

By MIKE FALLAHAY

FRANKFORT, Ky. — Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters filed petitions containing 2,007 signatures with the Secretary of State here on March 10.

The petitions, nominating Linda Jenness for president, Andrew Pulley for vice-president, and a slate of nine presidential electors, contained the signatures of voters from 50 of Kentucky's 120 counties.

Only 1,000 signatures are required to achieve ballot status. The filing deadline is March 29.

The Socialist Workers Party was the first independent party to file for ballot status in Kentucky.

Many of the signatures were collected on college campuses. A banner reading "Sign here to put Jenness and Pulley on the ballot" was posted alongside posters of the candidates above the regular Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley table at the University of Kentucky in Lexington. More than 350 signatures were obtained from the table during the petitioning campaign.

Signatures were also collected at the University of Louisville and at Jefferson Community College in Louisville.

The Socialist Workers Party appeared on the Kentucky ballot for the first time in 1968. In that election, the SWP ticket was credited with 2,873 votes from 117 of Kentucky's 120 counties.

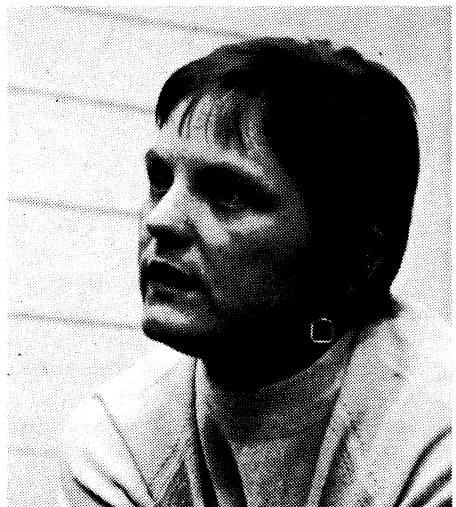
## Florida students hear Jenness

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA — Two hundred fifty students turned out to hear Linda Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, at a meeting held March 8 at the University of Florida in Gainesville. The meeting highlighted a nine-day swing by Jenness through the Southeast, where she spoke on 14 campuses and visited 12 cities.

Jenness' Gainesville meeting was sponsored by Accent '72, which also brought most of the Democratic Party presidential contenders onto the campus. Senator Hubert Humphrey spoke at the University of Florida an hour and a half after Jenness. He had previously rejected an offer to debate the Socialist Workers Party nominee.

During Humphrey's question and answer period, a right-wing student said that he had just heard Jenness and wanted to know how Humphrey's program differed from the SWP's. Humphrey replied, "Well, there are



Linda Jenness

Photo by Dave Wulp

many differences between Linda and me, as Linda would be the first to admit. However, I don't think it's good to put labels on people. There are many different ways to approach the problems of racism and poverty."

Portions of Jenness' speech in Gainesville were shown on all three TV networks that evening.

In Tallahassee, Jenness and Florida SWP candidate for U. S. Congress in the Second C. D., Jack Lieberman, addressed an enthusiastic crowd of 150 students at Florida State University.

Jenness also spoke in Tampa, Miami, Sarasota, Jacksonville, and St. Petersburg.

**"Everything You Always Wanted to Know About George McGovern . . ." by Laura Miller, is a Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley truth kit. The 16-page pamphlet, which discusses McGovern's positions and Senate voting record on key campaign issues, is available for 25 cents (15 cents on orders of 50 or more). To order, write to Socialist Workers 1972 Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.**

The Tampa Tribune column "Back Talk," which reported Feb. 28 (see the March 17 *Militant*) that Jenness was leading its presidential poll, reprinted on March 4 a letter from Dave Maynard, Tampa coordinator of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. "Back Talk" also reported the final results of its presidential poll: "President Nixon is the winner of our postal presidential poll, with 41 votes in a last-minute upset over Socialist Worker's Linda Jenness, who got 37 votes. Over on the right, George Wallace came in third with 22 votes."

Jenness also spoke in North and South Carolina and in Georgia. Four people asked to join the YSA during her tour.

## Pulley at launching of Conn. campaign

NEW HAVEN, Conn. — Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, and John Ratliff, SWP candidate for U. S. Congress from Connecticut's Third C. D., were denied entry to Danbury federal prison when they attempted to speak with prisoners there on March 6. The inmates at Danbury have been holding a work stoppage since the end of February. After the two SWP candidates had been kept waiting for some time, prison authorities refused to allow them to enter.

The prison visit followed an earlier news conference at which Pulley introduced the press to Ratliff, a Yale law student and Vietnam veteran active in the antiwar movement. The conference was attended by the major radio stations and newspapers in New Haven, which is part of Ratliff's district.

Ratliff had worked with the reform Democrats in Connecticut and for Eugene McCarthy during the 1968 primary. He entered the Army in September 1968, and from June 1969 to June 1970 served in a combat zone in Vietnam. His experiences in the Vietnam war convinced him of the need for a revolutionary change in the United States and for rejecting the politics of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Upon his return to New Haven, Ratliff helped to organize Connecticut

Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Last spring he participated in the historic encampment of veterans on the Mall in Washington, D. C., and in the massive April 24 demonstrations against the war. In June 1971 he joined the Young Socialist Alliance.



John Ratliff

Photo by Ellen Lemisch

## Socialists arrested in Houston, Syracuse

Local police and government agencies have recently attempted to challenge the democratic rights of Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters and to harass SWP candidates.

On March 5 three members of a Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley national field team were arrested in Syracuse, N. Y., on the outrageous charge of criminal trespassing. The team had been posting leaflets in a Syracuse University dormitory.

The three YSJers, Kendall Green, Jeannie Reynolds, and Ernie Harsch, were jailed overnight, and bail was set at \$1,000 each at their arraignment.

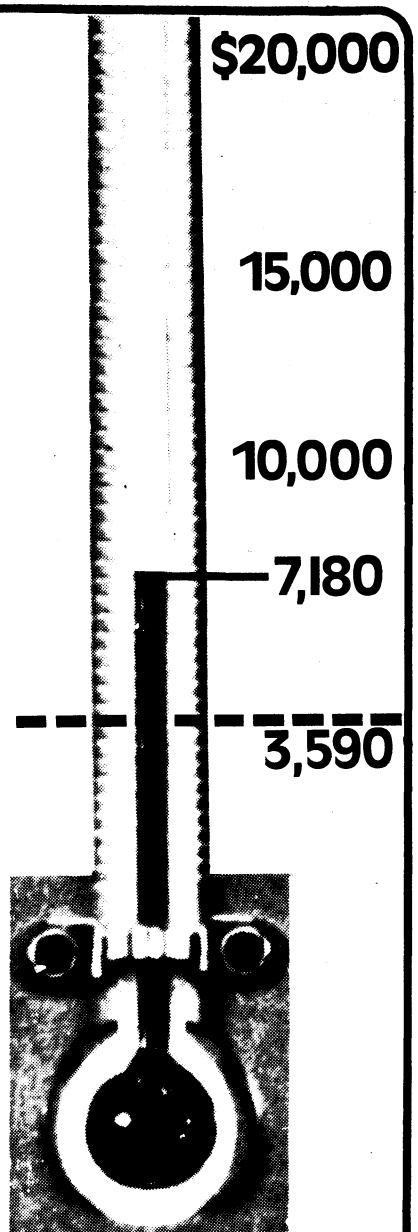
The following day, all charges were dropped as public opposition to the arrests mounted, and the American Civil Liberties Union agreed to take the YSJP's case.

On March 7, representatives of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, the Syracuse University Draft Counseling Center, the Peace and Freedom Party, and the Gay Freedom League joined the YSJP in a press conference to announce the victory and defend the right of the YSJP to carry out its campaign activities freely.

In a similar attempt at harassment, Houston police and plainclothes agents from the Texas Alcoholic Beverages Commission arrested two Texas Socialist Workers Party candidates and three of their supporters at a private party in Houston on Feb. 19. Rich Finkel, SWP candidate for U. S. Congress in the Eighth C. D., and David Rossi, SWP candidate for Legislative District 86, were charged with "being drunk in a private place." According to the SWP's lawyer, no such charge legally exists.

The arrests took place just three days after the SWP had announced its 1972 candidates. One of the cops involved in the illegal raid bluntly stated, "There's not going to be a campaign after this," thus revealing the real purpose behind the trumped-up charges—to harass and discredit the SWP campaign.

The Texas Socialist Workers Party intends to fight these phony charges in the courts and expose this latest attempt to obstruct the constitutional right of the SWP to run campaigns in an open and legal manner.



**\$20,000  
Campaign  
Matching Fund  
\$900  
raised  
during  
second  
week**

The second week of the drive to raise a total of \$20,000 for the Jenness-Pulley campaign has brought us \$1,800 closer to the goal. The \$900 received by the national campaign office this week was matched by the campaign supporter who has offered to match all contributions to the campaign, up to \$10,000.

The largest portion of the money raised during the last week came from mail contributions, including one for \$200. Approximately \$280 of the \$900 represents a portion of the collection taken during the Atlanta banquet for Linda Jenness.

The \$20,000 Socialist Campaign Matching Fund will continue until April 14. Many activities of the Jenness-Pulley campaign depend on having money available to finance them. If you can help, return the attached coupon with your contribution.

( ) 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 \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York 10003.

The following open letter was sent to Democratic presidential candidate Shirley Chisholm from Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

In the course of your campaign for president, you and your supporters have no doubt come across campaigners for the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket. Our campaigners are active in cities and towns across the country, presenting a socialist alternative in the 1972 elections and addressing themselves to the major issues facing the American people.

We have called for immediate and unconditional U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia. We have urged support to the antiwar movement and to the massive protest actions that have graphically demonstrated the antiwar feelings of the majority of the American people.

We have condemned the wage freeze and wage controls. We have spoken out in defense of the women's liberation movement and its demands. We have given wholehearted support to the struggles of Black and Spanish-speaking Americans against racist oppression.

In your campaign you have raised some of the same issues we are raising. You oppose the war, you speak for the rights of women, you demand equal opportunity

# Open letter to the Shirley Chisholm campaign from Linda Jenness & Andrew Pulley

for Black and Spanish-speaking people. You have even called for a "social revolution" in order to place power in the hands of those who have been powerless in this society.

But while the stated goals of our campaigns are in many cases the same, there are some deep differences between us on the question of how these goals can be achieved and on just what kind of a "social revolution" is needed.

We feel that a dialogue between our campaign and yours—about the program and strategy necessary for reorganizing this society in a humane manner—can be extremely valuable today, when more and more Americans are looking for a real alternative to the politics of the Democratic and Republican parties.

First, concerning your strategy. You have explained that your strategy is to gain enough delegates to the Democratic Party convention to be able to "negotiate" from a position of power with the bosses of the Democratic Party. But what will you negotiate for? Your three "non-negotiable" demands are a Black man for the vice-presidency, the appointment of a woman to head the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the appointment of a Native American as head of the Department of the Interior.

In an interview in the Feb. 13 *Washington Post* you said you are not interested in negotiating about programmatic demands at the convention. "I've seen too many Democratic platforms, gone to too many conventions, to see that platforms, words, words, words, mean nothing . . . they are not carried out and they're not meaningful."

## The 'spoils'

Jesse Jackson was quoted in the Feb. 4 *New York Times* as saying that your strategy is consistent with the strategy of some of the other Black Democrats: to "take one-fifth of the spoils—jobs and authority—of the Democratic party," on the grounds that Black people comprise 20 percent of Democratic voters.

What your general approach boils down to—regardless of the motives of those involved—is not a new kind of politics but the same old machine politics that have sold out struggles for so long. It means going to the Democratic Party convention to make deals about posts and promotions for individuals, rather than fighting for issues, for a principled program.

Even if you won one-fifth of "the spoils," the upshot would be just a few more jobs for a few women, and Blacks, but no specific changes that can answer the urgent needs of the masses of people of this country.

You say you are against the "politics of expediency and compromise," but you ask people to support and work in the Democratic Party. We believe this is a contradiction.

The Democratic Party is controlled by the millionaires who support it financially. You point out in your auto-

biography, *Unbought and Unbossed* (Avon Publishers, New York, N.Y.), that "roughly 2 percent of the people of this country control 80 percent of the resources and wealth" (page 160). Well, these same two percent also control the Democratic and Republican parties, which have run this country in their interests. The Democratic Party is corrupt to the core. In your autobiography you yourself describe some of the corrupt practices in the New York Democratic Party.

How can you believe that this society can be changed be merely substituting a few more Blacks or women or youth or Chicanos in positions of power through the Democratic Party?

For example, what difference has Richard Hatcher, mayor of Gary, Ind., been able to accomplish? Even he admitted that he has not been able to institute any fundamental changes. Hatcher said: "There is much talk about black control of the ghetto. What does it mean? I am mayor of a city of roughly 90,000 black people—but we do not control the possibilities of jobs for them, of money for their schools, or state-funded social institutions. These things are in the hands of U.S. Steel Corporation, the county department of welfare, and the State of Indiana."

Not only is it impossible for Black Democratic officials to make fundamental changes, but when masses of people rebel against the injustices of capitalism, these officials find themselves on the wrong side, wielding the instruments of repression. The bullets Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes authorized the national guardsmen to use to put down the Glenville ghetto rebellion in August 1968 felt no different to Hough residents than bullets sent by a white mayor.

It is our opinion that the American people don't need more individual "saviors" to negotiate concessions from the Democratic Party. What is needed is not "unique individuals," but a strategy for mobilizing the masses of oppressed people of this country to fight independently for their own interests, for their entire demands, not for compromises. The Democratic Party is not structured to permit or encourage mass mobilization for change, nor is it an organization through which one can fight for issues. As you admit, the rhetoric of the Democratic Party is not a program to be carried out. It is simply designed to win votes.

## Uncle Toms

In your autobiography you quote the statement of Malcolm X in which he points out how the ruling class uses Uncle Toms to help control Black people. You say, "It is necessary for our generation to repudiate . . . black leaders who cooperated with the white design to keep their people down" (page 156). But what is the Democratic Party if not exactly that—a racist institution designed to fool Black people and mask their subjugation? Malcolm X pointed out that the Democratic Party is the party of Dixiecrats and urged Black people not to support either the Democrats or Republicans, "because both of them have sold us out."

Think about what you are doing with your campaign. You are appealing to the most radical Black people, women, and young students and workers. You are claiming to represent a fundamental alternative to the inhuman priorities of this system. You claim to want to serve as an instrument to promote the struggles that these people have carried out. But what do you ask them to do? To go into the swamp of the Democratic Party and put their faith in you to negotiate for their interests.



Shirley Chisholm

This defuses the power independent movements have established through their own struggles. It places the women's movement, the Black movement, the student movement, the antiwar movement, right into the hip pocket of the Democratic Party.

## Delegate power?

We believe that you are wrong when you say that political power comes from the number of Democratic convention delegates you have. Any power you will have to "negotiate" with the bosses of the Democratic Party will not come from your delegates but from the independent struggles of those you are attempting to speak for. The Democratic Party bosses will listen to your demands only to the degree that there are people behind you who

have begun to organize independently against both the Democratic and Republican administrations. They will listen because they are scared to death of the prospect of the masses of oppressed people organizing their own independent political movements that are out to fight for real changes—not for personal advancement or for negotiations and compromises.

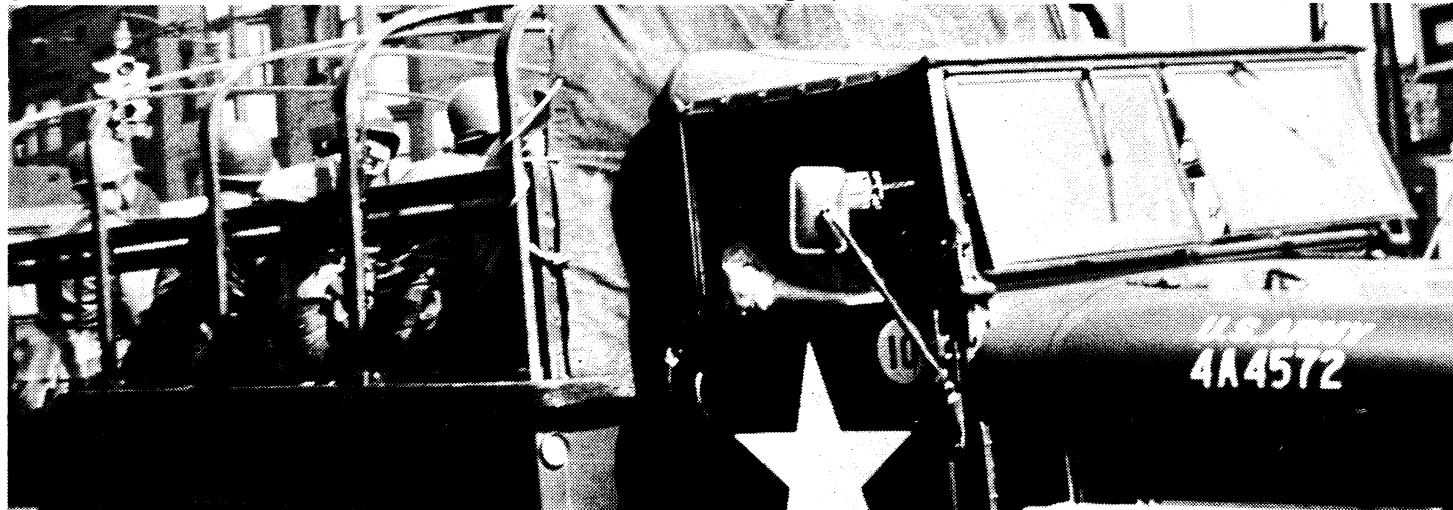


Photo by Muhammad Akbar

Troops were sent into Glenville area of Cleveland by Black Mayor Carl Stokes in August 1968 to quell rebellion. Black Democratic Party officials have carried out repressive measures against the Black community in order to protect private property and uphold capitalist "law and order."

Even to win limited concessions, the most effective strategy is to struggle independently of the Democratic and Republican parties. If you supported such a strategy, you would help organize an independent Black political party and help build mass action organizations against the war, for repeal of all abortion laws, and around other issues.

But you did not use your influence to urge the national Black political convention in Gary, Ind., March 10-12—a gathering of thousands of politicized Black people—to break with the Democratic Party. You did not support building a Black party controlled by Black people.

A Black party is something that would really shake up this system. It could split wide open the political con game the Democrats and Republicans have been playing with the American people for years. It could set an example of militancy and independence for other sectors of the population, especially for the powerful labor movement.

Your strategy is a dead end, and it has the effect of helping to keep the wool over the eyes of masses of Americans about the true nature of the Democratic Party. What will you do after the Democratic convention? Ask people to vote for Muskie or Kennedy or whatever white male candidate of the rich is finally picked?

If you do this, your entire campaign will have given the capitalist rulers of this country a tremendous boost in their attempt to persuade dissidents and radicals to support the Democratic Party. You will have their thanks, just as Eugene McCarthy no doubt had their secret thanks in 1968. Unfortunately, he convinced many radical youth to get out of the streets and into so-called "responsible" activity. He led them into the Democratic Party con game, and then, when he lost the nomination at the convention, he endorsed Humphrey against Nixon.

### Reforms not enough

We believe that your strategy is wrong. Your program is based on defending the capitalist system. You have pointed to the urgency and seriousness of the crises facing this society—war, racism, unemployment, inflation, poverty, pollution, sexism, and this system's general lack of humane priorities. Yet your program does not propose effective answers to these fundamental evils of this capitalist system.

You propose a series of reforms that—although progressive—do not go to the roots of what is wrong with this country. You say in your autobiography that your goal is to "shake up" the system, and that "It's not necessary to dump it, only to make it work" (page 146).

But think about the depth of the failures and crimes of this capitalist system. Take its wars, for example. The problem is not only the war in Southeast Asia; war is an integral part of this system. Nearly half the national budget goes into war and into the development of ever more vicious means of destruction.

In the speech announcing your presidential campaign you said that the Vietnam war was an "ill-conceived blunder". If you think the Vietnam war was a "blunder" rather than conscious *bipartisan* policy, then how can you explain the consistent history of U.S. aggression in the affairs of other countries? How can you explain the invasions of Lebanon in 1956, of Cuba in 1961, of the Dominican Republic in 1965, to name only a few? No, Vietnam was not a "blunder."

If you were president would you continue the bipartisan policy of sending troops into other countries to crush popular struggles for national and social liberation? Would you send troops around the world to prevent other peoples from nationalizing U.S. industries? Would you stand on the side of the U.S. capitalists and bankers, defending their right to dominate poor countries, to exploit the labor of poor countries, to rake in profits while keeping these peoples in abject poverty and ignorance? Would you defend the right of U.S. capitalists to invest in South Africa,

their right to make millions off the backs of the Black people there, who are kept in semi-slave status?

In our campaign we are explaining that war is an integral part of the capitalist system. Ruthless search for profits is the very mechanism of capitalism. Wars are fought either between competing capitalist countries for the right to exploit different sectors of the world, or between

capitalist countries and countries that have had or are moving toward socialist revolution.

We believe that the *causes* of war can be eliminated only through a system of collective ownership of the wealth of society and through cooperative, democratic economic planning—that is, socialism.

White racism is another integral feature of capitalism. The entire government, schools, courts, prisons, military, and every other institution of this society are set up to perpetuate racism.

Still other evils that are fundamental features of capitalism are inflation, unemployment, underproduction while people go hungry, pollution of our environment, and slum housing. Alienation is felt every day by working people who have to sell themselves to an employer, with no control over their job, no control over what they produce, and no economic security. Medical care, child care, and care for the aged is available only for those who can pay.

Your campaign has not raised fundamental answers to these problems.

We see a logic behind all these aspects of this so-called free enterprise system. Economic and political power is in the hands of those who own the great wealth of this country. These ruling capitalists and financiers promote wars, racism, sexism, and antilabor policies because all these evils serve to defend and enhance their ability to make profits.

You admit this. You have charged that this system is in the grip of "corporate and banking interests," and you even point out in your autobiography that "When morality comes up against profit, it is seldom that profit loses" (page 122).

For these very reasons we feel that your program of reforming capitalism—of trying to "make it work"—is wrong. In order to enable "morality" and human needs to triumph over profits, it is necessary not just to put a few patches on this system, but to totally reorganize it on the basis of social ownership of industry and democratic control over economic as well as political decisions.

We submit that social change will only be achieved through independence from the Democratic and Republican parties, which have proved themselves to be instruments of the capitalist class. The only effective strategy is a long-range strategy of building independent political organizations of the oppressed to enable the masses of the American people to take control of their own lives and of the wealth they have created.

We call on all those who agree with this perspective to support our 1972 campaign.



Photo by Herman Kirsch

John Hawkins, 23, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress running against Shirley Chisholm in the 12th Congressional District in New York.

# Order socialist campaign literature today!

**BROCHURES:** 1¢ each for 100 or more

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley

Women's Liberation and the Socialist Workers Campaign Out Now! (antiwar)

**2¢ each on orders of 100 or more**  
The Black Community and the 1972 Elections

**OTHER LITERATURE:** 1¢ each for 100 or more

Socialist Campaign in the News #2

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley Newsletter #2



**BUTTONS:** 30¢ each, 15¢ each for 50 or more, 12¢ each for 200 or more

Vote Socialist Workers in '72  
Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, Make Your First Vote Count

Jenness for President  
Pulley for Vice-President  
Capitalism Fools Things Up

**POSTERS:** 10¢ each, 4¢ each for 100 or more

Linda Jenness for President  
Andrew Pulley for Vice-President  
Black Control of the Black Community

Bring the Troops Home Now  
**50¢ each, 20¢ each for 20 or more**

Eugene V. Debs  
Repeal All Anti-Abortion Laws

**TRUTH KIT:** 25¢ each, 15¢ each for 50 or more

Everything You Always Wanted to Know about George McGovern

**STICKERS:** \$1/100, 75¢/100 for 1,000 or more

Black Control of the Black Community

**\$1/200, 75¢/200 for 1,000 or more**  
Capitalism Fools Things Up

**T-SHIRTS:** \$3 each, 50¢ postage is required for each shirt on orders of fewer than 12 (Please indicate size required—S, M, L, XL)

Vote Socialist Workers  
Capitalism Fools Things Up

**TAPE RECORDING:** \$5 each

Debate between Linda Jenness and Representative Paul McCloskey

**PAMPHLETS:**

The Case for a Black Party 50¢  
A Transitional Program for Black Liberation 25¢

( ) I would like more information about the SWP campaign  
( ) Enclosed find \$ to cover the cost of the literature I would like to order (please enclose a separate list).

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



# '72 Socialist Campaign

An article in the March 16 **Rolling Stone** magazine by Timothy Crouse reports on the Jan. 15 debate between Linda Jenness and Paul McCloskey in New London, N. H. Crouse writes:

"Linda Jenness, a fine and fiery speaker, let McCloskey have it in her opening statement. . . . She hit McCloskey where he was vulnerable—his voting record. . . .

"McCloskey, unrattled but on the defensive, took his turn at the podium. He explained his unpalatable stand on the Pueblo and said he had not changed his mind. . . . He said that he had voted for the wage freeze as a temporary measure, but agreed with Jenness that the country could use a long-range planned economy. . . .

"Asked about Angela Davis, McCloskey said that a politician had no right to comment on the guilt or innocence of the accused. Jenness answered him: 'I demand immediate freedom for Angela Davis and I'm very proud and not ashamed at all to demand it and I'm a politician.' There was a crash of applause. Time had run out on the debate.

"McCloskey didn't appear shaken. . . . He had done the thing out of a mixture of good sportsmanship and sheer perversity. . . . Nonetheless, he had taken a beating and I was left with troubled thoughts. McCloskey looked like a dream candidate but he might be no more than a virtuous Nixon—he might not understand the woes of the country much more deeply than the President."

On March 10 McCloskey announced his withdrawal from the presidential race.

The SWP national campaign office recently received the following letter:

"Dear Miss Jenness:

Congressman McCloskey enjoyed his debate with you in New London very much. However, his staff has advised him that a second debate here in New Hampshire or elsewhere would detract from his first responsibility, which is to campaign for the Republican nomination for President.

We regret that this will make a second debate impossible, and appreciate your enthusiasm for such a confrontation. Thank you. Sincerely," (Miss) Nancy D. Payne, Schedule Assistant, McCloskey Volunteers, Concord, N. H.

As of March 2, a total of 6,216 people had signed cards endorsing the Socialist Workers Party 1972 campaign. This week endorsements were received from 29 states.

Philip Hardy, 23, announced at a March 9 press conference that he will run for mayor of Portland, Ore., on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

On Feb. 29, the University of Minnesota Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley announced that it would run Becky Bohan and Marty Anderson for president and vice-president of the Minnesota Student Association (MSA).

In an interview with the **Minnesota Daily**, Bohan said, "We say the University should play a central role in struggles to end the hypocrisy, racism, sexism, and exploitation that dominate every aspect of American soci-

ety." Bohan is a member of the University Women's Liberation.

Anderson is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Also in Minnesota, more than 100 students turned out at Hamline University in St. Paul to hear the views of Rudy Boschwitz, national Republican committeeman; Richard Moe, state Democratic-Farmer Labor chairman; John Milton, organizer of Project '72, which encourages student participation in the two-party system; and Mary Hillary, SWP senatorial candidate. Hillary labeled the Democrats and Republicans "bankrupt" and outlined the SWP program.

PFC Steven Wattenmaker (Brooke Army Medical Center, Fort Sam Houston, Texas), SWP nominee for Congress from Texas' 20th C.D., requested official permission to actively campaign for office on Feb. 14.

His company commander, Captain Paul R. Meinardus, replied Feb. 15, stating that "this command does not have the authority to permit you to actively campaign. . . . Your request has been forwarded to the Commanding General, Brooke Army Medical Center, for further consideration."

Wattenmaker was then informed by the Commanding General that "your request . . . has been forwarded to the Department of the Army for determination." Wattenmaker was also told that "campaigning for political office by a member of the U. S. Army is prohibited under the provisions of Army Regulation 600-20. Granting exceptions . . . is exclusively the prerogative of the Department of the Army."

While waiting for the response of the Department of the Army, Wattenmaker and the SWP are consulting with an ACLU lawyer, discussing possible court action.

Laura Miller, national YSJP coordinator, debated Bob Seefeld, an assistant coordinator for Edmund Muskie, at Temple University in Philadelphia on March 1.

Seefeld declared that if "good people work for Muskie, then Muskie will be responsive to the needs of the people."

Miller pointed out that "both the Democratic and Republican parties are run by the capitalists to preserve the capitalist system. If we are going to have any real change, we must organize independently of these parties. Muskie in particular has been serving the interests of the corporations in Maine by compromising in the fight for effective antipollution laws."

The second (March 1972) issue of the Young Socialists for Jenness & Pulley Newsletter is just off the press. The Newsletter is a four-page organizing tool for supporters of the Jenness-Pulley ticket. This issue includes articles on the endorser drive, fund raising, obtaining ballot status, and Choice '72.

Single copies are free; one cent per copy on bulk orders. To get your copy, write to Socialist Workers Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

— STEVE BEREN

## Youth leaders call for CHOICE '72 ballot

By SANDRA MAXFIELD

NEW YORK, March 13—Leaders of 13 national student and youth organizations issued a joint call March 10 for CHOICE '72 presidential preference polls and referendums this spring on high school and college campuses. The 13 representatives signed a letter that has been sent to student governments and student newspapers across the country, urging them to sponsor CHOICE '72 polls in their schools.

In addition to the letter, a sample ballot including the names of all known presidential candidates of all parties and suggesting topics for referendum questions, was also enclosed. The suggested referendum topics include the war in Southeast Asia, amnesty for draft resisters, abortion law repeal, busing, wage-price controls, Black control of the Black community, Chicano control of the Chicano community, Angela Davis, the Harrisburg seven case, student voting rights.

Signers of the letter are: Chuck Avery, national secretary, People's Party; Daniel Brennan, coordinator, Youth-Lindsay '72; Mark Bruzonsky, chief representative, International Student Movement for the United Nations; Matty Berkelhammer, organizational secretary, Young Workers Liberation League (Youth for Hall and Tyner); Larry Bye, national student coordinator, Eugene McCarthy; G. Michael Conlee, staff member, Student Advisory Committee on International Affairs; Lanny J. Davis, national youth coordinator, Senator Muskie; Robert Gottlieb, national field coordinator, Shirley Chisholm for President; Fred Lovgren, national coordinator, Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in S. E. Asia; Laura Miller, national coordinator, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley; Ed O'Donnell, national youth director, Senator McGovern; Layton Olson, executive director, National Student Lobby; Margery Tabankin, president, National Student Association.

The middle of April is proposed as the target date for holding the CHOICE '72 polls. The letter suggests that this date be contingent upon student government elections and spring vacation periods.

Laura Miller, a national coordinator of the YSJP and a signer of the letter, stated today that "CHOICE '72 provides an excellent opportunity for the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley to publicize the ideas and programs of our candidates and to arrange debates and meetings so that

students can find out what the campaigns really represent. School newspapers and radio stations can be approached to provide space and time to representatives of the various candidates. YSJPers will want to campaign vigorously to get the maximum vote for the socialist campaign and for the correct positions on the referendum issues. We can distribute sample ballots with instructions for how to vote on all the questions, and we can help arrange local publicity before and after the poll. Wherever possible, YSJPers are also helping to initiate CHOICE '72 in the high schools."

A letter signed by Miller has been sent to 6,000 Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, urging them to build CHOICE '72 in their local areas.

Reports from around the country indicate the interest and enthusiasm already generated by the idea of a CHOICE '72 poll this spring.

Recent polls held on two California campuses show the kind of support the Socialist Workers campaign can receive in the CHOICE '72 polls. In the poll held at the University of California at Santa Barbara, Linda Jenness placed fourth—behind McGovern, Chisholm, and McCarthy but ahead of Muskie, Lindsay, Nixon, and Humphrey. (See *The Militant*, March 17.)

Results of two polls held in November and February at the University of California at Berkeley have recently been released. With 3,625 students voting in the first poll and 2,074 in the second, Linda Jenness received 3 percent of the votes in the first poll and 4 percent in the second. She placed ahead of Humphrey, Wallace and Jackson, and tied McCloskey in the second poll.

State and local polls are being conducted on 25 Texas campuses during the month of March. In addition to asking students to mark their preference for president, U. S. senator, and governor of Texas, the poll also includes questions on major political issues. Linda Jenness is listed on this ballot, as well as the statewide candidates of the Socialist Workers Party and the Texas Raza Unida Party.

At the University of Kentucky in Lexington, a presidential preference poll is tentatively scheduled for April 19.

For further information on CHOICE '72, write to: CHOICE '72, c/o Student Bar Association, 87 West 3rd St., New York, N. Y. 10012; or to: Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.



Photo by Michael Maggi

While campaigning in Florida, the Southern YSJP team talked to many students about organizing CHOICE '72 on their campuses.

# What was wrong with the Alliance for Labor Action?

By FRANK LOVELL

The Alliance for Labor Action (ALA), founded May 26, 1969, at a Washington, D. C., convention of more than 500 handpicked delegates of the United Auto Workers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, lasted less than three years. UAW President Leonard Woodcock announced the news of its demise at a press conference in Detroit on Jan. 24. The stated reason was the financial crisis of the UAW. Woodcock said the UAW had been unable to meet its \$65,000 monthly sustainer pledge since last July and the Teamsters had therefore suspended their \$100,000 monthly payments to the Alliance.

The ALA was launched with some fanfare by the late Walter Reuther, then president of the UAW, and Frank Fitzsimmons, now president of the Teamsters. Fitzsimmons told the ALA founding convention: "We in the Teamsters, and in the UAW, I am certain, intend to establish communications with the youngsters, simply because they will be taking up positions of leadership in organized labor and in the country as some of the present leaders retire."

"We find the youth of the nation up in arms over an unpopular war in Vietnam, up in arms over the billions of dollars this country spends annually to carry on this war in the Far East, when our own people go begging right here at home."

"This war, the bane and the plague of both Democratic and Republican administrations, must be stopped, and must be stopped soon."

Fitzsimmons' findings are as true today as they were three years ago. More than \$80-billion is still appropriated annually for military expenditures, including huge amounts squandered on the bombing of Indochina.

At the ALA convention, Reuther, like Fitzsimmons, deplored the war in Indochina and promised to wage "total war against human poverty in this land of plenty."

The ALA founders projected vast social reform programs to resolve the urban crisis, wipe out poverty and hunger, stop pollution of the air and the "continuing neglect of our environment," end inflation, and raise the standard of living of wage earners. But this "total war" and these reform programs never got beyond the planning stage.

Fitzsimmons and Reuther announced a campaign to organize millions of unorganized, low-paid workers and made plans to help finance mass-produced housing in poverty areas. A new organizational form, the "community union," was to be established in some major cities. The purpose was "to build person-to-person communication with the human victims trapped in rural and urban slums."

The ALA founding convention also voted to request appointments with President Nixon, members of his cabinet, and majority and minority leaders of both houses of Congress to discuss these proposals.

Reuther and Fitzsimmons agreed upon a division of labor in the new group. Reuther was to build "community unions" in Watts, East Los Angeles, St. Louis, and other cities; Fitzsimmons was to head a drive to organize the unorganized.

The "community unions," which had been proposed even before the UAW split from the AFL-CIO in 1968, never amounted to much.

The organizing drive brought more tangible results. With the help and aid of the Teamsters, the ALA launched a high-powered and unorthodox organizing campaign in At-

lanta, using radio and television advertisements along with bus signs and billboards to win support. On June 22, 1970, the *Atlanta Constitution* noted: "The picket sign, familiar to Georgians during the early 1960's when civil rights demonstrators paced the sidewalks in front of stores and restaurants, is again becoming a common sight here."

The paper further explained that "Today's sign carriers are workers. Usually they're picketing their employer because they want to form a union, or because they want to publicize the reasons they're on strike."

In one year the ALA spent more than \$1-million and won collective bargaining rights for about 6,000 workers. Although considered a modest success in cracking the anti-union prejudices of Southern politicians and business interests, the returns in dues-paying union members did not sufficiently offset the organizing expenses to satisfy the business-minded leadership of the Teamsters union.

The driving force behind the promises made three years ago was restiveness in the ranks of the union move-



Walter Reuther, late president of the United Auto Workers.

ment over deteriorating working conditions and declining purchasing power. Black workers were organizing their own caucuses to fight discrimination in the shops and in the unions, and the most advanced of these Black caucuses were in the UAW.

Walter Reuther sought to pacify the opposition in the unions, and especially in the UAW, by demagogically promising to tackle those social evils.

The fact that the leadership of the AFL-CIO stubbornly refused to recognize the new social forces at work impelled Reuther to break with Meany and to denounce him as "the custodian of the status quo." Reuther bolted the federation in 1968.

## A rival federation?

Many thought that the ALA would develop as a rival federation, eventually winning the support of most unions. But this was not the intention of either Reuther or Fitzsimmons or the officials of the International Chemical Workers, who brought their union into the ALA toward the end of 1969.

The ALA was not conceived as an organization to mobilize the masses of workers against the inequities of this society. It was strictly a pressure move from the beginning, organized by the top officials.

The Communist Party, while expressing criticisms of the ALA, was among those who hailed it as a potential rival to the AFL-CIO. George

Meyers, writing in the July 1969 issue of *Political Affairs*, theoretical journal of the Communist Party USA, found "a remarkable parallel with the situation in the early 30's which saw the emergence of the CIO."

He argued that "Rank-and-file pressure can bring many union leaders to identify with the program of the ALA." In that special jargon peculiar to the Stalinists, Meyers expressed his proposal for what should be done: "A united front of labor—a Left-Center coalition—is what is required. Reaction can be stopped in its tracks today as it was stopped in the 30's. The founders of the ALA are emerging as a Center. A Left is needed to complete the united front."

In ordinary language, this means that the CP was hoping for a rift among the top union bureaucrats that would open up an opportunity for them to establish a working relationship with the "progressive" wing of the bureaucracy. This was the relationship it had in the unions prior to and during World War II. But such a repetition of that period is very unlikely. Certainly the abandon-



Frank E. Fitzsimmons, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

ment of the ALA has not put any wind in the CP's sails.

The ALA was junked by the UAW and Teamster officials because of their sense of insecurity in relation to the capitalist government. They have shown that they are incapable of challenging the anti-union drive of the employers and the government. This was particularly evident when both Fitzsimmons and Woodcock joined the AFL-CIO high command in serving on the government pay board.

The question sometimes arises as to whether developments would have been different if Reuther had not been killed in May 1970. It is argued that Reuther was more imaginative than Woodcock. But whatever is said about his imagination, Reuther, like Woodcock, always limited himself to the strict confines of class collaboration and support to the Democratic Party.

Another factor in the abandonment of the ALA is that some important changes have occurred within the union movement—especially in the Teamsters and the UAW—since the founding of the ALA. The composition of the union membership has changed. The average age is lower, and the percentage of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities is higher. The workers, like those in the General Motors plant in Lordstown, Ohio, are resisting the pressures and demands of the employers. There is a wider

Continued on page 22

# Berrigan witness caught lying

By LEE SMITH

MARCH 13—Cross-examination has begun to take the twinkle out of the U. S. government's star witness in the Harrisburg frame-up trial. Boyd F. Douglas Jr., who has so far been on the stand for two weeks in the trial of Father Philip Berrigan and six other antiwar activists, has been clearly shown by defense questioning to be an agent provocateur unused to telling the truth.

Berrigan and the others are on trial under a trumped-up "conspiracy" charge. Allegations that they "plotted" to raid draft boards are mixed with fantastic accusations that they at one time sought to kidnap presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger and bomb underground heating tunnels in Washington, D. C.

The "plot" was allegedly directed by Berrigan from his cell at the Lewisburg, Pa., federal prison. Douglas was a prisoner at Lewisburg with Berrigan, and he made friends with the antiwar priest while getting paid by the FBI as an informer.

Betty Medsger, who has been covering the trial for the *Washington Post*, wrote in today's issue of that paper that while Douglas had appeared "chipper" during examination by the prosecution, last week's cross-examination by defense attorneys had made him "look weary" and put his temper "on edge."

Some of the points that must have aggravated the FBI's witness are:

- He has been forced to admit that the major part of what he told people throughout the summer of 1970—when the alleged "plot" was supposedly hatched—was lies.

- He has been forced to acknowledge his authorship of letters to antiwar students aimed at entrapping them by encouraging their participation in illegal activity.

- While maintaining that now he is telling the truth, Douglas was caught by the defense in one obvious, outright lie on the stand. He claimed Berrigan had shown a callous and uncaring attitude toward a death from a terrorist bombing in Wisconsin. But he claimed Berrigan had shown this attitude by commenting on the death on Aug. 23—24 hours before it occurred!

In a related development, trial witness Zoia Horn, who was jailed by Judge R. Dixon Herman for contempt when she refused to testify as a matter of principle, received editorial support from the *New York Times* March 8 for her appeal of that decision.



Defendant Berrigan



# NPAC pushes for unity in Los Angeles

By OSCAR COOVER

LOS ANGELES--As momentum continues to build for the April 22 mass antiwar demonstrations, it appears that the Los Angeles action is becoming the focus of a national debate between supporters of the action and



Photo by Harry Ring

**John T. Williams, NPAC coordinator and Los Angeles Teamster official, was excluded from so-called Third World Caucus.**

members of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ).

PCPJ members organized as a so-called Third World Caucus intervened at two steering committee meetings of April 22 West-NPAC—the local coalition charged with organizing the march in L.A.—and at one general coalition meeting attended by more than 200.

At each meeting the PCPJ presented NPAC with a list of demands it said must be accepted as the central theme of the April 22 demonstration before it would support the action. Each time they attempted to disrupt further proceedings by shouting down coalition speakers.

The PCPJ demands included support to the seven-point program of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam and support for "all people struggling for the right to self-determination." The group also called for complete restructuring of April 22 West, with "80 percent Third World representation." March organizers were accused of racism for maintaining opposition to the war as the sole condition for participation in April 22. The PCPJ proposal further demanded that the coalition address itself to the issues of racism, imperialism, genocide, and repression.

These latest incidents are only the visible outgrowth of a conflict that has been brewing ever since the action was set for L.A. Briefly stated, the opposing viewpoints are as follows:

PCPJ and its local affiliate, the L.A. Peace Action Council (PAC), contend that the antiwar movement should be converted into a multi-issue front, raising slogans that deal with a variety of social ills. These slogans and demands would have to be supported by everyone who wanted to demonstrate against the war on April 22, and would therefore prevent the mobilization of many people who do not agree with the full PAC-PCPJ program for social change.

April 22 West-NPAC, on the other hand, feels that massive participation is the antiwar movement's most effective strategy. By introducing other issues as the focal point of that movement and limiting the basis for participation, the possibility of massive opposition to the war is consequently

reduced.

NPAC, of course, relates the issue of the war to many other social questions and attempts to mobilize contingents from various sectors of society to participate in antiwar demonstrations.

NPAC policy was ratified overwhelmingly at a national antiwar conference of more than 1,400 people held last December in Cleveland, which called the April 22 action. Although PCPJ-PAC forces were publicly invited to participate in all aspects of that conference, it is only after plans for the march are well underway that they have decided to raise their political objections. They have used the "Third World Caucus" to do so.

In truth, the caucus is composed of elements from the PCPJ and PAC and has been led on more than one occasion by Irving Sarnoff, the Anglo chairman of the PAC. Other Anglo PAC members are also prominent in the caucus. However, Black and Chicano members of NPAC, including John T. Williams, a national coordinator of NPAC, were excluded from a March 5 "Third World Caucus" meeting because they support April 22. Sarnoff and several other Anglos were allowed to remain.

Sarnoff opened the attack on April 22 shortly after he returned from the recent World Assembly for Peace held in Versailles, France. At a Feb. 23 meeting of the PAC, which was attended by April 22 West representatives seeking unity around the entire spring program adopted at Versailles, Sarnoff stated that the assembly had "merely listed" April 22 on its calendar. This, he claimed, did not constitute endorsement of the action, and thus there was no basis for unity between the two groups. Although NPAC members, one of whom had been a delegate at the Paris meeting, expressed their willingness to discuss joint action on the spring calendar,

the PAC tabled further discussion and asked the NPAC representatives to leave the room.

A later radio discussion between Sarnoff and NPAC coordinator John T. Williams, who was also present at the Versailles assembly, yielded equally discouraging results. Sarnoff consistently took the position that the assembly had not endorsed the April 22 action.

In fact, the Versailles conference adopted a resolution that stated, "... the American antiwar movement will mount a steadily increasing campaign to raise forcefully the issues of the war and its domestic costs. This campaign will open in April with six weeks of action and demonstrations (details are appended)." The appendix to the action resolution lists four dates, April 1, April 15, April 22, and May 1-15.

While the debate continues on this level, progress on April 22 is moving ahead. A drive to build the demonstration on the campuses is being organized, with special emphasis on the University of California at Los Angeles, California State College at Los Angeles, and University of Southern California campuses. In addition, an Asian American contingent is now operating out of April 22 West-NPAC headquarters, and a number of Chicano community groups have shown increased interest in building the Raza contingent for the action.

The April 22 West coalition plans a campaign to distribute large amounts of literature throughout the West. With the demonstration only five weeks away, it is unfortunate that this progress must be made in the face of attempts by the PAC to prevent a unified demonstration. It remains to be seen whether subsequent NPAC pleas for a joint demonstration will fall on deaf ears.

The address of the April 22 West-NPAC coalition is: 111 N. Vermont Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90004. Telephone: (213) 487-3535.

## The National Picket Line

LAST NOVEMBER THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS, LOCAL 801, AFL-CIO, in Dayton, Ohio, agreed to forego pay and cost-of-living raises for two years after General Motors threatened to shut down its Frigidaire Division in that city. "It was a shock treatment, there's no doubt about that," said former banker Frank Anger, who chaired a "citizens' committee" in Dayton that helped pressure the workers to accept the wage freeze.

The "citizens' committee," called the Committee to Save Frigidaire for the Community, ran full-page newspaper ads describing the company's difficulties and supposedly putting pressure on both the company and union to find solutions to the "problem." The actual pressure, however, was only on the union; the company was not asked to reduce its profits. The committee also neglected to inform the public that GM holds the world record for making profits.

The IUE also made another serious concession to the company. It agreed to split the Frigidaire workers into two groups, one for those who build appliances and another for those who work on automotive equipment. In this way the company will be able to play off one group of workers against the other.

Appliance workers who have now been recalled are scheduled to get 25 cents an hour less than they were getting when they were laid off. The agreement also provides that no more increases will be paid until wages of Frigidaire's competitors come up to the levels paid at Frigidaire.

Other large corporations in Dayton have not been slow to take advantage of the precedent set

at Frigidaire. Workers at McCall Printing Co., for example, are reported to have agreed to a wage cut by a reduction of the number of hours worked.

IN AKRON, OHIO, center of the rubber industry and stronghold of the United Rubber Workers (URW), another "citizens' committee" was formed to put pressure on the workers to take wage cuts. Calling itself the Akron Area Economic Task Force and chaired by businessman William S. Parry, this group said, "We got the companies to say what they had to have and the unions to give it some thought." Firestone Rubber, one of the giants in the field, said what it had to have was a wage cut of \$1.14 an hour and a changeover from a six-hour to an eight-hour day.

Firestone workers rejected this outlandish demand, but after the union at Goodrich, another rubber giant, agreed to negotiate concessions to that company, the Firestone union leaders also began to negotiate.

The United Rubber Workers Union was the first to establish a six-hour-day for Akron rubber workers in the turbulent late 1930s. During those years the Rubber Workers was considered to be one of the strongest and most militant unions in the CIO.

An editorial in the March 1 *Cleveland Plain Dealer* praising Gerald Gelvin, president of Rubber Workers Local 7, as "a labor leader who performed in a courageous and responsible manner" indicates the extent of the degeneration of the leadership in this union.

According to Cleveland *Militant* correspondent Herman Kirsch, Gelvin recommended to the union members of the Firestone Corporation in Akron that they "increase . . . productivity; improve the quality of the product; decrease absenteeism; decrease down time; attempt to eliminate the bad effects of vacations on production in the peak vacation periods; consider the competitive advantages of the eight-hour day versus the six-hour day; and decrease waste and scrap."

Kirsch reports that Local 7 URW leaders and the Firestone Corporation have worked out a tentative agreement that follows these guidelines. Union members were asked to vote on the agreement March 5.

The gimmick of forming "citizens' committees" and threatening to shut down factories to get workers to accept wage cuts is spreading. The Jan. 26 *Wall Street Journal* reports, "Across the country at large and small companies, workers are frequently choosing to be more conciliatory when faced with the threat of losing their jobs."

What workers should demand when confronted with wage cuts and loss of their jobs is that corporations open their books to show just what the real score is. There is no justifiable reason to keep this information secret from the workers and the public.

When companies threaten to close down plants the unions should also raise the demand that these factories be nationalized and operated by the workers. There is no reason to shut down an enterprise engaged in making needed commodities. Let the government take them over and put them under workers' control.

— MILTON ALVIN



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

By DAVID THORSTAD

One of the ways in which the developing radicalization has been reflected inside Canada's reformist, bureaucrat-led labor party, the New Democratic Party, has been through the formation of an organized left-wing caucus. When it was formed in 1969, the party leadership scornfully dubbed it the "Waffle," meaning "to hesitate" or "to waver." (The incident that gave rise to the name appears to have been a discussion between some of the founders of the caucus. Someone said a certain programmatic formulation was imprecise, that the author was tending to waffle. The author replied that he would rather waffle to the left than to the right.)

Today the Waffle is clearly established as a left wing inside the labor party, with significant support among party ranks in all sections of the country. In some areas where the NDP has developed only recently and is still relatively weak (New Brunswick, for instance), the Waffle has even had the support of the majority of party members. It is strongest in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, and Ontario. The typical Waffle member is young, non-union, campus-based, and a riding (Canadian electoral district) activist.

The effectiveness with which this left wing has been consolidated was most dramatically demonstrated at the last federal convention of the NDP in April 1971. A solid 20 percent of the delegates supported the Waffle, despite efforts by the leadership to prevent the election of left-wing delegates. And no less than 37 percent of the delegates voted for Waffle leader Jim Laxer for the post of federal leader. The conservative NDP luminaries emerged shaken and bruised from this unprecedented challenge to their leadership.

The program the Waffle put forward in 1969, and has since elaborated upon, is often referred to as the "Waffle Manifesto" or the "Watkins Manifesto," after one of its main sponsors, Melville Watkins, a professor at the University of Toronto. Entitled "For an Independent, Socialist Canada," the manifesto presented an alternative perspective that was generally far to the left of existing party policy.

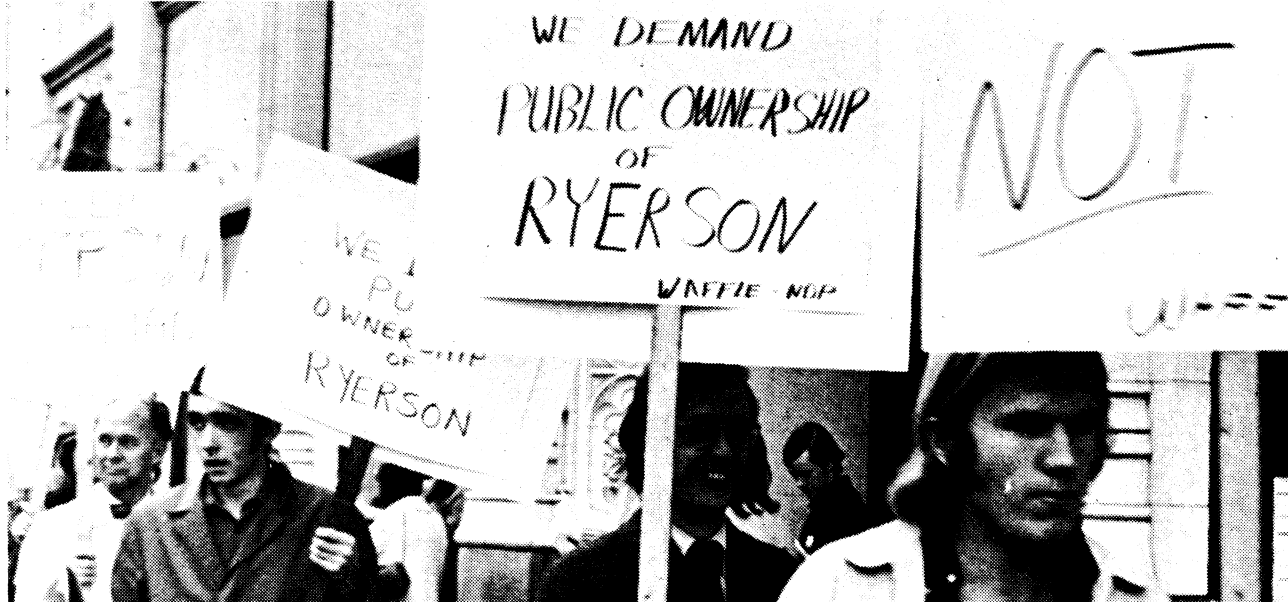
It begins on a note of "Canadian nationalism," reflecting the mounting hostility throughout Canada to U.S. domination of the Canadian economy and society. It states that "the major threat to Canadian survival today is American control of the Canadian economy," which has been reduced to a "resource base and consumer market within the American empire." Going beyond this anti-imperialism, it concludes that "capitalism must be replaced by socialism," which it correctly identifies with "national planning of investment" and "the public ownership of the means of production." It calls for an expanded role for workers in "every area of industrial decision-making," including "effective control in the determination of working conditions and substantial power in determining the nature of the product, prices and so on." It advocates active participation by socialists in extraparlimentary movements like tenants' unions and community organizations, and states that the first priority of the NDP must be "the development of socialist consciousness" through building a "mass base of socialists, in factories and offices, on farms and campuses."

At the same time, however, it tends to play down the significance of the NDP as Canadian labor's political arm by defining it as merely "the parliamentary wing of a movement dedicated to fundamental social change." This boils down to accepting the NDP bureaucrats' own concept, which limits it to giving only parliamentary expression to labor's class interests. Neither the bureaucrats nor the Waffle see the NDP as a political weapon to mobilize workers and their supporters in direct actions to defend those interests on all levels of society, not just in parliament.

The Waffle has a good position on Québec nationalism. It, in fact, sparked one of the main debates at last year's federal convention by putting forward a program that included opposition to the federally imposed repressive laws in Québec in the fall of 1970, a call for the immediate release of Québecois political prisoners, support for self-determination "up to and including the right to form an independent Québec state," and "an intensive educational program" by the NDP "throughout English Canada to make known the national and class oppression that the Québec people have experienced." The Waffle motion recognizing the "absolute right to self-determination" of the Québec nation was nevertheless defeated 2 to 1.

## Canada's labor party

# NDP's radical caucus



1971 Waffle demonstration against sale of Ryerson Press to U.S. business interests.

The Waffle encompasses a wide range of political viewpoints ranging from revolutionary internationalist to liberal-reformist and social-democratic. But essentially it is left social-democratic and reformist.

### 'Revolutionary reformism'

The reformist ideology of the Waffle leadership was aptly expressed by Cy Gonick, Waffle leader and member of the Manitoba legislature, in a paper he presented to a Waffle conference in August 1970.

In the paper, entitled "Revolutionary Reformism: A Strategy," he proposes a struggle for "revolutionary" or "anticapitalist" reforms introduced either through legislation or through extraparlimentary struggle by workers, farmers, tenants, students, etc. An "anticapitalist" reform is one that "permanently diminishes" the power of big business and the market. Yet while this appears consistent with the revolutionary approach whereby socialists formulate programmatic demands that can mobilize people in anticapitalist struggle around immediate, relevant issues, a revolutionary approach must also include a strategy that can tie these demands together in an overall struggle aimed at replacing capitalist rule with workers' power. Only such a strategy can generate the kind of revolutionary left wing that will give rise to the mass revolutionary party capable of leading the Canadian socialist revolution. But Gonick and the Waffle lack such a strategy.

Gonick projects a movement for "communal associations" or counter-communities within the existing system. Thus he actually substitutes a kind of new left concept of dismantling the system from within, piece by piece, for the traditional Marxian emphasis on public ownership of the key sectors of the economy and on the transferring of state power to the working class. And while he agrees that "ultimately" capitalism must be replaced with socialism, he does not know how to bridge the gap between the socialist goal and the present level of consciousness of the masses. He does not seem to see the possibilities that already exist for mobilizing masses of people in powerful anticapitalist or potentially anticapitalist movements like those against the war, for women's liberation, and for Québec independence.

The Waffle, in fact, is not really involved in either the antiwar movement or the growing movement for repeal of Canada's anti-abortion laws. When Waffle leader Melville Watkins was asked why the Waffle did not participate in the abortion repeal demonstration in Ottawa Nov. 20, 1971, he replied that it was not important and characterized it as a "Trotskyist" thing. The remark reflected a common anti-Trotskyist attitude among some Waffle leaders.

With few trade unionists belonging to it, the Waffle does not even appear to fully understand the NDP milieu in which it exists, which includes trade unions as well as the many new left elements in the Waffle. Many Waffle members do not understand the importance of the relationship between the labor party and the unions.

This can most clearly be seen in the Waffle's call for "socialist caucuses" in the trade unions. Such an approach would limit opposition formations to conscious socialists and could be an obstacle to the growth of broad left-wing caucuses built around a program of class struggle. This broad left wing must be built if the bureaucracy

is to ever be defeated and the unions transformed into instruments of struggle against the capitalist employers and their government. This is an important question to understand in a party like the NDP, which is controlled by a relatively conservative leadership with a solid base in the unions. And as long as the Waffle does not understand it, it will not be able to overcome its isolation in the unions, and it will not be able to fundamentally change the present relationship of forces inside the NDP.

The Waffle's isolation from the unions helps explain why, in spite of the unprecedented challenge to the leadership it spearheaded at the last federal convention, the leadership was able to emerge intact, if bruised.

### The Waffle waffles

The Waffle is a contradictory phenomenon. And the contradiction lies in the fact that the essential thrust of the issues that inspire it—U.S. imperialist domination, the oppression of women, student struggles, Québec nationalism—is revolutionary and anticapitalist, yet its strategy and outlook are reformist. This contradiction hampers its effectiveness.

The Waffle is most effective at conventions, where it can raise programmatic resolutions and present itself as an alternative to the present leadership. It does not always even do this, however. In the 1970 Ontario NDP convention, for instance, the Waffle made no serious effort to counterpose itself. And sometimes its leaders even display a rather light-minded attitude toward the NDP and politics in general.

In both Saskatchewan and Manitoba, where the NDP is in power, the Waffle has failed to put forward a clear socialist alternative to the make-capitalism-work policy of the NDP government. In Manitoba, it is essentially unorganized, its intervention consisting of little more than an occasional speech by Cy Gonick in the legislature. In Saskatchewan, where it won for its candidates the support of 30 percent of the delegates at the last convention, it has generally stood aside from mass actions of the antiwar and women's liberation movements, and has yet to organize any campaigns for public ownership of the resources industry.

Despite its many shortcomings, the Waffle has had a healthy, positive impact on the NDP. For one thing, it has made the NDP more attractive to young radicals, thus helping to bring the NDP more into step with the radicalization.

And it has also helped legitimize political differences within the NDP. Such legitimacy was sorely lacking for the Waffle's predecessor during the mid-1960s, the Socialist Caucus, which the bureaucrats succeeded in isolating by red-baiting it as Trotskyist. In contrast, the Waffle's right to exist is generally recognized.

Dennis McDermott, the UAW's international representative in Canada and a backer of the NDP from the start, is an outspoken critic of the Waffle. "What they've collected from the labor movement are all the misfits," he told me. Yet while in his view the Waffle has become a "destructive force," he nonetheless thinks it has a right to exist "because I'm not opposed to ginger groups rejuvenating the leadership, firing some darts into their hide."

"I'm not opposed to caucuses fighting for their viewpoint," he added. "That's healthy, in my opinion."

# Chinese government's deeds betray emptiness of its words



Chou En-lai toasting with Nixon. Their secret talks spell danger for world revolution.

This is the second of two articles discussing Peking's strategy in the detente with Nixon.

By DICK ROBERTS

The parable quoted on this page from the newspaper of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation reflects the Indochinese revolutionary fighters' deep apprehension about President Nixon's trip to Peking and the warm welcome he received from the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party.

They fear that Mao and Chou made a deal with Nixon that sacrifices the needs of the Indochinese revolution in order to gain U.S. concessions on Taiwan and other foreign-policy objectives of the Peking bureaucracy.

That Nixon's main purpose in Peking was to get such an agreement cannot be doubted. In a March 4 editorial on the meaning of the Nixon-Chou communiqué issued in Shanghai at the end of the week-long secret negotiations, the *New York Times* declared: "It would be surprising . . . if this persisting conflict which still involves massive American power in combat on China's doorstep had not been a major topic in the lengthy discussions between the President's party and top Chinese officials."

"Washington and Peking have gone to some trouble to insist that no deals on Indochina were made at Peking . . . . But Washington and Peking both have reasons to seek an early conclusion of the conflict. . . . Peking must be concerned, even more than Washington, about the growing influence of Moscow in the Indochina states as local Communist forces become increasingly dependent on the support that only Moscow can supply to counter American military technology. In addition, as has been noted tardily in Washington, China may be even beginning to share the United States Government's interest in preserving the independence of Vietnam, and of the other states of Indochina, in order to forestall the formation of one strong state, Communist or not, on China's southern flank."

The few remaining apologists for the Maoist bureaucracy in this country hotly deny that such considerations could be taking place in Peking. "As should be apparent to all, China made no 'deals' with the U.S. at the expense of the revolutionary forces of the world," the editors of the "independent" weekly *Guardian* blandly declared March 8.

## Sino-Soviet rift

These authors fail to distinguish between the ultraleft rhetoric and the actual counterrevolutionary foreign policy of the Peking regime. This discrepancy between Mao's words and deeds became an important aspect of world politics following the emergence

of the Sino-Soviet split in 1959-1960.

The Kremlin bureaucracy is fundamentally responsible for the split. In 1961, when China was suffering from hunger and a critical economic slowdown, Khrushchev announced that the Soviet Union, having already achieved "socialism," would approach "communism" in 20 years. At the same time Khrushchev stripped China of desperately needed economic and military aid. He entered into a series of secret meetings with the rulers of the United States—in 1959-1960 the "Camp David" discussions with Eisenhower, and in 1961 the summit conference with Kennedy.

The Peking leaders made some cogent criticisms of Moscow and its followers in that period, which are all the more telling in the light of subsequent developments. Typical was a scathing attack on the U.S. Communist Party in the March 8, 1963, issue of *People's Daily*, an English translation of which was made by the Chinese news agency *Hsinhua*.

"For a considerable period, certain leaders of the CPUSA, in their reports and statements, have been doing their utmost to prettify U.S. imperialism, to prettify Kennedy, the U.S. imperialist chieftain, and to affirm their loyalty to the U.S. ruling class," *People's Daily* asserted.

"They sang praises of Kennedy's State of the Union message of 1961, where he proclaimed the dual tactics of counter-revolution in the words, 'the American eagle holds in his right talon the olive branch, while in his left is held a bundle of arrows,' and said it was 'welcomed by the overwhelming majority of the American people.' (*The Worker*, Feb. 5, 1961.) . . .

"In trying so hard to portray Kennedy as 'sensible,' are not these CPUSA leaders serving as willing apologists for U.S. imperialism and helping it to deceive the people of the world? . . .

"We have always held that, basing ourselves on Marxism-Leninism and taking things as they really are, we must constantly expose the reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism, constantly expose the policies of aggression and war pursued by U.S. imperialism, including its government leaders, and clearly point out that U.S. imperialism is the chief enemy of the people of the world. We must ceaselessly carry on revolutionary propaganda among the masses of the people, enhance their revolutionary staunchness and vigilance, and mobilize them in waging the struggle against U.S. imperialism." (The full text of this article and further discussion of it appear in *Moscow vs. Peking, The Meaning of the Great Debate* by William F. Warde, Pathfinder Press, New York, N. Y. 10014, 25 cents.)

These declarations by Peking are a far cry from Nixon and Chou clinking glasses in the "Great Hall of the People" while U.S. bombs rained down on the men, women, and children of Indochina. But this gap is not difficult to cross if one places the character of the Peking bureaucracy at the center of the analysis.

## 'Socialism in one country'

The rulers of China never broke with the policies of "building socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence," which they learned in the Stalinist school. They supported Khrushchev's invasion of Hungary in 1956 and they opposed even the token de-Stalinization process initiated by Khrushchev in the same year. This is because, following the footsteps of Stalin, the Peking regime also proclaims that it is possible to build a

sis just as the Kremlin was cutting back aid.

Although Peking was forced to step back from these excesses, it never repudiated the basic concept from which they flowed: the illusory perspective of building socialism in one country, which falsely upholds Joseph Stalin as a continuator of Lenin.

As the Sino-Soviet rift widened, instead of exposing its source in the bureaucratic ideology and practices of Stalinism, the Peking rulers formed an unprincipled bloc with Enver Hoxha's regime in Albania, one of the most despicable Stalinized regimes in Europe. They fostered the Indonesian Communist Party's craven support of the "neutralist" capitalist dictator Sukarno, and—most important of all—they maintained and tightened their strict bureaucratic hold on the Chinese Communist Party.

The Chinese state is totalitarian. No democratic curbs exist on the ruling stratum in the government, the party, the army, and economic enterprises. There are no workers and peasants councils, no freedom of organization and political expression. Revolutionary Marxist opinions and groups are suppressed and the party and state apparatus are totally fused. A cult has been built around the leadership of Mao Tse-tung.

Can these rulers of China, whose domestic policies express the most profound contempt for the Chinese workers and peasants, carry out a Leninist foreign policy that looks toward the international struggles of oppressed peoples to liberate humankind? To believe this is to abandon the analytical tools of historical materialism and the lessons of the revolutionary workers movement.

"Peaceful coexistence," which bases foreign policy on ephemeral agreements with world imperialism, expresses the same contempt for the masses on a world scale that the Stalinist bureaucrats exhibit in domestic policy. It is the exact counterpart of "building socialism in one country." This was underlined by the Maoists'

## The monk, Nixon, and the dog

The following parable by Chong Tre is reprinted from the Feb. 14, 1972, issue of *South Vietnam in Struggle*, central organ of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation.

Do you know the story of that absent-minded Vietnamese? Here it is.

One day a phenomenal absent-minded guy, who used to sleep as a log too, was hoaxed by practical jokers. They clad him with a Buddhist monk tunic, cropped his hair close, and transported him to a pagoda. On waking, he wondered whether he had become a bonze (Buddhist monk), without his knowing it. To get to the bottom of this, he had the idea of returning home, leaving the whole thing to the judgement of his dog. If the latter barked at him, he would become another man. Catching a distant sight of the guy in queer garb, the dog yelped furiously. Turning on his heel, our absent-minded concluded: —Agreed! I am no longer me! There remains the only thing: to disappear!

The today's version of the story concerns a certain Mr. Nixon, President of the United States. Known by the whole world as an inveterate hawk, he does not stop showing himself as a dove, drawing in his claws, putting on the feather of the peaceful bird, and learning to coo. Under this disguise, there he is coming home to put his dog to the test. Alas! The animal recognizes him at once, jumps at him, wagging frenziedly its tail!

Nixon is left with the only alternative: returning to his flat at the White House.

"socialist society" in China as a cover for its bureaucratic privilege and authoritarian state rule.

The self-interest domestic policies of the Peking regime reached one extreme form in the "Great Leap Forward" and "People's Communes" during 1958-1959. Preaching that it was possible to go directly to "communism" in China, the Maoists undertook virtual military mobilization of the labor force, with an excessive prolongation of the working day and elimination of needed days of rest. This resulted in passive resistance among the populace and a drastic drop of production, precipitating a deep-going economic cri-

ultraleft binge in foreign policy in the 1960s, which substituted words for deeds in face of the pressing needs of world revolution.

## Indochina

Nothing more glaringly illustrated the disparity between Mao's words and deeds than Peking's response to the escalated U.S. attack on Indochina. Peking, like Moscow, supplied minimal economic and military aid to the Vietnamese revolutionists. Washington strategists dismissed this aid from the beginning as insufficient to deter their murderous attack.



As Washington escalated the bombing and troop shipments, Peking escalated its rhetoric of "serious condemnations." Moscow and Peking totally subordinated the needs of the Vietnamese revolutionaries to their jockeying for position in the Sino-Soviet dispute. They both failed to call for a united defense of Vietnam and for international mass actions. Instead they permitted their narrow, nationalistic differences to create a serious division in the international forces that opposed the war. This division greatly facilitated U.S. imperialism's intervention in Indochina. Is there a clearer indication than this that the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking place a higher priority on assuaging world imperialism than on advancing revolutionary struggles against imperialism?

In 1969, during the Sino-Soviet border clashes, Peking even went so far as to halt train shipments of Soviet military supplies to North Vietnam. Bourgeois analysts searching for the possible patterns Mao's agreement with Nixon may take today have noted this incident more than once.

It is not at all guaranteed that a deal between Peking and Washington will settle the war as Nixon hopes. The Vietnamese learned by the 1954 Geneva accords and their aftermath what can be expected from an agreement that leaves imperialism a foothold in South Vietnam. They have not forgotten that Chou En-lai played a leading role in forcing the Vietminh to accept the Geneva division of Indochina.

This earlier experience with peaceful coexistence Moscow-Peking-Washington style, coupled with the whole evolution of the imperialist attack after the supposed accords, must have left an indelible impression in the minds of the revolutionary masses of Indochina. Such agreements, where victories won against the imperialists on the battlefields are given away at the conference table, do not advance the gains of the revolution. Rather they subject them to grave danger. This conclusion is part of the tradition of revolutionary internationalism as carried out by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party.

Further, it is not only the Indochinese revolution that is threatened by Mao's détente with Washington. Peking's support to the West Pakistan army's attempt to liquidate the Bangladesh freedom struggle last year and to the capitalist Bandaranaike regime in Ceylon as it slaughtered rebel youth already indicates the dangers facing revolutionists elsewhere in Asia.

The scourge of Stalinism in the world working-class movement cannot be erased by pretending that it does not exist, as the editors of the *Guardian* try to do in the case of Peking. For revolutionists it is no less necessary to analyze the bureaucratic policies of the rulers in Peking and Moscow than to understand the main obstacle to world socialism: the imperialists themselves.

Studying the history of the degeneration of the Russian revolution and the emergence of world Stalinism all the more convinces one of the correctness of the goal of international socialism taught by the Bolshevik Party when it still led the young and isolated Soviet workers state. Lenin articulated this on the third anniversary of the October revolution in 1920: "We always staked our plan upon an international revolution and this was unconditionally right. . . . We always emphasized the fact that in one country it is impossible to accomplish such a work as a socialist revolution." (Cited in *Writings of Leon Trotsky* 1939-40, page 18. Pathfinder Press, New York, N.Y. 10014.)

To proceed otherwise is to betray not only the interests of the world working class but to weaken and undermine the gains of those states in which capitalism has been overthrown.

# Nationalist struggle in Pakistan

By TONY THOMAS

The reverberations of the Bangladesh national liberation struggle continue to shake both India and Pakistan as other oppressed nationalities demand their national rights.

The most significant motion is among the Pathans of Pakistan. Occupying the Baluchistan and North-West Frontier provinces in West Pakistan, the Pathans are excluded from many areas of Pakistani life by the dominant Punjabi minority. The Feb. 27 *New York Times* carried a dispatch from Peshawar, Pakistan, stating that the Pathans "are ready for war if their demands are not met. During the past week the police here, mostly Pathans, have smashed the local headquarters of [President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's] Pakistan People's party. . . .

"The main political arm of the Pathans has become the National Awami party, some of whose leaders say frankly that Pakistan is dead and that the time has come for creation of a Pathan state outside of what was Pakistan."

Such a state, according to the *Times*, would "isolate the two remaining provinces, Punjab and Sind, as a splinter nation with little political future."

Khan Abdul Wali Khan, leader of the National Awami Party (NAP), claimed in an interview with the *Times* that he never called for self-determination for the Pathans, but merely for "a greater measure of self-government." However, another leader of the NAP, Saeed Mohammad Ayub, president of the Peshawar City Committee of the NAP, told the *Times*:

"Bhutto is acting like a Hitler. If he lifts martial law and restores democracy, if he allows Pathans self-government, if he recognizes Bangladesh and makes friends with India, we are ready to stay within Pakistan. Otherwise we are armed and ready."

Pathan complaints include demands for language rights—the Pathans speak Pushtu, while most official business in West Pakistan is done in Urdu, a tongue spoken by a small minority. The NAP is also allowing the con-

vening of provincial assemblies in the Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier provinces. These assemblies have been banned since December 1970.

According to the *Times*, "Many Pathan nationalists say the Bengali revolt was their fight as well since the conflict that ensued has weakened Pakistan's resistance to a second secession."

On Feb. 27 a massive armed demonstration was held in Peshawar, calling for the end of martial law and for Pathan self-government within Pakistan. *New York Times* correspondent Malcolm W. Browne, reporting from Peshawar on Feb. 27, said the crowd numbered more than 10,000 and "bristled with rifles and shotguns. . . ."

The Pathans are traditionally a military people and even in normal times are highly armed with modern weapons made in small factories in their country. Police in both the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan are thought to side with them, and large portions of the Pakistani regular army also support the Pathan movement. Bhutto has had to rely in large part on the People's Guard, a paramilitary group organized to bolster his regime.



Bengali freedom fighters. Bangladesh self-determination struggle has inspired other nationalities to demand rights.

## 200 at Seattle NOW meeting

By EMILY FORD

SEATTLE—An 11-state Western Regional Conference of the National Organization for Women was held here at the Olympic Hotel March 3-5. The theme of the conference was "Organizing: How to Get in Shape to Throw Your Weight Around," and the workshops and general sessions focused on the organizational structure for state, regional, and local groupings of NOW. Approximately 200 women registered for the conference.

The first general session was to have heard opening remarks from Washington's Governor Dan Evans and Seattle Mayor Wes Uhlman, but each sent a representative instead. Their remarks urged women's organizations to enter the political arena of the Democratic and Republican parties as the only effective way of winning women's rights.

The workshops dealt with a number of feminist issues, such as child care, women and poverty, sex stereotyping in education, and reproduction. Among those participating were Gillian Mitchel, a midwife from England; Jan Krauss from the YWCA abortion referral service; Rita Shaw from the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition; and Dr. Franz Koome, a long-time advocate of the repeal of all abortion laws and the first doctor in Washington to publicly announce he was performing abortions despite the law.

In the workshop on women and poverty, NOW women discussed possible strategies for recruiting poor

women and women of oppressed nationalities to the ranks of NOW. Unfortunately, some of the comments reflected a rather patronizing attitude toward working women, including Blacks and Chicanos. Instead of discussing how to involve women from many backgrounds in the women's liberation movement, the approach of some of the workshop participants was to try to "upgrade" working women to middle-class standards.

These ideas were countered by a Black woman, Mary Jo Hendrikson, who told NOW members that she found this attitude discriminatory and degrading to Black women, and that such an approach would fail to arouse any interest in NOW on the part of her Black sisters.

A wide variety of presidential campaign literature was on display. Representatives from the McGovern, Chisholm, and Jenness and Pulley campaigns were present. A Pathfinder Press table sold \$105 worth of feminist literature during the conference.

Supporters of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition obtained 35 endorsements from NOW members for WONAAC and the May 1-6 national abortion action week. Many others signed the WONAAC mailing list.

There was little discussion at the conference about the National Women's Political Caucus. The caucus did not set up a literature table.

At the final session of the conference, a number of resolutions were

On March 6, Bhutto reached an accord with Abdul Wali Khan, offering a compromise settlement of the Pathans' demands. Bhutto announced according to the March 7 *New York Times*, that he would lift martial law on Aug. 14 and "institute democratic government in the meantime according to a timetable."

The Bhutto timetable calls for the political leaders of the National Assembly to prepare a draft of a constitution by Aug. 1. The Assembly would supposedly be convened Aug. 14 to take full control. Bhutto also agreed to allow the provincial assemblies to meet on April 21. He claimed that he would consult with the provincial assemblies in appointing provincial governors.

Wali Khan, leader of the Awami Party, hailed the settlement as "the best agreement we could [get] under the circumstances." He overlooks the fact that all the Pathans got was a promise to end martial law months from now and the establishment of the provincial assemblies on a consultative basis. It is too early to tell whether the Pathan masses share Khan's illusions about the settlement.

presented regarding 24-hour child-care centers and leaves of absence for women who wish to bear children without the loss of seniority or cumulative benefits. The religion workshop passed a resolution to send a telegram to the United Nations protesting the inhuman treatment of Muslim women of Bangladesh who were raped by Pakistani soldiers during the recent war. The women have been thrown out of their homes by their husbands and ostracized.

The question of finances was a continuing undercurrent of discussion at the conference. At present, any person taking a position of leadership or responsibility in NOW that requires long-distance phone calls, mailings, or travel does so at her own expense. Likewise, attendance at conferences is not on an elected-delegate basis but on the basis of who can afford the trip and the cost of plush hotels.

A proposal from a Bellingham, Wash., NOW member to hold future conferences in churches or on campuses so that more women could afford to attend (the registration fee for this conference was \$12) was ruled out of order when raised in one of the workshops.

The influence of the newer, younger members could be seen in several papers on organizational structure that took up the question of NOW's moving from a civil rights organization to a feminist organization and the question of establishing a more democratic structure and means of deciding policy.



# In Review

## Magazines

### Notes From The Third Year of Women's Liberation



*Notes from the Third Year: Women's Liberation.*  
P.O. Box AA, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y.  
10011. 142 pp. \$1.50.

*Notes from the Third Year*, a collection of feminist writings, is now out. Logically enough, there was a *Notes from the Second Year*, and before that, a *Notes from the First Year*. The first *Notes* appeared late in 1968, when few women were conscious that the feminist movement was assembling forces for its second entry into history.

The first *Notes* was a mimeographed, stapled-in-the-corner collection of nine articles that announced "the death of traditional womanhood." Because it was one of the first women's liberation publications to be circulated nationally, its impact was profound.

Between then and the appearance of the second *Notes* in June of 1970, the women's liberation movement expanded greatly. The second *Notes* announced it was assuming the role of an historical record of the feminist movement. The bulk of its articles could be described as consciousness-raising, generally reflecting the character of the women's movement at that time.

*Notes from the Third Year* had the opportunity of documenting the period between the summer of 1970 and the fall of 1971. This time span encompassed the massive August 26, 1970, demonstrations for equality, the initiation of struggles around virtually every feminist issue, and the beginning of a changed consciousness among masses of women in this country.

It was also a time in which severe attacks were made on women's right to abortion, intense debates over political strategy took place, and many consciousness-raising groups fell apart. Any review of *Notes from the Third Year* must consider whether this collection does the job of accurately documenting this period.

*Notes* begins with an editorial that assesses the current stage of the feminist movement. "We are no longer only a small collection of organized groups," the authors write, "the 'women's movement' today is found as well in the myriad new women's studies programs; in job actions for better pay; in child care and abortion projects; in the wealth of new writing by feminist journalists and writers; in the speak-outs and teach-ins; in the legal suits challenging sexist laws; and in the changing consciousness of literally millions of individual women."

The authors correctly point out that "consciousness-raising is meant as a stage of growth, not the ultimate stage of growth. It is limited as a tool." What must be done now, they say, is to "move to analysis, small group actions and, most difficult, large collective actions and organization."

#### Not accurate reflection

Unfortunately, the actual content of *Notes from the Third Year* does not reflect the many fronts on which women are taking action, nor does it discuss strategies for continuing to build this movement.

To be specific, there is no discussion over the strategy for winning abortion law repeal, child care, or equal pay and job opportunities. No mention is made of the Women's Political Caucus and the strategy it proposes of looking to candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties to win women's rights. The question of whether feminists should support the Equal Rights Amendment is not taken up. Fights for child care, such as the successful Cambridge, Mass., referendum on Nov. 2, 1971, are ignored.

Perhaps the most glaring omission is the failure to mention the activity in the women's movement around the abortion issue. For it was around abortion that the women's movement not only scored the most victories in the past year, but also where it met with the most organized opposition.

*Notes* has one item on abortion, and this is not even an article but a box inside the front cover entitled "Abortion Information." Furthermore, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC)—the national coalition that called the first nationwide abortion law repeal demonstration last Nov. 20—is not even listed!

These omissions seriously call into question the claim of *Notes* to be a historical record. If the editors were really serious about this task, they would have included extensive discussion and analysis of the issues raised in their editorial—that is, how can women go about making themselves a political force that can win victories for the female sex?

The concrete issues that are dealt with in *Notes*—such as rape and prostitution—are not dealt with in a way that illuminates how women can act together to win changes. Rather, they are dealt with in a consciousness-raising manner or from the perspective of examining personal life-styles.

The article on "Prostitution" by Barbara Mehrhof and

Pamela Kearon, for example, concludes that the solution is for women to refuse to participate either in marriage or prostitution. Giving passing mention to the fact that this may not be easy to do, the authors arrogantly inform us that "Sacrifice and courage are necessary to change the world significantly."

In other words, Mehrhof and Kearon put the responsibility on individual women to adopt a life-style that does not include marriage or prostitution rather than placing the blame on society itself. They do not discuss the possibility of united action by women to force an end to laws that victimize prostitutes.

Any review of *Notes from the Third Year* would not be complete without referring to two articles by Anne Koedt—"Lesbianism and Feminism" and "Loving Another Woman," an interview with a gay woman. Her articles are the type one wishes there were more of in *Notes*, for Koedt addresses herself very precisely to concrete debates that took place over the last year.

In "Lesbianism and Feminism" Koedt takes up the theory that lesbians, because they have allegedly rejected sex roles, are ipso facto the vanguard of the feminist movement. This theory is summed up in a statement attributed to Ti-Grace Atkinson: "Feminism is the theory; lesbianism is the practice."

Koedt rejects the idea that one must be a lesbian to be a feminist. She points out that lesbianism per se is not radical—it is simply a sexual orientation—and that lesbian relationships are not immune from the dehumanizing sex-role system that this society inculcates into everybody.

Koedt's article is above all an indictment of the idea that there can be personal solutions in this sexist society. "... a radical feminist is not just one who tries to live the good non-sexist life at home; she is one who is working politically in society to destroy the institution of sexism," Koedt concludes.

#### Socialist women

An article by Barbara Burris, "The Fourth World Manifesto," also refers to a debate that took place this past year—the role of socialist women in the feminist movement. She accuses the Socialist Workers Party and other groups on the left of attempting to subordinate the autonomous feminist movement to other "more important" issues. In her attack, Burris irresponsibly lumps together the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance—which give unconditional support to the independent feminist movement—and the Progressive Labor Party—which sees feminism as a divisive force within the working class.

Since there has been much debate over the past year on the relationship between feminism and Marxism, as well as numerous red-baiting attacks on socialist women in the movement, it is unfortunate that *Notes* does not include any articles by socialist women on these topics.

Burris also spells out a very unique analysis of the nature of women's oppression. She asserts that women are a colonized group, exploited by their colonizers—men. According to her theory, the territory colonized by men is women's bodies, making rape an act of imperialist aggression.

There is not space here to reply to this approach, which falsely equates sexual oppression with national oppression. However, the questions Burris raises—Are women a class, caste, or colony? What is the relationship between the women's movement and the struggle of oppressed national minorities?—are questions that are little mentioned in *Notes*.

There are many more articles that cannot be singled out in the space of this review. These include Judy Syfers' "Why I Want A Wife," also published in the first issue of *Ms.*, and Elaine Showalter's excellent discussion on "Women Writers and the Female Experience."

There is one final article, however, that deserves more than a passing mention. That is the piece by Carol Payne, "Consciousness Raising: A Dead End?" Payne is described as "a relative newcomer to the women's movement" who participated in an unaffiliated New York consciousness-raising group for a year and a half before finally dropping out.

"... my staying in a small group which does not relate to the rest of the movement," she explains, "is stagnation. It is pointless to develop the self-confidence to challenge assumptions about women's roles and an understanding of the way society channels women without then collectively doing something about these problems." Payne, like many others who shared her experience, felt the need for political action with a larger body of women.

But, as Payne concludes, "The question is what? and how? and with whom?" These are questions that many women are asking. It is a disappointment that *Notes from the Third Year* does not do a better job of expressing some of the discussion in the feminist movement over the answers.

—ANNA WOOLFE

## A Militant Interview

# British women organize for abortion & contraception rights

Caroline Brooks and Frances Howard-Gordon, two founders of the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign (WACC) in England, visited the United States in February to attend the second National Women's Abortion Action Conference. Brooks is active in the Nottingham WAAC, and Howard-Gordon works in the London WACC. The following are excerpts from a Militant interview with Brooks and Howard-Gordon obtained by Cindy Jaquith in New York on Feb. 16.

**Militant:** What are the laws in Britain governing abortion and contraception?

**Brooks:** We have a liberalized law in England which dates back to 1967. But although it's called a liberalized law, it's a very restrictive law. You have to have the signatures of two doctors before you can get an abortion. And you can only get these signatures if you come into certain categories. You either have to be "medically unfit," and they list the categories for this, or you have to be virtually insane. Or the fetus has to be in a situation where it could become a seriously handicapped child. You also have to have your abortion under specific conditions, that is, in a National Health Service hospital or a clinic that has a license.

Before this law, abortion was a criminal act, although contraception has never been illegal.

**Militant:** If a woman does obtain an abortion under the National Health Service, does she have to pay?

**Howard-Gordon:** No, the abortion is paid for by the National Health Service.

**Militant:** Are contraceptives available to all women in England, regardless of age?

**Howard-Gordon:** If you're under 16, you have to get your parent's consent. Contraceptives are not on the National Health Service—you still have to pay.

Another thing is that in the law there's a "conscience clause" which says that if a doctor doesn't feel that it's moral for him to recommend someone for an abortion, he doesn't have to. And he also doesn't have to refer that person to another doctor.

**Militant:** Are there laws specifically dealing with contraception?

**Brooks:** In 1967, the same year the Abortion Act was passed, there was also the Family Planning Act, which gave permissive powers to local authorities to provide family-planning clinics and family-planning advice. If they wished, they could give free advice to all women and free supplies to women if they couldn't afford to pay for them. It was not mandatory, so local authorities were not forced to give free advice. You've got a situation where in some areas you can get free contraceptives and free advice, and in other towns you've got to pay for advice and supplies.

And this applies to your ability to get an abortion, too. In some areas, it's easier to get an abortion. In some areas the gynecologists in the hospitals are Roman Catholics, and they do not allow a large number of legal abortions. They do not give out places in gynecological wards for women to have abortions. In certain areas where the medical profession is predominately Catholic, you can't even get a doctor to sign your medical consent form.

**Howard-Gordon:** What's really happened is that because the National Health Service simply doesn't have the facilities and the doctors, there's a very large private practice. In fact, it's an incredible racket. They make enormous amounts of money, from 200 to 300 pounds per abortion (approximately \$520 to \$790).

**Brooks:** There were over 126,000 legal abortions

in 1971, but out of that 126,000 only 43 percent were on the National Health Service.

**Militant:** How did the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign develop?

**Brooks:** The campaign grew out of a feeling in different parts of England in the feminist groups that the women's movement was fragmenting because there was no action. We'd had four demands for quite a long time—equal pay, equal educational opportunities, free, 24-hour, community-controlled child care, free abortion and contraception—and we'd had local campaigns that have been very optimistic. Women have won local campaigns against city councils and county councils to get free family planning advice and free contraception and there have been campaigns among trade-union women in certain factories, but it's all been very localized. At Skegness (site of Oct. 20, 1971, women's liberation conference) the Nottingham group said that they would set themselves up as a coordinator of an abortion and contraception campaign. We talked about the campaign in Amer-

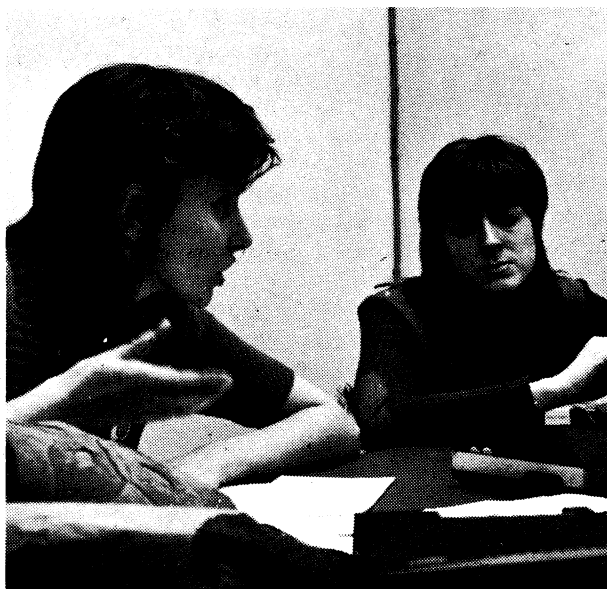


Photo by Flax Hermes

Caroline Brooks (left) and Frances Howard-Gordon

ica and the international aspects of the campaign. After the Skegness conference our first action was to mobilize women for Nov. 20 in solidarity with sisters all over the world. On Nov. 20 there were demonstrations, teach-ins, and public meetings.

In the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign we feel very strongly that it is the issue of abortion and contraception that can unite women, that will extend the women's movement from being very small feminist groups into a mass women's movement united against the government to achieve certain demands that we don't have at this point.

**Howard-Gordon:** We have groups started in London, Nottingham, Birmingham, Glasgow, Liverpool—eight in all.

**Brooks:** The London group called a national meeting of representatives on Jan. 16, and it was at this meeting that we decided we wanted to launch a national campaign.

Our intention is not just to keep it a campaign within the women's movement but to take it out beyond the women's movement to include all organizations and individuals who support our demands. And we did in fact produce a policy statement. The main demands in the statement were: free contraception—every woman should have the right to free contraception under the National Health Service; abortion, a woman's right to choose—any woman who does not want to continue a pregnancy should have access to free and safe abortion; no enforced sterilization—pressure should not be put on any woman to accept sterilization as a condition for abortion.

**Militant:** Is there a movement in England against women's right to abortion?

**Brooks:** There is a very strong and powerful anti-abortion movement in England.

There are societies similar to those you have in the USA: the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child, the Life Organization. There are numerous societies sponsored by the Catholic Church. At a rally in Birmingham in the summer of 1971, they had 5,000 people in the streets all crying against abortion. At a recent rally in January in Nottingham, a small industrial town, they managed to get 1,000 into a hall.

They're having another rally in Liverpool on April 30, and Malcolm Muggeridge (a conservative British journalist) will be speaking. He's come out in clear support, as have many members of Parliament, of those people whose main aim is to repeal the Abortion Act. (If the Abortion Act were repealed, abortion would become a criminal offense under British common law.)

**Militant:** What were your impressions of the Women's National Abortion Action Conference and the American feminist movement?

**Brooks:** I hadn't thought the feminist consciousness in America was so well organized, so well worked-out on issues like free abortion on demand—which I realize is just not tactical in this campaign at this time. At the WONAAC conference issues like forced sterilization and the relation of the gay movement to this campaign were all discussed with great seriousness. One realizes that the women in America take this very seriously, that they understand the full implications of this campaign.

In the plenaries what I felt was that the conference was so democratic; there was no red-baiting and no lesbian-baiting. It really convinced me that a single-issue campaign can unite women from very diverse situations.

I think that the clarity of the conference must have been due to WONAAC's educational campaign. Women knew that just because they were agreeing on these demands didn't mean they were agreeing on everything, and they knew that they were working together for something specific. All this time there was a feeling that we were together against the government on this particular issue of a woman's right to choose.

I think we learned too that women can develop a true feminist consciousness, that they can be aware that it isn't enough just to sort out what's wrong. It isn't just enough to sort out why we are oppressed; we can do something about this oppression.

**The Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign publishes a newsletter, which can be obtained by writing to: Newsletter, c/o Rose Knight, 105 Musters Rd., West Bridgford, Nottingham, England.**

**Militant:** What future activities does the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign plan?

**Brooks:** We will have another national women's liberation conference on March 25 this year. We are hoping there to mobilize more women in the movement toward the campaign and to establish a date for a national planning conference.

I think at the moment we've basically got to go ahead with activities that are primarily educational. We must hold public meetings, teach-ins. We must debate publicly with the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child, and we must lobby the MPs in the government.

**Howard-Gordon:** I think we should organize teach-ins and demonstrations during WONAAC's action week, May 1-6.

**Brooks:** We should always come out in international solidarity, particularly with the WONAAC actions. We should also get in touch with groups in Europe.

# Calendar

BROOKLYN

**FIRSTHAND REPORT ON THE NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION.** Speaker: Derrick Morrison, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., March 24, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Forum. For more information, call (212) 596-2849.

HOUSTON

**RESULTS OF THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF THE WAGE CONTROLS.** Speaker: Frank Lovell, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., March 24, 8 p.m. 6409 Lyons Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

**CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY.** Speakers: Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president; Debby Leonard, SWP candidate for governor of Texas; and Richard Garcia, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., March 25, 6 p.m.: Banquet. 8 p.m.: Rally. 5834 Belfort, South Park Community Parish. Donation: \$3 for dinner and rally, \$1 for rally only. For tickets or more information, call (713) 673-9445.

LOS ANGELES

**AZTLAN: A HISTORY OF STRUGGLE.** Speaker: Mario Garcia, professor of Chicano studies at San Diego State College. Fri., March 24, 8:30 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (213) 463-1917.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

**CAMPAIGN DINNER AND KICK-OFF RALLY.** Speakers: John Raliff, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Connecticut's 3rd C.D.; Laura Miller, national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley; and B.R. Washington, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from New York's 18th C.D. (Harlem). Sat., March 25, Yale Graduate Professors Club (York St., between Chapel and Elm). 6 p.m.: Social hour. 7 p.m.: Dinner. 8:30 p.m.: Rally, followed by party. Admission: \$3, including dinner. \$1.25, rally only. For reservations or more information, call 562-1669 or 432-2526.

NEW YORK

**ANTIWAR MEETING.** Slide show of the automated air war and discussion of plans for April 1 and April 22 demonstrations. Wed., March 22, 7:30 p.m. ACWA Local 169, 33 W. 14 St. Sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**WHAT CHOICE IN THE 1972 ELECTIONS?** Speakers: Laura Miller, national coordinator for Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley; Jonathan Krim, staff member of Youth for Muskie; and Mauro Casci, youth supporter for the Lindsay campaign. Fri., March 24, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (at 4th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Dinner served at 6:30 for \$1.25. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

**MERIT BOOKSTORE BOOK SALE.** New and used books at drastic reductions. March 25-31. Open 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (at 4th St.).

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**WHAT NEXT FOR IRELAND—OCCUPATION OR FREE STATE?** Speakers: Liam McMillan, commander of the Official Irish Republican Army in Belfast; representatives from the Anti-Internment Coalition and the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 24, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (at 106 St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Dinner served at 6:30 for \$1.50. Aisp. West Side Militant Forum. For more information, call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY

**CUBA: PROBLEMS OF "POLITICAL" DEVELOPMENT.** Speaker: Harry Ring, head of The Militant's Southwest Bureau. Fri., March 24, 8 p.m. 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Donation: \$1. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (415) 654-9728.

PHILADELPHIA

**INTERNAL REVENUE: THE GREAT PAYROLL ROBBERY.** Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., March 24, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (215) WA5-4316.

SAN FRANCISCO

**MILITANT LABOR FORUM.** Every Friday, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. For more information, call (415) 626-9958.

SEATTLE

**WHICH WAY FOR YOUTH IN '72?** Panel discussion including Lisa Potash, Washington State director of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley; and Joel Connelly, state secretary of the Washington Democratic Council. Fri., March 24, 8 p.m. 5257 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Forum. For more information, call (206) LA3-2555.

TWIN CITIES

**NATIONALISM AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION. IS FEMINISM RELEVANT TO CHICANAS?** Speaker: Mirta Vidal, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., March 24, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Aisp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum. For more information, call (612) 332-7781.

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

## ...Mandel

*Continued from page 4*

hunt against the political left."

The Baden-Württemberg state organization of the Young Socialists also condemned the ban and demanded that it be lifted.

The Jungdemokraten [Young Democrats—the youth group of the FDP] were also critical of the action against Mandel. Heiner Bremer, the organization's national chairman, issued a statement: "The Mandel case shows that in the federal republic the courage to discuss with those of different political views is obviously not very widespread. We believe that the reasons advanced by the federal interior ministry are not sufficient to justify barring Mandel from the country."

On February 22, the day the West

Berlin Senate denied Mandel a position at the university, the state's FDP organization stated its view that Mandel's "unquestioned qualifications" made his presence at the university desirable.

The West German government's action against Mandel has implications that are likely to continue to rouse opposition. Mandel referred to them in the "Monitor" television interview:

"I am afraid it [the ban] is an indication of a more general development. And I would like to make two observations in this regard:

"First, it seems to me a politically unworkable measure. They don't accuse me of actions against the criminal code, but only of defending my political views. These views are also represented in my books. Are they going to forbid me to speak to 1,500 students and at the same time permit me to speak to the tens of thousands who read my books and articles? Will they now also forbid my writings? Perhaps they want to burn books?

"Further, I would like to point out that the political ideas for which they reproach me were, before the first world war, absolutely self-evident for Marx, for Engels, for Rosa Luxemburg, and even for the acknowledged leaders of the Social Democracy at that time, Karl Kautsky and Rudolf Hilferding. In this sense the West Berlin SPD leadership has permitted an ideological patricide that is unparalleled in the European history of ideas."

Because of the importance of the civil liberties issues involved, plans are under way for an international campaign in defense of Mandel's rights and the right of Germans to hear his views without interference.

## ...Gary

*Continued from page 5*

tions, as well as in the Louisiana delegation. Many thought that discussion and division on this question would prevent national unity on other issues such as SOBU's (Student Organization for Black Unity) proposed May 27 action in solidarity with the African revolution, or the establishment of an ongoing structure.

In contrast to the brush-off given the Louisiana delegation, Baraka and the convention organizers coddled the Michigan delegation when it threatened to walk out if adoption of the Black Agenda were not postponed and more

discussion of it allowed. Dominated by United Auto Workers officials and other union bureaucrats, as well as by officials from integrationist groups like the NAACP and the Urban League, the Michigan delegation balked at the nationalist rhetoric of the Agenda and the failure of the conference to make a strong denunciation of the idea of a Black party.

Baraka tried to stall for time to appease them, but other delegates became impatient. A minority delegate from Michigan called them tools of "white liberals and the UAW." New York then made a proposal—designed to placate the Michigan delegation—that the Black Agenda be adopted as the basic discussion paper for a future agenda. The bulk of the Michigan delegation walked out as voting began on this proposal. Some of them told *The Militant* that the issue of the Black party was unacceptable to UAW officials and Democratic politicians in Michigan.

After the body settled down, Illinois and Indiana counseled that the walk-out was not something to be taken lightly, because organized labor—meaning the labor bureaucracy—was a very powerful political force. Baraka and Fauntroy indicated that an attempt will be made to bring the Michigan majority back into the steering committee. They pointed out that the Agenda itself was only a draft, to be worked upon and finalized by May 19, the birthday of Malcolm X.

Whatever they do with the final draft of the Agenda to paper over the differences at the conference, it will not serve to advance the struggle of Black people. It will be designed to continue the subordination of the Black struggle to the capitalist two-party system.

## ...ALA

*Continued from page 15*

gap between the privileged bureaucrats and the rank and file now than three years ago, and union members generally have less confidence in their officials.

The bureaucracy has also undergone some changes. It is older, less self-confident, more cautious, more aware that there is a rank and file to which it must in some way be accountable, and more anxious to find a stable, long-term working relationship with the employers and the government.

# Socialist Directory

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

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

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

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

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

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.

San Diego: YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Robert Mattson, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-4086.

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

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

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

**FLORIDA:** Miami: YSA, P.O. Box 2121, Ocean View Branch, Miami Beach, Fla. 33140.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-8776.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. (3rd floor), SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

**ILLINOIS:** Carbondale: YSA, c/o John Center, 1407 Schnider Hall, Bush Towers, Carbondale, Ill. 62901. Tel: (618) 453-5882.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 758-2935 (night).

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

**LOUISIANA:** Baton Rouge: YSA, c/o Craig Biggio, P.O. Box 18250, Baton Rouge, La. 70803. Tel: (504) 388-1517.

**MARYLAND:** College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md.,

College Park, Md. 20742.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, Box 324, Student Activities Office, Campus Center, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051, Issues and Activists Speakers Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052, and Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Pittsfield: YSA, c/o R.G. Pucko, 77 Euclid Ave., Pittsfield, Mass. 01201.

Worcester: YSA, Box 1470, Clark U, Worcester, Mass. 01610. Socialist Workers Campaign '72, P.O. Box 97, Webster Sq. Sta., Worcester, Mass. 01603.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 14, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

**NEW HAMPSHIRE:** Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

**NEW JERSEY:** New Brunswick: YSA, c/o LPO 12149, Livingston College, New Brunswick, N.J. 08903.

Wayne: YSA, c/o Clyde Magarelli, William-Paterson College of N.J., 300 Pompton Rd., Wayne, N.J. 07470.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Vivian Abeles, 3807 Thaxton S.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87108. Tel: (505) 268-1541.

**NEW YORK:** Binghamton: YSA, c/o Betty Sachs, Box 1610, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 260-0976.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051, Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.

Columbus: YSA, 1612 Summit St. (side entrance), Columbus, Ohio 43201. Tel: (614) 299-2042.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

**OREGON:** Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Hough, 4888 W. Amazon, Eugene, Ore. 97405. Tel: (503) 342-7076.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 201, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Erie: YSA, c/o John Sajewski, P.O. Box 3222, Erie, Pa. 16508.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Kingston: YSA, c/o Stan Max, Kingston Inn, Room 210, 1320 Kingston Road, Kingston, R.I. 02881. Tel: (401) 783-7855.

Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Militant Bookstore: 88 Benevolent St. Tel: (401) 331-1480.

**TENNESSEE:** Knoxville: YSA, c/o Keith Harris, P.O. Box 8402, University Sta., Knoxville, Tenn. 37916.

Nashville: YSA, c/o Elizabeth Lariscy, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37201. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

**TEXAS:** Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703. Tel: (512) 478-8602. Bookstore: 611 West 29th.

Houston: SWP and YSA and Pathfinder Books, 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas 77020. Tel: (713) 674-0612.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

**VERMONT:** Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 306 Chittenden Hall, U of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. 05401.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP and YSA, 746 9th St. N.W., 2nd fl., Wash., D.C. 20001. Tel: (202) 783-2363.

**WASHINGTON:** Pullman: YSA, c/o Roger Snelgrove, 209 High St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, c/o Mary Jo Vogel, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-1693.

Milwaukee: YSA, 1742 N. Cambridge, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: (414) 271-3624.

Oshkosh: YSA, c/o Pat Tomasko, 1932 Nebraska St., Oshkosh, Wis. 54901.



# by Ernest Mandel

## An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory

A concise exposition of the basic principles of Marxist political theory, this book applies basic Marxist economic concepts to contemporary monopoly capitalism. 80pp. \$1.25

### ALSO

**Key Problems of the Transition From Capitalism to Socialism** (co-author) .75

**The Marxist Theory of Alienation** (co-author) .95

**The Marxist Theory of the State** .50

**Peaceful Coexistence and World Revolution** .60

**The Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class** (co-author) .65

**Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Countries** .35

**The Revolutionary Student Movement: Theory and Practice** .85

**PATHFINDER PRESS**  
410 West St., N.Y., N.Y. 10014

## Pathfinder Press...

a radical publishing house



**Black Voices from Prison** by Etheridge Knight. "Has the impact of Cleaver's Soul On Ice in its brutal language and its hopeless view of prison life." — Choice. \$2.45

**Problems of Women's Liberation** by Evelyn Reed. "... provides a Marxist view of the history and mythology of women and their oppression by a class-based capitalist society." — Library Journal. \$1.45

**By Any Means Necessary** by Malcolm X. "Adds new material to the very important Autobiography of Malcolm X." — Library Journal. \$1.95

Write for our 1972 catalog of books and pamphlets.

**PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 (212) 741-0690**



Red button and YSA button: 15c under 20; 10c for 20 or more. Bring Me Home Alive: 30c under 20; 18c for 20 or more.

All others: 25c for under 20; 15c for 20 or more.

Discount applies for any order that totals more than 20 buttons. All buttons shown full size.

1. Bring the Troops Home Now \_\_\_\_
2. Repeal All Abortion Laws \_\_\_\_
3. Self-determination for Palestine \_\_\_\_
4. Red button \_\_\_\_
5. Bring Me Home Alive \_\_\_\_
6. By Any Means Necessary \_\_\_\_
7. YSA: red on yellow; blue on green; black on tan \_\_\_\_

Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003

# THE Militant SUBSCRIBE NOW

( ) \$1 for 10 weeks of The Militant.

( ) \$2 for 10 weeks of The Militant and 3 months of the International Socialist Review.

( ) \$6 for one year of The Militant.

( ) \$1.50 for 6 months of The Militant for GIs.

( ) New

( ) Renewal

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

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

## 定期購読で インターコンティネンタル・プレスを!

"Regularly buy and read the periodical INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS!"

That's the handwritten advice from one of our supporters in Tokyo.

Right on!

We can only add that the easiest way to "regularly buy and read" is to subscribe.

So fill out the blank and mail it in.

Intercontinental Press

P.O. Box 116

Village Station

New York, N.Y. 10014

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

( ) Enclosed is \$7.50 for 26 issues.

( ) Enclosed is \$15 for one year.

( ) Please send a sample copy.

## Classified

NEW YORK

**FORUM.** Lessons of the New York Telephone Strike. Speakers: Three rank-and-file telephone leaders. Fri., March 24, 7:30 p.m. International Socialists, 17 E. 17 St. Seventh Floor, New York, N.Y. Donation: 50c.

**ENTIRE PERSONAL LIBRARY** of Trotskyist books for sale at approximately one-half the original cost. Most books like new. Send for list. G.Y. Azuma, Box 15004, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

in the March issue of

## International Socialist Review: Nixon's China Policy

New Tactics for Counterrevolution in Asia

BY DICK ROBERTS

also: YUGOSLAVIA: TOWARD CAPITALISM OR SOCIALISM? by C. Verla; THE HIGH SCHOOL REVOLT by Steve Chainey; NATIONALISM AND CLASS STRUGGLE by Ernest Mandel; TROTSKY'S 1905: a review by George Breitman and a previously unpublished article by Leon Trotsky.

( ) Enclosed is \$2 for 3 months of the ISR and 10 weeks of The Militant.

( ) Enclosed is \$1 for 3 months of the ISR.

( ) Send me 1 year of the ISR for \$5.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

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

# THE MILITANT

## Jury selected in Davis trial

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO, March 14—Angela Davis today gave the defense's declaration of acceptance of a jury of eight women and four men. There are no Blacks and only one Chicano on the jury, which was selected after nine days of courtroom questioning.

After Judge Richard E. Arnason indicated this morning that the defense could exercise its third preemptory challenge to remove any juror, Davis made the following statement as her own co-counsel: "I accept this jury. We have long contended that it is impossible to receive a fair trial in Santa Clara County, and the men and women who sit on this body as it is constituted seem to reflect the population of this county. There are no Black people on this jury, and it cannot be termed a jury of my peers. However, I believe that further delays will not change the composition of this jury."

Prosecuting attorney Albert Harris then revealed that he had agreed with the defense to accept the jury in an earlier conference in the judge's chambers. Yesterday, Harris eliminated the only Black potential juror, Janie Hemphill, by means of a preemptory challenge. Harris previously tried to obscure the racist nature of his challenge by suggesting that Hemphill could not be fair in the state's case against Davis because the state had tried to revoke the license of a small nightclub she and her husband had once owned.

Testimony in the murder-kidnap-conspiracy case may begin as early as March 20. The prosecution, however, has indicated that it might ask for a delay of two months because the massive favorable response to Davis' release on bail may "prejudice" the state's case against her.

In the meantime, the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis will be mounting its petition campaign, demanding that the outlandish charges against Davis be dropped.

## Letters issue in Soledad trial

By NORTON SANDLER

SAN FRANCISCO, March 14—As part of a last-ditch effort to characterize Soledad Brothers John Cluchette and Fleeta Drumgo as violent men dedicated to fomenting unrest in the California penal system, prosecutor William Curtiss attempted to introduce as evidence two letters Cluchette sent to a sympathizer on March 6 and March 8 of this year.

Curtiss insisted that Cluchette's statement—"I have done nothing but what I was called upon by the struggle to do"—was proof of his participation in the murder of Soledad prison guard John Mills on Jan. 16, 1970.

With the jury excused, Cluchette's attorney, Floyd Silliman, argued in

response that "the court is not qualified to rule on what a Black man in the San Quentin Adjustment Center means by 'the struggle.'" He also emphasized that a number of things have happened since Jan. 16, 1970, that help to explain Cluchette's writings.

The letters in question were given to Monterey County prosecutor Barnes by Sergeant William Hankins of San Quentin, who identified himself as "prison liaison officer" for outside law-enforcement agencies.

Hankins testified that the letter had contained neither contraband nor materials harmful to the California Department of Corrections. Nevertheless, the letters were photostated before mailing because Hankins felt they "pertained to the case." Silliman called the sergeant an "agent of the district attorney. He is their man inside," Silliman said.

Judge Vavuris will rule tomorrow on the admissibility of the letters. If allowed as evidence, they would establish a dangerous precedent for the trials of other political prisoners, such as Angela Davis and the San Quentin Six.

## Indian protest forces inquiry

By LEE SMITH

Some 1,000 Native Americans from 55 tribes in 35 states converged on the town of Gordon, Neb., March 7 to demand some changes in the way their people have been treated there.

Sparked by the death of Raymond Yellow Thunder, 51, an Oglala Sioux who died of injuries suffered at the hands of American Legionnaires in Gordon, the central demand of the protest was that Yellow Thunder's remains be examined in a second autopsy.

Yellow Thunder's body was found Feb. 20 in a used-car lot in the town of 2,106. Seven days earlier he had been grabbed outside an American Legion dance, stripped from the waist down and thrown on the dance floor. It appears that Yellow Thunder died of injuries sustained in the incident, and five Legionnaires have been charged with manslaughter.

The March 7 protest, organized by the American Indian Movement, sought a second autopsy because of rumors that Yellow Thunder had been tortured with lit cigarettes and mutilated before he was killed.

Other demands were also raised, including an end to racist treatment at the Gordon Hospital and Clinic; the hiring of Indians by the local police; representation on the school board; better access to jobs; higher wages; lower prices at local stores; better housing; an end to rent discrimination; and more attention to Indian news by the local weekly, *The Gordon Journal*.

In response to the protest, the state legislature ordered the attorney general to investigate Yellow Thunder's death. The mayor, the county attorney, and a representative of the governor's office joined protest leaders in a joint call for a federal investigation of the killing. Rogers C. B. Morton, U. S. secretary of the interior, said his department would investigate the incident, and he asked the Justice Department to determine whether any federal laws had been violated.

In addition, Gordon officials promised to set up a human relations council, suspended a local cop, and released two Indians from jail.

Russell Means and Dennis Banks, leaders of the American Indian Movement, expressed satisfaction with the results of the demonstration, terming them a "total and complete victory."

The second autopsy found no evidence of torture or mutilation on the body of Yellow Thunder. The results were confirmed by John Echo Hawk, an attorney for the Native American Rights Fund.

## YSA fight in Lubbock, Texas

By SUSAN ELLIS

LUBBOCK, Texas—The administration at Texas Tech University here has recently launched an attack on student rights. In an attempt to block official recognition of the campus Young Socialist Alliance, the administrators decided that the YSA's application would need special consideration due to the possibly "controversial" nature of the YSA. The special review is to be made by the vice-president of academic affairs, the university lawyers, and finally, the board of regents, which meets only twice a semester.

The normal procedure is merely for the Committee on Student Organizations to make a formal recommendation that a group be recognized. The Tech YSA was approved by this committee almost a month ago, and other organizations granted approval at the same time have been recognized organizations for some three weeks now. Meanwhile, the administration is pondering the possible "controversiality" of the YSA.

Members of the YSA have begun a petitioning campaign in support of their right to be recognized. The petition has been signed by hundreds of people, including the major candidates for student government elections, Young Republicans, Young Demo-



Photo by Susan Ellis

**YSA member Tim McGovern gathers signatures for YSA's recognition at Texas Tech in Lubbock.**

crats, Tech MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán—Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán), Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), the campus newspaper (*The University Daily*) and its editor, and

many other organizations on the Tech campus.

Campus support for the YSA's right to be recognized is growing as students find out about the harassment. A large news conference was held on March 10 to publicly protest the administration's attack on student rights. Members of the Young Democrats, VVAW, the student government, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, and YSA made statements at the news conference.

The Tech YSA is in consultation with the American Civil Liberties Union, and plans to initiate legal action unless the administration grants the recognition without further delay.

## Students want cops out of school

By MERYL FARBER

CHICAGO, March 15—In response to the outrage over the killing of Black Vietnam veteran Cornell Fitzpatrick at Kenwood High School on Feb. 15 by an armed security officer, the school administration removed all armed guards from the school. For the week following this action, the halls of the school were patrolled by members of the Black community in place of the absent security guards.

On Thursday, Feb. 24, the Parent, Teacher, Student Association held a meeting of 300 to discuss the problem of security at Kenwood.

A report was given on the vote taken by the Kenwood High staff on the question of armed security guards. The staff consists of teachers, lunchroom employees, and custodians. Ninety-seven members voted in favor of having armed guards in the schools, 37 voted to have only one armed guard, and one voted in favor of having no armed guards at all.

On March 1, a student poll on this question was taken, with 80 percent of the students voting. Fifty-eight percent favored some kind of security arrangement that would include one or more armed guards; 38 percent opposed having any armed guards in the school.

On March 2, the Kenwood staff met with a representative of the Chicago teachers union. The decision taken by the meeting was that unless an armed officer were present in the school the teachers would walk out. On the following day a meeting was held with representatives of the teachers and staff, plus several students and parents. The meeting broke up before 10 a.m. without reaching any decision. The school was evacuated in response to two bomb threats, and police were brought into the school to investigate.

When the students and staff returned to the school, a majority of the teachers walked out, and the school was closed. The administrators faced a puzzling dilemma: if they removed all security aides from the school, the teachers would walk out; on the other hand, if they brought in armed guards, there was a strong possibility that the students might stage their own walkout. The administration apparently decided that the latter was a lesser danger. On Monday, March 6, one armed security guard was in the school.

At present, an uneasy truce between the students and the administration prevails. It is not yet clear how the question will be resolved.