

Jobless rolls mount across nation

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THE MILITANT

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Nixon says he'll keep bombing North Vietnam

— story page 6



COPS HASSLE KY PROTESTERS. Ten thousand people turned out in San Francisco to protest the visit there of Washington's Saigon puppet Nguyen Cao Ky. Massive force of cops were free with nightsticks in persistent efforts to disrupt demonstration. Story page 20.

Los Angeles cuts back welfare payments

Attendant-care allowances drastically reduced

Los Angeles, Calif.

The following is a copy of a letter I sent to the newsletter of Local 535 of the Social Services Union (AFL-CIO).

Workers in Southeast Adult Aids [a division of the Los Angeles welfare department] were informed today of new cutbacks affecting ATD recipients. They were informed that attendant-care allowances, which provide home-making help to recipients too sick to take care of themselves, are being drastically cut back. Due to what administrators call a "closed-end appropriation" there will be no further attendant-care allowances for the month of November. We were also told not to expect much opening up in attendant care through the balance of the fiscal year!

This outrageous attack on those least able to defend themselves is one of the most reprehensible acts which our overpaid and largely useless county administrators have come up with in recent memory. Its meaning is that anyone who is now receiving attendant care may continue to receive it, but no new attendant-care allowances

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J. Edgar Hoover claims the YSA "is today the largest and best organized youth group in leftwing radicalism."



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Letters from our readers

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

will be budgeted. Furthermore, it means that many recipients living at home will be forced into nursing homes to spend the rest of their lives.

At the same time we may note that the county had no trouble coming up with overtime pay for sheriff's deputies for their work attacking the peaceful Chicano Moratoriums on Aug. 29 and Sept. 15. It says volumes about the priorities set by the county government.

Walter Lippman

Supports Israel

Minneapolis, Minn.

Although I agree with most YSA policies, I must strongly oppose its position on the Middle East.

How can the YSA support national and cultural self-determination for all peoples except the Jews? It is true that many western Jews are members of a culturally degenerate bourgeoisie. However, to many Jews, Israel embodies their last hope for cultural expression. In the Soviet Union, for example, many Jews are engaged in an underground liberation struggle to learn and express their cultural identity. Thirty-five of them were recently imprisoned and many more have lost their jobs or been expelled from the university. For these Jews, Israel represents their only hope for freedom.

I believe that the Palestinians should have a state of their own. But to secure the national aspirations of one people by destroying those of another is absurd. I agree that Israel has committed many injustices. But to assert that the Arabs have not committed injustices, and that Israel is totally unjust, is also, of course, absurd.

I would like to see a reevaluation of our Mideast policy based on all the facts and on the ideologies of all peoples involved.

Joel Schwartz

Student dissent probed by Illinois "experts"

DeKalb, Ill.

The Illinois Commission on Student Unrest was convened Nov. 12-13 on the campus of Northern Illinois University. Readers may be interested in some of the "expert" testimony.

Mitchell Ware, chief of the Illinois Bureau of Investigation, blamed drugs, bungling NIU security officers (trained by his own department, by the way), and the fact that the university allows subversive propaganda to be printed on campus-supplied facilities as the main factors in student disturbances.

Witnesses decrying the lack of student respect for authority found a sympathetic ear in state senator Dennis Collins, chairman of the hearings.

Continued pampering of "anarchists," he declared, could only lead to revolution.

Col. Huntington, head of the campus ROTC, thought it might help if the activities of such "subversive" groups as the Young Socialist Alliance, SDS, Student Mobilization Committee, and the *Northern Star* (the campus newspaper) were monitored more closely by campus authorities.

The tone of the hearings was best described by NIU security officer Kenneth Sheely. He protested the "close-minded manner" in which testimony was gathered—only 13 of the 60 witnesses were students—and said that much of the problem stems from "misinformed police agencies in this area and other persons who fail to recognize that times and people are changing."

A student

Free assembly banned by local ordinance

Selinsgrove, Pa.

I'd like to describe the deplorable conditions that exist in this (and presumably other) small towns.

This summer, Selinsgrove passed an ordinance stating that groups of more than four persons are not allowed to congregate for more than five minutes on a public sidewalk or in a park. This is supposed to keep groups of "hippies" and high school students from gathering and inciting collective behavioral trouble. I believe it is a fallback on which the mayor can base refusal to grant future antiwar march permits.

This infringement of our constitutional rights must be dealt with, but how? None of the college students have the courage, money or incentive to pursue the issue beyond a test trial in the local court, where the ordinance would be upheld by local conservatives. None of the local residents have the desire to challenge it.

I ask your readers who have suggestions for ridding this town of its unconstitutional law to write to Box 1352, Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Pa. 17870.

Joe Long

Says drug industry suppresses Vitamin C's cold-curing power

Boston, Mass.

Nobel laureate Linus Pauling states in his new book, *Vitamin C and the Common Cold*, that the relatively cheap Vitamin C, taken in sufficient quantities, is all that is needed to cure influenza and the common cold.

Dr. Pauling asserts that the drug industry has covered up this fact for 40 years in order to protect the \$50-million a year it makes off drugs

A mix-up

In our issue of Dec. 4, there was an unfortunate typographical jumbling of the sequence of several paragraphs in the report by Debby Woodroffe on the women's liberation panel of the Socialist Educational Conference in New York, Nov. 21. We regret the error.

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which only relieve cold symptoms and have no curative powers.

His book verifies what has long been known to students of nutrition: a daily dosage of 2,000 milligrams of Vitamin C (available without prescription at any drugstore) will prevent most colds and flus. If you should come down with one anyway, he advises, start taking 1,000 milligrams per hour until the symptoms disappear—usually just a few hours. Then take 3,000 milligrams a day for the next few days to finish the job.

The value of Vitamin C has long been suppressed because the capitalist economy is organized for profit, not for need. A social revolution is required to change this basic fact of our society. In the meantime, however, you can make a significant improvement in your health (and thereby increase your ability to contribute to the movement).

Diane Cecile
Bob Gebert

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War complicity a focus of scientific parley

By TERRY HARDY

SAN DIEGO—The national convention of the American Anthropological Association (AAA) held here Nov. 19-22 reflected the growing radicalization throughout the country. The discussion no longer dealt exclusively with strictly academic and educational questions but with political issues facing the world today. Five hundred of the 1,200 in attendance were associated with the radical caucus. Sixty percent of the AAA's voting members are under 30.

The biggest controversy at the convention centered on documented charges made earlier this year by the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) that American anthropologists are involved in counterinsurgency research in Thailand for the U. S. government. The SMC revelations were highlighted in the Nov. 19 *New York Review of Books*, which appeared just prior to the convention.

Federally oriented research programs on social, economic and military problems, the SMC had disclosed, are being used to combat insurgent movements in foreign countries. The U. S. government is striving to deny people their right to self-determination, especially in countries where the U. S. has big business interests.

This research can and sometimes does result in the physical destruction of the particular culture under study. Further, counterinsurgency projects are often consciously organized to provide spin-off applications for the control of oppressed national minorities in the U. S.

Anthropologists engaged in counterinsurgency are violating a code of ethics they themselves adopted in 1967

regarding federally sponsored research for counterinsurgency.

The radical caucus of the AAA, in conjunction with the SMC, presented a resolution against counterinsurgency at the convention. Although the resolution was tabled in a close vote, an Ad Hoc Committee on Thailand was set up and the radical caucus will continue to organize around this issue.

A symposium on Women and Anthropology, attended by almost 200 women, took up the fact that only 15 percent of anthropologists are women and that they suffer from discrimination in hiring practices and wages. The symposium was characterized by an atmosphere of sisterhood and unity.

The women at the convention presented the following demands, which were then passed by the AAA:

- That the AAA go on record opposing antinepotism rules which discriminate against women;
- That the AAA give fully qualified part-time workers wages and status equivalent to full-time workers;
- That the employment rights of child-bearing women not be jeopardized;
- That child care be provided at all AAA conventions.

The symposium on Ethnic Minorities discussed the right of oppressed peoples to self-determination. Chicano anthropologists and San Diego Chicano community leaders, after presenting a statement to the general council meeting of the AAA, walked out.

"The cumulative effect of AAA research has been in many cases the



Photo by Pamela Starsky

SMC literature table did brisk business at meeting of anthropologists.

reinforcement and ethnocentric stereotyping of Chicano people," the statement said in part. "This impact has resulted in rising suspicion, skepticism, antagonism and even open hostility by the Chicano community toward anthropologists and anthropological research and jeopardizes the picture of anthropologists in the Aztlan area (Southwest)."

The Chicanos charged that there had been "an almost total lack of involvement of Chicanos in planning and implementation of all sessions."

The SMC had a considerable impact on this convention. A literature table was set up, many participants endorsed the Dec. 4-6 Chicago anti-war conference called by the National Peace Action Coalition, 335 copies of the special issue of the *Student Mobilizer* were sold, and new support was obtained for the SMC's campaign against campus complicity and the

widespread manipulation of American universities and scholars for counterinsurgency research.

The continuing conflict within the AAA around counterinsurgency and principles of professional responsibility can best be summed up by the remarks Professor Martin Nicolaus had made to a convention of American sociologists in 1968:

"What if the machinery were reversed? What if the habits, problems, secrets and unconscious motivations of the wealthy and powerful were daily scrutinized by a thousand systematic researchers, were hourly pried into, analyzed and cross-referenced, tabulated and published in a hundred inexpensive mass circulation journals and written so that everyone could understand it and predict the actions of their landlords, manipulate and control them?"

Indeed, what if. . . ?

National convention of YSA to hear Hansen, Camejo

Major highlights of the upcoming Young Socialist National Convention, to be held in New York City December 27-31, will be the public addresses by Joseph Hansen and Peter Camejo.

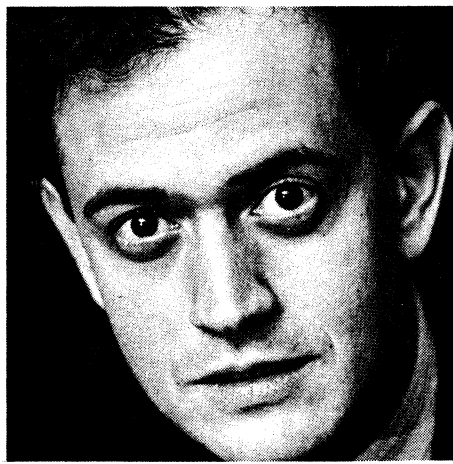
On Monday evening, Dec. 28, Joseph Hansen will speak on "Leon Trotsky and the New Rise of World Revolution," in commemoration of the thirtieth anniversary of Trotsky's assassination. Hansen served as secretary and bodyguard to Leon Trotsky from 1937 to 1940. He is a former editor of *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review* and is currently editor of *Intercontinental Press*, a weekly journal covering the international revolutionary movement.

A member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party and a leader of the world Trotskyist movement, Hansen has written extensively on problems of strategy and tactics facing revolutionists today. His writ-

ings on China and Cuba and on the prospects for further socialist revolutions in Latin America are particularly well-known.

The Young Socialist Convention's second public meeting will be held on Wednesday, Dec. 30. It will feature Peter Camejo, widely known as a radical activist in the Berkeley student movement, as the Socialist Workers Party's 1970 candidate for U. S. Senate in Massachusetts, and as the author of the pamphlets *How to Make a Revolution in the U. S.* and *Liberalism, Ultraleftism or Mass Action*. He will speak on "Ten Years of Struggle: The YSA and the New Radicalization."

Camejo has traveled to Cuba and South America several times, speaking to revolutionary fighters in those countries. He recently returned from Peru, where he spoke with Hugo Blanco, the world famous revolution-



Peter Camejo



Joseph Hansen

ary leader imprisoned there.

The meeting on Wednesday evening will also include a panel of revolutionary socialists from around the world. The Young Socialist Alliance is part of a worldwide revolutionary movement and it has invited co-thinkers from parties and youth organizations in Asia, Europe and Latin America to participate in the convention.

Anyone interested in revolutionary politics is invited and urged to attend these public meetings, as well as the regular sessions of the convention, at which delegates from YSA locals across the country will discuss

and decide on the YSA's political perspectives and activities for the coming year.

The draft resolutions (on the women's liberation movement, the Black struggle, the Chicano struggle, the anti-war movement, and general political perspectives), which the National Executive Committee of the YSA will submit to the convention, and detailed information about housing, child care, transportation, registration, etc., are available from the YSA national office, P. O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003. The resolutions cost 25 cents each.

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3,000 ATTEND, BUT —

Panthers are barred from holding D.C. convention

By DERRICK MORRISON
WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 29 — Some 3,000 people from all parts of the country came here this weekend to attend the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention sponsored by the Black Panther Party. But no convention was held. It wasn't held due to the federal government's conspiracy to deny the Panther Party the constitutional right of freedom to peaceably assemble.

In September, the Panthers applied for use of the District of Columbia National Guard Armory. After being given the runaround, use of the armory was denied. But the Panthers didn't leave it at that; they took the matter to court.

There was no precedent being set by demanding use of the armory. Numerous groups have used it for exhibitions and conventions. Nevertheless, the Panthers lost the court case in October. The basis for turning their case down was the flimsy excuse that the guard might be mobilized the weekend of Nov. 27.

The doubletalk and red tape used by the armory in its initial denial is documented by Audrea Jones in the Oct. 31 issue of the *Black Panther*.

Reports have it that the Panther Party then applied to the University of Maryland, which also turned them down.

In the Nov. 14 issue of the *Black Panther*, it was announced that the convention was to be held at Howard University. However, at the time no

confirmation had been made by the university administration. Howard remained in question until a final refusal was issued to the press on Friday, Nov. 27.

At a press conference held on noon of that day, Big Man, editor of the *Black Panther*, read a statement condemning Howard. He said that at first the administration wanted only a portion of the almost \$11,000 fee required to rent university facilities. Then later, the administration demanded the whole sum. The Panthers then sent a \$1,000 check on Wednesday, Nov. 25. But they got no response one way or the other until the announcement of a public refusal on Friday.

And with that, all notions of having a convention vanished.

The Panther Party attempted to clarify the situation at the press conference. But there was no concerted effort to mount a campaign against the actions of the university administration. There was much talk about "the people liberating Howard," but such action was not attempted.

Apparently undecided what to do in this difficult situation, the Panthers kept the people lingering on in expectation up until Saturday night, at



Huey P. Newton

which time they sponsored a rally at St. Stephen's Church.

The speakers included Michael "Cetewayo" Tabor, one of the 13 Panthers on trial in New York; Robert Scheer, formerly of *Ramparts* magazine; and Huey P. Newton, minister of defense of the Panther Party.

Newton indicated that the rally was a mobilization and that the constitutional convention would be held off until such time as Washington, D. C., had been "liberated." He projected no

plans for mobilizing people in defense of Panther political prisoners. He talked in very general terms about implementing "survival programs," providing free breakfast, free health care, free clothing, etc., in the Black community.

At the end of the rally, Big Man announced that several thousand students in Frankfurt, West Germany, were demonstrating in solidarity with the Panther Party after finding out about the denial of a meeting place.

Part of nationwide crackdown

New Orleans cop raid on Panthers

At 1:30 a.m. Thanksgiving morning, 25 heavily armed plainclothes cops conducted a raid on the New Orleans headquarters of the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF). Six people were arrested and charged with attempted murder. During the raid cops shot one Black woman, Betty Powell, in the chest. The attack was part of the continuing police campaign against the Black Panthers.

The pretext for the raid was the charge that the NCCF was trespassing by setting up their headquarters in a vacant apartment in the Desire Street housing project, a project which houses 10,000 Black people and is the poorest neighborhood in the city. The NCCF had attempted to pay the rent on the apartment, but the Housing Authority refused to accept it on the basis that the Committee was not "a family unit."

Following the early morning raid, New Orleans police superintendent Clarence Giarusso blurted out the real reason for the raids: "As far as we're concerned, we think we have most of the Panther cadre members."

The early morning Thanksgiving raid was only the most recent in a series of attacks by police on the Black Panther Party and NCCF in New Orleans. The previous day, Nov. 25, police set up road blocks and arrested four carloads of Panthers and others on their way to Washington, D. C., to attend the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention. Nineteen Blacks and six whites were arrested and charged with criminal trespass. A leader of the NCCF, Harold Holmes, was charged with criminal anarchy because of speeches he has made which the district attorney considered "inflammatory."

On Nov. 19, some 200 heavily armed cops accompanied by a tank-

like "war wagon" had moved into the Desire Street housing project to try to evict the Panthers and supporters of the NCCF. Cops carried shotguns, submachine guns and combat rifles. This police aggression was met with massive resistance from community residents. Between 300 and 400 young Black people massed as a shield between the cops and the NCCF headquarters.

After a tense four-hour confrontation between the cops and community people, the police were forced to withdraw.

The Panthers and supporters of the Committee to Combat Fascism who were occupying the besieged apart-

ment Nov. 19 where those who escaped arrest during still another brutal police attack on Sept. 15. In that early morning raid, police emptied hundreds of rounds of bullets into the apartment. Fourteen were arrested in this raid, charged with attempted murder and held on \$100,000 bond.

According to Johnny Jackson from the Desire Housing Project Community Center, people from the Black community have held two demonstrations — one on the main street of New Orleans and one at the mayor's office — to show their solidarity with those arrested. Legal challenges against the arrests are being made in the courts.

Women discuss strategy during D.C. convention

By ALICE WOZNACK
WASHINGTON, D. C. — About 1,000 women from all over the country participated in the women's center at Trinity College in Washington, D. C., during the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention the weekend of Nov. 27. The center was organized to take care of women's needs at the convention, such as housing, meals and workshops. But it also became the site of a women's convention.

Workshops were held on Friday and Saturday around issues of concern to women. Topics of discussion included the feasibility of a revolutionary women's party, working women, Third World women, women and imperialism, sisterhood and lesbianism.

An emergency meeting was called on Saturday afternoon by a few women who wanted to seize a building and turn it over to Huey Newton for his speech that evening.

The majority of the women participating in the center expressed the belief that women could best achieve their liberation by organizing independent women's groups. Women, it was felt, should not depend on any other segment of society to determine their movement or fight for their demands.

The workshop on the revolutionary women's party discussed the possibility of organizing a women's party independent of the two capitalist parties. Among the questions raised by this workshop were: How do women of different political beliefs unite in one national organization? What should the goals of such an organization be? What purpose would this party serve for women?

The dominant feeling of the participants in the center was a desire to share ideas openly with our sisters and prove that sisterhood is powerful.

Repression of Puerto Rican freedom mov't

By CAROLINE LUND
NEW YORK, Dec. 1 — At a press conference today, leaders of the Puerto Rican independence movement described a recent series of bombings and political repression of pro-independence groups in the western part of Puerto Rico.

Daniel Garcia, secretary for international affairs of FUPI (Federation of University Students for Independence) and David Guzman, also of FUPI, reported that 10 different offices of pro-independence groups had been bombed in the last two weeks of November, including the national office of MPI (Pro-Independence Movement) and the office of Claridad, the newspaper of MPI.

Furthermore, a student demonstration for independence on Veteran's Day, Nov. 11, was brutally attacked by the colonial police force. The bombings and beatings, said the FUPI spokesmen, are only the most blatant examples of a general and continual repression in Puerto Rico of all pro-independence forces.

Garcia and Guzman came to New York to request support and solidarity from North American Puerto Rican organizations and other progressive groups. Contributions toward repairing the damage caused by the bombings can be sent to: FUPI, CAAM, Apt. 5249, College Station, Mayaguez, Puerto Rico 00768.

Black feminist replies to ultraleftist

By PAM NEWMAN

PHILADELPHIA—A Black representative of the Third World Women's Alliance (TWWA) spoke at the women's liberation rally on Aug. 26 in New York City. I wasn't there, but the *Philadelphia Free Press* printed the text of her talk with a brief introduction in its Nov. 16 issue.

As a Black woman, it is my personal opinion that this statement and the *Free Press* introduction to it are terrible! The introduction begins by saying, "The limited demands around which the march was organized reflected this [middle] class orientation: free abortions on demand; the establishment of 24-hour day-care centers for children of working women; and equality of education and employment opportunity. While these demands sound good, they hardly get to the crux of the problem facing Black women in a capitalist society."

Then it says that the Third World Women's Alliance marched under a banner saying "Hands Off Angela Davis," and that this was "the very essence of what Third World women are struggling against—that is, oppression and exploitation. These ladies are calling for equality, but Third World women don't want to be equal, THEY WANT TO BE FREE."

Angela Davis must be freed, but why say that defending Angela Davis contradicts our fighting for equality and liberation as Third World women? The *Philadelphia Free Press* seems to think that we can't unify Third World women on the basis of fighting their oppression but can only mobilize them around defending political prisoners.

Women's liberation demands are not "middle-class." They deal with the oppression of all women, including working women, and especially Third World women. The kind of liberation I want as a woman would include,

first, freedom not to have my body used as a sex object. I want the right to have a decision-making position in anything I go into. And if I get to messing around, I don't want to be forced to have a child and then have another person dependent on me emotionally and economically until 18 and then college or whenever.

Second, I want to be able to get a job and receive the same wages as the male next to me.

Third, if I were a mother, I would want somewhere to put my children while I go to work so I can pay the rent and go places and know that the older children would be taught more than how to fight the person next door and that my younger ones would be clean, healthy, as well as happy.

In the speech of the TWWA representative, it is said, "It is difficult for Third World women to address themselves to the petty problems of who is going to take out the garbage, when there isn't enough food in the house for anything to be thrown away. Fighting for the day-to-day existence of a family and as humans is the struggle of the Third World woman."

I say, who is going to pay for food, when there is no money and no man to work, and the mother has to watch the family? We need child-care centers for our children so we can get jobs, and we need equal pay.

This woman continues: "To the white women's liberation groups we say, until you can deal with your OWN poor white sisters, you will never be a revolutionary movement and you cannot expect to unite with Third World peoples in a common struggle." However, Aug. 26 showed, both in terms of its demands and in terms of the thousands of women who came out, that the women's movement is dealing with the problems of poor white women, and showed that this



Photo by Howard Petrick

Members of Third World Phoenix Organization of Women helped build Aug. 26 Women's Day demonstration in New York.

movement is a worthy ally of the Third World struggles for national emancipation.

This woman states, "You ask for equality. We answer, equal to what?" For openers, everything now granted men and denied women. And equal rights to what a human being is democratically entitled to: the right to control our own bodies, the right to have a good education and a good job—if all women were to demand good jobs, you couldn't imagine the panic the ruling class would go through—as well as freedom to have all the other things a person needs to survive.

This woman says "revolution, and not reform, is the answer." From what I gather, she and the *Free Press* don't think women's liberation points in a socialist direction. When women achieve equality, it will no doubt not be under this system. This system cannot and will not be able to cope with

the rising social needs and demands of women. It is precisely because it is capitalism that is responsible for the denial of women's rights that the fight for these rights has a built-in anti-capitalist character. And that's true even if the women who are fighting for their rights still are not consciously anticapitalist. You can be sure that if they are militant and really do fight for their liberation as women, many of them will become revolutionaries. They will see who their oppressor really is.

And the women's movement is not isolated. It is not the only thing that is happening. The rising voices of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American people interact with the sound of the demand for equality and liberation of women. This sharpens their struggle and their consciousness. I say, Third World women of the world, unite and fight in the struggle for our liberation. Venceremos!

Women's liberation movement on rise in France

By CAROLINE LUND

In articles that have appeared in the press about the international growth of the women's liberation movement, the comment is often made that at least in France—the country of "Vive la difference"—the feminist movement will not take hold. But it has become clear in the past few months that French women are joining in larger and larger numbers the international struggle for women's liberation.

On Aug. 26, some 30 French women demonstrated at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Paris in solidarity with the women's liberation demonstrations on that day in the U.S. A leaflet passed out by these women said: "We have made this demonstration for those who are more unknown than the Unknown Soldier. And more oppressed than the most oppressed—women."

On Nov. 21-22, a convention of 325 women took place in Versailles, sponsored by the most popular French women's magazine, *Elle*. The conference—called the States-General of Women, after the general assembly held in 1789 that led to the French Revolution—considered the whole range of problems faced by French women and how to improve their status.

French defense minister Michel Debre addressed the convention on the second day, telling the women they had a duty to increase the birth rate. He said it was "crucial to the nation" that French women produce more babies, so that the French people would preserve the proportion between themselves and the large numbers of Algerian and other imported foreign workers. This racist and chauvinist

statement was answered with hoots and jeers from the women.

The convention passed a report calling for the right to sex education, for "total freedom of contraception, without discrimination against minors, who need it most," and the right to legal abortions.

Women's liberation issues have also been taken up by some sections of the French revolutionary-socialist movement. A 250-page double issue of *Partisans* (July-October 1970), a magazine of discussions on the French left, is devoted to the women's liberation movement, with well-known articles by American feminists as well as contributions by French women and men on the situation of French women and strategy for the women's movement. One article says that the ferment over women's liberation is one result of the general radicalization that spread through France as a result of the May '68 upsurge.

The publisher of *Partisans*, Francois Maspero, is a member of the Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International. The newspaper of the Communist League, *Rouge*, published an interview in its Nov. 23 issue with Mary-Alice Waters, managing editor of *The Militant*, on the American feminist movement.

It is especially significant that French women are beginning to struggle for liberation, because of the tremendous prejudices against women in France and because the two biggest powers in the country—the Catholic Church and the Communist Party—have either enforced or gone along with women's oppression.

French women only won the right to vote in 1945, and only in the last 10

years have reforms been made in the Code Napoleon, the 1804 system of laws whereby the husband had complete power over the wife and children in a family. Abortion is illegal, and birth control was only legalized in 1967, although publicity about contraception is still illegal. Only in 1969 did French women get the right to take their children to another country without their husband's consent and the right to live in a different place than their husband and to take a job without the husband's permission. Until 1964, all property of a woman became the property of her husband when she married.

The development of a French women's liberation movement will certainly be an inspiration to the women's movement everywhere.

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Paris, May 1968

Naked imperialist aggression

Nixon says he'll continue bombing North Vietnam

By DICK ROBERTS

DEC. 2 — The Nixon administration took special steps this week to underline the fact—in case anyone doubted it—that the massive Nov. 21 weekend bombing attack on North Vietnam represented a reescalation of the war. The disclosure constitutes a brutal declaration of intention to continue bombing North Vietnam. The most explicit statement of this fact was "leaked" to the *New York Times*.

"High administration officials privately acknowledge that the United States is establishing and reinforcing a new rationale for American air strikes against North Vietnam," *New York Times* Washington correspondent Hedrick Smith reported on Dec. 1.

"High officials concede that on Nov. 21, Secretary [of Defense Melvin] Laird was deliberately warning Hanoi that there would now be a new policy of striking North Vietnamese missile sites along the Laotian border when they threatened American planes operating over Laos," Hedrick Smith explained.

As the administration maneuvered to step up the bombing against North Vietnam, its spokesmen, particularly Laird, got caught in a tangle of their own lies. Meanwhile—despite severe repressions including jailing and torture—the South Vietnamese student antiwar movement in Saigon demonstrated its opposition to Nixon's renewed escalation of the war.

"Police broke up today an attempted march on the American Embassy to protest the recent U.S. bombing of North Vietnam," a Nov. 26 Associated Press dispatch from Saigon, which appeared in the *Washington Post*, declared.

"The march had gone only a few blocks when police broke it up and arrested several demonstrators," AP

stated. "Officers seized several banners and a petition denouncing the American 'invasion of North Vietnam' and accusing President Nixon of prolonging the war."

War secretary Laird was caught lying when the Pentagon admitted on Nov. 27 that U.S. aircraft had struck "military targets" near Hanoi in the Nov. 21 assault. When Laird appeared earlier in the week before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he made no mention of this aspect of the attack in two and a half hours of testimony. Meanwhile, other government spokesmen had flatly denied that bombings had occurred north of the 19th parallel, in a deliberate attempt to once more deceive the American people.

"They misrepresented the facts," Senator J.W. Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, declared. "Obviously he did and they do it all the time."

Peter Osnos, a correspondent for the *Washington Post*, talked to antiwar students in Saigon Nov. 26. "A statement by the Vietnam National Student Union," Osnos reports, "said the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam 'is a sign of reescalation . . . and a reinforcement of the lackey government of South Vietnam.'"

Luu Van Tanh, deputy chairman of the Saigon Students Union, told Osnos, "The resumption of the bombing shows that the U.S. wants to seek a military victory and cause suffering in Vietnam."

Osnos also interviewed a woman student: "Nguyen Thi Yen is the lovely 25-year-old daughter of a Saigon cloth merchant with a manner so soft she seems an unlikely leader of South Vietnam's student opposition. Antiwar students often land in jail and many claim they have been tortured.



"However, sitting today in the dark and noisy main office of the Student Union, Miss Yen expressed peace sentiments no less determined than those of her American student counterparts.

"Before the bombing in the north last weekend," she said, "we had begun to believe Mr. Nixon was sincere about withdrawing from our country. Now once again we are not so sure."

"It was striking how much the views of Miss Yen and Tanh correspond to the position long espoused by American students, with whom they appear to have little in common culturally."

Meanwhile, scattered articles and dispatches indicate that pro-U.S. Premier

Lon Nol's government in Cambodia is weakening under a stepped-up offensive of the revolutionary forces.

Julian Manyon, a correspondent for the *New York Post* in Phnompenh, wrote Nov. 28: "The voices of optimism in Cambodia were hushed this week following a stunning series of defeats inflicted by Communist forces.

"In the last six days enemy troops have routed at least seven Cambodian battalions and badly mauled several others. At the same time they have cut all but one of Cambodia's major highways and blown up an ammunition dump in sight of the capital."

Two Kent activists facing trumped-up school charges

By RANDY FURST

A Kent State member of the Young Socialist Alliance and a leader of the campus Yuppies were singled out last week for a political railroading job as KSU officials charged the two with student code violations that could bring their suspension.

Jerry Alter, 19, a sophomore at Kent State, was charged with three violations including solicitation of funds for the Kent State defense.

Alter has been a member of the YSA for 11 months. Also charged was Jerry Persky, leader of the Youth International Party (Yuppies) at Kent State.

The political significance of the Kent State charges against the two students was considerable. If found guilty, both organizations could have their recognition revoked, Alter told *The Militant*.

Both groups were named in the Portage County grand jury report as examples of organizations whose rights to exist on the Kent State campus were questionable.

The two face a hearing on Dec. 12. Representing Alter will be Cleveland rights attorney Jerry Gordon. Dave Scribner of the Law Center for Constitutional Rights in New York will represent Persky.

Alter and Persky were collecting funds for student defendants on Oct. 9 in anticipation of the indictments that were expected to be handed down by the Portage County grand jury that was secretly meeting in Ravenna, Ohio.

Halted by the university director of student conduct outside the student union, Alter recalls that he and Persky were asked to produce a permit.

Persky produced the permit but was told the fund solicitation lacked final approval.

"You're in violation of university rules," said the Kent official.

Both students stopped collecting. Six weeks later, on Nov. 23, both students were ordered to appear before a hearing on charges of violating university rules.

Alter and Persky in the interim had been active in the defense of the Kent State 25.

They have been charged with illegal solicitation and sales as well as falsifying information to the university with an intent to deceive.

Both charges are an out-and-out frame-up.

For good measure, the university threw in a charge against Alter of "falsifying records" on a form concerning the YSA. The YSA had listed a different president than was actually heading up the campus local, the result of an accidental, completely minor mix-up.

However, if found guilty on that charge alone, Alter could also face suspension from Kent State.

A united political defense was in the making as *The Militant* went to press. Petitions were circulating demanding that the charges be dropped.

Alter linked the charges to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover's recent attack on the Young Socialist Alliance. The FBI chief characterizes the YSA as the country's most effective national radical youth group.

Alter was at the student rally May 4 of this year when National Guardsmen opened fire without warning on unarmed students. Four students were killed.

"People were falling all around me," Alter remembers.

Alter, himself, was almost shot. "They didn't get me then," says Alter, "so I guess they're trying to get me now."

Professors say indictments chilled class discussion

CLEVELAND—Two Kent State instructors testified at a federal hearing that the grand jury report issued in conjunction with the indictments of the Kent State 25 had frightened them into removing controversial subjects from their courses of study.

Attorneys for the indicted Kent students have brought suit to stop the prosecution and expunge the grand jury report. They have asked the federal courts to rule that the indictments of the Kent 25 are not legitimate prosecutions, but designed to inhibit free speech.

The instructors were put on the stand to show that the grand jury report attacking faculty dissidents and "permissiveness" at Kent State had had a "chilling" effect on First Amendment rights of free speech.

Mrs. Rosemary Lavicka of Chagrin Falls, Ohio, noted a "big change" in her French classes at Kent State after the report was issued. Students preferred conjugating verbs to openly discussing an article in French on the student revolt, she said.

"They were afraid of dismissal if there were some informers in class," Lavicka continued.

She said that she had omitted con-

troversial materials in her course.

Last week, attorneys brought out that the Portage County grand jury had interrogated some witnesses on the content of Kent State courses in an effort to show a link between classroom political discussion and student radicalism.

Twenty-five persons were indicted on charges stemming from events of May 1-4. They face prison terms of up to three years.

Four Kent students were shot to death by National Guardsmen May 4. The grand jury exonerated the guard, however.

Dr. Janet Kimball told the court Nov. 26 that she had dropped three poems from her poetry course because they might lead to inflammatory political discussions. The Kent State English teacher said she also feared that informers were planted in her class.

The three poems cut from her syllabus were "Politics" by Yeats, "Prometheus" by Byron, and "Dover Beach" by Matthew Arnold.

The courtroom battle, which resumed this week, is viewed as the first round in a massive legal struggle to free the Kent State 25.

Things different with Raza Unida in office

By MAREEN JASIN

CRYSTAL CITY, Texas — Since candidates of the Raza Unida Party were elected to the city council and the school board here less than a year ago, many changes have been made in the way the city and its schools are run.

Of course, much of the business at meetings of these two bodies is routine. But some is not. At a recent city council meeting, for instance, a motion was passed to hold a public hearing on annexing the area which includes the Del Monte processing plant. Although the plant is part of the life of the city, it pays no taxes.

"The Del Monte plant has been getting away without paying for the health and welfare of the people in Crystal City, and this is going to cease," said Jose Angel Gutierrez, president of the Crystal City school board and state chairman of the Raza Unida Party.

A recent meeting of the school board heard reports on two surveys: one on flags displayed in the schools and the other on the teaching of German in the schools. The surveys were conducted in response to charges by the German-American Parent Association (GAPA) in Uvalde, Texas, about 38 miles away, that the Crystal City school board was "unpatriotic" and "racist."

GAPA's "demands" — designed to mimic the legitimate demands of the Chicano community — included the following: that German food be served in the school cafeterias, that German textbooks be used, that German-speaking teachers be hired, that fines be levied for the use of the terms "Kraut"

and "Squarehead," and that school board president Gutierrez resign for alleged racist remarks about the Uvalde German community. The GAPA demands were presented in German, which was translated into Spanish and then English for the 250 persons in attendance, most of whom were from Crystal City.

At one point, the GAPA spokesman told the Crystal City people to go back to Mexico, which of course angered them considerably. Despite some commotion, the board was able to vote on the matter. It rejected the demands.

In a last-minute afterthought, the GAPA spokesman threw in two additional demands: that the American flag be flown and that the pledge of allegiance be recited in the classrooms.

Despite the intended petty harassment underlying these demands, the board decided to take a survey on the question of flags being displayed and on whether students would like to have German taught.

The survey indicated that flags were already present outside the schools and in all but high school classrooms and that there were no requests to take German. Since 127 students said they would take it if it were offered, however, Gutierrez recommended that another survey be taken to see what, if any, other languages students might also be interested in taking and that instructors then be hired to teach what the students wanted.

The school board meeting also set up draft counseling in high school and called a moratorium on corporal punishment. Erasmos Andrade, who made the proposals, said he was

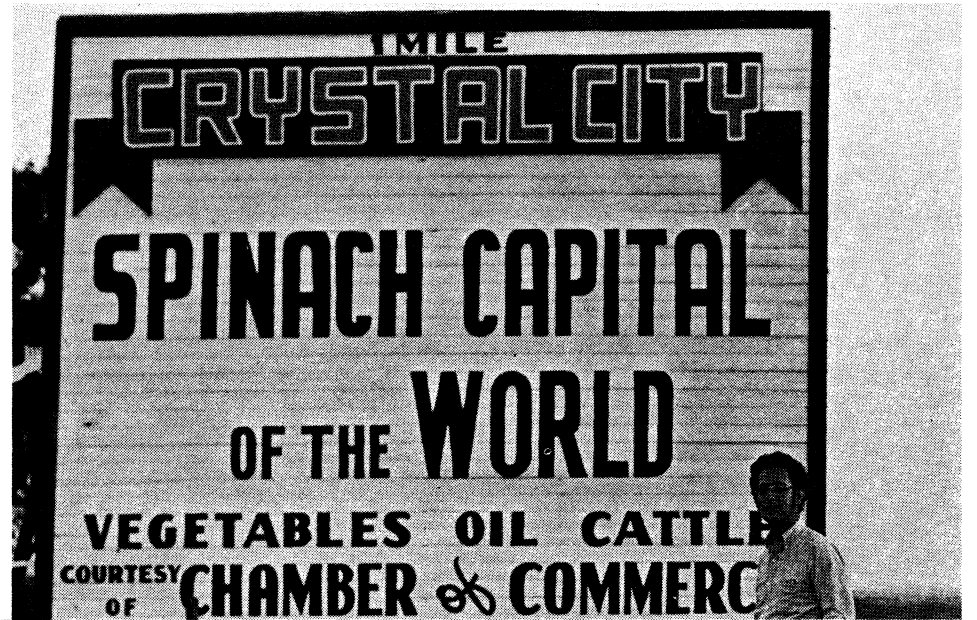


Photo by Mariana Hernandez

Presence of Del Monte processing plant has helped make Crystal City "Spinach Capital of World." La Raza Unida bloc on city council plans to make plant pay taxes.

prompted to do so when he went to a classroom and saw the teacher teaching students the 400 words which are used on armed forces tests. "The teacher was taking for granted that kids are going into the services, and needless to say, I found this quite disturbing," he remarked.

Andrade's recommendation on corporal punishment was supported by youths in the audience, who described the practice. According to law, it is permissible only with the child's consent." To obtain it, Andrade related, the teacher will ask, "Do you want

three days' suspension or 10 licks?" Or, "Do you want 10 licks or 30?"

The meeting also passed a resolution on Veteran's Day, stating the board's "deep sympathy with those who mourn all wars" and its opposition to the war in Indochina. "We will use the opportunity of draft counseling not to support the war," the board said. Gutierrez explained that the invasion of Cambodia included among its casualties a Crystal City youth. "This is nothing to be proud of — dead heroes," he said. "We cannot be asked to give more."

Del Monte workers forming new union in Crystal City

CRYSTAL CITY, Texas — Workers at the Del Monte plant here, who are dissatisfied with the present union, the Teamsters, are organizing a new union, the Obreros Unidas Independientes (Independent United Workers).

The president of the new group, Antonio Rios Jr., and other workers started their organizing efforts in March after consulting with lawyers and studying Cesar Chavez's union organizing in California.

Last year, Rios explained, a group of Del Monte workers went to Teamsters headquarters in San Antonio to

talk to the union president. But he did not bother to show up.

A petition the group circulated requesting the formation of a new union was submitted to the National Labor Relations Board. The board denied the request on a technicality. Despite this, however, organizing efforts are being continued.

Of the 450-500 workers at the Del Monte plant, only 250 belong to the Teamsters. The new organizing efforts are being carried out by both members and nonmembers of the union, particularly women.

Under present work rules at Del

Monte, a worker must put in 10 weeks at 50 hours and 10 at 48 hours before qualifying for overtime. Of eight foremen, two are Chicano, and there is only one Chicano on the office staff. Yet 90 percent of the employees are Chicano.

Under Teamsters leadership, members pay \$6.50 a month dues. All union elections are held in San Antonio — 100 miles away. There is no Crystal City representation on the San Antonio body and the top leaders and all the organizers are Anglos. "We feel that we are not getting fair rep-

resentation by the union," says Rios. "They are not acting on behalf of our interests."

Many Del Monte workers are fed up with a union that consistently signs contracts favorable to the bosses, provides no local representation or elections, but still collects monthly dues. Their decision to form their own union has been largely inspired by the example of La Raza Unida Party's success in improving conditions for Chicanos by breaking with the Anglo-dominated Democratic and Republican parties.

M. J.

Third World liberation notes

Charges against TSU students are dismissed

Judge Wendell A. Odom dismissed charges Nov. 4 against four of the Texas Southern University Five on the recommendation of District Attorney Carol Vance. The fifth member of the group, Charles Freeman, had charges dropped last June.

The five had been charged with incitement to riot and with the murder of a cop that resulted from an attack by the Houston police on the TSU campus in May of 1967. The attack, occurring after police had dispersed a student rally on police brutality, included the frenzied firing of several thousand rounds of ammunition by police.

Out of 488 students arrested, the five framed were: Freeman, Floyd Nichols, Trazwell Franklin Jr., John Parker and Douglas Wayne Waller. Lawyers were supplied by the NAACP. Conviction on the charges could have resulted in the five getting the electric chair.

However, even though the charges have been dropped, no account has

been taken of the disruption in the academic and personal lives of the five students.

The 1976 winter Olympics are slated to be held just outside Denver, Colo. In response to the creation of an all-white executive committee to coordinate the affair, about 150 Blacks and Chicanos attended the Nov. 23 meeting of the City Council to demand representation.

Organized into the Citizens Interested in an Equitable Olympics, Black and Chicano speakers pointed out that neither the Crusade for Justice, Raza Unida Party, the NAACP, nor any other Third World organization had been consulted about planning the affair. They demanded the repeal of Resolution 30 which created the committee.

Marcella Trujillo, 1970 Raza Unida Party candidate for the University of Colorado Board of Regents, began by speaking to the council in Spanish. Then she concluded by saying in English, "If you did not understand me,

then you have failed my test for the Olympics. Are you going to greet multicultural, multilingual teams with an Anglo, English-speaking committee?"

The cynical racism of the City Council came through when John F. Kelly, council president, opened the discussion by asking the speakers to be brief since "we have already missed one good football game tonight."

Protests against this racist exclusion can be sent to Mayor William McNichols, City and County Building, Denver, Colo. 80203.

Thanksgiving, a holiday celebrating the survival of the European presence in America, was rightly protested by 200 Native Americans in Plymouth, Mass. The Indians demonstrated by throwing sand on the famed Plymouth Rock, and said that Thanksgiving should be a national day of mourning for Native Americans. Plymouth Rock was where the Pilgrims landed after getting lost in the attempt to sail to what is now Virginia.

According to the Dec. 3 *Jet*, a General Motors official in Washington, D.C., commented that Black South Africans are a "raw people from the countryside." But, in a magnanimous imperialist gesture, he added, "I wouldn't say that these people don't have any reasoning power, but what they do have is very limited."

Jet quoted a GM official in New York as saying, "With the hue and cry being raised in America these days, we would just as soon not be mentioned in connection with our South Africa operations. . . . Our position, you see, is rather delicate."

The position is delicate because GM exploits over 100,000 Black workers here in the U.S. as well as Black workers in the Republic of South Africa. Even though GM recently gave the Black wage slaves here a raise, Black South African wage slaves make only 55 cents an hour.

—DERRICK MORRISON

European revolutionists hold parley

By SUSAN LaMONT

BRUSSELS, Belgium—On Nov. 21 and 22, revolutionary socialists from all over Europe met at the University of Brussels for a conference organized around the theme: the European socialist revolution. The conference was sponsored by 16 organizations, from different European countries, which are affiliated with or sympathetic to the Fourth International, the international revolutionary-socialist organization founded by Leon Trotsky.

There were 3,500 participants in the conference, with the largest delegations coming from France (1,500), Belgium (500), England (300), and Germany (300). Sizable delegations were also present from Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, Luxembourg, Austria and Denmark, as well as several representatives from Holland, Spain and Greece.

Most of the participants were young workers and high school and college students, many of whom had only recently joined the Trotskyist movement. The gathering, marked by high spirit and enthusiasm, signified an important step forward for the international revolutionary movement.

The conference began with the singing of "The Internationale" and the reading of messages sent to the conference from revolutionary-socialist organizations in other countries, including Japan, Ceylon and Mexico. A representative of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party al-



so brought greetings to the conference.

Ernest Mandel, internationally known Marxist scholar and representative of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, gave the keynote address on the need for a socialist United States of Europe.

The conference then broke up into eight commissions, or workshops, which dealt with different areas of activity and involvement for the revolutionary movement.

These were: 1) Strong State (such as Greece and Spain); 2) Anti-imperialist Movements; 3) Student Struggles; 4) Workers Struggles and Workers Control; 5) Eastern Europe; 6) Building the Vanguard Organization; 7) High School Struggles; and 8) New Needs and New Goals.

One of the subjects of great interest at the conference was the women's liberation movement, which was originally scheduled to be discussed in the New Needs and New Goals Commission, along with such questions as pollution and transportation. Because of the importance of the women's

movement and the desire by many of the participants in the New Needs Commission to have a separate discussion on the movement and how revolutionary socialists should relate to it, it was decided to organize a separate commission on women's liberation.

A lively discussion occurred in this commission around the possibilities for the growth of the women's movement in Europe. While the European women's liberation movement is younger than the American and Canadian movements, it has already become a significant force in England and is beginning to grow in other European countries, such as Germany, Holland, France and Sweden.

The concluding session of the conference heard Alain Krivine on the need to build the Fourth International. Krivine is the leading member of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League) of France, and was the League's candidate for president of France in the 1968 elections.

Messages of solidarity were sent

from the conference to imprisoned revolutionaries in many countries, to fighters for socialist democracy inside the USSR and Eastern European workers states, and to revolutionary organizations in colonial countries.

A message of solidarity was also sent to the Black Panther Party in the U.S., to Angela Davis, and to the Kent State 25.

The conference was open to the media, and there were numerous TV, radio and newspaper reporters there from throughout Europe. Also present was a reporter from TASS, the Soviet press agency.

The exchange of information and experience by all the participants was a vital part of the conference sessions and will play an important role in further strengthening the European revolutionary organizations. In addition, the sponsoring organizations feel confident that many of the young people who attended who were not yet members of the Trotskyist movement will soon join, bringing added forces to the Fourth International.

♀ Women's liberation notes

Roman Catholic bishops met in Washington last week and voted 224 to eight that their "morality" takes precedence over the law when it comes to abortions. Calling abortion "the unjust destruction of a human life" and "murder," the resolution passed instructs Catholic doctors and nurses that they are morally bound to refuse to assist in an abortion procedure, even in the 15 states where abortions are legal under certain conditions. It also directs Catholic hospitals to deny their facilities to any woman, including a non-Catholic, seeking an abortion! Despite this official position, there are indications that some Catholic doctors are moving toward

favoring abortion reform. A Nov. 29 *New York Times* article reported that some Catholic doctors in Pittsburgh are performing abortions, and quoted a Chicago priest as saying, "We ought to get out of legislating morality in private matters."

There was no homecoming queen at Washington State University this fall. Supported by the campus women's liberation group, Ralph ("The Bod") Burrelle entered the competition. The confusion and debate that Burrelle's candidacy provoked forced the homecoming committee to cancel the contest.

An article in the WSU paper, *The*

Daily Evergreen, applauded the cancellation: "The homecoming queen contest is a stock show. A few specimens of local womanhood are chosen and presented to the campus community. From this small group of favored specimens, the student body is expected to pick the prime specimen and crown her the queen, in a great celebration of white, Anglo-American beauty standards."

And last week in London, feminists hurled stink bombs into the finals of the 1970 Miss World contest, driving emcee Bob Hope off the stage (who upon his return said anyone who would disrupt a beauty pageant would "have to be on some sort of dope"). Hopefully, this all bodes well for making this year's Miss America contest, which was the fiftieth, the last.

Two bills intended to end sexist hiring practices in the California state college and university systems have been signed into law by Governor Reagan. There is one bill for each school system, requiring them to eliminate all policies which "detrimentally and unreasonably" affect the employment status of women. The bills also specify that the ratio of women faculty, administrators and staff be increased until it represents the ratio of women in California. The bills were introduced by Senator Mervyn Dymally, a Los Angeles Democrat. Apparently riding the tide of the feminist movement, Dymally has another bill pending that would require the California Board of Education to see that textbooks there portray women in roles

beyond that of wife and mother.

While the Dymally bills will provide a basis for California women to challenge job discrimination, there remain more subtle forms of sexism in academia that cannot be legislated away. An example of this is a recommendation written by a male professor for a woman colleague of his who was applying for a faculty position at another school. The recommendation, discovered by sociologist Alice Rossi and printed in *Everywoman*, reads in part: "When Miss X arrived, she was somewhat lacking in self-confidence, uncertain whether there was a place for her in sociology. Now she recognizes that she can, as a female, contribute to the field without becoming a spinster or a swinger. I say this to emphasize that she is a mature person, not swayed by the superficial values so evident on campuses today. In short, she is not a participant in the women's liberation movement but a competent sociologist. . . . She is neither seductive nor emasculating and will be a useful colleague."

A new pamphlet, *Women and the Equal Rights Amendment* by Caroline Lund and Betsey Stone, has just been released by Pathfinder Press. Explaining why feminists should support the amendment, the articles take up the debate over the protective laws and the draft. It costs 25 cents from Pathfinder, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

—DEBBY WOODROOFE



CHICAGO DEMONSTRATION: Women demand repeal of the Illinois abortion law at Nov. 21 rally sponsored by TRIAL (Total Repeal of Illinois Abortion Laws). Madeline Dille, Young Socialist Alliance, addresses 200 demonstrators. After the rally, participants marched to the American Medical Association headquarters where an AMA representative refused to meet with the women.

Harsh sentences for Mexican prisoners

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

A widespread movement has developed in Mexico for presidential amnesty for 68 political prisoners just given harsh sentences. The prisoners were jailed during the period of the 1968 student movement, which culminated in a bloody police massacre on the eve of the Olympic Games. The demands for a pardon will be one of the first things Mexico's incoming president Luis Echeverria will have to deal with when he takes office Dec. 1.

The 68 political prisoners, including Mexican intellectuals and student leaders, were sentenced Nov. 12 to prison terms of from three to 17 years and fines totaling \$160,000 on

charges such as sedition and damaging federal property.

Among those sentenced Nov. 12 were the Mexican scholar Eli de Gotari, who was given 16 years in prison, and the internationally known novelist and revolutionary Jose Revueltas, also given 16 years. Only a small number of the prisoners received sentences under five years, which allow for parole. And these 68 sentences are only the first batch to be handed down from the 1968 arrests.

When sentenced, Revueltas launched into an inspiring speech, turning the court room into a political rally. According to the Nov. 30 *Intercontinental Press*, which published the text of his remarks, Revueltas said, "Who can

prevent us from continuing the struggle in prison with the weapons of criticism and thought?"

"While our thoughts remain active, you, judges, functionaries, dictatorial presidents, police agents, informers, hangmen, and the rest of you garbage of history, you and your sons and your son's sons and their sons will not live in peace," Revueltas continued. After his statement, the prisoners marched back to their cells singing the "Internationale."

These monstrous sentences imposed by the Mexican court system are indicative of the severe repression that has characterized the regime of outgoing president Gustavo Diaz Ordaz.

Immediately after the sentences were announced, the rector of the National

University of Mexico, Dr. Pablo Gonzalez, issued a statement calling on Echeverria to provide amnesty for the prisoners. The university's 70,000 students went on strike Nov. 24 and plan to stay out until Dec. 3 in support of this appeal.

Gonzalez remarked that the long sentences had raised "doubts" in the university community about the effectiveness of the "state of law" in Mexico. Other supporters of the amnesty appeal movement include Monsignor Mendez Arceo, leader of the liberal wing of the Roman Catholic Church, and several distinguished lawyers.

Protests against these vicious sentences should be sent to President Luis Echeverria, Palacio Nacional, Mexico 1, D. F., Mexico.

Advertisement

Ideas and opinions on trial in case of Seattle Eight

By SHARON COONTZ

SEATTLE—The trial of the Seattle Eight began in earnest Nov. 31 with the opening remarks by Stan Pitkin, U. S. attorney for the prosecution. The eight defendants, one of whom has not yet been arrested, have been charged under the conspiracy laws (as were the Chicago Eight) for "inciting" to damage federal property. In addition, four are charged with crossing state lines with intent to incite a riot, and one for using interstate commerce with intent to incite a riot.

After Pitkin's opening statement, Carl Maxey, attorney for two of the eight, spoke for the defense. He asserted that the defendants are being tried not for what they did but for what they think.

In order to prove conspiracy, the prosecution must also prove that the defendants committed overt acts to further the result of their conspiracy, the alleged result being a TDA (The Day After) "riot" on Feb. 17, 1970. The overt acts—and the prosecution claims there were 18—include attend-

ing meetings together. (The prosecution failed to mention that at all of the "conspiratorial" meetings there were nondefendants in attendance—from 50 to 500 in each.)

The defense will show that two of the defendants were not even present for the meetings in question, and that one defendant, Roger Lippman, was in San Francisco during the TDA demonstrations.

Mike Tigar, another defense lawyer, said in an interview with *The Militant*, "It's clear that the government is going to take all statements made in Seattle by anyone left of Ghengis Khan, and credit them to the defendants." In proving it to be a political trial, the defense intends to explain what youth all over the country are doing and show that both the trial and the conspiracy laws are an attempt to stifle youth culture and dissent.

CALENDAR

BOSTON

IS AMERICAN LABOR RADICALIZING? Speakers: Dan Torney, International Representative, District 2 of the United Electrical Workers; Frank Lovell, member of United Auto Workers Local 160 in Detroit and a staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., Dec. 11, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information call 536-6981.

MILITANT LABOR FORUM OF THE AIR: A socialist perspective on current issues. Tuesdays, 6-7 p.m. WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sundays, 7-8 p.m. WRBB-FM, 91.7. Tues., Dec. 8 and Sun., Dec. 13: Women's Liberation with a tape of Kate Millet's speech at Boston University. Tues., Dec. 15, and Sun., Dec. 20: Latin America and the Cuban Revolution: a discussion with Peter Camejo. For more information call 536-6981.

CLEVELAND

THE DRIVE BEHIND WOMEN'S LIBERATION: How Women Lost Control of Their Destiny and How They Can Regain It. Speaker: Evelyn Reed, author of *Problems of Women's Liberation*. Fri., Dec. 11, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 2921 Prospect Ave. Contrib. \$1, h.s. students 50c. For further information call 861-3862.

LOS ANGELES

BLACK NATIONALISM AND THE REVOLUTION IN MUSIC. Speaker: Frank Kofsky, author and assistant professor of history at Sacramento State College. Fri., Dec. 11, 8:30 p.m. Militant Labor Hall, 1702 E. 4th St. Donation: \$1, students 50c.

NEW YORK

LA RAZA UNIDA PARTY IN THE SOUTHWEST: Independent Political Power in Action. Speaker: Tony Thomas, National Committee member of the YSA and recently returned from the Southwest. Fri., Dec. 11, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (nr. 4th St.), 8th floor. Donation \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

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by Ernest Mandel .50

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Mideast series is postponed

It has been necessary to postpone the series of articles by Barry Sheppard and Gus Horowitz on the roots of the Mideast conflict. The final installments of the series will appear in the first issues of the new year.

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(Counts as one choice) |
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James P. Cannon |
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Karl Marx and Frederick Engels |
| 4. EUGENE V. DEBS SPEAKS
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Frank Kofsky | On Vietnam and World Revolution
Che Guevara |
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Fred Halstead | Problems of Women's Liberation
Evelyn Reed |
| 7. THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY
James P. Cannon | 11. REVOLUTIONARY PAMPHLETS (SET B)
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| 8. EMPIRICISM AND ITS EVOLUTION
George Novack | Reform or Revolution
Rosa Luxemburg |
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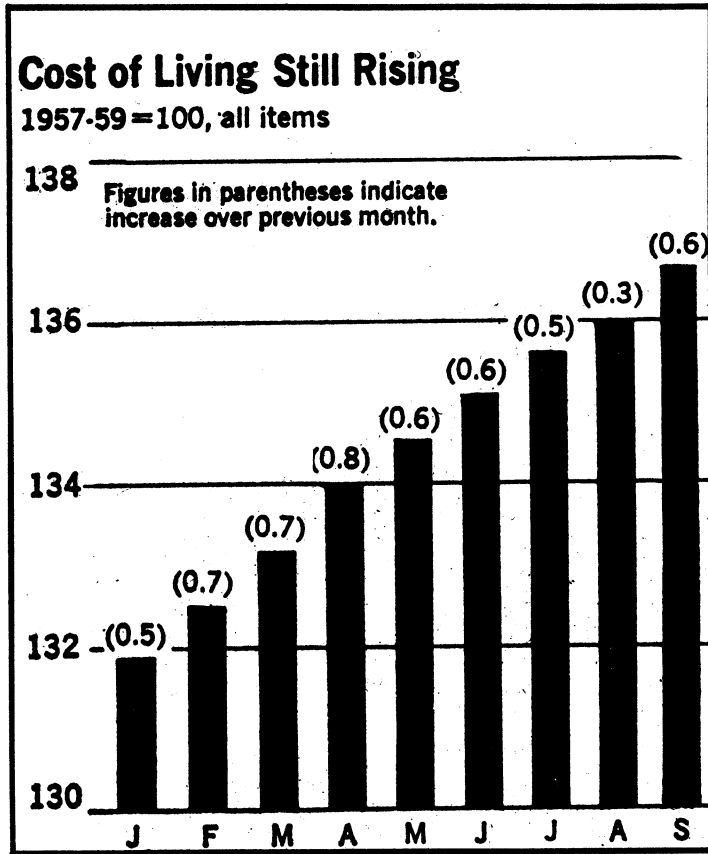
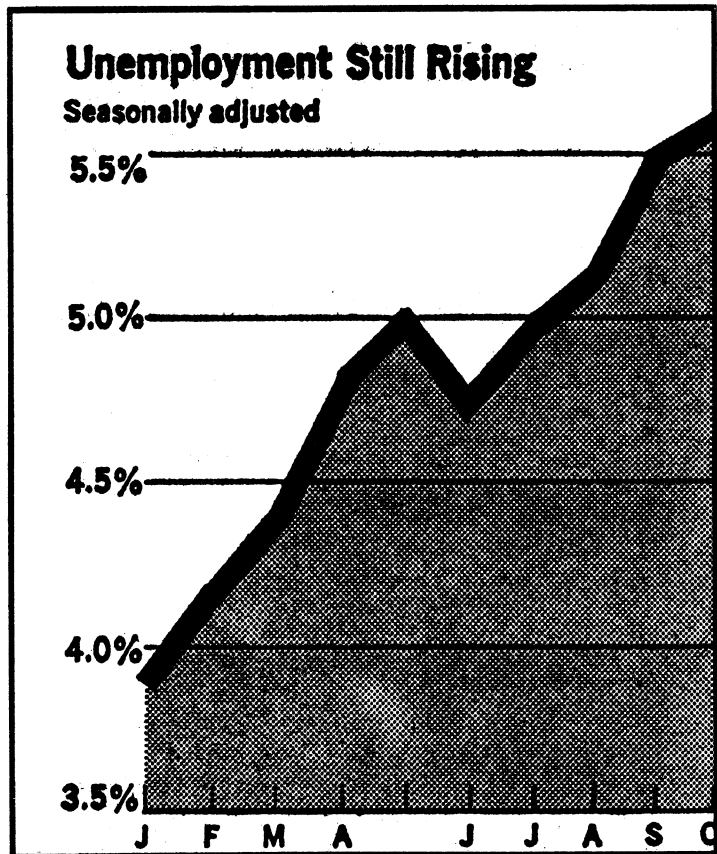
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'We can control inflation without an increase

— President Richard Nixon, State of the Union



By DICK ROBERTS

"For Many, It Was Thanksgiving on a Welfare Check," a headline in the *New York Times* declared Nov. 28. The article reported that this Thanksgiving saw thousands of Americans eating their turkey dinners on welfare payments — substantial numbers of whom are on relief for the first time.

Despite continuing promises by the Nixon administration that an economic upturn is right around the corner, the lines of unemployed are getting longer and longer.

Recession and joblessness have taken their places beside inflation and lowered real wages as economic tolls of the war. Perhaps the most bitter aspect of this is the fact that GIs returning from the hated battlefields in Southeast Asia are among those who have the hardest time finding jobs.

On the day after Thanksgiving, the *New York Times* focused attention on the growing numbers of white-collar workers who are being forced on relief. "Middle-class white-collar workers have been unusually hard hit in the current economic downturn because of the continuing depression in the aerospace industry. . . . But pockets of unaccustomed penury have developed elsewhere in the nation.

"In Michigan, welfare cases stemming from prolonged unemployment climbed to 3,400 through July from 1,269 a year before. In Massachusetts, 4,645 of the state's unemployed collected the last of the compensation checks due them in October, bringing the cumulative total for the year to 41,787.

"In the Tacoma, Wash., area, 4,000 of the county's 6,700 unemployed are expected to exhaust jobless benefits before next April. As a result, the welfare office fears that its \$50-million budget will be inadequate."

In its weekly news summary, the *New York Times* stated Nov. 29 that "Across the country, one worker in every 18 is unemployed. When the Nixon administration came into office, the ratio was roughly 1 in every 30."

This article also touched on the penetration of unemployment into layers traditionally immune to economic zig-zags: "The special tragedy in the Boston area is the intense concentration

of physicists, engineers and other highly trained specialists now without work or hope.

"Ralph Silviano, laid off from an \$18,000-a-year post as an aerothermal engineer, offered to accept a job at half that pay. 'They wouldn't take me,' he says. 'They were suspicious of my willingness to take such a cut and were afraid that if my own field opened up again I'd leave.'"

Another job layer that has been particularly hard hit so far in this recession is teaching. Last summer, when would-be teachers were seeking jobs for this semester, the June 29 *Newsweek* magazine reported on the limited job openings:

"'Get your teaching degree,' American fathers are fond of advising their college-age daughters, 'and no matter what happens you'll always have something to fall back on.' Not any more. In the coming academic year, according to the U.S. Office of Education, nearly 100,000 of the 279,000 elementary and high school teachers now completing their training will have to find something else to fall back on. . . .

"The teacher glut is nationwide. In a Boston suburb, a call for a single social-studies teacher produced 165 applicants. Placement officials for the five teachers' colleges in Minnesota estimate that more than half of their 3,314 graduates will be unable to find positions next fall."

Even with unemployment already at the highest level in six years, it did not become a major election issue until the last moment. And then, going all out to pin the economic downturn on the Nixon administration, the Democrats studiously avoided talking about the real roots of the downturn and its relation to the war.

But the inflation was primarily caused by the escalation of the attack on Vietnam in 1965-68. And the recession, in turn, was precipitated by economic policies of the administration designed to slow the pace of inflation by curbing wages.

"When did the inflation start?" asks *Christian Science Monitor* staff correspondent Richard L. Strout, in a Nov. 28 analysis of Nixon's economic policies.

"Seeds were sown as Vietnam expanded, but few recognized the signs

till the wholesale-price index jumped from an annual rate of increase at 0.2 percent in 1964 to 10 times that amount—2 percent—in 1965. Prior to that there had been an almost classic case of stable expansion over five years, longest in this nation's history."

Strout also gives the lie to the statement from Richard Nixon's 1970 "State of the Union" message quoted

New York ('Fun City') — On

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK — On Nov. 28, City Hall announced the layoff of 500 municipal workers, most of them low-paid. All of these workers are provisional employees, who do not have the job security provided under civil service. This is the first time since the 1930s that the city has laid off any employees.

And it is part of a nationwide trend caused by the double impact of inflation and recession.

As more workers lose their jobs because of the recession, cities collect less money in taxes. Their first response is to lay off city workers — all the more increasing national joblessness.

New York already put a "job freeze" into effect Oct. 1. No more people will be hired until spring because "funds are not available" for salaries. The job freeze will reduce the city payroll by job attrition through resignations and retirements.

It will also increase the work loads of those left on the job, in effect reducing the rate of pay, since more work is expected for the same money.

Mayor Lindsay declared at an Oct. 9 press conference: "Despite the severity of a job freeze, I fear it is only a first step. There are no indications that our present revenue shortfalls will decrease. If these projections hold, the next steps will go far deeper and have even wider impact."

There are 370,000 on the giant New York City payroll. Of these, 20,000 are provisional. City workers can expect the coming months to be rough.

Lindsay has also directed agency

in the headline on this page. Strout asks: "Granted that Mr. Nixon inherited the problem, how did he deal with it?"

"By the conventional means of slowing down the economy and curtailing purchasing power; the rate of federal spending was reduced and the cost of borrowing money was raised. "Did these anti-inflationary brakes work?"

"To a limited degree. The economy was slowed so that now there are idle men and idle factories; unemployment has climbed from 3.5 percent to 5.6 percent; factories are producing around 80 percent of capacity or less, and there is a gap between actual and potential American production at an annual rate of perhaps \$40-billion."

Or to put it more bluntly: Washington adopted policies to induce greater unemployment. This is the "conventional means" of slowing inflation.

(These policies — curtailing federal spending, tightening the money supply, raising taxes — actually originated in the Democratic administration before Nixon took office. Nixon merely continued fiscal and monetary policies already in effect. Consequently when Nixon promised to "control inflation without an increase in unemployment" in January of 1970 — his administration had already been attempting to "control inflation by increasing unemployment" for a year.)

Christian Science Monitor correspondent Strout notes in the quotation cited above that the "anti-inflationary brakes" only worked "to a limited degree." That is, they "worked" insofar

heads to cut \$10-million from their budgets by phasing out "lower priority" projects, closing various city offices, and reducing some city services, thus eliminating even more jobs.

The mayor ordered each administrator to "review his agency's personnel levels and work-load and manning policies to determine practices, procedures and laws that inhibit flexibility and efficient operations."

In a supposedly dramatic move to show sympathy with city workers and to save money, Lindsay and 25 of his top aides each took a pay cut of \$1,000 per year. But their salaries range from \$35,000 to \$50,000 a year! It is hard to believe that many workers will be fooled by such a blatantly hypocritical move by this collection of rich men, most of whom have other sources of income to begin with.

Cutbacks in city budgets across the nation were reported in the *New York Times*, Nov. 27. Cleveland, for example, expects to reduce its number of municipal employees by 20 percent in the next year, according to John McAuliffe, director of personnel.

They will do no more hiring and let attrition reduce the payroll. "There have been no civil service certifications for a year," McAuliffe said, "because there are so many unemployed" that applicants will take jobs with no security. The only exception in future hiring will be for the "Justice Center," a new complex of jails, courts and police department facilities.

Similar trends are reported in Dallas, Kansas City, Baltimore, Newark, Detroit, Los Angeles, Seattle and Pitts-

n unemployment'

of the Union message, January 1970

as adding millions to the unemployed rolls. But they failed to restrain prices.

As of October the retail price index for 1970 was climbing at an annual rate of 7.2 percent—faster than in any of the previous Southeast Asia war years.

Despite attempts to keep the budget balanced, the federal deficit this year will probably be around \$15-billion, a powerful stimulant to future inflation.

And workers, who are supposed to be more temperate about wage demands as the economic situation worsens, are in fact demanding contracts to protect their wages against further price rises. This important aspect of the General Motors settlement—which won back a cost-of-living protection surrendered in 1967—caused considerable consternation in administration circles, despite the low wage increase (in terms of purchasing power) the autoworkers were granted.

What will Nixon do now?

The government has already stepped back from the tight-money policies that drove interest rates to their historic peaks of last summer. Credit has been eased and interest rates have declined considerably.

But these measures will not have a substantial impact on the economy for some time to come. It is true that the lower interest rates have evoked enthusiasm on Wall Street. But as stock prices have soared, so have unemployment figures, and every indication points to more problems for American workers in the foreseeable future.

A startling prediction was made by

Dr. Pierre Rinfert, an economic doxer with access to the White House. The prediction was reported by columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, Nov. 18: Rinfert sees "5.6 percent unemployment to 6 at the end of 1970, 6.6 in mid-1971, 7.9 at the end of 1971, 8.5 at mid-1972, and a horrendous 9.7 percent at the end of 1972."

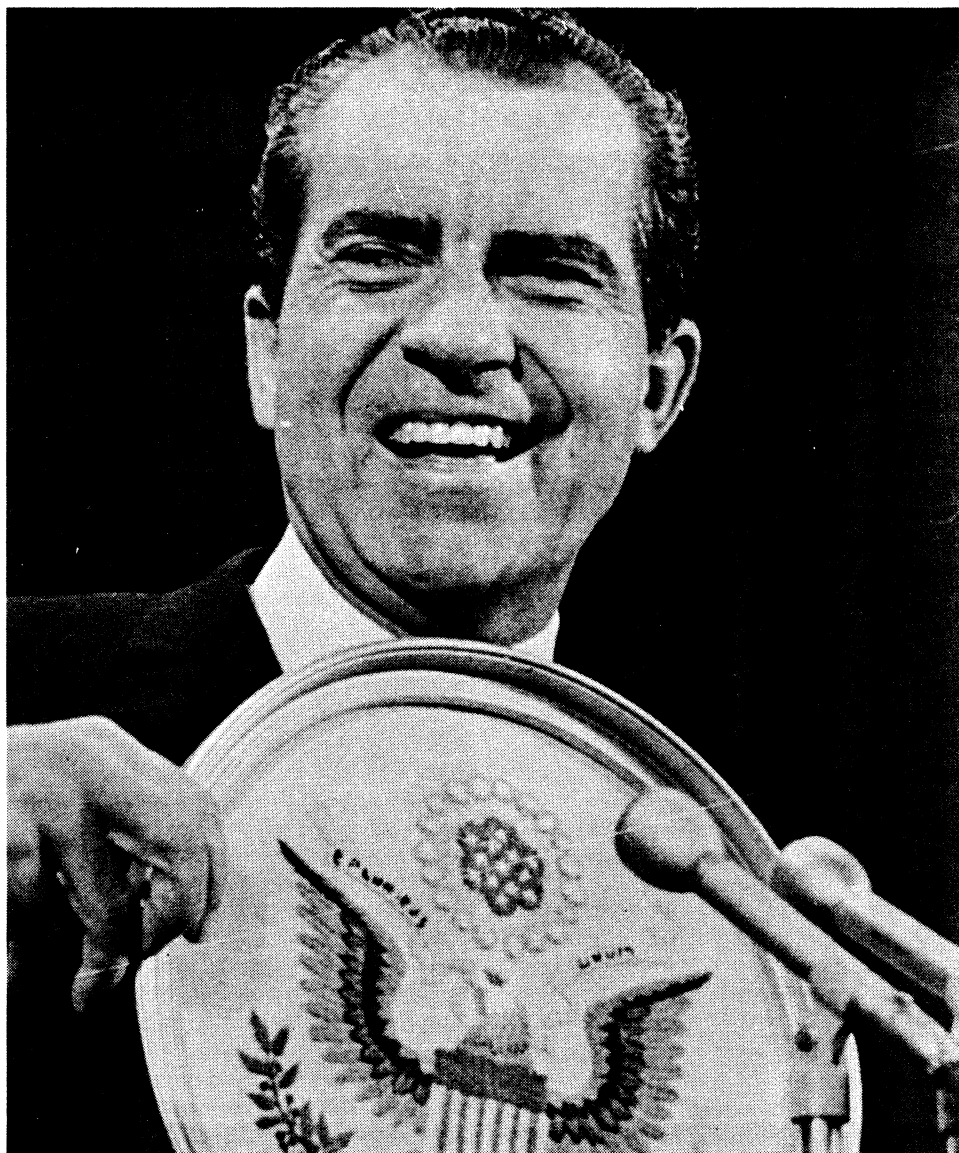
Rinfert could be off — although it should not be forgotten that unemployment figures at close to these levels were "tolerated" during the second "Eisenhower recession" of 1958. What is more important to note is that virtually every economic forecaster agrees that the present unemployment levels will continue through the next year.

On top of this, the administration has begun to consider taking additional steps against wages. The warning signal was first raised in Washington three days after the elections. Edwin L. Dale reported it in the *New York Times*, Nov. 8:

"A top economist in the Nixon administration said today [Nov. 7] that it would be possible to return to essentially full employment by mid-1972 and still make further progress in slowing inflation, *but only if the recent rate of wage increases began to moderate.*

"Herbert Stein, a member of the Council of Economic Advisers . . . said, 'The rate of inflation from this point forward will depend on the rate of wage increase probably more than anything else.'" (Emphasis added.)

The implicit threat of White House



"Did I say that?"

intervention to "moderate" wage increases is underlined. The war caused the inflation in the first place and still is its main cause. Workers have already paid for the war through five years of lowered real wages and higher taxes. Workers are now paying for the war by being forced out of jobs across the nation.

Curb inflation by siphoning off some of the super-war-profits of the capital-

ists? That would never occur to the government in Washington. Their prescription is more of the same. Make the workers pay for the war's destruction by driving some of them out of jobs and then using those jobless as a club to beat back the wages of those still employed. Capitalism is truly a system rigged in every way against all sectors of the population—except the profiteers.

e in every seven persons is on public welfare

burgh. Typical service cuts include garbage collection, recreation programs, health care and maintenance of public buildings such as schools, libraries and museums.

The vast majority of those fired are in "low level" service and clerical jobs such as cleaning women, typists, messengers and sanitation workers. Many are Black or Puerto Rican. Thus the poor are victimized through loss of jobs, increased work loads, de facto



Mayor John Lindsay has volunteered to take a \$1,000 cut in his salary to help the hard-pressed city budget. His salary is \$50,000.

pay reduction, speedup, and reduction of city services.

With continually rising unemployment, those who lose their jobs will have less chance of finding another. Many will go onto the relief rolls where they will remain until there is a real change in the current recession. At the present time *one out of seven people in New York is on welfare!* Many of the fired workers have been welfare recipients for years, and their present jobs are the first decent employment they've ever had.

A 42-year-old father of six had been working as messenger for the Department of Social Services (DSS) for six months. Before that, he had been a boilermaker's helper who never could get more than a few month's work a year and had needed supplementary welfare assistance. He said, "I felt useful. Now I will have to go altogether on welfare."

Mrs. Elaine Wilson, a mother of five, had been receiving relief for 10 years before she got a job last March as record-room clerk for the DSS. She told the *New York Times*: "I've been telling my youngsters to study hard so that they can get jobs when they grow up and won't have to live on charity. What will they think now, when I want to work and the city throws me back on welfare?"

Some of the provisional employees had been in this status for years. One 62-year-old man was "laid off" after 14 years of service.

Conditions for those on welfare in New York have gotten steadily worse over the last few years. "Special grants" for household items and clothing have

been eliminated. These items now must be paid for out of the check.

There is no cost-of-living clause in welfare checks, so there is no protection against rising prices. New York's inflation is among the worst in the nation, increasing at an annual rate of 7.5 percent.

There are fewer living quarters available as "urban renewal" eats into low-cost housing and more rent-controlled buildings are abandoned by their owners. Building code violations are not enforced.

Welfare centers are patrolled by uniformed police armed with clubs to take care of any "troublemakers."

The housing crisis is so bad that over 1,000 families are living in hotels. Since the "better" hotels refuse to accept welfare clients, most of them live in run-down hotels in poor areas. But they are paying more than it would cost to live at the Waldorf—the result of a bilking operation conducted by the city government and the hotel owners.

The city pays an average of \$600 per month and in some cases \$1,200 in rent alone for each family! This rent is considered "emergency" and there is no ceiling on it. Even in "normal" times, the city will approve rent as high as \$250 a month because of the housing crisis.

The growing problems of the cities are being seen in an increasing number of middle-class whites on the relief rolls, who are no longer exempt from unemployment and its accompanying social problems. According to the *New York Times*, whites suffer an "increasing number of family breakups from economic frustrations,

immature marriages and changes in legal and social concepts of responsibility; and increasing out-of-wedlock birth—often related to a tragic tide of drug addiction."

"For the fourth month in a row, the city-wide rise in welfare recipients has far exceeded Mayor Lindsay's budgeting forecast. The rise may have been even faster among non-Puerto Rican whites than among poor Blacks and Puerto Ricans, ordinarily considered the first ones hit by economic troubles."

The job freeze and layoffs in New York come in the middle of negotiations on the contracts of 94,000 city workers which expire Dec. 31. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which represents the majority of city workers and is the largest union in the city, threatened walkouts because they were not consulted by Lindsay before announcement of the layoffs.

Victor Gotbaum, executive director of AFSCME District Council 37, said that "there will be a strike if there are any 'payless paydays' because that is a violation of contract." When questioned on possible action on the layoffs, he said, "You can't get a strike on 500 layoffs."

Gotbaum took a similar position when the city said it would reduce the number of caseworkers from 9,000 to 2,800 in two years. This has now almost been completed and the union did nothing to stop that either. The union's position only makes it easier for the city to victimize the people.

In passing

Comics are undergoing some changes

Three hundred million comic books are sold annually throughout the world. Thus, it should be obvious that comic books, along with television, play a major role in the ideological molding of children and adolescents.

And there are changes going on.

It's being commented upon all over the place. The Nov. 23 *Newsweek* titles its article "Comic Realities." The Oct. 19 *New York* magazine features an article on its cover called "The Radicalization of the Comic Books." The *Wall Street Journal* made its comment earlier this year with a front-page article.

What's happening?

The claim is that the superhero comic books (Superman, Spiderman, Wonder Woman, etc.) have "taken an improbable plunge into relevance and social realism" (*Newsweek*) and are undergoing a "burgeoning radicalization" (*New York*).

Is it true?

Not really. What has happened is not a radicalization, only a *liberalization* brought about under the impact of the youth radicalization.

To illustrate: The December issue of *The Avengers* tells a story on a women's liberation theme. A new female arrival on the scene, the Valkyrie, brings together four other superheroines for a conference. She tells them that she was a brilliant chemist continually being put down by male chauvinists.

In one panel illustrating her tale, she says, "Dr. Erwin, I'd like to ask your opinion on. . . ." And Dr. Erwin replies, "I'm busy, young lady, very busy! If I find I need a secretary, I shall contact you!"

Nevertheless, she worked hard and because of overwork had an accident in the laboratory which

turned her into a superheroine. She immediately decided to dedicate herself to the downfall of male chauvinism.

The Valkyrie convinces the other superheroines that the five male Avengers are "male chauvinist pigs" who must be vanquished. The five women proceed to do so. So far, so good.

But, in the end it turns out that the Valkyrie is actually a fake. She is really the Enchantress, an evil supervillainess who was never actually the victim of male chauvinism but is merely a woman scorned. Her boyfriend ran off with another woman.

This, it turns out, is the real source of her hatred of men. She is subdued. With the superheroines still holding onto a much muted feminism, the superheroes and superheroines make up.

This sort of plot is typical. A seemingly radical theme is set up whose premises are undermined before the story is over.

However, this does not mean that no concessions are made to keep radical kids reading. Whole sections of stories are laid out in such a way as to be virtually unobjectionable to radicals. It is the story as a whole which is liberal and not all of its parts.

Interestingly enough, the liberalization of the superheroes extends, thus far, only minimally into other types of comic books. A few love comics have come out with socially conscious themes, but they are still overwhelmingly purveyors of male chauvinism and reactionary sexual ideology. War comics are still promoting racism and superpatriotism.

And as for the little animals, dig the following plot from the December *Walt Disney's Comics and Stories*:

Donald Duck is working on his superrich Uncle Scrooge's farm. Donald complains bitterly about the hard work. He says, "I wish I had a million dollars so I wouldn't have to work!" and Scrooge replies, "If you want a million dollars, nephew, you gotta work for it! Nobody'll give it to you!"

Meanwhile, Scrooge is storing part of his huge fortune in an immense open-air corn crib. A cyclone develops and empties the corn crib, spreading the money all over the county. People are picking up money all over the place, including Donald. Work stops.

Scrooge alone keeps working on the farm, smiling and unruffled. "So what?" he says. "If I stay here and tend to my beans and pumpkins, I'll get it all back!"

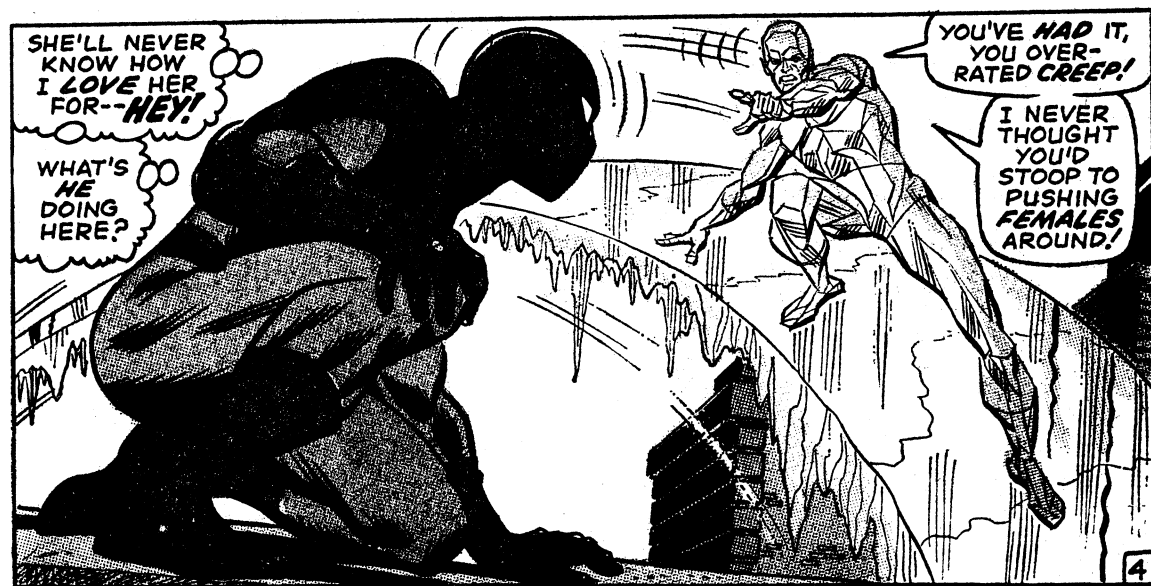
Since no one is working, people begin to starve. Scrooge guards his farm with guns. Desperate, people are forced to pay Scrooge two million dollars for a cabbage and a billion dollars for a ham. Scrooge gets all of his money back and everyone has to go back to work.

The moral, of course, is that things are for the best when only a few people have a lot of money.

If this is not a prime example of the way the little animal comic books feed bourgeois ideology to youngsters, then Karl Marx is Mickey Mouse.

Rather than rely on the mass media comic book producers for a radicalization, it would be better to look elsewhere. The underground comic book industry is booming right now and, for all their many ideological defects, the radical influence on the counterculture comics is without doubt more genuine.

—MALACHI CONSTANT



Film: A look inside world of urban terrorism

By DAVID THORSTAD

"Find a good way to die. Do it well."

This stark admonition from Robert Kramer's film *Ice* suggests both the dignity and the desperation of its protagonists. Though produced nearly two years ago, its release by New Yorker films was certainly timely. For it is a study in urban terrorism.

The United States is waging a war of aggression against Mexico. In an effort to thwart opposition to the war, a police state appears to have been imposed in the U.S. (details on this are scarce). *Ice* follows a collective of urban guerrillas in New York City as they plan and execute a "spring offensive" whose purpose is to test their tactics in preparation for a later national offensive.

We are shown a kaleidoscope of strategy sessions, an attempt by an AWOL GI to join the terrorists, an assassination, a confrontation between a well-to-do couple and their son, the guerrillas making love, hiding out, convincing a sympathizing theater director to add some of their comrades to his troupe, producing

propaganda films, occupying an apartment in Washington Square Village and trying to enlist the support of its residents.

Ice's guerrillas are gentle, determined. They are not without their hang-ups. Sometimes, whether in momentary collisions with each other or in snatches of introspection, their human frailties slice through the surface. These are not the breast-beating, message-sending pop characters some terrorists give the impression of being.

While free-flowing and ample (the film is more than two hours long), *Ice* nevertheless has an internal rhythm. Consisting primarily of the use of thematic and structural contrasts, it is sometimes subtle, at other times jarring.

There is a refined subtlety to the underlying contrast between the personal gentleness of the terrorists and the calculated brutality of their tactics, as well as between the near chaos of their discussions on strategy and the efficiency with which they implement their night of terror.

The structural contrasts make for rougher riding. The understated tone, for instance, is more than once inter-

rupted by the projection or recitation of revolutionary clichés ("We must negate the present in all its forms and build the future," "Armed struggle is the only way to destroy the state," "All power to the people"). And an awkwardly tender love scene abruptly follows a scene of sexual torture that literally knocked the wind out of the audience.

An intriguing ingredient in *Ice* is its handling of the theme of revolt. The initial motivation prompting its terrorists to revolt is personal. "The state was my mommy and daddy and I was a little child," says one. "We're fucking self-indulgent, and that's what's real," says another.

And although they believe that their revolt has helped them overcome their sense of individualism, this belief is largely an illusion. When the hero, Ted, says, "It's interesting to think of your ideas not being your ideas but part of a movement," he does not sound convincing.

Terrorism in *Ice* is an intensely personal affair. It has its own introverted dynamic and momentum. These strike the lonesome book dealer who collaborates with the guerrillas as cockeyed:

"What are you doing? Chasing make-believe police cars. . . . You're all so pathetic and so puppet-like."

An awareness of the oppressiveness of the internal momentum of terrorist activity leads one guerrilla to heroin. And although the scene of him on ice is fleeting and parenthetical, one can hardly suppress a suspicion that terrorist activity—being at once a product of and a desperate reaction against the world "out there"—is a kind of heroin of its own.

The cast is entirely amateur—and anonymous since there are no credits. The acting lends an appropriate newsreel quality to much of the film.

Director Kramer's method is impressionistic, not analytical. Had he written a book instead of making a film, he would have no doubt used no adjectives or conjunctions, just verbs and nouns. His aim is not to weave an intricate tapestry but, catching his subject in patches, to sew them loosely together into a crazy-quilt pattern that is at least as revealing. This method is not only the most suitable for his subject matter. It also makes for exciting viewing.

The Black Panthers, an assessment (III)

Need for a transitional program for struggle

By DERRICK MORRISON
(Third of a series)

The Black Panther Party reflects, in a way, the thinking and aspirations of a whole layer of revolutionary-minded Black youth.

Brought to awareness by the Black uprisings in Watts, Newark, and Detroit, increasing numbers of Black youth have concluded that a revolution is needed to end racial oppression in the United States. These youth—students, young workers, GIs—see capitalism as the main obstacle on the road to Black self-determination.

The empirical evidence for this conclusion lies in the continued deterioration of the Black condition in the United States, along with the growing momentum toward revolution in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

But while this ideological motion grows and deepens, the question becomes one of how to untie the Gordian knot of revolution, how to go about winning the masses of Black people to a revolutionary perspective. If one is unable to answer this question, then any idea of revolution in the United States becomes simply a pipe dream, a romantic and utopian notion. This is the plight of the Black Panther Party.

In the pamphlet entitled *A Transitional Program for Black Liberation* (a document adopted at the 1969 convention of the Socialist Workers Party), it is pointed out that the problem of many revolutionary-minded youth is that "they do not yet see clearly how to link struggles for the pressing immediate needs of Black people with the revolutionary goal of overturning the whole racist capitalist system. In their search for an answer to this difficult problem they swing from one extreme to the other without finding a logical and practical connection between the two ends."

The "logical and practical connection between the two ends" is a program, or set of demands, that bridges the chasm between the immediate struggles of Black people and the need for the revolutionary overhauling of this society. As was explained in the last article, such a set of demands, based upon and flowing out of mass mobilizations, is known as a transitional program. A transitional program couples the general goal of revolution with the task of what has to be done now, today.

This point was also made by Robert L. Allen, in his book *Black Awakening in Capitalist America*. Analyzing the development of the Black Panther Party, Allen wrote: "Revolutionary rhetoric is no substitute for a thorough radical analysis upon which a program can be constructed. Both SNCC and the Panthers tried to provide an analysis, but because of the uncertainties and ambivalences of their own leaders, the basic content varied from month to month, sometimes even contradicting previous formulations.

"The Panthers produced the beginnings of a full program (the 'Ten Point Program'), and while this was of great importance, it was only incidentally tied in with a specific analysis and strategy. Hence, the continuing main task for the Black radical is to construct an interlocked analysis, program, and strategy which offers Black people a realistic hope of achieving liberation."

And in the final chapter on program, strategy and tactics, Allen writes, "it is necessary for the Black liberation movement to devise a transitional program, which will operate until such time as conditions develop that will make possible full liberation

through social revolution. This program must be aimed at building a mass revolutionary organization, and it must facilitate community development and offer constructive interim reforms. . . .

"What is called for is an independent Black political party capable of providing militant leadership. To the degree that the proposed party is successful in implementing the program sketched above, it will grow in strength and experience, gradually establishing itself as the effective governing power of Black America. . . .

"With respect to encounters with white America, a Black party should not rely on exclusively legal campaigns, nor should it restrict itself to all-out street warfare. Instead it must devise a strategy of calculated confrontation, using a mixture of tactics to fit a variety of contingencies. The object of this strategy should be to abolish, by any means necessary, the real control of white society over the Black community, and to extract needed reforms. Tactical innovation should be the order of the day, and anything workable goes—dependent on specific conditions and the relation of forces—from legal struggle, to electoral politics, to direct action campaigns, to force. . . .

"Under the aegis of a militant political party—a party which acts not as an occasional vote-getting machine but as a continuously functioning governing instrumentality—diverse activities, from efforts to establish rank-and-file labor union caucuses to struggles for community control of the schools, can assume a cohesiveness and meaning, independent of their immediate success or failure. Within the framework of the party, these activities can become integrated into a unified strategy for winning Black self-determination. Over the long run, they could well become the individual building blocks of social revolution in America."

Allen's analysis falls in line with the thoughts and actions of Brother Malcolm X. With the publication of the book *By Any Means Necessary*, it becomes clear that Malcolm was about getting together an independent Black political organization on the basis of a transitional program of struggle.

This is what comes through in any reading of the "Statement of Basic Aims and Objectives of the Organization of Afro-American Unity." This program encompasses everything from armed self-defense to the Black cultural revolution. It is a program based on struggling for self-determination by any means necessary.

Instead of just rapping about oppression, Malcolm was beginning to act against oppression. He was beginning to become seriously involved in the day-to-day struggles of Black people, particularly the civil rights movement of that time, with the perspective of providing an alternative leadership. This possibility, that of an organized mass Black nationalist movement, haunted the American rulers. The domestic and foreign policies of this government would be greatly hampered if Black people became organized on an independent basis. Malcolm and the OAAU contributed much to the exposure of the criminal U.S. intervention in the Congo in November 1964. In this same period, Malcolm also began to campaign against the war in Vietnam.

The implications of Malcolm's activities was what moved the U.S. government to finally assassinate him, to try and nip in the bud any potential Black mass leadership and organization.



Black student struggle at City College of New York in spring of 1969 helped link student struggle to that of Black community by raising transitional demand for community control of education.

Because of the lack of that Black mass leadership and organization, the North American capitalist rulers continue to control the Black community—through the Democratic and Republican parties, government antipoverty programs, the Ford Foundation, and other agencies of capitalist domination.

Malcolm was attempting to destroy the rule of the biggest agent of the ruling class in the Black community, the Democratic Party, and this is what the building of an independent Black party would accomplish. The Black agents of the Democratic Party—the Stokes', Hatcher's, Dellums', Conyers', Chisholms, and others of this ilk—would not survive in the face of a mass Black party.

The biggest irony of the day is that in spite of everything that went down between Watts and Detroit, the number of Black Democrats has increased immeasurably! That is, the machinery of the oppressor is being fortified and renewed, not torn down and destroyed.

This is happening because revolutionary-minded nationalists have not posed any alternative to these con men and sellout artists of various stripes. The reformists lead and at the same time sell out the massive struggles for Black jobs on construction sites, the struggle for community control of the schools, the struggle for welfare rights, the struggle to end the war in Vietnam, and so on and so on.

Witness the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Back in the summer of 1969, SCLC's Operation Breadbasket in Chicago led Black demonstrations demanding 10,000 jobs on construction sites. Several sites in the Black community and elsewhere were closed down. More and more

Blacks were joining the actions.

But as soon as Mayor Richard Daley feigned sympathy for the demands, SCLC called off the protests to sit down and negotiate with Daley and the construction bosses.

Protracted discussions, backed up with no action, led to a whittling away of the demands. In the final agreement, 4,000 jobs were granted after the demand for community participation in the hiring of the workers was dropped. And even these jobs evaporated over a period of time.

SCLC thought they had, and still think they have, friends and influence in the Democratic Party. That is why the object of any mass mobilization they initiate is simply to create a better bargaining position inside the Democratic Party.

Thus, the Black reformists' weeds grow unchecked because revolutionary-minded nationalists have abdicated the arena of mass struggle. There was no attempt by the Chicago Panther Party to become part of the leadership of the construction site protests, in this way creating an alternative leadership to press for continuation of the mass mobilizations, in the wake of negotiations, until the demands were met.

Nor have the Panthers attempted to create a mass Black antiwar movement to link up with the growing mobilizations amongst Black GIs.

It will be out of the mass actions and organizations created over the issues of Vietnam, the Arab revolution, Black women's liberation, the Black university, and other related issues of the struggle for self-determination, that the militants will be assembled for the launching of a party.

(Last of a series)

'He deserves a better book'

A biography of Karl Radek



Karl Radek

Karl Radek, The Last Internationalist. By Warren Lerner. Stanford University Press, 1970. 240 pp. \$7.95.

Something the revolutionary movement needs more of is biographical and autobiographical literature about leading and representative figures in the radical and working-class movements.

One reason we need it is that some people begin to learn about politics and revolution through their interest in and identification with particular figures of the present or past. An increase of literature designed to satisfy this interest would aid education and recruitment.

Even radicals who are already past the beginning stage of their education can benefit from the lessons, positive and negative, organizational and theoretical, to be drawn from honest and objective accounts of the lives of men and women active in the revolutionary movements of present and previous generations.

The reasons for this shortage vary. Some are entirely subjective. Many revolutionaries have thought it improper to write about themselves. It took a while before Leon Trotsky was persuaded to write *My Life*, and he

might never have done it at all if he had not been expelled from the Soviet Communist Party and from the USSR itself.

For Soviet biographers, Stalinist domination also had an inhibiting influence. Stalin's school of falsification made it dangerous to even mention certain former leaders, let alone write accurate books about them. A great deal of valuable historical and documentary material was seized by the secret police and locked away or destroyed. So the country that should have produced more of this literature than any other (because it had more resources and manpower to do so) actually blocked such production by withholding papers and data collected all over Europe.

There are other reasons: For example, an incorrect conception of revolutionary politics makes it difficult for most parties and movements to admit errors, even of the past; they prefer to gloss over them, and they discourage their members from writing about them, even as historical material, even when questions of security no longer exist.

The political evolution of individuals, of their political retrogression, also plays a part. A memoir of the

Russian revolutionary movement written by George Plekhanov in 1900, when he was still a revolutionary, would be quite different from one written by him in 1917, when he had gone over to the other side of the barricades.

Anyhow, as a result of these and other factors, biographical literature about important people in the revolutionary movement has fallen largely into the hands of writers who are not in the revolutionary movement themselves, especially academics.

The results are mixed, at best. Many of these books are marked by a glaring lack of sympathy for their subject or, worse, by a lack of understanding. While their authors claim to be more objective than political activists—naturally—they too often have some ax to grind.

About most of these books it can be said: You usually learn things you didn't know before about the subject of the biography, but along the way you have to put up with so many irritating or obnoxious passages that it is difficult to recommend the book to politically inexperienced readers. That certainly can be said about the book under consideration here, written by Warren Lerner, a history professor at Duke University.

In this, the first book-length study of Karl Radek (1885-1939), Lerner has gathered together the known information about the revolutionary years of Radek's activity—in the left wing of the Second International before the Russian Revolution, in the leadership staff of the Communist International during Lenin's time, in the Left Opposition against Stalinism until Trotsky was deported in 1929; and about Radek's last decade, when he capitulated to Stalinism and became an apologist for the Soviet bureaucracy, until he was purged in the 1937 Moscow trial.

For this information, and for the list of Radek's writings (most of which have not been translated), those who are interested in Radek can be grateful. But that's about all. As an interpreter, Lerner has nothing to offer.

The subtitle (*The Last Internationalist*) is an example of how fatuous he can be. And here is the level of his understanding of the theory of permanent revolution: "Radek opposed Trotsky's attempt to apply the theory of permanent revolution in China; whatever the case had been in Russia in 1917, China in 1927 was not ready for a conspiratorial coup at the national level."

The picture of Radek that emerges from Lerner's book is lopsided in different directions. He belittles Radek's integrity during his revolutionary period, but he fails to explain why, if Radek was such a careerist and op-

portunist from the beginning, he joined the opposition against Stalinism at a time when all the careerists were flocking to Stalin. On the other side, he overcredits Radek on certain issues, as when he wrongly attributes to him major responsibility for formulating the tactic of the united front.

Radek was not one of the top leaders of twentieth century Marxism. But he was one of its most talented and effective journalists and propagandists, whose whole adult life (except for his last decade) was dedicated to the cause of revolutionary internationalism. He deserves a better book.

That last decade was indeed humiliating and shameful, although stronger revolutionaries than Radek were broken morally by Stalin's machine before being destroyed physically. In fact, if you stop to make a count of the number of people in this century who started out as revolutionaries and didn't go sour, you realize what enormous pressure opponents of this system function under.

On the other hand, history has shown that revolutions can be made successfully by less than perfect human beings. There has never been a revolutionary leadership as competent as that of the Bolsheviks in 1917, but even they might have botched the job had it not been for Lenin's decisive leadership role.

Moreover, these things are relative. What is needed is not a revolutionary leadership of supermen and superwomen (always in short supply), but a leadership team superior in intelligence, determination and courage to that of the enemy.

Nixon. Agnew. Muskie. Humphrey. Kennedy. Wallace. Lindsay. Reagan. Thurmond. Reading this roll makes it obvious that the other side has bigger leadership problems.

—GEORGE BREITMAN

EDITORIAL

Significance of the Mandel case

The continuing U.S. ban on Belgian Marxist scholar Ernest Mandel is a component of the Nixon administration's assault on academic freedom and the right to dissent. More than one year after Attorney General John Mitchell imposed this ban, Mandel is still being prevented from entering the United States.

The ban was invoked last October to prevent Mandel from debating Harvard professor John Kenneth Galbraith in an open forum at Stanford University. Mandel had also been invited to speak at a number of eastern universities at that time.

This ban represents a menacing attempt to revive the closed-door provisions of the witch-hunting McCarran-Walter Act of 1952. Added efforts must be taken to thwart the Nixon administration in this project.

Recent stepped-up attacks by the administration and its spokesmen on the student movement and the academic community lend an added import to this fight.

The ban has evoked significant protest. The New York Times was moved to call it "an incredible example of autocratic insensitivity" and a "triumph of police over diplomacy, of fear over freedom and of ideological rigidity over democratic common sense."

Eight prominent American scholars, represented by noted constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin, filed suit last March to restrain the government from barring Mandel from the country. The scholars, who include MIT linguist Noam Chomsky and Robert Heilbroner of the New School for Social Research, contend that they are being denied their democratic right to hear the opinions of scholars in their fields. A ruling by a three-judge federal court on their suit is expected soon.

The case was initiated by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee with the support of the American Foundation for Social Justice and the Socialist Scholars Conference.

Funds are urgently needed if the fight against this repressive ban is to be successful. Contributions should be sent to the Mandel Case Legal Defense Fund—NECLC, Room 913, 25 E. 26th St., New York, N.Y. 10010.

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Community control fight mounts at Merritt

By PETER GRAUMANN

OAKLAND, Calif. — At a meeting of the Peralta Junior College District trustees, over 250 Merritt College faculty and students won passage of motions Nov. 2 in favor of canceling the closing of Merritt and establishing community control of the present and any proposed campus site.

Opposition has been building ever since Merritt College students learned that their campus was going to be closed in the Flatlands and opened up in the Hills.

(The Flatlands is that area of Oakland which includes the majority of the Black and Chicano communities. The Hills are mostly populated by prosperous whites.)

At the beginning of the quarter, there was widespread organization by students, faculty, and the community to prevent the closing of our present campus on Grove Street at the end of the year.

At an Oct. 20 meeting of the Peralta Board of Trustees, which has administrative powers for Merritt College and three other colleges in the area, a statement read by a representative of the People's Committee for the Defense of Merritt elaborated a history of the present situation.

Beginning in 1965, a \$47-million bond issue was floated by the board with the provision that the money be used to build four campuses, including one in the Flatlands. Since that time, money was spent to build three campuses — Alameda, Laney, and the Hill campus — with no initiation, let alone construction, of the Flatlands campus.

Although the board keeps talking about its commitment to a future fourth campus, nothing is being done.

The board claims that the present Merritt campus has to be closed down because the lease on the land, owned by the Oakland public schools, has already expired. Yet the lease remains good till March 31, 1971. And according to the sources, since the Oak-

land public schools have no immediate need for the land, there would be no problem in getting the lease extended.

The board also maintains that Merritt has been declared unsafe under the earthquake-proofing provisions of California's Field Act. But the Field Act was passed in 1934, and the Merritt campus on Grove Street has been operating for 17 years. So it would seem most hypocritical to raise these violations now. If these violations do exist, then the Flatlands campus should have been the first one built.

The statement also brought out the contradiction of trying to fit the 10,000 students presently at Merritt into the Hill campus, which has accommodations for only 5,000 students. As the statement elaborates, "We are not so foolish that we can ignore the political realities of the situation. In 1965, no more than 10 percent of Merritt's students were Black. Today, the overwhelming majority are Third World. The Merritt College community is a Black, disadvantaged region that prides itself on providing its children and working adults with easy access to a wide number of programs. The great majority of Merritt's students live right here in the community. It is utterly ridiculous to believe that Merritt on the Hill was intended to serve this community."

"Superintendent Dunn told the board, way back in May of 1965, before the bond issue, that the 125-acre property of the Hill site is well-situated to serve the East Oakland and Hill areas. That sort of leaves us out, doesn't it? We are not blind to the fact that the rich, white inhabitants of the skyline hills will not take kindly to the invasion of any number of Third World people. Why do they live up there in the first place?"

"We do not have to be reminded of the prospect of police harassment every single day. In fact, this has already happened to Merritt students going up to look at 'their' new campus. The cost, and especially the time



At Oakland Chicano Moratorium July 26

of transportation, will surely eliminate all those students who must depend on part-time employment to exist while going to school. They will simply be spending all their time going to and from the Hill campus. The not-so-accidental result of all these factors is the exclusion of Third World students, either from subtle interferences or out-and-out restrictions."

After the statement was read, the board asked that the students and faculty form a committee to make "recommendations" to its Nov. 2 meeting.

On Oct. 22, the Merritt College Faculty Senate met and passed two resolutions: 1) that it support community demands for keeping the present facilities at Grove Street in operation until such time as the fourth community college can be fully operative either in the vicinity of the Grove Street campus or at the same location; 2) that beginning with the fiscal year 1971, funds for the operation of any fourth campus in the area of North Oakland or Berkeley or Albany (three areas in the Flatlands) be drawn from the total Peralta District operational funds because of the initial commitment of the board to a fourth college.

On Oct. 23, the ad hoc committee that was to make recommendations to the Board of Trustees met. It was made up of administrators, board members, community people, faculty and students.

This meeting passed three resolutions. The first two were the same as the above adopted by the Faculty Senate. The third was as follows: Community control — that the present Flatlands campus of Merritt College at this or any future site after construction be controlled by the community; by 'community' we mean students, faculty, staff, administrators, and community people.

On Oct. 24, over 350 community people, faculty, and students met to solidarize around the three resolutions. Out of this meeting came the Organizing Committee for a Community-Controlled Flatlands Campus. The OCCFC is a coalition of the Black Student Union, Black Veteran Association, Chicano Student Union, People's Committee for the Defense of Merritt, Black Panther Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and the Socialist Workers Party.

The following is a statement on com-

munity control by the OCCFC. "Rationale. It is the democratic right of people to control the educational institutions within their own community. Although locally elected boards of education run school districts throughout the country, that same right of democratic control through elected boards is generally denied to Third World communities, whose education is invariably controlled by white people. The contrary is never the case. There are no Third World people controlling the education of entire white communities. When we demand community control we are merely insisting that we in the Third World communities be able to exercise that same democratic right that is guaranteed to the white community."

"Community control is the most democratic way of running a school. With community control, the interests of those most affected by the education that is offered are represented in the decisions that are made about that education. Community control is also the most effective means of meeting the needs of the people concerned about their education. The concept of community colleges is valid only if they are controlled by the communities that they serve. Otherwise that name is only a farce."

In terms of how community control would be implemented or structured, the OCCFC states that "the highest authority would be the mass community meeting." Under this body would exist a democratically elected council, composed of 50 percent students, 30 percent faculty and staff, and 20 percent community. "It would have complete control of funds, resources, facilities, and education, including the right to exercise all those powers normally held by the Board of Trustees regarding the operation of the college."

Decisions of the council would be based on simple majority vote and immediate recall of representatives by the bodies that elected them. "The entire council and its decisions are subject to immediate recall by the community."

In the wake of the board's decision in favor of the three resolutions, the next step in the struggle is to organize the campus and community in preparation for taking over the authority now possessed by the Peralta board.

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Tom Kerry, leader of the Socialist Workers Party, labels the recent elections "a new low in two-party politics," and explains how the two capitalist parties in the U.S. maintain their political monopoly.

Revolutionary nationalists in Quebec propose "an independent, socialist Quebec." The causes and evolution of the nationalist movement are analyzed in this resolution on self-determination for Quebec.

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What Militant subscription campaign showed

By BARRY SHEPPARD

As was reported last week, the campaign to win 15,000 new readers for *The Militant* was not only completed on time, but the momentum of the last few weeks of the drive carried it well over the top.

The target of 15,000 new readers was the highest of any *Militant* subscription drive since 1945, when over 22,000 were sold. Last spring, for example, *Militant* supporters sold 7,500 new subscriptions, which itself was then the largest such campaign since 1945.

The success of the just-concluded Sept. 15-Nov. 15 "blitz" was indicated not only by the impressive final figure of new subscriptions sold, but in other ways as well. First, there was the geographical distribution of *Militant* sub-getters, the most extensive in the history of the paper.

In 1945, there were 23 cities where *Militant* salespeople functioned. In last fall's subscription drive, people in 41 cities accepted quotas. During the spring of this year, 55 cities were listed on the scoreboard. In the just-complete drive, there were 87 cities

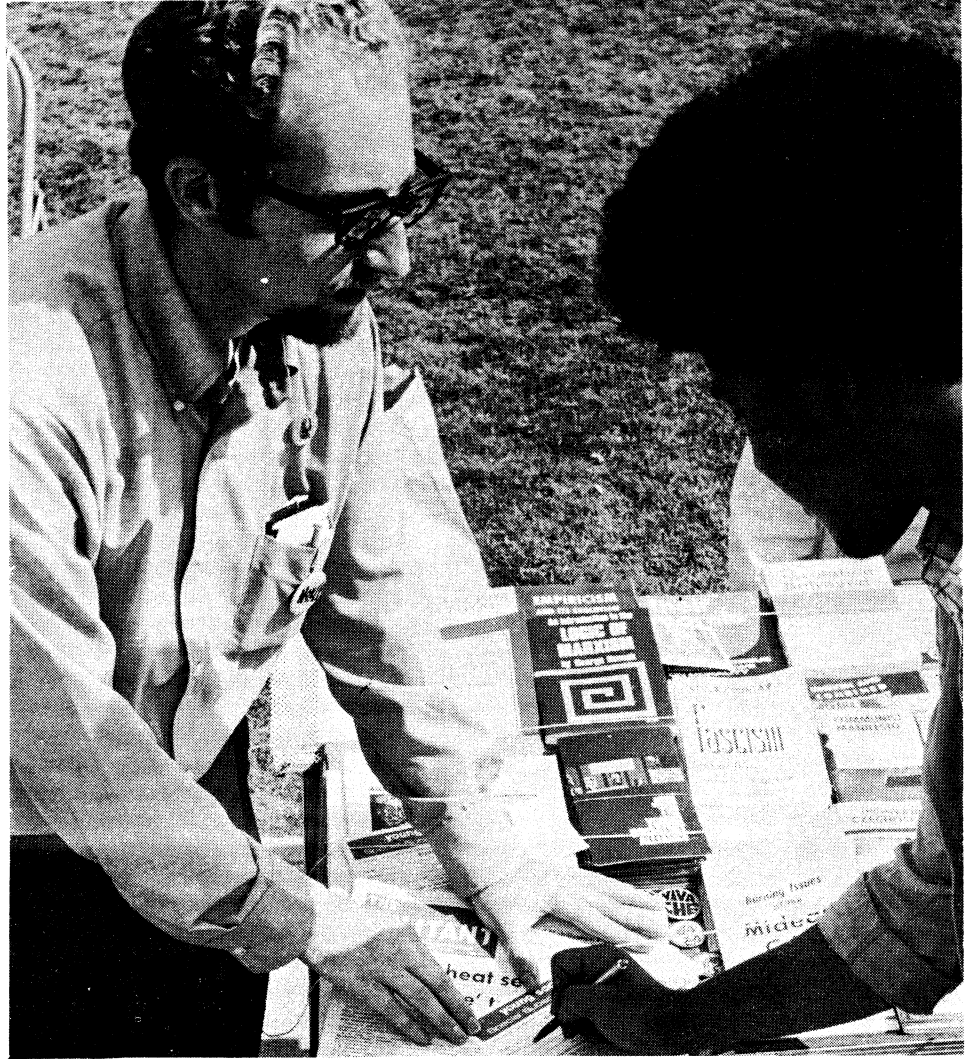
where *Militant* supporters took quotas and sold subscriptions! Of these, supporters in 65 cities sold more than 50 percent of their quotas, and 45 made their quotas or went over.

Part of the reason for this widening of the geographical distribution of active *Militant* salespeople is the expansion of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance into new areas.

The branches and locals of the SWP and YSA are the key supporters of *The Militant*, but an important aspect of this subscription drive was the number of *Militant* readers who are not members of the SWP or YSA who joined in the subscription effort. Over 50 such people did so. While many live in cities which have SWP or YSA units, others do not, and this accounts for the remaining new cities.

Another important feature of the campaign was that it was combined with an effort to increase the circulation of the *International Socialist Review*, the theoretical magazine of revolutionary socialism. The *ISR* campaign was conducted on the basis of an experiment: persons who bought subscriptions to *The Militant* were asked if they would also like to receive an introductory subscription to the *ISR*. It was estimated that possibly one out of six new *Militant* readers would be so inclined, and accordingly a goal of 2,500 new *ISR* subscriptions was projected. While this was not quite reached, with 2,325 new subscriptions sold, the experiment was essentially a success.

Besides participating in the effort for the *ISR*, *Militant* supporters were simultaneously involved in many other areas of revolutionary politics, from building the antiwar and women's liberation movements to campaigning for socialist candidates, and a lot more besides. Integrating the subscription campaign into all this work required careful organization and leadership, especially in the SWP and YSA branches and locals.



Top *Militant* sub-getter in this campaign was Steve "Blitz" Bloom, shown here warming up in a previous drive. The final results of the top six sub-getters this time were: Steve Bloom, New York, 160; Syd Stapleton, Cleveland, 151; Bill Rayson, Chicago, 150; Natalie Harary, New York, 142; Dean Reed, Santa Cruz, 122; and Judi Coren, Los Angeles, 114.

One of the lessons of this drive was that the job of increasing the circulation of *The Militant* must be considered as an integral part of all the work of building the revolutionary-socialist movement. In general, this was understood—and the understanding was acted upon—in almost all areas. Second, when there is a big job to be done like this drive, it is important to approach it on an organized, highly concentrated campaign basis. The fact that this was done, especially in the final weeks of the drive, assured its success.

When the drive for 15,000 new *Militant* readers was projected at the Oberlin conference of revolutionary socialists last August, there were three important considerations made in projecting that goal. First, there was the estimation that the country is going through a process of deepening radicalization that extends to every nook and cranny and region of the country. That meant that objectively there were many more people becoming interested in radical ideas who would read a revolutionary Marxist paper like *The Militant*.

Second, was the need to expand the circulation of the paper commensurate with the radicalization. *The Militant* plays a key role in the building of the revolutionary-socialist movement. It ties together all of our work, educates us and the broader radical movement, and is our most important means of active intervention in the political struggle on all fronts.

Third, in addition to the possibility for obtaining a big increase in the paper's circulation, and the political need to do so, the recent growth of the revolutionary-socialist movement meant that the forces existed which could successfully carry out a drive like the one projected.

Obviously, the same considerations lead to the conclusion that the fall 1970 subscription drive is really only a beginning. The continued deepening of the radicalization and the continued growth of the SWP and YSA mean that

we must set our sights on further significant increases in the circulation of *The Militant*.

The objective we should set ourselves is to not only outstrip all competitors in both the quality and circulation of the paper, but to make of *The Militant* a mass socialist weekly. The just-completed drive was an essential, if modest, step toward this goal.



Photo by B. R. Washington

PERFORMED. The Party Mothers, Roger Rudenstein and Marc Rich, provided musical fare at opening celebration of new New York SWP and YSA hall at 706 Broadway. Food, according to a UPI dispatch, "was far from proletarian. The menu offered avocado cocktail, coq au vin, potatoes duchess, petit pois, wine and baba au rhum." George Novack provided a participant's account of N. Y. SWP moves over the years. Excerpts from his remarks are slated for a coming issue.

Final figures on sub 'blitz'

Last week we reported that the drive for 15,000 subscriptions had been completed . . . in full and on time.

We then had received 15,776 subscriptions. Since then we've received 268 additional subs for a total of 16,044 subscriptions sold this fall. San Diego, Calif., Yonkers, N. Y., East Lansing, Mich., and Mission Viejo, Calif., completed their quotas during the week, bringing the total of the areas which made or went over 100 percent up to 45.

Starsky under new attack

By BERNIE SENTER

SAN DIEGO—Last June 10, the Arizona State University Board of Regents overruled two academic committees as well as the president of Arizona State University and fired Professor Morris J. Starsky for his socialist views and activities. Professor Starsky immediately filed a \$1.2-million damage and reinstatement suit against the regents. A hearing in federal court to determine whether the suit should be dismissed as requested by the regents is scheduled for later this year.

Meanwhile, Starsky accepted a temporary, one-year appointment to the philosophy department at San Diego State College.

Starsky recently was invited to speak on "The Student Movement and Social Revolution" at the Southwestern Revolutionary Conference sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and the *International Socialist Review* in Los Angeles over the Thanksgiving weekend.

On Dec. 1, the following editorial appeared in the right-wing *San Diego Union*:

"Ordinarily the administrators of San Diego State College and the institution's Board of Trustees would not pay much attention to a banquet speaker extolling the forty-second anniversary of *The Militant*—the Social-

ist Workers Party newspaper.

"We hope that they did last weekend. The speaker was Morris J. Starsky, a dedicated Marxist who was fired from Arizona State University for his active advocacy of far-left causes.

"Mr. Starsky, now a philosophy professor at San Diego State College, evidently has not changed his stripes. We suggest to San Diego State officials that they consider him a prime candidate for the Arizona treatment."

This editorial is a direct attempt to interfere with Professor Starsky's right to advocate socialist ideas. It is also an attempt to undermine the traditional political autonomy of public colleges and universities in hiring faculty and to restrict the political views held by the faculty.

This amounts to a political test for public employment. If the reactionary forces succeed in denying faculty members the right to express views that do not conform with the prevailing ideology, then no faculty member is safe from political harassment and ultimate loss of his or her job.

Professor Starsky is considering taking legal action against the *San Diego Union*. Meanwhile, letters of protest should be sent to President Malcolm Love, San Diego State College, San Diego, Calif. 92115. Copies should be sent to the *San Diego Union* and to Professor Starsky.

Unresolved issues in Canadian GM strike

By FRANK LOVELL

Members of the United Auto Workers Ford Council were called to a meeting in Detroit Dec. 7, signaling the signing of a new contract with the Ford Motor Company along the lines of the General Motors-UAW pact.

The 400,000 GM workers in the U.S. struck Sept. 14 and began returning to work Nov. 23. But 22,100 UAW members at seven GM plants in Canada, unable to reach agreement with GM of Canada, remained on strike.

A settlement with Ford is possible now because Ford of Canada, like GM of Canada, negotiates a separate contract with the UAW. However, the Chrysler Corporation, unlike GM and Ford, has a single contract covering both its U.S. and Canadian workers. This complicates further negotiations with Chrysler, which are stalled by the Canadian impasse and can affect a possible Ford settlement if UAW members decide to support the demands of their Canadian brothers when the Dec. 7 strike deadline against Ford is reached.

The main issue in Canada is wage parity with U.S. workers. This was established in the 1967 negotiations when the UAW and the auto industry agreed to bring Canadian wages up to the level paid in the U.S.

The parity issue was then strongly fought for by the UAW because of the 1965 trade agreement between the U.S. and Canada allowing the auto monopoly to freely exchange parts and products across the international border. Under these circumstances, with Canadian auto workers earning an average 43 cents per hour less than was paid in the U.S., the UAW leadership demanded equal pay. It was supported in this demand by the New

Democratic Party of Canada, a labor party sponsored by the Canadian unions.

NDP spokesmen in the Canadian parliament declared their support of equal pay for equal work and opposition to monopoly price-fixing in the auto industry.

Chrysler was the first to sign "in principle" the wage parity agreement. It was accepted by General Motors but never respected.

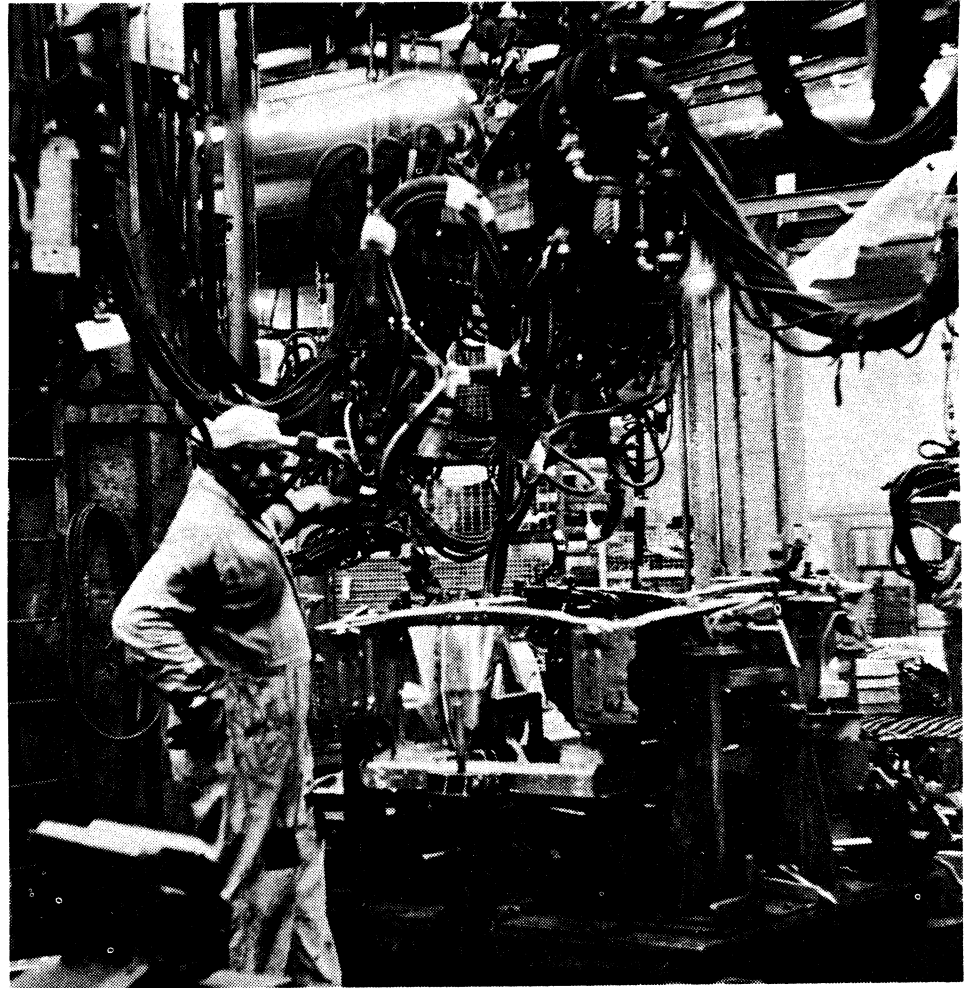
As the parity agreement was interpreted by GM, the Canadian workers had to forego eight cents an hour due them in the 1967 round of bargaining because the Canadian cost-of-living figures were higher than in the U.S. Spokesmen for GM argued then that parity in base wages would put Canadian workers' paychecks, in terms of inflated currency, ahead of GM workers in the U.S.

Inflation has now taken a greater toll in the U.S. than in Canada, and the UAW now demands that the wage scale remain the same on both sides of the border.

The personnel director of GM of Canada, A. G. Stapleton, balks at this. He says this means an "increase in wages that the Canadian cost-of-living does not justify and will undermine the Canadian government's economic program."

Dennis McDermott, UAW vice-president and Canadian director, answers that "What was good for GM in 1967 is fine for the UAW in 1970." He explains that "It is only fair and obvious that under wage parity if Canadian rates cannot exceed American rates, neither can they fall below."

The Chrysler Corporation says it is not ready to sign a new contract until this matter of wage parity is settled with GM. Meanwhile, Douglas



Inside a Detroit auto plant

Photo by Fifth Estate/LNS

Fraser, UAW vice-president in charge of negotiations with Chrysler, announced that there would be no settlement at Chrysler until the GM of Canada strike is settled.

Other unresolved issues in the GM Canadian strike is recognition of the right to strike over production standards during the life of the agreement — a right clearly established in UAW

contracts for U.S. workers — and the union demand that French be the working language at GM's Ste. Therese plant where 95 percent of the workers are French-speaking.

While GM holds out against the Canadian strikers, it announced Nov. 24 a \$24 price boost to be added to the \$245 hike it set on each car Sept. 24.

The national picket line

Gov't, mine operators ignore safety legislation

In 1969, Congress enacted health and safety legislation protecting the health of miners and affecting coal mine operations. President Nixon hesitated but eventually signed the new law when miners began leaving the pits.

This law is violated with impunity by the mine operators and systematically ignored by government agencies.

One of the most cruel examples is the refusal of the Social Security Administration to pay benefits to victims of black lung.

Miners in West Virginia and Kentucky are involved in protest actions, but have not yet begun to close down mines to force federal agencies to abide by the law.

A Nov. 26 dispatch from Horse Creek, Ky., to *The Washington Post* tells of a protest action, organized by the Clay County Poor People's Association, charging government officials with violation of the law.

Attorneys for the Appalachian Research and Defense Fund support the charges that miners are lied to about benefits due them under the law, subjected to rigged medical tests which hide the extent of the black lung disease, and refused payment of disability benefits by the simple device of refusing to hire enough doctors, social workers, and clerks to process black lung claims.

The United Mine Workers has taken no effective action for law enforcement in this flagrant violation case.

gress was enactment of the occupational safety and health law sponsored by two New Jersey Democrats — "friends of labor" — Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. and Representative Dominick V. Daniels.

John J. Sheehan, legislative director of the United Steelworkers, thought the health and safety bill had a good chance of enactment because its sponsors are chairmen of the House and Senate Labor Subcommittees, and in addition, are indebted to the union movement for their reelection. Senator Williams got \$200,000 from unions for his campaign last November. Daniels, from Jersey City, could not have been reelected without AFL-CIO endorsement.

These solons dutifully went through the motions, Nov. 24, of bringing their bill to a vote in both houses of Congress, where it was defeated.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce opposed it and organized support behind a watered-down administration-sponsored substitute.

An unnamed congressman who voted against the Williams-Daniels bill was quoted in the Nov. 27 *New York Times* as saying, "I think all of us were simply voting our allegiance to labor or management."

All claims of "labor success" in the recent Nov. 3 election do not alter the fact that any Congress of Democrats and Republicans will vote "allegiance to management" whenever such a test comes.

Harold F. Hammond, president of the Transportation Association of America, an organization representing the interests of transportation compa-

nies and investors, was "shocked and dismayed" when AFL-CIO president George Meany recently suggested that the time may have come for the nationalization of the U.S. railroads. Hammond said he found it difficult "to place much credibility in a statement from someone (Meany) who says he is very much in favor of free enterprise one moment and in favor of nationalization the next."

Meany had said, "I am very much in favor of free enterprise, but free enterprise has its limitations."

Taylor Sloop, executive secretary of the Railway Labor Executives Association, explained what Meany really meant. According to Sloop, "It looks as if Meany has shaken up management a bit. If that's true, his statement may lead railroads to change their ways and avoid nationalization."

Such exchanges reflect the renewed interest of government, rail management, and union bureaucrats in rail transportation.

Railroad workers at this stage are interested mostly in lifting their low average wage of \$3.68 per hour up to the union standard for most industrial workers — around \$5. They also want a cost-of-living escalator clause as protection against inflation. They are against changes in the working rules and safety regulations the railroad companies are trying to put through to eliminate more jobs.

A national railroad strike is possible Dec. 10.

The first foreign-owned steel mill in the United States is located in Georgetown, S.C., a cheap-labor, "right-to-work" state. Its German owners, Korf Industries, refused to bargain after the

United Steelworkers won an NLRB election last April.

About 500 workers struck the \$30-million "mini-steel" plant August 15. The strike attracted nationwide attention when a strike rally at the Bethel Methodist Church in Georgetown was attacked by local police Nov. 7. More than a dozen workers were clubbed and required hospital treatment.

Rev. Ralph Abernathy, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has pledged support of the strike, as have national United Steelworkers leaders.

The German owners have warned their South Carolina workers to beware of "outside influence."

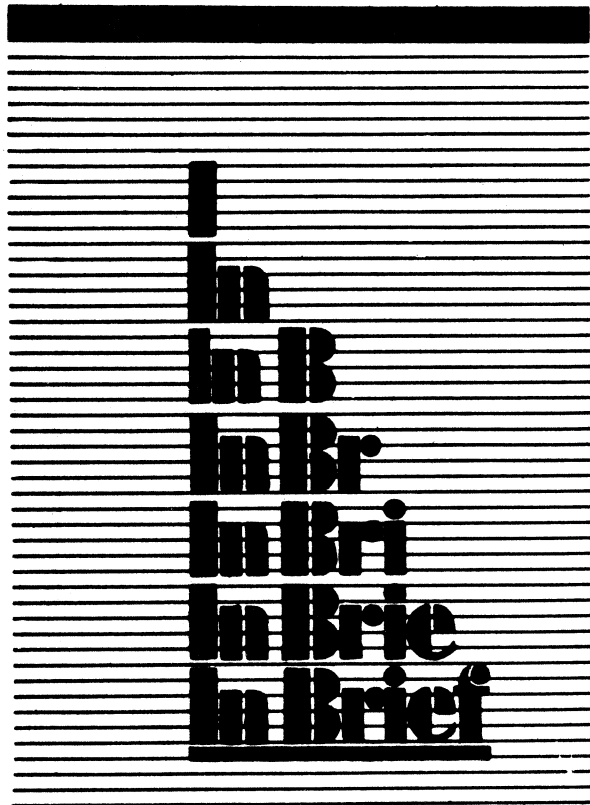
* * *

Captain William L. Guthrie, a 30-year veteran of Eastern Airlines, was forced to retire recently because he refused to dump fuel over city airports. Guthrie said, "Air pollution, poor visibility caused by smog, is the most common hazard we face as airline pilots." He charged that as much as 500 gallons of fuel are dumped daily over Miami airport in peak seasons.

Eastern Airlines forced the 58-year-old pilot out of service because it is cheaper to dump fuel refuse in the air than to dispose of it in containers on the ground.

The Airline Pilots Association voted full support to Captain Guthrie, but whether the union will demand U.S. government intervention against the airline for polluting the atmosphere, or some other form of government support, was not specified.

— F. L.



THE HOOVER REVELATIONS: FBI director J. Edgar Hoover was off on a smear spree last week. He charged that militants led by two Roman Catholic priests were plotting to kidnap a White House aide or other public officials. To make his accusations, Hoover went before a Senate Appropriations subcommittee. Hoover's plot appeared to be nothing more than just that—a plot to get some publicity as well as money to finance his request for 1,000 more snoopers. The priests, alleged Hoover, were Revs. Philip and Daniel Berrigan, currently imprisoned for napalming draft board records in Maryland in 1968. "It's an out-and-out fraud," attorney William Kunstler told this column. Kunstler represented the Berrigans at their trial. "It's a despicable charge. It's either Hoover's senility or maliciousness, but whatever it is, it's bad," Kunstler said. He added that someone ought to make Hoover "put up or shut up." If he has any evidence, the attorney said, Hoover ought to take it to a grand jury. Spokesmen for the priests have denied the charges.

CHICAGO EIGHT: Kunstler says he is "very happy" with the outcome of last week's federal hearing that explored possible illegal behavior between Judge Julius Hoffman and the jury that heard the Chicago conspiracy trial. Basis for the hearing were statements by two jurors that Judge Hoffman ordered jurors to continue deliberating even after he was told that the jury was hopelessly hung. The jury found the seven defendants

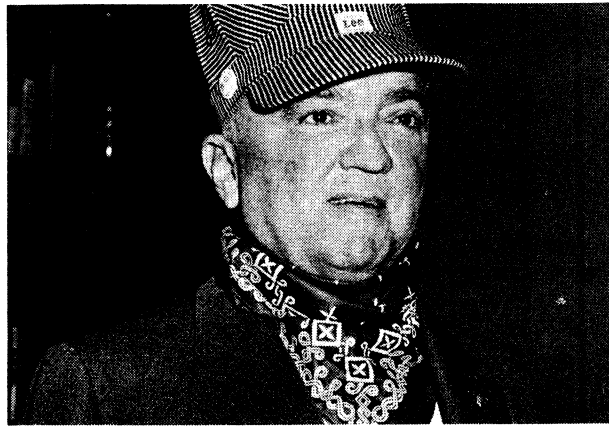


Photo by Ron Payne

TO SPEAK: Frank Kofsky, associate editor of *Jazz and Pop* magazine and assistant professor of history at Sacramento State College, will be speaking on his new book, *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music*, at a special forum in Los Angeles Dec. 11. The Pathfinder Press book has been receiving excellent reviews, and those attending the Militant Labor Forum at 1702 E. 4th St. in L. A. should not be disappointed.

not guilty of conspiracy to incite a riot, but found them guilty of the inciting-to-riot charge. The hearing, says Kunstler, "could be enough" to get the convictions thrown out of court. "It will be a very powerful appeals point," he says.

NOT YET?? Attorney General John N. Mitchell is reported in the press to be making preparations for a new batch of so-called antisubversive measures that Nixon will request from Congress in January. Since the radical movement won't go away, Mitchell apparently thinks he can frighten it away. We don't think he'll succeed. To head up a beefed-up Internal Security Division, Mitchell has named Robert C. Mardian as his assistant attorney general and last week swore him in. Mardian is a pal of Deputy Attorney General Richard Kleindienst. He is also a former mayor of Phoenix, Ariz. This column spoke with the new assistant attorney general last week. Asked what plans he had to deal with radicals, Mardian answered, "I don't have any yet." He said that he was just beginning to learn the ropes.



Sees plots

A CONVERSATION: An aide to J. Edgar Hoover denies that the 1,000 FBI agents requested by his chief will be assigned to U. S. campuses. The additional agents are part of the Omnibus Crime Bill. "The FBI has no agents assigned to the campus," the FBI spokesman attached to the national staff in Washington said in a telephone interview. "And they are not to be assigned." He said that the extra supply of agents would investigate only bombings and arson and that information that Hoover's boys would go onto campus turf "was inaccurate." The FBI is "never" assigned to the campus, he said. Holding back our laughter, we plunged onward, noting that the FBI presumably infiltrates local radical groups. "That would have to be your presumption," said the FBI spokesman.

MASPERO JOINS COMMUNIST LEAGUE: Francois Maspero, the best-known publisher of radical books in France, has joined the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International. (The League is the French counterpart of the Socialist Workers Party in the U. S.) Maspero broke with the Moscow-lined Communist Party in 1958, convinced that the party had abandoned the "basic principles of internationalism" in its attitude toward the Algerian revolution. "The Ligue Communiste seems to me the only organization working honestly and effectively to build the future revolutionary party," Maspero said in his application for membership last month. "I do not consider it to be this party, but only the most suitable instrument at present for developing it." Maspero said his publishing house would remain open to different currents of the revolutionary left. Confirming his membership, the Communist League's Political Bureau said that "The arrival in our ranks of a militant who has participated actively in all the anti-imperialist struggles of these last years represents a great help to us."

CHANGING TIMES: Democrat Richard Ottinger and Republican Charles Goodell, both 1970 candidates for the Senate in New York, endorsed reform of antihomosexual laws on the eve of the November elections. . . . **STUDENT RIGHTS:** The New York Civil Liberties Union is giving away a free pamphlet detailing the rights of N. Y. C. high school students. High school activists should find the summary useful. Write for it care of Student Rights Project, NYCLU, 84 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10011. . . . **NEW MASS. LOCAL:** The Young Socialist Alliance has a new all-high-school local in Pittsfield, Mass. Radicals in the area can contact the local by writing R. G. Pucko, 77 Euclid Ave., Pittsfield, Mass. 01201. . . . **WILPF BOYCOTT:** A boycott of Wonder Bread and other Continental Baking Co. products has been called by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The bakery manufacturer is a subsidiary of International Telephone and Telegraph, which was awarded more than \$1-billion in defense contracts over the past five years to produce missiles

and antimissile guidance controls. "We believe the pocketbook can be a powerful persuader," says Mrs. Katherine Camp, president of WILPF, in announcing the boycott. For more information write WILPF, 1 North 13th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107.

DEER HUNT IN NEW JERSEY: It is this columnist's personal opinion (*The Militant* does not have an editorial position on the question) that hunting is below contempt and "sports enthusiasts" who get their kicks out of killing animals and birds ought to have their heads examined. We have learned about a one-day deer hunt slated for Dec. 19 in the Great Swamp Wildlife Refuge Wilderness and consider it outrageous. The federal refuge is located in Basking Ridge, N. J. "The purpose of the hunt is to reduce the deer population that is causing tremendous trouble in the area," says George Alpaugh, acting director of the Division of Fishing and Game for New Jersey. Alpaugh said in an interview that the deer are eating too much. He rejects the idea of moving the deer to some larger refuge or bringing in food because of the additional costs. "The best management of the deer," he says, "is a controlled hunt." When nearby residents learned that permits would be issued to 150 hunters for an all-day killing gala on the 5,500-acre refuge, they formed Deer Environment Ecology and Resources (DEER) to stop the hunt. So far, they haven't gotten anywhere. "We have been writing to congressmen, senators, the president, and of course the secretary of the interior," says Mrs. Stephen J. Kramer of Gillette, N. J., the president of DEER. "We are trying to involve as many people as possible to get this ridiculous deer hunt stopped." She said that her group, which now numbers several hundred, does not believe that three to four hundred deer are too many. Some members have even volunteered to come and feed the deer daily. The Interior Department has okayed the killing and won't budge. Mrs. Kramer said that persons can protest the Dec. 19 hunt by writing or sending telegrams to the Dept. of Interior, Washington, D. C.

TRIAL SET IN LABOR COMMITTEE FRAME-UP: The trial of Stephen Fraser and Dick Borgmann, members of the National Caucus of Labor Committees, will begin Jan. 7. The two were arrested in 1969 when police planted explosives in their Philadelphia apartment. . . . **SOCIALIST HALL OPENS:** The Rocky Mountain region has a new socialist center. The V. R. Dunne Hall officially opened its doors Nov. 6 with a special forum. Speakers included Joel Britton, SWP National Committee member; Manuel Lopez of the Colorado University United Mexican American Students; James Lauderdale, 1970 SWP candidate for governor; Tony Thomas, YSA National Executive Committee member; Antonio Camejo, a California Latino leader; and Joe Johnson of the SWP National Committee. . . . **PHILADELPHIA ACTION:** Between 500 and 1,000 demonstrators picketed the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel where the city of brotherly love's racist police chief, Frank Rizzo, was being honored by the Israel Labor Federation last week.

COLLINS JAILED: Walter Collins, 24, a Black activist with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, was seized at his home Nov. 27 and hustled away to start serving a five-year sentence for refusing induction into the Army. Federal marshalls refused to allow Collins to even get his coat or toothbrush. Lawyers for Collins are asking the Supreme Court to reconsider a decision not to hear Collins' case and in the meantime, free him. Anne Braden, SCEF's executive director, charges that the arrest was aimed at preventing further public appearances by Collins, who was scheduled to speak at high schools and colleges throughout Louisiana during the next two weeks.

SOCIALIST MEET ON COAST: Some 150 persons attended a Southern California Revolutionary Conference in Los Angeles Nov. 27-28. Speakers included Paul Boutelle, New York mayoral candidate, who spoke on the Arab revolution, as did a representative of the Organization of Arab Students, Salah Siem. Siem praised the YSA activities in support of the Palestinians in the face of Hussein's attacks on the commandos in Amman. "As long as you are functioning," Siem told the YSA, "the events of August in Amman will not be repeated." . . . **SUICIDE ATTEMPT:** "I'd rather be dead than go to Vietnam," an eyewitness overheard Pvt. Richard Hoelzel. With that, Hoelzel slit his wrists. It was Thanksgiving Day in New York's Port Authority bus terminal and Hoelzel was due to be shipped out to Fort Polk and then on to Vietnam. "He wasn't too happy about his new assignment," said his father Gerhardt Hoelzel in an interview. The soldier was rushed to a Manhattan hospital where he is recovering.

- RANDY FURST

The great society

Maybe if he quit right now . . . — President Nixon and aides are putting the hammer on Congress to hike the annual pensions for ex-presidents from \$25,000 to \$60,000.

Pollution program — The World Wildlife Fund is offering a free pamphlet on what you can do to promote conservation and combat pollution. First, since Americans on the average—according to the Wildlifers—eat 30 percent too much, cut down on the chow. This presumably will make possible two other beneficial actions: combating pollution by reducing your garbage disposal and saving water by flushing the toilet less frequently.

Yon bureaucrat has a lean, hungry look—The following is a wire service dispatch from the German Democratic Republic: "Prof. Helmut Haenel, director of Potsdam's Institute of Nutrition, suggesting that a deterrent tax on East Germany's overweight citizens might reduce obesity's detrimental effects on productivity and the country's medical service: 'Only thus can the idea of slender, self-controlled, mobile socialist humans be realized.'"

Wherever you turn—If your boss gives you an argument about whether or not you need a raise, just point out to him that Tiffany's matching silver children's cup, spoon and rattle is now up to \$55.25.

Getting with it—Among other things, the radicalization has put a damper on the expectations for a lush, expanding youth market. "For the young of every economic bracket," a *New York Times* financial article reports, "status has moved from conspicuous consumption to a posture of nonmaterialism." To cope with the problem, Pan Am is introducing a student credit card, throwing in soul food and elaborating the theme, "you can't improve a world you haven't seen."

What alienation?—A full-page *New York Times Magazine* advertisement advises that "Most Americans are only happy four days a year," Christmas, New Year's, a birthday, and maybe an anniversary. But, the ad explains, there's no law against being happy more often. How? Buy an After-Six tuxedo.

Chilling thought of the week — A speaker assured the Manufacturing Chemists Association there was no need for business to fear the growing demands for pollution curbs. In fact, he explained, the situation could be made a positive one, productwise, "if the profit-minded company will stop handwringing and start thinking." The speaker was H. D. Doan, president of Dow Chemical.

Thought for the week—"This is the great illusion of our time, to think that the supreme aim in life consists in struggling for and winning economic and social, temporal and external goods. You were created for a higher good, for a kingdom of heaven."—Pope Paul addressing Manila slum-dwellers.

— HARRY RING

Book review

Mandel on 'peaceful coexistence'

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND WORLD REVOLUTION. By Ernest Mandel. Pathfinder Press, Inc. 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. 31 pp. 50 cents.

Throughout the world, pro-Moscow Communist parties, with greatly varying degrees of political influence, base their practical programs on the theory of "peaceful coexistence."

The theory is summed up by Herbert Aptheker, a leading spokesman of the American CP, in *Marxism and Christianity: A Symposium* (1968): "With the advent of fascism to power in Germany, the entire outlook of the world Communist movement shifted—as symbolized in Dimitroff's report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International (1935).

"This outlook remains basically in effect, and it is an outlook of breadth, of unity, of shunning sectarianism and narrowness. It is an outlook of unity with all who stand opposed to fascism and war—and unity with all such no matter what other differences may be present."

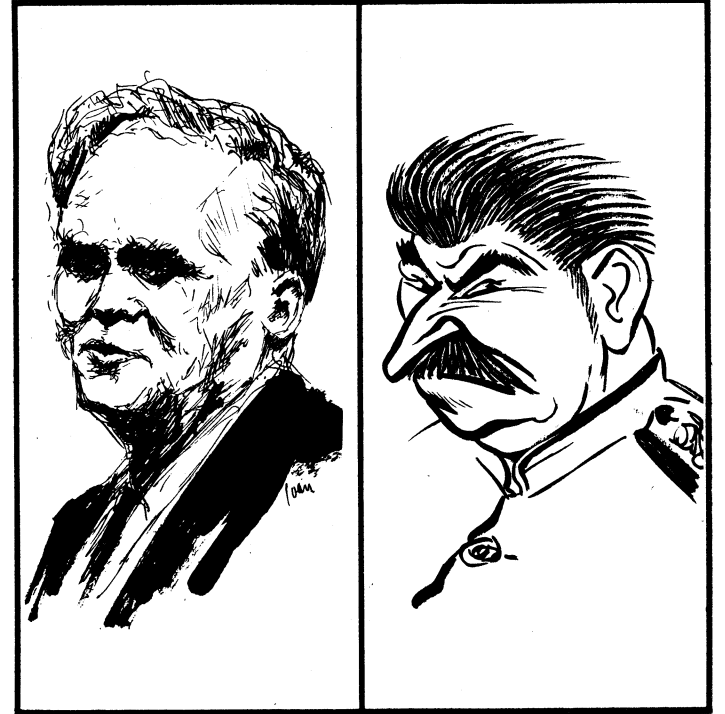
Ernest Mandel, the well-known Belgian Marxist theoretician, traces the history and consequences of the theory of peaceful coexistence in this pamphlet (the theory did not originate with the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International as Aptheker asserts).

Mandel shows that the "outlook of breadth, of unity, of shunning sectarianism. . ." means in practice alliances between Communist parties and various bourgeois parties on strictly reformist terms: that is, around political issues that do not challenge the right of capitalism to exist and function.

Mandel particularly emphasizes the Spanish Communist Party's betrayal of the fight against Franco in the famous civil war on the eve of the second world war. The Spanish CP crippled the struggle against Franco by crushing all attempts of the workers and peasants to carry the struggle beyond the confines of the bourgeois government. The Spanish CP rolled back a developing anticapitalist revolution in the interests of a specious unity with the tiny Spanish liberal bourgeoisie.

Mandel contrasts this history to that of the Yugoslav CP in the revolution which developed in that country during World War II: "From its inception, the Yugoslav revolution encountered distrust and attempts at strangulation by Stalin and his collaborators.

"Its attempts to organize proletarian brigades were severely reprimanded by Moscow; it was starved of military aid; and behind its back, Stalin divided up the Balkans



Gus Hall and Joseph Stalin: two noted advocates of "peaceful coexistence."

with Churchill in October 1944, imposing a 'fifty-fifty' solution on Yugoslavia.

"In this way, a coalition government was formed in which bourgeois politicians acquired a certain weight. The leadership of the Yugoslav CP, however, did not follow the injunctions of the Moscow leadership.

"It pushed the revolution through to victory. . . . The socialist transformation of the economy was quickly achieved."

Mandel takes up the argument of the upholders of "peaceful coexistence" that this policy is necessary to avoid provoking the nuclear-armed imperialist powers into world war.

But the imperialists need no provocation, argues Mandel, as the long and bloody intervention in Vietnam makes clear. They are given pause and restrained only by massive political resistance to their aggressions. A weak enemy with no defenders is the imperialists' first victim.

— ARTHUR MAGLIN

Local socialist directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Greg Nickel, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 966-2416.

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

Hayward: YSA, Gary Sommer, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hillary St., Hayward, Calif. 94542. Tel: (415) 537-3656.

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

Riverside: YSA c/o Woody Diaz, 5724 Warren St., Arlington, Calif. 92503.

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

San Diego: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

San Joaquin Valley: YSA, P.O. Box 873, Modesto, Calif. 95353.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Vera Westerberg, 1360 Sumac, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Colorado Springs: YSA, c/o Miguel Pendas, 313A N. Illinois, Colorado Springs, Colo. 80907.

Denver: Militant Bookstore, 607 E. 13th Ave., Denver, Colo. 80203.

FLORIDA: Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 228-4655.

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

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

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 753-4445 (night).

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Dave Zielinski, 446 1/2 E. 2nd St., Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Debby Deegan, 1005 Kentucky, Lawrence, Kans. Tel: (913) 842-9285.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum,

295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981 (HQ), 547-8557.

Worcester: YSA, c/o Bill Siegel, Box 1470, Clark U., Worcester, Mass. 01610.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48108.

Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE 1-6135.

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

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

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, UMKC Student Center, Box 38, 5100 Rockhill Rd., Kansas City, Mo. 64110. St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, McArthur Hotel, 100 N. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo. 63101.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, P.O. Box 627, Newark, N.J. 07101. Tel: (201) 678-6005.

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

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Mark Anthony, 114 Grand St., Albany, N.Y. 12202.

Binghamton: YSA, P.O. Box 272, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

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

New York City: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway, 8th floor (2 bl. S. of 8th St.), New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (SWP) 982-6051, (YSA) 982-8214, (Merit Books) 982-5940.

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill: YSA, Box 2448, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Sandy Knoll, Box 250, Memorial Hall, U of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220. Tel: (513) 475-2721.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2921 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115. Tel: (216) 861-3862.

Columbus: c/o Julie Bingham, 1612 Summit, Columbus, Ohio 43201.

Kent: YSA, Box 1, Musselman Hall, Kent State U, Kent, Ohio 44240. Tel: (216) 672-4956.

Oxford: YSA, P.O. Box 321, Oxford, Ohio 45066. Tel: (513) 529-6501.

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

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Ruth Getts, 2205 S.E. Ivon, Portland, Ore. 97202.

PENNSYLVANIA: Mansfield: YSA, c/o Ken Evans, Apt. 208-A, Corey Creek Apts., Mansfield, Pa. 16933. Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Tel: (401) 863-3340.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, c/o Michael Lemonds, P.O. Box 8641, University St., Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 523-8445.

Nashville: YSA, Box 67, Sta. B, Vanderbilt U, Nashville, Tenn. 37203.

TEXAS: Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.

Dallas-Ft. Worth: YSA, Box 863, UTA Station, Arlington, Texas 76010.

El Paso: YSA, UTEP, P.O. Box 178, El Paso, Texas 79999.

Houston: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 39196, Houston, Texas 77039.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, c/o Dayne Goodwin, 855 North 7th St. East, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 2000 P St. NW, Rm. 413, Wash., D.C. 20036. Tel: (202) 833-9560.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, P.O. Box 2301 C.S., 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: La Crosse: YSA, c/o 431 N. 9th St., La Crosse, Wis. 54601.

Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.

Milwaukee: YSA, 1682 N. Franklin Pl., Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: (414) 276-4463.

10,000 in S.F. protest visit by puppet Ky

By DAN ROSENSHINE

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 1—An estimated total of 10,000 persons held a spirited demonstration here today during a speaking appearance by Saigon puppet Nguyen Cao Ky. The demonstrators had to confront a massive, aggressive police force that repeatedly attempted to restrict their rights and hamper the legitimate functioning of the protest. Despite this it was a success.

Ky spoke at a luncheon of the exclusive Commonwealth Club in the posh Fairmont Hotel after being snuck in during the early hours of the morning.

The security precautions around Ky's visit were the tightest seen here in years. This was reflected in the police handling of the demonstration. Mounted police and San Francisco's "tac" squad (well-known for their brutal role at San Francisco State College two years ago) did their best to rush the demonstrators into the tightest space they could. The crowded, chanting picket line ringed an entire block opposite the hotel. The most popular chant was, "Well, well, what do you know? The Fairmont's having a puppet show."

The action was built throughout northern California, with car pools coming in from a number of area universities. Hundreds came from Stanford University by car, chartered train and bus.

Among the organizations sponsoring the demonstration were the Downtown Peace Coalition, Student Mobilization Committee, National Coalition

Against War, Racism and Repression, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Americans for Democratic Action, and the California Democratic Council. Well-known political, church and union figures lent their names as endorsers.

A rally was scheduled by the sponsoring coalition to end the demonstration one block from the Fairmont Hotel. However, because of the continuing confrontation with police in front of the hotel, it was not practical to continue the rally and it had to be cut short after two speakers—a South Vietnamese student and an Asian-American student. Among those who had been scheduled to speak were John T. Williams, secretary-treasurer of Local 208 of the Teamsters in Los Angeles; Carol Lipman, West Coast director of the SMC; a defendant in the recent case of Los Siete de la Raza; and antiwar GIs.

Tension mounted as additional police appeared. It was made more difficult to cope with the flagrant police provocations when some "revolutionary collectives" sought to bait the cops into further confrontation.

The demonstration continued into the afternoon, with friction mounting as police used their four-foot-long clubs as cudgels to continually compress the area of the demonstration. At one point, demonstrators were forcibly cleared from an adjoining park by cops on horses. Twenty-nine arrests were made during the day on charges ranging from assault on an officer to failure to disperse and singing an "obscene" ballad.

Several groups left the demonstration site and staged roving confrontations with the cops. Although such incidents included a tiny minority of the demonstrators, they received the bulk of the publicity in the newspapers here.

During the course of his Fairmont speech, Ky denied ever having made his widely quoted statement that Adolf Hitler was his hero. He claimed to be against "any form of dictatorship." When asked about the demonstration outside, he referred to the participants as "Communists and their friends." He also offered to go before a firing squad in South Vietnam if it could be proved that he was involved in corruption.

Ky did not receive an official welcome from either city or state officials, none of whom took part in the luncheon. However, after the demonstration, speculation mounted as to Ky's whereabouts. It was later confirmed that he was in Sacramento having dinner with Governor Ronald Reagan.

One radio announcer summed up the day by wondering why so much attention had been paid to a foreign political figure who is not even a head of state. The answer is that Ky, though number two in South Vietnam, remains the number one symbol to Americans of the reactionary dictatorship for which more than 40,000 U.S. troops have been forced to give their lives.

By HELEN MYERS

LOS ANGELES—Despite pouring rain all morning, 800 to 1,000 peo-



People's World

ISSUES DENIAL. Puppet Ky denied he had said Hitler was his only hero. Apparently he intended to include JFK, LBJ and RMN.

ple turned out to demonstrate against the U.S.'s South Vietnamese stooge Nguyen Cao Ky. The Ambassador Hotel, where Ky was speaking, attempted to demobilize the picket line by rolling out carts of coffee for the demonstrators. But the demonstrators answered with "Ky, Go Home!"

The Dec. 2 action was by the Out Now Coalition and the Asian Americans for Peace. The latter had a contingent of over 250. The Chicano Moratorium also had a contingent present.

The demonstration was called on only four days' notice.

N.Y. women slam Cosmo on eve of Dec. 12 march

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

NEW YORK, Dec. 1—Members of the Women's Strike Coalition, which is building the Dec. 12 demonstration here for free abortion on demand and free 24-hour child care, staged a demonstration today at *Cosmopolitan* magazine.

Notorious for its treatment of women as sex objects and tips on how to flatter a man's ego, *Cosmopolitan* is edited by Helen Gurley Brown. Author of *Sex and the Single Girl*, Brown told the press recently that she is a feminist.

When the women entered the building lobby, they found a squad of men awaiting them. The elevators had been rigged so they did not stop at the ground floor, and the men protected the doorways from the demonstrators. Unable to reach Brown's office, the women read their demands to the large number of press who gathered.

"We want immediate payment of \$15,000 to the Women's Strike Coalition in reparation for damages done to women by the sexist advertising and articles perpetuating the image of women as sexual conve-

niences to men that appear in every article of *Cosmopolitan*. We will use this money to build the Dec. 12 action."

The women also demanded editorship of a complete issue of *Cosmopolitan*, which would cover the Dec. 12 action as well as an ongoing feminist column that would "explore the issues that concern the lives and destinies of real women, not the paper problems of *Cosmopolitan* Pussycats."

"Helen Gurley Brown," the women continued, "you say you're a feminist. Well here's your big chance."

Brown never appeared; however, several members of her staff did. The managing editor (male) informed the demonstrators, "Mrs. Brown has no intentions of meeting with you in the lobby."

The women decorated the lobby with ads from the current issue of *Cosmopolitan*, which includes an article on "Sex and the Jewish Girl." One ad challenges women, "Want him to be more of a man? Try being more of a woman," that is—buy Coty perfume.

This action was but one of many events that are being planned to lead up to the Dec. 12 march. Dec. 5-12 will be Women's Liberation Week on the Barnard-Columbia campuses, with New York University and Queens College planning campus teach-ins and workshops as well.

A Third World Women's Caucus of the Coalition has been formed and will be holding a press conference to encourage Black and Puerto Rican women to march. As a spokeswoman for the Spanish-American Feminists, a group active in the Caucus, said, "It has been so much commented that

Third World women are not interested in women's liberation; we must show everyone they are."

Another press conference will feature actress Shirley MacLaine. MacLaine has endorsed the demonstration and plans to work in support of it when she finishes making a film Dec. 6. To raise money for the Coalition, Betty Friedan is hosting a party for the female delegates to the United Nations.

The scope of these activities reflects the broad support the Coalition has won in the past few weeks from religious women, the Third World community and professionals and on the campuses.

At a Coalition meeting last night, it was reported that restrictive amendments to the New York State abortion law which would set a residency requirement and limit abortions to women no more than 12 weeks pregnant, are currently being discussed in the State Legislature. Because of this threat, it was decided to expand the protest to include Governor Rockefeller in addition to Mayor Lindsay.

Coalition members voted to hold a sit-in at Rockefeller's office Dec. 11, demanding he prevent these restrictions from being passed. If he refuses to do so, the women will sleep in at his office that night.

On Dec. 12 at noon, women will assemble at 59th St. and 5th Avenue, march past Rockefeller's office and be joined by the women who slept in and then move on to Mayor Lindsay's home, Gracie Mansion, where there will be a 2 p.m. rally.

The address of the Women's Strike Coalition is 360 West 28 St. Tel: (212) 989-0260.



Photo by Debby Woodrooffe

SIT-IN AT COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE. New York Women's Strike Coalition sat in at magazine office lobby Dec. 1. Forty feminists returned to picket Dec. 2. A brick and bottle was hurled from building at protesters. Editor Brown then agreed to meeting.