

The politics of women's liberation

—pages 7-10

THE MILITANT

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Escalation in Laos, Cambodia,
and the April 15 antiwar actions

—stories page 16—

Postal workers' fight was gain for all labor

—story page 6

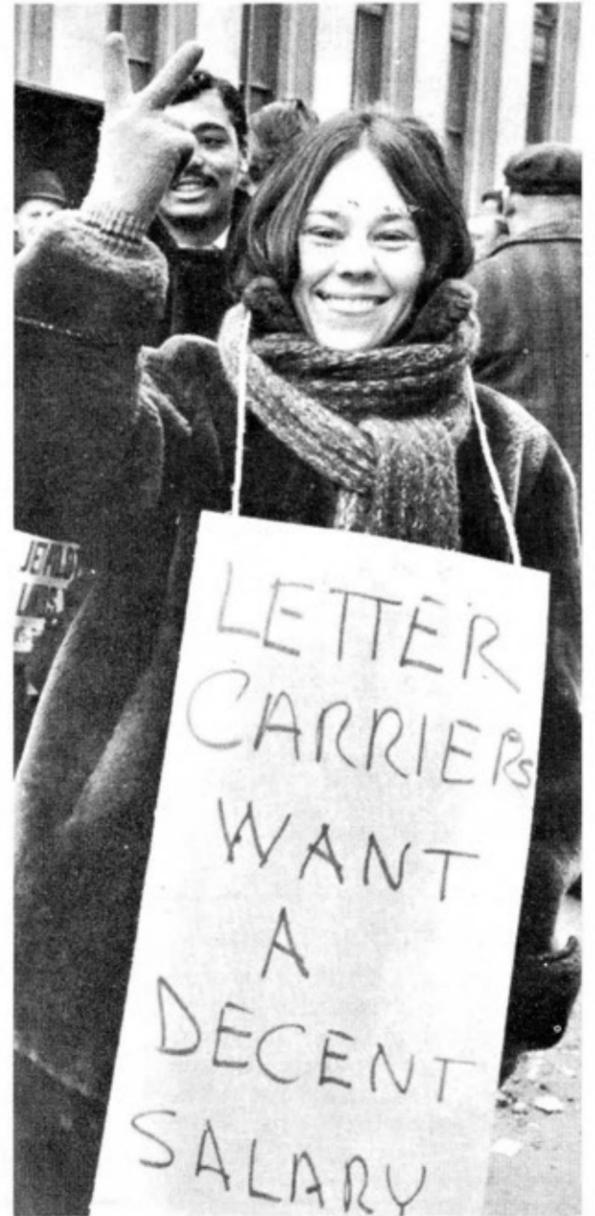


Photo above and top left by Michael Hardy, top right, UPI

New York postal unionists (above foreground, Moe Biller, N. Y. president Nat'l Postal Union)

Appeal from Haitian political prisoners

Call for international support

[The following are excerpts of a statement issued by Haitians in exile.]

New York, N.Y.

The committee for the freedom of Haitian political prisoners is making an appeal to all revolutionary and democratic organizations abroad to solicit their fraternal support in mounting an international campaign in favor of the political prisoners in Haiti.

Hundreds of citizens of various political tendencies have been arrested during the last months that have coincided with one of the most bloody repressions against the democratic forces in Haiti. These political prisoners have not been tried and are jailed under inhuman conditions inspired by those existing in the Nazi concentration camps.

All of these citizens were arrested without legal warrants, have never been brought to court and have not received any kind of guarantees for their legal defense. They have not been accused of violating any law. Nobody knows what prison they are being kept in. Their relatives have been refused the right to visit them and there is reason to fear that they have been murdered in Duvalier's prisons.

We are asking that all the democratic organizations and the public in general join us for an international campaign on behalf of those political prisoners...; that the Commission of Human Rights of the United Nations send an investigating committee to probe into the fate of the political prisoners and the prison conditions that are forced upon them; that the Haitian government stop its campaign of persecution, arbitrary arrests and extermination against the Haitian patriots, Democrats, Catholics and Communists who, loyal to their ideas, are struggling to restore democracy in Haiti.

We ask you to organize with us the collection of signatures of personalities, jurists and democratic organizations in your country in order to send a message to the Haitian government on behalf of the political prisoners.

[Petitions are being distributed by a number of organizations. Copies may be obtained from USLA Justice Committee, GPO Box 2303, New York, N.Y. 10011.]

Photography note

Through a printing error in our last issue photo credit was omitted for the front-page pictures of Los Angeles Chicano student demonstrators. The photographs were by John Gray.

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.

Likes Militant's coverage

Cleveland Heights, Ohio

I would like to order a six-month gift subscription for a friend. I myself am a recent subscriber and am particularly grateful to you for providing coverage of *all* the radical fronts (women's liberation, high school rights movement, the Chicano and Black liberation struggles, ecology, antiwar movement).

I was especially pleased with your article in the March 13 *Militant* entitled "Ecology Movement a Diversion?" since I, too, believe that all fronts should strive to draw people from as many areas of society as possible into the struggle for the transformation and liberation of society.

I would, however, like to see *The Militant* give more coverage to the consumer movement. Like the ecology movement, it is an area which can attract people who otherwise might not be involved in radical politics.

D. D.

Gremlins at work

New York, N.Y.

Harry Ring's article in the March 27 issue on Marxism and individual terrorism refers to a polemic by Lenin against the Socialist-Revolutionaries as written in 1920. Is that correct?

D. B.

[No. It was the work of a typographical gremlin. The article referred to was written in 1902. *Editor.*]

Wants more on WW II day-care centers

Montreal, Quebec

In one tiny paragraph a few issues ago, you opened up whole new perspectives for the women's liberation movement. You told us that there were once day-nurseries for working women

and that although they had been lost, it was not without a struggle. It was in the article about the Boston Militant Forum with three generations of women fighters (see *The Militant*, Feb. 13). Augusta Trainor, one of the panelists, was involved in a struggle against the dismantling of government-subsidized centers after the war.

Would you please publish soon an article about the day-care centers that existed during the second world war and what happened to them?

By the way, when *The Militant* became a 12-pager, I still looked for a couple more pages when I got to the end. When you went to 16 it still wasn't enough. When are you going to go daily?

Penny Simpson

As sure as the sun rises. . .

Macedonia, Ohio

The conviction of five outstanding anti-war and anti-imperialism fighters of the "Chicago Seven" trial for crossing state lines with "intent to incite riot" indicates that the ruling capitalist class of this country is more and more afraid of social revolution. By prohibiting (under threat of severe punishment!) our popular leaders from exercising their activities in other states, the reactionary clique intend to make it impossible to create a united front of the people against imperialism and social injustice.

It's nothing new. It is an old imperialist rule—"divide and rule." But they will not succeed. Just as the darkness of the night cannot stop the emergence of sunrise, so social change cannot be stopped by reactionaries like Julius Hoffman and his capitalist masters.

J. M.



'I'm A Chicago Civil Liberties Lawyer. What's Your Crime?'

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING
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Friday, April 3, 1970

Closing news date—March 27

stitutions and ways to build alternative structures.

Staughton Lynd will be speaking on Friday at 8 p.m. and Saturday will be devoted to a wide variety of organizing projects dealing with education (pre-school through high school), women's liberation, corporate resistance, co-operatives, tax resistance and others. There will also be films on the GI movement in the evening.

Workshop leaders include Stanley Aronowitz of the *Guardian*, women from Bread and Roses in Boston and from Women's Radical Action Project, Alan Berube from Ecology Action in Cambridge.

Sunday will be a day of planning for Gulf Oil actions with people from other anticorporate projects (AIM, Honeywell, D.C. 9, etc.). Free Housing.

For information call 412-621-3337.

J. A.

April Action Conference

A correction

Urbana, Ohio

Recently you ran an article on the SMC national conference and you ran down what your analysis was of the situation at the conference. You mentioned the John Brown Caucus as an "anarchist group." Since then the national office has had over a dozen letters commenting on the article and asking what the hell is happening.

It is hard enough for us to get our organization together without what appeared to be "liberal obstructionists." If this was a mistake, please print a correction in the next issue of *The Militant* or print this letter.

The John Brown Caucus is a group of radicals (independent) who got together after the November 15 action and who are trying to build an independent radical organization. We are calling a national conference to establish the organization on April 3-5 in Dayton, Ohio.

Phil Arway

National Office, John Brown Caucus

[We had been misinformed as to the political character of the John Brown Caucus and regret the error.—*Editor.*]

Conference to seek alternative structures

Pittsburgh, Pa.

April 3-5 there will be a regional conference in Pittsburgh (Carnegie-Mellon University's Skibo Hall, 5000 Forbes Ave.) around the theme "Resistance Today; Alternatives Tomorrow." It is being jointly sponsored by Pittsburgh Resistance and the Gulf Action Project, a group of local activists who are organizing actions around the April 28 Gulf stockholders' meeting.

The purpose of the conference is to examine concretely what it means to live in these times, by focusing on specific projects dealing with ways to organize against existing exploitative in-

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Major discussion initiated at Ann Arbor

Many attend teach-in on environment issue

By ANDY BUSTIN

ANN ARBOR, Mich. — The first in a round of environmental teach-ins slated at universities around the country took place here March 11-15. The content was not quite what the presence of Senator Philip Hart, Governor William Milliken, Senator Edward Muskie, Arthur Godfrey and University of Michigan president Robben Fleming as featured speakers would lead one to expect.

Thirteen thousand people at the kick-off rally and the Detroit area radio audience heard Governor Milliken propose a "clean earth corps" to be run on taxpayers' money and the energy of youth. But they also heard ecologist Barry Commoner call for "a total reorganization of our system of productivity. . . ."

Profit was cited as the culprit in a number of workshops. One workshop of more than 500 people heard the reformist and revolutionary approaches to solving ecological problems, the two competing themes of the teach-in, debated. Murray Bookchin, noted author on ecology, maintained that "people are being misled about the basic pollution issue. As long as you are in a competitive relationship with your fellow

man, you're going to exploit nature. Survival will require fundamental social change—you'll have to get rid of the whole profit economy. . . . No piecemeal change can alter the fundamental anti-ecological nature of this society."

Dow Chemical president Ted Doan was the most heckled speaker of the entire teach-in.

Another theme, sounded by many speakers, was opposition to ecocide and genocide in Vietnam and support for immediate withdrawal as part of re-directing our resources toward saving the environment.

The *Michigan Daily*, a campus newspaper, took up the demand to "soak the rich" editorially while a *Detroit News* editorial voiced a surprised alarm at the prevalence of radical ideas at the teach-in.

Ron Reosti, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general in Michigan, testified at a public teach-in-associated hearing on an antipollution bill currently before the Michigan House. Reosti, an attorney, scored the bill's provision for turning antipollution cases over to the very government agencies which have failed to curb pollution in the past.

Paul Lodico, SWP candidate for Philip

Teaching assistants strike at University of Wisconsin

By HARRY BRENT

MADISON, March 23—The first full-scale work stoppage by teachers in a major public university began Monday, March 16 at the University of Wisconsin in Madison when the 1,000 member Teaching Assistants Association went on strike. By the middle of the first week, picket lines had effectively put a stop to more than 80 percent of the ongoing work of the College of Letters and Science, where the vast bulk of undergraduate education takes place.

In addition to overwhelming student support, several Wisconsin labor groups have given enthusiastic backing to the TAA. The decision of Teamsters Local 699 to honor TAA picket lines has put a stop to bus service and to the delivery of food and necessary supplies to the huge campus. The refusal to deliver liquid nitrogen to the university's mammoth chemistry building has virtually put a halt to chemical research.

In addition to the very strong support of the Teamsters, Madison communications workers, street workers, and elevator repairmen's union are also respecting TAA picket lines. The TAA's contract demands have also been endorsed by the Executive Board of Local 1, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, and the national office of the American Federation of Teachers.

In the face of the massive support for this precedent-setting public em-

ployes' strike, the university administration has walked away from the bargaining table, calling the strike "illegal." Madison campus chancellor Edward Young has taken a "no work, no talks" position, refusing to bargain until teaching assistants go back to work.

Before deciding to strike, the TAA had met in contract negotiations with UW administrators for eight months. During that time, the university had failed to make any substantial concessions to TAA contract demands. Some of the principal areas of conflict include:

1) Educational planning. TAs do 56 percent of all undergraduate teaching on the Madison campus, yet they have no formal power to regulate their own classes. In the face of education directed ultimately by bureaucrats who never enter the classroom, the TAA is demanding departmental bargaining mechanisms which ensure decision-making power for both TAs and students.

2) Length of appointment. A graduate student who becomes a TA accepts a job which pays considerably less than comparable employment in other areas of the economy. TAs work an average of 28 hours a week (the university calls this "half-time") and receive an average of \$2,770 per year. Like other Madison families, the families of Teaching Assistants suffer from high rents and the effects of inflation. Yet in the face of all this, TAs have no job security. They're reappointed on a yearly basis. TAs want four-year appointments with dismissal only for bad teaching, something to be decided by students in the TA's classroom.

3) TAs are also asking for a health plan (they presently have none), reasonable class size and a grievance procedure.

Coming at the same time as the postal employees' strike in New York City, the militant efforts of the Madison Teaching Assistants Association clearly show that public employes will win the right to strike in this country in the same way that workers in the major industries won that right—by taking it.

'... BEN CAT; CHUA CHAN; CAO LANH; THANH HUNG; VI THANH; GLOBE, ARIZONA; ...'



Hart's Senate seat, led one of the conference workshops in a discussion of the socialist view of environmental problems.

YSAers found a very receptive response throughout the teach-in to socialist ideas.

What are the lessons of this teach-in? Certainly capitalist politicians were there in force. They want to lead this movement. They want to use it to divert people away from struggles whose independence they cannot destroy, the struggle against the Vietnam war being a primary target. They want to use it to manipulate the public into paying in taxes and price rises the costs of what minimal pollution control the ruling class finds necessary to short-term profits.

Yet several powerful factors are working against these designs. One is the existence of a growing radical movement which offers an alternative direction and leadership. Another is the growing receptivity of large numbers of Americans to revolutionary ideas, as the teach-in demonstrated.

A third factor is the basic inability of capitalism to solve this or any problem requiring rational planning of production, resulting in the fact that the misleadership of liberals will constantly be exposed. Finally, the nonexclusionary example of the antiwar movement is already taken for granted in the ecology movement, so liberals must confront revolutionaries on the level of ideas.

The 1965 teach-ins, though organized independently of capitalist politicians, featured much less Marxist analysis than was evidenced at this one. The changes in mass consciousness made by the decay of capitalism in the last five years point up the new opportunities and responsibilities the ecology movement affords socialists.

Socialists enter a new movement with a general perspective but not all the answers. The teach-in was a valuable source of facts and concepts on society's interdependence with its environment. The slated April national teach-ins will offer a genuine opportunity to learn as well as to participate.

Atlanta socialists to host southwide radical parley

By DENNIS EDGE

Radicals throughout the South will gather in Atlanta the first weekend in April to attend the 1970 Southwide Socialist Conference at Emory University, April 4-5. The two-day conference is being sponsored by the Atlanta Young Socialist Alliance and the Atlanta Socialist Workers Party. Young socialists from every state in the South are expected to attend the conference.

The conference will open on Saturday morning with a speech by Jon Rothschild, national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance, on "Why Socialists Support the Arab Revolution." "The Coming American Revolution," a talk given by Jack Barnes, National Organization Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, is the topic of the Saturday afternoon session.



Jack Barnes

The second morning of the conference will feature a panel of women speaking on "A Program for Women's Liberation." Panelists will be representatives of the Emory Women's Liberation, the Revolutionary Youth Movement, the Atlanta Young Socialist Alliance, the Atlanta Women's Liberation Group, and the Gainesville Women's Liberation Group.

At the final session on Sunday, conference participants will hear young socialist area reports from more than half a dozen southern cities.

The Georgia Socialist Workers Campaign Committee will hold its first campaign rally the night of Saturday, April 4. The rally will feature Socialist Workers candidates Linda Jenness for governor, Frank Grinnon for U. S. Congress, Joe Cole for U. S. Congress, and Samuel Manuel, an Afro-American member of the Georgia State University Young Socialists for the Socialist Workers Candidates in '70, who is running for vice-president of the student body at that school.

A child-care center will be available for the entire conference. For more information, write to: Conference Planning Committee, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Georgia 30309. (404) 876-2230.

Teachers ask your support

Messages of support for the striking teaching assistants in Madison can be sent to Robert Meuhlenkamp, president, Teaching Assistants Association, 305 N. Brooks St., Madison, Wisconsin. Trade union solidarity is particularly appreciated.

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Los Angeles banquet salutes James P. Cannon's 80th birthday

By STEVE BLOOM

LOS ANGELES—Over 200 people from all over California and other parts of the Southwest attended a banquet March 21 to salute James P. Cannon on the occasion of his 80th birthday. Cannon, founder of the American Trotskyist movement and national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, surprised and delighted the banquet audience by making an unscheduled speech.

The keynote speaker of the evening was Joseph Hansen, editor of *Intercontinental Press* and secretary to Leon Trotsky during Trotsky's final exile in Mexico. Messages of greetings were read at the banquet from all over the United States and the world.

They came from: Farrell Dobbs, SWP national secretary; Belgian Trotskyist leader Ernest Mandel; the Socialist Workers Party of India; the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance; the staff of *The Militant*; and many other people and places.

Personal greetings were made at the banquet by Walta Ross, daughter of the late Rose Karsner who was a cofounder of the American Trotskyist movement with Cannon and his lifelong companion, and also by Cannon's grandson Matt Ross, a Berkeley student activist.

James P. Cannon's revolutionary career includes organizing and strike leadership in the IWW, leadership of the left wing of the old Socialist Party and participation in the founding of the American Communist Party in 1919 when revolutionaries left the SP in solidarity with Lenin's Bolsheviks.

Cannon was expelled from the Communist Party for Trotskyism in 1928 and initiated the movement from which the Socialist Workers Party was built in 1938. He had engaged in active collaboration with Trotsky from 1928 until the latter's assassination in 1940.

In 1944, along with 17 other leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis truck-drivers' union who opposed the imperialist war, Cannon was imprisoned in Washington's first use of the Smith Act.

At the outbreak of the escalated attack on Vietnam, Cannon, age 75, was pitching for a clear-cut anti-imperialist direction for the antiwar movement. "The slogan of Bring The Troops Home Now is an absolutely correct slogan," he argued in 1965, "the one upon which you can organize an antiwar movement that really means business.

"Anybody who does not adopt that demand isn't really fighting the war. Because if you agree to leave the American troops there, with all their equipment, there is never going to be any peace or independence for the Vietnamese people."

An array of speakers at the banquet saluted Cannon's record. A.L. Wirin, chief counsel for the Southern California ACLU, said that he did not regularly attend SWP meetings but he was here tonight to honor James P. Cannon.

Patti Iiyama, SWP candidate for California treasurer, emphasized the great debt that young people coming into the movement today owe Cannon. "Jim Cannon's influence on the YSA and the SWP is growing, not diminishing," she said. "He has laid the basis for a revolutionary combat party to make the American revolution."

Herman Fagg, SWP candidate for governor of California, expanded on this theme: "The mighty fist that will do in capitalism is beginning to move. Every social layer with any social weight is beginning to move. James P. Cannon has laid the foundation for the new radicals who are coming up."

Joseph Hansen's keynote speech began with a quotation from the Jan. 1, 1929, issue of *The Militant* that cited the record of this worker-Bolshevik leader:

"Joined Socialist Party in Kansas City in 1908. Joined IWW in 1911. . . . Organized first underground Communist groups in mine field of Kansas and Southern Illinois. . . . Elected to the Central Executive Committee [of the Communist Party] at first underground convention at Bridgman, Michigan, May 1920 and reelected at every subsequent convention of the Party. . . . Delegate to Fourth and Sixth World

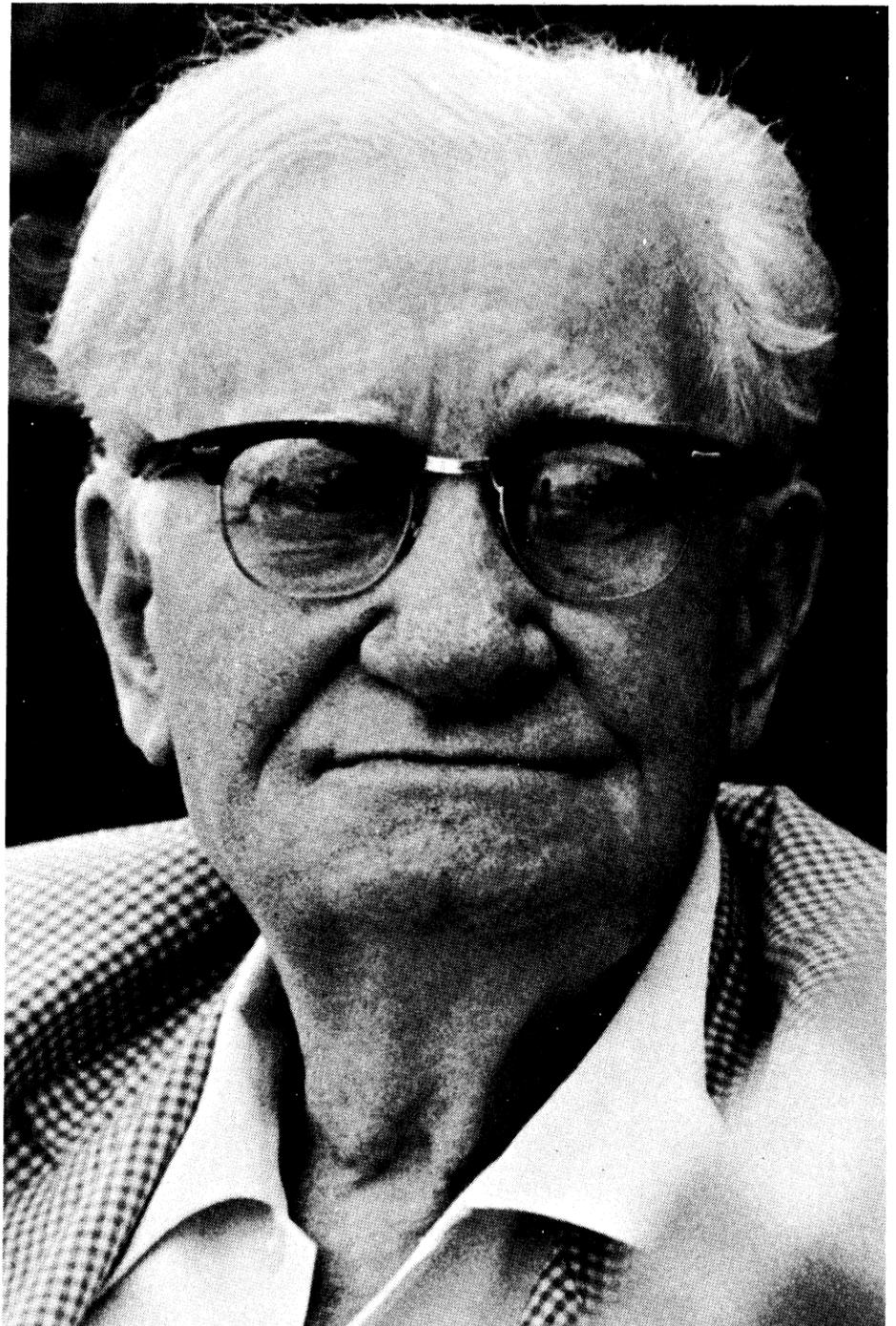


Photo by John Gray

"I object to the feeling among some youth today that you shouldn't trust anybody over 80"—James P. Cannon

Congresses of the Communist International. . . .

"Organizer in Akron Rubber Strike in 1913, Peoria Metal Workers Strike and Superior Ore Dock Strike and many others. . . ."

"Jim's greatest single contribution," said Hansen, "was to maintain the continuity of revolutionary socialism in the United States."

"Jim began as a rebel, Jim is still a rebel youth with his eyes on what is coming," Hansen concluded.

The most inspiring event of the evening was the unexpected speech by Cannon himself. When he had arrived, just before the program was to begin, he had been given a standing ovation and as he rose to make his way to the speakers podium, the gathering again stood in applause.

"I object to the feeling among some youth today that you shouldn't trust anybody over 80," Cannon began.

The main part of his speech was addressed to another speech, one that had been given by Rose Karsner in 1962 when Cannon's *First Ten Years of American Communism* was published. In that speech Rose, who died in March 1968, had spoken about her and Jim's revolutionary life. Cannon quoted her:

"From the moment we threw our lot in with the socialist movement, more than 50 years ago, we have never wavered in our conviction that a socialist world will come into being. . . ."

"Never did we feel we were sacrificing for the party. On the contrary, we were always conscious of the fact that to have to give up the party, that would be a sacrifice. Because through activity of the party, we got fulfillment of life and satisfaction and the confidence that we were working not merely for our own selves, but for the entire human race. We feel the same way tonight. We recommend that way to you all."

A worker-leader assesses role of students

"We should not forget that Marx and Engels began as students. We shouldn't forget that Marx and Engels and Lenin and Trotsky — and practically all the leaders of the Russian Revolution — began as students in the colleges.

"And it really almost takes your breath away — the prospect that we may be on the verge of a period when a new cadre is taking shape among the student bodies across this vast country. They will find their way to collaboration with the working class in this country and bring with them the benefits of their talents and education.

"They will contribute new thinkers, new writers, new orators and new agitators who know how to identify themselves with the working class movement. We will not neglect that field and I think that we have made a good start already with the organization and development of our Young Socialist Alliance." — James P. Cannon, Los Angeles, 1965.

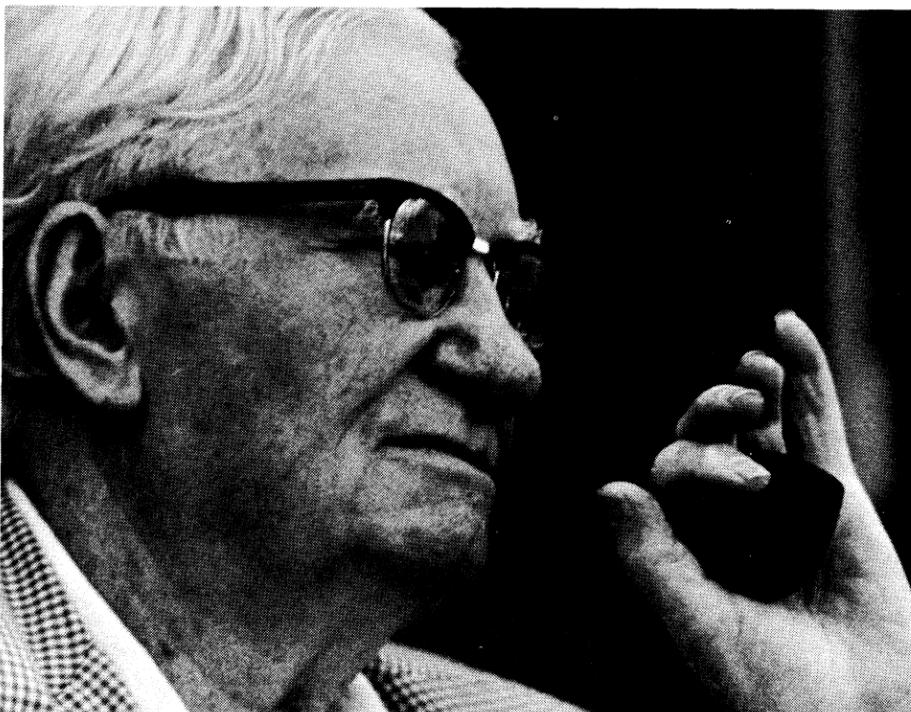


Photo by John Gray

'Jim began as a rebel, Jim is still a rebel youth with his eyes on what is coming'—Joseph Hansen

Why Nixon resists a living wage for the postal workers

By DICK ROBERTS

Recognition that postal workers need and deserve higher wages is so widespread that even in the midst of his strikebreaking activity, President Nixon conceded they are "underpaid." Yet he was ready to resist their legitimate wage demands to the point of bringing on what he called a "national emergency." Why?

The answer is that Nixon's attitude toward the postal strike is not at all incidental or simply an expression of his antilabor bias. It flows from government economic policies which originated in the Johnson administration and have been carefully worked over by Nixon and his economic advisers.

These policies call for influencing the American economy by manipulating the employment and wage levels of government workers. They are part of the overall design of the capitalist ruling class to freeze the wages of American workers and drive down their standard of living.

For public consumption, this is called "slowing down the economy in order to combat inflation." A more accurate characterization would be "holding down wages and laying off workers in order to increase profits."

The realities of Nixon's policies for government workers were spelled out in the fine print of the 1971 budget plans which Nixon presented to Congress in February. This was reprinted in very small type in the Feb. 3 *New York Times*.

"The annual survey of the Bureau of Labor Statistics," Nixon said, "indicates that a civilian pay raise averaging 5.75 percent would be consistent with the present legal comparability principle." These words mean that although prices in 1969 rose nearly 7 percent and were increasing just as fast in January, Nixon wanted government workers to keep their pay raises to 5.75 percent—well below the pace of price inflation.

Then Nixon said: "Because the need to control and contain the inflationary

spiral is of paramount importance at this time, however, I recommend that the comparability pay raises (which require congressional action) be deferred six months beyond the recent pattern, and be made effective January 1971."

In other words, Nixon wanted Congress to defer the 5.75 percent government-worker pay increase — although even if these increases had been granted right away they would have been insufficient. Nothing now and too little later was Nixon's plan. The postal workers have changed this.

But that is not all there was to Nixon's plans for government workers. Nixon also hoped—and still hopes—that increased workloads and too-little pay for government workers will lead to lower government employment — the loss of jobs by attrition. He spelled this out:

"Federal civilian employment — as measured by those in full-time permanent employment—will decline for the second consecutive year," said Nixon. "This decline represents the tight rein I am holding on employment, despite sharp increases in the workload." Holding down wages and speeding up production has its place in the capitalist government as well as in the industries this government represents.

These policies aim in one direction: increasing the ranks of the unemployed, inside and outside of government. Reducing government employment and freezing the wages of government workers cuts down on the purchasing power of government employees. This shrinks the demand for consumer products generally and ends up by forcing layoffs in industries which produce the consumer goods that would otherwise be purchased by government workers. *Thus the employment and wage levels of government workers are used as a tool to combat the employment and wage levels of all workers.*

This is supposed to lead to price

SWP, Democrat nominees debate before Flint SMC

By GORDON FOX

FLINT, Mich. — George Bouse, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, debated Zoltan Ferency at a meeting of the Flint Student Mobilization Committee March 23. Ferency, former Michigan state chairman of the Democratic Party, is a contender for the party's gubernatorial nomination.

Remembered for his hobnobbing with LBJ in 1966, Ferency presented himself as an antiwar candidate who, if elected, would use his office to oppose the war.

While giving lip service to opposition to the war, Ferency tried to whitewash U.S. policy by asserting that "what we've been trying to do for 15 years is to Vietnamize it, and it has been the failure of that policy that has led to our current involvement."

Bouse responded with an attack on the Democratic and Republican parties as the two parties directly responsible for the imperialist war in Vietnam. He challenged Ferency to split from his party and help organize the mass movement against the war, in effect, putting his body where his mouth is.

"The war is not a problem of mistak-

en foreign policy," Bouse declared, "but a deliberate attempt to turn back the struggle of the Vietnamese people for self-determination and for the eventual domination of Asia. If one opposes the Vietnam war, as Ferency says he does, he must fight against that war, not just in words, but in action."

When Ferency was asked by a listener why he supports Senator Philip Hart, who was in favor of using troops to scab on the postal workers and who has voted for every Defense Department appropriation since his election, Ferency tried to duck the issue by baiting the Socialist Workers Party. "The Democratic Party," he asserted, "is not the doctrinaire party that the Socialist Workers Party is." A listener shot back: "The SWP is not the oppressive party the Democratic Party is."

"The Socialist Workers Party," Bouse said, "has been the only political party to consistently build the antiwar movement and the SMC. Democratic Party politicians who oppose the war verbally are only liars and frauds if they remain supporters of that party and, consequently, defenders of capitalism.



Photo by Howie Epstein/LNS

New York postal workers during strike

declines. But the fact of the matter is that prices have continued to shoot up even though unemployment is beginning to increase across the nation.

What Nixon and the capitalists he represents are really interested in doing — and this is what they never explain for obvious reasons — is decreasing the rate at which workers raise their wages. They want to combat "wage inflation" — a convenient label for workers' efforts to catch up with inflationary prices. They hope that when more workers are out of work, those who do have jobs will be reluctant to press for more adequate wage increase and those who do not have work will accept jobs at lower pay.

This was the reason, for example, that General Electric attempted — unsuccessfully — to press a one-year contract on electrical workers. In its Oct. 18 issue, before the long strike began, *Business Week* explained GE's policy: "The union alliance [in the electrical industry] is still untested, and 1969 could be its last chance for many years. Rising unemployment figures could dim members' militancy by the time the next contract reopening rolls around."

Wishful thinking it turned out to be! The electrical unions stood firm and smashed these plans to pieces.

Nixon has been attempting to do precisely the same thing in respect to government workers. He ran into a buzz saw with the mailmen.

These plans of the ruling class are dictated by a central ambition which is never spelled out in so many words: That is to continue the war in Vietnam and to continue spending billions of dollars to finance their global military network and mighty nuclear arsenal.

It is this war spending that is the immediate cause of inflation. The way to end the inflation is to end the war right now and to cut military spending to zero.

But these are not the plans of the ruling class. They intend to continue the war and to continue spending billions on war machinery. That is why they have resorted to "combatting inflation" — "wage inflation," that is, by holding down wages, firing workers, and trying to break strikes.

President of the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association in New York John DeLury hit the nail on the head when he stated: "The use of troops in New York City is a step backward to the stone age of labor-management relationships. After all, we cannot and must not Vietnamize relationships with Federal employees."

But that is Nixon's plan. He wants to straitjacket the employment and wages of postal workers and all government workers in order to increase corporate profits while continuing the U.S. attack on Vietnam.

Antiwar center burns down in Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA — The headquarters of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), which also housed several other antiwar organizations here, was heavily damaged by fire early Monday morning, March 23. The two-alarm blaze which destroyed the fourth floor offices of the Resistance in the same building was reported at 2:56 a.m. and brought under control at 4:24 a.m.

Fire marshals stated on Monday evening that "arson is not suspected at this time." However, a statement by Philadelphia Resistance charged that possibility of arson exists. "The fire marshal who investigated said it looked like arson to him." The building housed Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Americans for New National Priorities, Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace, and the Philadelphia Area Vietnam Committee.

The Resistance has set up temporary headquarters at the offices of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. WILPF has set up new offices at 1738 Pine Street. Donations to help replace materials lost in the fire are greatly appreciated and can be sent to the 1738 Pine Street address.

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Impact will prove profound

Postal workers scored solid gain for labor

By FRANK LOVELL

NEW YORK, March 25 — Striking postal workers voted at 3 p.m. here today to return to work. The vote was taken at a spirited mass meeting of thousands that overflowed the entire area of the General Post Office. Thus ended a solid week-long strike which brought out postal workers across the nation and shattered the myth that workers cannot strike against the federal government.

The affirmative vote was taken on the assurance of union officials that a tentative agreement had been reached in Washington with responsible government representatives that would include substantial improvements in wages and their rights as unionists.

The open-air mass meeting was officially called by Branch 36 of the National Association of Letter Carriers (AFL-CIO), which initiated the nationwide walkout, and by the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union (an affiliate of the National Postal Union, independent), which has provided the solid base of support of the letter carriers in the Manhattan area. Principal speakers at the rally were Letter Carriers President Gustave J. Johnson and Moe Biller, local president of the National Postal Union.

Both union officials had won the trust and confidence of the bulk of the postal workers during the course of the strike. They reported that they had reason to believe that an "understanding" had been reached in Washington on the following immediate concessions to postal workers: 1) a 12-percent increase in wages retroactive to October 1969; 2) top pay to all workers with eight years seniority—not the current 21 years; 3) 100-percent federal payment of health insurance coverage; 4) the recognition of the right of the postal workers unions to collective bargaining, with final and binding arbitration of all outstanding

grievances; 5) total amnesty for all strikers, no victimization of any.

Morale was high as the workers voted to go back with these promised gains. The rank and file felt that a new landmark had been set by their struggle; that henceforth the government must deal with postal workers as organized unionists, and that the most urgent need is one big union to represent all postal workers instead of the present seven weak, divided and conservative craft unions.

This need of a single union was voiced by both union officials, Johnson and Biller. Johnson reported he had received only hindrance and double-dealing from the Washington-based national president of his union, James Rademacher. From the outset, Rademacher had deplored the strike and played the role of stooge for Labor Secretary George P. Shultz whose job was to break the strike. Johnson sees the complete reorganization of postal workers into a single union as eliminating the drag of such officials as Rademacher. It was Johnson who introduced the single-union idea at the rally today.

Moe Biller, president of the independent Postal Union, reported that he had been informed of the "agreement" reached in Washington between union and government officials. His union, however, is not represented in those negotiations. He recommended return to work on the basis of the assurances received.

The workers and their local representatives were under great pressure to go back to work. In a rather grotesque show of strength and desperate bravado, Nixon had called out the Army to occupy the New York Post Office and make a pretense of operating the mail service.

More direct and telling pressure was brought through the federal courts. Yesterday a federal judge found Branch 36 of the Letter Carriers guilty of contempt for violating a March 18 injunction against continuation of the strike.

A decision was handed down in accordance with the need of the federal government to get a back-to-work movement started. The judge ruled that if the strike was not ended by 5 p.m. today the union would be fined \$10,000 for "contempt." Further, the union would be fined an additional \$20,000 if the strike continued through Thursday, March 25; \$30,000 more, through Friday; \$40,000, Saturday; and \$50,000, Sunday. The fine for union president Johnson was set at \$500 a day.

The terms of the reported "agreement" are a good distance from what they need and have been asking. These demands show the new level of understanding reached by large sectors of the working class who are just now beginning to move into action to win and maintain a decent standard of living.

The postal workers drafted demands to suit their own particular needs, but these same demands include the very things that are most urgently needed by the entire labor movement today.

The postal workers are saying that they need an organization of their own that is independent of government control. This goes for all workers today. They must have unions that reject in principle the interference of government in their affairs.

The postal workers have asserted that they intend to exercise the right to strike, a right long denied them.

The postal workers are saying that the ranks must democratically control their own organization, and are de-



Photo by Howard Petrick

Fighting New York unionists

manding that the membership have final vote on all agreements negotiated by their leaders.

The postal workers have learned from their own bitter experience that their wage scale must be protected automatically against the rising cost of living. They are demanding an escalator clause in their new wage scale.

The postal workers are demanding a shorter work week. A clause in every union contract to provide for reduction in the hours of work in accordance with the increase in unemployment is the only way the employing class can be forced to provide full employment for all workers.

This concept of sliding scale of hours combined with the sliding scale of wages is the only way the solidarity of workers can be maintained because

"There is only one thing worse than a wildcat strike, that's a successful wildcat strike" — Secretary of Labor George Shultz.

young workers now entering the labor force face the constant threat of unemployment and need union protection more urgently than high seniority workers. In addition, the demand to shorten the work week now is the only way the standard of living of the working class as a whole can be substantially improved.

The fact that such demands are finding currency among broad sections of the working class testifies that the general radicalization in this country is taking root among the workers.

It is not surprising that postal workers at this time should advance these demands. Recently, there has been an influx of young workers into the postal service. Because of the low wages and the hard work, the work force is now drawn increasingly from the most exploited and least privileged in the labor market. There is a very high percentage of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and women workers among the young who have come into the postal system.

These young workers bring with them experiences absorbed from the struggles of the past decade on the campuses and in the Black and Brown communities.

The government was forced to move its massive repressive machinery against these workers because of the strategic function they perform in the lifeblood of the communications system. Without the postal workers, it has been demonstrated, the modern capitalist system cannot function.

In the course of these past seven days, the actual weakness of the seemingly all-powerful master class has been exposed.

The Army was ordered out in a show of strength to stampede the strikers back into the post offices. But this very show of strength revealed the government's weakness. It proved that the Army can-

not move the mails (and were not even expected to). Maybe it can move mountains, but not mountains of mail.

Nixon's orders to the Army were intended solely to get a back-to-work movement of the postal strikers underway. The immediate purpose has succeeded. But the price they paid is higher than they yet realize.

Both the President and spokesmen in the Congress declared at the outset that the government will not negotiate "under duress," that the strikers must first go back to work before their grievances would be considered.

The first moment of the strike forced consideration of their grievances and behind-the-scenes negotiations began immediately, first with those "leaders" whom the government knew to be its pliant tools. And when these gentlemen lobbyists proved incapable of getting the strikers back to work, negotiations began with others—under duress and during the strike.

One of the most damaging revelations of all was the performance of the Congress throughout. Of the more than 500 members of the two houses, not a single one stood up for the striking postal workers. All "deplored" the strike, most denounced it, not one solidarized with it.

Over two hundred, nearly half of these gentlemen, were elected to their soft positions with the aid of money provided by union treasuries and votes of cruelly deceived working men and women.

The lesson of this experience will surely add to the awakening political class-consciousness of many thousands. It will help to arouse interest in the need for a labor party based on the unions, the need for labor to have its own representatives in Congress.

Whatever else happens during the next few weeks in the course of negotiations over wages and working conditions of postal workers, the entire working class has gained from this new myth-shattering action of the past week. Postal workers proved for all time you can strike against the government and make your power felt.

Some main union demands

A list of 23 demands in a leaflet widely circulated among letter carriers prior to the strike included the following:

"New pay legislation calling for a salary scale of \$8,000 to \$12,000 per year to be reached in 3 years of consecutive service, retroactive through January 1, 1970.

"Plus:
"1- 20 year retirement at one-half pay with no age limitation.

"2- Free health insurance coverage for both retired and active employees.

"3- Guaranteed right to strike.

"4- An escalating wage clause in all future pay legislation to keep up with inflation.

"5- Rank-and-file ratification of all future legislation.

"6- A 35-hour work week.

"7- An open election to be held for all postal employees to choose the right to vote for one union representing all crafts or the present system representing separate crafts."

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By Ernest Mandel 35¢

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SPECIAL FOUR-PAGE FEATURE

Revolutionary potential of women's liberation — analysis of key political issues

This special four-page feature contains major excerpts from the report on the women's liberation movement approved by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party at its meeting in New York Feb. 27—March 1 (see *The Militant*, March 20). The report was given by Mary-Alice Waters, managing editor of *The Militant*.

The most remarkable aspect of the women's liberation movement in recent months has been its explosive growth. At the time of the SWP convention in late August of last year, we pointed out how rapidly the women's liberation movement had emerged on the political scene and become a major part of the deepening radicalization. We predicted that it would continue to experience a rapid pace of development because of the objective base that existed for the growth of the movement. Our general expectations have been borne out quite accurately.

Before discussing the evolution of the movement over the last few months, it is worthwhile to reiterate a few of the evaluations we made at the time of the convention concerning the basic character and potential of the struggle for women's liberation.

First of all, we consider the emergence of the women's liberation movement to be a significant indication of the deepening radicalization taking place in the United States today. Struggle by women for greater freedom, for an end to the various forms of oppression under which they live, has been an integral part of every period of radicalization or revolutionary upsurge since the beginning of the bourgeois revolutions. The fact that whole layers of women are today beginning to question and oppose the most fundamental forms of their oppression is one more indication of the depth of the radicalization taking place.

Women constitute 51 percent of the population, and their struggle, as women, manifesting itself in the form of independent, action organizations, around the key issues of concern to women, is potentially as important to the American revolution as the radicalization of the Afro-Americans and other national minorities and the youth.

American women on the whole enjoy a higher standard of living than women of any other nation in the world, and they also enjoy a great deal of formal, legal equality. American women were among the first to gain the right to vote (even if Georgia didn't ratify the women's suffrage amendment to the Constitution until a few weeks ago!). French women didn't win the vote until after the Second World War, for example, and women cannot vote in national elections in Switzerland even today.

Yet it has been among the American women—relatively privileged in relationship to women in other countries—that this movement has developed so rapidly. And, in addition, the burgeoning movement here has been spearheaded by some of the best educated and most materially privileged of even the American women.

Such a development serves only to emphasize the depth of women's oppression and its revolutionary implications. Even those with the greatest advantages are being propelled into action by a growing realization of the totality of the forms of economic, social and psychological oppression.

The very degree of formal equality that exists means that the true nature of women's oppression is more clearly exposed, and the thrust of the struggle goes even more rapidly toward the most basic issues. We have seen this already by the rapidity and resoluteness with which the most advanced sections of the women's liberation movement have correctly identified the family—one of the three main pillars of class society—as the fundamental mechanism by which their oppression is perpetuated.

Growing contradictions

The emergence of the movement is the result of the growing contradictions which American women face—a "revolution of rising expectations." Millions of women are today graduating from the nation's high schools and universities. Technological advances and a high standard of living give them increased mobility, freedom and leisure. Medical discoveries for the first time in human history make it possible for women to control their own bodies and, as a result, their basic life decisions. Changing moral standards, reflecting such basic historical advances, give women greater personal freedom than ever before. Yet all these things simply serve to sharpen the realization of millions of women that they are excluded from playing any kind of social role that corresponds to their abilities, and that society conditions them from the day they are born to accept an inferior status.

The women's liberation movement is developing after a half century of dormancy, and as a result, there are no entrenched organizations or established leaderships which must be bypassed, few conservative "authorities" to be exposed. It has been built from the ground up by young, newly radicalized women.

And it has developed in the wake of more than a decade of radicalization during which the Black and Brown liberation struggles, and struggles by other oppressed national minorities,

have emerged, a decade during which the entire student radicalization has developed and the anti-Vietnam-war movement has grown to encompass millions of Americans. The women's liberation movement has been built on the foundations of these movements, absorbing many lessons from them, reflecting some of the same weaknesses, and looking to those struggles for guidelines and models.

Independence

The most important basic characteristic of the emerging women's liberation movement, the key factor which gives it such revolutionary implications, is its independence. The movement, of course, is related to and interconnected with other struggles—youth, Black and Brown liberation, antiwar, working class—but it has its own dynamic, its own demands, its own organizational forms. It is not simply the women's wing of an antiwar committee, a union, or a Black organization, and its fate is not directly dependent on the evolution of other struggles. For the first time in decades, women are saying they are not willing to wait for anyone else to take up their struggle; they will do it now, in their own way, and they are not willing to subordinate their demands to the needs of any other struggle.

The second aspect of the independence of the women's liberation movement is its development outside the framework of the two capitalist parties. At this initial stage, independence from the capitalist parties is almost assumed by the large majority of the activists, and this has not yet emerged as a crucial issue within the movement. But we can be confident that as the movement grows, there will be a wing of the liberal Democrats and Republicans who will try to adapt to some of the demands of the movement, to capture its resources and energies, and divert the movement from an independent, mass action, nonexclusionary direction.

We can be sure, for instance, that the Communist Party will try to turn the movement in this direction. One of the things they stress is the election of women to political office, and they point to the election of Shirley Chisholm, a Democrat and the first Black woman in the House, as a prime example of the kind of goal women should be fighting for. Organizations like NOW, the National Organization for Women, are also oriented toward involving women in liberal Democratic Party politics.

In the future, as the movement broadens and deepens and develops a real mass base, the fight to maintain independence from the capitalist parties will be increasingly important. But the demands raised by the women's liberation movement—for control over their own lives, for economic, social and physical liberation—are basically anticapitalist in their thrust. Although some demands can be met, in their totality, the goals of women's liberation cannot be won under capitalism or embraced by the capitalist parties. The struggle to attain these goals will lead many to the realization of the need for a socialist revolution.

Explosive growth

There have been some significant changes in the women's liberation movement in the last six months, changes we should all be fully aware of.

First, has been the proliferation of organized women's liberation groups. It would be impossible to establish



SOJOURNER TRUTH. Born a slave and freed in 1827, she was for three decades an active abolitionist. A staunch supporter of women's rights from the earliest years of the movement, she attended her first women's rights convention in 1850. In 1851 at a women's rights convention in Akron, her fiery oratory put down hecklers who threatened to break up the gathering.

an exact count, but hundreds of new groups have been formed. There are now more than 100 organizations in New York alone!

Many of the new groups have been campus-based organizations which emerged for the first time last fall. But more surprising has been the formation of dozens of groups composed of young women, mainly with college backgrounds, but whose common bond is the fact that they are young women trying to deal with the problems of finding jobs and/or raising families.

There have also been numerous professional organizations like the Media Women in New York and caucuses organized within almost every academic association and in different university departments. In Berkeley, for example, one of the most active groups is a women's caucus within the sociology department.

Black and other Third World women's liberation groups have also begun to emerge. In New York, for instance, a few women in SNCC are initiating an organization for Black women. Some of the women in the Young Lords are very militant about the need to wage a fight for women's liberation within the Puerto Rican community, and the program of the Young Lords includes a point committing the Young Lords to support the fight for women's liberation. Debate on women's liberation is coming more and more to the fore within the Chicano movement as well.

The second big development in the last six months has been the emergence of action-oriented coalitions and united fronts to work on specific projects.

In the earliest stages of the women's liberation movement, the small groups of 10-12 women who met to discuss their own concerns and problems—what is known in the movement as consciousness-raising—such small groups were virtually the only form of organization that existed. The small groups have played a positive function insofar as they help women to gain confidence in themselves, educate themselves, realize that their problems are not individual but are shared almost universally with other women. Some small groups have, of course, gotten bogged down in a self-devouring type of group therapy, but it would be a mistake to dismiss most of the small groups as belonging in this category. They play a vital role in helping many women to understand the sources and causes of their oppression.

At the same time that these small groups are important, it is also crucial



The drawings which appear with this article are of some of the earliest pioneers of the women's rights movement in this country. LUCRETIA MOTT, above, was one of the initiators of the call for the first women's rights convention held in Seneca Falls in 1848. She was a founder of the first Female Anti-Slavery Society and her home was a station on the underground railroad.

'Women constitute 51 percent of the population; their struggle is potentially as important to the American revolution as the radicalization of the Afro-Americans and other national minorities and the youth.'

for the women's liberation movement to unite in common actions, to turn outward, and this has begun to happen in the last six months. The demonstration in New Haven demanding freedom for the Connecticut Panther women, the numerous teach-ins, the broad meetings like the Congress to Unite Women in New York, the anti-abortion-law demonstrations scheduled in several places, and similar actions are indications of the direction in which the movement is developing.

As the movement gains confidence in itself, it is beginning to search for those demands and activities that have the potential for mass support.

Thirdly, there has been a significant growth in the movement's organizational and political capacities. For instance, arguments over whether or not a meeting needs a chairman and similar elementary questions are less frequent now than several months ago.

The political growth of the movement is reflected in the deepening search for answers to all the questions posed by the issue of women's liberation—which is, in the most fundamental sense, the problem of humanity itself. This growth is reflected in the way revolutionary ideas are received. There is a tremendous hunger for knowledge within the women's liberation movement, a search for full truths, not partial answers.

A large proportion of the activists in women's liberation are developing an anticapitalist consciousness, a realization that no basic solution can be found short of social revolution. The anticapitalism is in many respects similar to the level of consciousness that developed in SDS before its demise: it lacks any real perspective for the road to be travelled from here to the revolution, but it is at least the beginning of revolutionary consciousness for many.

Fourthly, the movement has broadened its base considerably in recent months. Initially, most of the women's liberation activists were women who had been radicalized around a whole series of issues, who had been members of SDS, Resistance, and various other political groupings. They came to the women's liberation movement out of disillusionment with the male chauvinist attitudes and actions so prevalent in organizations like SDS.

But the movement has arrived at a new stage now, and the recent growth of the women's liberation movement has come largely from women who have not previously been political activists. They are coming directly to the women's liberation movement and have been radicalized on that issue.

The recent numerical growth and political development of the women's liberation movement has been extremely important, but a word of caution is also in order. It is not yet a mass movement in the sense that the antiwar or Black liberation movement has a mass character and reflects the level of consciousness of the masses. The potential exists for the development of a mass women's liberation movement though, and one of our key responsibilities to the movement is to contribute to the process of formulating a program and organizing actions that will lead toward a mass struggle for women's liberation.

In this respect, it is important to call attention to the fact that some of the earliest and most militant women's actions have been those organized by welfare mothers. Their actions, in essence, have been demanding that society recognize its collective obligation for raising children and providing for them adequately. Such actions, and those organized by women workers fighting for equal pay and decent working conditions, may not be called women's liberation activities, but they are dealing with the exact same issues as the campus-based and other women's liberation organizations. They are natural allies.

Our job is to be part of the vanguard of the women's liberation struggle, to work with the radicalizing young women and the organizations they are creating on the campuses and elsewhere, and to help build a movement that will struggle to win the basic democratic and transitional demands which are being raised. We want the women's

liberation movement to fight for basic demands such as free abortion on demand, free child care, and equal pay, and to consciously lead the fight by involving the broad masses of women in whose interests these demands are raised. When that happens it will signify a qualitatively new stage in the development of the struggle.

Debated questions

A number of key questions have emerged as the focal points of political and ideological debate within the growing women's liberation movement. Although there are many which are worth discussing, four questions are of particular importance at this stage.

The first question is whether or not women should form their own organizations for struggle, raise their own demands, develop their own leadership, and organize their own actions. And our answer to this question is an unequivocal YES. Not only is there a need for separate women's organizations, but this is one of the most progressive aspects of the current women's liberation movement. The separate organizations are a reflection of the independent character of the movement which is so important. We support these organizations and we help to build them. We are in favor of them restricting their membership to women only since this plays a key role in helping women to develop their own self-confidence, identity, and dignity and to realize their full abilities.

It is a progressive step for women to want to get men off their backs so they can develop their abilities freely and fully.

The logic of such organization does not lead, as some contend, to introversion and a narrowing of the concerns of women, but on the contrary, it will lay the basis for women as a group, with their own special problems, to establish alliances in struggle with other oppressed sectors of the population. Far from narrowing women's horizons, it will enable them to develop a broader comprehension of the relationship between their struggles and struggles by other layers of society.

For example, one need hardly be worried that Black women who form their own organizations will forget about their struggle as Afro-Americans. On the contrary, such organizations will strengthen and help deepen both struggles.

Of course, there are some women who try to prevent the women's liberation movement from building bridges to other struggles. They usually argue that women have too many problems of their own to worry about, and should



Philadelph

not get involved in other problems to boot. This is one of the tendencies we disagree with and argue against within the movement, and our experience—on the question of the war, for example—has been that it is not difficult to convince women of the obvious need for them to join the fight against the war, as women; that there are numerous and compelling reasons why the fight to bring the troops home now is their fight.

The approach we supported and which was adopted by the Student Mobilization Committee conference was a model as far as the relationship between women and the war is concerned. A separate women's workshop was organized; a position paper was adopted, outlining why women have a fundamental interest in fighting to end the war and projecting a day of activity to focus on "Women and the War" as part of the April antiwar actions; the workshop rejected the orientation that SMC itself should adopt a program for women's liberation, pointing out that such was not the job of an antiwar coalition.

Our unequivocal support for the development of an independent women's liberation movement places us in opposition to a number of other currents—although they all tend to equivocate somewhat and sometimes bend to pressure.

Organizations like the Worker-Student Alliance (WSA) and International Socialists (IS) seem to view independent women's organizations as competitors. RYM sometimes supports organizations of women, but thinks they should be formed to fight for RYM's full program, not for women's demands. Their attitudes are similar toward both the independent women's liberation movement and the independent antiwar movement—they would rather not have to be bothered with broad, independent movements in which their line does not predominate, but since such movements do exist, they sometimes intervene, attend conferences, join committees, etc.

The Communist Party is apparently in favor of such organizations, but so far they do not seem to be turning any real forces toward the vanguard women's liberation movement.

The positions taken by the various political tendencies are, of course, very familiar. They are a repetition of tactics and positions adopted toward the antiwar movement. And, as with the antiwar movement, our differences with them are not simply of a tactical nature. They are manifestations of our fundamental differences in approach to work of this kind.

Our basic concepts are outlined in the transitional program. We orient our work towards the independent forces



ELIZABETH CADY STANTON. She attended the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840 where, after women were excluded from the conference, she became convinced by Lucretia Mott of the necessity to fight for women's rights. The leading intellectual of the early movement, and one of the drafters of the call for the 1848 Seneca Falls convention, she was a lifelong leader of the women's suffrage movement, and an activist in many other progressive causes.



needle workers battle cops during 1933 strike.

in the movement, those who are representative of the newly radicalizing layers, who are not yet attached to any of the different political tendencies but are gravitating towards one or another. We try to reach them at their present level of comprehension and understanding. We participate in the developing struggle in a nonfactional way, in a collaborative manner, and we contribute to the struggle, trying to deepen the level of understanding of the capitalist system, and what is necessary to abolish that system. In this respect our orientation to the women's liberation movement represents nothing new for us. It is guided by the same concepts that are fundamental to our work in every developing arena of struggle.

Class society or man?

The second question around which there has been considerable debate is whether women's oppression is rooted in the development and needs of class society, or in the physical, sexual and psychological differences between men and women. And ultimately this comes down to the *key* question of whether the struggle is to abolish capitalism as a precondition to women's liberation, or whether the goal is to reform men.

The other major radical tendencies — those which consider themselves socialist — will agree, if cornered, that the oppression of women is rooted in class society. That is, they formally agree with the basic analysis developed by Marx and Engels. However, despite their formal positions, *none* of them take the step from the premise that women's oppression is rooted in class society to the only possible conclusion — i.e. the need to develop a *program* to lead women's struggles in an anti-capitalist direction.

RYM and PL, for example, put forward as their central programmatic demand: Fight Male Chauvinism! In other words, regardless of their theoretical analysis, their practical program is to fight to reform *men*, not abolish capitalism.

The Communist Party does something different — but quite predictable. While it accepts the class basis of women's oppression, the program it puts forward, as in all other arenas of struggle, is not for the abolition of capitalism and its institutions — but for reform. In this case, their program is to reform one of the three pillars of class society, the family, which they argue can be transformed into a revolutionary force. Theoretically, this is as ludicrous as arguing that the institution of private property can be turned into an instrument for social progress.

There is also a wing of the women's liberation movement that does not ac-

cept a historical materialist approach to the oppression of women. It adopts the basic position that the oppression of women by men is more basic and antedates the emergence of class society. A clear expression of this general tendency is found in the Redstockings Manifesto, the basic statement of principles on which one of the small-group formations in New York is based. The Manifesto reads, "We identify the agents of our oppression as men. Male supremacy is the oldest, most basic form of domination. All other forms of exploitation and oppression (racism, capitalism, imperialism, etc.) are extensions of male supremacy: men dominate women, a few men dominate the rest. . . ."

Among the women who hold the position that men are the primary enemy, however, it is important to make some distinctions. Some are very conscious about it, have a well-worked-out position, and can defend it with very serious and elaborate arguments.

For others, such a position often simply reflects a positive desire to escape men's domination and their ideas get twisted into a rejection of *all* men, an identification of men with the root causes of women's oppression.

The distinction is important, because many women in the latter category can be convinced that men are also the victims of class society, and that women's liberation will bring men's liberation with it. The identification of men as the primary enemy is often simply an initial reaction, a first step toward deepening radicalization.

The tendency within the women's liberation movement that rejects a basic historical materialist approach is not necessarily antisocialist. Many would say that class society at least contributes to the oppression of women, but they disagree that the elimination of private property in the means of production will establish the material foundation for eliminating sexual oppression. In their minds, the fight against men is primary; the fight against the system is secondary.

And one of the most powerful "proofs" for this position, in the eyes of many radical women, is the status of women in the workers states. As on so many other questions, Stalinism has become equated with socialism. Many women respond quite understandably by saying, if that's socialism they want no part of it, they will keep looking until they find some other solution.

Deep historical roots

We disagree with this general tendency that rejects a materialist approach to the question of women's oppression. Just as with racism, male chauvinism

and the oppression of women have very deep historical roots that are nurtured and sustained by the capitalist system. The abolition of capitalism is a *precondition* for the total emancipation of women. That in no way means the fight for women's liberation should be postponed, but the realization that capitalism must be abolished does determine the basic strategy for the struggle.

At the same time, however, we agree that male chauvinism and all the myriad forms of women's oppression will not suddenly disappear on the morrow of the revolution. The oppression of women is older than virtually every other form of exploitation and bondage. It is older than slavery, racism, national oppression. It has existed throughout man's entire recorded history. It permeates every single aspect of human life and is so thoroughly ingrained in every human being that the average person is largely unconscious of its pernicious effects. Even within the radical movement the attitudes of male supremacy are widespread and many women are bitterly resentful of this — rightfully so.

However, while it will take time to eradicate attitudes and patterns of behavior with such deep historical roots, the socialist revolution will eliminate the material basis of women's oppression, its roots in class society and capitalist exploitation, the causes of man's inhumanity to men and women.

"The male-dominated left"

One of the favorite targets of the conscious anti-Marxists and anti-Leninists within women's liberation is the "male-dominated left." It is often an attempt to capitalize on the healthy distrust and skepticism of radicalizing women who have been disillusioned by those organizations which, for all their radical verbiage, relegate women to running mimeograph machines, typing and similar work — while men make the political decisions, act as public spokesmen, write articles and do the other "important" work.

But it would be a mistake to ignore the fact that pressure from the extreme "feminist" point of view is reflected inside our party at times as well. For example, it is occasionally reflected in the idea that men should be excluded from women's liberation work fractions on principle.

We don't want to make any concessions to this pressure in our own organization. We must understand the objective reasons for it, but at the same time, if and when it arises, we should use it as an opportunity to explain the basic principles on which a Leninist combat party is built. It unites within its ranks the most conscious elements of all oppressed sectors of the population and welds them into a unified fighting party. The party must do everything possible within its ranks to destroy the divisions and antagonisms created by class society in an advanced state of decay. We are not a federation of oppressed groups, representing different and conflicting interests, but a democratic centralist party in which all members participate in developing a program for and helping to lead a multifaceted struggle for the abolition of capitalism.

There is certainly no principle involved in whether men participate in the women's liberation work fractions and similar internal formations. In some branches they do, and in some they don't. It's a tactical question to be decided by each branch on the basis of what is the most effective way to accomplish the work that needs to be done.

There is absolutely no contradiction between fighting to build independent women's liberation organizations with all-women leaderships — and at the same time recognizing that it is not just women members of the party, but our party as a whole which is responsible for and must lead our work in the women's liberation movement.

We should also be clear on how to deal with the question of the "male-dominated left."

First of all, our party is genuinely unique among left-wing organizations. Our party has a better understanding of the issues involved in the struggle for women's liberation than any other

radical group. Women play a greater leadership role in our movement than in any other left organization.

We sometimes take this for granted, but a good gauge of how different we are has been the surprised reaction of many women's liberation activists as they see how our movement functions, and the general level of understanding within our movement on the question of women's liberation.

Yet, even though we may be more advanced on the question of women's liberation than other organizations, it is still obvious that even in our party more than 50 percent of the membership and leadership is male.

In the coming few years, those percentages will become much more equal than they are now. And in the coming American revolution, women will probably play a more central role than in any previous revolution in history. But it is still quite possible that well over the majority of the central leaders of the American revolution may be men. If that happened, it would not be because we or anyone else wanted it that way, or thought it should be that way, nor would it reflect a lack of sensitivity on our part to the importance of the struggle for women's liberation.

Rather it would reflect the fact that the composition of our party and its leadership cannot be artificially modeled after our vision of the future, or what is abstractly good. Unfortunately, our party will reflect much more the society we are trying to destroy than the one we are trying to establish — and it must if we are not to become utopian



LUCY STONE. One of the first women to graduate from Oberlin College, the first college to open its doors to women. A gifted antislavery orator and early supporter of the abolition movement, she got almost no support from her fellow abolitionists when she took up the struggle for women's rights. In the first years of the movement, she traveled alone from town to town speaking out against the oppression of women.

socialists. We are developing an instrument to be used in the fight to destroy the most powerful ruling class the world has ever known, not a microcosm of the future.

The problem of leadership and the composition of the vanguard is not something that can be artificially established, the way that RYM has tried to do it, for example. It can be a healthy sign when the majority of the central leadership of a revolutionary organization is composed of women — as the majority of the YSA National Executive Committee has been at times. It says a great deal about the organization. But unless it truly represents the leadership, the result can only be hypocrisy, a mockery of democratic forms, and cynical disrespect for both the formal and real leadership. While the women may be the elected leadership, unless it is genuine, the real leadership will simply maneu-

'the movement is beginning to search for those demands that have potential for mass support'

ver around the elected bodies and do what they want without being subject to the control of the organization or responsible to it.

As with every other question, it is our program that is decisive, and we are the only organization that can put forward a genuinely revolutionary program and perspective for women's liberation. We are the revolutionary party of women's liberation, and to build that party, we must make use of the human material that capitalism has provided, constructing the strongest party we can.

One final word on the question of men as the enemy. We also reject the proposition that only women will gain from women's liberation. It will be a tremendous advance for men as well, as they too will be liberated from the reactionary shackles of the family institution. If anyone has any doubts on this, they need only read *Portnoy's Complaint*.

Women's liberation touches on the most fundamental questions of human existence. When it is attained, it will mean the liberation of men, women and children from the deepest forms of sexual, psychological, social, and economic oppression. It will mean humanity has reached an entirely new historical level—classless society.

Only working women oppressed?

The third question around which there has been considerable discussion within the women's liberation movement is whether women's oppression affects all women to one degree or another or whether it is basically only a subcategory of the exploitation of women as workers. Related to this is the question of whether or not the revolt of women as women is a revolutionary development, or whether only those struggles by women workers are progressive.

On this question, our main disagreements are with Progressive Labor, be-

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cause PL takes exactly the same approach to women's liberation that they do to Black nationalism. As far as they are concerned, the oppression of women is a subcategory of the exploitation of workers. Only struggles by women as workers are progressive; anything else can be harmful and the main danger to be avoided is the destruction of working class unity.

In the resolution on women's liberation presented to the December 1969 National Council meeting of the Worker-Student Alliance, a resolution which basically reflects PL's line, the authors put forward the proposition that "the real basis of male chauvinism is the profits made off the double exploitation of women workers." With such a position it is hard to explain the oppression of women for thousands of years before the working class or the capitalist system came on the scene! And it fails to account for the many additional forms of oppression which must be fought and which provide the objective basis for the struggle, for the emergence of a women's liberation movement that involves women from different economic and social backgrounds.

Abortion, birth control, education, equal pay, child care, preferential hiring, and other demands are all issues that are relevant not only to working class women but to all women. Of course, there are class differences. But the women's liberation movement as a whole, involving women from all class backgrounds, can and will be an ally of the working class in the struggle to abolish the capitalist system. In other words, it is through the battle for women's liberation, as through the battle for the liberation of oppressed nationalities, that the working class will win crucial allies.

The reactionary family institution

The fourth major question being debated within the women's liberation movement is whether or not the family is a reactionary institution under capitalism, and on this question we have major disagreements with the CP and PL. Our major ally has been the most radical wing of the women's liberation movement.

Many of the radical women have educated themselves on Engels. That is, the movement's founders largely began by accepting a class analysis and a Marxist perspective on the question of the family—and this became the basic yardstick by which every other position was measured.

It was our unequivocal agreement with the basic position elaborated by Marx and Engels that won us wide respect within the women's liberation movement—as opposed to the CP and PL, for instance, which reject the Marxist analysis in practice. They try to convince people not only that the nuclear family under capitalism can be reformed, but that under socialism it will—and should—continue to exist as the basic social unit.

Women's liberation is a question that is shrouded in the most irrational and emotional attitudes, because it cuts so deeply into the personal lives of every individual. And of all the touchy issues surrounding women's liberation, the question of the family is probably the most explosive.

Everyone is a mother, father, brother, sister, husband, wife, son or daughter to someone, or some set of people. Every individual is personally involved in family relationships. People tend to react very subjectively, depending on their own personal history. And that is why it is so easy for the opponents of Marxism like the CP to demagogically exploit some of the most conservative and backward attitudes on the family question.

We keep these things in mind when discussing the reactionary nature of the family institution, but we do not make any theoretical concessions to the prevailing prejudices.

The family shifts from society to an individual man and/or woman the total responsibility for caring for and raising children, for taking care of the aged, for the education and inculcation of bourgeois values in children—the values they need to survive in this society—for policing the adolescent. In-

tolerable economic burdens are placed on the fundamental unit which is then proclaimed sacred, and the institution destroys millions of individuals helplessly caught within its framework.

There are, of course, good husbands, good wives, good parents and good children—as individuals. But as an institution, the family is a reactionary pillar of class society, and it is only when its individual members are freed from the economic shackles that bind them together that it will be possible for truly human relationships to blossom.

It is important for us to continue to take the lead in explaining and educating about these questions within our own movement and within the women's liberation movement. The theoretical debate underway is one that we can only be anxious to participate in.

What do we demand?

When we discussed the women's liberation movement six months ago, we enumerated a series of demands we considered important. Since then a number of those demands have begun to emerge as key issues.

This has been particularly true of the demand for free abortion on request. In several states—New York and Michigan especially, but others as well—the fight to abolish abortion laws has begun to evoke widespread support, and in a number of places, we have been centrally involved in this fight.

The abortion question is made-to-order as the initial issue on which the women's liberation movement can cut its teeth. In involves the most fundamental rights of women—to control their own bodies, to remove from the state the prerogative to decide who will bear a child and when.

Under the existing laws, one out of every four women in the United States has had or will have an illegal abortion during her lifetime. There is hardly a woman alive who has not at some time been concerned about the prospects of bearing an unwanted child—or having to face the dangers and expense of an illegal abortion.

The abortion issue has a built-in appeal to millions of men and women, which makes it possible to build an action-oriented mass movement. A well-directed fight on this issue can give the women's liberation movement a taste of what can be done if it turns outward and begins to lead a struggle, such as the antiwar movement has done. The anti-abortion-law demonstration scheduled for New York on March 28 is an excellent example of the type of action that can and should be organized.

One of the reasons support for the abortion issue is growing so rapidly is that a real possibility exists for making a historic breakthrough. Under growing mass pressure and effective legal action, it is possible the issue will be fought to the Supreme Court, with a chance that current abortion laws in most states will be declared unconstitutional. But even short of that, many states are already bowing to popular pressure and adopting new abortion laws with very minimal restrictions. While the new laws will not solve the problems of making abortions free and available to women who cannot afford the high medical fees involved, they at least set the stage for advancing the struggle to a new level. They will save



SUSAN B. ANTHONY. One of the most gifted organizers of the early women's rights movement, and a lifelong leader in the fight for women's suffrage. In 1850, she initiated and organized some of the early campaigns for the right of women to control their own earnings and the right to vote.

thousands of lives every year and unmeasurable anguish over unwanted pregnancies.

The abolition of abortion restrictions in the U.S. would be a historical step forward and a tremendous boost to the burgeoning women's liberation movement. Women would see it as a direct result of their own actions, a proof of their power, and it would increase their confidence and determination to continue to fight for their liberation.

A number of the other demands that we have raised, primarily through our election campaigns, can also become focal points for mass action—free 24-hour child-care centers controlled by those who use them; equal pay for equal work; access for women to all educational opportunities; a sliding scale of hours and wages along with preferential hiring for women and oppressed national minorities; truthful teaching of women's history; free birth control information and devices on demand; and many others. But there is no question that right now on a national scale, the abortion issue has emerged as the key demand with potential for involving masses of women in action.

We are now seeing the dawn of a movement that will probably be one of the most important mass movements in American history. As capitalism continues to decay, to rot in its own death agony, the angers and frustrations of every oppressed sector of the population will explode with greater and greater force. We expect this, we anticipate it, we look forward to it, and we want to be right there in the middle of it helping to lead it in an anticapitalist direction. That's exactly what is beginning to happen in the women's liberation movement today, and we can greet it with nothing but extreme optimism.

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Group in Minneapolis to aid postal unionists

We're awaiting a lot of mail

By **FLAX HERMES**
Business Manager

MARCH 26—As this is written, mail is just beginning to arrive in our office (delivered by union mailmen, not troops), but we still don't have a picture of how the various areas have been doing in our drive to secure 7,500 new readers that opened Feb. 15 and is slated to close April 15. So again this week, we are not publishing a scoreboard.

But next week—we trust—will be really different. All of the accumulated subscriptions should come pouring over our desk, plus the new ones that have been sold. We know everyone has been busy rallying support for the mailman and building the April 15 anti-war action. We assume you've also been busy selling subscriptions. If so, rush them in.

Power to the postal workers!

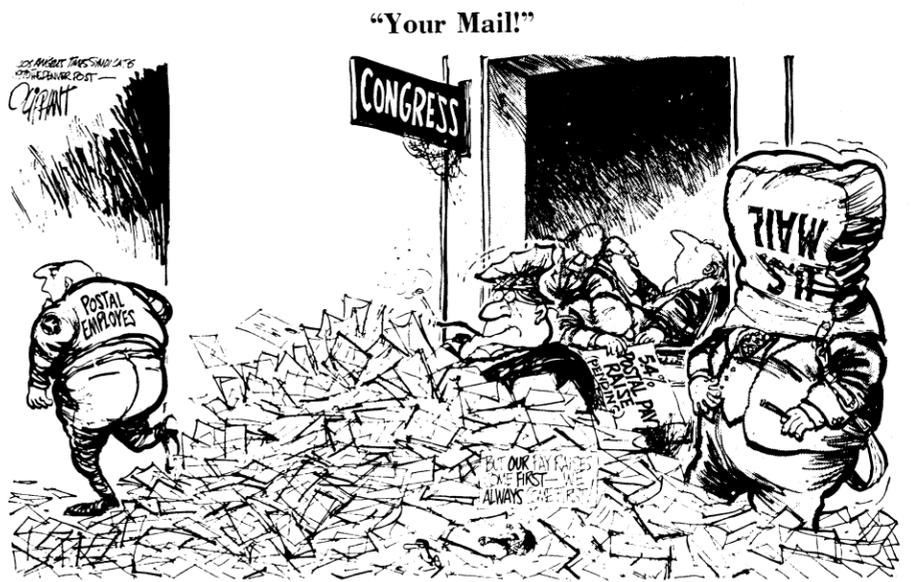
MINNEAPOLIS — Three hundred people of various views decided at a meeting here March 23 to form the Citizens Committee to Support the Postal Workers. The spirited meeting unanimously passed a motion introduced by Derrel Myers, Socialist Workers candidate in the fifth congressional district. The motion called for the formation of a committee around the following points:

- To support the wage demands of the postal workers;
- To support their right to strike;
- To oppose any sanctions against the strikers;
- To demand the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from the post office.

A second motion introduced by Myers stated: "This committee is prepared to call a massive peaceful demonstration at the local federal building the week of March 30-April 4 if by then Congress has not met the wage demands of the postal workers, if there are renewed strikes, or if there are any sanctions against the strikers."

In relation to this motion it was agreed that this committee had a responsibility to the ranks of the unions to avoid any statements or actions that would divide them or lessen public support for them. This motion passed overwhelmingly.

One postal clerk at the meeting said, "We're going back to work. There's nothing you can do now. But if the government fines the unions or throws us in jail, there will be plenty you can do to help us."



Atlanta city workers vow to continue their strike

By **DOUG JENNESS**

ATLANTA, March 26 — Significant new support for the city employees' strike has developed as it goes into its second week here. At a meeting held in a jam-packed union hall yesterday morning, workers for the second time unanimously vetoed a proposal worked out in secret negotiations by some of the local leaders of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644 and liberal Democratic Mayor Sam Massell.

This decision by the union members was supported by Jerry Wurf, international president of AFSCME, who flew into town March 24, as well as a spokesman for the Alliance for Labor Action

and the Teamsters Union who promised that his organizations would aid the strike.

The local fire fighters union voted to give the striking union workers \$1,000 and decided to stop distribution of plastic garbage bags to residents. The Massell administration has already spent over \$20,000 on plastic bags to try to alleviate some of the impact of the strike, particularly in the suburbs.

Resolutions of support have also come in from the newly formed but fast-growing American Federation of Teachers union, as well as from the Glass Bottle Blowers Association Local 101.

After the strike vote yesterday morning, the workers left the meeting enthusiastically ready to continue the fight for higher wages. They threw up mass pickets in front of the city's main public work station.

In the evening, Massell was given 15 minutes of free time on radio and TV to attack the strike. In putting on a false face of concern for the workers, he said, "My heart goes out to the worker who has apparently been made the tool of a small band of power-seeking union bosses . . . They leave us no alternative but to fight in defense—and fight we will."

Massell's hard line only served to anger the employees more, and strong picket lines are planned again today.

Women's liberation notes

It certainly was heartening to see the article, "Sisterhood is Powerful," by Susan Brownmiller, in the March 15 issue of the *New York Times Magazine*. It was the first time we know of that the *Times* has carried an analysis of women's liberation written by someone active in the movement.

Nevertheless, there are some important weaknesses in the article. For example, although Brownmiller comments on the numbers of disagreements and splits in the movement in New York, she fails to mention the most important action which has UNITED women during the past several months—the March 28 demonstration for free abortion on demand. Organizing for this action is being done by People to Abolish Abortion Laws, a broad coalition made up of scores of women's liberation and other groups.

The women's liberation movement in Washington, D. C., has begun to publish an impressive new biweekly newspaper, *Off Our Backs*, which will carry regular news and analysis of movement activities.

An article in the first issue describes the struggle in Washington to force the D. C. General Hospital to make abortions available to all who want them. Abortions have been legal in D. C. since November when the district's abortion law was struck down by the courts. The problem now is to get the medical profession to make them available.

Subscriptions to *Off Our Backs* can be ordered for \$6 by writing to 2318 Ashmead Place, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20009.

After we printed Frances Beal's article, "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female," in the March 6 *Militant*, we received several letters asking about the Black women's liberation movement. One woman wrote from Ann Arbor: "That article said a lot of things I've been thinking over the past year, and then some. How can I get in touch

with the Black women's liberation group? I really feel the need to get together with other Black women around this issue."

Since we printed the article, the Black Women's Liberation Committee of SNCC has changed its name to the Black Women's Alliance, reflecting the fact that now many non-SNCC women are active. Anyone who would like to get in touch with the organization can do so by writing Black Women's Alliance, c/o National Council of Negro Women, 884 Third Ave., New York, N. Y.

A very good report on the recent women's liberation conference held in Britain appears in the March 23 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. Some 600 persons attended the Feb. 27 conference, many of them from groups which have formed spontaneously during the past two years.

According to the writer of the report, Antonia Gorton, there was a great deal of unfortunate and unnecessary factionalism at the conference which prevented the development of a unified program of action. But, she says, it was the first conference of its kind held in Britain, and that fact alone is a sign of the growth of the movement. "A tremendous advance in female confidence has occurred," she says: "Political meetings will never be the same again; that is, the abstention of women is a thing of the past."

No sooner had the March 23 issue of *Newsweek* magazine hit the stands with a cover story on "Women in Revolt," than *Newsweek* was faced with a revolt right in their own editorial offices.

Forty-six women staff members have united to end the magazine's discriminatory practice of hiring women mainly for work in "research," while keeping them out of jobs as writers and reporters. The women are taking *Newsweek* to court, charging it with violations of

Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Osborn Elliot, *Newsweek's* editor in chief, denies any discrimination against women, explaining it all by claiming that the reason women are researchers is because of a "news tradition going back almost fifty years."

Doctors across the country are reporting a marked increase in the number of women seeking abortions as a result of their going off the pill after the Washington hearings.

A Gallup poll taken the week after the hearings showed that 18 percent of the women taking the pill had switched to a different, less reliable method of birth control, and an additional 23 percent said they were seriously considering doing so.

Not surprisingly, most women aren't really sure what to do. So long as the abortion laws remain what they are, they are faced with a horrible dilemma—either stay on the pill and risk possible serious damage to their health, or stop taking it and face the possible ordeal of an illegal and costly abortion.

The only real solution, of course, lies in the intensified action of the women's liberation movement and its supporters to fight for free abortions available to all who want them and to demand that the necessary money and effort be put into research for safer birth control methods.

"Women's Liberation Notes" is a new column which will be a regular feature in *The Militant*. We hope that readers, particularly those who are active in the movement, will contribute to the column by sending in news items and comments. Also, some members of the staff feel that the name of the column is too dull. Suggestions for a better, more lively title are welcome.

— ELIZABETH BARNES

CALENDAR

ATLANTA
1970 SOUTHWIDE SOCIALIST CONFERENCE. Includes: Why socialists should support the Arab revolution, with Jon Rothschild, YSA National Committee member; The Coming American Revolution, with Jack Barnes, SWP national organization secretary; SWP Georgia campaign rally, with candidate for governor of Georgia Linda Jenness and others; Panel discussion on women's liberation with various women's groups' speakers. Sat-Sun, April 4-5. Begins Sat., 10 a.m. \$2 registration fee. Emory U A&B Building Auditorium. Ausp: Atlanta SWP and YSA.

CHICAGO
FREEDOM FOR AZTLAN. Panel discussion of the National Chicano conference with reps of OLAS, LABO, Young Lords and YSA. Fri., April 3, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker, Rm. 310. Tel: 641-0147. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK
WHAT NEXT FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION? A symposium of representatives of women's liberation groups in New York City. Fri., April 3, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Contrib: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO
REPORT ON THE DENVER CHICANO CONFERENCE. Speaker: Froben Lozada, SWP candidate for Calif. attorney general and conference participant. Fri., April 3, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES
NATIONAL CHICANO CONFERENCE REPORT FROM A PARTICIPANT. Speaker: Mike Garza. Sat., April 4, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. NE, Minneapolis. Tel: 332-7781. Contrib: 75c, students 50c. Ausp: Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

Slated Chicago fare hike blasted by SWP nominee

CHICAGO—Fred Lovgren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the University of Illinois Board of Trustees and a student at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus, addressed hearings held here March 13 by a special subcommittee of the Illinois State Senate investigating the financial needs of the Chicago Transit Authority.

The hearings were prompted by threats of a fare increase by the Chicago Transit Authority. Fares in Chicago now stand at an exorbitant 40-cent base fare. The CTA is claiming a \$31-million deficit this year, and Peter J. Meinardi, chief financial officer for the CTA, attributed the "crisis" to two major factors: fewer riders and increased labor costs.

Passenger fares on the CTA have declined from \$1.1-billion in 1947 to about \$400-million today, a decline which is directly proportional to the fare increases that have been instituted over the years. It now costs working people and students approximately \$20 per month to ride the CTA.

Lovgren told the committee that the crisis was caused not by increased operating and labor costs, as the CTA and the bankers who testified maintained. He pointed out that the deficit, which

is said to plague the CTA's operations, is the result of a compact entered upon between the CTA and the First National Bank of Chicago, which acts as a trustee for the CTA bondholders. Under this agreement, the CTA is required to deposit all its funds with a trustee and disburse them in the following order:

First, operating expenses;
Second, interest on payment bonds;
Third, principal payments on outstanding issues;
Fourth, payments to a bond reserve fund;

And finally, after all these things are paid the CTA must place a minimum of eight percent of its gross revenues into a special depreciation fund with the bank.

Lovgren pointed out that this system of payments was designed solely to protect the financial holdings of the banks, insurance companies, and wealthy individuals who invest in municipal securities like the CTA bonds.

The CTA has been an enormously profitable business for its bondholders; its bonds are considered among the most secure in the country. The deficit is caused solely by the CTA's inability to set aside the complete eight percent depreciation fund after fully paying for its operations and paying

off the parasitic bondholders. Lovgren charged that the money from fare increases goes into the pockets of the small, wealthy minority who control the CTA and not for improving and extending mass, rapid public transportation in Chicago.

Senator Charles H. Percy also testified at the hearing and submitted a number of facts on the problem of mass transportation. He said that in 1950 there were 1,400 transit companies operating 87,000 vehicles. Today there are 300 fewer companies operating approximately 17,000 fewer vehicles, although the nation's urban population has grown by 62 million persons in that period.

The reasons are obvious. It is far more profitable to glut the highways with millions of cars, pay for highway construction out of tax dollars and let the public transportation system disintegrate. Percy's solution to the problem of choked and polluted highways and the CTA crisis, however, was to subsidize the CTA with federal tax dollars.

Fred Lovgren proposed a solution which would involve a fundamental change in structure for the CTA. He proposed that it be publicly owned and operated by elected representatives of the community and trade unions who would be responsive to the needs of the riders and not to a group of bondholders.

Not only should public transportation be subsidized, he asserted, but the fare should be abolished. He proposed that the cost of subsidizing the CTA



Chicago Transit Authority says 40 cents isn't enough for riding on Daley's El

should not be paid by further taxing working people but by taxing the giant profits of the large corporations, who assume no responsibility for transporting working people to their jobs.

He insisted the fare increases must end. The University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus, at which the hearings were held, was set up to provide university education for those who could not afford to live away from home. Yet now the fares of 80 to 90 cents a day are a tremendous burden to students and are an added factor in preventing Black and Latin high school students from going on to higher education.

The senators' reactions to Lovgren's testimony were stony. They told him they disagreed with just about everything he had to say, and said it was a cheap trick to raise the question of the war in Vietnam and inflation in relation to the CTA crisis. The response of campaign supporters and other CTA victims in the audience, however, was enthusiastic.

The national picket line

Teamsters seek new pact

The month of March, which is reputed to either come in like a lion or a lamb and go out in reverse order, may be lion-like in its exit, no matter what the weather.

According to the March 23 *Wall Street Journal*, the three-month long negotiations between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the Trucking Employers, Inc., have finally gotten around to talking about the "hard" issue—money. The *WSJ* quotes industry spokesmen as very encouraged about the cooperation they have received on fringe benefit questions from Teamsters' acting president Frank Fitzsimmons (they call him "Fitz").

The three-year contract, which expires March 31, covers 450,000 long-haul local drivers, mechanics, and others.

The IBT is asking for a 75-percent salary increase over a three-year period—roughly \$1 per hour. The industry spokesman characterized this demand as "inflated for bargaining purposes." The union is also demanding an improved escalator clause and \$3.75 increases in employer contributions to both the health and welfare and pension plans, as well as two additional paid holidays.

The international union officials have pledged to the industry that they will

never call a nationwide trucking strike. They apparently choose to ignore the fact that in 1967 the industry called a national lockout which lasted for ten days, centering in Chicago, in retaliation for scattered strikes among drivers thoroughly dissatisfied with the mediocre contract Fitzsimmons and company signed in that last go-around.

As a matter of fact, in this period of seeming harmony between Fitzsimmons and the bosses, there has been no reciprocal promise on the part of the industry not to call another lockout.

And it is hard to imagine that 450,000 truck drivers will be happy, as the Employers Association is, with the "new contract language," in which "changes in work rules. . . to allow the industry to operate efficiently in the decade ahead" are a part.

Then there are the 30,000 steel haulers, now petitioning the NLRB to grant them bargaining rights under their own organization, the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers, because they are totally dissatisfied with the way the IBT has always treated them like stepchildren.

New York press facing shutdown?

The New York newspaper unions, all of which have contract expirations on March 30, are making demands for substantial wage increases ranging from \$50 a week for night mailers and \$30 a day for day mailers, up to \$60 a week for pressmen. Other print-trades workers have not announced their specific wage demands but report that these too are "substantial."

Ten unions are involved in the negotiations with the New York Publishers Association. While bargaining is going on between the various unions and each individual publisher this time, it is reported, there is no binding agreement between the publishers that a strike against one will be a strike against all. No publicly stated agreement, that is.

— MARVEL SCHOLL

DeBerry is well received in Upstate New York tour

By JUDY BAUMANN

NEW YORK—Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, recently returned from a very encouraging tour of Upstate New York in which he spoke at more than a dozen high school, college, and community meetings in the Binghamton-Utica-Syracuse area, with a few news conferences to fill in his time.

Asked about the attitude of the press toward his campaign, he replied that in the past reporters have usually greeted SWP candidates with smirks and the question, "Do you really expect to win?" "This time it was obvious to me both from interviews and from off-the-record talks with reporters that the war has been a major factor in making people responsive to revolutionary ideas. There has never been a statewide tour like this before, and as a result we had major coverage in all the areas I toured."

This general responsiveness is a reflection of the growing process of radicalization reaching into all corners of the country. "The days of the super-patriotic stuff is subsiding at this time. After I had talked for awhile almost everyone agreed that socialism might be a better system than capitalism. Their question was how it could be achieved—whether there would be time before World War III. Tours like this are helping to establish the SWP as the legitimate alternative to the capitalist politicians throughout the state."

DeBerry was able to speak to a number of Black organizations on his tour. I asked him how Black students felt about an Afro-American running as the candidate of a Marxist party rather than of a Black party. "The initial response was cool," he explained. "The real question seemed to be whether or not Marxism was relevant to Blacks. I pointed out that in order to create a real move-

ment for change Marx's method is necessary." Every successful revolution has had a basically anticapitalist perspective, he continued. "Complete freedom means overthrowing the capitalist system and in order to do that a multi-national party incorporating the needs of every group is needed."

Although some Black students agreed that an independent Black political party was the tool by which Black people could best struggle for control of their own community, the idea of political action independent of the Democratic and Republican parties was new to most. "I described how an independent Black party would be able to educate the Black community, mobilize it around issues that directly affect it, and orient it toward a recognition of the need to change the capitalist system by bringing people into direct confrontations with that system, thereby exposing it for what it is."



Clifton DeBerry



Frank Fitzsimmons

Indians fight to reclaim Ft. Lawton

By BILL MASSEY

*Socialist Workers Party Candidate
for Senator from Washington*

SEATTLE—One of the many signs erected by a group of Native-Americans demonstrating outside Seattle's Ft. Lawton states, "No Vietnamese ever stole my land—murdered my people."

The fort, which is named after the general who forced Geronimo to surrender, has been the scene of more than two weeks of continuous around-the-clock protest by the United American Indians of All Tribes. Ft. Lawton has just recently become surplus land, in as much as the Army is closing it as a base of their operations. The United American Indians of All Tribes (UAIAT), representing over 12,000 Native-Americans in the Seattle area alone, have reclaimed the land which was originally theirs.

The land was stolen from the Indians by the U.S. government, in violation of treaties that the U.S. had earlier forced on them to justify previous land grabs.

SWP campaign kickoff rally in Boston

By STUART SINGER

BOSTON—The Massachusetts Socialist Workers Party held a kickoff rally here March 20 for its 1970 election campaign. The rally, held at Boston University, was attended by 200 persons.

The program included a performance of Myrna Lamb's women's liberation play "What Have You Done For Me Lately?" and two multimedia shows on the Oct. 15 Vietnam Moratorium and pollution. The one on the Moratorium shows Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, addressing the crowd of 100,000 on the Boston Common.

Featured speakers at the rally were the SWP candidates: Toba Leah Singer, a leading women's liberation activist who is running for attorney general; Mike Kelly, a leader in the New England antiwar movement, who is the candidate for governor; and Camejo.

The candidates pointed out that although the SWP campaign is raising reasonable demands like immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia, abolition of Massachusetts' reactionary "Crimes Against Chastity Laws," Black Control of the Black community, among others, these demands will not be won without the kind of mass action the SWP is helping to mobilize.

Camejo's attack on his wealthy opponent, Senator Edward Kennedy, was particularly well-received by the audience.

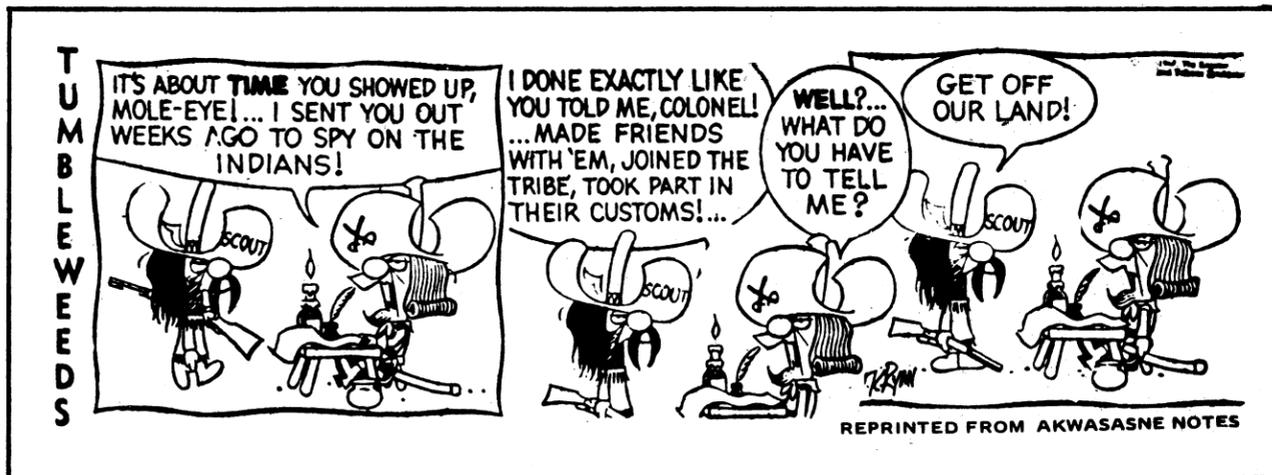
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A UAIAT spokesman told me that President Nixon had been notified of the UAIAT request for the return of the land and that Nixon had totally ignored their request, as the government has traditionally done.

Federal, state and local officials have acted no differently than Nixon. Senator Henry Jackson met with representatives of UAIAT and told them to go through regular channels in filing a claim for the land.

Later, he and Mayor Wes Uhlman of Seattle proclaimed that the land would be used for a park area. Seattle already has 46 parks, many of which are used by private business interests.

UAIAT is composed of representatives of many tribes. Its members represent urban dwellers mainly, but it has the support of the majority of Native-Americans nationwide. Many of the leading activists in the Ft. Lawton demonstration were active in the "fish-ins" of 1967-1968 and in the recent Alcatraz demonstration.

It has had the active support of movie actress Jane Fonda as well as the daily participation of Grace Thorpe. She is a dynamic leader in her own right as well as being the daughter of the immortal Jim Thorpe, America's greatest athlete.

On March 8, a group of about 100 Native-Americans went onto the fort grounds in the predawn hours, and set up three teepees and raised an Indian flag. When the Army patrol which circulates around the 1,100 acre fort discovered the presence of the original owners, they resorted to the traditional method of the U.S. government in such cases—naked force.

More than ten of the Native-Americans had to be taken to the hospital for treatment of wounds inflicted by the MPs. At the command of the fort provost marshal, Capt. Lewis Schatz, the Indians were dragged through blackberry bushes to police wagons, packed into small cells, harassed and beaten in the cells.

On March 15, another group of UAIAT members went onto the fort in the predawn hours. They were again routed out and arrested by the military police, this time under the command of the fort commanding officer, Col. Palos.

The good colonel even prodded the soldiers to arrest Native-American youth outside the fort, which was accomplished by the club-wielding soldiers dragging the youth onto the fort grounds, where they were then arrested.

More than 52 men were placed in a 12x14 foot cell. Seventeen of them have been ordered to appear before U.S. Commissioner Walter J. Roseburg for arraignment on charges of violating an expulsion order given on the first demonstration.

UAIAT issued the following proclamation concerning its claim to the fort land:

"We the Native-Americans reclaim the land known as Ft. Lawton in the name of all American Indians by the right of discovery.

"We feel that this land at Ft. Lawton is more suitable to pursue the Indian way of life as determined by our own standards. By this we mean this place does not resemble most Indian reservations. It has potential for modern facilities, adequate sanitation, health care, fresh running water, educational facil-

ities, fisheries, research facilities, and transportation.

"What use will we make of this land?"

"Since there is no place for Indians to assemble, and carry out tribal ways and beliefs in the white man's city, we therefore plan to develop:

"1. A center for Native-American studies which will educate them to the skills and knowledge relevant to improve the lives and spirits of all Indian peoples.

"2. A great Indian university to teach our people a way to make a living in the world, improve our standard of living, and to end hunger and unemployment among our people.

"3. An Indian center of ecology which will train and support our young people on scientific research and practice to restore our land and waters to their pure and natural state. We will work to depollute the air and waters of the Seattle area. We will seek to restore fish and to revitalize sea life which has been threatened by the white man's ways.

"4. An Indian school to develop arts and crafts of our people.

"5. An Indian restaurant serving native foods, which will be open to the public. With this great center, we will show the beauty, dignity, and the spirit of our traditional Indian ways. In the name of all Indians, therefore, we reclaim this land for all our Indian nations. For all these reasons, we feel this claim is just and proper, and that this land is rightfully ours for as long as the rivers shall flow and for as long as the sun shall shine."

The Native-American spokesman told me that there would be no compromise with these demands. Seven teepees are now erected outside the main gate to the fort, and a continuous picket line is

maintained, calling attention to the demands that UAIAT has laid down. UAIAT wants endorsements of the justification of its demands from any quarter it can get. It realizes that if Native-Americans restrict themselves to the regular channels that the ruling class provides they will get nothing.

They are depending on the public reaction of the masses of people to support their demands. They need funds desperately to keep their demonstration going and to persevere in the fight to reclaim their land.

All those who want to help are urged to send funds to United American Indians of All Tribes, P. O. Box 508, Main Branch Post Office, Seattle, Washington 98107.



"Believe me, mister, there's no neglect like benign neglect."

Pitt hospital workers strike

By MARK ZOLA

*SWP candidate for lt. governor
of Pennsylvania*

PITTSBURGH—Hospital workers at University Presbyterian Hospital here went on strike March 20 to force hospital trustees to hold a secret ballot election on union recognition.

Local 1199P, which is associated with Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers in New York and other cities, called for the walkout after the hospital refused to let the workers vote on whether or not they wished to be represented by 1199P. Organizers for the union claim that a large majority of the hospital aides and service workers support the local. Yet hospital trustees stated that since there are no laws compelling them to recognize any union as bargaining agent for the hospital workers they would not permit an election.

Hospital workers in Pittsburgh earn a minimum starting wage of \$1.75 an hour. This means that there are a large number of workers, many of them women with families, who are forced to exist on \$70 a week. Once the union wins recognition, it plans to seek a minimum wage of \$100 a week, which its sister union, Local 1199 has won in New York.

The board of trustees of University Presbyterian Hospital is heavily dominated by the leading American financial interests of the Mellon family. Once

again the representatives of the American ruling class refuse to grant the most elementary demands when they feel their interests are threatened. Not only are the people of Pittsburgh subjected to the poisonous air of their steel mills, and not only are they forced to pay through the nose for the crime of getting sick, but the people who work in their hospitals are paid starvation wages and denied the right to organize to defend their interests.

On the evening preceding the strike, more than 2,000 people jammed into the Pittsburgh Soldiers and Sailors War Memorial Hall for a strike support rally. The featured speaker was Coretta King, honorary national chairman of 1199. She pledged her full support to the strike and urged the people of Pittsburgh to rally behind the hospital workers in their demand for basic human rights.

Students from the University of Pittsburgh and members of the Welfare Rights Organization who have been active in aiding the striking workers were present in the audience in large numbers.

Local 1199P sees the University Presbyterian Hospital strike as only the beginning of its drive. Workers have been on strike at Uniontown Hospital since the end of February over the same issue. Every other hospital in the Pittsburgh area is in the process of being organized.

Ft. Jackson soldiers build new GIs United

By JOEL ABER

COLUMBIA, S. C. — Once again an organization of 50 to 100 soldiers called GIs United Against the War in Vietnam is alive and well at Ft. Jackson. And once again the Army brass here has good reason to regret its most recent attempts to silence the GI and civilian antiwar movement.

The UFO Coffeehouse had served until recently as one of the few places for antiwar GIs to gather in this typical Army town abounding with all sorts of clip joints and crawling with city cops and MPs. Four UFO staff members were jailed on a total of \$28,500 bond Jan. 13 on trumped-up "morals" and "public nuisance" charges. Two days later a court order permanently closed the UFO.

Both GIs and civilians responded quickly and angrily to this latest infringement on their civil liberties. On the base, GIs are circulating a petition protesting the role of Gen. James "Zapp-Zapp" Hollingsworth, the Ft. Jackson commander, for his complicity with local officials in closing the base.

Since they could no longer meet at the UFO, GIs began to organize weekly meetings at the University of South Carolina. Fifty to 100 men have attended each session, and they decided to call themselves GIs United.

Meanwhile a strong civilian defense

Ft. Bliss GIs file suit on ban of paper

MARCH 12 — About 35 airmen from Grissom Airforce Base, Indiana, met early in March to discuss plans for forming a chapter of GIs United Against the War at their base. The meeting was called by the editors of *Aerospaced*, an antiwar paper published by Grissom airmen. Plans are also underway to file suit against the Air Force, seeking permission to distribute the paper on post.

One of the paper's editors, Sam Hunt, has officially requested and been denied this right. The suit will be brought by attorneys James Lafferty, Michael Smith and Mark Stickgold of Detroit, in association with Leonard Boudin of New York and the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. A similar suit, brought on behalf of GIs United at Ft. Bragg, is now on appeal, and one is due to be filed soon on behalf of GIs for Peace at Ft. Bliss, Texas.

The brass at Grissom have harassed Hunt and other antiwar airmen on the post, but they have wisely refrained from taking any legal action against the men's constitutionally protected rights. Other airmen have been warned to keep away from Hunt because "he is in deep trouble." He has been questioned extensively by the Office of Special Investigation. Hunt has refused to answer the questions, and since he has done nothing but exercise his constitutionally guaranteed rights, he believes the "investigation" and hints that charges may be brought against him are attempts to intimidate him into silence.

The Marxist Theory of the State

by Ernest Mandel

CONTENTS

Origin and Development of the State in the History of Societies
The Bourgeois State: The Face of Everyday Reality
The Proletariat in Power

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for the victimized UFO staffers has been mounting. The ACLU filed suit to stop the prosecutions and to lift the injunction that closed the UFO. The Feb. 13 *Militant* reported a picket line and rally of several hundred addressed by attorney Mark Lane and ex-Ft. Jackson captain Dr. Howard Levy. Later, a defense rally of about 500 heard speeches by Prof. Howard Zinn and former Navy Lieutenant Susan Schnall, who was ousted from the service for wearing her uniform to an antiwar demonstration that she helped organize.

And on March 8 nearly 3,000 young people, including at least 500 GIs, took over the South Carolina State Fairgrounds for a benefit folk and rock festival to raise funds for the defense. The Young Socialist Alliance from Atlanta accepted an invitation to attend and bring a literature table, which was set up amidst tables for the American Friends Service Committee, the *Protean Radish* (a Carolina underground paper), South Carolina Women's Liberation, and cotton candy and hot dog tables.

Since it was International Women's Day, Barbara Dane and other singers dedicated their songs to ending oppression of women.

It was decided that some of the funds from the festival would go to the aid of the children in Lamar, S. C., who were injured when a mob of white racists turned over their school bus following court-ordered integration in rural Darlington County. The balance of the funds will go to the UFO defense.

While at the festival I interviewed Michael Lentine, one of several organizers of GIs United. Lentine considered the initial success of organizing such large weekly meetings an inspiration to Ft. Jackson GIs. He expressed confidence that the brass would find it difficult to victimize GIs United as long as the group remains open and above ground and makes it clear that it is simply an organization of soldiers exercising their constitutional rights.

Lentine outlined ambitious plans drawn up by GIs United for a war crimes tribunal to take place in Columbia April 19, during the national spring antiwar offensive. Already GIs United has found several Vietnam veterans at Ft. Jackson who have offered to testify about atrocities that they witnessed or were forced to participate in.

The official harassment of the UFO follows a developing national pattern, including similar blatant activities by officials in Muldraugh, Ky., outside of Ft. Knox and the recent bombing of a coffeehouse outside Ft. Dix, N. J. But events in Columbia are proving once again that official attempts at repression won't work.



INITIATED GI ORGANIZATION. The Ft. Jackson 8 who spent 60 days in stockade last year after asserting servicemen's constitutional rights by organizing GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. Massive public protest, including that of GIs, forced their release from stockade and army.

Noted academics file suit on gov't ban of Mandel

BY GEORGE NOVACK

Six American scholars from five leading eastern universities brought suit in federal court in Brooklyn March 19 to restrain Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Attorney General John N. Mitchell from barring the well-known Belgian Marxist Ernest Mandel from visiting the United States.

They asked that a three-judge panel be convened to pass on the constitutional merits of the issues in the case. Mandel, editor of the Belgian weekly *La Gauche*, was twice refused a visa for a speaking tour last October and November. They contend that his exclusion restricts their freedom of academic inquiry and injures their constitutional rights to hear the opinions of other scholars in their field.

Bowing to wide public protests, the State Department last fall recommended that a waiver of ineligibility be granted so that Mandel could fill his speaking engagements. But the U.S. attorney general disregarded this advice and insisted upon excluding him from the country. The suit is designed to test the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act under which Mandel and other foreign notables have been refused a visitor's visa.

The plaintiffs say that the author of *Marxist Economic Theory* has accepted an invitation to speak to various university groups who "want to hear him engage in a free and open academic exchange" in the spring and fall. But he is prevented from setting a precise date and place for these lectures and debates because of "existing uncertainty" regarding the status of his eligibility for receiving a visa. And he has accepted invitations on the condition that he would not be subject to the ineligibility provisions that have been arbitrarily exercised against him.

The scholars further contend that there was no evidence that he would engage in "unlawful speech or conduct" and that they have been deprived of equal protection of the law because the provisions of the act apply only to aliens having "leftist" political views and associations but do not disqualify aliens having "rightist" beliefs and associations, such as Nazi party affiliations.

The action was brought by the following scholars: Prof. David Marmelstein, department of social sciences, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn; Prof. Wassily Leontief, department of economics, Harvard University; Prof.



Ernest Mandel

Norman Birnbaum, department of anthropology-sociology, Amherst College; Prof. Robert L. Heilbroner, department of economics, New School for Social Research; Prof. Robert P. Wolff, department of philosophy, Columbia University; Associate Prof. Louis Menashe, department of social sciences, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn.

Several other prominent scholars are expected to join their colleagues in this action. This is the first challenge in the courts to the restrictive regulations of the McCarran-Walter Act, which was passed at the peak of the McCarthyite period and has now been reactivated as a punitive instrument by the Nixon-Mitchell administration.

The noted constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin is the attorney in the case. It has been initiated by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee with the support of the American Foundation for Social Justice and the Socialist Scholars Conference.

Women's meeting is well-attended in Philadelphia

By PAULA REIMERS

PHILADELPHIA — Nearly 500 women gathered at the University of Pennsylvania for a day-long women's liberation conference March 21. The conference was called by Philadelphia women's liberation groups. Attendance far surpassed all expectations. The overwhelming majority of the women were young, coming from local and suburban colleges and high schools.

The morning session included a multimedia presentation on "Women," a panel discussion of women's liberation by women from Redstockings, Newsreel, and the *Rat Women's Collective*, and workshops on sex and the nuclear family. The afternoon was filled with workshops on health care and abortion, women as workers, day care, communications and self-study. SWP candidate for state representative, Carol Lisker, led a workshop on women and the war.

One of the most inspiring things was the solidarity expressed for the March 28 anti-abortion law demonstration in New York. The health care workshop recommended that all women try to get to New York, and decided to arrange transportation.

The political seriousness of the young women at the conference was indicated by the fact that about \$100 in revolutionary socialist literature was sold, and 80 signed the mailing list at the Socialist Workers Campaign '70 table.

BOOK REVIEW

Malcolm X: By Any Means Necessary

MALCOLM X: BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY. Edited by George Breitman. Pathfinder Press, Inc. 184 pages, \$1.95 paperback.

"When we send our children to school in this country they learn nothing about us other than that we used to be cotton pickers. Every little child going to school thinks his grandfather was a cotton picker. Why, your grandfather was Nat Turner; your grandfather was Toussaint L'Ouverture; your grandfather was Hannibal. Your grandfather was some of the greatest black people who walked on this earth. It was your grandfather's hands who forged civilization and it was your grandmother's hands who rocked the cradle of civilization . . .

"We want Afro-American principals to head these schools. We want Afro-American teachers in these schools . . . We want textbooks written by Afro-Americans that are acceptable to our people before they can be used in these schools. The Organization of Afro-American Unity will select and recommend people to serve on local school boards where school policy is made and passed on to the Board of Education . . . If these proposals are not met, we will ask Afro-American parents to keep their children out of the present inferior schools they attend. And when these schools in our neighborhood are controlled by Afro-Americans, we will then return our children to them."

This was Malcolm X, on June 28, 1964, in the Audubon Ballroom. The occasion was the first public rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). He was making comments while reading the "Statement of Basic Aims and Objectives of the OAAU."

The "Statement," foreshadowing the stages of the Black liberation movement to come, is one of several speeches and interviews contained in the new book, *Malcolm X: By Any Means Necessary*, edited by George Breitman. Unlike *Malcolm X Speaks*, an earlier collection edited by Breitman which shows Malcolm's powerful political development in the last year of his life, *By Any Means Necessary* deals more with the changes that Malcolm went through.

The transition from the organizational form of Muslim Mosque, Inc., to the beginnings of the OAAU is sketched in "An Interview by A. B. Spellman," and in Malcolm's speeches at the first two public rallies of the OAAU. Here, the contradiction is brought out between Malcolm's desire to unify Black people by working within the civil rights movement and raising it to the level of human rights, and the organizational form he adopted following his split with the Nation of Islam. It was the April-May 1964 trip to Africa, where Malcolm conceptualized the OAAU, that aided in the resolution of this contradiction.

While on his second trip to the African

continent later in 1964, Malcolm took up the differences that had arisen within the OAAU in "A letter from Cairo." The manner in which Malcolm handled the problem is very applicable to conflicts within the radical and nationalist movements today.

The impact and description of the second trip are dealt with in "The Homecoming Rally of the OAAU." Along with this chapter and "An Exchange on Casualties in the Congo," which is a radio debate with white liberals, Malcolm maps out the OAAU campaign in opposition to U.S. intervention in the Congo. He was the only Black leader with mass appeal who spoke out against U.S. aggression in that land. The entire civil rights leadership chose to remain silent.

"The Young Socialist Interview" sums up some of the political positions that Malcolm had arrived at and points up some of the political problems that he was grappling with.

The chapters entitled "Answers to Questions at the Militant Labor Forum," "At a Meeting in Paris," and "On being Barred from France," illustrate the political climate at that time. Integration and separation, violence and nonviolence, Black "progress" through civil rights bills, liberalism and radicalism—all are handled in these chapters of the book. In addition, some of the political views of those who attended Malcolm's meetings are reflected in the question and answer period attached to "The Second Rally of the OAAU."

A selection of "Short Statements" wraps up the book.

By Any Means Necessary is not only a complement to *Malcolm X Speaks*. It is a manual that will help today's radicalizing youth untangle some of the problems presented in the struggle to overturn American capitalist society.

—DERRICK MORRISON



Third World liberation notes

How to fight slumlords while joining in just a bit

According to the March 22 *New York Times*, Mayor Richard G. Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, is a slumlord. This revelation was brought to light by *The Post-Tribune*, a Gary newspaper.

Hatcher, in co-ownership with his former campaign manager Charles M. Deggans, possesses a two-and-a-half-story brick tenement building in the Gary ghetto, along with a dilapidated single-family dwelling and four vacant lots in the East Chicago, Indiana, ghetto. The tenement building, built for three families, has been subdivided to cram five families into it.

The properties were bought by the two in 1965 when Deggans was an employe of the Redevelopment Commission.

To make the matter even more ironic, the good Mayor Hatcher has been waging a "campaign" against slum landlords. This "campaign" has resulted in court convictions of some on housing code violations. But it just so happens that Mayor Hatcher's own tenement building violates the housing code. Furthermore, in spite of Mayor Hatcher's

campaign to remove junk cars off the streets, a junk car sits right in the back yard of his own building.

When this whole revelation came to the surface, a Black city council member exclaimed, "When people fight for something the way he has, they shouldn't be part of what they're fighting. This surely has produced a credibility gap in local city government that might never be closed. The black people had faith in him. How I don't know."

But it is impossible for Hatcher not to be part of what he is supposedly fighting. In fact, it is wholly consistent because Hatcher belongs to a party of slumlords, the Democratic Party.

* * *

Another article in the same edition of the *New York Times* reported on a recent ROTC referendum at the University of Puerto Rico. Students there voted by a 50.5 percent majority to remove ROTC from the campus. The vote demonstratively showed that the students clamoring for an end to ROTC were not restricted to a "handful of campus radicals," which was the contention of the government and newspapers.

The ROTC building at the university was burned down last September by students demonstrating against the conviction of one of their leaders for draft refusal. The struggle continued on Nov. 23 when 40,000 Puerto Ricans demonstrated against the Vietnam war and the draft.

The vote against ROTC was complicated by another proposition on the ballot, a referendum on whether or not Chancellor Jaime Benitez should resign. This in effect coupled a vote of confidence in the chancellor with the issue of ROTC. The vote was 51 percent in favor of Benitez remaining. But despite this obstacle, the students voted to remove ROTC, which represents another victory in the struggle to halt U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

—DERRICK MORRISON

The Great Society

Where in America could they get such an idea?—"The idea is growing in America today that nothing succeeds but power."—James Reston of the *New York Times* commenting on the postal strike.

Crafty crusader—Gustav Kveen, a Minnesota farmer, initiated fraud proceedings against Betty McConkey, an anticommunist crusader whose activity he said he financed to the tune of \$190,000. He did so, he said, largely to help her prepare testimony for a Senate committee hearing which he finally learned never really was slated. Miss McConkey's lawyer responded that she told people she was going to testify before the Senate committee for the same reason that she used aliases in her travels—simply to reduce the prospect of being harmed by the communists.

Locker-room special—The University of Texas Ex-Student Ass'n offers gifts which assertedly "brings tears of joy to eyes of execs." Included is a \$5.50 LP featuring stadium sounds after Texas' defeat of Arkansas in a crucial game, plus a locker-room talk by President Nixon.

Tenuous science-theology union—A U.S. company announced production of certified kosher disposable dinnerware and cutlery. Meanwhile in London, Hebrew religious authorities probing a case of fraudulent claims of kosher manufacture found they didn't really have a definition of the term.

Kosher communion?—The New English version of the Roman Catholic mass poses a problem with the communion wafers which, for some reason, should be larger for the new mass. Established bakers of the product haven't worked out a satisfactory substitute. Some church people suggested that since the wafer must be unleavened like matzohs, they simply use matzohs. So far the hierarchy is taking a dim view of this.

Drag on this one—A single cigarette

is sufficient to paralyze the bronchial cilia, the delicate hairlike organs of the bronchial tubes whose function is to keep foreign matter in the air from reaching the lungs, according to Dr. Wm. Hallett, a University of California medical specialist. In habitual coffin-nail addicts, he said, the cilia tend to disappear completely.

It figures—Nixon reluctantly signed a bill for the continued functioning of several mental health centers. He said he had "serious reservations" about the program.

How simple can you get?—When Charles Revson, the lipstick king, and his wife opened their three-floor Park Avenue penthouse with a fund-raising affair for Israel, Mr. Revson wanted simple food, befitting the occasion. Instead of caviar there was Scotch salmon (Mr. Revson prefers it to the U.S. variety), French tuna (Mr. Revson finds it drier than other types) plus lobster (South African?) barquettes, whatever they are.

Will he set the pace?—Senator Muskie, the Democrats' pollution man, says the high standard of living we all enjoy is the cause of pollution. To cut down waste and pollution, he opined, "maybe we ought to set some limits on the standard of living."

He's only got two hands—Lawrence Zisman, a former Army captain, sent the president five letters protesting the Vietnam war and never got a response. So he sent a test letter supporting it. Sure enough he got a fast reply thanking him for his "thoughtful concern for our country." Zisman, who was p.o.'d by all this should realize the president is a busy man who has to be selective in his correspondence.

Promises, promises—After addressing a New York media luncheon, Agnew confided to newsmen: "I'm talked out."
—HARRY RING

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Laos, Cambodia —the war widens

By DICK ROBERTS

MARCH 26 — While the attention of all Americans has been focused this week on the national postal workers strike, developments have taken place in Southeast Asia which open the way to an ominous escalation of the Vietnam war onto a scale that will encompass all of former-French Indochina, that is, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, as well as neighboring Thailand.

These developments make it imperative that forces of the antiwar movement gird themselves to mobilize to the maximum extent possible each and every American in each and every state, city and town in massive demonstrations April 15 for the immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. troops and all U.S. military equipment from all of Southeast Asia.

The collapse of Prince Norodom Sihanouk's neutralist regime in Cambodia March 18 placed that nation in the hands of a rightist regime fully committed to crushing the Vietnamese revolution and firmly on the side of Washington and its Saigon allies.

Two days after the Cambodian militarists came to power, a front-page headline in the *New York Times* declared: "American Plane, Saigon Artillery, Help Cambodians."

On March 26, the *New York Times* reported for the first time that bombers of the Saigon Air Force are being used in support of Cambodian Army operations against "Vietcong" forces.

The iron logic of counterrevolution will soon find the Nixon administration committing massive U.S. military support "to defend" the Phnompenh generals.

Meanwhile the civil war in Laos has been escalated to include troops of the pro-U.S. Bangkok regime in Thailand on the side of the crumbling Royal Laotian government. On March 20, two Thai battalions were sent to support the Royal Laotian Army base in Long Tieng, 90 miles north of Vientiane.

"Informants, in a position to know, said the Thai battalions had been flown from bases in Thailand in planes of

Air America, a civilian airline under charter to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency," the *New York Times* reported March 21.

That newspaper has estimated that fully two-thirds of Laos is now under control of the revolutionary Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese forces. This fact, which the *New York Times* mentioned in passing, is eloquent testimony to the real breadth of the Laotian civil war.

Figures released by the Pentagon March 23 on the level of U.S. bomber losses in Laos confirm previous reports that U.S. bombing in Laos is on a higher scale than during the bombing of North Vietnam two years ago.

According to the Pentagon, 10 U.S. planes were shot down in the two weeks beginning March 10, when Nixon ordered the U.S. air command to begin releasing these figures. This figure is not considerably smaller than the averages of U.S. bombers lost during the height of U.S. bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong.

But Hanoi and Haiphong had advanced anti-aircraft defense networks. No such defense has been reported in Laos.

These developments underline the utter fraudulence of Nixon's so-called "Vietnamization" policies. Now, not only the hated regime in Saigon, but also the ossified monarchies in Thailand and Laos and the new adherents of Western militarism in Cambodia, are threatened by the revolutionary tide that is sweeping Southeast Asia.

Fully committed to defending these tiny coteries of military bosses and wealthy landlords against the popular masses, Washington can have no perspective of significantly reducing U.S. military forces in Vietnam.

It is utopian to believe that the war in Vietnam will come to a close soon or even in the next years so long as U.S. troops and military materiel are there. In fact, it will escalate, if not immediately in Vietnam, then in neighboring Laos, Cambodia and ultimately Thailand.

That war will only end, and the peoples of Southeast Asia will only be able to determine their own governments, when the American people have massively repudiated the "Nixon Doctrine" and have forced the complete and total withdrawal of all U.S. military support to Southeast Asian dictatorships. This is the historic goal and duty of the antiwar movement.



Jeasen—Chicago Daily News

New York, other cities, set plans for April 15

By DAVID THORSTAD

MARCH 26—Plans for mass antiwar demonstrations the week of April 13-18 are coming into focus in many cities across the country.

In New York a series of large actions are being planned by the Moratorium, the Parade Committee and the Student Mobilization Committee. The Student Mobilization high school strike rally will be held at noon at City Hall and then join in a Parade Committee-organized demonstration at the Internal Revenue Service. Demonstrators there will then tie in with three major feeder marches being organized to lead from Washington Square and other areas of the city to a 4 p.m. rally in Bryant Park being organized by the Moratorium.

The feeder marches were initiated by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee and have sparked the formation of local coalitions to help build them.

Around 20 groups in the Village area have joined to form the Chelsea-Village-Lower Manhattan Coalition for Peace which is building a 1 p.m. Washington Square rally and feeder march.

A second march is being organized by the Midtown Peace Coalition and will follow a 1:30 p.m. rally at Dag Hammarskjold Plaza. This coalition is comprised of antiwar groups that concentrate on workplace organizing largely in the publishing, medical and teaching professions.

Another march to Bryant Park is being organized by the West Side April 15 Peace Coalition.

Boston action

The Boston Area April 15 Antiwar Coalition had some difficulty getting going due to constant disruption of coalition meetings by PL-SDS. The disruption ceased when PL-SDS walked out of a March 15 meeting that voted to reaffirm the principle of non-exclusion. The coalition, comprised of more than 35 antiwar groups, is now accelerating its pace in building for April 15.

A broad spectrum of speakers is planned for the April 15 rally on the Boston Common. To date they include Carol Lipman, national executive secretary of the SMC; Father Drinan, congressional candidate in Massachusetts; Ngo Dinh Long, a Vietnamese student; Mike Kelly, Socialist Workers Party can-

didate for governor of Massachusetts; and Florence Luscomb, antiwar activist and longtime fighter for women's rights. Speakers representing labor, veterans, the Conspiracy, the Black Panthers and welfare rights are being contacted.

The student government at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst has voted to strike April 15, fund the SMC and build a rally on the Amherst Commons. The Northeastern University student government voted a strike on the 15th and a referendum on immediate withdrawal.

A major demand being raised by the SMC in Massachusetts during the spring offensive is "Let the People Vote on War!" This demand is part of the SMC's drive to get a referendum on immediate withdrawal on the ballot for the 1970 election.

Texas hold conference

Antiwar activists from many parts of Texas met in Austin March 14 for a regional conference to develop plans for statewide coordination of antiwar actions during the week of April 13-18.

Besides workshops and general discussion on how to strengthen the ties of the antiwar movement with the working class and the Black and Brown movements, the conference heard regional reports from several areas including San Angelo, Nachogdoches, Seguin, Arlington, Dallas, San Antonio, Ft. Sam Houston, Ft. Hood and the Manshaca Grade School in Austin.

Detroit unionists

The Detroit Coalition to End the War Now is actively soliciting endorsements of April 15 from union locals in the area. The Tool and Die Unit of UAW Local 600 has joined UAW Locals 51 and 306 in passing a resolution calling for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam and supporting the mass demonstrations on April 15. The Coalition plans to place an ad in the April 13 *Detroit Free Press* to publicize the April 15 mass march scheduled to leave Wayne State University at 3 p.m. for a rally at Kennedy Square. Speakers include Betty Friedan of the National Organization for Women; Tom Turner, president of Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO and of the Detroit NAACP; and Andrew Pulley, ex-GI and founder of GIs United Against the War at Ft. Jackson, S. C.

Moratorium ad for April 15

The Vietnam Moratorium Committee placed a full-page ad in the *New York Times* Sunday, March 22, calling on Americans to join the nationwide tax protest April 15. Under the headline "April 15th is 'Support the Pentagon' Day," the ad contains a drawing of a man loaded down with military and businessmen holding their missile-toys and compares the "military-industrial establishment" to a "giant tapeworm that is sucking the nourishment out of the body of America."

