

National conference projects Chicano party

— story page 4

THE MILITANT

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New escalation demands maximum antiwar protest



By DICK ROBERTS

APRIL 2 — "United States fighter-bombers attacked North Vietnamese gun positions inside Cambodia Tuesday (March 21)" the New York Times revealed March 27, nearly a week after it happened.

According to the New York Times, a U.S. military spokesman said "it was the fifth time that American forces had exercised their 'inherent right of self-defense' against enemy fire from across the border."

Despite the doubletalk, these facts make it clear that Washington intends to escalate the war into Cambodia, following the pattern already established in Laos. It emphasizes the urgency of a massive protest against the war April 15 for immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from all of Southeast Asia.

(Continued on page 6)

U.S. Casualties in Vietnam

(as of March 19, 1970)

GI 'combat' deaths since Nixon's first troop withdrawal and 'Vietnamization' began:

4,554

GI 'combat' deaths since Nixon's inauguration with a 'secret peace plan':

9,568

GI 'combat' deaths since the Paris 'peace talks' opened in 1968:

16,254

GI 'combat' deaths since the Vietnam 'police action' began, Jan. 1, 1961:

40,947

GI 'noncombat' deaths since Jan. 1, 1961:

7,627

Total number of GIs dead in Vietnam:

48,574

Total number of GIs dead and wounded in Vietnam:

318,293

(Congressional Record, March 26, 1970)

Day-care victory at the U of Mass.

Follows "Children's Play-In" in dean's office

Boston, Mass.

The dean's office of the U of Massachusetts at Boston was the focus of a very unusual and spirited demonstration March 18. Most of the demonstrators were under the age of six. The occasion was a "Children's Play-In" organized by a coalition of student groups to demand a full facility day-care center for 200 children by September.

Our demands are for a day-care center to be free to all workers, students and faculty of the university; open from the time the first workers come to work in the morning until the last university activities end at night; staffed equally by men and women with jobs open to work-study students as well as full-time employees; with parent and staff control of all decisions affecting the day-care center. We also demand that the university make an immediate commitment for a day-care center at the new campus to be built at Columbia Point.

We received good publicity and gained much student support through this action, as well as a statement by the chancellor that we will definitely have some sort of day-care center by September. Now we must make his hasty commitment meet with our requirements.

Mary Hillery

Ecology is not the problem, but part of the solution

Atlanta, Ga.

It is good to see the coverage that is being given by *The Militant* to the problem of environmental pollution. It would be useful if a future article could deal with population control as a solution to pollution—a view unfortunately held by many people even in the radical movement.

Now a Pamphlet! Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Countries

By Ernest Mandel 35¢

THE SPEECH NIXON AND MITCHELL TRIED TO BAN

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Letters from our readers

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

I do have one criticism of the *Militant* articles, and it has to do partly with terminology. The article by Bob Langston in the March 13 *Militant* continually refers to the "ecology movement." In the radical movement the term "ecology problem" is also commonly used. Ecology is a science—the science relating to the relationship of plant and animal life to each other and to their environment. It is, perhaps, the science which relates and ties together all other natural sciences and gives an overview of the connections between these sciences. Ecology is to natural science in many respects what Marxism is to social science.

The problem that faces our society is one of environmental pollution and the breakdown of stable and beneficial ecological relationships. Ecology is not the problem; it is the science which can help solve these problems and is at the root of all serious wildlife management and conservation projects today. Unfortunately, very few people had even heard of ecology a few short years ago, and there is a genuine shortage of trained ecologists in our society. The new interest in environmental problems will doubtless stimulate more people to study this science.

Under a workers government, I think we can safely predict that ecology will become a science of high priority and that literally thousands of people will become trained in this field. My opinion, however, is that no matter how many ecologists are trained under capitalism, environmental pollution cannot and will not be solved as long as private property exists. This means that for us as revolutionaries, the key science for taking the first big step toward solving the problem of environmental pollution is *political* science, *Marxist* political science, which will arm the working class in the struggle to overturn private property relations.

Doug Jenness

A life or death matter

A few weeks ago you published an eyewitness account of the attack on Mexican political prisoners in Lecumberri

jail. After this I heard that since this attack failed the prisoners were expecting some new attempt on their lives. My husband and I therefore wrote the following letter to President Diaz Ordaz:

"According to our latest information, more than 100 political prisoners are still being held in the Lecumberri prison. Not only have they not been given due process of law, but they have even been subject to vicious attack by other prisoners.

"Mr. President, we hold you responsible for these men's lives. We ask that they either be given fair and open trials immediately or be released immediately."

Now I urge your readers to send similar letters as soon as possible to President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, Palacio Nacional, Mexico 1, D. F. It is a matter of life or death for 100 men.

Eileen S. Gersh

Expression priceless

Gardena, Calif.

You have a great little paper. I wish I had a dozen copies of Mr. Nixon on the front page sitting in the bathtub. The expression on his face as he listens to the peace clamor outside his window is priceless.

R. B.

Bourgeois politicians and the ecology issue

Minneapolis, Minn.

The only reason bourgeois politicians feel a bit "safe" with the issue of the environment as opposed to the antiwar one is that the fight around the former reaches broad layers of the population where conscious revolutionaries are still an ineffective minority. But if pollution were the "old" issue and the war the "new" one, there is no reason to assume that their attitudes would not be reversed, if the radicals had intervened over a period of years in the first movement.

Let us get rid of the paternalistic approach to revolution that feels the *only* issue that should concern us are those that do not affect us directly. The Vietnamese will appreciate our using every issue, every tactic to help knock the imperialists off balance. If that solves real, pressing domestic problems at the same time, so much the better.

And finally, no socialist can be blind to what the pollution issue does to the final argument of all anti-Communists and scoundrels: you "don't love America" if you criticize the corporations and their state. It is precisely the revolutionary socialists who fight for America the beautiful—against America the polluted, from oil slick to stinking slime!

Jan Garrett

WSA sectarianism

Cambridge, Mass.

For the past month here, SDS-WSA-PLP have been coming to all antiwar meetings to put forward motions that no "imperialist" and "liberal" speakers be allowed on the platform on April 15. While they claim the restriction applies only to actual capitalists and not to rank-and-file liberals, it is evident from their inclusion of "liberal politicians" and "college presidents" in this category that their criteria are purely subjective. It is well known, for example, that PL considers the Soviet Union to be social-imperialist; consequently its spokesmen in the CP would have to be excluded.

Evidence that this kind of logic is not just a figment of our imagination came at a recent rally organized by SDS, advertised as a broad rally to support the U of Puerto Rico student struggle against ROTC. However, no

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other organizations were contacted and only a speaker from the Liga Socialista (a tiny Maoist sect in Puerto Rico) was invited to speak.

The local Puerto Rican group, En La Brecha, happened to hear of the event, and their spokesman, Natty Rodriguez, asked to speak at the rally. She was first told the rally was only for students; then that the Liga Socialista speaker would be insulted to have to share the platform with the MPI (Movement for Puerto Rican Independence which En La Brecha supports). Finally, when cornered, the SDS regional officers decided that MPI was a "sell-out" organization and should not be allowed to speak. Rodriguez came anyway and exposed the exclusionary character of the rally to the embarrassment of the PL zealots who were trying to portray their Puerto Rican counterpart as a mass organization.

John Barzman

On Mahagonny review

New York, N. Y.

David Thorstad's review of Brecht's *Mahagonny* in its New York production (*Militant*, Mar. 27) was awful.

Thorstad thought the play was well staged and well performed. I thought it was extremely weak in both categories, not to say terrible.

Thorstad thought a hard-hitting, anticapitalist message was conveyed. I didn't think much of anything came across.

For instance, the main character, Jimmy Mallory, did not come off as one who had to be eliminated because "his generosity with other people's money and his inability to pay his debts make him an intolerably human—and in this play, anarchist—monkey wrench" in the profit system. Rather, I thought he came off as a stupid, callous braggart and not much else. When he's hanged, it is difficult to care about it.

As for what Thorstad saw as "a bourgeois orgy of Eating, Loving, Fighting and Drinking," there just wasn't anything orgasmic about these scenes and very little that came across as bourgeois.

Overall, the whole production was so bad that the play came across as a series of nonsequiturs.

Art Maglin

Maoism in the U.S.

A critical history of the Progressive Labor Party

by Mary-Alice Waters

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Still plenty of action

Militant protests keep spreading on campuses

By DAVID THORSTAD

Major student protests occurred at the rate of more than one a day throughout the United States during the first quarter of 1970. This represented a definite increase over last year. The campus rebellion is spreading despite virtually unanimous agreement of school officials that it is subsiding. Those officials are out of touch.

These are some of the findings of the Urban Research Corporation of Chicago, a private organization that has been keeping an eye on student protests for the past two years. John Naisbitt, president of the organization, indicated in an article in the March 29 *New York Times* that more than half of the protests that have occurred already this year have been at campuses that had seen no previous protests. Furthermore, says the *Times*, "The intensity and duration of some of the incidents this year refute any contention that student militancy is 'burning out' or 'cooling off.'"

Hardly any type of educational institution was spared as this winter wave of protest spread beyond the state universities, technical institutes and community colleges, reaching into normally placid private colleges and divinity schools.

Even military colleges and prep schools are feeling the effects of the youth radicalization. The *Times* report-

ed March 25 that "like practically all educational institutions today, military schools face vocal challenges by assertive youths who demand that a previously authoritarian form of education adapt to the times. 'They'll have to cut a lot of the yessir, nosir bunk,' said one cadet."

The main issues giving rise to campus struggles continue to be Black and Third World demands for greater representation in student bodies and faculty and for Black studies departments, demands for increased student control over decision-making, and war-related campus complicity.

Winter is not ordinarily a time of widespread campus rebellion. As temperatures rise, however, so generally does the rate of student struggle. And if this occurs in the midst of an increasing radicalization and concern with new issues (pollution) as well as a heightened public impatience with government duplicity about old ones (Vietnam), it is a promise of considerable campus activity in the spring.

Many campuses are just beginning their spring term. Some, like the State University of Buffalo in New York, were racked with unrest all the way up to the break and have resumed classes in an air of normality dominated by a question mark.

Buffalo

The struggle at Buffalo was particularly intense. It began Feb. 24 when Black students staged a sit-in at a basketball game to demand reform of the recruiting and financial aid programs of the university's athletic department. The university responded by calling in the riot police. The demand for removal of the cops from campus became a central issue in the ensuing struggle.

A strike was called Feb. 26, and its major demands were expanded to include: support of the Black Student Union demands; abolition of ROTC, Themis (a defense project), and other war-related research; open admissions; the firing of acting president Peter Regan; and the right of students and faculty to determine policy at the university.

A mass meeting of around 5,000 students on March 2 voted to support the strike.

Early in the morning of March 8, while the entire campus was asleep, the university called 400 Buffalo cops onto the campus. Outraged when they awoke to find cops stationed in their dormitories and cafeterias, the students and faculty held a protest march of more than 6,000 in open defiance of both a court injunction and the police presence.

Police have now been withdrawn from the campus and most students appear to be returning to class.

One of the weaknesses of the Buffalo actions was the tendency of some activists toward do-your-own-thing tactics and small, ultraleft confrontations which only served to isolate the strike from many students and allowed the university and the media to gain an ear for their vicious charge that the violence of the club-swinging, mace-happy cops was caused by a handful of "extremists."

Carbondale

Another campus where student unrest has continued for more than a month is Southern Illinois University in Carbondale. Protests against the school's Vietnamese Studies Center go back to the end of January. On Feb. 21, more than 3,000 people marched to demand the removal of the Center whose head is Wesley Fischel. Fischel got his credentials running a similar outfit a few years back at Michigan State Uni-



Photo by Madison Capital Times

STICKING TOUGH. Teaching Assistants on strike at University of Wisconsin in Madison since March 19 maintained picket lines during Easter holiday and action was expected to deepen as school reopened. Conducting the first full-scale teachers' stoppage at a major university, these unionists have won wide labor and student support for their contract demands.

versity to help train goons for the South Vietnamese regime.

Current plans in the continuing fight against the Center are for a mass rally April 15.

Ann Arbor

After a year and a half of fruitless negotiations with the administration and regents of the University of Michigan, the Black Action Movement (BAM) has initiated a widely-supported university strike in support of its demands.

The demands, centering around a guarantee of 10 percent Black admissions by the 1973-1974 school year, were considered once again by the regents at their monthly meeting on March 19. Current Black enrollment is

OBERLIN, Ohio — Responding to a recent referendum in which over 70 percent of the student body voted against the misuse of the Oberlin campus by military war recruiters, and fearing militant mass demonstrations, the administration of Oberlin College cancelled the visit of U. S. Navy recruiters which had been scheduled for March 23. As no other visits by military recruiters are scheduled this school year, the cancellation amounts to a de facto ban on military recruitment at Oberlin.

three percent of the 35,000 student population, while 18 percent of college-age youth in Michigan are Black.

The regents, meeting in the fortress-like administration building with 800 students demonstrating their support for the demands outside, set a "goal" of 10 percent Black admissions without providing for implementation. This move was accompanied by the use of Ann Arbor police to attack the demonstration. The cops singled out Blacks for beatings and arrest. BAM called the strike in response to these two outrages.

On March 27, University of Michigan president Robben Fleming, faced with a strike supported by most students, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and the majority of the faculty in many key departments, acceded to the 10 percent demand and opened negotiations on the others. The university has capitulated on most points, but for the last few days negotiations have been stalled on the question of possible reprisals against strikers.

Both the strike and the talks are continuing.

Seattle

The racist practices of the Mormon Brigham Young University sparked protests in several schools this winter.

Among them were Arizona State University and the University of Washington.

The Black Student Union at the University of Washington initiated a campaign at the end of February demanding that the university sever athletic ties with the Mormon school. The refusal of the administration to deal with the question ignited widespread student protest.

On March 5, 1,000 students demanded in vain that the administration meet the demands of the BSU. To emphasize their determination, 450 students seized a campus building for several hours while hundreds of supporters gathered outside.

When the administration maintained silence, 1,500 students closed down several buildings the following day. In a short time the demonstration had swelled to 3,000. The university responded by getting a court injunction against any disruption of the "normal functions of the university."

On March 9, a rally of 5,000 students gathered outside the administration building demanding an explanation from the university vice-president. When he finally appeared it was merely to announce that the university had no plans to schedule any further events with Brigham Young University after the current contract expires—in 1972!

Confronted with riot police, an arrogant administration and the threatened use of the national guard, student demonstrations reached a peak just before the quarter break. The spring quarter began March 30, and the BSU has indicated that it intends to renew the struggle.

A serene campus these days is so unusual that when Mrs. Richard Nixon visited one at the beginning of March the *New York Times* thought it worth noting in a special article. The campus was School of the Ozarks, quietly tucked away in the hills surrounding Point Lookout in southwestern Missouri. According to the *Times*, the campus, "bursting with scrubbed students who daily weave, bake bread, milk cows, fashion church furniture and in other pursuits work their way through college, was the picture of a vanishing, innocent world."

A New Merit Pamphlet

Leon Trotsky

Marxism in Our Time

48 pp

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St. Louis Blacks register gain in high school action

ST. LOUIS—Black students at predominantly white, suburban University City High School gained recognition last week after forcing suspension of classes for three days.

Demands made by Black students included restoration of Earl Williams, St. Louis YSA Organizer, to a teaching position; a Black studies program for all students, holidays on the birthday anniversaries of Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; more Black teachers; creation of a better library of books on Black history and culture; and Black speakers at student assemblies.

Williams, one of three Black teachers at the high school, was reassigned to a nonteaching job last Nov. 19 on charges of "incompetency." He is active in the Black liberation struggle and in antiwar activities at the school.

A defense campaign was organized in Williams' behalf, and the case still is pending.

The Board of Education recognized the students by appointing two parents to act as their representatives in negotiations on the demands and for hearing grievances. The board later said it is sympathetic to the demands and agreed to April 4, the anniversary of Dr. King's assassination, as a holiday.

The Black students' strike followed a series of events which began Monday, March 16, when Black students walked out of an assembly in which a movie on the Ku Klux Klan was shown. The following day about 40 students, most of them Black, and including representatives of the Student Mobilization Committee, Black Student Union and Black Action Movement, locked arms in front of the main entrance, forcing cancellation of classes until Thursday, even though police physically broke through the line.

Chicano conference calls for party



Photo by Derrick Morrison

By MIGUEL PADILLA

DENVER—A call for the re-establishment of the nation of Aztlan, the formation of an independent Chicano political party, and a national Chicano Moratorium against the war in Vietnam on Aug. 29 in Los Angeles were among the major resolutions approved by the second annual Chicano Youth Liberation Conference held here in Denver March 25-29.

The conference was the biggest and broadest of the Chicano movement to date as over 2,500 young Chicanos from more than 15 states, including Puerto Ricans and Dominicans from Chicago and New York, converged on the headquarters of the Crusade for Justice to take care of business.

Among the organizations participating in the conference were the Crusade for Justice, the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan in California (MECHA), the Mexican-American Youth Organization of Texas (MAYO), the United Mexican-American Students (UMAS), the Brown Berets, the Black Berets, Young Lords Organization, Chicano Moratorium, the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, La Raza Unida Party of Texas (Texas), as well as Chicano and Latino activists of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

The conference began Wednesday night, March 25, with a keynote address from Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, president and director of the Crusade for Justice. Gonzales reaffirmed the principles outlined in "El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan," which was adopted at last year's conference (see *The Militant*, Feb. 27, 1970). He received a standing ovation along with shouts of "Chicano Power" and "Viva la Raza." Emphasizing the need for nationalism as a tool for uniting, organizing, and mobilizing Chicano people, Gonzales answered those who claim that nationalism is reactionary and "racism in reverse," saying, "The reverse of racism is hu-

manism." His address was followed by "actos" presented by El Teatro Urbano and El Teatro Popular de la Vida O Muerte, which dealt with such themes as the grape boycott and the Vietnam war.

El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan defines Chicanos as a nation. "We are a Bronze People with a Bronze culture. Before the world, before all of North America, before all our brothers in the Bronze continent, we are a nation, we are a union of free pueblos, we are Aztlan." Aztlan is an Aztec word denoting the traditional homeland of the Aztecs. It includes what the U.S. government now claims as Colorado, New Mexico, California and Arizona south of the 35th parallel, and part of Texas. Aztlan was illegally taken from the Mestizo (Indian-Spanish) inhabitants by the U.S. government. So the Plan of Aztlan is a call for Chicano self-determination.

The workshop on the independent

reformism because the Plan is not reformist.

A third point of view placed greater priority on "proclaiming" a government of Aztlan rather than building a political party. A political party, in such a case, would just serve the purpose of electing people to the government of Aztlan, not the U.S. government. In response to this view, on Saturday, March 28, when the day's discussion for the whole conference centered on the question of the independent political party, Antonio Camejo of the SWP pointed out that a political party would be the best vehicle for organizing and mobilizing the Chicano masses, that it would serve to educate and prepare the masses for revolutionary struggle, and be a powerful instrument in the fight for self-determination.

Jesus Ramirez of the Texas-based La Raza Unida Party described the process of building a successful Chicano party. Other workshops on Thursday included ones on community control, education, and security (defense). On Friday the workshops held were on the Chicano antiwar movement, communications, art, drama, literature, and Chicano liberation.

The final proposal from the political workshop said in part, "We are fighting the most godless, merciless killer in history. . . . He killed our people to take our land. . . . He is able to do this for many reasons, but one of the most important reasons is that he has organization and communications. . . . He is able to counteract us because he is organized. We are organized and we must become more organized. . . . Yes, we must organize and obtain power and that means politics. We must have a political party, our political party."

This major proposal was approved by delegates in plenary session on Sunday, the last day of the conference.

Along with this, the conference also approved a report from the antiwar workshop presented by Rosalio Munoz, a leader of the Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles. The report included resolutions calling for a Chicano plebiscite against the war and a national Chicano Moratorium on Saturday, Aug. 29, in Los Angeles. This Moratorium, in which Munoz projected a mobilization of tens of thousands of Chicanos, would be complemented by local actions and petition drives throughout the country in support of it.

Munoz, along with Ramses Noriega, has been instrumental in building the first two Chicano Moratoriums, which took place on Dec. 20, 1969, and Feb. 28, 1970. These demonstrations drew 1,500 and 2,000 Chicanos respectively. They called for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and an end to the use of Chicano youth as cannon fodder in the U.S. imperialist war machine.

The last Chicano Moratorium was held in a heavy downpour of rain, which is a testimony to the deep antiwar sentiments in the Chicano community and the tremendous potential that exists for mobilizing this sentiment into mass action against the war. The Brown Berets and other Chicano groups have participated in building these actions.

More Chicano antiwar demonstrations are slated for Fresno, California on April 4 and Texas on May 30.

A resolution was passed from the Chicana workshop which called for "self-determination of the women in terms

of how they will implement their goal of becoming full human beings and of participating totally in the struggle for La Raza."

The conference also passed resolutions demanding the release of political prisoners such as Reis Lopez Tijerina of the New Mexico Alianza; Cha Cha Jimenez, chairman of the Young Lords Organization; and Los Siete de la Raza, seven Latino brothers in San Francisco charged with the killing of a policeman last year. The conference expressed solidarity with the Mexican students and workers who have been and are being victimized by the Diaz Ordaz regime. The conference will also send a message to the Peruvian military junta demanding the immediate release of imprisoned Peruvian revolutionaries Hugo Blanco, Hector Bejar, Ricardo Gadea, and others.

June 5, the anniversary of the 1967 Tierra Amarilla action that resulted in Tijerina's arrest and imprisonment, was proclaimed a national Chicano holiday.

Resolutions from the art, drama, and literature workshops included proposals for the establishment of a national Chicano teatro (theater) and a national Chicano newspaper. The newspaper, which will be called *La Voz de Aztlan* (Voice of Aztlan), is to be published in San Jose, Calif. A national conference of Los Artistas de Aztlan was called for July 1-5, and Manuel J. Martinez of the Crusade for Justice was elected to organize and coordinate these projected activities. The Crusade will serve as the national coordinating center.

Resolutions from the community control, education, health and welfare, and security workshops were also presented, emphasizing the need for Chicano control of the institutions in the Chicano community.

At an SWP-YSA table, close to \$300 worth of revolutionary socialist literature was sold and over 100 people took out introductory subscriptions to *The Militant*.

A couple of people showed up with several bundles of *People's World*, the West Coast publication of the Communist Party, but very few were distributed.

An unfortunate incident occurred when the Progressive Labor Party was thrown out. Since the conference was open to all Chicanos and Latinos, PL members should have been allowed to stay, which would have educated many newly awakening Chicano youth to their antinationalist line. Throwing them out sets a bad precedent for resolving ideological differences within the radical movement.

The Brown Berets and El Teatro Urbano, a Chicano theater group in the Bay Area, had literature tables up also. And during the conference, the Crusade for Justice opened up their Aztlan Bookstore.

The conference was a tremendous success and an inspiring event. And this participant came back with some valuable lessons on the need for an independent La Raza (referring to all Latinos) political party, as well as with the message that "Aztlan Vive, Viva Aztlan."



Corky Gonzales

Chicano political party took place on Thursday, March 26. It was marked by lively discussion and attended by about 300 people. Three major points of view arose during the discussion on the question of the need for a Chicano party, and the question of the relationship of a party to the goal of establishing the nation of Aztlan. Some of the delegates from California advanced the position that a party which participated in elections was totally useless and reformist. In response, members of the Crusade for Justice pointed out that elections are a tool which can be used to educate and reach out to the broad masses of Chicano people who still have illusions about the system. And Tony DeLeon of the Chicago YSA explained that candidates of a Chicano political party running on the program of El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan would cut across

New York cops try to frame Young Lords

NEW YORK—In the aftermath of a defense action by a crowd of 100 people in East Harlem, Emilio "Frenchy" Medina, 17, and a member of the Young Lords Organization, was arrested on charges of riot and felonious assault.

The defense action occurred on Thursday, March 27, after two white narcotics agents attempted to arrest some brothers in a hallway. When a Young Lord attempted to make the arrests public, one agent started to swing his cane and the other pulled out a gun. A crowd gathered, but vanished after more police showed up. Medina was arrested.

The YLO maintains that narcotics agents have been running around "planting drugs on people in the community to fill their quotas." Therefore, the YLO has initiated a campaign to put a halt to these activities. The police have not taken this campaign lightly, and according to the Lords, they want "to exterminate the YLO before summer."

Funds for Medina's defense can be sent to: Young Lords Organization, 1678 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

LA RAZA!

Why a Chicano Party?
Why Chicano Studies?

A Symposium 30c

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Chicanos form Colorado party: 'La Raza Unida'

By DERRICK MORRISON
DENVER, March 30—"We are going to appeal to all Chicano organizations, the GI Forum, MAPA [Mexican-American Political Association], UMAS, MECHA, social and political groups, to support La Raza Unida Party in the state of Colorado. . . . We are going to support a Chicano political party. We will structure and create this party and make the legal demands to share in all financial expenditures of our tax money being used for elective purposes. . . . We are going to have a full slate of candidates for this year. . . . It will be statewide. . . . It will even go by districts because the way they have the districts cut up now, we can only elect one. . . . But even if we can't elect, we are going to run."

This statement by Elizabeth Montoya sums up the press conference that launched the Colorado State La Raza Unida Party.
The press conference was held by members of the Crusade for Justice and representatives of the workshops convened during the Chicano Youth Lib-

eration Conference. The representatives reported on the conclusions reached by the various workshops during the four days of deliberation. But the bombshell was the announcement by Elizabeth Montoya and Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales that the Crusade for Justice was launching the Colorado State La Raza Unida Party.
The significance of such a party is sharpened by the fact that Elizabeth Montoya, who delivered the statement, was formerly on the state executive committee of the Colorado Democratic Party. She and about 38 other local officials of the Democratic Party in Denver County are signing a letter of resignation to be sent to Hugh Burns, the state chairman of the party. They are also trying to get other ranking Chicanos in the party from around the state to sign the letter.
Along with this section of the Chicano community, Gonzales indicated that the Crusade for Justice had contact with Chicano labor caucuses in the city employees and postal workers unions. The participation of the youth, another layer of the Chicano commu-



Photo by Derrick Morrison

Political workshop at Chicano conference in Denver.

nity, was very much in evidence at the press conference. Close to a hundred of them attended.
It is the involvement of these three sectors that give great potential to the La Raza Unida Party in Colorado. A youthful representative of the Texas La Raza Unida Party was also seated at the table for the announcement.
Gonzales summed it up, saying, ". . . one of the biggest reasons for utilizing the political method is to gain the same amount of time on all mass media, i.e., TV and radio, and to speak and educate our people to political,

social, and economic independence. . . . We are setting up a new party to use the same methods that they use to try to brainwash us, to start to educate and clear up the minds of our people who have been brainwashed and have had their cultural feelings, cultural traditions, completely raped and destroyed by the society of mass media and capitalism."

Chicano leaders leave Colorado Democrats

The following is the text of the letter being sent by Chicano leaders of the Colorado Democratic Party to the state party's chairman, Hugh Burns, announcing their resignation from the Democratic Party, and the formation of the Colorado La Raza Unida Party.
* * *
We the undersigned wish to inform you that as of today, March 29, 1970, the La Raza Unida independent political party has been formed out of the National Youth Liberation Conference that was held here in Denver March 25-29, 1970.

The main purpose of the formation of this political party is that it is independent from all others now in existence. The reason is that we, the Chicanos, have decided that it is now time that we control ourselves economically, socially, but most important, politically. We have found in the past that the present two-party system does not represent and does not want to represent the Chicano or Mexican-American community. It has been a double-standard party system as far as the Chicano community is concerned. We are tired of your digging up of old politicians every election, and you telling us who our leaders are or will be. You have constantly been told that the Chicanos are restless and want action other than the studies that you are always having.
We would like to make it clear that we are speaking to the Democratic Party of which you are the chairman, and not to you personally.
Therefore, we would like you to consider this our resignations as first, members of the Democratic Party, second from cocaptain and captain positions, and third from committeeships. We know that time for talking this thing over is past, for it will be the Democratic Party that will be hurt the most without the vote of the Chicanos throughout Aztlan. Sin mas (that's all).

Militant sub drive deadline -- May 1

By FLAX HERMES
Business manager
APRIL 1—It was a big job opening a week's mail after the postal strike ended. Included were batches of subscriptions from across the country. But not quite enough.
Since our last report, we've received 1,540 new subscriptions for a total of 3,277. That's 43 percent of our goal of 7,500 new readers by April 15—a good bit short of the 75 percent we should have at this stage of the drive.
From the reports we've received, it's evident that in planning the drive we didn't give sufficient weight to the affect of the spring vacations. Most campuses have been shut down for at least ten days—a significant loss of time in a 60-day campaign.
But we intend to get those 7,500 new readers. To do so, we're extending the drive until May 1—May Day.
These extra two weeks include events that offer an excellent opportunity to sell subscriptions. April 22 is Earth Day, with ecology teach-ins and demonstrations slated across the country. Our issue for that week will feature material on the Marxist approach to this question and should be helpful in selling subscriptions.
And with a number of socialist educational weekends, including May Day celebrations, we should be able to wind up the campaign well.
Meanwhile, a check of our scoreboard gives the impression of a teeter-totter. With people moving to other cities, several areas have been dropped from the scoreboard. Meanwhile, there are new entrants on the list—La Crosse, Wis., Red Hook, N. Y., and Johnson City, Tenn.
The slower pace of the subscription drive by no means signifies our supporters were home resting. Last week they distributed more than 55,000 copies of the postal strike special put out to fill the gap between the weekly

issues of *The Militant*. The response was good.
Phoenix, Ariz., reports: "The mail strike special was *very well received* by the workers here. Many came out and asked for more copies to distribute inside."
Philadelphia also reported a very favorable reception by postal workers, and Washington, D. C., wrote: "The postal strike issue was eagerly snatched up during shift changes at the central post office. We handed out 1,700 and could have used another 1,000. In the future, we plan to sell *The Militant* at the post

office. The majority are Black workers who wanted to go on strike."
If you didn't get the strike special drop us a note. We'll be glad to send one or, if you want, a bundle to distribute to postal workers.
Last, but far from least, *The Militant* was extremely well received at the Chicano youth conference in Denver. Most of the participants received sample copies and 114 of them bought introductory subscriptions. That is an incentive for the final push needed to finish this drive in proper revolutionary style!

Subscription scoreboard					
City	Quota	New subs			
Albany, N.Y.	25	30	Los Angeles, Calif.	500	210
Yellow Springs, Ohio	40	35	La Crosse, Wis.	15	6
El Paso, Texas	20	16	Milwaukee, Wis.	40	16
Portsmouth, N.H.	15	12	Red Hook, N.Y.	15	6
Ann Arbor, Mich.	50	37	Hayward, Calif.	75	28
Worcester, Mass.	50	36	Oxford, Ohio	25	9
Hamilton & Clinton, N.Y.	16	11	Washington, D.C.	125	42
Chicago, Ill.	450	277	Phoenix, Ariz.	75	24
New Haven, Conn.	10	6	Lagan, Utah	25	8
Paterson, N.J.	30	18	Seattle, Wash.	200	62
Atlanta, Ga.	225	132	Gainesville, Fla.	50	15
Boston, Mass.	350	206	Bloomington, Ind.	50	14
Johnson City, Tenn.	25	14	Columbus, Ohio	60	16
Houston, Texas	100	55	Newark, N.J.	75	20
Philadelphia, Pa.	325	176	St. Louis, Mo.	30	7
Eastern Washington State	25	13	Madison, Wis.	200	45
New York, N.Y.	1100	560	Kansas City, Mo.	60	13
Austin, Texas	150	76	Boulder-Denver, Colo.	120	17
Twin Cities, Minn.	250	119	Champaign, Ill.	25	3
San Francisco, Calif.	475	223	Cleveland, Ohio	350	39
Berkeley, Calif.	375	169	Binghamton, N.Y.	120	13
Kent, Ohio	75	33	Athens, Ohio	25	2
Tacoma, Wash.	25	11	Chapel Hill, N.C.	25	2
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	11	San Diego, Calif.	100	8
Hoboken, N.J.	30	13	San Joaquin Valley, Calif.	25	2
Detroit, Mich.	350	150	Mansfield, Pa.	40	2
Providence, R.I.	80	34	Portland, Ore.	30	1
DeKalb, Ill.	100	42	General	235	132
			TOTAL	7506	3277

April antiwar actions building up

By DAVID THORSTAD

Major antiwar demonstrations are being planned across the U.S. in mid-April. In most areas, student strikes are scheduled for April 15 with mass marches to occur later in the afternoon. In some—Austin, San Francisco, Madison, Denver and Minneapolis—the main actions will be on Saturday, April 18.

New York and Boston held news conferences last week officially announcing plans for those cities. Speaking at the Boston news conference were Sam Brown, national coordinator of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, and Carol Lipman, national executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee. Both flew in for the conference to underscore the importance of the Boston area actions.

The spurt in antiwar activity is putting already established groups into high gear and giving rise to new ones in other areas. An example is the first island-wide antiwar conference on Staten Island April 11. It is being held at Staten Island Community College and is sponsored by the Staten Island Peace Coalition, Wagner College Vietnam Mobilization Committee, and the Salt of the Earth collective at SICC.

Recent issues of *The Militant* reported on the activities planned in New York, Boston, Atlanta, Detroit, Florida and other areas. The following is a brief, far from exhaustive list of activities scheduled in other areas.

PHILADELPHIA—A mass rally in center city April 15 sponsored by New Mobilization Committee. Feeder marches are being organized from the University of Pennsylvania and several high schools. Speakers include Noam Chomsky and Dave Dellinger. Teach-in on campus complicity April 13 sponsored by University of Pennsylvania SMC.

AUSTIN—Vietnam Week April 12-18 will feature a war crimes tribunal on U. S. government crimes against the Vietnamese people, a concert for peace and film festivals in the Black and Chicano communities. Feeder marches will lead into a mass march April 18 to the capitol building where there will be a rally. The ACLU is handling the fight against a decision by the city council to refuse a permit for the march.

SAN FRANCISCO—April 15 actions: student strike; Labor Assembly for Peace rally at the Ferry Building; rally at the stock exchange called by the Downtown Peace Coalition; a women's action organized by New Mobilization Committee and supported by SMC. All these actions will join in a mass rally at the Civic Center. The Bay Area Peace Action Council has called a mass march April 18 which is endorsed by SMC, New Mobe and Downtown Peace Coalition.

LOS ANGELES—Mass march April 15 through the downtown area with high school, Third World and women's contingents. A permit has thus far been denied.

MADISON—Citywide literature distribution and student strike April 15. Mass march and rally April 18. Speakers at rally include Peter Camejo, George Wiley of the National Welfare Rights Organization, and Louis Lomax.

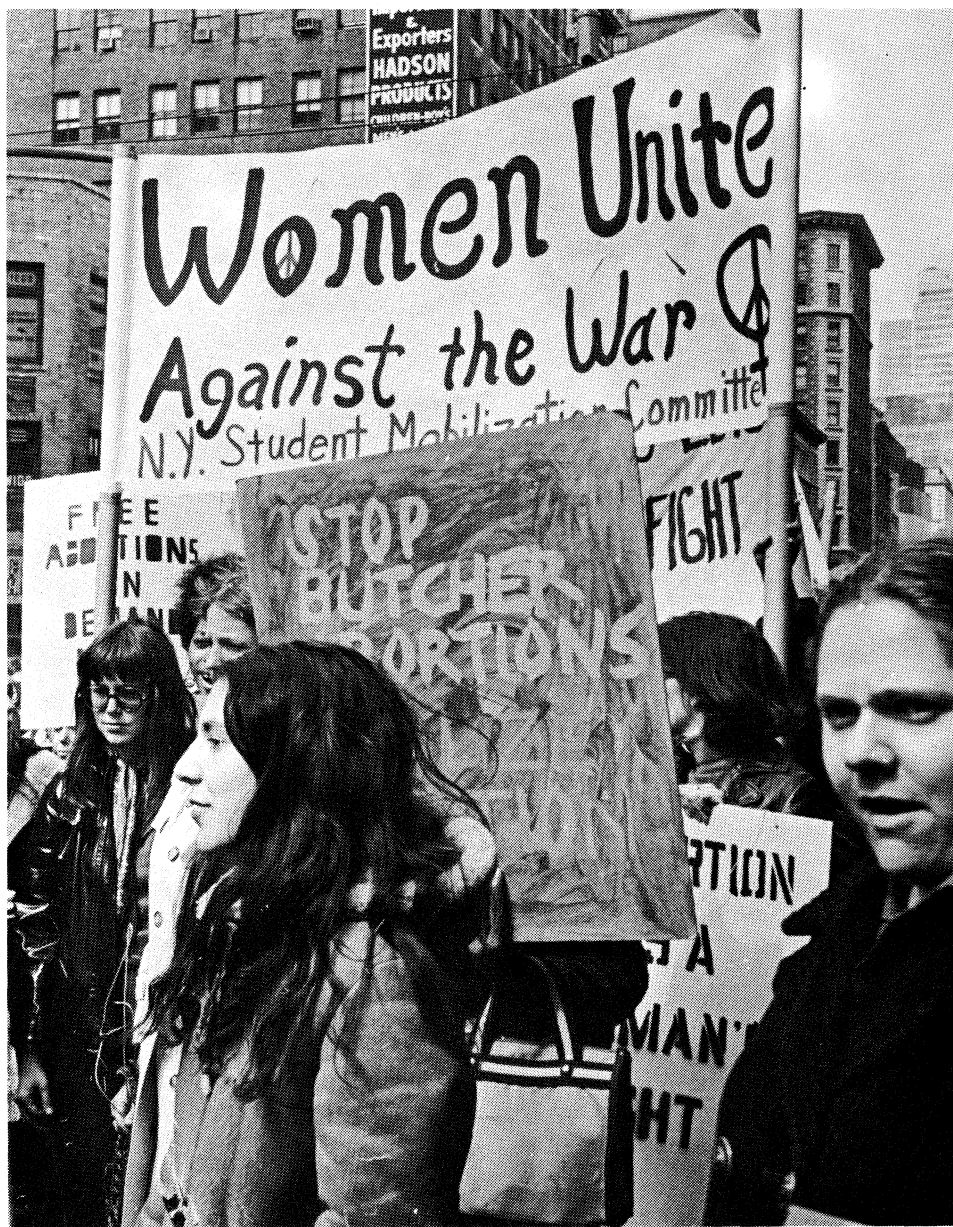


Photo by Elizabeth Barnes

UNITING FORCES. Student Mobilization Committee brought antiwar demands into New York abortion repeal demonstration. SMC is seeking to build women's antiwar actions as part of April demonstration.

CLEVELAND—April 15 actions include: student strike; antiwar festival at Case Western Reserve University in the morning; demonstration at AT&T shareholders' meeting with a picket line and rally; Cleveland Area Peace Action Council-sponsored mass march down

Euclid Avenue to be followed by a rally.

PORTLAND—Mass march April 15 sponsored by the Moratorium. Rally at offices of Internal Revenue Service. Teach-in sponsored by SMC at Portland State University.

BOULDER—SMC has presented the University of Colorado administration with a series of demands on campus complicity including that ROTC be kicked off campus. A demonstration will be held April 13 demanding that the administration respond. A mass march is planned for April 15. SMC is mobilizing people to participate in the April 18 demonstration in Denver.

KANSAS CITY—Mass march April 15.

LAWRENCE—Teach-in on imperialism April 15 followed by a march downtown where buses will leave to join the march in Kansas City.

CHICAGO—Mass march April 15 from Civic Center down State Street to the federal building. This will be preceded by several other actions: a rally at University of Illinois Circle Campus, with speakers including Rennie Davis and Carol Lipman; a High School Rights Coalition rally at the board of education; a rally at the predominantly Black Roosevelt University followed by a march to the main rally. The student government at the Circle Campus is sponsoring a referendum on ROTC and the war April 15.

EVANSTON—Northwestern University activities include an April 11 teach-in on repression at home and abroad; an April 13 teach-in on Laos; an April 15 referendum on U. S. policy in Southeast Asia and on ROTC. Following a noon rally people will leave for the Chicago demonstration.

AMHERST—The University Mobilization Committee is organizing several events April 15, including a peace commencement scheduled tentatively for the football stadium, a mass march to a rally on the Amherst Commons, and a student strike called by the student government.

WORCESTER—A student strike April 15 called by the student government.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A mass picket line April 15 at the offices of the IRS followed by a mass demonstration at the Capitol.

... U.S. escalation in Indo-China

(Continued from page 1)

Meanwhile, in an extremely important editorial April 1, the *New York Times* has revealed that there has been no significant change in the military situation in South Vietnam since President Nixon took office 14 months ago.

Despite the withdrawal of 84,000 GIs and despite Nixon's so-called "Vietnamization" plans, the *New York Times* declared yesterday:

"While the staged reductions so far have succeeded in dampening criticism of the war at home, they have not really affected the military balance in Vietnam. The current level of American forces in the battle area is close to that which prevailed at the time of the enemy's Tet offensive in early 1968. . . .

"So far, President Nixon has merely been cutting fat from what many believed to be a bloated American military establishment in South Vietnam."

There could not be a more forceful proof of the fraudulence of the pretense of "handing the war over to the Saigon regime." "Vietnamization" is but one more term in a long line designed to lull the American people into silence while Washington continues its slaughter and destruction aimed at destroying the Vietnamese revolution.

In this context, strong exception must be taken to the opinion expressed in a front-page editorial in the April 4 *Guardian*. Stating that Washington is

"on the brink of defeat in Vietnam," the *Guardian* declares: "Anticipating eventual retreat from Vietnam, Washington is seeking to secure a military stronghold beyond the borders of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and South Vietnam in order to continue its domination of the remainder of Southeast Asia."

There can be no question that Washington will seize whatever opportunities it can to advance the counterrevolution in Southeast Asia beyond the frontiers of South Vietnam. It is not for nothing that Washington has spent billions of dollars and fought the long war so far to build gigantic air bases and naval harbors throughout South Vietnam.

But to conclude from this that Washington is about to give up in South Vietnam, or to let up on the key task of the antiwar movement—to force U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam—would be the height of "armchair leftism."

The Vietnamese revolutionaries themselves see no such defeat of U.S. imperialism on the immediate agenda. On the contrary they have made it urgently clear in everything they write and say that the war is continuing as ever in its bloody course and that the American people must not be deceived into believing otherwise. The following are quotations from a statement by the DRV "Commission for Investigation of the U. S. Imperialists" war crimes in Viet-

nam," dated Hanoi, Jan. 17, which recently arrived at *The Militant*:

"Vietnamization of the war is nothing but a policy aimed at deceiving the American people, giving them the illusion that the U. S. expeditionary corps would soon be withdrawn from South Vietnam and the U. S. war of aggression in Vietnam would be coming to an end.

"In fact, 'Vietnamization' is a war prolongation ploy consisting in carrying on indefinitely the U. S. imperialists' aggression in Vietnam." The Hanoi statement lists many specific cases of recent escalation in South Vietnam. One follows:

"From Nov. 11 to Nov. 16, 1969, during the sweep code-named 'Sea Tiger' directed against 12 villages of Queson district . . . eight battalions of U. S. puppet and satellite infantry killed over 700 South Vietnamese civilians, burnt down over 1,000 houses, destroyed thousands of hectares of crops, captured thousands of persons and took them to concentration camps or to unknown destinations."

The forces of the antiwar movement must heed these warnings. They must continue to build opposition against the war until every last GI is brought home from Vietnam and that long and horrible slaughter once and for all comes to an end, allowing the Vietnamese people to determine their own affairs.

revised third edition

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM

By Doug Jenness

35¢

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The April 22 ecology teach-ins

The pollution issue and the radical movement

By ROBERT LANGSTON

As April 22—the date of the first national campus teach-ins on the environment—approaches, there seems to be increasing uneasiness on the part of many radicals about the entire movement which is concerned with environmental problems.

The reasons for these misgivings are obvious. Virtually every capitalist politician has latched onto the issue. The April 22 teach-ins themselves were originally a brain child of Senator Gaylord Nelson. No one has yet succeeded in formulating a simple demand—comparable to "Bring the troops home now" in the antiwar movement—that, if realized, would end the destruction of the environment and that could serve to expose clearly the fraudulent pretensions of the capitalist politicians.

The working class, since the days of the industrial revolution, has been forced to work in an environment saturated with heat, noise and noxious fumes. And the most oppressed sections of the working class—especially Afro-Americans and members of other national minorities—find it particularly hard to get worked up about more remote environmental problems when they are forced to live in an environment of filthy, stinking streets filled with murderous cops and filthy, stinking, heatless, waterless fire-trap apartments filled with rats.

Yet to conclude from these perfectly correct observations that revolutionaries should take an indifferent or hostile attitude towards the antipollution movement is, I am convinced, a fallacy.

In the first place, revolutionaries should not base their decision about how to relate to a popular, more-or-less spontaneous, issue-based movement solely on the character of the movement's leadership and level of political consciousness at any given moment. Equally important are the suitability

of the issue involved to pose fundamental questions about the nature of the society and the ease with which it can be related to other issues.

There is a movement concerned about our environment precisely because many people have come, one way or another, to recognize that the way society operates today makes life in some respects intolerable, and that it may in the relatively near future make human life literally impossible. Socialists can readily show that the solution to these problems requires democratic, central planning of the economy and that this cannot be achieved under capitalism.

At the same time, ecology has an easily perceptible relation to other issues, especially to the war in Vietnam. Not only does the crisis in the environment and imperialist war flow from the same source—a society whose productive activity is determined by capitalist profits and not by human needs. But even the steps that can be taken short of the elimination of capitalism to ameliorate the harm done to the environment depend on using for this purpose part of the funds now squandered on the imperialist venture in Vietnam. And what U. S. military technology is doing to the Vietnamese ecology is of immediate concern to all of us.

But if revolutionaries abstain from this movement, bourgeois ideologues and capitalist politicians will find it that much easier to prevent the spread of radical consciousness within the movement concerning the intrinsic relation between the destruction of the environment and the capitalist system. And they will find it much easier to isolate those concerned with ecology from the antiwar and social movements.

Furthermore, the entire actual leadership of the movement is by no means in the hands of capitalist politicians. Many of the campus leaders are students who have never before been active



Mahood, London Times

"I can't see the objection to spraying people with napalm if it makes the world a better place to live in."

in any movement.

Secondly, revolutionaries should not ignore popular movements simply because the working class is little involved in them. Blacks and workers generally have yet to enter the antiwar movement in large numbers, but experience has surely by now sufficiently demonstrated that this is no reason for revolutionaries to abstain from it. There is an element of spontaneity in social developments that no one can control. Different sections of the population are radicalized, or at least drawn into potentially radicalizing struggles, around different issues at different times. The task of revolutionaries is to help those involved in these movements draw the consistent, working-class, revolutionary conclusions from their activity, not to regret that it is not someone else being drawn into struggle around some other issues.

Finally, it is by no means the case that the "ecology" and antiwar movements are natural competitors. It is not as if there were a certain given amount of time, talent and energy to

be spread over all the movements, so that what one gains, the others lose. On the contrary, people drawn into action around one issue become receptive to the need to struggle on other fronts as well. Whole new layers of the university population are engaging in activity for the first time around the issue of environmental control. They can be won for the antiwar movement—and many of them for the revolutionary movement as well—but only if revolutionaries are there to do the winning. If they are not there, the capitalist politicians and their retainers will have some success in isolating the activists from the antiwar movement and from the currents of radical ideas. If revolutionaries abstain from it, the antipollution movement could indeed *become* a competitor with the antiwar movement instead of a reinforcement to it.

This is not all just theory. The response that socialist and antiwar spokesmen received at the March 11-15 teach-ins at the University of Michigan (reported in last week's *Militant*) offers rather striking confirmation of this analysis.

The conclusion, I believe, is clear. Antiwar activists, and especially the revolutionaries among them, should do everything in their power to meet and discuss with activists concerned about environmental problems. They should be encouraged to join into the ranks of April 15-18. And on April 22, antiwar activists should participate in the campus teach-ins, stressing the necessity to build the mass movement against the war as well as a mass movement capable of exposing the real cause of the impending environmental disaster: capitalist society itself.

Not confined by Vietnam borders

How defoliant poison spreads

Since 1961, the United States war machine has been dropping plant-destroying chemicals on Vietnam. The point of the operation is to eliminate the foliage that serves as cover to the revolutionary troops and to destroy the rice that feed them. About a twelfth of the total area of South Vietnam has been subjected to this lethal treatment, according to Department of Defense sources.

The U. S. brass is well pleased with the result. But the defoliants not only kill plants; they also do things to animals—including human beings—and the defoliation itself has wider environmental consequences.

Exactly what they do to animals and what these ecological consequences are, no one knows for sure, or, if they know, they are not telling. The government, of course, made no effort to find out before it started using these poisons in

Vietnam. They kill plants; that was enough knowledge for the brass.

Despite the best (or worst) efforts of the government, some knowledge of some of these side effects is leaking into the public domain. Last October, Nixon's science adviser, Dr. Lee DuBridge, announced the results of a study that showed one of the defoliants used in Vietnam—2,4,5-T—to cause an extremely high rate of fetal deformities in rats and mice. Earlier, unofficial reports had been emanating from maternity wards in South Vietnamese hospitals that pointed to a significant increase in birth defects. Neither the Vietnamese nor U. S. governments have been anxious to look into the question. No physician, for example, was sent to the village of Tanhiep after an American plane with engine trouble jettisoned a thousand gallons of defoliant over it in December 1968. No study was ever undertaken to determine the effects of the spraying.

The danger of these chemicals is not limited to their effects on people, plants and animals directly exposed to them. Like DDT, the defoliants are highly stable compounds; it takes a long time for them to break down into other substances. As a result, they accumulate in the various ecosystems—the water, air and soil, and the plants and animals

living in these elements. Thus, as time passes, more and more people may be exposed to higher and higher doses of them. Furthermore, there are on this earth no sharp environmental boundaries. Chemicals are subtle things, and the world's water and air circulation systems are intricately interconnected. There is no certainty that the defoliants dumped on Vietnam will stay there.

Lead contamination of the air provides an appalling illustration of how easily noxious substances can spread through the entire world. In order to establish a standard against which to measure the extent of lead pollution of the air in cities, the Scripps Institution of Oceanography has been sampling the pure air far out on the high seas. Recently, however, the Institute scientists report their "pure" air samples have been showing a lead content that is certainly far above the historical "natural" level. The lead is apparently filtering down from the upper atmosphere, where air currents carry it from the points of pollution over the entire earth.

Just what effects the defoliation program will have on the ecological balance of Vietnam itself have apparently likewise not been extensively investigated, or if they have been, the results have not been made public.

— ROBERT LANGSTON

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3,000 in N.Y. protest against abortion laws

By MARY-ALICE WATERS

NEW YORK—Close to 3,000 demonstrators, mostly women, marched through the streets of New York March 28 and rallied at Union Square in a militant show of support for "Free Abortions on Demand."

The demonstration was organized by People to Abolish Abortion Laws (PAAL), a broad coalition of women's liberation groups and other organizations supporting the fight to abolish New York State's 140-year-old reactionary abortion statute. It was the first time in decades that such a broad spectrum of groups have been brought together to fight for a demand that is of vital concern to all women, and the demonstration pointed the way for the future of the women's liberation movement.

Organizations which supported PAAL and worked to build the action included such diverse forces as Local 371 of the Social Service Employees Union, Catholic Women for Abortion, The Medical Committee for Human Rights, the National Lawyers Guild, Church Women of the United Nations, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and virtually all of the organized women's liberation groups in New York City. Contingents came from as far away as Boston, Philadelphia, Albany, Schenectady, and New Paltz, New York.

The spirited demonstrators assembled at noon in front of New York's Bellevue Hospital, marched through the heart of Manhattan's 34th Street shopping center where pre-Easter shoppers thronged the sidewalks, then down Broadway to Union Square. Banners and signs were plentiful and showed a great deal of originality—as well as justified anger and determination to continue the fight until abortions are legal and free to all women who want them.

Signs demanded the right to abor-

tion at any age, establishment of free abortion clinics, total repeal of all abortion laws, and no forced sterilizations. Many women wore aprons designed by Women Artists in Revolution, one of the supporting groups, which said, "This uterus does not belong to New York State." Others carried coathangers representative of the kinds of dangerous methods women are forced to adopt out of desperation to end unwanted pregnancies.

As they marched demonstrators appealed to onlookers to join the line. They chanted "Free Abortions on Demand, Quacks Kill," and "Fight, fight, fight. Abortion is our right." The response from many people along the march route was friendly and encouraging.

The Union Square rally was chaired by Ruthann Miller, a PAAL activist and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York State comptroller. Speakers represented numerous groups supporting the demonstration, including Nancy Sterns, lawyer for the women's case challenging the constitutionality of New York's abortion laws; Cindy Cislser of National Organization for Women and New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal; Shulamith Firestone of New York Radical Feminists; Rachel Fructer of the Women's Health Collective and PAAL; Judith Brown, a student of population problems; Mary Clayton of PAAL, and others.

Several guerrilla theater groups participated in the march and rally, and other entertainment was provided by folksinger Mary Sanders Shartle, and several women who read their poetry.

Joan Gibbs of High School Women's Liberation and a student at Bronx High School of Science, discussed the particular problems and dangers faced by poor Black and Puerto Rican high school women seeking abortions. Her insistence that the fight be continued until abortions are not only legal but free and readily available to all women, was



N. Y. march for abortion-law repeal, M

echoed by every other speaker at the rally.

Florence Rice of the Harlem Consumer Education Council pointed out that several years ago the subject of abortions was never even discussed—or only with those making dollars off them, and that this demonstration was a reflection of some big changes taking place.

Ruthann Miller, at the end of the rally, summed up the feelings of all the participants by saying, "What we have shown today is the strength and power we have when we get together and begin to fight for our most basic and human rights. The bill being considered in Albany is a sign of our strength. Now we must continue to organize women to fight for free abortion clinics and to force hospitals to provide the facilities and personnel to make abortions available to all. What we see today is that we have just begun to fight."

Socialist mayo backs Atlanta

By CLIFF CONNER

ATLANTA—Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia, declared her full support for the Atlanta municipal employees' strike at a strike rally and demonstration here March 28 (see *The Militant*, April 3). Wives of the striking city employees organized a spirited march of several hundred strike supporters to city hall where the rally was held. Speakers included Lonnie King, head of the Atlanta NAACP and a Democratic primary candidate for U. S. Congress, Mrs. Ethel Mae Matthews of the

Albany stalls reform of N.Y. abortion laws

NEW YORK, March 31—The tale of New York's abortion reform bill grows more complex by the day. After passing the Senate on March 18, legislative supporters of the bill predicted rapid and easy approval in the Assembly. But after stalling for nearly two weeks and adding new restrictions, when the Assembly vote finally came the bill was almost defeated. Parliamentary maneuvering saved the bill from total defeat and leaves open the possibility of passage next week.

In the meantime, the status of the court suits challenging the constitutionality of the law now in force, is also complicated. Three of the four suits, all being considered jointly by the courts, have been withdrawn by the plaintiffs who assumed the new bill would be passed. The suit filed by several hundred women and their supporters has not been withdrawn, and a hearing is still scheduled for April 15 by a three-judge federal panel. The women's suit is asking for a ruling on the constitutional right of a woman to abortion.

NOW holds Chicago convention

By LINDA SHEPPARD and MADELINE DILLY

CHICAGO—The fourth annual convention of the National Organization for Women (NOW) opened in Chicago March 20 with a major address by the organization's president, Betty Friedan. In her speech, she pointed to the growth of the women's liberation movement in the past period and projected that NOW call for a general strike of women to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the winning of the right to vote on August 26.

There were 218 seated delegates at the convention with a small number of observers from other organizations. It is NOW's position that men can be members of the organization, and men participated in the conference as delegates, taking the floor, leading workshops and voting on proposals. Many younger women present resented the fact that in some of the workshops and floor debate men tended to dominate the proceedings.

The conference included a panel discussion on the ideological direction for the women's liberation movement as well as workshops on various aspects of the struggle.

The report on the political action workshop advocated forming women's caucuses within the Democratic and Republican parties to pressure for adoption of "women's planks" and to run women candidates for office. This passed without discussion or debate.

One of the important debates at the convention took place around the question of the Vietnam war. The chairman of the workshop on women and the war reported that a split had taken

place in the workshop between those who felt that NOW should take a stand in opposition to the war, and those who felt it should take no position. The motion which had been discussed in the workshop, authored by Ruth Gage Colby, a member of NOW and a leader of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, was read to the convention. It condemned war in general, and specifically the war in Vietnam, although it did not call for immediate withdrawal of troops.

After the motion was read a line of women stormed to the front of the hall to speak on the question. Opponents of the motion argued that taking a position on the war would split and dilute the movement for women's rights. Those in favor pointed out that the women's movement should be in the forefront of the antiwar struggle, and that to fail to take a position on the question of Vietnam, which is the major issue confronting the country, would doom the organization to irrelevancy. After a short debate, discussion was cut off and the motion not to take any position was upheld by a 75 percent majority.

At this point, some young university women who had supported Ruth Gage Colby's motion, presented a motion that NOW merely condemn war in general. Betty Friedan, who had been absent from the previous discussion, spoke in favor of this, but in spite of her support the motion was ruled out of order.

The conference then heard the rest of the workshop reports, elected its national officers with Eileen Hernandez as president, and adjourned.

NOW has often been compared to the NAACP, and in many respects this comparison holds true. It was the first national women's rights organization to come on the scene since the demise of the suffragist movement and has pioneered the way in the last decade in many legal battles to knock down discriminatory legislation against women. It is composed mainly of professional women, welcomes men to membership, and works within the Democratic and Republican parties for reform. Many of its members view the politics of the youth radicalization and the more militant women's organizations with distrust and apprehension, but as an organization it is willing to collaborate with all groups on specific struggles such as the fight in New York City to repeal abortion laws.

The delegates reported that the organization is experiencing a rapid growth, and that growth was reflected in the convention. However, the majority of the few younger women present were alienated because the organization failed to come out against the war and to relate to their needs. One young woman announced that she was declining to run for the board of directors because of these factors, and Betty Friedan, who had played a leadership role for a somewhat confused, unclear semi-radical opposition, took the floor and urged her to stay in the organization and fight to change it. Some of the more militant, younger women felt, nevertheless, that it was hopeless to try and were discussing among themselves the need for a more radical women's organization.



Photo by Brian Shannon

1 28

al candidate ity workers

Atlanta Welfare Rights Organization, Mrs. Dorothy Bolden of the Domestic Workers Union, and Linda Jenness. Mrs. Ralph Abernathy, wife of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference director, had planned to speak but was unable to attend.

Linda Jenness received a prolonged ovation for her blast at strikebreaking Mayor Sam Massell whom she ran against in the 1969 mayoralty election. "You say that you are a friend of labor and that you would like to give an increase in wages if there were enough money in the treasury. But isn't it true, Mr. Mayor, that the aldermanic finance committee is considering plans for a new colosseum, a new civic center, a new building for the cyclorama, and a new police station? If you still insist that there is not enough money, well then I urge that you ask the finance committee to open the city books. Let every citizen of Atlanta see how his money is being spent. Let us judge which is more important, wages for underpaid city workers, or a new police station."

Linda Jenness also emphasized the political implications of the strike against the city government. "Labor used to believe that if they didn't get a fair shake from big business that the government would step in and help them out—especially if labor helped to elect the government in power. But in this strike, as in the postal workers' strike last week, the boss and the government are one and the same, and it is my view that you can't strike against the boss on Monday and vote for him on Tuesday. The boss's party turns against you. I think that a new party based on labor needs to be built."

In another campaign activity, the gubernatorial candidate told several hundred students at Sandy Spring High School why she supports high school students in their fight for a high school bill of rights. She had originally been asked to speak to three classes during successive class periods, but after the first class the word got out and other teachers brought their classes to hear what the socialist candidate had to say.

Life in an Auto Plant

By Tom Cagle 25c

Pathfinder Press, Inc.
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Ladies Home Journal vs. women's liberation

By JENNY LARSON

NEW YORK — Last week I talked with Karla Jay, one of the women's liberation activists who staged a one-day occupation of the office of the editor of the *Ladies Home Journal* on March 18.

The *Journal* has a circulation of 6.9 million and reaches an estimated 15 million women. All its senior editors, save one, are men. The magazine is permeated with all the reactionary ideology associated with the oppression of women.

The occupation of the office of editor John Mack Carter was staged by a hundred women from ten different women's lib groups. While the idea of the sit-in was originally conceived by Media Women, Karla Jay said, they wanted the action to be as broad and effective as possible and invited other groups to join in.

They selected the *Journal* as a target, she said, because they felt that as media women, "we ought to start at home to clean the world." Also, the *Journal* is regarded as one of the mass circulation magazines "most guilty of destroying American women every month with demeaning images," she added.

While the action was well-planned and executed, Carter had gotten advance word and was expecting the women's liberation activists. He had apparently decided he didn't want the publicity involved in bringing in the cops for a mass bust, so he spent a full eleven hours arguing the women's demands and finally agreed to accept certain of them. It remains to be seen what will be required to keep him to his word.

Demands on a variety of related issues were drawn up in advance and presented. One demand was that the women's movement be given an issue of the magazine to edit. "We had a mock-up issue," Karla Jay said, "with relevant articles on such things as 'Should This Marriage Be Saved?,'

'Women and War,' and 'Prostitution and the Law.'"

A monthly women's liberation page was demanded. Other demands focused on the conditions of *Journal* employees. These included a \$125 minimum weekly wage, a child-care center for all employees (both men and women), and a training program to provide the possibility of going beyond the level of secretarial and research work to which they are now restricted.

In talking with the women workers, Karla Jay said, they found some of them believed the sit-inners were coming to disrupt their work. But after discussion, "some began to see our point and agree with our demands . . .

"One woman felt she had no right to be anything but a secretary because she was a woman and didn't have an adequate education. By the end of the day she realized she *did* have higher aspirations, but she had always been told to keep in her 'place.'"

I asked Karla Jay how she felt the action at the *Journal* related to the criticism from some left quarters that women's liberation is a "middle-class" movement.

She replied that while she felt that there had not been sufficient focus on the demand for the employment of Black women, that the action as a whole, "was against an establishment publishing house that affects all women. . . . Demands such as that for a child-care center would open up the opportunity for women with children to take jobs, as well as helping those already working there.

"Besides," she continued, "the attack was on the whole, white-middle-class-Jackie-Kennedy look which is forced on all women. It projects an unreal mother/housewife standard which frustrates women and drives some of us literally insane."

Among the concrete outcomes of the

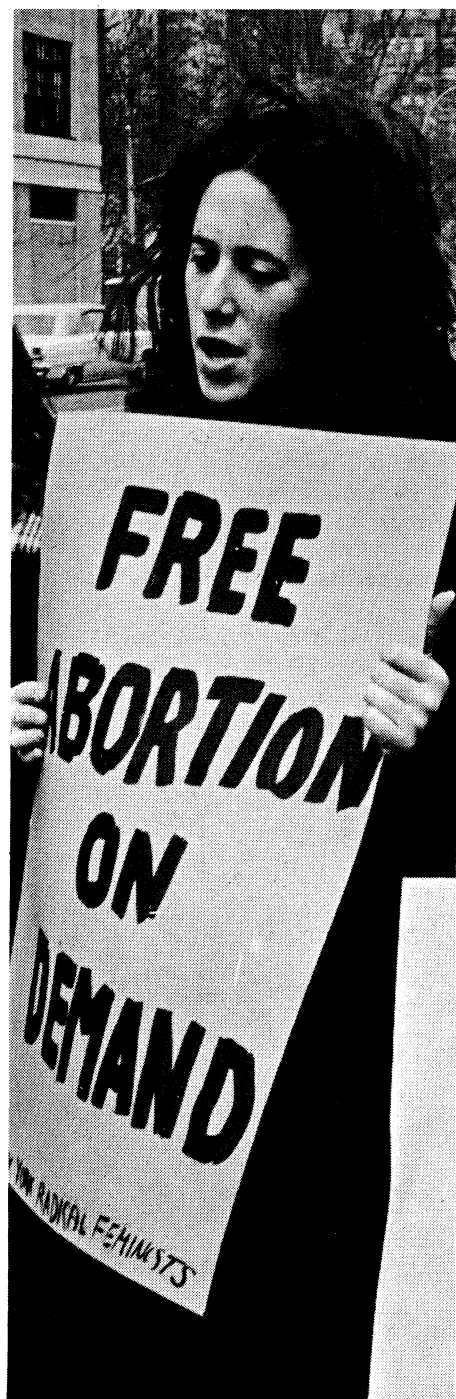


Photo by Elizabeth Barnes

action was agreement by Carter to carry a women's liberation column in the July issue and an eight-page supplement in a future issue, with a \$10,000 budget to prepare it. He said he would support the idea of a child-care center and other issues will be discussed further.

♀ Women's liberation notes

"Hey, Hey, AMA, How Many Women Did You Kill Today?" This was one of the most popular slogans chanted by demonstrators on the recent New York abortion march, and it was the first phrase which came to mind when I heard that the New York legislature might vote down the bill making abortion legal in New York state.

The State Medical Society, the Catholic hierarchy, and the anti-abortion forces in the legislature itself have been working overtime this week to prevent the bill from passing. And they have been using all the timeworn arguments about the sacredness of life, the rights of the "soul" of the fetus, etc. Abortion-repeal opponent, Representative Neil Kelleher, made an especially emotional appeal to his fellow legislators urging them not to take away "the right of people to exist."

The Women's Liberation movement in New York is responding to these machinations and medieval sophistries by continuing to build the mass movement for free abortion on demand. A demonstration will be held in New York City April 15—the day of the big anti-war actions around the country, and also the day the federal court in New York will hear suits challenging the constitutionality of New York's abortion law. The action, one of many taking place in New York that day, will link up the issues of abortion, women's liberation, and the war. The demonstrators will be raising the question of why the politicians are so concerned about human "life" when it applies to fetuses, while they have little interest

in ending the vast destruction of human life in Vietnam, not to mention the misery, and in many cases death, of the million women in this country who suffer the tortures of illegal abortion every year.

* * *

New York is not the only area where women will be mobilizing around April 15 to link up the issues of women's liberation and the war. Rallies, contingents, teach-ins, and other events in cities throughout the country will be pointing up the important connections between these two movements.

The significance of these actions is pointed out in a Student Mobilization Committee brochure, "Women Unite Against the War":

"Those who perpetuate the war are trying to teach the Vietnamese a lesson which stands in complete opposition to the struggle of women's liberation. It is an attempt to smash the Vietnamese, who have dramatically put forth their claim to control their own lives. And if this ruling class should succeed in Vietnam, they would cast their repressive forces upon liberation struggles here, including women's liberation, with full confidence."

* * *

Around the country, the struggle for repeal of all abortion laws continues to spread:

In Austin, Texas, the Austin Women's Liberation Front at the University of Texas has filed suit to abolish the Texas state abortion law.

A demonstration of over a hundred was held in Los Angeles March 14 de-

manding free contraceptives and abortion on demand. At the rally, a new organization was formed called the Fellowship of Felons. This group is composed of women who are labeled criminals because they have committed the "felony" of having an abortion or helping a friend to get one.

On some college campuses, women are still fighting for the right to meet together as women to discuss problems of women's liberation. Last month, at Lehman College in the Bronx, two male students refused to leave a meeting of the Lehman College Women's Liberation Front, causing a disruption which ended with the intervention of the dean. Afterwards, an editorial in the campus newspaper accused the Women's Liberation Front of practicing "the same sexual discrimination to which it is so vehemently opposed."

Of course, this is the old familiar argument used against Black organizations when Blacks first began to fight for the right to lead and develop their own struggle.

* * *

According to the March 15 issue of the Cuban newspaper *Granma*, International Women's Day was celebrated by thousands of women all over Cuba with rallies and special women's day work mobilizations. At one of the many observances, the Venceremos Brigade of U.S. and Cuban volunteers held a joint rally with the all-women Tania la Guerrillera Women Canecutters Battalion where enthusiastic greetings and gifts were exchanged.

—ELIZABETH BARNES

French army rights fight

By SUSAN LIND

Paris

On March 12 the chief commissioner of the Paris police department notified the Committee for the Release of the Imprisoned Soldiers* that a mass meeting planned for March 17 was banned. Then on March 13 the minister of the interior announced that "All meetings organized by leftist organizations likely to impair the morale of the army are banned throughout the country."

On March 18 the French left responded to this latest attack on democratic liberties with a mass united-front protest meeting of more than



Pompidou

5,000 persons at the Mutualité in Paris. The meeting was supported by every shade of the French left except the Communist party and some Maoist and anarchist groups.

This is the first time since the Algerian war that the French government has banned public meetings held in a private hall.

The Ligue Communiste [Communist League — the French section of the Fourth International] feels that the banning of meetings in defense of soldiers' rights is part of a policy of the government to restrict the functioning of the left as a whole, including the possibility that revolutionary groups may be banned entirely, as they were after the May-June events in 1968. The Ligue Communiste was an initiator of the Committee for the Release of the Imprisoned Soldiers and was one of the central organizers of the March 18 protest meeting.

A broadly representative press conference called by the soldiers' committee on March 17 helped to build the meeting at the Mutualité. Participants included representatives of the Ligue Communiste, the Parti Socialiste Unifié [PSU — United Socialist party], the Union Nationale des Etudiants de France [UNEF — National Union of Students of France], *Lutte Ouvrière* [the group around the newspaper Workers Struggle], Convention des Institutions Républicaines [Convention of Republican Institutions], Parti Socialiste [PS — Socialist party], the Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail [CFDT — French Democratic Confederation of Labor], and the Fédération de l'Education Nationale [FEN — National Education Federation — the biggest teachers' union].

The main hall of the Mutualité was packed for the rally, with people standing in the aisles and more outside who couldn't get in. The audience heard spokesmen for all the organizations present at the press conference, as well as representatives of the Organisation Trotskiste [OT — Trotskyist Organization], the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme [AJS — Alliance of Youth for Socialism], and the Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire [AMR — Revolutionary Marxist Alliance].

An additional speaker was Charles Tillon, a former Political Bureau member of the Parti Communiste Française [PCF — French Communist party]. He was chief commandant of the FTP [Francs-Tireurs et Partisans — Snipers and Partisans], the underground resistance organization during World War II. The audience spontaneously began singing the *Internationale* when Tillon commended the success of this first united meeting against the repression.

The repression has not succeeded in curtailing the activities of the Committee for the Release of the Imprisoned Soldiers. More than 1,000,000 leaflets and 100,000 posters have been printed, in addition to literature issued by local chapters of the committee which have formed in almost all major cities and towns.

The committee is continuing to circulate a petition for the release of the three soldiers, which has now been signed by hundreds of thousands of people from all walks of life, including members of the CP, teachers, mayors of towns, religious figures, scientists, and trade unionists.

One of the defendants, Alain Hervé, has already been released because the time he spent in "preventive de-



Alain Krivine

tention" counted toward his four-month sentence. Trouilleux, who was sentenced to eight months, and Devaux, who got a year, are still in prison. There is no new information concerning three other soldiers imprisoned on similar charges in Landau, West Germany.

The committee has also taken on the defense of a soldier facing court-martial in Périgueux, France. Two soldiers were killed at that base by allegedly defective equipment and as a protest, a group of their comrades held a strike of silence. The strike leaders were subsequently harassed by the army brass and one is scheduled to be tried.

Each week the committee receives scores of letters from soldiers and their families testifying to the intimidation and lack of democratic rights in the army. Publication of this material as a "white paper" is planned.

Even the CP has been forced to say something about the growing soldiers' movement through its functionaries in the Confédération Générale du Travail [CGT — General Confederation of Labor]. The March 18 *l'Humanité* published a communiqué issued the previous day by the CGT.

"For several months," the CGT declared, "we have witnessed an outbreak of harassments and penalties against young soldiers. Without approving certain more or less provocative activities of irresponsible elements, the Youth Center [Centre Confédéral de la Jeunesse] of the CGT cannot remain silent in face of the measures against young soldiers being taken by the military authorities at the instigation of the government."

* The Committee for the Release of the Imprisoned Soldiers was formed to defend the rights of three conscripts, Serge Devaux, Michel Trouilleux, and Alain Hervé, who were court-martialed in February for distributing leaflets criticizing the army in their barracks and for circulating a petition protesting a physical attack on a soldier by a noncommissioned officer.

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International Socialist Review moves ahead

A new-format monthly magazine

By MARTY RUDENSTEIN

Beginning with its May 1970 issue, the *International Socialist Review* will be published on a monthly basis in a new, enlarged format. This magazine of revolutionary socialism will be published by members of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

It marks a turning point and a victory for those forces fighting for revolutionary change in this country. Not since 1947, when the *Fourth International*, predecessor of the *International Socialist Review*, reverted from a monthly to a bimonthly schedule in the face of growing reaction and declining radicalism, has such a monthly Marxist journal been published in the United States.

The McCarthyite witch-hunt led to a protracted period in which any expansion of revolutionary publications was impossible. In fact, in 1954, even the bimonthly schedule had to be abandoned and replaced with quarterly publication. However, the decline of radicalism proved to be only a temporary condition of American political life.

In 1957, the first issue of a socialist youth publication appeared — the *Young Socialist*. In 1967, the *International Socialist Review* expanded to bimonthly publication.

The monthly *International Socialist Review* will explain, analyze and discuss questions of critical importance to the revolutionary movement — those that arise from current struggles being waged in the movements of women, labor, national minorities, and antiwar activists. The magazine will also provide analysis of the international revolutionary movement and follow discussions being carried on in the world revolutionary press. Its pages will be

filled with vital information and invaluable theoretical contributions by leading Marxists.

The emergence at this time of a monthly *International Socialist Review* is made possible by the collaborative effort of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. The *Young Socialist*, former magazine of the YSA, will be replaced by the bi-weekly *Young Socialist Organizer*, in addition to the *International Socialist Review*. The *Young Socialist Organizer* will contain the reports, discussions and



Larry Seigle, nat'l chairman YSA, will be new editor of ISR.

decisions of the YSA.

The name of the *International Socialist Review* carries on a tradition in the radical movement in this country dating back to July 1900 when a magazine called *International Socialist Review* was first published. It served as the voice of the left wing of the American socialist movement, featuring articles by such figures as Karl Liebknecht, Eugene Debs, Jack London, Bill Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring. It began a tradition of uncompromising dedication to the cause of socialism and was an accurate and colorful reflection of the living movements of its time.

From 1911 until 1918 the *International Socialist Review* waged a principled defense of the left wing of the Socialist Party against opportunists within the ranks who went so far as to support the imperialist First World War, in their capitulation to the pressures of the bourgeoisie.

The magazine opened its pages to discussions of the central issues raised by the war and the Russian revolution. Its untimely end came as a result of the February 1918 issue which featured an article by Leon Trotsky explaining the opposition of Bolsheviks to imperialist war and outlining their program for achieving peace — socialist revolution.

The Woodrow Wilson administration, whose program for 'world peace' was somewhat different, had the magazine barred from the mails by the postal authorities.

The appearance this spring of the new *International Socialist Review* is an affirmation of the principles laid down by the original *International Socialist Review* and a major gain for the revolutionary movement.

Complicity revelation by SMC

Documents of U.S.-Thai secret training studies

WASHINGTON—The Student Mobilization Committee has gained possession of a number of documents which show widespread use of American universities and scholars for counterinsurgency research. A number of government agencies and private think-tanks under government contract are involved.

This is taking place behind the backs of students and most of the faculty, and even without the knowledge of some scientists whose work is being sponsored or used by counterinsurgency agencies in an indirect way.

These documents lift a corner of the curtain behind which is hidden a widespread abuse of the American academic community in the interest of the counterrevolutionary policies of the government. And it is not only a matter relating to foreign policy, for these documents show that the agencies involved consider the findings to be applicable to domestic problems within the United States.

These documents have been made available to the general public and to the movement. In summary, they reveal that faculty members at major universities are engaged in a program of counterinsurgency research in Thai-

land for the Department of Defense and the Agency for International Development (AID).

One document, a contract between AID and the University of California at Los Angeles, obligates the university to engage in counterinsurgency research "in conjunction with the Academic Advisory Council for Thailand" (AACT).

Minutes of the meetings of the AACT show it cooperating with the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA), a subdivision of the Department of Defense, the American Embassy in Bangkok, and the U. S. Operations Mission in Thailand (USOMT) as well as the Agency for International Development.

Minutes of the meetings of the "Jason Summer Study" program are also found in the documents. The Jason Summer Study is part of the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA). The meetings, held in the summer of 1967 at Falmouth, Mass., were attended by a number of social scientists, the Nobel prize winner-physicist Maury Gell Mann of the California Institute of Technology and General Maxwell Taylor.

The Project Jason minutes contain several references to the possible use of counterinsurgency research in countries other than Thailand, including some in Africa, South America, and the United States.

The American Institute for Research (AIR), another organization involved in the documents procured by the SMC, is quoted as saying, "The potential applicability of the findings in the United States will also receive special attention. In many of our key domestic programs, especially those directed at disadvantaged subcultures, the methodological problems are highly similar to those described in this proposal; and the applicability of the Thai findings at home constitutes a potentially more significant project contribution." (Emphasis added)

The Student Mobilization Committee, in making these documents public, stated that "the whole academic community has a responsibility not only to tell the truth about these projects but to carry out a serious campaign against these and other projects used by the U. S. government and its subdivisions to further its counterrevolutionary aims."

The SMC has announced that it is projecting such a nationwide campaign. The intention is not to simply "purify" the "ivory tower" and force these projects off the campus and into the community, but to contribute to the total abolition of such programs and to strike a blow at the war effort. Forcing the counterinsurgency projects off campus, would be a concrete victory for the antiwar movement and set an example to the rest of the population how the war machine can be taken on and dealt severe blows.

To do this, the SMC announced, "our demands must be clear, simple, precise and principled. We must aim to convince the majority of students and faculty to act against these programs. And we must project a campaign that effectively utilizes the mass support that can be obtained.

"The campaigns should combine education and mass actions. We can expect to involve in action the majority of the academic community if we make the facts well-known and offer a program of mass action that can unite everybody against the presence of this type of research on campus.

"Flexibility in our tactics should be the rule. There are only two criteria which should be used: 1) Is the tactic one that can help us win the struggle? 2) Is it one which the masses of students who support our demands can



WAR LINK. U. S. materiel for counterrevolutionary forces in Laos, shipped via Thailand, and captured by Pathet Lao guerrillas.

understand and carry out?"

Demands raised by the SMC included:

- An immediate end to the counterinsurgency research.
- An end to all direct and indirect university connections with counterinsurgency research and programs.
- Open the files and books of the university.

The SMC statement continued: "This

exposure is not the work of a mere investigating agency. The Student Mobilization Committee is an antiwar organization. Our job now is to translate the information we have into action. Our task is to mobilize the campus community in opposition to these programs and deal blows to the ability of the U. S. government to continue its war effort in Southeast Asia.

Antiwar GI wins discharge at Fort Bragg

Pvt. David H. O'Brien, a leading activist in GIs United Against the War at Ft. Bragg, N. C., was given a discharge from the military March 24. He may have been the longest basic trainee in the history of the Army.

O'Brien had spent 23 months in the military. During the entire period he had been fighting to gain release as a conscientious objector. He brought a suit against the secretary of the Army near the end of 1968, and it was the ruling on this suit by the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals March 18 that finally secured his discharge. The court ordered his release on the grounds that when his draft board inducted him it failed to grant him "procedural due process of law."

O'Brien went AWOL for 21 days in early 1969 because he was going to be shipped to Ft. Gordon for training as a Military Policeman. "I could not prostitute myself by serving the military helping them oppress individuals with the same goals as my own," he explained. O'Brien's lawyers were able to thwart attempts by the Army to court-martial him for this by obtaining a restraining order on the grounds that the legality of his induction was being reviewed by the courts.

The Army helped to radicalize him, O'Brien says. "I was opposed to killing and participation in war, but I was a typical American who felt my country must be right. I began to question the reason for this country's invasion of Vietnam. The more I read about economics, American foreign policy, and racism the more I realized that people can't speak of peace in Vietnam without actively working to stop imperialism by ending capitalism."

It was this realization that led O'Brien to become active in GI's United. "Although my participation brought greater harassment," he states, "I was proud to be a part of the greatest segment of the movement today—the GI movement."

He plans to continue his political activism outside the Army.

Charges are filed against Ariz. socialist professor

By STEVE STRNAD

PHOENIX, Ariz. — The Arizona State University Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee opened formal dismissal hearings March 24 against Morris Starsky, philosophy professor and advisor to the Young Socialist Alliance.

Professor Starsky has been under continued political attack by University authorities because of his outspoken antiwar views and his advocacy of socialism. Last month an ad hoc committee set up by the president of the university to investigate Starsky's activities found no grounds for dismissal hearings, but the Board of Regents ordered the hearings anyway. Two days later, one of the Regents resigned complaining of the political pressure put on the entire board.

The charges brought against Starsky date back as far as October 1966 when it is alleged he urged students to cut class in order to attend a demonstration. Other charges include passing out a leaflet containing objectionable language (May 1968), using disrespectful language toward members of the faculty and staff (November 1966 and April 1968) and being disrespectful to the Board of Regents by referring to them in a news release as "arrogant, cynical and hypocritical" (February 1970).

After the charges were made, Starsky's answers to them were read. He declared the charges so vague and so dated that they should be dismissed entirely. The committee then ruled that it had not had enough time to study the answers and adjourned the hearings until April 6.

It is instructive to compare the university's zeal in pursuing the case of Morris Starsky with their lack of interest in taking action against an assistant athletic coach who is accused of attacking a Black student.

Several weeks ago, Bob Dale, a member of the Black Liberation Organiza-

tional Committee (BLOC), charged that he was physically attacked by the coach. Although there were several witnesses to the incident, the county attorney has refused to prosecute on the grounds of "insufficient evidence." According to Dale, the incident occurred when he and several members of BLOC intervened on behalf of a Black student and former athlete who has been denied the use of the university's track.

Letters of protest demanding an immediate investigation of the charge against the assistant coach by an ad hoc faculty-student committee should be sent to President Harry K. Newburn, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.

Letters of support and financial contributions are also needed to continue the defense of Morris Starsky. They should be sent to Marcus Whiffen, College of Architecture, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 85281.



Prof. Morris Starsky

Business Week issues call for postal reform

By DICK ROBERTS

APRIL 2—In a special 20-page supplement to its March 28 issue, *Business Week* magazine pulled out all its stops to sound support for President Nixon's handling of the postal strike and negotiations and particularly the postal-reform system that the administration is backing in Congress.

"The walkout of the postal workers traces back to the same root cause as most of the other troubles that have beset the Post Office recently: Congress still is trying to run the postal service itself, doing by legislation what should be done by executive decision.

"Congress has no business trying to negotiate on wages with postal workers," the influential New York-based financial magazine declared.

In order to understand the unusually shrill tone of *Business Week's* demands, it is necessary to keep in mind the concessions that postal workers had already won from the government when that magazine went to press.

For many years, Washington has used the wage and employment levels of government workers as a key instrument in its economic policies. The Nixon administration is no exception to this rule.

Plans set forth by Nixon in his February budgetary proposals called for a wage freeze on all government workers, at least to Jan. 1, 1971. This was designed to aid the slowing of the economy by cutting the spending of government workers and, through attrition, forcing job layoffs throughout the government sector. (The government hires 2.8 million civilian employees of which 750,000 are postal workers.)

But Nixon's budgetary manipulations at the expense of government workers had already been heavily set back in the postal negotiations by midweek. The March 28 *New York Times* complained:

"Even the 6 percent raise retroactive to Jan. 1 that [the White House] already offered the postal unions would, if extended to all other Federal employees, civilian and military, wipe out the projected budget surplus of \$1.5 billion. . . ."

Business Week magazine sees the postal-reform system as crucial to extending the ruling-class hold over government employees that it fears is seriously threatened by the precedent of the mailmen's "illegal" strike.

Postal reform would have two main ingredients—and these are clearly applicable to other areas of government employment as well:

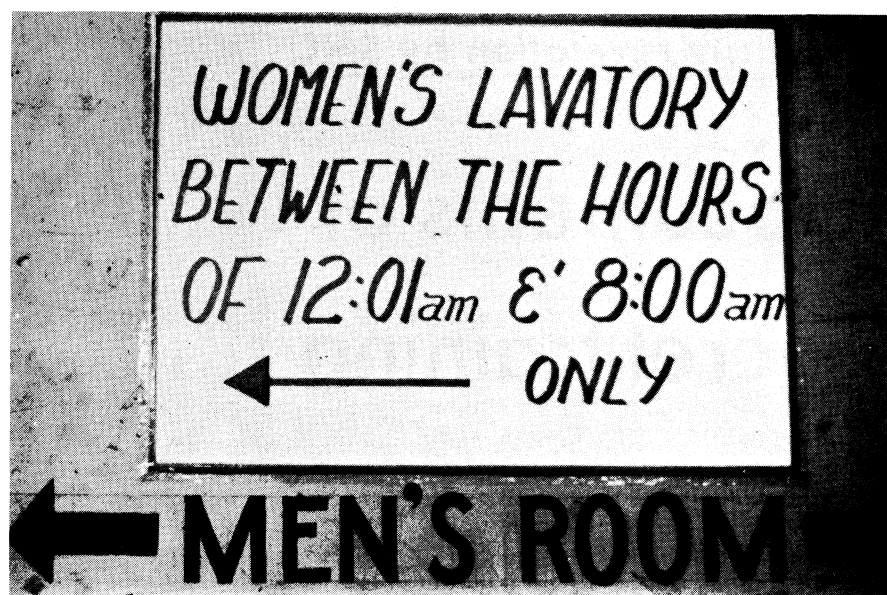
- It would place postal workers in the employment of a "nongovernment" agency and therefore allow that agency to deal with postmen behind the veil of semi-anonymous "public interest." New York's notorious Transit Authority is a typical example.

Who controls it? When subway workers are pressing for higher wages, the speed at which the city, state and federal governments alternately pass the buck to each other staggers the imagination. It is only duplicated when the same Transit Authority raises subway fares.

- And secondly, postal reform would mean a thoroughgoing automation of postal machinery, resulting in the layoffs of literally tens of thousands of workers without remuneration—and no one could blame "the government."

Bathed in crocodile tears, *Business Week* revealed the utterly oppressive conditions of postal work. Needless to say, such conditions evoked little sympathy in the pages of the capitalist press last week when the workers were out on strike.

"Who else would take their jobs, starting at \$6,176 and creeping, over 21 years, to \$8,440?" the business executives' magazine asked.



Typical post office conditions: only one toilet.

"Anybody who has ever walked through a big-city post office during the peak hours, from 6 p.m. to midnight, knows that something has to change.

"Typically, the structure itself was built in the Depression or earlier in Federal Mausoleum style. . . . Air conditioning is only now being piped into some, and then only into the buildings that can accommodate it.

"Other facilities can be disgraceful. Women make up nearly half the work force in some offices, yet there are still some post offices with unisex toilets. Specified hours are assigned to each sex. 'The changing of the guard is the damndest thing you ever saw,' says Assistant Postmaster General Housman.

"The Washington post office had no doors on the ladies' toilets,' he shouts. 'There isn't a cafeteria or any place to sit and eat a meal in many offices. . . .'

"[Housman] says there are post offices with 5,000 employees and no doctor. Physical exams, either periodically or on hiring, are unheard of. Post offices with 2,500 employees have no first-aid facility. Yet postal offices have rolled along accepting a steadily mounting accident rate that by early 1969 had climbed to 16 disablements per million man hours, twice the National Safety Council's industry average. . . .

"Bad backs and hernias are routine complaints among postal workers. No safety laws apply to the Post Office. Women, many of them petite and nurtured on marginal diets, are asked to lift, carry, and throw the mail—including the 84-lb. bags that are considered standard. . . .

"The work itself is grim, especially in the big-city offices where the jam-ups happen. Whistles blow, and workers are herded from job to job. There is a sense of being enveloped in seas of sacks, trays, carts and conveyor belts of mail, which must be endlessly moved, shuffled, sized, culled, and sorted, until each of the daily millions of pieces has reached the final pass for that office. . . .

"Grim, too, are the hours put in by post office workers, especially employees without much seniority. They work nights and weekends. . . .

"The fact remains that more than 60 percent of the men and women who retire from the Post Office leave at the same job level they entered. Only 5 percent of all employees become supervisors. People who start stuffing letters into pigeonholes generally wind up as pigeonhole stuffers."

To be concluded in next week's *Militant*: *Business Week's* solution to the post office system—the "Magic of Private Enterprise."

New York Times demands Mandel visa

Last March 19, six distinguished scholars from five leading eastern universities filed a federal suit to enjoin the State and Justice Departments from barring Ernest Mandel, the Belgian revolutionary socialist, from entering the U. S.

The various efforts of the federal government to prevent Mandel from being heard in this country have been so scandalous as to evoke the almost embarrassed protest of the *New York Times*, a journal concerned with the U. S. image. The following editorial appeared in the *Times* of March 26.

* * *

Barring an internationally known Belgian economist from the United States on the ground that he is a Marxist is an insult to the college professors and students in this country who want to see him as well as hear him in an atmosphere allowing for the free interplay of ideas.

Dr. Ernest E. Mandel, editor of *La Gauche* and author of "Marxist Economic Theory," was refused a visa last year under the exclusion section of the McCarran-Walter Act. This vestige of the restrictive nineteen-fifties era particularly strikes at teachers and writers for advocacy of and affiliations with left-wing causes. As a result, Dr. Mandel and his hosts had to cancel lectures at Columbia, Princeton, Amherst and other colleges. The government was made to look silly because Stanford University heard him anyway via a trans-Atlantic phone hook-up.

On a previous visit to this country, Dr. Mandel had unwittingly broken a "rule" banning discussion of Communist economic doctrines. The fact that he was one of the outspoken critics of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia apparently had no effect on the authorities. Now a group of professors from six American institutions has called upon the attorney general in Federal District Court to give the reason why Dr. Mandel cannot be admitted for lectures and debates this spring or fall. He has again applied for a visa. Instead of simply citing the immigration law, the attorney general is being asked to explain the nature of the criteria for preventing free scholarly exchange. This could clarify—and expose—the law's shortcomings.

Congress ought to re-examine and eliminate restrictions that in effect merely try to deny entry of ideas into this country. In the present atmosphere, a change in the immigration law covering political exclusion would be too much to expect soon. But the attorney general could avoid further embarrassment to the United States by following the advice of Secretary of State Rogers, who disassociated himself from the ban last year. Dr. Mandel should be allowed to speak here so that he can be heard—and challenged.



Photo by Michael Hardy

Fraternization of postmen and GIs disturbed the ruling class.

Postmen want to know what's up

By FRANK LOVELL

NEW YORK, April 1—When striking postal workers here voted to return to work on March 25 it was with the tacit understanding among themselves that if pay raises were not voted by the Congress within five days they would walk out again. Everywhere among postal workers the word on union-government negotiations in Washington was: "They have five days."

Seven days have passed and still no pay raise at the post office. These underpaid and irreplaceable workers in the richest country in the world, who work for a government that squanders \$100-billion every year in military adventures, are demanding action from their local union leaders.

They want to know why a Congress that only a few weeks ago could, within hours, pass special legislation to forestall the railroad strike cannot now pass special legislation for higher wages to postal workers.

Today, the 75-member executive board of Branch 36 of the National Association of Letter Carriers met to "consider whatever action . . . is necessary and is backed by our membership." At a press conference yesterday, Branch 36 President Gustave J. Johnson said, "It's now the sixth day and we're literally being bombarded by the membership wanting to know what's happening."

What has been happening in the protracted secret negotiations in Washington between top union representatives, far removed from the ranks, and spokesmen of the U. S. government is a series of cynical maneuvers on the part of government to cheat postal workers out of their wage increase.

Now the government has announced that it will proceed on the basis of a new proposal, agreeing to a 12 percent wage raise—not now but sometime in the near future.

This "new proposal," the specific terms of which are only partially revealed, was announced March 30 by Postmaster General Winton M. Blount after a White House conference where Nixon issued "new instructions."

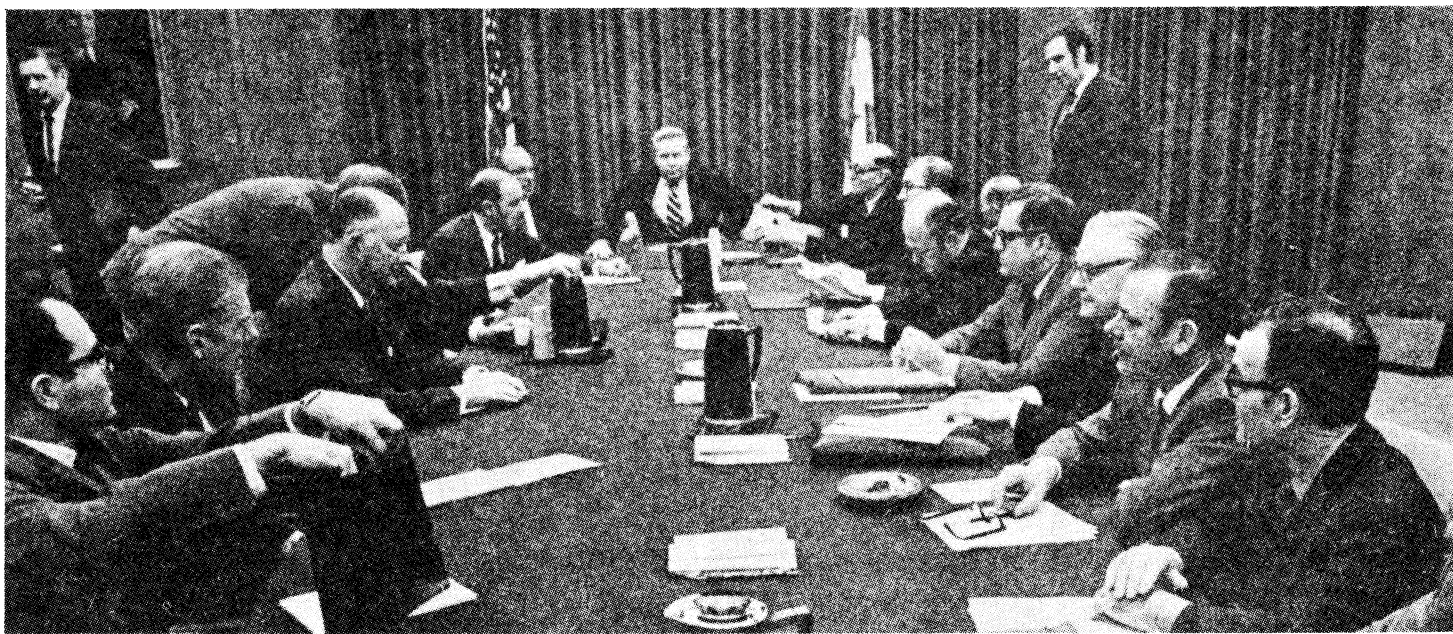
It has since become clear that these "new instructions" included an understanding that higher pay for postal workers need not be tied to Nixon's elaborate scheme to reorganize the postal system under corporate management.

But there is nothing new about the government's basic strategy. From the day the New York letter carriers walked off the job March 18 to the present stalling on wage negotiations in Washington, the government has frantically sought to get mailmen back on the job and keep them there without paying them substantially more money.

When Nixon called out the U. S. Army and National Guard to occupy strikebound post offices, it was clear from the outset that the Army could not operate the complicated postal system, even though the highest government officials pretended that this was the plan.

The real purpose of the troop call-up was to intimidate striking postmen and convince them that the job of delivering the mails could be done without them. The experience proved the exact opposite.

The intimidation of postal workers was more effectively pressed by the U. S. courts which levied injunctions against the strike and threatened impressive fines upon the letter carriers



AFL-CIO News

HISTORIC NEGOTIATIONS. Government is forced to talk directly to postal unions for first time in history. James C. Gilda, executive assistant to AFL-CIO President George Meany and chief negotiator

for the seven postal unions, is at right center, facing Postmaster General Winton M. Blount. Labor Secretary W. J. Usery, Jr., is at end of table.

union unless the experienced mailmen went back to work.

The whole process of intimidation was participated in and reinforced by the Congress and all the leading newspapers of the country. Congressmen—each and every one of whom shares responsibility for keeping postal workers' wages at or below the subsistence level—suddenly discovered that these underpaid and deprived workers were attempting to "coerce" the almighty U. S. government.

Coupled with the ludicrous display of force and all the outraged denunciations, a false promise of temperance and justice was tendered the strikers. Their cause was so righteous and their patience so long-enduring and their needs so urgent that an unofficial "understanding" was circulated, promising the strikers that if they would quickly return to work they would receive a 12 percent wage increase retroactive to October 1969, no reprisals against anyone, the right of collective bargaining, plus other benefits.

It was on this basis that postal workers voted to return to work. They went back as a solid body of organized workers, expecting immediate pay raises and determined to win better working conditions.

Their strike had established the right of collective bargaining. For the first time in the 195-year history of the postal system, representatives of the federal government sat down to negotiate an agreement with officials of the organized labor movement. They are not minor functionaries. Present at the bargaining sessions are two members of the Nixon cabinet, Labor Secretary Shultz and Postmaster General Blount. On the other side are the presidents of seven unions representing postal workers, plus a personal representative of AFL-CIO President George Meany.

The very first reports from these negotiations showed that a shift had occurred as soon as the strikers returned to work. When they walked off the job they had talked about a 41 percent increase (suggested by the 41 percent pay hike congressmen voted for themselves), in order to bring postmen's wages up to something comparable to the minimum \$9,499 a rookie cop gets.

In order to bring the strikers back to work "unofficial" administration spokesmen hinted at a retroactive 12 percent raise.

But suddenly at the bargaining table the 12 percent raise became only what union spokesmen were asking, and government representatives for their side were now suggesting a raise of nothing more than six percent. Maybe more sometime in the future.

There were other "misunderstandings." The matter of no reprisals against any strikers now turned out to be amnesty

for all "except the leaders."

Government spokesmen discovered that any raise for postal workers must be tied in with raises for all government employees—very expensive and highly "inflationary." Besides this, the ability of negotiations to resolve any issues was dubious because Congress must vote on all pay rates for postal workers.

The current decision to separate wages from the plan to reorganize the postal system and to recommend a six percent raise retroactive to Oct. 1 and another six percent effective July 1 is nothing but a restatement and clarification of the course followed by the administration throughout negotiations.

The recommendation of a 12 percent raise in two steps is more than Nixon had projected in his budget, but it is the least possible *after* the postal strike and with the possibility of another in the balance.

The temper of the strikers and the general mood of the working class was reflected in highly distorted form in the March 23 statement of AFL-CIO President Meany when Nixon called up the Army. Meany's statement said in part:

"The AFL-CIO deplors the use of military personnel to perform the work

of civilian employees of the post office in New York or any other city. This action will not restore mail services nor contribute to an early resolution of the problems and circumstances which caused the stoppage of those services. It raises a specter of the misuse of military power that is foreign to this nation's traditions and principles. . . .

"The best and surest way to bring about the restoration of full, efficient postal service which we all desire, is not punitive sanctions, but prompt action to meet the basic needs of those workers and to resolve their genuine grievances on the basis of simple obvious justice."

This was clear and sound advice to the ruling class of this country and to its political representatives in Washington, advice that has not been taken to heart.

The postal workers are now seeking ways to deal more directly with their tormentors in Washington through the organization of a single democratically controlled union. They are demanding of their local leaders that mass action be taken now in response to their immediate needs instead of endless negotiations and pompous advice to their enemies.

UAW fails to stop police strikebreaking at Fruehauf

By FRANK LOVELL

Nearly five months ago (Nov. 19, 1969) 290 members of the United Auto Workers Local 889 struck the Fruehauf Truck Trailer Corp. in Detroit in response to the company's refusal to bargain with the union.

Eighty percent of the strikers are women office workers, many of whom have been kicked and beaten by the Detroit police despite protests by the UAW, mass picket lines, and conferences with Detroit's mayor. The police have been told "in no uncertain terms" to stop roughing up the pickets, according to the UAW, yet they continue to harass and beat them.

The Fruehauf Corp. has a government contract to build army truck beds and shipping containers. It is also going into the production of prefabricated houses. Such plans, buttressed with income from Pentagon contracts, puts Fruehauf in the center of government-financed programs. Usually a company so largely dependent upon federal financing is careful not to offend anyone, especially those with political influence.

If the leadership of the UAW prides itself on anything it is its political in-

fluence. Why, then, is it possible for a relatively small outfit like Fruehauf to ignore the outcome of a NLRB election, refuse to bargain with its employees, bring in the local cops to break up picket lines when a strike is called, and defy the might of the UAW?

The reasons the UAW appears so helpless and hopeless in this very mean situation are several. First, there are only a few employees involved and that makes them "unimportant" to begin with in the eyes of the UAW officialdom. Second, the UAW is facing big action with the giant auto corporations this fall and the union chieftains want to look "responsible."

A third, very important reason is that the vaunted political power of the UAW is strictly limited to the Democratic Party which is sometimes useful in disputes among different camps in the employing class but worthless for labor disputes with employers. Could it be that the real reason the cops have been chasing the strikers off the picket lines is that the brother of Wayne County Prosecutor William Cahalan is a Fruehauf executive, as charged by the UAW rank-and-file paper, *United National Caucus*?

Leon Trotsky:

Stalinism and Bolshevism

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Israel, an analysis (I)

Anti-Zionism: why it is not anti-Semitism

By NATHAN WEINSTOCK

[Nathan Weinstock is a Belgian Marxist who lived for many years in Palestine prior to the creation of the state of Israel. He has long been an adherent of the Fourth International. Last year, Maspero publishers in France issued his monumental *Le sionisme contre Israel* (Zionism Against Israel), a detailed study of the Zionist colonization of Palestine. These theses were originally published in the Jan. 12, 1970, issue of *Rouge*, the paper of the French Communist League. They will appear in *The Militant* in four installments.]

1. Anti-Semitism is a racist ideology directed against the Jews. It must be fought by attacking its economic, social, political and psychological roots in society. There is nothing inevitable, incomprehensible or mysterious about racism, and anti-Semitism is only one of its variants. The Gypsies, for example, who continue to be subjected to humiliation and harassment, were exterminated en masse like the Jews by the Nazis. Today, there is a resurgence of racism in Western Europe, and it is particularly virulent with respect to foreign workers, especially North Africans. To fight racism effectively means to fight to abolish the social structures

which engender it. (Example: In Cuba, there is complete cultural and religious liberty for the Jewish community; see Rabbi Everett Gendler's article in *Conservative Judaism*, Winter, 1969. This journal is published by the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. Similarly, discrimination against Blacks has totally disappeared in Cuba.)

2. Anti-Zionism is the struggle against the Zionist movement, a tendency born in the 19th century, which projected the gathering of the Jews in Palestine to establish a monocultural Jewish state there at the expense of the native Palestinian population. In practice, Zionism was translated into the expulsion of the majority of the Palestinian people who were reduced to the condition of refugees. This policy is still pursued today, as the following quotation (*Davar*, Sept. 29, 1967) from J. Weitz, director of the department of colonization of the Jewish Agency for Israel, testifies: "The only possible solution lies in creating a Palestine, or at least a Western Palestine, without Arabs . . . and there is no other way to do this than to transfer all the Arabs to neighboring countries, to move all of them out of here. We should not leave a single village, a single tribe, and those transferred should be sent to Syria and Iraq."



Israeli soldier in Western-supplied tank

The struggle against the policies and structures of Israel is thus an anticolonialist struggle to restore to the Palestinians their national rights in their country.

3. Colonialism is, above all, racism. The struggle against Zionist colonialism is thus the logical extension of the struggle against racism in general and, specifically, of the struggle against anti-Semitism. This is understood by many militants of Jewish origin, both inside and outside Israel, who, whether motivated by revolutionary convictions or simply by humanitarian or religious sentiments, refuse to be accomplices in

the Zionist undertaking and solidarize with the oppressed Palestinian people's struggle for national emancipation. See Eric Rouleau (*Le Monde*, July 5, 1969): "Some militants of 'Matzpen'—a left, anti-Zionist Israeli organization—marched through the streets chanting the words, 'We are all Palestinian Arabs.' Last year, a hundred intellectuals signed a manifesto which included the statement, 'Every people that oppresses another necessarily loses its own freedom. Jewish citizens! Remember the courageous goyim who stood at our sides in our time of trouble. Are you going to turn aside, are you going to remain silent, in the face of the misfortune that has befallen our brothers, the Arab people?'"

4. Zionism and the state of Israel are independent of the Jewish religion and of Jewry in general. Orthodox Jews—especially those of Palestine—were bitterly hostile to Zionism for a long time. The Meture Karta (Guardians of the City) movement of Jerusalem remains so to the present day. It is extremely regrettable that many communal and religious leaders of Jewish communities are willing to cover the colonialist and racist policies of Israel with their moral authority. They thereby prostitute the faith of Moses to imperialism.

5. Not only does Israel oppress the Palestinian Arabs, but it makes no contribution to eliminating anti-Jewish racism. In the first place, anti-Semitism is independent of the existence or non-existence of a Jewish state (just as the existence of a mighty People's China has not sufficed to protect the Chinese of Indonesia from the persecutions of local reaction). But even more: By improperly posing as the representatives of world Jewry—although six-sevenths of the Jews live outside Israel—and by spreading in international public opinion the notion of unconditional solidarity of the Jews with Israel, Zionist leaders in fact stimulate anti-Semitism. This is especially true in the Arab countries, where each Israeli military victory has allowed reactionaries to blame it on the indigenous Jewish communities, which have, despite themselves, been compromised by the imperialist policies of the Jewish state.

(To be continued)

The national picket line

Small-type newspaper offer

Big papers seek small wages

The four major New York newspapers, the *Times*, *Post*, *Daily News*, and *Long Island Press*, offered workers represented by 10 unions in the industry a package of 16.5 percent wage increases over three years. The proposition, made to the Pressmen's Union, was rejected by all.

The publishers' ploy is in accordance with the hold-down-wages guide lines of the Nixon administration. It limits wages to a 6.5 percent rise in the first year, 5 percent in the second and third years.

Even though contracts expired at midnight, March 31, negotiations continued. Top wages for printers are \$193.06 per week. Mailers and paper handlers gross \$170 and \$160 respectively.

Union members are concerned about such issues as relocation of plants, subcontracting, and the introduction of new job-eliminating printing techniques. A slowdown at the *Times* aims to force the paper to abide by union standards in reproduction of advertising.

The inflationary price spiral which complicates and makes uncertain wage standards, is beyond the control of either workers or employers. Consequently, many unions are demanding wage escalator clauses to protect their standard of living against rising prices. However, this is not yet a major demand of New York newspaper unions.

The Newspaper Guild is demanding that experienced reporters, copy editors and advertising salesmen receive a minimum of \$400 per week. They presently get a minimum scale ranging from \$239 to \$255 gross.

Skilled workers in many industries, worried both about inflation and unemployment, are looking for guarantees of a shorter work week in the event of rising unemployment.

A curious fact

From the March issue of *The Brewery Worker*:

"For the first time in GE history, its officials were forced to sit down in give-and-take bargaining. While they did not meet face-to-face with union representatives, they did conduct bargaining through Director J. Curtis Counts of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service."

What GE needs now is a few shop stewards to explain what the union really meant when it signed the contract. There is bound to be misunderstanding.

Conditions of gov't employees

The Federal Aviation Administration sent telegrams to absentee air traffic controllers threatening to suspend them for "absenteeism." The controllers who route all air traffic at the big terminals are underpaid, overworked and sick. They point to the fact that the FAA violates its own rules and creates the conditions for possible major air accidents and pile-ups.

Edward Williams, president of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) in New York which slowed air traffic and kept it within legal limits during Easter and the week following at all major metropolitan New York area airports, announced that controllers were "ignoring to a man any telegrams sent to them."

The refusal to pay these controllers wages commensurate with their responsibility is another example of the federal government trying to force workers to accept wages below the standard of the trade or profession in which they are employed. Many such workers, like postmen, are getting the idea today that any employment the government has a hand in is not desirable, that

it can be made better for everyone—including the unsuspecting public—if the workers organize to exercise direct control.

New note in AFL-CIO

Not yet a major power in AFL-CIO councils, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) none-the-less introduces ideas of social change where none existed before.

In Seattle, AFSCME Local 843 adopted resolutions to end the war in Vietnam and withdraw immediately all U.S. troops, to support a mass demonstration April 18 to bring the troops home now, and to create more jobs for Black workers by reducing the hours of work in all industry so as to eliminate unemployment.

These resolutions go to the local Central Labor Council, and also will be considered at the AFSCME International Convention to be held in Denver in May.

Chooses jail

Fined \$500 and given 3 months in jail, Mrs. Betty Rufalo, a leader of the Newark teachers strike last February and a vice-president of the Teachers Union, issued the following statement March 30 before being imprisoned:

"I am not going to jail because I did anything wrong. I have decided to go to jail, rather than appeal, in the hope that my presence in jail will stir the public to the realization of how unjust the current law is. Many groups and individuals have won victories by suffering the full penalties of the law."

David Selden, president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO), is also serving a 60-day sentence for joining the Newark strikers on the picket line.

Zionism and the Arab Revolution

The Myth of Progressive Israel

by Peter Buch
a young socialist pamphlet
35 cents

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The Great Society

Southern liberalism lives — "I think we've become more liberal and much more tolerant towards our Negroes. But then I don't think we've ever been intolerant. We've just treated them as a different class of people."—J. Balfour Miller, of Natchez, Miss. His cotton-owning forebears left him one of the nicest mansions in town.

Culinary coexistence — Craig Claiborne, the *New York Times* eating specialist, seemed quite impressed that the Soviet pavilion at the Japanese world's fair features a special \$140 gourmet dinner. Which may not be as big a deal as it seems, providing the pavilion is in line with current Soviet policy. The Kremlin recently announced that the cities of Moscow and Leningrad are now honoring Diner's Club and American Express credit cards.

How humane can you get? — Those concerned about the torture of Greek political prisoners can be assured that American effort is improving things there. The Fund for Animals has proudly announced that as a result of its gift, the Greek SPCA is now functioning every weekend as well as during the week.

Compassion begins at home — The Fund for Animals isn't just concerned about pets in Greece. It now has two full-time agents in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto, plus the beginnings of a "Help for Harlem" project — operated solely by Black volunteers.

Bodily liberation — The 58-year-old trade publication, *Corset and Underwear Review*, is changing its name to *Body Fashions*.

Perfect \$ymbol — "In the real world, the diamond of your engagement ring binds the most important promise of your life. At Cartier we have a special place for you and your promised one: The Engagement Room. Here . . . we believe you will find the perfect ring to symbolize your love . . . round diamond solitaire in platinum, \$430, marquise diamond solitaire in platinum, \$2,340 . . ."

The Great Silent Majority speaks — "Even if he were mediocre, there are a lot of mediocre judges and people and lawyers, and they are entitled to a little representation, aren't they?" — Senator Roman Hruska (R-Neb.) speaking for the nomination of Judge Carswell to the Supreme Court.

Thought for the week — "Nothing is more crucial today than to do everything we can to keep the justly discontented working within the political system and reasonably confident that our system is capable of dealing with just grievances. We must not give them any signal that their government is turning against them." — An unidentified Republican senator explaining to columnists Roscoe and Geoffrey Drummond why he was dubious about the Carswell nomination.

— HARRY RING

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-9334.

Hayward: YSA, Gerald Clark, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hillary St., Hayward, Calif 94544. Tel. (415) 537-3656 or (415) 537-3657.

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

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

San Diego: Alan Standliff, 4143 Georgia, San Diego, Calif. 92103.

Turlock: Valley YSA, Michael Klein, c/o Associated Students, Stanislaus State College, 800 Monte Vista Ave., Turlock, Calif. 95380.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Lyle Fulks, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Col. 80302.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Jack Lieberman, 509 W. Jefferson, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

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

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

DeKalb: YSA, Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Ill. 60115.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Marilyn Vogt, University Apt. 3-E, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Fred Murphy, 1510 Kentucky, Apt. G. Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981 (HQ), 547-8557.

Worcester: YSA, Box 406, Clark U., Worcester, Mass. 01610.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

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

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

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Paul Schmidtlein, 4409 Virginia, K.C., Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 561-0872.

St. Louis: YSA, c/o Larry Swingle, 5817 Waterman, St. Louis, Mo. 63112.

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

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Bill O'Kain, 313 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.

Annapdale-on-Hudson: Red Hook (Bard College) YSA, c/o Lorenzo Black, P.O. Box 497 Bard College, Annapdale-on-Hudson, N.Y. 12504.

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Linda Charet, Box 272, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

New York City: SWP and YSA and bookstore, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-6051.

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill-Durham: YSA, c/o Brian Buxton, Rt. 2, Box 125, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, P.O. Box 899, Athens, Ohio 45701.

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

Columbus: YSA, P.O. Box 3006, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 294-2047.

Kent: YSA, P.O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Oberlin: YSA, c/o Rick Brady, 29 College Pl., Oberlin, Ohio 44074. Tel: (216) 775-0462.

Oxford: YSA, c/o Pat Ducey, P.O. Box 321, Oxford, Ohio 45066.

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Duncan Williams, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Tonie Porter, 6770 S. W. Taylors Ferry Rd., Portland, Ore. 97223. Tel: (503) 246-9245.

PENNSYLVANIA: Mansfield: YSA, c/o George Dolph, Box 251, Mansfield, Pa. 16933.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, c/o Jeff Powers, 15 Creighton St., Providence, R.I. 02902.

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

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

Houston: YSA, Campus Activities, University Center, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 1319 F. St. NW., Rm. 1010, Wash., D.C. Tel: (202) 638-0610 or 965-1943.

WASHINGTON: Cheney: E. Wash. State YSA, Sub Box 1040, EWSC, Cheney, Wash. 99004. Tel: 235-6749.

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

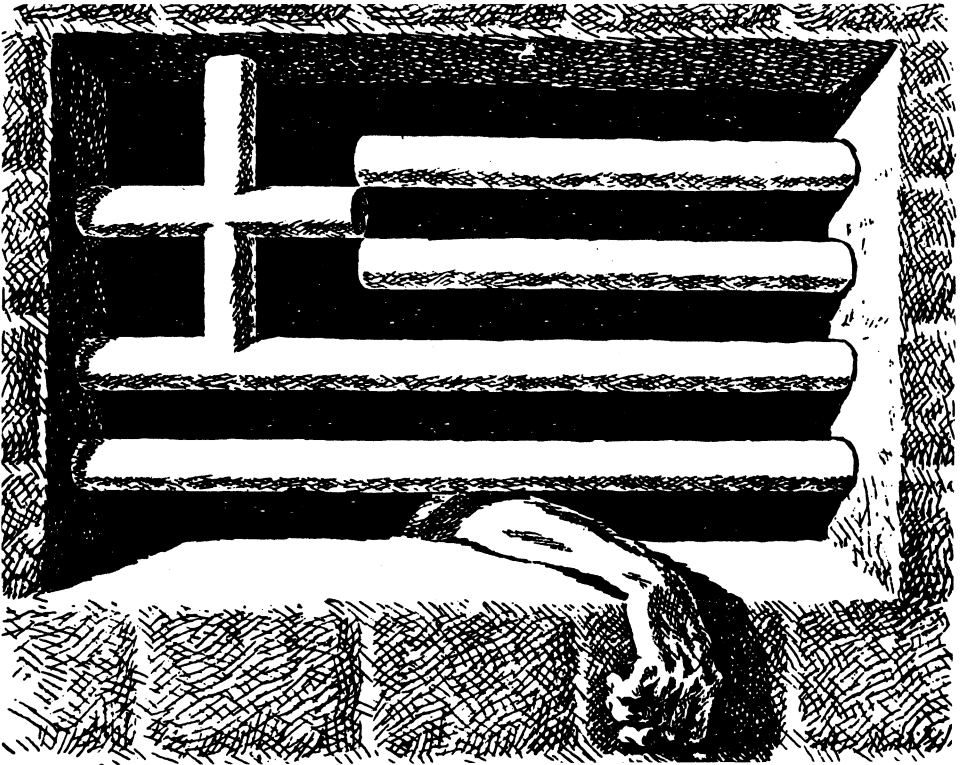
Tacoma: YSA, c/o John Naubert, P.O. Box 309, Tacoma, Wash. 98401. Tel: LO4-3765.

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

Milwaukee: YSA, UWM Student Union, Milwaukee, Wis.

Oshkosh: YSA, c/o Peter Kohlenbert, 2020 Evans #4, Oshkosh, Wis. 54901.

U.S. government aids Greek torture system



The April 21, 1967 military coup in Greece brought to power a regime so unpopular that it had to resort to extreme measures of terroristic repression to maintain its precarious grip on power.

This terror has been applied to political opponents of virtually every political persuasion and social stratum, since the Greek military government lies to the right of even Greece's military royalists, not to mention liberals, socialists and communists.

The Greek government uses torture as a matter of policy. *Barbarism in Greece* by James Becket (Walker and Co., 147 pages, \$5.95) meticulously documents the widespread use of torture and places it in its political context.

Becket, a young American lawyer, did his research in Greece on assignment for Amnesty International, which is roughly the international civil libertarian equivalent of the ACLU. Becket is donating the royalties from his book to the London-based organization.

"Those who are being tortured today in Greece are those who are suspected of being active in resistance to the military regime. There are certain important qualifications to this statement, as not all men are equal before the torturers.

"Not all suspects are automatically tortured, but only those who are believed to have useful information and to be susceptible to torture. Though resistance comes from all quarters, the brunt of the regime's brutality has fallen on the Left, both in terms of number tortured and degree of torture. It is generally true, though there are numerous exceptions, that treatment worsens as one moves from right to left on the political spectrum.

"This generalization also applies to conditions of imprisonment. The most modern prison in Greece, Koridallios in Piraeus, has individual cells with toilet and shower. There are twenty-four political prisoners there now, twenty-three military officers, and one bishop. On the island of Leros, there are up to 180 prisoners in one room.

"Also the young are worse tortured on the assumption that they can take more. Of 116 tortured persons whose ages are known, eighty-seven are in the 17-30 age group.

"Those known abroad, such as the composer, Mikis Theodorakis, or the sociologist, Vassilis Filias, are generally not physically tortured. (They can also be publicly displayed as proof that there is not torture.)"

Becket asks and answers the question, "Why is there torture in Greece today?" He concludes that:

"Torture has been effective in its first goal of gaining information [about resistance activities] and it would appear to have been effective as a deterrent,

though it is difficult to judge, not knowing what resistance would have been without the fear of torture. Because the regime cannot count on popular support, there is a definite logic in its use of torture. Torture is employed by those who have seized power to keep power."

Becket says that a conservative estimate of the number of people that the Greek government has had tortured is 2,000.

The barbarism of the military regime seems to have unhinged some of its perpetrators. Becket writes that "Col. Yiannis Ladas, the secretary of the ministry of the interior, pistol whips and beats people in his office. Signed affidavits by the victims testify to Col. Ladas's behavior. He pistol-whipped and threatened to kill three newspapermen responsible for an article that mentioned homosexuality was practiced in ancient Greece.

Becket spends some time in showing how the United States government arms and supports the military dictatorship in Greece.

"KYP [the Greek secret police] was founded in 1953 under the government of Field Marshall Papagos. Though there was an army intelligence service (A-2), it was felt that a new central intelligence agency was needed for modern times. KYP was modeled after and remains to this day largely financed by the American CIA. It is, in fact, though not in law, a subsidiary of the Langley, Virginia, parent corporation."

KYP does most of the torturing. Some torturers have told their victims that the torture implements (such as a special kind of whip and headscraws) have been supplied as U. S. military aid.

Becket concludes that "the United States government is the principal support for a military regime, a member of NATO, which violates every basic human right and depends on widespread torture to stay in power."

Barbarism in Greece also presents the damning facts about the role of the Soviet bureaucracy and the pro-Moscow Greek Communist Party in relation to the resistance movement:

"The Soviet Union maintains normal relations with the Colonels and has given the line to its remaining faithful [the Greek CP recently suffered a split] to eschew armed resistance as 'adventurism' and concentrate on 'mobilizing the masses.' The irony [in view of the junta's official anti-CP mythology] is that the real danger of violent overthrow of the regime comes from right-wing military officers, the Center, and non-Moscow left groups."

A large part of *Barbarism in Greece* consists of personal accounts by torture victims. One section of the appendix describes for six pages of small type the varieties of torture employed by the U. S. backed Greek butchers.

— ARTHUR MAGLIN

Atlanta municipal workers solid in strike's 3rd week

By DOUG JENNESS

ATLANTA, April 1—The city employees' strike here has entered its third week, and workers are holding fast for higher wages against savage attempts by liberal Democratic Mayor Sam Massell to break the strike. Negotiations between the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union Local 1644 (AFL-CIO) and the city broke down yesterday and ended in a wild shouting match in front of newsmen between Mayor Massell and Jerry Wurf, international president of AFSCME.

In the negotiations, the union modified its original demand of a one-step increase (4.3 percent of current salary) in wages for all employees and asked for wage increases for only some 3,000 of the lowest paid employees. There are 7,500 city employees. Massell refused to accept this proposal and offered his own "concession" of a \$5 weekly bonus to 2,314 low-paid employees if they have perfect attendance on the job.

It was this humiliating offer and Massell's intransigence in defending it that precipitated the public shouting match.

According to Atlanta *Constitution* reporter Alex Coffin, Jerry Wurf referred to the mayor as an "... ugly, vicious rumormonger! You contemptible strike-breaker. You are a sorry example of a human being. . . . You're not fit to walk in a synagogue. You're the type that was a concentration camp guard for the Germans!"

At a massive rally of union members and supporters last night, over 700 people heard Ralph Abernathy, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Lonnie King, NAACP and Democratic primary candidate for U.S. Congress; Maynard Jackson, vice-mayor of Atlanta; Jerry Wurf; and other speakers. Wurf told the strikers that AFSCME was depositing \$50,000 in the local strike fund and promised help from the

AFL-CIO. Abernathy said that if Massell "doesn't get the message. . . . I guarantee you're going to hear the marching of feet."

The majority of the striking workers are Black and work for the city sanitation department. Their militancy in this strike is not newly born but goes back to September 1968 when they struck for better pay, better working conditions, and an end to racial job discrimination. They won some concessions then and consolidated the strength of the relatively new AFSCME local.

The current strike grew out of demands that the union made last December for a three-step increase in wages. The city granted only a two-step increase, bringing the minimum wage up to \$1.67 per hour, and the starting pay for sanitation workers was raised from \$355 to \$388 a month.

The abysmally low level paid by the city for so many years combined with the impact of inflation created an in-

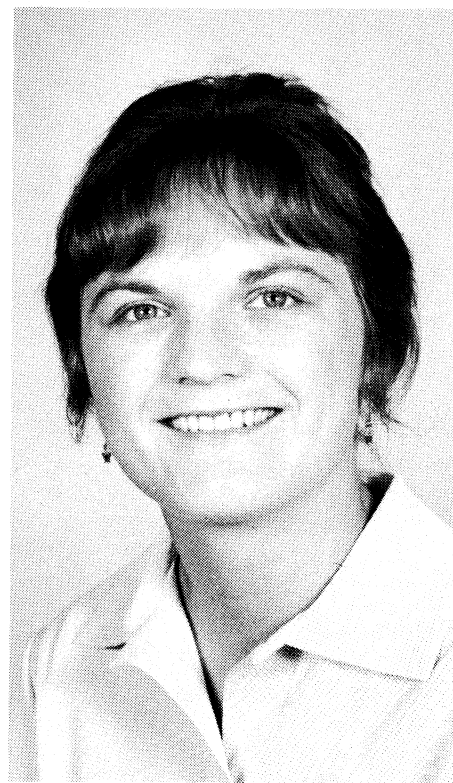
tolerable situation that the two-step increase couldn't even begin to solve.

After more than two months of negotiations and waiting to see what the newly elected liberal Democratic mayor would do, the rank-and-file workers voted to strike March 17.

Massell's offer included increasing the minimum wage by 46 cents an hour for a hundred of the workers, and giving \$5,000 life insurance policies to all employees. The mayor's refusal to meet the workers' very modest demands and his brutal attempts to break the strike destroyed some of the illusions about Massell's "people's administration."

Along with the rest of the labor movement, and the Black community, AFSCME was also responsible for electing Massell in last October's city election. AFSCME even had a union-paid organizer on Massell's campaign staff.

Another key characteristic of the current strike has been a defiant mood among the rank-and-file workers—



SWP candidate Linda Jenness backs city workers. See story page 8.

a mood which not only has stopped scabs at sanitation garages but twice has rejected compromises agreed to by the local union leadership.

According to the city charter, March 31 is the deadline date for the Board of Aldermen to increase city wages. The March 31 deadline has now passed, the strike is still going on, and the city may well have to find some way to raise the funds despite the city charter.

Chicago committee asks investigation of ultra-right

By JOHN STUDER

CHICAGO—A broad delegation of members and supporters of the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks met with Assistant State's Attorney Robert Boyle March 25 and put forward a list of demands stemming from the recent outbreak of right-wing terrorist violence in Chicago by members of the Legion of Justice.

Included in the delegation were representatives of the Independent Voters of Illinois, the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Chicago Peace Council, and other organizations.

The demands were: 1) A grand jury investigation of the illegal activities of the Legion of Justice. 2) An investigation of the criminal collusion between the police intelligence unit of the Chicago police department and right-wing terrorist groups. 3) Investigation of any possible connection between the Legion of Justice and any Chicago mag-

istrates who have constantly placed extraordinarily high bail bonds on those victims of the Legion of Justice who have been arrested on trumped-up charges at the request of the Legion.

4) That the state's attorney's office subpoena the video tape of the Nov. 12, 1969, press conference held by Legion attorney S. Thomas Sutton, for use as evidence in the upcoming trials of Sutton and Legion members Thomas Stewart and Edward Cozzi for possession of stolen materials. (At this news conference, Sutton displayed material that he admitted had been stolen by the Legion of Justice in a raid Nov. 1 on the headquarters of the Young Socialist Alliance.)

5) In light of the most recent evidence of right-wing involvement in a series of crimes in the past several months, that the state's attorney's office reopen an investigation of the murders of Rev. Bruce Johnson and his wife last fall and the attempt on the life of University of Chicago Professor Richard Flacks in early 1969. 6) Conscientious prosecution of cases now in the courts against the Legion of Justice.

Boyle's answer to the delegation—the second group to confront him within a week—was "take your complaints to the police intelligence unit." In view of the constant harassment of antiwar activists and socialists for which the police intelligence unit (commonly known as the Red Squad) is well known, Boyle's reply seemed ludicrous to those present. His major argument centered around his claim that the state's attorney's office had neither the facilities nor the power to undertake the kind of investigation demanded by the defense committee.

Outraged delegation members, however, were quick to point out numerous instances where the state's attorney's office had held investigations similar to those requested.

Boyle did concede to demands four, five and six. His agreement to these demands is due mainly to the mounting public pressure which the defense committee has been able to build. However, since he failed to satisfy the key demands of the delegation and since the threat of further Legion attacks remains large, a broad defense meeting to discuss further action was scheduled.

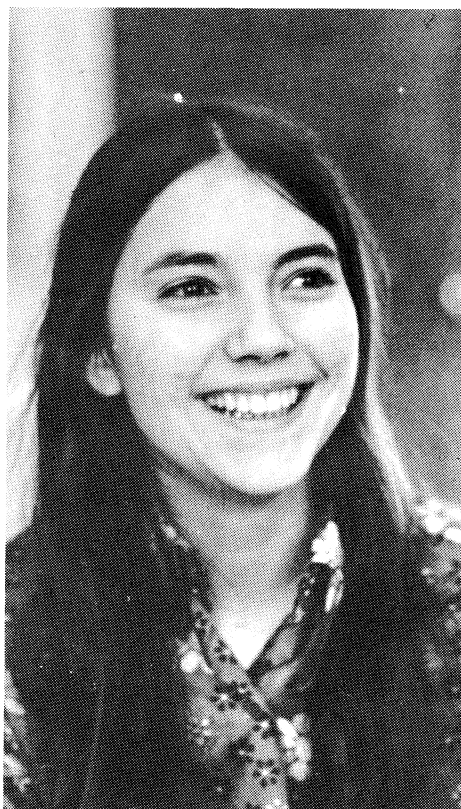


Photo by Shaw

Sec'y of Committee To Defend Against Terrorist Attacks, Laura Miller.

YSA recruits seven locals in six weeks

In the past six weeks, seven new locals of the YSA have been formed! They are in Orlando, Florida; Pittsburgh, Penn.; Oberlin, Ohio; El Paso, Texas; Oshkosh, Wisc.; Hoboken, New Jersey; and Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y.

The Pittsburgh local was formed on March 18 after Rich Finkel, YSA national field secretary, spent a week and a half there. Speaking on "The Coming American Revolution," he had successful meetings at the University of Pittsburgh, Robert Morris College, and Duquesne University.

At Oberlin, the local was formed after a group of students wrote to the YSA National Office saying "We here at Oberlin, who have been busily studying socialist ideas and history, wish to join the only truly revolutionary organization still extant. . . . We would like to start an Oberlin chapter of the YSA." The local was formed on March 19.

SWP offices fired on in Los Angeles

By SALLY WHICKER

LOS ANGELES, April 1—Late at night on March 30, seven shots were fired by unknown assailants into the Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters and other offices in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance headquarters.

Fortunately, the building was unoccupied at the time. A police officer estimated that three rifles were used, including at least one high-powered carbine, apparently fired from a moving vehicle.

The attack was discovered early the next morning by Terry Hardy, the party's candidate for state comptroller. Terry Hardy and David Frankel, SWP candidate for Lt. governor, immediately issued a joint statement condemning the attack. The statement reads in part:

"This attack, and others like it have been prompted by the growth in size and influence of the SWP and its active participation and leadership in the movements for social change in the United States. These attacks have been generated by the policies of the United States government which attempts to meet revolutionary ideas and political opposition with violence, both at home and abroad. . . .

"Not only will we continue to wage a vigorous election campaign for state office in California, but we will redouble our efforts. This attempt at intimidation will fail like all others. We demand an immediate and thorough investigation of this attack by the Los Angeles city authorities and the apprehension of the perpetrators of these terrorist attacks."

To date, no such action has come from official "investigators." If the investigation of this assault follows the previous pattern set by the Los Angeles police department, there will be in fact no investigation at all and no attempt to apprehend the assailants.

The SWP has received numerous statements of solidarity and support from various organizations.