

THE MILITANT

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



All out April 24!

March against the war Washington San Francisco

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CANADIAN YOUNG SOCIALIST CAMPAIGNS: The Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (YS/LJS), the revolutionary-socialist youth group in Canada, has been meeting an enthusiastic response this semester to the campus election campaigns of its student members at schools across Canada. Young Socialist Joan Campana was elected ombudswoman at the University of British Columbia. Three Young Socialists were elected president and first and second vice-president of Champlain College in the student election at Trent University in Peterborough. And the students at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver elected Young Socialist Linda Meissenheimer president of the student body. The Canadian English-language Trotskyist newspaper **Labor Challenge** comments, "The election victories are just part of the growing influence of the YS/LJS. In the three months since the beginning of the school term, seven new locals of the YS/LJS have been set up. It's obvious that what the Young Socialists have to say, more and more students want to hear."

POT CARCINOGENIC? The April 5 *Washington Post* reported that the federal government's National Cancer Institute has awarded a contract to a Virginia laboratory to run tests on the possible cancer-producing effects of marijuana. The lab will use condensates from 2 million joints puffed in smoking machines in tests on mice and hamsters.

LINDA JENNESS TOUR: The speaking tour of Socialist Workers Party and women's liberation leader Linda Jenness has taken her recently to the San Francisco Bay Area and then up the coast to Portland. In the Bay Area, she spoke at a socialist forum and at six campus meetings at five schools—Sacramento State, San Francisco State, San Francisco City College, the University of San Francisco, and San Jose State. In the Portland area she spoke at Portland State University, the University of Oregon, Oregon Teachers College, and Adams High School. The audience at the high school was 150.

NIXON AT NEW LOW: The latest Gallup figure on Nixon's popularity, based on a sampling taken March 19-21, shows 50 percent approving of the way the president handles his job—the lowest figure Nixon has received on such a poll since taking office.

THE NEW YORK TIMES AND HOMOSEXUALS: The latest offense of the *New York Times* against the gay community came in the form of an article by Judy Klemesrud on the New York chapter of Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), entitled "The Disciples of Sappho, Updated," which appeared in the paper's March 28 Sunday magazine. Ellen Pozill, New York DOB vice-president, told *In Brief* that the *Times* insisted Klemesrud include quotes from psychiatrists about lesbians being "sick" before the article was accepted. Klemesrud confirmed this when we called her. Pozill further pointed to Klemesrud's own falsifications, the worst of which were misquotes attributed to DOB President Ruth Simpson. These misquotes, such as one in which Simpson supposedly referred to "heterosexuals, who have nothing to be ashamed of" (something Simpson not only did not say, but would not say), could have been avoided if Klemesrud had checked her quotes with Simpson—something Pozill says Klemesrud promised to do. Klemesrud denies making such a promise, but claims her failure to show the galley proofs to Simpson was not the result of reluctance to have Simpson check the quotes attributed to her. Rather, she says, "Something happened, and it just didn't turn out to be possible to

show her the proofs."

JESUS CHRIST: John Sassone, the owner of a head shop in Butler, Pa., was arraigned March 31 on charges of blasphemy because he offered for sale a wanted poster portraying Jesus and bearing the caption: "Wanted for sedition." Perhaps the local constable thought some solid citizen might take the poster seriously and try to nab the holy ghost while it was haunting the churchyard.

PRISONERS REVOLT: Inmates of the 42-year-old Federal House of Detention in New York City demonstrated their anger at miserable conditions in the dungeon April 1 by smashing windows and dropping flaming sheets to the street below. Built originally as a garage, the structure was converted in 1929 to a jail intended to hold 137 inmates. There were 308 prisoners confined there when the April 1 disturbance broke out. Proving himself an April fool, Warden Louis Gengler claimed the action was taken by a troublemaking minority of the inmates.

HARRISBURG CASE: The first motion has been filed by the legal defense team of 13 lawyers representing the Harrisburg conspiracy frame-up victims. Headed by former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, the lawyers have filed a motion for a court order compelling the government to detail the vague charges in its fantastic indictment, which hold that the pacifist defendants plotted to kidnap Henry Kissinger and blow up the capital's heating tunnels.

BOSS SOLIDARITY: Representatives of 200 lettuce growers met in Salinas, Calif., March 29 to close their ranks in opposition to bargaining for new contracts covering field work with the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. The UFWOC reached agreement with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters March 26 to take over jurisdiction for field workers. The growers want to hang onto the old IBT contracts instead of negotiating new ones that might bring farm workers closer to a living wage.

IRISH FREEDOM CONCERT: The first concert of the Artists Committee for Irish Freedom, "Saor Eire, Irish Freedom Concert," will be held April 12 at Carnegie Hall. Performing will be Pete Seeger, the Clancy Brothers, Joe Heaney, Dominic Behan, Siobhan McKenna, Mary Travers, the Rev. F.D. Kirkpatrick, Michael "Jesse" Owens, Arnold Elder, James Keane, and others. Money from the concert will go to help Irish political prisoners. Tickets are available at the Carnegie Hall box office and Rm. 628, 799 Broadway (at E. 11 St.). For more information on the concert or the committee, write to 326 West 48 St., New York, N.Y. 10036 (Phone: (212) 489-1930).

ANCHER'S AWAKE: Congressman Ancher Nelsen, representative of a sleepy, rural district in Minnesota, has been moving with the wit and grace of a brontosaurus to justify his attempts to have an antiwar philosophy professor fired from a Lutheran college in his bailiwick. George Jones Jr., a philosophy instructor at Gustavus Adolphus in St. Peter, Minn., last month exposed the fact that Nelsen had spoken to the school's board of trustees about removing the professor because he had received nine antiwar letters from Jones in three years. Nelsen has admitted that he did so because "correspondence from Dr. Jones over a period of time took on the nature of harassment."

— LEE SMITH

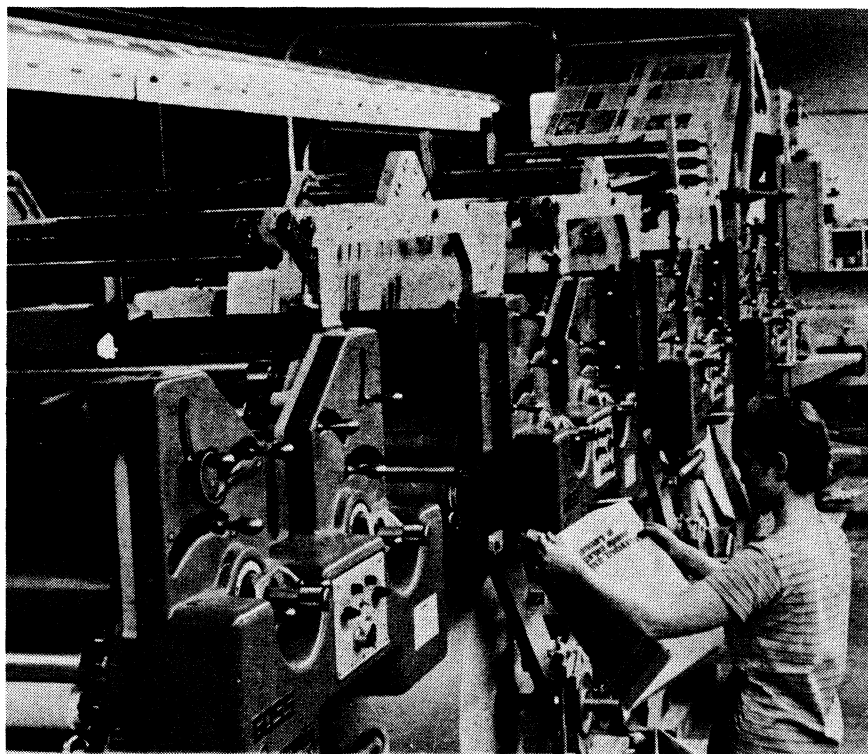


Photo by Jon Britton

This is it! The Goss Community web press on which *The Militant* is now being printed. Presswoman Suzanne Weiss watches as last week's issue rolls off.

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SWP protests Klan harassment at Houston City Council meeting

By PAUL MCKNIGHT

HOUSTON, April 7—A broad group of victims of terrorist harassment today appeared at the City Council and held a press conference afterwards to denounce the latest actions by right-wingers here who have stepped up their campaign against socialists, liberals and antiwar activists.

The most recent event is the appearance of the *Rat Sheet*, distributed by "the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," which urges its readers to step up the intimidation of persons and organizations which it labels "rats."

Those listed on the *Rat Sheet* include the four candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in Houston local elections; Thorne Dreyer of *Space City!*, a local radical newspaper; the *Forward Times*, a Black newspaper; Margaret Dreyer, the owner of a Houston art gallery; Fred Brode, long-time antiwar activist whose home has been shot at by night-riding terrorists; advisory board members of the local Pacifica radio station KPFT, which has been bombed off the air twice; and others.

Addresses, home and office phone numbers, and in some cases auto license plate numbers are listed for the intended victims. The *Rat Sheet* states that the information it prints is acquired by the Klan Bureau of Investigation (KBI).

The following are excerpts from the racist, sexist text of the *Rat Sheet*, which calls itself "an information and action bulletin": "Campaigning for city

office is one Deborah (Debbie) Leonard, of 304 Avondale. She is the first female (we hesitate to say 'woman') candidate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, and is running for the mayor's position.

"Debby's telephone number is 522-5776. Why not call her up and ask her for some more details about her platform? You will have a good chance catching her at home around 3:30-4:45 a.m. on weekday mornings.

"Debby is linked with the women's liberation movement, and is a staunch advocate of legislation for the Texas Abortion Coalition 'legalized child murder' proposition. A hard-core leftist and a proponent of the Gay Liberation Front (sounds kind of queer to us), Debby is said to engage in unnatural and quite shocking sex acts with other women (?) of the liberation movement."

Debby Leonard read a statement at the council meeting, in which she noted the *Rat Sheet's* call for harassment of specific persons and groups in Houston. "It is not without interest that many of these have already been the victims of terrorist actions, including *Space City!*, the *Forward Times*, and the Socialist Workers Party Campaign headquarters. . . .

"This open incitement to violence by the Klan demands that the City Council of Houston end its policy of negligence and inaction on these terrorist actions. We demand that you act to bring the criminals to order. . . .

"We demand that the City Council

hold a full public hearing on these terrorist actions and release to the public all of the information in the police files concerning these events."

Leonard then read to the council a letter which the SWP candidates sent to the Ku Klux Klan, challenging the Klan to come out in the open and dare to debate the issues "and let the people of Houston decide which of us works in their favor."

Debby Leonard has also sent a letter to John Connally, secretary of the U. S. treasury. The Treasury Department had sent an agent, Richard Brooks, to Houston to investigate the March 12 bombing of the SWP Campaign headquarters. In her letter, Leonard protests the fact that this investigation has been aimed more at the members of the SWP itself, as well as at Black people of Houston, than at apprehending the actual criminals.

She wrote: "Not only has Mr. Brooks attempted to intimidate and coerce supporters of the Socialist Workers Party Campaign, but he has also accused me of being in possible violation of the Federal Explosives Act.

"He has also indicated that he is investigating elements in the Black community for possible complicity in bombing our headquarters—a course of action which we consider not only slanderous to ourselves but an affront and indignity to the Black community as a whole."

Leonard drew Connally's attention to the *Rat Sheet* and suggested that

if the Treasury Department were really serious about investigating the bombings, this publication should indicate a good starting point.

Statements at the council meeting were also made by Thorne Dreyer from the *Space City!* collective; the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston; Fred Brode, chairman of the Houston Peace Action Coalition; the Rev. William Lawson, a Black minister whose house was burned down last year; Martin Dreyer (the father of Thorne Dreyer), who works for the *Houston Chronicle*; and Margaret Webb Dreyer.



Debby Leonard

Gonzales convicted in L.A.

DENVER—The April 1 conviction of Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales in Los Angeles municipal court drew strong response from the Denver Chicano community last week. A series of three mass meetings have been held so far at the headquarters of the Crusade for Justice to organize support for Corky Gonzales and protest against his conviction and sentence.

Gonzales, a leader of the Denver Crusade for Justice and the Colorado Raza Unida Party, was arrested during the murderous police attack on the August 29 Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles and charged with carrying a concealed weapon. He was sentenced to 40 days and is now out on \$1,000 bail pending appeal.

This was Gonzales' second trial. The first trial in December 1970 resulted in a hung jury for Gonzales and a

verdict of not guilty for Al Gurule, Raza Unida Party candidate for governor of Colorado in 1970.

According to members of the Denver-based Crusade for Justice, a civil rights and human rights organization, the significance of the trial and the conviction is that it could lay the basis for possible new attacks on the leadership of the Crusade for Justice, the Chicano Moratorium, and La Raza Unida Party in California and Colorado.

The conviction becomes more serious when viewed in the framework of the common police harassment and attacks on the Crusade for Justice. For example, on election night in 1970, the headquarters of the Crusade for Justice was raided by the police and hundreds of dollars worth of equipment and material were destroyed.

Bill Purdue, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Denver, pointed out that the attack on the Crusade for Justice and La Raza Unida Party of Colorado stemmed from the fact that these organizations reflected the growing radicalization of the Chicano community. They have played a major role in organizing and leading that radicalization, and helping develop a mass movement for Chicano control of the Chicano community and against the war in Vietnam.

He urged all antiwar and political organizations to come to the defense of Corky Gonzales, the Crusade for Justice, and La Raza Unida Party.

In another local development, the Colorado Peace Council, a coalition of organizations opposed to the war in Vietnam and organizing for the April 24 antiwar demonstrations, plans an antiwar action in Denver on April 17. Two of the demands of that demonstration will be to free Corky Gonzales and to free Ed Vejil, a Denver Chicano now sentenced to 90 days observation at a federal detention center near Denver for making a statement opposed to the war and to the draft during a court hearing on his refusal to accept the draft.

Because of the high cost of the first and second trials in Los Angeles,

funds are urgently needed. Contributions can be sent to the National Chicano Legal Defense Fund, 1567 Downing St., Denver, Colo. 80218.

Davis hits judge's prejudice

By CAROL LIPMAN

SAN FRANCISCO — The Davis-Magee pretrial hearing reopened April 1 at the Marin County Civic Center with defense counsel for Angela Davis demanding that the latest judge assigned to the "murder-kidnap conspiracy" trial disqualify himself on the grounds of prejudice.

Howard Moore Jr., chief of the battery of lawyers comprising the Davis defense, presented the challenge in the form of a 35-page document.

Superior Court Judge Alan A. Lindsay of Alameda County, who is being challenged, follows upon the heels of

Judge John McMurray of Inyo County who disqualified himself for being biased against Davis' codefendant, Ruchell Magee.

All of the Superior Court judges of Marin County disqualified themselves on the basis of their close association with the deceased judge, Harold J. Haley, the victim of the alleged kidnap-murder.

Judge Lindsay has announced intentions to challenge the assertion by the Davis defense that he is prejudiced against her.

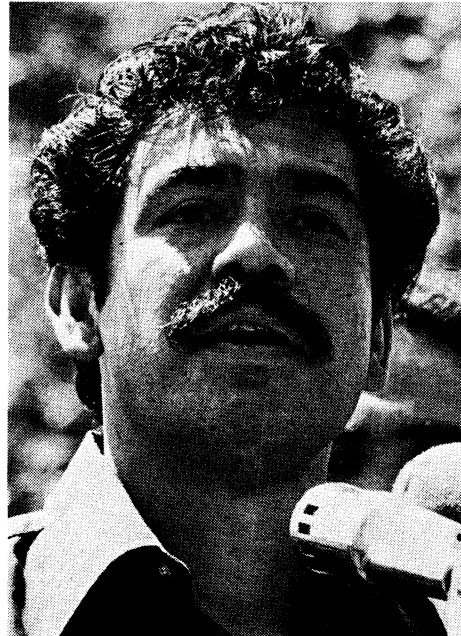
The challenge accuses Judge Lindsay of being a racist, appointed to the bench by Governor Ronald Reagan, who has a long history of prejudice against Davis in his capacity as head of the Board of Regents of the University of California. The regents refused to rehire her in the fall of 1969 as a teacher at UCLA because of her membership in the Che-Lumumba Club of the Southern California Communist Party. Davis challenged that refusal and won a favorable ruling in the courts.

The disqualification document said that Judge Lindsay's whole sphere of life is "so outside the experience of that associated with the life of Angela Davis and her codefendant Magee, that he is totally incapable of making a fair determination of the motions put forward by the defense."

The document cites as proof of his prejudicial attitude Lindsay's professional career. It points out that he served as deputy district attorney in Alameda County, as counselor for the Police Officers' Association, and as president of the Oakland school board (at which time he denied the schools were racially imbalanced, despite evidence to the contrary).

Angela Davis is also fighting to be released on bail so that she can be allowed to represent herself as cocounsel along with the other attorneys.

The next stage in the case will open when Judge Lindsay presents his counterarguments. The state will then assign another judge to hear evidence on whether Lindsay is prejudiced.



Corky Gonzales



Angela Davis

Nixon opposes right to abortion

By CAROLINE LUND

President Nixon, under the pressure of the growing abortion repeal movement, has seen fit to issue his first public statement on abortion. Quoted in the April 4 *New York Times*, Nixon said: "From personal and religious beliefs, I consider abortion an unacceptable form of population control. Further, unrestricted abortion facilities, or abortion on demand, I cannot square with my personal belief in the sanctity of human life—including the life of the yet unborn."

In conjunction with this statement, Nixon struck down a policy the Pentagon has had since last July of allowing military personnel and dependents to easily get abortions in the 165 military hospitals in the country. Nixon's directive ruled that military hospitals must abide by the restrictive abortion laws of the states in which they operate.

In the statement, Nixon also asserts that in his opinion the federal government has no responsibility for assuring women the right to abortion: "Historically, laws regulating abortion in the United States have been the province of states, not the federal government." One of the difficulties the women's movement has faced in fighting for legal abortions is the fact that we have had to fight state-by-state. But the women's movement has no intention of letting Nixon and the federal government off the hook. We are demanding that all state abortion laws must be eliminated, since they are unconstitutional, and the federal government is just as responsible as the states for allowing these laws to remain in force.

Nixon's statement is yet another indication of the determination of the ruling class of this country to prevent women from winning control over our own bodies. Nixon's statement does not once even mention women—those most deeply affected by abortion laws. He only considers abortion in terms of "population control"—ignoring what it means for the lives of women.

And regarding children, Nixon said that this country would "open its hearts and homes to the unwanted children" which women would be forced to bear.

One only has to look at the conditions welfare children and orphans have to live under to understand the depth of Nixon's hypocrisy.

As the nationwide debate over the abortion issue continues to sharpen, a liberalized abortion bill was decisively defeated in the Maryland House of Delegates after weeks of debate. The bill would have made it a woman's decision to have an abortion if it was performed by a physician up to the twentieth week of pregnancy.

Both supporters and opponents of the liberalized bill said that it was pressure from organized antiabortion forces which defeated the bill. In the two weeks prior to the vote, Catholic and other church groups mounted an intense campaign against it. On the day of the vote, supporters of these groups packed the House galleries wearing badges saying "Abortion is Murder" or "Life."

Supporters of the bill pointed out that the "abortion is murder" argument was hypocritical, since the existing Maryland abortion law already permits legal abortions for women rich enough to pay for psychiatric consultation in order to present evidence that having the child would damage their mental health.

In another development, in the New York legislature, a bill has been favorably reported out of committee which would reduce the time period during which a woman can get an abortion from 24 weeks to 20 weeks of pregnancy. This attempt to further restrict the right of women to control their own bodies is supported by Governor Rockefeller.

Included in this bill is also a provision outlawing profit-making abortion referral agencies. While this provision sounds like it is designed to

protect women from having to pay outrageous prices for an abortion, one of its effects would be to limit information about the availability of legal abortions, especially to women from out-of-state. Many antiabortion forces support this step, not out of concern that women should be able to get cheaper abortions, but because they want to hush up the existence of legal abortions as much as possible and don't want abortion clinics advertised and made known to women.

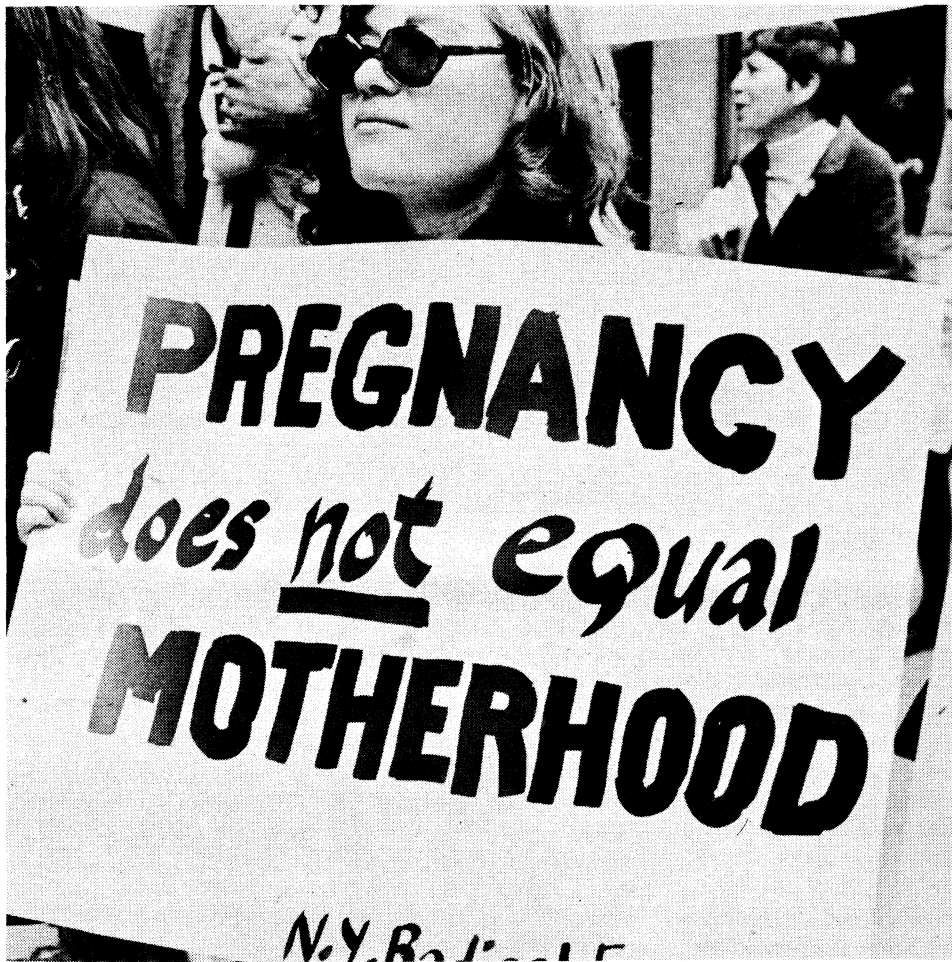
To be a progressive step for women, this provision should be accompanied by the establishment of state-financed free referral services or state financial aid to existing nonprofit referral services such as Planned Parenthood.

Still another step was taken by New York Governor Rockefeller April 2 to limit the ability of New York women to get abortions. Rockefeller announced that state payments for abortions for welfare recipients and for women on Medicaid would be suspended for the next three months, pending action by the New York legislature to outlaw these payments. This will mean that at least 4,000 poor women on welfare or Medicaid who now have abortions scheduled will be denied them.

At the University of Maine, an abortion loan fund set up by the student government to aid pregnant students in getting an abortion faces an investigation by the county attorney. Students have received a barrage of hate mail and a public attack by Maine Governor Curtis, but they're continuing the fund.

Another encouraging development is the plan announced April 1 by Planned Parenthood of New York, which is opening an abortion and birth control clinic this summer able to perform more than 10,000 abortions per year for an average fee of \$80. At the present time, an early abortion costs \$300-\$400 in a nonprofit N. Y. hospital and more than \$500 in a private hospital.

Clearly, it is crucial that the women's liberation movement continue to mobilize its efforts in opposition to the attempts to stop the progress women are making toward controlling our own bodies.



Women march on Minnesota capitol

By NANCY STREBE

MINNEAPOLIS—The governor of Minnesota was playing hockey on Saturday, April 3, and therefore did not see some six hundred people gather in front of his mansion demanding an end to all abortion laws. But the state legislature was in session, and the legislators were very aware of the Abortion Action Coalition demonstration as it marched up the capitol steps and rallied there.

On a typical Minnesota spring day—20 degrees, windy, amid remains of the previous day's snowstorm—women from a wide range of groups, and male supporters, took to the streets in the largest Minnesota demonstration yet for women's rights.

During the three-mile march to the state capitol, the marchers chanted, "Women unite! Stand up and fight! Abortion is our right," "A woman's choice, not a man's, free abortion on demand!" and "Women must decide our fate, not the church, not the state!"

On the capitol steps, Mary Hillery, Abortion Action Coalition coordinator, stated, "The struggle against abortion laws is a struggle against those who debate the fate of women in marble halls and domed capitols while women die. Abortion is not a privilege for which women must beg, but a right—and all restrictions on a woman's right to abortion must be removed."

Etta Magnuson, representing University of Minnesota Women's Liberation, spoke against male doctors who charge high fees and treat women like "mindless creatures incapable of understanding and dealing with our own problems." She called for free abortion on demand and for a statewide referendum to abolish all abortion laws, and promised, "We will continue the fight until all our sisters everywhere are free."

Other speakers included Caroline Johnson, M. D.; Conrad Balfour, state

director of human rights; Nancy Lehmann, Women's Counseling Service; a statement from Jane Hodgson, M. D., who performed an illegal abortion in Minnesota and whose case is pending in state court; and Robert McCoy, who runs an abortion referral service and is a spokesman for the Minnesota Council for the Legal Termination of Pregnancy (MCLTP).

Over twenty groups endorsed the Abortion Action Coalition, including: National Council of Jewish Women, Planned Parenthood, the National Organization for Women, Sierra Club, Socialist Workers Party, Unitarian-Universalist Women's Federation, Zero Population Growth, Young Socialist Alliance, Greater Metropolitan Federation (urban action group), University of Minnesota Women's Liberation (the backbone of building the demonstration), and several other women's liberation groups.

Two bills have been introduced this

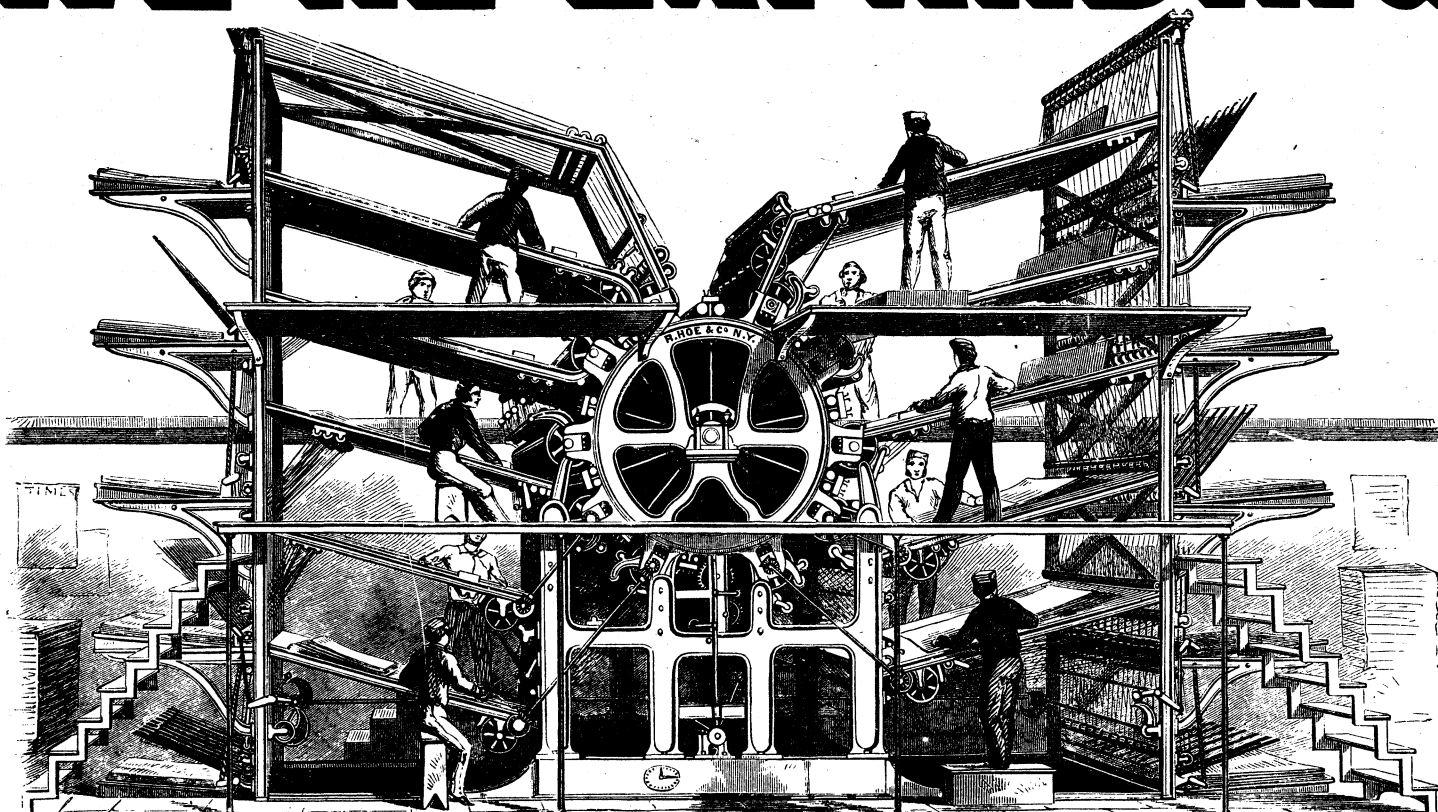
legislative session (the legislature meets every two years) which would lessen the current criminal penalties and hardships imposed on women seeking abortions. Both bills are languishing in committee.

There is only one woman in the entire state legislature, Helen MacMillan, and she expressed solidarity with the demonstration.

The call for a statewide referendum to abolish all abortion laws is being taken up by many people. But the people of Minnesota, unlike those of other states, cannot initiate a referendum. The only way a question can be put on the ballot is for the legislature to introduce a bill for a constitutional amendment, and the legislature itself decides which questions they will let the people vote on.

The Abortion Action Coalition, in the words of several speakers, has promised to "return again and again until all abortion laws are off the books and women are free to choose."

WE'RE EXPANDING



and we need new machinery
The Militant Improvement Fund is launched to purchase new equipment as part of continued expansion.

The Militant has undergone a rapid expansion during the past year. This process is continuing and is evident in the increased size and circulation of *The Militant*, as well as in its improved format.

Within the past year, *The Militant* has gone from 16 pages to 24 pages. This means better coverage. This means the paper is more varied and more interesting to read. It also means that it is more effective than ever as a voice for revolutionary socialism in the various mass movements for social change.

As movements like the antiwar and women's liberation movements have grown, *The Militant* has also grown. This is as it should be since, among the radical press, it has been the most consistent supporter and builder of such movements.

The Militant has also responded quickly to special developments of national and international importance such as last spring's postal strike and invasion of Cambodia. No other radical paper put out a special issue during the historic strike of postal workers. *The Militant* did. During the nationwide student strike last May against the Cambodia invasion, *The Militant* responded with

extra issues and special press runs of up to 75,000.

Throughout the past year, the revolutionary-socialist viewpoint has reached greater and greater numbers of people through *The Militant*. In March, our weekly circulation averaged over 20,000—an increase of 37 percent over last year.

In addition to this growth, *The Militant* has a dramatically improved format. It is more modern than ever and is graphically the most attractive radical paper in America.

We are looking forward to further expansion and improvement as the mass movements where *The Militant* is read continue to grow, as our circulation increases, and as special opportunities for spreading socialist ideas arise, such as the upcoming 1972 presidential campaign.

This is what the Militant Improvement Fund is all about. We need to raise \$5,000 to buy two machines if we are to meet our pressing needs for expansion and improvement.

We need a Cheshire labeling machine which will entirely automate the present method of stamping by hand each subscriber's name and address on *The Militant* before it can be mailed. The present hand method is too cumbersome for a paper with an expanding circulation like ours.

We also need a photo typesetter, which will permit us to use any style of headline type currently available. It will make unnecessary the many hours of labor spent in pressing down headline type by hand. Besides being a significant labor-saving device, it will make *The Militant* look even more attractive and professional than it does now.

We are appealing to our readers to help us raise the necessary \$5,000 in the next six weeks so we can make these purchases. Please respond as generously as you can today. Your contribution to the Militant Improvement Fund will be an important investment in the most widely read voice for socialism in America.

**I want to help expand and improve *The Militant*.
Enclosed is my contribution of \$**

Name _____
Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

**Militant Improvement Fund
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014**

Canadians protest Czech trial

From Intercontinental Press

Ottawa

A delegation of leaders of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (YS/LJS) was forcibly evicted from the Czechoslovak embassy here March 25 while attempting to lodge a protest with the ambassador against the jailing of nineteen alleged Trotskyists in Prague. The police, who roughed up the Canadian Trotskyist youth leaders, were called by embassy officials.

The Young Socialists, carrying red flags and a banner reading, "Free the Prague 19—Socialism Yes—Bureaucracy No," confronted an embassy official—a Mr. Novotny—at the door and demanded to see the Czechoslovak ambassador.

A statement on behalf of the YS/LJS was read by Jacquie Henderson, Central Office organizer of the YS/LJS. The statement said, in part: "We who

have experienced our government's attack on our civil liberties with the War Measures Act and the Public Order Act . . . feel the outrage, shock and horror of the Czechoslovakian people at this criminal act of political repression."

The Young Socialists found themselves surrounded by uniformed Ottawa cops with a row of police cars parked in the street in front of the embassy. The delegation refused to move.

A little later, the cops moved in. The delegation was pushed and shoved down the embassy stairs. One member of the YS/LJS was attacked by a cop, knocked to the ground, forced into a waiting police car, and taken to police headquarters for questioning. Others were manhandled, threatened with arrest, and had their clothing ripped.

A statement later released by the YS/LJS condemned both the refusal of the Czechoslovak embassy officials to hear their delegation and the outrageous "use of the Ottawa cops to avoid answering the questions raised by the delegation."

Both Canada-wide television networks and the Canadian Press news service reported the action.

J.-P. Sartre appeals for Prague 19

From Intercontinental Press

[The following appeal on behalf of the defendants accused of "Trotskyism" in the recent Prague trial was published in the March 17 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. The appeal was signed by seventeen well-known French intellectual and artistic figures whose names follow the text below.]

The judicial action in Prague against Petr Uhl and his comrades is clear: from the police provocation which led to the arrest of the group, to the kind of accusations leveled against the defendants, everything shows that despite the occasional official denials this is a case of pure Stalinism run rampant.

We believe that the struggle of the accused nineteen is fundamentally just. It is an integral part of the struggle

for the advent of genuine socialism.

We protest against the fact that Trotskyism (as with other revolutionary currents such as anarchism) continues to be subjected to Stalinist slanders and to be presented as an agency of imperialism. Independent of the political position that each of us may have with regard to Trotsky and to those who claim to follow him, we protest against such assertions, which can only perpetuate the corruption of the workers movement carried out by Stalin.

"It is not possible to destroy an idea by force because that blocks all possible intellectual development." We make these words of Che Guevara our own. The trial of Petr Uhl and his comrades is a clear sign of the negation of socialism and of the tragic absence of all freedom in Czechoslovakia.

Signed: Robert Antelme, Jean-Christophe Bailly, Simone de Beauvoir, Claude Courtot, Marguerite Duras, Georges Goldfayn, Daniel Guérin, Jean-Edern Hallier, Gérard Legrand, Dionys Mascolo, Maurice Nadeau, José Pierre, André Puig, Claude Roy, Jean-Paul Sartre, Jean Schuster, and Jean-Claude Silbermann.

In Our Opinion

The war criminals

On March 31, First Lt. William Calley was sentenced to a life term at hard labor for the premeditated murder of at least 22 South Vietnamese civilians in 1968. Only days before, the U.S.-backed South Vietnamese Army was driven out of Laos.

These two historic events have stoked the fires of already existing deep opposition to the Southeast Asian war among the American people and limited Nixon even further in his ability to continue, much less escalate, the war.

A Gallup Poll on April 1 and 2 showed that 79 percent of those polled disapproved the Calley verdict. However, to the question, "Do you disapprove of the verdict because what happened at Mylai was not a crime or because you think others besides Lt. Calley share the responsibility for what happened?" Seventy-one percent said it was a crime but others shared responsibility for it.

Millions believe that Calley is a scapegoat for officers and government officials higher up the chain of command who bear even greater responsibility.

The strong reaction to the sentencing of Calley is the result of deep questioning taking place among the American people. For the first time, millions of Americans are accepting the fact of war crimes in Vietnam.

The immediate reaction for these millions has been—if Calley is guilty of war crimes, doesn't that also make former President Johnson, General Westmoreland, General Abrams, Clark Clifford, Melvin Laird, and President Nixon war criminals? Haven't they made the decisions that have led to the savage slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese? For the first time in history, masses of Americans are beginning to believe their leaders may be guilty of wholesale slaughter.

Another effect of the Calley verdict has been to raise questions about the role of the U.S. in World War II and the Korean War. For example, the April 12 Newsweek reporting on the Calley verdict in an article entitled, "Who else is guilty?" placed pictures of Nazi Nuremberg defendants and Japanese General Yamashita, convicted of war crimes committed in World War II, alongside pictures of the Allied firebombing of Dresden and the U.S. atomic bombing of Nagasaki. The profoundly radical implications of such questioning of previous imperialist wars should not be underestimated.

A third effect of the Calley trial and verdict has been to lay bare for millions the full, horrible reality of the Vietnamese war. Through the course of the trial, it became clear to many who were unwilling to believe it before that Mylai was not an isolated incident but was an integral part of the entire war—a war where official U.S. policy is to bomb, burn, strafe, poison, starve, torture, and jail the civilian population. Calley's comment that "It was no big deal, sir," only serves as a chilling confirmation of this policy.

A layer of right-wing politicians and organizations are attempting to take advantage of the deep uneasiness over the implications of the Calley sentence and use it to wage a campaign around the demand "Free Calley." Without challenging the facts presented at the court-martial as to what Calley did at Mylai, these prowar forces argue that Calley's actions were justified on the basis that he killed the "enemy" as he was trained and ordered to do.

But as the Gallup Poll revealed, the overwhelming majority of Americans have not sought to turn Calley into a hero. Rather, they have turned against those who are also responsible. Furthermore, the Calley trial and verdict and the Laos rout have struck heavy blows against the prowar forces. More than ever before during the war, they correctly doubt the willingness of the American people to continue, much less "win" the war. The superhawks have been demoralized by the widespread revulsion against the war and the atrocities bred by it. They are increasingly divided among themselves, with some of them now even supporting a U.S. pull-out from Vietnam.

The deep questioning taking place among the American people is producing a qualitative new stage of opposition to the war. It presents an excellent opportunity for the antiwar movement to explain that the biggest crime of all is the Vietnam war itself. The biggest criminals are the capitalist class and its agents in the White House and the Pentagon. The best answer to the criminal policies of the Nixon administration is a massive turnout on April 24 in San Francisco and Washington, D.C., demanding that all U.S. forces be withdrawn immediately.

Baltimore protest

We want to share with you what has happened to some women in Baltimore as a result of their actions in protesting the U.S. invasion into Laos. When the Laos invasion began, women decided to join as women in the demonstration planned for downtown Baltimore. For some of the women it was the first time they had been at a demonstration with women. The day of the rally, women felt strong and high, singing women's songs, joining in chants of "Madame Binh, Madame Binh, NLF is gonna win!"

As we turned the corner, police on horses, using clubs and mace, charged the crowds. Arrests were made, including seventeen brothers, four of whom got serious charges of assault with intent to murder. Six sisters were arrested on charges that varied from disorderly conduct to assault.

We want to ask for your financial support in paying the fines, bonds, and legal expenses for our sisters and brothers. Bail at this point is over \$60,000, plus \$4,400 in fines—so far. *Anything* you can contribute is needed.

Make checks payable to Judith Munaker, c/o Women's Liberation, 3028 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. 21218.

*Sisterhood is Powerful,
Baltimore Sisters*

Correction

In a recent issue of *The Militant* it was reported that I have endorsed the gay contingent which will make its presence in the April 24 mass demonstration against the Vietnam war. When I gave this endorsement, however, I specified that it was for all the antiwar actions taking place this spring, including those scheduled for May 1 and the days following. Organizing under the slogan, "May Day Is Gay Day," large numbers of gay people will take united action against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and against Nixon's notion of American "manhood." For further information about Gay May Day, contact Gay May Day Tribe, 1029 Vermont Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

*Allen Young
New York, N.Y.*

Violence-baiting

This letter is in reply to your editorial of March 26, 1971.

While it's understandable that *The Militant*, which reflects the views of the Socialist Workers Party, will editorially support the antiwar strategy of that party to the exclusion of all others, it at times presents some rather ludicrous examples of tunnel vision. This I believe was the case with the editorial, "Red-Baiting the 24th." It's quite easy to see why the Socialist Workers Party and *The Militant* would be upset by the Evans and Novak smear of the spring antiwar actions. Indeed, all of us in the antiwar movement were outraged at the gross example of red-baiting displayed in that column. But we were also outraged at other aspects of the column and in the larger offensive against the antiwar movement which is being waged by the Nixon administration.

It's quite unfortunate that *The Militant* in its response to the Evans and Novak red-baiting did not see fit to respond to the equally vicious violence-baiting of those of us who are developing and working on a

spring antiwar strategy that includes the disruption of the federal establishment in Washington, D.C., through the use of nonviolent civil disobedience. Those of us who adhere to this strategy are no less legitimate than those who adhere to the strategy articulated by the December conference of the National Peace Action Coalition.

Though your editorial chose to ignore it, the February Student and Youth Conference on a People's Peace—attended by well over 2,000 young movement activists—overwhelmingly endorsed the People's Peace Treaty and a spring action calendar beginning on May 1st to implement the Treaty through the disruption of Washington, using the tactics of nonviolent civil disobedience. Like the conferences organized by the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee, this conference was open and democratic, with the proposals and programs of a wide range of political tendencies—including the SWP and YSA—being presented and openly discussed.

The Militant is quite correct in rebutting the red-baiting of the April 24th demonstrations. However, to focus entirely on the Nixon propaganda machine's red-baiting and ignore its violence-baiting can only lead one to conclude that you are more interested in preserving sectarian advantage than in building an even stronger antiwar movement. A movement that can recognize its diversity and yet present a united face to those who seek to destroy our movement through the use of red-baiting and violence-baiting.

*Jerry D. Coffin
Field Secretary
War Resisters League
New York, N.Y.*

'Selling of the Pentagon'

American Documentary Films (ADF) has acquired distribution rights to the controversial CBS documentary *The Selling of the Pentagon*. Shown twice on TV recently, the film drew the fire of Vice-President Agnew and other officials, who have renewed charges of "bias" and mismanagement against the media.

In brief, the film examines the process of information exchange that the Pentagon carries on in its efforts to create a favorable domestic climate for war.

The 55-minute documentary can be rented or purchased from ADF at either 336 W. 84 St., New York, N.Y. 10024, or 379 Bay St., San Francisco, Calif. 94133.
*American Documentary Films
New York, N.Y.*

Frame-ups protested

The Ohio grand jury last year introduced indictments against several peripheral persons in connection with the Kent State murders. In an atmosphere of hysteria, it failed to indict the individuals primarily responsible for that atrocity.

The State of California, in a similar fashion, is refusing to recognize the real source of criminal responsibility in its prosecution of Angela Davis and the Soledad Brothers.

Both of these state-sponsored miscarriages are reminiscent of the convictions of Sacco and Vanzetti by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the 1920s, when, in a similar hysterical fashion, the state refused to permit the introduction of evidence that would have proven the innocence of the defendants.

*Michael Morrison
Lexington, Mass.*

The Great Society

Prisoners request support

There was some publicity, in the United States and elsewhere, after large numbers of unarmed citizens were shot down by the army in Mexico City on Oct. 2, 1968. But comparatively little was said about the ensuing mass arrests, the tortures used on many of the prisoners, or the mockery of due process during the trials.

Particularly serious is the case of Mario R. Solorzano and Carlos Roldano, two Guatemalan political exiles in Mexico. They had sought asylum in the Mexican Embassy in Guatemala City on July 4, 1968. After spending some 30 days in the Embassy, they were flown to Mexico on Aug. 6, 1968. There they were allegedly in some way connected with the 1968 student movement. Along with some 120 other political prisoners arrested at that time, they are still in jail in Mexico City.

Their case, however, is a special one: They were sentenced for having shot a soldier in Mexico City on July 4, 1968, although they could provide evidence that they were not even in the country at that time. They have recently been sentenced to 23 years, and their case is now pending before the Supreme Court of Mexico.

The two people feel it might help their case if concerned people all over the world wrote letters to the president of Mexico and the president of the Supreme Court demanding a fair trial. The addresses are: Sr. lic. Luis Echeverria Alvarez, Presidente de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, Palacio Nacional, Mexico, D. F.; Sr. lic. Alfonso Guzman Neyra, Presidente, Suprema Corte de Justicia, Mexico, D. F.

S. F.
Minneapolis, Minn.

'Militant' useful in classroom

When Detroit YSA members returned from the New York Young Socialist Alliance convention in January, all they could seem to talk about was the impact of Peter Camejo and his excellent speech on "The Roots of the American Socialist Revolution." Because I was unable to attend, I am grateful to *The Militant* for printing [major excerpts from] this valuable work.

The Militant has been helpful to me as a source in classroom discussions and debates on abortion, socialism, labor, and the Third World liberation struggles. I am a high school student and the channels of information on these topics are blocked by censorship and untruths. When I have shown *The Militant* to various teachers, they express interest in the strength and coherence of the YSA.

Thank you for a useful educational and informational tool in *The Militant*.

G. A.
Farmington, Mich.

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

Prefer low profile—A new police station being built in the town of St. Ives in England has become a source of local controversy. The new station will be located on Pig Lane, and the cops want to change the name of the street. Residents respond that the name has been good enough for the past century, and they see no reason to change.

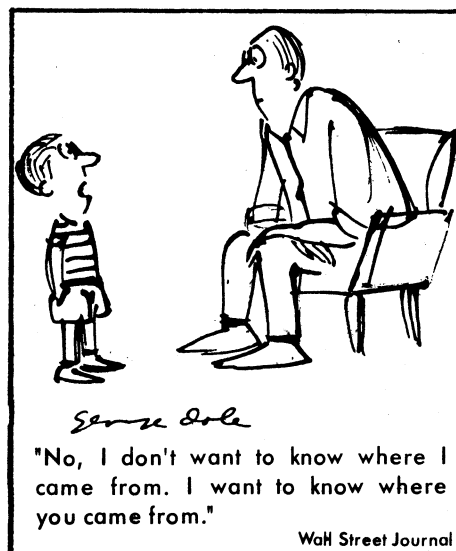
Great kidders—The Department of Agriculture is weighing a request by Texas meat packers that they no longer be required to label goat meat as such. The packers propose "chevon," which they say is Spanish for goat meat, or mutton. We're not sure about the Spanish, but British importers might feel sheepish about the mutton idea. They might even think they were being made the goat.

Public nuisance—The owner of a San Jose, California, office building which houses the city's three draft boards filed federal suit to have them evicted as a nuisance and a hazard to the health and welfare of other tenants. The boards are constantly provoking demonstrations out front, often making it difficult for other tenants to get in.

Give pizza a chance—Fast overtaking

the hamburger as America's national nosh, the pizza is relating to its largely youthful constituency. Among the slogans adopted by a recent pizza-makers convention was "Power to the Pizza." The industry's new official button: a pink and orange design including the peace symbol and the words, "and pizza."

Sorry about that—If you've been trying to figure out a substitute for mercury-contaminated tuna and swordfish, skip the snapper. The Food and Drug Administration finds it has a



mercury count "slightly above federal safety limits."

Sorry about that, too—Meanwhile, the FDA reports that three facial cosmetics are being recalled from the market. Samples of the three—Dermetic Complexion Make-up, Prima Nature Night Veil, and Final Eyes—showed bacterial contamination that could lead to skin and eye infection.

The enforcers—With but 525 federal field inspectors to check 64,000 interstate food processing plants, there have been a variety of problems. Recent ones included lubricating oil in soda pop, pesticide in cheese and noodles, metal fragments in coffee, and glass particles in cereal. Because of this, the FDA has decided that the present system of voluntary compliance with federal standards is inadequate. From now on companies must follow voluntary guidance.

And you think radicals have problems—A guide book for Republican campus speakers, compiled by the party's National Committee, advises, among other things, "try to stress that no one is prowar," and "destroy the idea that the U. S. is run wholly by small groups of business interests."

—HARRY RING

♀ The Insurgent Majority

At both Miami University in Ohio and Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, sisters have been waging successful campaigns for the dispensation of birth control pills and devices through the student health service, and for a full-time gynecologist. At Miami U, Oxford Women's Liberation initiated a broad coalition in support of these demands, including many campus organizations, fraternities, sororities, the Student Senate, and the Association of Women Students. The coalition is presenting the demands to the administration and will take action if they are not fulfilled.

Everywoman, the women's liberation group at NIU, got 5,000 students to sign a petition supporting its demands. This show of force brought immediate concessions from the administration. The university officials promised that by June prescriptions for birth control pills would be available to all women, and by September a full-time gynecologist would be hired.

This information is from the April 2 issue of *The Young Socialist Organizer*, a national biweekly publication of the Young Socialist Alliance.

More from The Organizer—The Rhode Island Coalition to Repeal Abortion Laws, a statewide formation initiated last November, held a conference of 175 people in February. The conference decided on the perspective of working for complete repeal of abortion laws, rather than supporting reform laws, and projected building a class-action suit challenging the constitutionality of Rhode Island's existing abortion law.

The March 29 Great Speckled Bird carried an article summarizing the case of Lorena Weeks, which has been a significant case in legally clarifying how Title VII of the Civil Rights Act would be interpreted. Back in 1966, Weeks applied for a job as a switchman with Southern Bell Telephone and was denied the job on the basis that it was "a man's job." She decided to fight.

Unable to afford an attorney, she at first had to accept a court-appointed lawyer, who later asked to withdraw from the case. Then Weeks heard about the National Organization for Women and obtained a lawyer through them. In September 1970, she won, and Southern Bell was ordered to give her the job by March 3 of this year. There has been no settlement yet of back wages due to Weeks—approximately \$30,000. During this five-year fight Lorena Weeks' family of five has suffered considerable financial difficulty, and her back wages are badly needed.

Even in her new job, Lorena Weeks said, she still faces discrimination. For instance, all male switchmen are given special eyeglasses and tools to work with the fine wires that are part of the job, but she has not been given these things.

The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission has proposed to the Federal Communications Commission that rate increases for the entire Bell Telephone system be denied until the company ends its blatant discrimination against both women and national minorities.

A bimonthly magazine, *Second Coming*, is being published by Austin Women's Liberation. It has regular coverage of the abortion struggle in Texas, articles on women and the law and on forms of discrimination against women in Austin, as well as activities, reviews, etc. The March 4 issue, in honor of International Women's Day, had articles on Norwegian, Chinese, Russian, African and Swedish women. Send \$1.50 for a six-month subscription to *Second Coming*, Box 8011, UT Station, Austin, Texas 78712.

Lenore Romney said recently that in her campaign for the U. S. Senate on the Republican ticket last fall she found a great deal of prejudice against her, especially from male newsmen, because she was a woman running for public office. "They see women only as people relegated to the tearooms, the style shows and, yes, the kitchens." One farmer told her: "Ma'am, we don't vote for women or niggers in this county."

They call it "home, sweet home," but a recent report by the New York Medical Examiner's office confirmed previous findings that the home is a center of intense conflicts, which often lead to homicide. In New York City, 335 homicides have taken place from Jan. 1 to March 21, an increase of 30 percent over the same period last year. Of these murders, the largest number of victims were wives killed by angry husbands. The next largest number were husbands killed by their wives. Next come parents, children, aunts, uncles, cousins and in-laws killing each other. This information tends to confirm the contention of the women's liberation movement that the patriarchal family system serves to alienate family members from each other, rather than promoting affection and concern for one another as equal human beings.

—CAROLINE LUND

What's Wrong with Chicago?

The following are major excerpts from a speech by Linda Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago in the April 6 municipal elections, given at a campaign rally Feb. 27. The article by Debs she refers to is available in "Eugene V. Debs Speaks," Pathfinder Press, 1970, \$2.75 paperback.

Approximately 70 years ago Eugene V. Debs wrote an article entitled "What's the Matter with Chicago?" The article is an excellent example of how this prominent revolutionary-socialist agitator related to the chronic problem of urban decay seven decades ago. And it is so relevant to the current municipal election that I would like to quote from it tonight.

Debs stated that he would attempt to answer the question from a wage worker's viewpoint and indicated that since it was an election period (1902 elections), the vote cast would decide to what extent people understood what is the matter with Chicago.

"First of all," he said, "Chicago is the product of modern capitalism and, like all other great commercial centers, is unfit for human habitation. The Illinois Central Railroad Company selected the site upon which the city is built. . . . From the day the site was chosen . . . everything that entered into the building of the town and the development of the city was determined purely from profit considerations and without the remotest concern for the health and comfort of the human beings who were to live there, especially those who had to do all the labor and produce all the wealth."

Continuing, he said, "As a rule, hogs are only raised where they have good health and grow fat. Any old place will do to raise human beings. . . . Thousands upon thousands of Chicago's population have been poisoned to death by the impure water and foul atmosphere . . . but to compensate for it all, Chicago has the prize location for money-making, immense advantage for profit-mongering—and what are human beings compared to money? . . . A thousand sites infinitely preferable for a city could have been found in close proximity, but they lacked the 'commercial' advantages which are of such commanding importance in the capitalist system. And now they wonder 'what is the matter with Chicago!'"

Since Debs wrote these words, not much has changed. In fact, the situation has grown worse and now we see columnists, politicians and various experts raising the same question—what is the matter with Chicago and all our urban centers?

An example of one such attempt is an article in February in U.S. News & World Report called "Why Cities are Going Broke." The form of the article is an interview with Dick Netzer, a New York University dean and economic adviser to New York's Mayor Lindsay and a so-called authority on urban problems.

Netzer claims that the problems of the cities are caused by striking workers, rebellious taxpayers, and skyrocketing costs. The solutions he poses to rectify the situation are to increase tax loads on city services, increase federal spending, and take a hard-nosed attitude toward demands by city employees for decent wages. It is clear that Netzer's solutions, like the solutions proposed from the experts of Debs' time, come not from the viewpoint of the working people who constitute the overwhelming majority of the cities' populations but from the point of view of the city governments and big-moneyed interests who control them.

The striking municipal workers and rebellious taxpayers are not the problem; they are the victims. The first and foremost problem that stands in the way of solving the problems in the cities is the war in Vietnam. There are still thousands of U.S. troops in Southeast Asia. Over the past nine months, President Nixon, instead of winding down the war, has engineered the Cambodian and Laotian invasions and resumed the bombing of North Vietnam. All the rhetoric in the world about withdrawing the troops and saving American lives can't hide the fact of what is in store for the American people.

A lot of people have asked me why I talk so much about the war in Vietnam in the course of this campaign. In their minds, it doesn't appear to be a local issue. But it seems clear to me that as long as billions of dollars are spent to destroy the population and countryside of Southeast Asia rather than on feeding, clothing and housing people here at home and as long as men are trained to fight and kill instead of being trained in skills that could rebuild our cities, I say that the war is a local issue. And I urge everyone here to go out and help build a giant march in Washington, D. C., on April 24 to demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces.

The second major problem in the city is the horrible conditions that Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other minority peoples face. When the ruling class talks about the crisis in the cities, they are expressing their fears about the tremendous revolutionary power and potential that is concentrated in the Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican communities in every major city across the country.

The Black and Chicano people like those struggling

in Cairo, Illinois, are raising the demand for control of their communities and the institutions which control their lives. Yet neither one of my opponents nor any of the other capitalist politicians have addressed themselves to this demand nor to the struggle in Cairo.

The third major problem in this city is the plight of women, who comprise 52 percent of the city's population. What has this system done for us? It has robbed us of even the elementary right to control our own bodies. It has robbed us of our history and invented vicious lies and myths about us in order to pawn us off as mindless, helpless sex-objects.

My opponents, Richard Daley and Richard Friedman, have made it perfectly clear that the things we so desperately need—free abortion on demand, free 24-hour child-care centers, and equal rights and opportunities—are not priority issues in their campaigns. A woman in Chicago cannot get a legal, safe abortion, only 7 percent of the women who need child care can get it, and the education in Chicago schools destroys and denies our potential and talents. On March 6, women in Chicago will be celebrating International Women's Day and I urge every sister here to attend and participate in programs on that day.

My Republican opponent, Mr. Friedman, is running a campaign that he says is against everything bad and for everything good. To quote from his own campaign literature, he is against "panic-peddling," bad schools, corruption, and secrecy in government.

But without questioning his sincerity, I would like to ask the audience if anyone can recall a politician, either Democrat or Republican, either liberal or conservative, who ever ran on a program for panic-peddling, bad schools, corruption or secrecy in government? Can you remember any candidate who ever ran on a campaign for that matter for escalated war, increased taxes, the subjugation of women, pollution, and police brutality? No! Of course you can't!

But as a result of the two-party rule over the past decades, this is exactly what we have got.

The problem in Chicago is not the Daley machine as Friedman would have you believe. The answer is not to replace Democratic Party rule with a liberal Republican. Has Lindsay solved the problems of New York City or has the deterioration of that major urban center accelerated under his rule? The answer is obvious.

Debs, commenting on machine politics in his article, said, "This modern metropolis of the West has broken all records for political corruption. . . . For smooth political jobbery and fancy manipulation . . . Chicago is still far in the lead. In the Windy City, ward politics has long been recognized as a fine art and the collection is unrivaled anywhere."

"From the millions of dollars filched from the millions of humans by the corporate owners of the common utilities, the reeking corruption funds flow like lava tides, and to attempt to purify the turbid stream by the 'reform measures' of the Republican-Democratic Party in its internal conflict for the spoils of office is an utter act of folly."

When the liberals talk about reversing the priorities in this city in favor of the needs of human beings, you have to ask yourself what is the number one priority under the capitalist system—its profits! And you cannot talk about reversing that priority without doing away once and for all with the profit system.

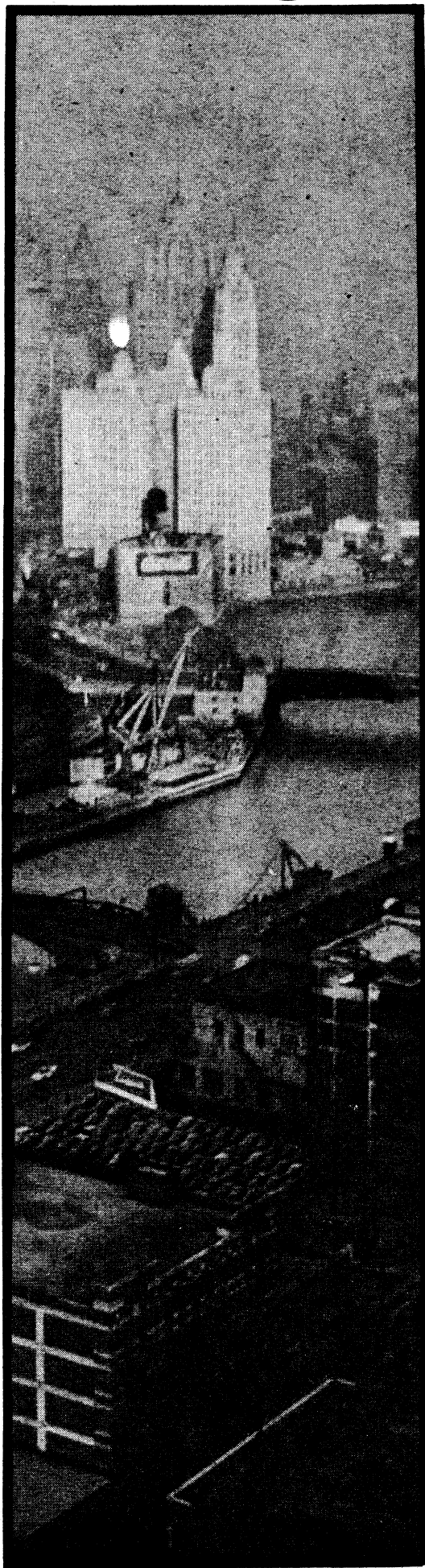
The concept of redistributing the wealth of the country so that it can be used for the needs of the population is valid; but Nixon's "revenue sharing" plan proposed in his state of the union address is a hoax.

As socialists, we propose to take the present burden of taxation off the backs of the working people and tax the giant corporations who currently reap tremendous profits by exploiting and oppressing them. With the increased revenue obtained by this changed tax structure plus the \$76-billion that could be used by ending the war in Southeast Asia, dismantling all military installations, abolishing the standing army, and halting arms production, we would have the funds to solve the problems in Chicago and every major city.

With these funds, we could establish low-rent housing units, free medical and dental care including free abortion on demand; mass transit systems with no fare; free 24-hour child-care centers; new hospitals, parks, schools and free education for everyone through college. These proposals are not utopian daydreams but are the steps that can be taken right away, given the present level of technology and wealth.

In the conclusion of his article, Debs answers the question "What's the matter with Chicago?" by squarely placing the blame on capitalism. "What's the cure?" he asks. "Socialism!" He said that if you want to change this city and this system, you will have to "cut loose from the Republican-Democratic Party, the double-headed political monstrosity of the capitalist class . . . and cast your lot with the international socialist movement."

I urge all of you here tonight who have not yet done so to join the struggle to help advance all these movements for social change and carry them through to the end by wiping capitalism off the face of the earth. We of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance are helping to do this and invite you to join us.



Socialist Campaign '71

Worcester

At a March 30 news conference, Lynda Myers, a 19-year-old student at Clark University, joined Eric Poulos as a candidate for Worcester City Council on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Myers, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, is a Black feminist active in the Worcester Black student and women's liberation movements. She is currently involved in the struggle of Black students in Worcester who are fighting for the right to organize Black student unions in the city's high schools, and was recently elected vice-president of the Clark University Black Student Union.

Myers, secretary of Clark University Women's Liberation, was active in organizing International Women's Day activities in Worcester and was a featured speaker at the March 8 women's liberation demonstration—the first ever held in Worcester.

The City Council still refuses to take a firm stand on a petition filed by Eric Poulos, previously announced SWP City Council candidate, demanding his reinstatement as a registered voter. His name was removed from the voting lists a few hours after he announced his candidacy, on the grounds that his parents live in New York City. Poulos has lived in Worcester as a student for two and a half years. A March 30 City Council meeting referred the petition to the Board of Registrars.

At this meeting, however, Poulos was able to speak on an antiwar resolution before the council. He explained the need for immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Southeast Asia and called upon the council to endorse and help build the April 24 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D. C.

Houston

On March 31, Debby Leonard, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, appeared before the Houston City Council to protest a proposed increase of 17.5 percent in the yearly budget of the Houston Police Department. She solidarized herself with speakers representing the Sunshine College, a group that organizes free rock concerts every weekend in a Houston park, and a representative of the GI Forum, a Chicano veterans' organization. These speakers protested a recent police attack on a crowd attending a concert in Milby Park and the vicious pistol whipping of Cesar Aguilar, a Chicano Vietnam veteran.

Leonard also pointed to the recent frame-up of three Black students on charges of possessing dynamite after

the Police Department had instructed a store to sell them the dynamite. The students received the maximum sentence, 25 years in prison.

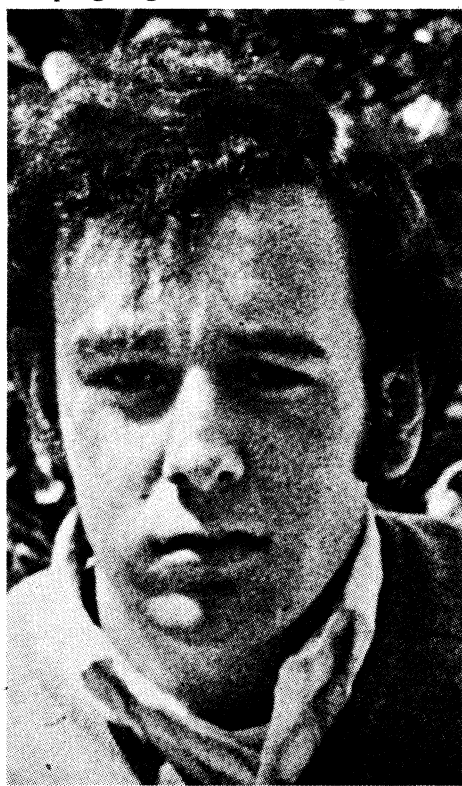
Leonard received the loudest applause from those attending the hearing when she stated, "The Police Department can mobilize 300 cops to attack young people in Milby Park, it can brutalize and frame Blacks and Chicanos, but it can't seem to come up with even one arrest in dozens of cases of right-wing terrorist activities in Houston. This Police Department should not be given one more penny, let alone a 17.5 percent increase, until it is completely reorganized and placed under the control of the people of Houston."

Leonard's campaign headquarters was the target of a terrorist bombing on March 12.

Austin

The Socialist Workers Party candidates for Austin's April 6 municipal elections held a wind-up rally attended by over 80 people. The rally, held on the Student Union patio at the University of Texas, attracted passers-by who stopped to listen to speeches by the candidates: Mariana Hernandez, mayor; and Mike Alewitz, Laura Maggi, and Karin Salzman, City Council. Campaign supporters who also spoke included Professors Charles Cairns and Robert Palter, and David Cline, an organizer for the Oleo Strut Coffee House outside of Ft. Hood.

Other activities in the final days of campaigning included the posting of



Mike Alewitz

1,000 red, black and white posters all over Austin, the appearance of all the candidates on a popular TV talk show, the placing of a six-foot display in a student-union display case, and the leafletting of people at bus stops with a "Free Public Transportation" leaflet published by the campaign committee.

After a week and a half of protesting to the UT student newspaper, the *Daily Texan*, demanding equal coverage with other city candidates, the SWP candidates were prominently featured in an April 1 article with pictures of each.

Medford

Three of the five positions of the student Tripartite, highest body of the student government at Tufts University in Medford, Mass., are now filled by members of the Young Socialist Alliance. The three—Mark Friedman, George Mastellone and Benigno Torres—were elected in student elections held the last week in March. Their campaign focused primarily on the importance of the university endorsing the April 24 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D. C., and on the demand that the university contribute resources for building it and for subsidizing transportation for students to go to it. Other demands of the campaign were: free 24-hour child-care center; a gynecologist and birth control available for all Tuft's women; Black, Latin-American, and women's studies programs; no complicity with the Internal Revenue Service guidelines; and an open, democratically controlled university.

Philadelphia

The Socialist Workers Party filed nomination petitions on March 31 to assure ballot status for its candidates in Philadelphia's municipal elections in November. The petitions contained signatures of 13,000 Philadelphia voters, nearly twice the number required by law. SWP candidates in Philadelphia are: Jean Savage, mayor; Hattie McCutcheon, sheriff; and Carol Lisker, Pamela Newman, Salvatore Mastriano, and Mark Zola, City Council.

Los Angeles

The three Socialist Workers Party candidates for the Los Angeles city elections on April 6 are actively helping to organize contingents for the April 24 demonstration in San Francisco. Baxter Smith, candidate for Board of Education Post No. 5, is working

with a Black Task Force to help organize participation of Blacks in the action.

Barbara Peterson, candidate for Community College Board of Trustees Post No. 1, is working with the United Women's Contingent, which is organizing special buses to take women to the action.

James Little, candidate for Community College Board of Trustees Post No. 5, is helping to organize student participation and is active in building a Southern California Student Mobilization Committee conference on April 10.

Boston

The Socialist Workers Party announced at a news conference on April 3 that it is running John McCann, a former coordinator of the Vietnam Referendum '70 in Massachusetts, for Boston City Council. McCann, a graduate of Ohio's Kent State University and a veteran of the armed forces, is a leading activist in Boston's antiwar movement. Previously, the SWP had announced the following candidates: Mark Friedman, Boston School Committee; Lisa Potash and Gloria Albee, Cambridge School Committee; Toba Singer, Jeanne Lafferty, Sara Ullman, William Scheer, and Terry Bell, Cambridge City Council. The Cambridge City Council chooses the mayor from its members, and the SWP has announced that if Lafferty is elected to the council she is the party's choice for mayor.

—DOUG JENNESS



John McCann

Chicanos mobilize for Crystal City vote

By MIRTHA VIDAL

CRYSTAL CITY, Texas, April 2—On the eve of the April 3 elections for two trustees of the Crystal City school board, there is overwhelming confidence amongst the Chicano population of *Crystal* (Crystal City) that La Raza Unida Party candidates will win.

CRYSTAL CITY, April 5—Two Raza Unida Party candidates, Eddie Trezino and Rodolfo Paoomo, running for two positions on the district school board, were elected in the April 3 election. The vote totals for Trezino and Paoomo were 1,668 and 1,657 respectively. Their two opponents, Munoz and Ramon, received 1,236 and 1,218 votes respectively.

La Raza Unida Party (LRUP) has held positions on the City Council and the city school board since last year when it first ran candidates for these posts. Out of the seven-member school board, four trustees now represent La Raza Unida Party. If the party succeeds in having its two candidates elected, the ratio of the school board will be 5-2 in favor of La Raza Unida Party. Of the two LRUP candidates, Rodolfo Paoomo and Eddie Trezino, the latter is running for reelection.

The two opposition candidates for school trustees are running under the "For Better Government" banner. Local elections in the state of Texas are officially nonpartisan.

Also running under the Raza Unida Party banner are three candidates for City Council: Francisco Venavides,

Roberto Gamez, who is running for reelection as mayor, and Jose Talamantez. Winning these elections would give the party all five seats in the City Council. It now holds three. City Council elections will be held on Tuesday, April 6.

For the past several days, La Raza Unida Party headquarters has been a center of intense activity. High school and junior high school students pour in after school each day, jump in a truck, and go out door-to-door to put up signs advertising the Raza Unida Party candidates and encouraging people to vote.

In the office, cards with the name and address of each Chicano voter are being prepared to be divided up amongst a number of activists who

will again visit the houses one-by-one on the day of the elections to ensure that every single Chicano vote is obtained at the polls, to give last minute instructions, to provide child care, and to solve any problems that may stand in the way of Chicanos voting.

The total number of registered voters in *Crystal* is approximately 3,700. Out of these, according to La Raza Unida Party's chairman Jose Angel Gutierrez, a minimum of 2,000 votes will be for La Raza Unida Party.

There are no Anglos running for either the school board or City Council. The sentiment in the community is that this race is one of Chicanos running for La Raza Unida Party against *vendidos* (sell-outs), and there is every indication that this round belongs to the Chicano people in *Crystal*.

U.S. role in Middle East talks

By TONY THOMAS

APRIL 5—In an April 4 address at Yale University, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman William Fulbright attacked the Israeli government for "a policy of antiquated—and to a great degree delusional—self-reliance." Fulbright, who speaks for the point of view of Secretary of State William P. Rogers, said, "... we permit client states like Israel ... to manipulate American policy toward purposes contrary to our interests and probably to theirs as well." (*New York Times*, April 5)

Fulbright's statements were the latest in a series of flare-ups between U. S. and Israeli officials over proposals for a negotiated settlement in the Middle East.

U. S. imperialism's plan for a peace settlement is aimed at getting the Arab regimes to recognize Israel's "right to existence" and to guarantee Israel from "aggression" by the Palestinian commandos. To impose such a settlement, the U. S. is trying to destroy the base of support the Palestinian resistance has among the Arab masses—not only through repression such as the September 1970 U. S.-backed Jordanian massacre of the Palestinians, but also through concessions to the Arab regimes and reformist diversions such as the proposal for the establishment of a Palestinian mini-state on the West Bank of the Jordan River.

Since the end of 1970, the leaders of the Egyptian government have accepted the essentials of the U. S. proposals. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat asks, in return for the recognition of the security and sovereignty of Israel, that "Israel must give up every inch of territory she captured in the six-day war." (Sadat in interview in Dec. 28, 1970, *New York Times*)

Sadat's demand for the return of these territories is largely a result of his fear of the Egyptian masses. For the past forty years, and especially since 1948, the struggle against the Zionist colonization of Palestine has been one of the central thrusts of the Arab Revolution. The pressure of this anti-Zionist sentiment has deepened since the six-day war and the emergence of a Palestinian leadership independent of the Egyptians.

The demand for the return of the newly occupied territories enables the Egyptian rulers to appear as fighters for the return of Zionist-held lands, rather than open opponents of the

Arab struggle. And, as long as the negotiations appear to be achieving "results," they can be counterposed to the Palestinians' proposals for struggle as a "more effective" way of fighting Zionism.

Israeli refusal to accept even these terms as preconditions for negotiations has deadlocked the indirect peace talks between the Israelis and Egyptians which have been held through U.N. negotiator Gunnar Jarring. This has prevented the signing of a formal cease-fire between Israel and Egypt, and the reopening of the Suez Canal.

The deadlock in the negotiations has made it harder for advocates of a

Sharm el Sheik." (*New York Times*, March 17)

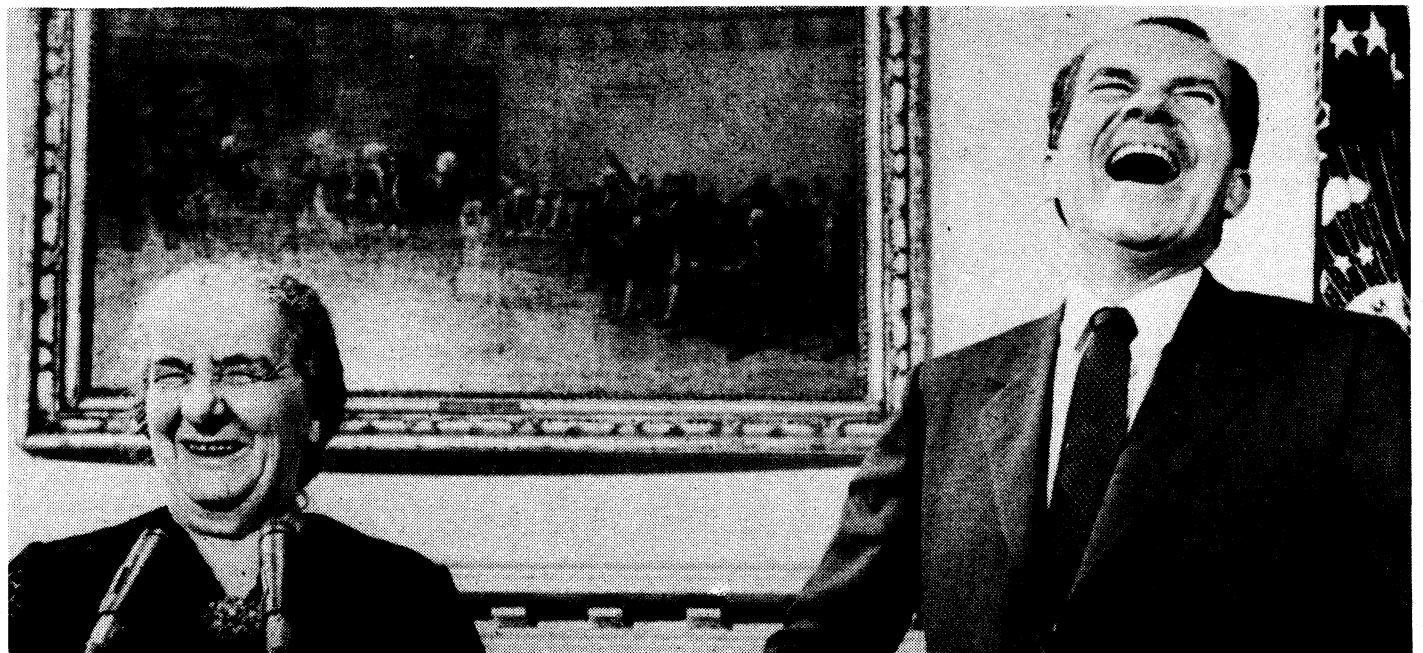
Earlier, the March 11 *New York Post* reported that diplomats representing the United Nations ambassadors from the U. S., U. S. S. R., France, and Britain, had met to organize a "security force" to patrol Israeli borders after such a settlement. This force, first proposed by Nasser and Sadat, was projected to take over Sharm el Sheik—which controls the strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba, Israel's outlet to the Red Sea—and other Israeli-held Arab territories.

The *New York Post* also reported that the "U. S. has been pressing Israel to respond in a positive fashion

should not reconstruct points over which the war erupted." (*New York Times*, March 18) But the war erupted precisely over Israel's desire for the Arab territory it now holds.

Instead of Israel's demand for a "territorial guarantee" for the peace, the U. S. is aiming at a political guarantee—"promising a firm, contractual agreement with the parties to help police the peace—together with sharply increased economic and other aid to Israel." (*Christian Science Monitor*, March 18)

The phoniness of the U. S. concern about returning the occupied territories became clear when pro-Israeli capitalist politicians attacked Rogers'



Laughing it up at the White House

"peaceful solution" within the Arab world. Those in favor of preparing for a military struggle within Egypt and Syria have recently become more vocal, and a few concessions have even been made to the Palestinian resistance. A radio station in Cairo, taken away from the Palestine Liberation Organization last summer, was returned in March.

The U. S. imperialists attempted to strengthen the hand of the Egyptian government by calling for Israel to give lip service to Egyptian demands.

On March 16, Rogers stated that "our policy is that the 1967 boundary should be the boundary between Israel and Egypt... provided that adequate, satisfactory agreements are made for demilitarization of the Sinai... and that satisfactory arrangements are made concerning

to the [U. N.]... request for Israeli... withdrawal from the entire Sinai Peninsula, including Sharm el Sheik."

These and other moves by the U. S. have met with opposition from the Israeli government. In a speech given in Jerusalem March 16 and reported in the March 17 *New York Times*, Golda Meir stated Israel's terms for a settlement: "1) Jerusalem shall remain... part of Israel. 2) Israel will not come down from the Golan heights [part of Syria]. 3) I [am]... opposed to an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank [of the Jordan River]. 4) In reply to a question on our settlements in the Jordan Valley, I said that Israel must have a hold in that area.... 5) Sharm el Sheik... must remain in our hands...."

Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban attacked Rogers by saying, "It is normal that in a peace settlement one

proposals in the Senate. Fulbright and other spokesmen for Rogers' positions pointed out that Rogers wanted the Egyptians to be lured into negotiations by verbal Israeli and U. S. guarantees. In the Senate on March 23, Fulbright stated, "It is not the position of the secretary of state that before anything whatever is done, Israel must physically withdraw from every inch of territory. What he is proposing is that Israel accept in principle withdrawal from the occupied territories, except for *insubstantial changes on the borders*." (*Congressional Record*, March 23. Emphasis added.) Rogers, Fulbright and others have stated that these "insubstantial changes" could include Israeli possession of the Golan heights, Jerusalem and Sharm el Sheik and demilitarization of the Sinai Peninsula, that is, Israel's full demands.

Berkeley socialists get wide hearing

By FRED FELDMAN

BERKELEY, April 5—Antonio Camejo and Warren Widener, Socialist Workers and Democratic Party candidates for mayor of Berkeley, met head on April 1 at the University of California in a debate set up by the student government for all mayoral candidates. The debate was attended by over two hundred students.

Widener, a Black city councilman, repeated his opposition to the community control of police charter amendment on the ballot in the April 6 elections. He proposed an alternative that would set up an elected city-wide board. Camejo said that Widener's position was "proof that those who privately point to Widener as the more radical candidate for mayor are leading their followers into a trap."

Earlier Camejo, Andrea Land and

other SWP candidates participated in the joint press conference announcing support for April 24. Others taking part included the City Council candidates of the April Coalition (Rick Brown and Ilona Hancock), the Black Caucus (D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons), and many other candidates including Widener.

Camejo, Alan Wald, Andrea Land and Anita Bennett were interviewed in the *Daily Californian* of Friday, April 2. Interviews with Camejo also appeared in two consecutive issues of the *Berkeley Barb*.

An extensive front-page interview with Camejo and the Raza Unida candidates appeared in the Spanish-language paper *El Mundo*.

The *Good Times*, an underground newspaper published in San Francisco, stated, "Camejo... is the only

mayoral candidate in favor of the police-control amendment and he has made the most radical suggestions—including the municipalization of PG and E—of anyone in the race.

"Since, as mentioned, nothing is particularly at stake in the Widener-Sweeney race, a vote for Camejo is an excellent place to register protest against Widener's refusal to endorse the petition."

Television coverage for the SWP candidates increased in the last week of the campaign. League of Women Voters candidates nights, in which SWP candidates participated, were replayed on KTVU-TV and KQED-TV. A one-minute reply to a KGO-TV editorial against the charter amendment is still being played.

Peter Graumann, SWP candidate for Peralta College Board of Trustees,

appeared on Channel 4, defending the struggle of Merritt College students for control of their own education.

Andrea Land, SWP City Council candidate, spoke to five high school classes this week and got enthusiastic reactions.

The SWP candidates were also favorably received at the National Organization for Women's candidates night. Mary-Lou Montauk spoke at PTA meetings in various parts of the city in her campaign for school board.

An SWP sound truck traveled through Berkeley during the weekend drumming up support for the community control of police charter amendment and the SWP slate.

A banquet held Saturday night was attended by over a hundred people. The banquet heard the SWP candidates summing up the accomplishments of their campaign.

By LARRY SEIGLE

The debate over what political course the antiwar movement should follow has been going on ever since the movement began. One of the central issues in the debate has been the repeated attempts to convert the antiwar movement into a "multi-issue" movement. Those who have raised this perspective disparage a movement that is "only" against the war, and counterpose to it a movement that would organize around a multiplicity of political and social issues.

The latest group to champion this proposal is the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. In a recent statement entitled "Building United Mass Action in the Spring, 1971," the People's Coalition indicates that it views this question as being at the heart of the differences between it and the National Peace Action Coalition. In explaining why it has abandoned the perspective of mobilizing people on the basis of opposition to the war, the People's Coalition says, "We realized that we could no longer separate the question of the war in Indochina from the domestic oppression of non-white America; from the political repression by the government, and from the need to change the structure of American society so that the Pentagon was no longer the strongest single force in our society."

Because of these "realizations," the leaders of the People's Coalition decided to create "an entirely new coalition, one that would seek to bring the peace movement, the youth, the poor, the nonwhites, women, and all repressed peoples together in a single

ing could be further from the truth.

The war in Indochina has cut deeply into this society, raising and accentuating a number of questions about racism, sexism, unemployment, inflation, political repression, etc. The war and its effects on the United States have exposed the true nature of this capitalist system for millions to see. Revolutionary socialists of the SWP and the YSA are the first to point out that opposition to the war is only the first step. It is necessary to draw some conclusions about this society, and to realize that there will be an endless series of Indochinas unless capitalism is wiped off the face of the earth and replaced with socialism.

It is the growing acceptance of this fact that has led many young activists to join the YSA — people who first became politically active around the war and then came to see the need for a fundamental change in this society and decided to join an organization that has a program for and participates actively in the movements of all the oppressed sectors of this society.

So having a multi-issue program for changing society and for relating the war to the other evils of capitalism is quite a different thing from advocating that the antiwar movement become a multi-issue movement.

Subordination to liberals

Once this smokescreen has been cleared away, the essence of "multi-issuism" can be examined: it is an attempt to subordinate the antiwar movement to reformist politics and to the liberal Democratic Party politicians in particular.

This debate, like all the other major

reformism, speaks in the statement quoted above of "changing the structure of American society so that the Pentagon is no longer the strongest single force in our society." Not a word about the capitalist system, about the need for a socialist revolution, about the necessity for anticapitalist action. And, of course, not a word about breaking from the Democratic Party!

It is no coincidence that the call for "multi-issuism" is almost always raised in the same breath as other attacks on the politics of the antiwar movement, such as the call to substitute "set the date" for the demand for immediate and unconditional withdrawal. It is the "set the date" demand that has become the rallying point for the doves in Congress.

Reformist perspective

This reformism in the antiwar movement comes from two sources. First are those individuals and groupings who have no organization of their own other than the antiwar movement and want to establish a political base for themselves by converting the antiwar movement into a support group for their particular brand of reformist politics.

Second are the reformist organizations, chief of which is the Communist Party, whose sole perspective for the antiwar movement is to use it as a pressure group, a "lobby" that can be turned over to the "progressive" candidates of the Democratic Party in the 1972 election campaigns.

But, once having answered the question of why the People's Coalition multi-issue perspective leads only to reformist politics, the question is raised of why this approach has so consis-

question that is of burning relevance to the struggles of the oppressed nationalities, to the women's liberation movement, to the students, workers, GIs, and other sectors of society. This stems from their attempt to avoid a direct political confrontation with the ruling class and its political representatives. By submerging the question of the war, they ignore the one question that, in this period, can unite in action all of the growing movements for social change.

Their second error is to attempt to organize their coalition by trying to hide the real political differences that exist between the various components of the People's Coalition. To cover for their lack of agreement on a political program, they issue vaguely formulated statements of support for all sorts of struggles. Yet, by trying to hide these differences, they do not make them go away. It is precisely these political differences that are always forced to the surface, embarrassing and dividing the coalition, at key political junctures. (This is why the coalition is forced to change its name as quickly as most people change a pair of socks, and almost as frequently.)

For example, the People's Coalition encompasses individuals and groups who are opposed to participating in electoral politics along with those who are openly supporters of the Democratic Party; people who are pacifists as a matter of moral principle along with those who believe in disruption through "mobile tactics"; supporters of the women's liberation movement along with those who believe that feminism "divides" the working class; and supporters of nationalism of oppressed

Mass action against the war versus 'multi-issue' reformism



"It is precisely through the perspective of independent mass actions against the war that the different movements and social forces can be united around the key issue which affects all of them."

coalition aimed at ending the war and rebuilding our society."

Thus, the People's Coalition adds itself to the long list of organizations and would-be movements which have rejected the course of building the mass movement against the war and opted in favor of a coalition around a multi-issue program. This list includes such groups as the National Conference on New Politics, the Radical Organizing Committee (a short-lived split-off from the Student Mobilization Committee), and the Peace and Freedom Party. These groups, all now defunct or virtually so, have been generally supported by the Communist Party.

What's really behind this question of multi-issuism? Why does it keep recurring? And why doesn't it ever work?

A misleading dichotomy

The formulation of the question as a "single-issue approach" versus a "multi-issue approach" is misleading because it implies that groups like the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, which are in favor of building a mass movement around the single question of the war, are "single-issue" organizations. Noth-

disputes within the antiwar movement, is based on the contradiction between the objectively anti-imperialist and independent thrust of the movement and the pressures toward liberal and reformist politics constantly being exerted on the movement.

This becomes clear as soon as one asks the advocates of a new "multi-issue" movement, What would be the program of such a movement? What would its position be on key questions such as nationalism, women's liberation, civil liberties, electoral politics, etc.? Were the response to be, "Why, we would adopt a revolutionary-socialist program, like the program of the SWP," it would immediately be clear that the proposal is absurd. To impose the entire program of the SWP on the antiwar movement would immediately eliminate everyone except revolutionary socialists from the antiwar movement.

But, of course, the program proposed for this "new" coalition is not a revolutionary program at all. Rather, it is a liberal program, one which dovetails with the program of the "progressive" Democratic Party politicians.

For example, the People's Coalition, in the best tradition of mealy-mouthed

tently failed to establish a viable organization or movement. Certainly their orientation towards the Democratic Party coincides with the level of understanding of millions of Americans who are against the war but who have not yet reached the stage of a conscious break with capitalist politics. Why do the advocates of this perspective seem to behave like a dog chasing its own tail, running faster and faster, without getting any closer to their goal?

Why, after years of campaigning for multi-issuism, are they still confined to the relatively narrow political base of the People's Coalition? The answer lies in three basic political errors of the People's Coalition.

Political errors

First, their "multi-issuism" is used to cover up their subordination of the war issue to other questions. They ignore and try to obscure the centrality of the fight against the war in Indochina to all social layers and movements in this country. Part of their attack on the "single-issue" perspective stems from the fact that they do not agree that the war in Indochina is the single most important political question facing the American people, a

nationalities along with those who believe nationalism is only "racism in reverse." This type of coalition can be maintained if it confines itself to mobilizing people in action against the war. But once it projects itself as a political movement with a broad social program, it can only be a short while until the inevitable internal divisions spring to the surface.

The third mistake made by the leaders of the People's Coalition is the failure to comprehend the united-front nature of the antiwar movement. One of the key aspects of the antiwar movement is that it has been independent of control or domination by any of the existing political forces. The antiwar movement is far bigger than all of the radical political tendencies put together. And the only times that the different radical and socialist organizations have been able to play a leading role in the antiwar movement is when they have agreed to unite around an action against the war. When the leaders of the People's Coalition think they can use their political authority as leaders of the antiwar movement to construct a "multi-issue" formation and abandon the

Continued on page 22

Women mobilize for April 24

By SUSAN LIND

"Nixon has just come out against abortion, claiming it contradicts his belief in 'the sanctity of life,'" stated Marcia Sweetenham, an organizer of the United Women's Contingents for the April 24 San Francisco and Washington, D.C., antiwar demonstrations. "But he doesn't care about the sanctity of the lives of the hundreds of thousands of Southeast Asian women, children and men who have been systematically slaughtered in the war."

"Nor does he care about the sanctity of the lives of the women in this country, who need legalized abortions in order to be able to control our own bodies and lives without risking mutilation at the hands of butcher abortionists."

More and more women are seeing the connection between the war in Southeast Asia and the denial of women's needs and rights here in the U. S. In the April 24 antiwar demonstrations, women will demonstrate together as a Women's Contingent to express the relationship between the war and their oppression.

The contingent is supported and being built by dozens of women's liberation groups across the country, as well as such individuals as Aileen Hernandez, the national president of the National Organization for Women, and authors Kate Millett, Gloria Steinem and Betty Friedan.



Marcia Sweetenham

Marcia Sweetenham noted that according to a Gallup Poll, 78 percent of American women want an immediate end to the war. "The growing women's liberation movement, combined with the outrage of women at the latest escalation of the war into Laos, could mean that April 24 will be the largest demonstration of women in the history of this country."

The broad spectrum of women supporting the Contingent indicates the potential for involving women from all backgrounds. Other endorsers include Mae Massie, civil rights director of the New Jersey International Union of Electrical Workers; Ann Draper, regional director, Union Label Department, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Elizabeth Fisher, editor of *Aphra*; Lucille Iverson, New York Radical Feminists; Tina Hobson of Federally Employed Women; Jeanne Walton, D.C. Committee to Free Angela Davis; Renee Blakkan, the *Guardian*; Lucinda Cisler, New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal; Dr. Mary Daly, Boston NOW; Sarah Doly, Manhattan Church Women United; Dorothy Eldridge, president of New Jersey SANE; Ginger Mack, chairwoman of Chicago Welfare Rights Organization; Magda Ramirez, Latin American Student Union in Chicago and many others.

A press release from the United Women's Contingent national office in Washington, D.C., reported that women were organizing for the Contingents in more than 18 cities. In many areas,

women are organizing special women's buses, leafletting in areas where many women can be reached, and planning teach-ins and other activities relating the war to the oppression women face in this country. In Atlanta, women have been able to get free time on two radio stations and on TV to talk about the Women's Contingent. A Cleveland consciousness-raising group is selling women's liberation T-shirts to raise money for women's buses to Washington. San Diego women have arranged to have women bus drivers for the buses driving women to the demonstration in San Francisco.

In New York City, Women's Contingent organizer Debby Woodrooffe reports that a speak-out on women and the war is planned for April 19 from 7-11 p.m. at Eisner Lubin Auditorium at New York University. The three main speakers will be Florence Luscomb, who is 84-years-old and will speak on the history of women as antiwar fighters; former lieutenant Susan Schnall, a Navy nurse who was in the news two years ago when she dropped antiwar leaflets from an airplane on an army base; and Debby Sweet, the 19-year-old Cincinnati woman who attacked Nixon for his war policies when he presented her with a good citizenship award.

In addition, Cora Weiss from Women Strike for Peace, Mae Massie, Ruth Gage-Colby from the National Peace Action Coalition, playwright Myrna Lamb and others will also speak, along with women dancers, rock bands, guerrilla theater and poetry.

Woodrooffe said that the organizers of the speak-out were considering issuing a special public invitation to Agnew's daughter Kim Agnew to attend the event. Kim Agnew had wanted to participate in the October 1969 Moratorium but was prevented by her father. "We think she belongs with us," said Woodrooffe, "instead of in that men's room they call the White House."

Teach-ins on women and the war are also planned in Minneapolis and Detroit.

A new endorser of the Women's Contingent is the New York Women's Strike Coalition, which organized the New York August 26 demonstration and has the affiliation of nearly 100 organizations in the city.

The New England Women's Coalition conference of 800 women in Boston March 27-28 also endorsed the Contingent. The New England Coalition includes 29 different organizations.

A great many women's liberation groups are working on building the Contingent, including Queens College Women's Liberation, San Diego Women United Against the War, the Women's Studies Program at San Diego State College, and Columbia University Women's Liberation, to name a few.

From April 19 to the 24th there will be an April 24th United Women's Contingent Center located at George Washington University Student Activities Center, 800 21st St. N.W., Rooms 402-407. Women from across the country are urged to come to Washington early to work out of the Women's Contingent Center that final week to build the demonstration. Housing will be available, and there will be plenty of work to do, such as leafletting, making banners and signs, and training women marshals. Many women marshals are needed for the demonstration as a whole, as well as special marshals for the Women's Contingent.

GIs' mail siezed by brass in Vietnam

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK—Plans to send a delegation to Vietnam April 7 to speak to GIs about the seizure of their mail were announced by *GI Press Service* editor Bob Wilkinson at a New York news conference April 2. The announcement came in response to a report in the *New York Times* March 31, revealing the contents of a confidential directive to Army commanders issued last May by U. S. Army headquarters in Longbinh, Vietnam.

According to the *Times* report, written by Washington correspondent Richard Halloran, the May 22, 1970, teletype directive described a two-page mailing from the Student Mobilization Committee's *GI Press Service* and instructed unit commanders, "Such mail will not be distributed to members of the unit."

Confiscation of first class mail without a court order is illegal. Congressman Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.), who chairs the House subcommittee on postal service, announced April 1 that he and six other members of his committee had written to Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird about the reported mail seizures. The letter to Laird said that "unless some explanation or correction is made, this subcommittee would feel compelled to begin an immediate investigation of the actions taken by the Army."

With Wilkinson at the April 2 news conference were Allen Myers, who was the editor of *GI Press Service* when the mailing described in the directive was sent; Don Gurewitz, national field secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee; and Edith Tiger, director of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC).

Myers explained that he had suspected mail was being seized for some time, but "the report of this directive is the first real evidence to confirm our suspicions." Wilkinson said that it was necessary to travel with a delegation to Vietnam to find out how widespread the practice is "because, unfortunately, we cannot find out by mail." The edi-



Bob Wilkinson

tor and former editor distributed copies of the two-page mailing described in the Army directive. One page is a list of antiwar GI newspapers and antiwar organizations. The other, headed "Payraise for Peace," is an appeal for funds. It asked GIs to consider donating part or all of their January-April retroactive payraise checks to the antiwar movement.

Tiger said that the ECLC would be taking legal action on behalf of the *GI Press Service* to halt the military's interference with the mail. James Lafferty, an ECLC attorney who is also a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, will be one of those on the delegation to Vietnam. Wilkinson said that, in addition to Lafferty and himself, he hoped the delegation would include representatives of the postal unions and members of Congress.

May 5 student protests called

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The nation's three largest student organizations will work together to make May 5 a national college and high school moratorium on business as usual, demanding the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina and an immediate end to the draft. Plans for the May 5 actions were announced at a Washington, D.C., news conference April 6 by representatives of the National Student Association (NSA), the Association of Student Governments (ASG), and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC).

Recalling that last May "Nixon murdered American students to defend his right to murder the people of Southeast Asia," Debby Bustin, SMC national coordinator, told the conference, "The momentum building around April 24 is cracking the administration-touted 'lull' in antiwar activity on America's campuses. We plan to channel this momentum into massive, local moratoriums throughout the country on May 5." Bustin called on students throughout the country to "join with us in strikes, rallies, memorial meetings, and demonstrations" on May 5.

Frank Greer of the NSA said that his organization "joins with other forces within the student movement in calling for a nationwide moratorium on May 5 in memory of our fellow students who were murdered last year."

William Sloan of the national College Young Democrats, who chaired the news conference, said this spring will bring participation in mass antiwar action by thousands who have never demonstrated before.

Frank Melton, editor of the *Blue Flash*, student newspaper at Jackson State, tied the Southeast Asian war to racism here in the United States. "The murders that took place at Orangeburg, Kent State, Jackson State, and countless other murders," Melton said, "reflect the type of government that has become [indifferent] to the needs of the people. I am not speaking for myself, but on behalf of every Black brother and sister exiled within this country. As a Black student, I urge all Black students to join in the national moratoriums on April 24 and May 5 to demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam, and to demonstrate to the world that the policies of the Nixon administration are distasteful to the people of this country."

Craig Morgan from Kent State, who could not be present, sent a statement to the conference that urged actions on May 5, "not because intimidation and harassment of the student antiwar movement is unusual, but because May 4, 1970, proved that it is not. If four can be killed, nine wounded and 25 indicted at an average, unknown, Midwestern university, then it can happen anywhere." The lesson of Kent State, Morgan's statement asserted, is that "you don't have to go to Chicago, Watts, Columbia, or Berkeley to protest injustice. It can be found, and should be fought, at every school in America."

Others at the news conference included David Ifshin, NSA president; Duane Draper, ASG president; Michael Harris, Howard University student body president; Bill Causey, National Executive Committee, College Young Democrats; Barry Holtzclaw, president, United States Student Press Association; and Geoff Mirelowitz, Chi-

April 24 countdown

cago coordinator of the High School Rights Coalition.

A West Coast news conference was held the same morning in San Francisco to announce plans for May 5. Speakers at the West Coast conference included Celia Stodola, SMC West Coast strike coordinator; Victor Acosta, La Raza Unida Party; Julie Simon, SMC national high school project director; Nelson Nagai, vice chairman, Asian-American Student Alliance; Adam Levin, Stanford student body president; Eric Wollman, University of California at Berkeley student body president; Bart Fisher, student body president at the University of California, Davis; Bob Albanese, president of the California Association of Community Colleges student government; and Tom Tosdal, student body president at Santa Barbara.

The San Francisco conference announced an April 10 all-Southern California SMC conference in Los Angeles at the Temple Methodist Church, which will plan participation in the April 24 San Francisco march and May 5 activity at Southern California schools.

The SMC is conducting a massive national membership drive in connection with its work to build the spring antiwar actions. More than 500 new national members joined in the first week of the drive, which ends on May 5.

N. Calif. SMC plans actions

By JON TEITELCAZN

SAN FRANCISCO, April 6—More than 275 young people from all over Northern California attended the Northern California Student Antiwar Conference April 4. The antiwar activists came with enthusiasm and ideas for building the April 24 demonstration in San Francisco.

They came from over 40 college campuses and 20 high schools in Sacramento, Stanford, Davis, Modesto, the San Francisco Bay Area, and elsewhere.

The opening session was addressed by Carole Seidman, San Francisco Student Mobilization Committee co-coordinator. In pointing out that the American people increasingly favor immediate withdrawal, she emphasized that the antiwar movement has had a tremendous effect on the course of the war and that "the April 24 demonstration has been central in drawing vital sections of the population into the antiwar movement."

This point was further underscored by the discussion in which dozens of activists reported on the activities and breakthroughs in their local areas, as well as plans for the May 5 student moratorium and the May 16 GI antiwar activities.

Anita Bennett of Berkeley Female Liberation, just returning from the Indochinese-North American Women's Conference in Vancouver, Canada, re-

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A letter from Coretta King to Ruth Gage-Colby, a national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, has been copied and sent out with an NPAC fund mailing. In part, King's letter says, "I plan to be with you in Washington on April 24 because I think this is the single most important thing that I could do at this time toward fulfilling my husband's dream."

The assembly point for the San Francisco April 24 march will be at California and Market in downtown San Francisco. The march will proceed down Gary to Golden Gate Park for a rally on the polo grounds. There will be a number of rally sites along the march route where the different contingents will rally before joining the main march. The labor contingent will rally at Kimball Park. The United Women's Contingent will rally at Rossi Park. The Chicano and Latino La Raza Contingent will rally at Delores Park. The rally site for the gay contingent has not yet been chosen.

President Robert L. White of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees informed NPAC by letter that his union has endorsed April 24 and locals are being notified of the endorsement. His letter said, in part, "in-



Photo by Stuart Kiehl

Banners in hallway of Main Building at New York University.

asmuch as we are holding our Spring Seminars here in Washington, D. C., on April 21 through April 23, we will encourage as many delegates as possible to remain over the 24th to actively participate in this demonstration. In addition, an attempt will be made to furnish some financial assistance."

A half-page ad appeared in the April 7 New York Times in anticipation of Nixon's TV talk that evening. Sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, the Americans for Democratic Action, SANE, the Student Mobilization Committee, the National Welfare Rights Organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Vietnam Veterans Against the War, the ad says, in effect, we want no more Mylairs, we will not be taken in by any excuses for continuing the war, we want out now, and we will be in Washington on April 24!

The week of April 4, four central labor councils in California were scheduled to vote on endorsing the April 24 antiwar action: the San Mateo, Contra Costa, Alameda and Santa Clara central labor councils. Labor support on the West Coast continues to grow. NPAC Labor Support is bringing out a poster and leaflet for April 24 with the legend, "The Vietnamese never froze my wages!"

A New York Peace Action Coalition rally at Hunter College April 1 drew 600 persons to hear journalist David Halberstam, playwright Myrna Lamb, Sister Elizabeth McAlister, Congresswoman Bella Abzug, and others "speak out against the war" and call for participation in the April 24 actions. In a letter dated April 1, New York Mayor John Lindsay endorsed the Washington and San Francisco April 24 antiwar marches. Because of its stepped-up activity, NYPAC is moving to larger offices occupying the entire sixth floor at 133 Fifth Avenue. The new office will have 10 phone lines; the new number is (212) 260-0210.

Representatives of NPAC, PCPJ, ADA, SANE, SMC, the Concerned Officers Movement, Vietnam Veterans Against

the War, and others were scheduled to answer whatever new tricks Nixon produces in his April 7 speech at an April 8 Washington, D. C., news conference. Attorney Phil Hirshkopf was also scheduled to report on the progress of negotiations with the federal government and D. C. authorities for the April 24 march route and rally site.

West Coast NPAC, along with West Coast SMC, and Northern California regional SMC, has moved into 9,000 square feet of new office space provided by the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency to facilitate expanded work in the final weeks of building the action. The new offices are at 755 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103 (new phone: (415) 621-1466.).

A labor antiwar ad for April 24 in the New York Daily News (over 2 million circulation) is scheduled to appear April 15. More than 50 labor figures, including David Livingston of District 65, have signed a letter being sent to every trade union local in New York City, asking for signatures on the ad. The ad will become a leaflet after it appears; one hundred thousand leaflets are being printed for NYPAC at the expense of trade unionists and

will be available to unions for distribution to their membership and others.

The SMC Gay Task Force held a meeting in New York April 6 for all gay groups in the city interested in building participation in the April 24 antiwar march's gay liberation contingent. The task force has projected a gay dance in New York for April 17 to help raise funds for the contingent. A new brochure and button are available from the SMC Gay Task Force, 135 West 14 St., New York, N. Y. 10011.

April 21 Third World Solidarity Day in Minneapolis, coordinated by Third World Task Force of the Minnesota Peace Action Coalition, will include a picket of the Federal Building by Afro-Americans, Asian-Americans, Native Americans and Chicanos from noon to 1 p.m. and a rally at Murphy Hall auditorium, University of Minnesota, in the evening, keyed by Warren Furutani, head of the Japanese-American Citizens League community services program. Also speaking will be Corky Lee, Chinese-American editor and antiwar activist from New York City.

Publishers for Peace is cosponsoring "An Evening of Peace" April 18 at 8 p.m. with the New York Peace Action Coalition. The program will be at the New York Ethical Culture Society, 2 West 64 St., and will feature the introduction of Joseph Strick's film "Interviews with Mylai Veterans" by Richard Hammer, the reading of Daniel Berrigan's unpublished writings by Francine du Plessix Gray, and remarks by Angus Cameron, Victor Hernandez Cruz, Jules Feiffer, Elizabeth Hardwick, Lillian Hellman, Sister Elizabeth McAlister, Arthur Miller, Herbert Mitgang, Muriel Rukeyser, Robert Ryan, Jonathan Schell, Theodore Solotaroff, Louis Untermeyer and Kurt Vonnegut Jr. Contributions will be \$2.50 and \$5. For more information, write Publishers for Peace, 1059 Third Ave., New York, N. Y. 10021.

New endorsers of the United Women's Contingent include Fay Stender, one of the attorneys for Angela Davis, and Evelyn Williams, Bay Area Black activist.

April 2-5 Black antiwar actions

Chicago

By FRED LOVGREN

CHICAGO—The spring antiwar offensive was launched here Saturday, April 3, with a demonstration of over 2,000 people demanding immediate withdrawal of all troops from Indochina. The spirit was very high among the marchers despite 30-degree temperatures.

There was significant participation in the demonstration from the Black community. Over half the demonstrators were Black. The lead contingent was organized by Operation Breadbasket of SCLC.

Following the march down State Street, the demonstrators proceeded to the Chicago Coliseum for a rally. Speakers included Egbal Ahmad, one of the Kissinger-kidnap conspiracy defendants, Rev. Jesse Jackson of SCLC, Abe Feinglass, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, and Dr. George Wiley of the National Welfare Rights Organization. Charles Hayes, an international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters chaired the rally.

Feinglass called upon the rally to go out and make the April 24 antiwar action the biggest demonstration this country has ever seen.

Detroit

By MALIK MIAH

DETROIT—The first successful Black Moratorium held here April 3 saw over 250 Blacks march and rally against the war in Southeast Asia and in commemoration of the death of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

About 150 persons marched a mile and a half down Woodward Avenue to Kennedy Square, braving freezing temperatures and 23-mile-an-hour winds. The downtown rally at Kennedy Square grew to about 350 people.

Black youth, workers, and other sections of the Black community expressed their opposition to the war by displaying placards saying, "Bring the brothers home now," and "End the racist draft."

The march and rally was sponsored by the Black Moratorium Committee Against the War, an antiwar and anti-draft organization.

At the rally, Rev. Archie Rich of the Council for Black Ecumenical Training stated, "To support the war in Vietnam is to support oppression and exploitation of the Black community."

Eddie Martin, representing U.S. Congressman John Conyers from Michigan, blamed the war for decadent housing, rotten education, unemployment, and hunger and poor health service in the Black community.

Ken Milner of the BMC said, "The most effective way that we as Black people can struggle against this racist and genocidal war is to mobilize ourselves in massive numbers out into the streets."

Other speakers included the president of the United Black Trade Unionists, Inc., and representatives from the Brown Berets, National Committee to Combat Fascism, and the Michigan Committee to Free Angela Davis.

There was a great deal of press coverage of the action. All of the major television and radio stations as well as the daily newspapers were there.

Prior to the action, the BMC at predominantly Black Highland Park Community College staged an anti-



April 3 Detroit Black Moratorium

Photo by David Katz

war teach-in on March 24. About 170 students attended.

The perspectives of the BMC include building a Black contingent from Detroit to participate in the April 24 March on Washington.

Washington

By JAMES HARRIS

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Close to 400 Black people participated in a march and rally organized by the Third World Task Force Against the War in Southeast Asia here April 3. About 150 Blacks engaged in a spirited march from Malcolm X Park, in the Black community, to Lafayette Park, which is across the street from the White House. Because of broad protests a few days before the action, the police granted the marchers the use of the streets.

The rally at Lafayette Park grew to about 500 people. Speakers included Marion Barry of PRIDE, Inc.; Charles Cheng of the D. C. Teachers Union; Helen Hays of the Chinese Cultural Education Center; Joe Miles, a former organizer of GIs United Against the War at Fort Jackson, S. C., and now an activist in the Young Socialist Alliance; and Leon Page of the Cairo United Front. Several Asian-Americans attended the rally.

The rally was part of the April 2-4 activities protesting the war and commemorating the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The TWTF began the weekend with a teach-in April 2 at Howard University. About 200 students attended. Speakers were Etta Horne of the Welfare Rights Alliance; Levell Merritt, a Black retired major from the U. S. Army; Michael Harris, president of the Howard student body; Charles Stephenson of the TWTF; Page of the Cairo United Front; and a Black ex-GI who was stationed in West Germany.

Many of the students who attended the teach-in came down to the rally the next day.

On the night of April 3, the TWTF cosponsored a teach-in on the war with the D. C. Committee to Free Angela Davis. Only about 60 Black people attended, due to last minute cancellation by the church at which it was scheduled. The gathering was addressed by John Gibson of the Washington Urban League; John T. Williams, West Coast Teamster and NPAC coordinator; Rev. Joe Gipson; Leon Page; and Herman Fagg of the TWTF.

The weekend—the first significant Black antiwar activity in the nation's capital—was considered a great suc-

cess, and bodes well for Black participation in the April 24 March on Washington.

For those who want Third World buttons and other literature relating to April 24, contact the national Third World Task Force at 1029 Vermont Ave. N.W., 8th floor, Washington, D. C. 20005. Or call (202) 638-6601.

New York

NEW YORK—The biggest action during the Martin Luther King Jr. commemorative weekend occurred here April 5. Close to 5,000 people jammed Wall and Broad Streets to protest the war, racism, poverty, and political victimizations.

The demonstration, organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, and others, started at Union Square with a cart drawn by two mules. The mule-drawn cart was brought in from Atlanta and will travel to Washington, D. C., arriving on April 28.

Featured speakers were Rev. Ralph Abernathy of SCLC, civil liberties lawyer William Kunstler, and Al Hubbard, chairman of Vietnam Veterans Against the War in Vietnam. Other speakers included David Dellinger and Prof. Sidney Peck of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, and U. S. Congresswoman Bella Abzug.

On April 3, about 3,000 people attended a rally in Central Park. Twenty to 30 booths were set up by various antiwar groups.

And on April 2, a rally of 200 students at Manhattan Community College heard Oba Mercer, a Black Vietnam veteran; James Lewis of the Third World Task Force (TWTF); Richard Hoyer, president of the student body and a member of the Young Workers Liberation League; Ralph Huggins of the Society of the Golden Drums (SGD), a Black student group; and Arnold Terry of the Young Socialist Alliance. The rally was sponsored by the SGD and the TWTF.

Cleveland

CLEVELAND—At an April 3 memorial meeting at St. Agnes Church here, Mayor Carl Stokes urged Black Americans to turn out in unprecedented numbers for the April 24 march on Washington. He also took up the Calley conviction. After pointing out that Calley had unquestionably killed

women and children, he asked, "Why is the president taking the extraordinary step to reduce Lt. Calley's sentence?" Stokes commented that the president didn't seem to be doing anything about Black soldiers who are imprisoned for fighting racism in Vietnam, Germany or South Carolina.

Over 300 people attended, half of whom were Black. The meeting was sponsored by SCLC, Urban League, NAACP, Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition, and the Martin Luther King Jr. Youth House.

500 in Tucson Chicano antiwar action

By HALBROOK MAHN

TUCSON, Ariz.—Close to five hundred people participated in a Chicano Moratorium against the war in Indochina here March 24. The Moratorium grew out of the founding conference of the Arizona Raza Unida Party, held Feb. 27.

It started with a noon rally at Santa Rosa Park in La Reforma Barrio. Many of the three hundred people present then were junior and senior high school students. Several school officials complained about the high absenteeism that day.

The Moratorium proceeded to march downtown to the Selective Service board, "selective," as one of the speakers put it, in that it selects Chicanos, Blacks and Native Americans to fight a businessman's war. From there, the marchers rallied in front of the Marine Recruiting offices before returning to Santa Rosa Park.

Speakers addressing the rallies were Frank Carlo Gonzales Wood of the Tucson Brown Berets; MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan) leader Frank Barraza of Cochise College in Douglas; Sergio Murueta of Pima College MECHA; Salomon Baldenegro of the Arizona Raza Unida Party; Jorge Villarreal, a Vietnam veteran; and Hank Raymond of the Pima College Black Student Alliance.

Afterwards, a leader of the Chicano Moratorium Committee spoke enthusiastically about building future moratoriums and a strong Chicano contingent for the April 24 march in San Francisco.

By DAVID THORSTAD

Today for the first time in history gay people in large numbers are demanding an end to their oppression. Groups committed to achieving this goal are springing up all over the country and already exist on most major campuses. More than a dozen challenges to antihomosexual laws and discrimination are being made in the state legislatures and the courts. Thousands of gay women and men—some of them, like authors Kate Millet and Merle Miller, quite prominent—are emerging from the closets to fight for liberation in the open.

The largest mass action of gay people to date was the Christopher Street Liberation Day march in New York City last summer, in which over 6,000 gays participated. This action was held to commemorate the "Stonewall riots" of a year earlier.

The new mood of militancy among homosexuals in America can be traced back to June 29, 1969. That day, New York cops raided the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar on Greenwich Village's Christopher Street. The cops, who thought this would be just another routine antihomosexual raid, were unprepared for the fury with which the gay community resisted the police attack. In the course of the melee, the cops had to call for reinforcements and the bar was demolished.

Today the Stonewall riots stand as a symbol of the combativity of the rapidly growing movement for gay liberation. They gave vent to a tiny portion of the anger gay people have been accumulating for centuries. They gave gay people a new and refreshing feeling of pride.

Since the Stonewall riots, demonstrations by gays have multiplied. A second annual Christopher Street Liberation Day march is scheduled for June 27 this year in New York and Los Angeles. Other marches have been held on the West Coast. On March 14, more than 1,000 marched on the New York State capitol in Albany in support of sex reform legislation currently before the legislature.

Why are gay people angry? What kind of oppression do they face?

The law

While homosexual acts between consenting adults have been legal in some countries in Europe for more than 100 years, they are illegal in all but three states in this country—Illinois, Connecticut and Alaska.

The law books are full of such prejudiced, morally loaded, and scientifically objectionable phrases as "the infamous crime against nature," "the abominable and detestable crime against nature," and "unnatural and lascivious act." The punishments that could theoretically be meted out for some homosexual acts vary greatly, but quite a few states provide for imprisonment of 10 years or more. In Nevada, life imprisonment is possible. California, which has some of the most oppressive sex laws in the world, provides not only for an indeterminate sentence but, in the case of males, even for castration.

Not only do the sex laws not prevent millions of Americans from performing the "crime" of homosexual love but they actually encourage other crimes such as blackmail of gays. Moreover, because of the difficulty in enforcing these laws, and because of the lucrative extortion possibilities for corrupt cops, some police departments carry out an active policy of entrapment whereby plainclothes cops entice gays into committing illegal acts—thus breaking the law themselves, since to encourage a crime is itself a crime. Needless to say, it is gays, not the cops, who must suffer the consequences.

Physical attacks

"Known" homosexuals in America today are subject to many additional kinds of oppression. They are some-

times physically assaulted and even murdered. Many murders for which there appears to be no motive are of homosexuals. The Los Angeles Gay Liberation Front has held demonstrations protesting police brutality, murder and entrapment of homosexuals. The focus of the GLF's March 7, 1971, protest was the Los Angeles Police Department's murder of three gays—Larry Turner, Howard Efland, and Ginny Gallegos—in the past two years.

Gay prisoners are especially vulnerable targets of sadistic beating and murder by guards. Raymond Lavon Moore, a Black gay, was found hanging in his cell in the Manhattan Tombs on Nov. 3, 1970. The four guards who beat him with a blackjack two days earlier were subsequently cleared by a grand jury.

Jobs

Gays have little job security because few jobs remain open to them once

criminating against gay people in their hiring practices.

Invasion of privacy

The discrimination gays suffer in hiring practices is not helped by the existence of private investigatory agencies, of which Fidelifacts in New York is one example. This business collects information on individuals, notably on their sex lives, and sells it to prospective employers for \$12.50. Homosexuality, says Fidelifacts president Vincent Gillen, "is a difficult thing to establish. I like to go on the rule of thumb that if one looks like a duck, walks like a duck, associates only with ducks, and quacks like a duck, he is probably a duck." On Jan. 18, members of the Gay Activists Alliance, Daughters of Bilitis, and New York Mattachine exposed this snooping in a picket of the agency.

Housing

Discrimination in housing forces

THE NATURE OF GAY OPPRESSION



Gays demonstrating in Albany, N.Y., for sex law reform March 14.

Photo by David Thorstad

they leave their closets. Last year, the University of Minnesota's Board of Regents refused to hire Michael McConnell as a university librarian because he is gay. When a district judge ruled in favor of McConnell's right to be hired, the university appealed the ruling.

The American Civil Liberties Union has filed four suits against the U.S. Defense Department for firing four men from jobs with government contractors because they openly revealed their homosexuality. One, Otto Ulrich Jr., had even listed his membership in the Mattachine Society of Washington on Defense Department forms before being hired.

Gay people are not considered fit to teach the young, as if being homosexual somehow interfered with teaching mathematics any more than being heterosexual. New York City councilman Carter Burden, who last January introduced legislation to extend the protection of the city's human rights law to ban discrimination against homosexuals in housing, public accommodation, and employment, charged the city Board of Education, as well as the International Business Machines Corporation and the Columbia Broadcasting System of dis-

criminating against gay people in their hiring practices.

many gay people into gay ghettos, where, as in most ghettos, housing costs tend to be higher.

Even homosexuals who stay in their closets are threatened with the above kinds of oppression.

The family and schools

The institution of the family plays a key role in shaping the ideology and psychology of the young and in instilling in them the values and morality of class society. It fosters male supremacy, the subjugation of women, and antihomosexual prejudices and fears. The educational system is designed to reinforce and extend these values.

As gay people become aware of their sexuality, they invariably come into conflict with the stereotypes of "feminine" and "masculine" behavior, and of heterosexuality and homosexuality, which are fostered by the nuclear family and the schools. One of the reasons that homosexuality is persecuted with such fervor is that it does not fit into the rigid sex stereotyping that characterizes the nuclear family.

Religion

Religion, especially Christianity and

Judaism, compounds the oppression of homosexuals by infusing their activities with a profound sense of guilt. It is true that the old punishments of stoning and burning at the stake have fallen out of use. (Still, the last burning of a homosexual in France occurred as late as the eighteenth century—during the Enlightenment. This practice of burning gay people appears to be the origin of the use of "faggot" as a term for putting down male homosexuals.) Yet, almost without exception the Jewish and Christian religions still regard homosexuality as unnatural and an unspeakable sin. Such attitudes still serve to twist and distort the sexuality of large numbers of human beings. The inhuman laws themselves that today aim to suppress homosexual activity can be traced back to ancient Jewish sex codes that were incorporated into the Roman and Canon Law which formed the basis of domestic law in medieval Europe.

Psychiatry

Much of the popular literature on homosexuality has been written by psychoanalysts or psychiatrists who apply to all homosexuals the conclusions they draw from their usually limited samples of unhappy homosexuals. (The patients who make up their studies rarely, if ever, approximate a cross-section of homosexuals—if for no other reason than the fact that psychiatrists are expensive and thus not accessible even to the small number who might be inclined to go to them).

For most psychiatrists, homosexual love is not simply one form of human sexual response, no less "natural" and no less socially conditioned than heterosexual love. They see their task as one not of helping homosexuals to accept their sexuality but of persuading them to conform to the prevailing anti-gay norms.

These psychiatrists inflict untold harm on gay people through their attempts to "cure" them. New York Hospital's Dr. Lawrence Hatterer, for example, whose recent book *Changing Homosexuality in the Male* claims a "cure" rate of one-third for his patients, has them listen to therapeutic tape recordings whenever they feel the urge for sex. How would heterosexuals feel if they had to do this every time they wanted sex?

The behavioral techniques used by Dr. Joseph Wolpe of Temple University's Behavior Therapy Institute are particularly barbaric: His patients are given electric shocks while they are shown pictures of nude people of the same sex. Other techniques used on gays, while the psychiatrist looks on, involve having the patient masturbate while pictures of the opposite sex are flashed onto a screen, and inducing vomiting while pictures of the same sex are projected. The psychiatrist who masterminds such sadistic and voyeuristic tortures is, of course, considered a sane and healthy social asset.

Antihomosexual prejudice

Underneath these antiscientific views and practices of many psychiatrists lies the deep fear and prejudice against homosexuality that pervades our society. This prejudice and pathological fear are reflected even in works that claim to be enlightening on the subject of sex. An example is how the subject of homosexuality is treated in the best-selling book by Dr. David Reuben, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Sex*. Here is a sample of Reuben's remarks:

"One of the main features of homosexuality is promiscuity. It stands to reason. Homosexuals are trying the impossible: solving the problem with only half the pieces."

"One penis plus one penis equals nothing. There is no substitute for heterosexual—penis and vagina."

"Nature apparently did not anticipate homosexuality. . . ."

"Basically all homosexuals are alike

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Why leader of Socialist Party joined the SWP

The following is the text of the letter of resignation sent to the Socialist Party national secretary by Charles Banta, a member of the SP's National Committee at the time. The letter was sent on Dec. 1, 1970. Banta, who joined the Young People's Socialist League in 1961 in Bloomington, Ind., and the Socialist Party in 1963, was first elected to the National Committee of the SP in 1968 as a candidate of the left-wing faction that later became the Debs Caucus. He was reelected as the Debs Caucus candidate in 1970.

Banta is a railroad switchman in Chicago and is now an active member of the Chicago branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

It is with considerable regret that, after nearly ten years' active membership in the Young People's Socialist League and the Socialist Party, I find it impossible to remain in the party even as a loyal oppositionist. As of this date, I resign my position of National Committeeman and membership in the Socialist Party.

The decision to take this action has been developing for some time but writing this letter has still not been easy. I have infinitely more regrets having to write it, I am sure, than the majority members of the National Committee will have in receiving it. Nevertheless, I can take no other course.

The party has never been my ideal model of a socialist organization. For several years, however, I nurtured the belief that it had the potential of becoming a viable, militant and activist party that could again lead the struggle for socialism in America in a meaningful direction. I was convinced that somewhere in that jumble of tendencies the revolutionary spirit and traditions of the party of Eugene Debs were still alive, needing only revitalization and translation into a clear program of action. That mistake in judgment has led me to waste nearly a decade of political activity. For what has been built is so far removed from the party of Debs that it is virtually unrecognizable! The Socialist Party is no more the party of Debs than the Republican Party is that of Lincoln. You may claim that forthright rev-

olutionary tradition until hell freezes, but the mere repetition of an obvious absurdity does not make it any less absurd!

Several positions the party now takes convince me that, rather than representing a revolutionary tradition, the present-day Socialist Party represents an extremely accommodationist, cautious and harmless perspective in the worst traditions of social democracy. Some critics have labeled this stance as "State Department Socialism," and I think they are correct. It is undoubtedly a great comfort to the Establishment to have a left cover such as the party provides!

Consider the party's position, for example, on the war in Indochina. So-called "socialists" calling for "Negotiations Now" or "Political Settlement" must delight the war-makers no end! How, may I ask, are you able to reconcile the flaccid timidity of such tepid slogans with these following lines, "... I am opposed to war ... I mean ruling-class war, for the ruling class is the only class that makes war. It matters not to me whether this war be offensive or defensive or whatever lying excuse may be invented for it." Need I remind you whose words those are? For the Socialist Party to hold its present position on Indochina and still claim to be the party of Debs is to do violence to both logic and history! The party has reached a point in political degeneration where it cannot and will not take the only honorable socialist position on the war: **IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL, BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW!**

On the question of domestic political action, I find that the Socialist Party has ceased even pretending to be an alternative to bourgeois politics. One might just as well belong to the Democratic Party, hold a few reformist views on the side, and be done with it! I say this because we do not have a political party at all. What we have, and what the party majority is seemingly content with, is a pressure group with a newspaper. Along with many other groups, the party is attempting to influence the liberal wing of the Democrats into being a bit more humane. The rationale, of course, is that by supporting these elements we will

insure a climate where the Democratic Party will be transformed into a socially conscious, progressive "people's party." (I sometimes imagine that persons under these kinds of illusions might suggest we reclaim Lake Erie by jumping into it with bags of water purification tablets!) Socialism, to me, has meaning only when it is presented as a consistent alternative to and uncompromising enemy of capitalism and the political organizations of capitalism, be they liberal or otherwise. We cannot fight this vicious system by submerging ourselves in the very organizations that support it and prop it up in times of need.

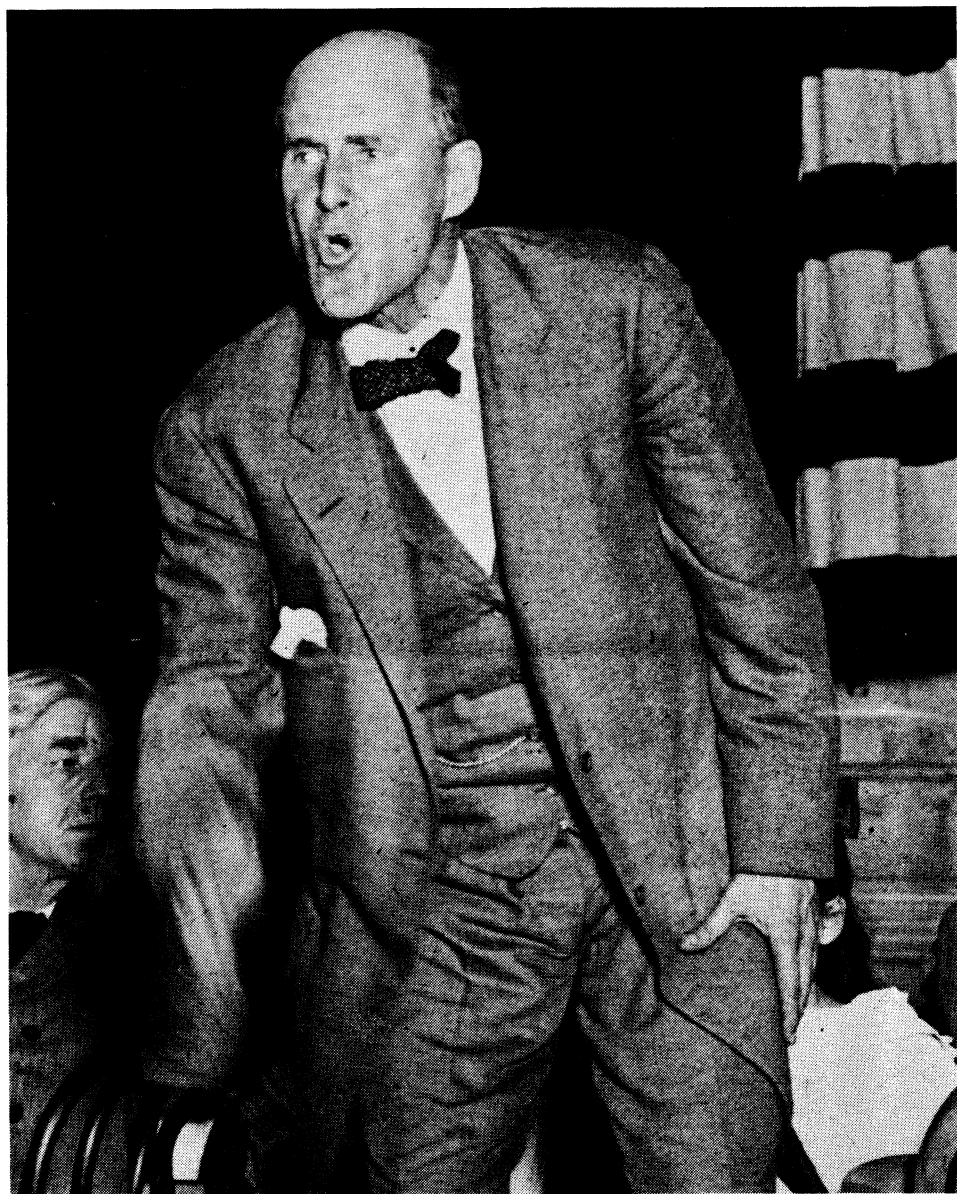
I could go on listing my political differences with the Socialist Party positions on the various questions facing the American left in this period: the refusal to enter united fronts with others on the left, the party's utter bankruptcy on the question of Black liberation, its silence on women's liberation, its hysterical anticommunism, its total, uncritical support of Israeli imperialism and refusal to recognize the legitimacy of the aspirations of

the disinherited Palestinian Arabs. Yes, there are many more points which should be elaborated. However, I intend this to be a letter of resignation with some brief explanations, and not a comprehensive political document.

Suffice it to say that I am resigning because I no longer believe the party can ever become a viable tool in the struggle for socialism in America, as I understand the meaning of that word.

Many years ago, James Cannon [national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party—*Editor*] characterized the Socialist Party as being composed of "people who like to use the word 'socialism' but don't really mean any harm." I suspect that he was right then. I am convinced that his characterization applies today! I cannot remain a member of this organization for I do mean harm, serious harm, to the capitalist system, and in this struggle the Socialist Party will never be a serious weapon.

Sincerely,
Charles W. Banta



EUGENE V. DEBS

"I was convinced that somewhere in the jumble of tendencies the revolutionary spirit and traditions of the party of Eugene Debs were still alive. That mistake in judgment has led me to waste nearly a decade of political activity."

Oppressed nationalities march in Chicago

By DALE GAREE

CHICAGO—On Friday, March 26, about 1,000 Chicanos, Latinos and Native Americans demonstrated at city hall for a series of demands ranging from bilingual classes to better housing and more jobs.

This demonstration grew out of a La Raza conference held Sunday, March 21, in South Chicago. At this conference, there were about 300 people from 23 organizations.

The conference was organized by the Chicano Youth Organization (CYO), an organization that began around a struggle for bilingual classes and Chicano history at Bowen High School last fall.

Some of the organizations represented at the conference were: South Chicago Neighborhood Housing, Committee of United Latins, Midwest Council of La Raza, ALAS (Association of Latin-American Students), Concerned Latin Students from the University of Illinois Circle Campus, Casa de Aztlan, United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, Organization of Latin American Students, Chicago Indian Village, the Association for Workers, Los Hermanos, and Borimex.

A planning meeting of organizations was held on March 24 at Casa Aztlan to discuss and draw up a set of demands for Friday's demonstration.

One of the organizers, Roy Mallard of the CYO, stated that a car belonging to a member of CYO was fire-bombed and that city hall passed the word out to bus companies not to rent to Latinos going to city hall for the demonstration. A request for a rally at the Civic Center was also denied on the technicality that it had not been made soon enough. Even with all that, the demonstration was a large success, with a very militant atmosphere. The chants of Chicano Power, Indian Power, Latin Power, and Raza Power—of Raza Si, Daley No, were heard.

The rally lasted between 9 a.m. and 1 p.m., with a very conscious effort on

the organizers' part to keep it peaceful by organizing about 100 marshals. That night, there was a picket line at McCormick Place, where Daley was at an "Amigos for Daley" banquet. Initially, demonstrators were allowed to picket very close to McCormick Place, but as more arrived and their chants became louder, they were moved across the street. More than 300 people showed up for the picket line.

Copies of the pamphlets *La Raza—Why a Chicano Party, Why Chicano Studies and The Raza Unida Party in Texas* (published by Pathfinder Press) sold like hotcakes at both meetings and rallies.

Berkeley Chicanos win school demands

By DAVID WARREN

BERKELEY — "We don't need sympathy! Raza demands action!" read a sign tacked on the front wall of the school board meeting hall. Called into special session March 30 to hear the demands of the Chicano community, the board was confronted by an angry and determined audience

of two hundred community people, students and teachers mobilized by La Raza Unida Party and the Latin American Community Center.

After testimony from parents, students and teachers, the board agreed to grant the following: 1) immediate hiring of two Raza counselors at King Junior High School; and 2) district-wide preferential hiring for Raza personnel beginning with the next school year.

Two more demands—the renaming of an elementary school "Cesar Chavez School" and the establishment of a "Casa de la Raza" alternative school for Latino students—were placed "under serious consideration." The liberal school board is noted for verbal support of educational reform, but is also noted for lack of constructive action if it is not pushed into it.

The special board meeting culminated months of work by the Chicano community to get a hearing on the

need for Raza personnel, especially at King Junior High, where the student body is about 7 percent Chicano but there is only one Chicano teacher.

The emergency meeting was called in response to two days of protests that broke out at King High School, where over four hundred students walked out over the Chicano demands. The protests were sparked by an incident in which three Chicana students were severely beaten by other students. The school administration was incapable of handling the problem because none of the administrators could speak Spanish fluently or could relate to the Chicano parents.

The students led a boycott of the school by forming a picket line and marching to a nearby park for a teach-in on the issues.

At the meeting where the school board finally agreed to act on the two demands, the board was asked by the audience to translate the proceedings into Spanish. Unable to provide a translator, the board asked if someone from the audience could translate. Carmen Alegria, La Raza Unida Party candidate for school board, volunteered for the job. She was introduced to the cheering audience as a future member of the school board. The fact that no one on the board could speak Spanish pointed out the crying need for representation for La Raza at all levels.

The Chicano community is now meeting with the school administration to work out implementation of the demands.

students representation on the Hillsborough Student Council after five Black candidates failed to be elected in the Student Council elections.

Hillsborough High has 2,000 students, 600 of whom are Black. When Blacks first requested a meeting with Collins following the elections, he refused, saying that Blacks were a minority at the school and shouldn't have expected to be elected.

As Black students became more open in their protest, Collins agreed to a meeting with them and promised to allow Black representation on the student council, with Black representatives having equal status with the white representatives.

Arguments broke out between Black and white students on March 29. At one point, food, chairs and other objects were thrown across the cafeteria, as a fight broke out between Blacks and some racist white students.

Collins then claimed he had been misunderstood and had actually agreed only to set up a Black "steering committee" to advise the all-white Student Council on Black affairs. Black students began walking out of classes as soon as they heard about this double cross.

Collins called in the police, aggravating the situation. The cops arrested a number of Black students and harassed others who had assembled off campus. Among those arrested were Otha Favors of the Center for a United Black Community, Willie Tabb of SCLC, and Delphine Smith of the Tallahassee Malcolm X United Liberation Front for "trespassing after warning" when one of the three attempted to make a phone call at a snack bar near the school.

At a defense meeting Monday night, students from Hillsborough and other high schools in the Black community met with parents and community leaders, including Otha Favors.

The community is now mobilizing support for the Black students. A rally in the downtown park of the community was held March 30, after which the students and supporters marched to the school board meeting, where the Hillsborough school situation was being discussed.



Photo by Ed Garcia

Chicano students picket Berkeley's King High School.

Fla. Black students fight for rights

By DAVID ROSSI

TAMPA, Fla. — Black students at Hillsborough High School walked out of classes March 29 when principal Robert Collins backed down on a promise he had made to allow Black

Third World Liberation Notes

In response to the liquidation of Blacks as administrators and teachers in school districts throughout the South, on March 18 the National Education Association (NEA) filed a friend of the court brief in a Justice Department desegregation suit against the State of Georgia. NEA, through the suit in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, is requesting that in order "to discourage racially discriminatory terminations and demotions, we propose that the court require school boards to replace any dismissed, nonrenewed, or demoted employee with a person of the same race." And further, as their court brief is quoted in the March 29 *Christian Science Monitor*, they asked that school districts be required "actively to recruit Black educators when the district's Black-to-white ratio has fallen below the ratio existing at the commencement of the 1965 school year. . . ."

When the NEA filed its brief, it also released statistics, obtained from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, demonstrating that Black principals and teachers are being systematically eliminated in the five Southern states.

This elimination stems from the October 1969 ruling of the Supreme Court ordering desegregation of the Southern school system. To implement this ruling required the dismantling of the segregated school system whereby schools in the white community were exclusively staffed by white teachers and administrators, and schools in the Black community were staffed by Black teachers and administrators. But this whole operation was under the control of white school boards. As an NEA task force reported in the fall of 1970 concerning desegregation in Mississippi and Louisiana, "Basic to the major problem of school desegregation . . .

is the fact mentioned earlier in this report—that control of the desegregation process is vested in the same individuals and groups who controlled, and struggled to retain, the segregated system of public education."

So, for example, if there were two white high schools and two Black high schools in a Southern community, after desegregation the white facilities would become the high schools and the Black facilities junior high schools. And in the merger process, Black teachers and principals would be fired.

In the edition of the *Monitor* previously quoted, the data submitted to HEW by school districts in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi showed a loss of 1,808 Black teachers and a gain (!) of 1,227 white teachers. This is over a period ranging from the fall of 1968 to the fall of 1970. And in the above states, minus Alabama but with the addition of Florida, there were 232 fewer Black principals and 127 more white ones.

One of the factors prompting NEA's fight to maintain the jobs of Black educators is obviously the growth of its rival, the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO. The NEA is composed of both teachers and administrators, making it a company union so to speak. As the AFT grows in the North, the NEA is trying to hang on in the South. And because the AFT refuses to take up the struggle for the basic civil rights of Black teachers, let alone support an effort to establish Black control of Black education, the NEA maintains its solid base in the South.

The prestigious Whitney Museum of American Art has come under attack by a group of Black artists.

It all started back in 1969 when the Whitney entered negotiations with the Black Emergency Cultural Coalition (BECC) about staging a major Black art exhibit. After a six-month effort, an agreement was arrived at in which the museum agreed to schedule the exhibit during the art season's "prime time," which begins in late 1970 and extends to 1971. It also agreed to a two-person committee consisting of one of its curators and a Black art expert acceptable to both.

But the museum subsequently broke both points of the agreement, scheduling the exhibit for April 1971 and using its own (white) curators to select pieces for the show. To cover up its backsliding, the Whitney talked about using the advice of Black art experts "wherever feasible." But the cover didn't work. The BECC reports, "our fellow artists across the nation have reported being subjected to such humiliating experiences as having Mr. Robert Doty, apparently the museum's lone selector, enter their studios and demand to see only this or that piece of which he had heard or with which he was previously familiar, at the exclusion of others. Many Black Artists of outstanding ability have reported being bypassed altogether, and no Black curatorial assistance has to our knowledge been drawn upon to date." This statement was issued in January.

So the BECC called for a boycott of the Whitney's art exhibit. As of late March, 10 Black artists have withdrawn their works. There were about 70 contributors in all. The BECC, which is committed to direct action, picketed the Whitney back in January and will probably stage a demonstration when the so-called Black art exhibit opens on April 6.

—DERRICK MORRISON

Nixon wage controls under attack

By FRANK LOVELL

Building trades spokesman C.J. Haggerty announced on March 30 that the nation's construction unions will fight the government's attempt to impose controls on wages of construction workers.

The sustained drive of big business and government to reduce the standard of living of the working class is currently focused on the construction industry, where the federal government controls \$25-billion worth of building contracts.

Haggerty, president of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO, made his announcement at a news conference after a meeting of 16 general presidents of construction unions. The unions, Haggerty said, will "obey the law" but will fight by all legal means the executive order signed into law March 29 by Nixon.

Prepared by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson as a follow-up on the Feb. 23 executive order suspending government payment of "prevailing wages" under the 1931 Davis-Bacon Act, this new order was recommended by "the public sector" members of the Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Commission (CICBC). This "public sector" includes Hodgson; George Romney, secretary of housing and urban development; John T. Dunlop of Harvard University and adviser to industry and government on labor-management relations in the construction industry; and J. Curtis Counts, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. Representatives of construction contractors and unions also sit on the commission.

The manner of introducing what can

become a general wage freeze is designed to absolve all parties to the scheme of direct responsibility for it, while rendering the workers powerless to prevent its adoption.

It is being introduced to coincide with the March-through-July round of contract negotiations affecting about 480,000 construction workers. But beyond those immediately affected are the 3 million members of all building trades unions who will become victims of the new wage pattern when their contracts expire later. The wider-range effects will shortly be felt throughout the union movement, and even more severely by the unorganized majority of the working class.

Contractors and union representatives on the CICBC agreed to the establishment of 18 separate "craft dispute boards," one for each of the crafts—electricians, carpenters, plumbers, bricklayers, etc. But Haggerty said March 30 that the unions had not yet decided whether to participate in these boards.

In exchange for the "voluntary" establishment of these boards, which in practice will supercede and negate the unions' collective bargaining powers, the Nixon administration restored the "prevailing wages" prescription of the Davis-Bacon Act, which requires contractors to pay the local prevailing wage on federally financed construction projects.

The authority for the latest executive order is the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, strongly urged by liberal Democrats as a wage-price control measure and deplored a year ago by Nixon as ill-advised, unnecessary and unworkable.

The machinery for controlling building trades wages resembles a general

plan outlined recently by Harvard Professor Dunlop, one of the CICBC "public sector" members. He told a meeting of construction industry executives that finally, after 25 years' study, he had come to favor legislation to deal with collective bargaining in this industry. The legislation he recommended would establish a tripartite board made up of labor, management and government representatives; a procedure that would prevent the breakup of bargaining units once formed; and machinery for settling contract disputes.

This is similar to what now exists with Nixon's new executive order. The tripartite board exists in the form of the CICBC, and procedures for enforcing a wage pattern are contained in the establishment of "craft dispute boards."

The economic club of the government in this industry is the threat to withhold government-financed building programs when wage guidelines are not followed. These guidelines were made explicit in the latest executive order. Henceforth, the only acceptable wage settlements are those "not in excess of the average of median increases in wages and benefits over the life of the contract in major construction settlements in the period of 1961 to 1968."

In other words, Nixon is telling the union bureaucrats that his administration is willing to go along with what workers got under Democratic administrations, but nothing more.

Some may be lulled by the rosy promise that wages in the building trades will continue to rise. An unnamed administration source was reported by the March 29 *Wall Street Journal* as speculating that wage raises under the new scheme would be allowed, "equal to the combination of

productivity gains and increases in the cost-of-living index, as long as pay raises don't exceed 6 percent a year."

This is a dim hope because inflationary boosts in consumer prices will be likely to wipe out any wage increases as meager as 6 percent. The purpose of the new "craft dispute boards," supervised by the CICBC, is to establish a fixed wage pattern. While it is presently limited to the construction industry, the aim is to extend it to all industry.

This is clearly recognized by the employers and their spokesmen. A March 28 *New York Times* editorial hailed the prospect of wage guidelines but argued that they can not be successfully applied in a single industry. "Any inclination of the construction locals to accept a 6 percent guideline would be further diminished if the forthcoming negotiations in steel and aluminum produce settlements in line with the 14 percent first-year pattern recently set by the United Steelworkers in the can industry," says the *Times*.

The *Times*, like other voices of big business, sees the wage guidelines in the construction industry as a promising beginning, nothing more. "Once Mr. Nixon has crossed the wage-price Rubicon in this field, it will be vastly easier to take the additional steps needed for a genuine national incomes policy to halt the shrinkage of the dollar," says the *Times* editorial.

The idea behind it all is to find a way to bind the unions and force the workers to pay for inflation by freezing wages at present levels. There is no guarantee yet that the construction industry scheme will succeed. But as Secretary of Labor Hodgson announced, "If one method fails, others will be tried."

The National Picket Line

I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers Union, announced on March 28 that a two-day conference with 600 local union presidents had convinced him that the forthcoming negotiations with the big steel companies must result in wage and benefit packages equal to those recently negotiated with the four major can manufacturing companies. The can workers obtained a 31.5 percent wage increase over three years.

At the conference, the local union presidents, who face their angry membership on a day-to-day basis, also demanded the right to strike over local grievances during the life of the new contract. Abel has always been opposed to strikes over local issues after he has signed a national contract, hence the steel corporations literally laugh in the faces of workers with grievances. The companies know that the real muscle of the labor movement—the strike—is denied to the workers by the edict of their international union president.

As an example: Louis Mavrikis, president of Local 2698 of Pittsburgh-Wheeling Steel in Monessen, Pa., told the meeting that management had refused to use a better grade of coal in its coke ovens to cut down on pollution. When the workers refused to work in the polluted area, the company used supervisors to replace them. This particular grievance has dragged on for years.

A motion was presented to the presidents' meeting to allow the right to strike over local abrogations of the contract. Abel pleaded with the men not to pass the motion. He promised instead that he would appoint a committee to study the whole question. The meeting capitulated to Abel.

Abel also spoke on Nixon's new executive order, which set goals to keep wage increases in the construction industry at about 6 percent a year. He said the steel union negotiators would not go for this formula.

Negotiations on the big steel contract will begin on July 1. The present contract runs out on August 1.

James C. Westfield, said by the April 1 *New York Times* to be one of the country's leading authorities on the causes and prevention of mine disasters, received his walking papers on March 31, while he was directing rescue operations in the latest coal mine disaster—a fire that took the lives of two miners at Nemacolin, Pa., on March 26.

Westfield, who was still actively investigating the 1969 disaster at the Consolidation Coal Company's No. 9 mine in Farmington, W. Va.—which took the lives of 78 miners—had opposed the desires of several large mine operators to open closed mines in the area of No. 9. The operators, whose mines have been closed because they abut or adjoin the shaft in which the bodies of more than 60 miners are still entombed, are pressuring the Bureau of Mines to seal off

the shaft area and allow them to resume operations. Westfield has opposed this move because it would make it impossible to complete the Bureau's investigation of the cause of the explosion. He has also been active in investigating the explosion that took 38 lives at Hyden, Ky., last Dec. 30.

Donald B. Schlick, Westfield's deputy for health matters in the mines, will be his successor. The Bureau of Mines announced that Westfield was not really being fired. Actually, they want to kick him upstairs by making him a "special assistant" for mine investigations so he can retain his \$35,000 salary, or give him a "consultancy" that would "allow him some relief from the pressure of daily responsibilities." Westfield is not expected to accept either offer.

According to a Senate subcommittee headed by Senator Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.), only a small fraction of American workers belonging to private pension plans ever collect a cent of their benefits, even though in many cases the workers themselves paid into the pension fund. A majority of these workers lose their pension rights if they are fired or laid off before retirement age.

Most private plans do not carry vesting rights for workers who leave the company unless the worker has put in from 15 to 25 years. Even these long-time employees often lose the hope of security when they are laid off.

There are 51 such private pension plans, with total assets of \$10-billion. Of 5.2 million participants who have left their employers since 1950, only 253,000, or about 5 percent, have actually received any pension benefits. A total of 6.9 million workers are part of these 51 plans, but only 1.7 million of them are still working.

Senator Javits has introduced a pension bill in Congress that would provide for vesting interests after six years, and would require funding to assure that funds would be sound and solvent, and would also provide a federal insurance plan for private pension plans.

Much of the \$10-billion simply lies in the bank, treated as "frozen assets." Many of the employers—who offer pension plans as part of a workers' compensation—have quit depositing pension monies.

Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. (D-N.J.), who also serves on the subcommittee, said: "In recent years, older workers in retirement have faced nightmarish problems in receiving adequate retirement income . . . for many of them a sudden layoff or job termination means more than the loss of present income. All too frequently it can also mean the loss of credits built up from long years of service—credits which can never be retained, even with a new job."

—MARVEL SCHOLL



May 1970 antiwar Moratorium demonstration of 100,000 in Melbourne, Australia

Direct Action

American socialist tours Australia and New Zealand

By CAROLINE LUND

Patti Iiyama, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from a month-long speaking tour of Australia and New Zealand. "Both the women's liberation movements and the antiwar movements in Australia and New Zealand are quite different than they are here," she noted while discussing with *The Militant* her impressions and experiences on the trip.

"The women's liberation movements are just beginning in both countries. For example, women are at the stage of hotly debating whether or not men should be excluded from their meetings.

"The antiwar movement does have a base among students, like in this country, but there seems to be much greater antiwar sentiment among workers and the general population. The Labour Party in New Zealand has come out against the war, and in Australia also, labor figures were active from the start in the antiwar movement. In Melbourne last May, one out of every 20 people joined in the giant demonstration of 100,000 for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam."

Patti Iiyama, who has been an activist since 1965 (the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, the Delano grape strike, the antiwar movement, Third World student struggles, and the women's liberation movement) spoke on the U.S. antiwar and women's liberation movements, and "The Coming American Revolution."

In Australia for three weeks, she spoke in Sydney, Katoomba, Brisbane, Melbourne, Adelaide, Canberra, and in Hobart and Launceston on the island of Tasmania. During her week-long tour of New Zealand, she stopped in Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin.

Iiyama spoke before a great variety of meetings—at campuses and high schools, at public town hall meetings, at major antiwar conferences in each

country, and before crowds of railway workers.

"I was surprised that the meetings at railway workshops—both in Australia and New Zealand—were some of the largest on the tour," said Iiyama. "In Auckland, where I spoke to a noon meeting of railway workers right on the job site, the workers said it was the largest noon meeting they had had since the 1940s. They were especially interested in the relationship of the Vietnam war to the economy, and with the threat of wage controls faced by American workers, since they faced this threat also."

In Sydney she spoke to about seventy-five people at the first public meeting of a women's group called Bread and Roses. Women there expressed an interest in starting a campaign for the right to abortion in Sydney. In a suburb of Sydney called Glebe, she met with another women's liberation group. Women from the Women's Action Committee in Melbourne told Iiyama that they had been carrying out small demonstrations and actions for a year with the major goal of getting some publicity for the goals of women's liberation. In Canberra, Australia, 150-200 people showed up to hear Iiyama at a public meeting sponsored by the Canberra University's women's liberation group as part of the university orientation week.

In Tasmania, a small island south of the mainland of Australia, Iiyama's tour was arranged by a high school member of the Socialist Youth Alliance, the organization which sponsored her Australian tour. He arranged meetings for Iiyama in two high schools which evoked a great deal of interest from the students. A publication put out by right-wing students at one high school, called *The Patriot*, denounced Iiyama as "an outside agitator," but this just created more interest in her meeting.

Antiwar protests set for April 30 in New Zealand

By HUGH FYSON

WELLINGTON, New Zealand—Two U.S. antiwar activists were guest speakers at the National Antiwar Conference held here March 13 and 14. They were Patti Iiyama of the Socialist Workers Party and Michael Uhl, a Vietnam veteran now working for the Citizens' Commission of Inquiry on U.S. War Crimes in Vietnam.

The conference was by far the largest meeting to map antiwar action in the history of the movement in this country. Over 600 people attended from all parts of New Zealand. A proposal calling for mass action April 30 "in as many cities and towns as possible," and demanding immediate withdrawal of all N.Z. and U.S. forces was overwhelmingly adopted.

Patti Iiyama and Michael Uhl addressed the conference in the opening session. In a speech described as "inspiring" by the chairman, Iiyama told how the students of the U.S. had mobilized in May 1970, taking over entire campus facilities to carry on the antiwar struggle, and how the continued escalation of the war was creating greater and greater antiwar sentiment.

Michael Uhl, who served as an Army Intelligence officer in Vietnam, delivered a paper in which he documented and described how American soldiers in Vietnam had been "forced to become executives for a policy of genocide," giving examples from the testimonies of 300 veterans collected by the Citizens' Commission of Inquiry. "Nowhere else, except in Nazi Germany, has a body count been used as a barometer of success. It's not a case of victory by the land you win, but by the number of people you kill."

Both speakers made national tours prior to the conference, and the attention accorded them by the mass media made a significant contribution to the success of the gathering. Among many

other engagements, Michael Uhl was featured on the top national network TV public affairs program, while Patti Iiyama answered questions for two hours on the country's most popular call-in radio show.

They spoke to audiences in five cities. Four hundred people listened to Uhl in Christchurch, and in Dunedin up to 900 workers crowded around the machinery inside the railway workshop to hear Iiyama. They listened intently as she described the effect of the war on the American working class, and asked many sympathetic questions.

Patti Iiyama also spoke on the women's liberation movement in North America, a subject that has drawn considerable controversy in New Zealand. Her tour was sponsored by the Socialist Action League, cothinkers in New Zealand of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in the U.S. Members of the Socialist Action League played an important role in the conference and sold 40 subscriptions to their biweekly paper, *Socialist Action*.

Michael Uhl came here under the sponsorship of the Wellington Committee on Vietnam.

On March 18, New Zealand Prime Minister Sir Keith Holyoake announced the withdrawal of New Zealand's artillery battery from Vietnam, leaving only 264 N.Z. servicemen there. In doing so, he stated: "New Zealand continues to support the Republic of South Vietnam in its struggle against communist aggression. We are withdrawing our forces only because we believe that the South Vietnamese are increasingly able to take over the responsibility for the defense of their own country." The total failure of the current American-backed adventure in Laos has not enhanced the credibility of this idiotic remark. The proximity of the announcement to the National Antiwar Conference could well have been more than an accident.

1,500 women pack abortion hearings

By CLARE KERR

BOSTON—Women from many areas of the state gathered here March 23 to demand the repeal of the antiquated antiabortion statutes of Massachusetts. The day began with a picket line outside the statehouse and leafletting in the downtown area. Close to 1,500 women then attended open hearings held by a committee of the state legislature on various repeal bills. The crowd frequently expressed its disgust and indignation at the numerous male legislators who voiced their opposition to repeal.

Eloquent testimony favoring changes in the law was given by activists in the women's movement, physicians, lawyers, and clergymen of many faiths. The hearing was the longest in Massachusetts' history, lasting until 1 a.m., indicating the widespread interest in this matter of such vital concern to all women.

The New England Women's Coali-

tion and the Massachusetts Organization for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (MORAL) sponsored a spirited rally at the lunch break on the Boston Common at which Joni Reid, representing MORAL, and Sam Moddykowski and Robin Taylor of the New England Women's Coalition spoke.

The rally and hearing were extensively covered by all the major TV stations and received front-page attention in the local papers.

The following day, the *Boston Globe* published the results of a poll taken recently in Massachusetts, which showed that 62 percent of those interviewed felt that the decision to continue a pregnancy should be left to the pregnant woman. And 45 percent of the Catholics polled expressed this view as well. The latter figure is an indication that the Catholic hierarchy's influence is waning and that legislators who oppose abortion law repeal do not represent the people who elected them.

In Review

Theater

Abelard and Heloise by Ronald Millar. Directed by Robin Phillips. Brooks Atkinson Theatre. New York.

Abelard was a leading French philosopher of the twelfth century, Heloise one of the best educated women of the period. The play *Abelard and Heloise* is the story of their great love, woven together from their letters to each other and from Helen Waddell's novel *Peter Abelard*. Yet despite the intelligent acting of Diana Riggs as Heloise, the characters remain ghosts of the past.

Abelard (Keith Michell) was the philosophic rebel who dared to say that religion could not be proven by faith alone. His attempt to establish a rational philosophical approach made him one of the most popular and controversial figures of his century. By the time he met Heloise he was well into his thirties, and though not a priest, had taken vows of celibacy. Only within the confines of the church could one find a place as a philosopher. The young, spirited Heloise became Abelard's pupil. Their subsequent love and secret marriage plunged Abelard's career into jeopardy.

This play merely asserts Abelard's legendary brilliance without convincingly demonstrating it. And because one never feels the remarkable mind of the man who established a philosophical school in Paris, one does not sense any of the fascinated horror with which one might watch the downfall of a King Lear or an Oedipus.

The dialogue is not equal to the subject. It is merely clever while attempting to be profound. It does not rise much above a discussion of how Abelard will have to choose between reason and a woman.



Abelard and Heloise

The attempt to portray people who lived eight centuries ago is not easy. Social assumptions have changed and the great monolith, the church, no longer stands at the center of things. Those plays that manage to bridge the time gap—those of Brecht or Sophocles, for instance—utilize the specific historical setting in order to illustrate something of relevance to a contemporary audience. This play does not.

The passion of Heloise and Abelard, though central to the play, is presented in such a mechanical, one-dimensional and abstract fashion that it seems quite unrelated to the implied complexity of their characters and the social forces with which they are in conflict.

As a result, the love scenes appear artificial. One reviewer felt they were the high point of the play—never had a nude scene been so well handled on stage, he exclaimed. I was not as impressed. The clutching, furtive meetings had no tenderness at bottom. One was left with only an embrace—the form of passion without the substance.

Heloise's demented uncle, jealous of Abelard, arranges to have him castrated. Once this is done, Abelard the rebel completely collapses. The physical castration symbolizes his psychic castration. Determined to shut himself up in a monastery, he dooms Heloise to a convent because he cannot stand to have other men look upon her.

If Abelard remains a disappointing, cardboard character, Heloise emerges as the real rebel. Even when she enters the convent it is for her only a sign of outward obedience. Over the next 20 years, she refuses to be comforted by a religion which is irrelevant to her. Hers is a continuing rebellion.

The play ends with Abelard and Heloise meeting again. He will speak only of God, of how earthly love must be sublimated into aspiring after the ideal. Heloise, however, maintains her right to love, and calls on Abelard to come back to her. But, each unable to convince the other, they once more pass out of each other's life. Abelard, whose major writings had been labeled heretical, remains resigned. Heloise, outwardly docile, is unable to transform her rebellion into action. Isolated and trapped in medieval society, she remains nonetheless a figure that foreshadows the future.

—DIANNE FEELEY

Books

Marxist Essays in American History. Edited by Robert Himmel. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1970. 128 pp. (large format) \$2.45.

Marxist Essays in American History is a remarkable set of writings because it has withstood the test of time. The *Essays*, first published in 1965 and reissued last year, are inspirational in that they arm the radicalizing youth of today with a revolutionary understanding of America's past.

These essays appeared over the last 35 years in the *International Socialist Review* and its predecessors, *New International* and *Fourth International*. They lay bare the international setting that gave rise to North American capitalism; the conquest and destruction of Native American societies; the enslavement of the Africans; the nature of the first American revolution and how its partial completion made the second American revolution (the Civil War) inevitable; the struggle of women for the right to vote; the struggle of Africans against slavery in the U. S. and elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere; and the rise of U. S. imperialism.

While all of these essays are very good, I would like to single out one for special mention: "Revolution and the Negro" by J. R. Johnson, which first appeared in the December 1939 edition of the *New International*.

In brilliant strokes, Johnson describes how the first successful slave rebellion in history, the Haitian Revolution, issued forth from the French Revolution and deeply affected the struggles of the emerging bourgeoisie. The irony is that in the course of the struggle to uproot French feudalism, the French bourgeoisie, whose wealth was accumulated through the slave trade and off the slave plantations, was inexorably led to support the slave rebellion in San Domingo (Haiti).

While the French were fighting all of feudal Europe and conservative England in the years from 1793-98, the half-million African slaves, under the command of Toussaint L'Ouverture, took on and routed a British invasion force of 100,000 men, rendering the British powerless in their effort to crush republican France. This invasion force gives some indication of the importance the British attached to the sugar-producing island.

However, the French also had designs on the island. When the revolutionary government in France fell and a reactionary regime led by Napoleon Bonaparte came to power, a French invasion force of 50,000 men was sent to re-enslave the Africans. But the Africans had grown accustomed to liberty, fraternity and equality. Besides, they had an independent army, tempered and battle-hardened under an all-Black command. So the struggle beginning in 1802 drew to its logical conclusion: a war for independence, finalized on December 31, 1804.

The Haitian Revolution not only "helped to protect the French Revolution but initiated great revolutions in its own right. When the Latin-American revolutionaries saw that half a million slaves could fight and win, they recognized the reality of their own desire for independence. Bolivar, broken and ill, went to Haiti. The Haitians nursed him back to health and gave him money and arms with which he sailed to the mainland. He was defeated, went back to Haiti, was once more welcomed and assisted. And it was from Haiti that he sailed to start the final campaign, which ended in the independence of the five states" (Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Colombia).

During another cycle of bourgeois democratic revolutions in 1848, the French government officially abolished slavery in its colonies. Slave rebellions and the threat of them had already led to the de facto abolition of slavery.

It was during yet another cycle of bourgeois democratic struggles that the four-year Civil War in the United States occurred. In the face of the reluctance of Lincoln, the 200,000 African-Americans in uniform were decisive in defending the democratic gains of 1776 and in extending those gains to the abolition of slavery from North American soil.

So goes the role of Africans in consummating the bourgeois democratic revolution.

Johnson then points out that this is only a preview of the role that Africans in Africa, North America and the Caribbean will play in the world socialist revolution. Because Africans and African-Americans are much more integral to the productive apparatus of capitalism today than they were in the nineteenth century, their work "will far surpass the work of that San Domingo half million . . . the millions of Negroes will raise their heads, rise up from their knees, and write some of the most massive and brilliant chapters in the history of revolutionary socialism."

—DERRICK MORRISON

Firsthand report by Juan Mari Bras on the Puerto Rican independence fight

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—"The government has tried to put the people to panic. But all of the rallies and demonstrations after March 11 demonstrate that the people are alert." So affirmed Juan Mari Bras, secretary-general of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico, MPI), in a March 19 interview with *The Militant*.

Mari Bras, in New York to relate the most recent attacks on the independence movement in Puerto Rico, talked at length about the March 11 events at the University of Puerto Rico and forthcoming activities of MPI.

He picked up the March 21 *Claridad*, weekly organ of MPI, and pointed to the pictures of armed ROTC cadets and police on the Rio Piedras campus of UPR. Mari Bras said the pictures gave the lie to the government's claim that the police initially entered the campus unarmed and that the cadets had no weapons.

The police invasion grew out of an attack by ROTC cadets on pro-independence students in the campus cafeteria. The subsequent clash left two police and a ROTC cadet dead, with hundreds wounded.

Severe limitations had been placed on ROTC ever since last spring when the majority of students voted for the removal of the program. The administration—obviously concerned about the needs of U. S. imperialism—did not consider the vote binding, but moved to restrict all ROTC functions to the military building. Thus, there were no marches, drills, or any other manifestation of training on the Rio Piedras campus. And according to Mari Bras, there are no more than 100 cadets out of a campus population of 26,000. At other UPR campuses on the island, the struggle is

just beginning for the removal of ROTC.

The campaign against ROTC is closely tied to the struggle against the draft. Last Sept. 23, over a thousand draft cards were publicly burned. This grew out of prior mass antidraft mobilizations organized by MPI and other pro-independence organizations. Just nine months before the burning, Edwin Feliciano Grafals, an MPI activist whose case of draft refusal was the first to come to court, was given a reduced sentence of one hour in prison by a Puerto Rican federal judge sympathetic to the independence movement. Since then, says Mari Bras, "Not one Puerto Rican youngster has been brought to court for refusing the draft!"

Mari Bras put special emphasis on the upcoming May Day celebration, part of what MPI proclaims as the "Year of the organization of workers." This event is being organized by MPI through a united-front formation called the Movimiento Accion Sindical (Trade Union Action Movement, MAS). MPI has begun to organize workers—inside and outside the trade unions—into the independence movement.

In respect to the island of Culebra, where the U. S. Navy uses one-third of the land for target practice by its ships and planes, Mari Bras said, "MPI has an active brigade organizing the people there." This is in preparation for the June naval maneuvers. During Navy maneuvers last January, pro-independence forces conducted demonstrations in the target zone. This had a very dampening effect on naval operations. The Culebrans are demanding the expulsion of all operations. The coupling of this demand to the movement for independence has put the Navy on the defensive.

Right now Mari Bras is trying to



Photo from *Claridad*

Cops attack Rio Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico March 11.

raise funds for the students arrested on March 11. Contributions can be sent to: Casa Puerto Rico, 106 E. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10003.

In addition to the students arrested and beaten on March 11, an ominous incident occurred when police and undercover agents brutally assaulted a Puerto Rican lawyer who had come to the police station to try and help the students.

The lawyer, Roberto Jose Maldonado, was told of students being beaten by the police. As he related in an interview in *Claridad*, "I went in person to the place where I witnessed students being beaten with sticks, pipes and

switches. Their screams could be heard in the distance."

When he asked about the students, he was told to leave. Upon his refusal to do so, Maldonado was set upon by police and undercover agents. He doesn't know how long the beating lasted because he was knocked unconscious at one point. But he does remember groups of police arguing over whether to kill him right then and there.

As a result of the beating, Maldonado is temporarily paralyzed in both legs and has dizzy spells. He is going to bring charges against the police, and a group of lawyers are demanding that the bar investigate the assault.

Struggle of Argentine workers

Repression of protests during a one-day general strike in Córdoba, Argentina, March 12 touched off a new explosion in the industrial city which in May 1969 was the scene of a massive workers uprising. The first Córdoba rebellion was the high point of popular unrest that led ultimately to the removal on June 9, 1970, of General Juan Onganía, who had been designated president by the military.

The recent social explosion in this city induced the military to remove Onganía's successor, General Levingston, after only nine months in office. The third military dictator in a period of one year, General Alejandro Agustín Lanusse, moved quickly to try to conciliate the restive Argentine masses. On assuming governmental power March 23, the junta headed by Lanusse ended the state of emergency in Córdoba proclaimed by the Levingston regime and abolished the 19-percent wage-increase ceiling set by Levingston.

The ousted regime's attempt to impose wage controls despite a galloping inflation (20 percent last year and 10 percent for the first two months of 1971) was apparently one of the primary causes of the Córdoba upsurge. But the political incompetence of the military government seems to have been a strong contributing factor.

The April 3 *New York Times* reported that the Lanusse government

has also moved to legalize the activity of political parties, for the first time since 1966. It was not clear, however, whether this decree would include the legalization of left-wing parties.

The uprising leading to the coup started March 9 when trade unions began preparations for a one-day general strike protesting the appointment of a hated reactionary, José Camilo Uriburu, as commissioner of the city of Córdoba. Other issues of the general strike included demands for general wage increases and support for the struggle of civil service workers in the province.

On March 10, the Unión Industrial (Manufacturers' Union) sent a telegram to Levingston appealing to the government to "protect private property" and warning that occupations of factories and stores during the strike could not be tolerated.

Levingston immediately decreed a 15-percent wage rise for civil service workers in the province and at the same time stated that he would use local security forces and, if necessary, the armed forces to quell any "subversive actions and violence."

"As was to be expected," reported the March 16-22 Buenos Aires weekly *Panorama*, "the threat from the central government did not dissuade the rebellious workers. Thus, at 10:00 in the morning of March 12, while the Córdoba police and federal forces stationed themselves along the central

streets . . . more than 130 factories, shops, and big business establishments were occupied by the workers. An unusual development was that public administration employees also blockaded themselves in their offices."

In the suburb of Córdoba called Ferreyra, where the FIAT auto assembly complex is located, an 18-year-old worker, Adolfo Cepeda, was shot to death when the repressive forces stormed barricades erected by the protesters. Several other workers were wounded.

"The death of the young worker," reported *Panorama*, "angered the leaders of SITRAC and SITRAM [unions with a young, independent, left leadership]. Thus, at 3:30 Friday afternoon, as the workers of the second shift at the Grandes Motores Diesel and Concord factories, belonging to the FIAT complex, hurried to work, the activists of these unions stopped them at the gates to inform them of the death of Cepeda and the police attack. The activists did not have to resort to lengthy arguments to keep the workers from going in. By acclamation, after a brief assembly, the majority of workers decided to continue the strike, while the angriest among them joined the activists who built barricades, burned a diesel locomotive and a railway car, and set fire to a half-wrecked truck and hundreds of trees and posts."

On Saturday afternoon, 600 delegates of the Córdoba regional council of the CGT (General Confederation of Labor) met and voted to issue a call for new general strikes March 15 and 17.

Reports in the international press indicate that renewed attempts to suppress the workers movement throughout the week of March 15-19 ignited a massive struggle. An estimated \$4-million worth of property was destroyed in violent clashes between the repressive forces and the protesters. The March 17 issue of the Paris weekly *Le Monde* reported that 60 persons were wounded, 10 of whom were shot, 300 persons were arrested, 50 cars were burned, six banks were attacked with Molotov cocktails, and 50 stores were looted.

At the beginning of April, it was not clear whether formation of the new government had halted the fissuring of the armed forces that produced a climate of rumors of coups and countercoups in the period leading up to the overthrow of Levingston. It seemed likely, however, that after four years of ruling through the military, the bourgeoisie was anxious to return to some kind of parliamentary system where their debates over strategy would not threaten to generate armed conflicts between opposing factions of the repressive forces.

Calendar

AMHERST, MASS.

COMMUNITY RADIO WORKSHOP: A radical analysis of current issues. Every Friday night from 7:30-8:30 p.m. on **WFCR-FM, 88.5**. WFCR can be heard in nearly all of western New England and eastern New York State. Also on **WMUA-FM, 91.1**, on Tuesdays from 6:30-7:30 p.m.

BOSTON

DEFEND ANGELA DAVIS! Speakers: Magora Kennedy, Greater Boston Committee to Free Angela Davis, Black and Third World Women's Alliance; Maryanne Weathers, Greater Boston Committee to Free Angela Davis and Black and Third World Women's Alliance. Fri., April 16, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 536-6981.

CLASSES ON MARXIST THEORY: Tufts University on Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m. at Eaton 201. Harvard University on Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. at Harvard 102. Classes will run through the end of April and will feature Marxist economics, the Cuban revolution, Black nationalism, feminism, etc. For further information, call 536-6981.

CAIRO, ILL.

STUDENT MOBILIZATION TO HELP SAVE CAIRO CONFERENCE. To begin Fri., April 16 at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale, to end Sat., April 17 in Cairo. Registration on Friday, 9 a.m. at the Third World Record Shop, 222 N. Washington, Carbondale, Ill. For more information, write Cairo United Front, P.O. Box 544, Cairo, Ill. 62914. Call (618) 734-0376 by day, (618) 734-0622 at night.

CLEVELAND

WHICH WAY FOR CLEVELAND? TWO VIEWS. Speakers: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; Jean Murrell Capers, an independent candidate for mayor. Fri., April 16, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Debs Hall Forum. For further information, call 391-5553.

NEW YORK

THE MASSACRE AT MYLAI AND THE CALLEY TRIAL. Speaker: Lucian K. Truscott, staff writer for the Village Voice and observer at the Calley trial. Fri., April 16, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.). Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

COME RAP AND LISTEN. Tapes and discussion every Thursday at 7 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (Open to Third World people only.) Thurs., April 15: The Transitional Program for Black Liberation—a tape by Derrick Morrison. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance Tape Library. For further information, call Pam Newman at WA5-4316.

RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE AMERICAN WORKER. Discussion leaders: Bruce Henderson and Jeff Higgins. Tues., April 20, 7:30 p.m. International Lounge (University Commons area), U of California at Riverside. Ausp. Revolutionary Socialist Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO

HOW TO END THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: STRATEGY FOR THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. Panel discussion including Doug Dowd, James Lafferty, others. Fri., April 16, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

SEATTLE

THE POLITICS OF KARATE. Speaker: Marilyn Martin, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., April 16, 8 p.m. 5257 University Way, N.E. Donation: \$1, students and unemployed 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

THE CRISIS OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND THE PERSPECTIVE FOR SOCIALISM. Speaker: Linda Jenness, 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia. Fri., April 16, 8 p.m. Carl Skoglund Hall, 1 University Ave., N.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

...antiwar

Continued from page 11

road of mass action against the war, they find themselves cut off from the mass movement and rapidly fall into a decline marked by internal divisions and factionalism.

Does this mean, as the People's Coalition has charged, that the perspective of mass action against the war excludes relating the war to other issues and movements? Not at all. One need only point to the success of the United Women's Contingent, the Third World Task Force, the Gay Task Force, and the involvement of labor officials in building the April 24 demonstrations to show that it is precisely through the perspective of independent mass actions against the war that the different movements and social forces can be united around fighting against the war, which affects all of them.

It is such a perspective that can best mobilize the American people against this war and can do the most to defeat Nixon and his plans for an indefinite continuation of the slaughter in Indochina.

...gay

Continued from page 15

—looking for love where there can be no love and looking for sexual satisfaction where there can be no lasting satisfaction."

The purpose of such statements is to make gays feel inferior and sick. If a book today contained statements to the effect that "Black people are promiscuous by nature," no major publishing house would dare touch it and its author would justly be branded a racist.

Psychological oppression

The antihomosexual prejudices of society and the closet existence they produce lead to a real sexual deprivation for gay people. Kinsey's studies indicate that homosexuals find sexual outlets less frequently on the average than heterosexuals. Many are driven into public lavatories and syndicate-controlled bars and baths in order to overcome their isolation. In the exploitative bars and baths, the gay clientele is often at the mercy of precarious "understandings" between the owners and the police over which they themselves have no control.

The pervasiveness of antihomosexual attitudes in our society forces gay people through unbearable anguish. Not only have we been alienated from each other, but we have been alienated from ourselves. We learned to hate ourselves. We learned to hate in ourselves feelings of affection and tenderness that are encouraged in heterosexuals. We learned to hate other gay people. We sat silent while our friends told "queer" jokes, and we tried to forget that they were talking about us. We accommodated ourselves—though not without constant fear of being discovered—to the schizoid lives we were forced to lead. We became adept at concealing our identity. By doing so, we were only helping to reinforce the very social norms that oppress us.

The gay liberation movement is determined to end this oppression. Today, for the first time, gay people are discovering that gay is proud. That is the first step toward liberation. And in the course of this struggle, we will aim at the heart of the sex-repressive institutions of this society. For what is needed is not to adapt homosexuals to their environment—or heterosexuals either, for that matter—but to change the world.

...SMC

Continued from page 13

ported that the Indochinese women encouraged massive demonstrations in the streets on the part of all those who oppose the war.

The conference broke down into seven workshops: Third World, Women, High School and Junior High School, Campus, Labor, GIs, and Ecology. At each of these, ideas and plans were discussed for building contingents in the demonstration through massive publicity campaigns for the next several weeks.

It was projected that one million April 24 leaflets would be distributed in the Northern California region. When the workshops reported back to the plenary session, it became even more evident that the demonstration will involve more Third World people, women, and workers than ever before. As Women United for April 24 reported, "We have the opportunity to involve over half this country in the demonstration—women."

After an organizational report by the regional SMC staff, people signed up as monitors and took back materials, ideas and enthusiasm for building the SMC, and the conviction that the April 24 demonstrations could well be the largest in the history of the antiwar movement.

This first Northern California SMC conference set the stage for the expansion of the SMC on the entire West Coast.

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Greg Nickel, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 267-8264.

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BLACK WORKING CLASS HISTORY & STRUGGLES: Special Issue of Radical America (Vol. V, #2). Contents include articles, documents from the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (Detroit); Hal Baron on "The Demand for Black Labor: Political Economy of Racism" since the Civil War; Robert Starobin on "Racism & the American Experience." 120 pp, illustrated, \$1. RA subscription \$5/year 1237 Spaight St., Madison, Wis. 53703.

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THE MILITANT

Nixon pledges continued war

By DICK ROBERTS

In the face of the intense explosion of antiwar sentiment caused by the Laos debacle and the Mylai court-martial, President Nixon cynically portrayed the war policies of his administration as a success in the national TV address Wednesday night, April 7.

He had the audacity to insist that the U.S.-Saigon attack on Laos achieved its aims. He maintained that it proved that "Vietnamization is a success," and thus justified continuing the policy of indefinite U.S. military support of the Saigon regime, in order

to allow the "South Vietnamese to develop a capacity to combat Communist aggression."

The bellicose declaration means nothing less than prolonging the slaughter until the Indochinese resistance is crushed on the battlefields of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

President Nixon overreached himself in cynicism when he called this bloody pursuit of military victory, which has seen the U.S. support hated dictatorships in Saigon for over a decade and the murder of hundreds of thousands of Indochinese civilians — "giving the South Vietnamese a reasonable chance to survive as a free people."

When millions of Americans are beginning to question deeply the whole murderous Washington strategy of massive aerial bombardment, herbicidal destruction of the countryside, and displacement of millions of people as refugees, not one single word crossed Nixon's lips about the heightened air attacks that he has continuously ordered in the past two years.

Nixon contemptuously passed over the massive casualties of the Saigon army invaders of Laos and said nothing whatsoever about the Laotian victims slaughtered in the six-week attack.

All that the President could come up with was the promise of a slight increase in the rate of troop withdrawals. The new schedule Nixon forecast would still leave 184,000 U.S. troops in South Vietnam at the end of the year — a force completely sufficient to sus-

tain the level of bloodshed that has prevailed in the war this year.

But further patience from the American people cannot be so easily won at this point. The Laos defeat and the Mylai court-martial have combined to bring an overwhelming hatred for the war to a new level.

For the first time in the history of this country, many are asking themselves: *Are the top leaders of the government in Washington "war criminals"?* A panel of 21 representatives has announced plans to hold Congressional hearings into this question. The move was editorially supported by the Long Island newspaper *Newsday*.

Senator Mark Hatfield is entering 900 pages of the testimony of the Detroit "Winter Soldier" hearings of antiwar Vietnam veterans into the *Congressional Record*.

The sentiment of most of those who rejected the Calley court-martial verdict was revealed by a Gallup Poll April 3. This found that 69 percent felt "Calley is being made a scapegoat for the actions of others above him." (See editorial, page 6.)

The qualitative leap in antiwar sentiment has begun to crack even the ultraconservative, prowar wing of the Democratic Party. John J. Flynt, a Georgia representative who shifted to opposing the war in the House, declared: "My conscience will not let me vote to continue to conscript young Americans to fight a war which most Americans do not want and a war

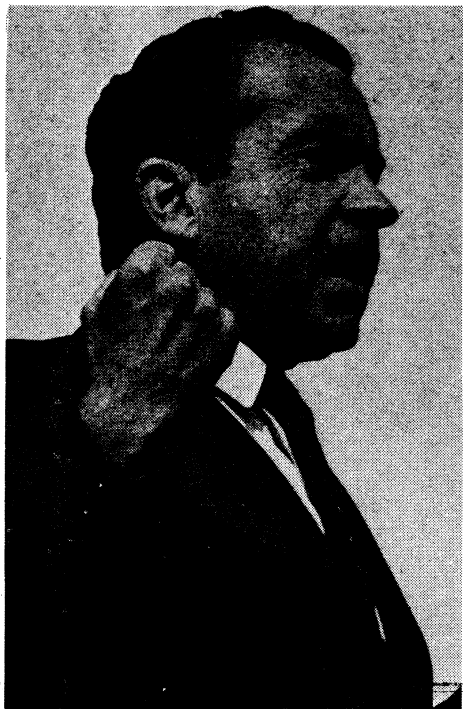
which the United States government apparently lacks the courage to either win or stop."

In liberal sectors, previous opposition to the war has been sharply intensified. For example, Gov. John J. Gilligan of Ohio even declared "... the overriding message in the Calley trial is clear. If we are to heal the wounds which beset the American people, we must end our involvement in the war in Southeast Asia and bring our boys home now."

Yet the actual legislative response of the U.S. Congress falls far short of answering the urgent need for an immediate end to the war. The bills that have been proposed do nothing more than either call upon Congress or the president to set some future date for withdrawing troops — and most of the dates are the end of 1972 or later — some 20 months from now at a minimum.

A resolution proposed by Manhattan Democrat William F. Ryan, for the withdrawal of U.S. forces by the end of this year, still nine months away, could not even get the 20 supporters in the House needed for a recorded vote.

Nixon's belligerent speech, which was partially designed to stem the momentum building for the April 24 demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco, can only have the opposite effect. It clearly reinforces the necessity of a massive visible demonstration of support for the demand of immediate withdrawal.



Struggle continues in East Bengal

By TONY THOMAS

APRIL 7 — Despite the massacre of thousands of East Bengali men, women and children, despite Pakistani victories in Dacca and other Bengali cities, the independence struggle of the Bengali people continues.

Despite an official news blockade, it is clear the Pakistani rulers are using the same methods employed by counterrevolutionary forces in Jordan, Indonesia and Vietnam — mass murder.

Simon Dring, a reporter from the *London Daily Telegraph* who avoided being expelled along with the other foreign correspondents, reported on the carnage in Dacca: "After twenty-four hours of shelling ... as many as 7,000 people are dead, large areas of the city have been leveled. The extent of death and destruction in Dacca was obvious: students dead in their beds, butchers in the markets killed behind their stalls, women and children burned to death in their houses, Pakistanis of Hindu religion shot en masse, bazaars and shopping areas razed by fire. ...

"At midday Friday, again without warning, columns of troops poured into the old section of the city where more than a million people live. ...

"For the next 11 hours they proceeded to systematically devastate large areas of the 'Old Town'. ... 'They suddenly appeared at the end of the street,' said one old man, 'then they drove down it firing into all the houses.'

"The lead unit was followed by soldiers carrying cans of gasoline. Those who tried to escape were shot. Those who stayed were burned alive. ... Men, women and children died."

The April 7 *New York Times* carried a dispatch from Calcutta interviewing foreign evacuees from Chittagong, East Bengal's major port.

"'Nothing is calm and nothing has come back to normal,' said Mr. Martinussen, a Danish student. 'They systematically burned down the districts of the poor people, apparently because they felt they couldn't search them thoroughly. They seemed to be enjoying killing and destroying everything. Many Bengalis have been killed. In the river four days ago, you could count 400 bodies floating in one area.'"

Despite these murders, the struggle continues. While Bengalis have lost Dacca and the other main cities, and Sheik Mujibur Rahman has been reported captured, the Bengalis maintain control over Jessore — where they have nearly 1,000 government troops surrounded — and have a firm base in the rural areas. The masses of Bengalis have continued the struggle.

Bourgeois commentators, as well as supporters of Bangla Desh (the Bengali Nation) report that despite military domination of the cities, the overwhelming majority of the Bengalis are hostile to the West Pakistanis, and that fighting continues in the rural areas.

An April 1 *New York Times* dispatch from Calcutta describes the mobilization of the rural masses: "Workers dig tunnels under the main roads at night so that they will collapse when soldiers in trucks move down the road. Children in trees and women hidden along the roadways serve as lookouts and spies. Girls whittle pointed sticks for pits where soldiers might walk. Young men practice ambushes,

in many cases with clubs, stones and bows and arrows.

"The West Pakistani soldiers in East Pakistan are strangers and tactics against them appear to involve mainly surrounding them in their garrisons and supply centers, cutting off outside supply lines, encouraging soldiers to use up their ammunition and then assaulting them with overwhelming numbers of lightly armed men."

The *Times* dispatch continues: "The terrain in the Ganges delta area [which makes up much of East Bengal] is like that of the Mekong delta in South Vietnam. In both places, movement of trucks and other equipment is restricted in the wet season to a few main roads and waterways. The Americans have thousands of helicopters in Vietnam, the West Pakistanis have only a few in East Pakistan."

Support in the neighboring Indian province of West Bengal for the struggle in East Bengal appears to be nearly unanimous. Several groups of volunteers have been organized to take supplies of food, medicine and some ammunition across the borders into East Bengal. The Indian government has attempted to order the border guards to turn back West Bengali supporters of the independence struggle, though Indian officials quoted by the April 5 *New York Times* state that mass pressure makes enforcement of these measures difficult.

The Indian bourgeoisie, with its own national problems, including one in West Bengal, is in no hurry to help the people of East Bengal. As the April 7 *New York Times* commented, "an independent Pakistan, especially one born out of turmoil and mass death, could introduce a new measure

of instability into sensitive areas of Northeastern India. ... proposals for a reunited and independent Bengali nation through the merger of East Pakistan and the Indian state of West Bengal would be seen ... as raising the specter of India's disintegration."



West Pakistan tank in Dacca