

THE MILITANT

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

Answer Nixon's bombing

Continue protests U.S. Out Now!



The following statement was issued April 18 by Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

Nixon's order to launch intensive B-52 bombing attacks on Hanoi and Haiphong is a horrifying act of barbarity. It is in direct defiance of the will of the majority of the American people and world public opinion. It clearly shows that despite all of his promises Nixon intends to continue using the awesome might of U.S. military forces in support of the capitalist-landlord regime in Saigon as long as he can get away with it.

Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird today admitted that the administration is considering mining and blockading the harbor of Haiphong. Such a step would pose the threat of all-out war with China and the Soviet Union and the possibility of nuclear war.

Nixon's new escalation urgently requires that all organizations and individuals opposed to the war join together to build the most massive protest actions possible, continuing the momentum of the April 22 demonstrations. Already the voice of protest is

being heard in every city and town across the country. Mass meetings, marches, and strikes are taking place on the campuses. Opposition is being expressed by GIs on the battlefields in Vietnam and on military bases throughout the world, and from sailors on U.S. ships.

It is particularly significant that there is a new resurgence of the antiwar movement on an international scale. All over Europe and in the Middle East, Japan, India, Canada, and Bangladesh, antiwar forces are expressing their opposition.

Nixon and his henchmen tell us that the greatest mobilization of U.S. air and naval power since the war began is necessary to defend South Vietnam from the "invading enemy."

Who is this "enemy"?

Who are these people being ripped apart by the 1,000-pound U.S. bombs, whose homes and fields are being burned and flattened, whose children are being crippled and disfigured by this war that never stops?

They are not our enemy. Have the Vietnamese attacked our country or bombed our cities? Was it the Vietnamese who froze our

wages? Is it the Vietnamese who deny equal rights to women in this country, or who brutalize and fill the prisons with Black and Brown people?

No! Our enemy is in Washington, and it pours our tax money and sends our sons into a war that the American people have disowned.

The Vietnamese, north and south, are one people. A people cannot invade its own country. The division of Vietnam was not done by the Vietnamese themselves but by the big powers—at a negotiating table in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1954. It was formed to prevent the southern section of that country from choosing the road of socialism. The U.S. government itself admitted in the Pentagon papers—which they tried to keep secret from the American people—that "South Vietnam is essentially the creation of the United States."

Nixon's escalation of the war in response to the struggle of the Vietnamese liberation fighters has proven precisely what the gov-

Nat'l emergency student conference

A National Emergency Student Antiwar Conference will be held at 10 a.m. Sunday, April 23 in New York City at New York University's Eisner Lubin Hall. The Conference will discuss plans for national coordination of student strike activities and the building of further protests against Nixon's new escalation of the war.

The Student Mobilization Committee national office is serving as a national strike communications center. For information, call: (212) 741-1960.

ernment won't admit; that the Vietnam conflict is a civil war in which popular sympathy rests with the side of the liberation forces. Nixon's new bombing raids prove that Washington is unable to count on the Saigon army to crush those who are fighting against foreign domination and for land reform and a better way of life. It exposes the absurdity of Nixon's "Vietnamization" scheme.

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

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

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1040 BLUES: Now that you've filed your tax form you'll be happy to know that in 1971 more than one hundred Americans with incomes from \$200,000 to over \$1-million paid no U. S. income taxes.

AN OSCAR FOR THE TRAMP: A special award has been given to Charlie Chaplin 20 years after he was banned from this country. The award and the brief visit by Chaplin coincide with a long-awaited and most-welcome Chaplin film revival.

A front-page article in the Sept. 29, 1952, *Militant* protested the Immigration Department's denial of a reentry permit to Chaplin, a British citizen who had lived in the United States for 42 years. The article reminds one of the extreme right-wing atmosphere that prevailed in the early fifties.

"A spokesman for (Attorney General) McGranery . . . told reporters that the accusation against Chaplin would be advocating overthrow of the government, and added, 'in my opinion we have a pretty good case.'"



"Chaplin, one of the few geniuses that the film industry has produced, has long been a target of bigots and witch hunters. . . . His last film shown in this country, 'Monsieur Verdoux,' angered the Roman Catholic hierarchy, whose campaign against it forced its withdrawal from showing in the U. S.

"In addition to the social satire in most of his films, Chaplin was among those artists who hailed the Russian Revolution in its early days under Lenin and Trotsky. Since then he has from time to time been suspected of vague sympathy with liberal movements and has expressed antiwar sentiments. Thus in 1947 he told the House Un-American Activities witch hunters: 'I am not a Communist. I am a peace-monger.'"

SOLEDAD BROTHERS: John Cluchette and Fleeta Drumgo were slapped and taunted by San Quentin guards when they were returned to prison hours after the not-guilty verdict was read at their trial. They are doing time on previous convictions. Later, the Adult Authority denied Cluchette an April parole hearing, claiming that the calendar was "full." Meanwhile, Cluchette must remain in the Adjustment Center, where he is subject to the whims of guards. The delay in paroling Cluchette may be related to prison officials' fear about allowing witnesses of the murder of George Jackson to leave prison.

McGOVERN UNMASKED: Senator George McGovern, Democratic presidential contender, has repeatedly claimed to have a consistent record of opposition to the war in Southeast Asia. But here's what he said in an interview in the Feb. 28, 1965, *New York Times*:

"I want to make three points clear. First, I am against a United States withdrawal from South Vietnam until such time as we can negotiate a settlement that is acceptable and that provides some reasonable assurance for the safety of the people who have been fighting with us in South Vietnam.

"Second, I think President Johnson has conducted the military effort in South Vietnam with great restraint and great responsibility.

"Third, I support the strafing ordered by President Johnson (of North Vietnamese targets above the 17th Parallel Demilitarized zone) because I agree when our forces are attacked and our interests are under fire, we have to respond with an appropriate retaliation."

DON'T NEED FACULTY ADVISOR: A Los Angeles Superior Court judge has ruled that a student group may not be denied official recognition for lack of a faculty advisor. The decision came in a case brought against LA Trade Technical College by Nan Beltram and Herbert Pryor of Students for a Democratic Society. In February, the same judge overruled the suspension of the pair for violating leafletting regulations.

HIGH SCHOOL RIGHTS: A high school rights fight is underway at Belmont High in Belmont, Mass. The administration had removed two questions from the CHOICE '72 ballot (abortion law repeal and civil rights for homosexuals) and women who were interested in organizing an abortion law repeal committee were denied the rights of a group applying for recognition.

An ad hoc high school rights committee has been formed and is receiving broad support. More students are getting involved as it becomes clearer that these actions represent a danger to the rights of all students.

RANK AND FILE ACTION IN D.C.: Three locals of the American Federation of Government Employees have been placed in trusteeship for refusing to rescind past antiwar resolutions, including support for the April 24, 1971, march on Washington. This action by AFGE President John F. Griner was protested April 18 by the more than 100 members of the union who picketed its national offices. Many were young, half were Black.

The three locals are 650, the Patent Office; 1826, the Library of Congress; and 2794, the U. S. Commission for Civil Rights.

The locals issued a statement, which said in part, "We feel very strongly about this war. We think it is a major mistake. We think it should be brought to an end immediately. But we also have other strong views that we want to express, and no president, be it John F. Griner or Richard M. Nixon, will stop us from speaking our individual and our collective minds."

NEW BOOK: *The American Sisterhood: Writings of the Feminist Movement from Colonial Times to the Present*, edited by Wendy Martin, has just been published. Included in this extensive anthology are two articles that originally appeared in *The Militant*: "Why Women's Liberation is Important to Black Women" by Maxine Williams, from our July 3, 1970, issue, and "Take a Good Look at Our Problems" by Pamela Newman, from our Oct. 30, 1970, issue.

FINGER OF SUSPICION POINTS TO COPS: Some months ago in Los Angeles, a member of the Liberation Union (formerly Friends of the Panthers) found a freshly killed animal's head attached to her front door, its eyes bulging, tongue protruding grotesquely, and dripping blood (see photo). The attached message was ostensibly a threat by Maoists against Trotskyists.



The Liberation Union issued a statement detailing a whole series of similar occurrences. Nine groups, including the Socialist Workers and Communist parties and the Black Workers Congress, joined the Liberation Union in issuing a statement that said these "acts of harassment and intimidation . . . have all the earmarks of police work . . . the attempts by enemies of the movement to incite one group against the other presents every organization of the left with both the need and the opportunity to clarify its stand on the question of the use of force or threats of force within the movement. A strong and unanimous repudiation of such tactics would expose the would-be feud-makers for what they are: Provocateurs whose actions aid the class enemy."

HERE'S TO YOUR HEALTH: The Public Interest Law Center in Berkeley, Calif., has completed a study on "The Economics of Growing Old." The study shows that many old people diagnosed as senile are actually "suffering from malnutrition." Ray Bourhis of the Law Center says, "Old people are the fastest-growing poverty group in the nation. Many generally don't get much of an allocation for rent, so they just have a room and no apartment with kitchen facilities" and "are unable to cook for themselves" due to their poor physical condition.

—JOEL BRITTON

Attack on labor by bosses, gov't, central issue for UAW convention

By FRANK LOVELL

The Twenty-third Constitutional Convention of the United Auto Workers (April 23-28) convenes at a time of skyrocketing prices, high unemployment, and mounting government attacks against American workers. It is a time of economic and social crisis in this country and throughout the Western world.

Multinational corporations such as General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler are extending their operations, seeking to reap profits in the world market by producing where labor costs are cheapest. They are in direct competition with foreign producers in all major capitalist countries—England, France, Italy, West Germany, and Japan.

A new economic relationship among nations has developed, aggravated by the giant corporations' constant search for greater profits. This new relationship is reflected in the fact that in 1971, for the first time in this century, the U.S. imported more goods than it exported; in the fact that the

Their immediate concern was the rising rate of unit labor costs in this country. They sought to reverse this by controlling wages. Holding down wages, they reasoned, was the key to the solution of their many other problems.

The leading representatives of finance capital had called for strict wage controls. Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur F. Burns was one of the foremost advocates, but nearly all economic advisors to government and business were urging wage controls as the sure cure for inflation. Chief among them were such advisors to former Democratic administrations as Walter Heller and Leon Keyserling. Both the Democratic and Republican parties supported the wage-freeze edict. Congress, with its Democratic majority, had prepared the necessary legislative basis for wage controls by enacting the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970.

The New Economic Policy has worked well for big business. Unit labor costs went down quickly, from

Real spendable earnings declined by 1.5 percent from 1965 to 1970, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The median weekly earnings of full-time wage and salary workers in manufacturing industries was only \$141 in May 1971, according to a U.S. government survey at that time. (This means half of those surveyed were earning less than \$141 weekly. Since May of last year some have taken wage cuts, others got small raises.)

Wages buy far less now than a year ago due to the price leap of many key consumer commodities. Food went up 18.5 percent in 1971, according to a comparison of listed supermarket prices at the beginning and end of the year. The Bureau of Labor Statistics found food prices up 11 percent for the year. Clothes, rents, utilities, transportation, and medicine also rose.

Unemployment

Unemployment went up too. At the end of 1971 there were 900,000 more workers on the unemployed rolls than when the year began—for a total of more than five million. The officially reported percentage of the work force that is unemployed has remained at about the same high rate for the past several months. Workers who have given up looking for a job, and are therefore not included in the unemployment count, were estimated at 775,000 for 1971 by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

It is clear from these statistics and from bitter experiences since last August that workers need a new economic policy of their own, not the policy of profits and plunder imposed upon them by the employers and the government.

Members of the UAW know that it is not easy to challenge the power of the multinational corporations, nor to change the government policies dictated by these corporations. The unfortunate experience of having UAW president Leonard Woodcock on the government Pay Board proved that it is not possible to "represent the interests of the workers better on the inside than from the outside." There is no way to make the policy of the employers serve the interests of the workers.

The Pay Board rejection of wage increases due UAW and aerospace workers last year under terms of their 1968 contracts proved that government boards are not impartial. The results of the UAW suit filed last Feb. 7 in U.S. District Court to recover this stolen money will prove further that one agency of the capitalist government is no more impartial than another in these matters.

The speed-up system of General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) at Lordstown, Atlanta, and Norwood, and in the assembly plants on the West Coast and throughout the GM empire, proves that the auto corporations have decided to tear up UAW contracts and disregard past practices in the grievance procedure. Ford and Chrysler can be expected to follow the lead of GM as usual.

The recent 22-day strike at the Lordstown, Ohio, GM plant proves that the new corporate production policy cannot be beat in one plant alone. The current strike at the Norwood, Ohio, plant will prove further that the auto corporations are geared for a showdown with the union over the issue of production standards.

The employers are casting aside the traditional ways of collective bargain-

ing. They are interested in questions that go beyond the bargaining table of a single industry, such as: How has dollar devaluation affected the world economy? How can U.S. industry become "competitive" in the world market? What changes are needed in the world division of labor to satisfy their lust for greater profits? These are questions that bear heavily upon union-management negotiations but cannot be resolved in those negotiations. They are taken up elsewhere as matters of government policy.

The government now intervenes directly in all collective bargaining—through the Pay Board and other agencies—to impose its policy in the interest of the employers and against the unions.

What were once considered purely economic issues, such as wages and working conditions, are now clearly political questions requiring political action by the unions.

The UAW convention will consider and vote upon a course of political action, but only for the general election in November. In this it will denounce Nixon and praise the Democratic Congress even though both are equally responsible for the current attack on the union movement and the standard of living of the working class.

This combined government-corporate attack can be successfully met only if the union movement rallies its own forces for independent political action. To do this means that the unions must first draft their own defense strategy and begin to rally their natural allies—Black people and other oppressed nationalities—around a program aimed at solving the most urgent problems of the vast majority.

The UAW Convention will of necessity consider—in one form or another—these urgent problems because they directly affect the lives of every one of the 1.5 million UAW members.

What are these problems facing the unions, the working class, the nation? They are: 1) *The war* still raging in Southeast Asia; 2) *Inflation*, still climbing here at home; 3) *Unemployment*. These are not new problems. But they are different now because they converge in a new way that reflects the deep crisis of the capitalist system on a world scale.

Action program

What can the UAW Convention do about this?

It can demand an end to the war in Vietnam, one of the immediate causes of inflation in this country.

It can demand full employment. It can discuss and develop a rounded program to meet all the needs of society today.

Such objectives are easy to state. Few thoughtful working men and women would disagree with them. But how can they be won?

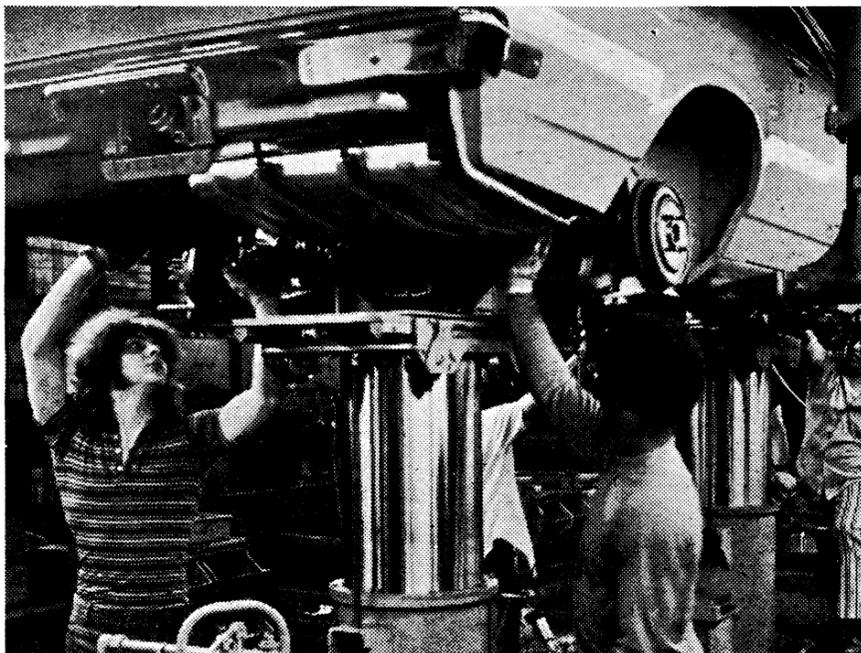
A start can be made along the following lines:

1) Officially call for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces and matériel from Indochina.

The UAW should not only urge its members to join demonstrations called by the antiwar movement but should also use its resources to help build these mass demonstrations by printing antiwar leaflets, financing antiwar ads in newspapers, and electing union organizers to serve on the staffs of antiwar organizations.

2) Support the right of every worker

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Assembly line at GM's Lordstown plant. GM's attitude toward UAW Local 1112 in recent strike there, like treatment it is now giving to striking UAW Local 674 at Norwood plant, shows new arrogance by employers as government backs business efforts "to become competitive."

dollar has been devalued; and in the still unresolved international monetary crisis.

This country's employers have sought to resolve the world economic crisis in their own way and to their own advantage through their "New Economic Policy," proclaimed by the president on Aug. 15, 1971.

This meant a three-month wage freeze for workers in the U.S., followed by government-imposed wage controls and accompanied by a crack-down on union working conditions. The purpose is to drive down the standard of living of the American worker in order to make American goods more competitive in the world market.

On the international scene, U.S. business interests seek to open new areas of trade, while the government continues the war in Vietnam and maintains military bases around the world in order to secure the investments of private capital. The \$80-billion annual military budget attests to the importance the government attaches to its military domination throughout the world.

The broad outline of the New Economic Policy was understood, and the need for it was agreed upon by all leading representatives of the employing class long before it was imposed.

an annual 3.8 percent rate of increase in the second quarter of 1971 (before the wage freeze) to only 1 percent in the third quarter (after the freeze).

While unit labor costs went down, the amount each worker produces continues to rise. Profits soared.

On Feb. 4, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that the 1971 fourth quarter profits of 464 corporations were up 25.3 percent from the same period in 1970. GM took in a three-month profit (after taxes) of \$542-million (\$1.9-billion for the year). The steel industry raked in \$121.5-million during the last three months of last year. Aircraft makers (the same ones that always claim to be on the brink of bankruptcy when they go to Washington for loans and subsidies) showed profits of \$49.24-million.

Nineteen leading department stores (while complaining about the price freeze in order to distract attention from the fact that they never stopped raising prices) got \$225.5-million.

Total profits for 1971 were estimated by the Commerce Department at \$47.4-billion, over \$6-billion more than in 1970 and the sharpest gain for any single year since 1965.

Wages down

Workers, meanwhile, have done poorly.

By DICK ROBERTS

APRIL 18—As U. S. bombers pounded the cities of Hanoi and Haiphong April 15-16, four ships of the Soviet Union were hit in the Haiphong harbor. This incident, which was described as "inadvertent and regrettable" by the U. S. State Department, contained within it the potential of triggering a world war and ultimately a nuclear holocaust.

The fact that it was deliberately treated in an offhand manner by the White House should not lead anyone to underestimate the real danger of this drastic escalation of the war.

Nixon is not only seeking to reestablish the precedent for continuous U. S. air attacks on all of North Vietnam, and at greater levels than during the 1965-1968 air war in the North. He is

Washington warmakers attempt to prevent the war from escalating to the point of bringing in major Soviet or Chinese military forces, to the point of generating antiwar sentiment that would create deep political problems at home as well as preclude the protection of other arenas of world investment, or to the point of threatening the alliances with other imperialist governments.

From the outset the U. S. imperialists have attempted to escalate the murderous war *within these limits*. This is what gives the escalation its step-by-step character. Each step probes the responses in Moscow and Peking and in the American and the international antiwar movements, as well as on the battlefield itself.

To this 1968 list must now be added the fact that Washington strategists are forced to weigh the discontent in the American armed forces. So deep-seated is the antiwar sentiment of the GIs

The major weight Washington gives to the response of Moscow and Peking when determining the war strategy is extensively documented in the Pentagon papers. Bundy, in the memorandum already quoted, addressed himself to this question:

"Mining the harbors [of Haiphong] would be much more serious. It would place Moscow in a particularly galling dilemma as to how to preserve the Soviet position and prestige in such a disadvantageous place. The Soviets might, but probably would not, force a confrontation in Southeast Asia. . . . China could be expected to seize upon the harbor-mining as the opportunity to reduce Soviet political influence in Hanoi. . . . If so, China might decide to intervene in the war with combat troops and air power, to which we would eventually have to respond by bombing Chinese airfields and perhaps other targets as well. Hanoi would tighten belts, refuse to talk, and persevere. . . . North Vietnam would of course be fully dependent for supplies on China's will, and Soviet influence in Hanoi would therefore be reduced. . . .

"Those are the likely costs and risks. . . . They are, we believe, both unacceptable and unnecessary." (*Ibid*, pp. 46-47, emphasis in the original.)

Thus the fear of going one step too far toward a world war with either Moscow or Peking was a primary consideration holding the imperialists back from mining the port of Haiphong in 1965-68. They correctly assessed the limits within which Moscow or Peking would permit them to devastate Southeast Asia.

As the Nixon administration once again probes the response to a U. S. attack on the port of Haiphong, it is important to note the changes that have taken place in Washington's thinking since the Bundy memorandum was written, five years ago.

Now it is apparently the response in Peking that Washington takes more for granted and the one in Moscow that is less certain. *New York Times* Washington bureau chief Max Frankel wrote on April 17: "Officials here believe that the Chinese, to the obvious annoyance of the North Vietnamese, tried to warn them against a frontal assault during Mr. Nixon's year of political vulnerability. The Russians' apparent unwillingness to give similar advice has been particularly nettling to him, it is said."

Times correspondent Tillman Durdin wrote from Hongkong on April 17 that Chou En-lai's "comment on the raids was relatively low key in comparison with statements from Peking when the United States first attacked these targets during the Johnson Administration."

It was undoubtedly no less reassuring to Washington that when Moscow complained about the U. S. attack it *did not even cancel Nixon's trip to the Soviet Union*. Not too long ago the Moscow press railed at Peking for toasting Nixon while Washington rained death and destruction on Indochina. Today the bombing has been extended to Hanoi and Haiphong.

As the war strategists in Washington probe the reactions to their escalations, it should be evident that there is a dangerous margin of uncertainty in the whole operation. At what "flash point" will the ruling officials of Russia and China be forced to respond? How will they respond? No Pentagon analyst can give an accurate answer to this, and consequently every intensification of the war draws the world a step closer to that "error" which can result in nuclear conflagration.

Aid to Hanoi

Nixon publicly pretends that the new bombing attack on North Vietnam is a retaliation for the supposed escalation of Soviet military aid to Hanoi. The president even went so far as to condemn the Soviet Union for "interfering" in Vietnam—as though the United States hadn't been conducting its murderous military aggression against the Indochinese revolution for almost two decades.

The facts of the war are far different from Nixon's version. According to an AP dispatch in the April 13 *New York Times*, the total Soviet military aid to North Vietnam in 1971 was valued at only \$100-million. Even accepting the undoubtedly low figure of \$9-billion for the U. S. military expenditures in the Southeast Asia war in 1971, the Soviet figure is only *one ninetieth* of the U. S. figure.

Chinese military aid to Hanoi in 1971 was listed at the even lower figure of \$75-million.

These are shamefully low figures, and Nixon knows full well they are the main reason Washington is still able to conduct the war, contrary to his public assertions. Anything like an adequate missile defense system of North Vietnam would long ago have prevented the bombing; a Vietnamese bomber force would have hindered, if not stopped altogether, the allocation of U. S.

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Moscow, Peking response probed by U.S. bombing



probing the responses in Moscow and Peking to U. S. mining of the port of Haiphong, an escalation of the war that has long been considered in the Pentagon and one that would directly involve Soviet naval vessels. It is consequently inextricably linked to the danger of world war.

Although they pretend to be oblivious to the responses to their war moves, this country's rulers actually weigh every step of their escalation in terms of its global political and military ramifications. The entire war has been conducted within limits imposed by these considerations.

Main limits

These limits, as they were viewed by top-level U. S. war strategists in 1968, were spelled out in a secret memorandum later revealed in the Pentagon papers. The note was written on March 3, 1968, by members of the "Clifford Group," the ruling-class body that undertook to review Johnson's war policies following the Tet offensive in January and February of that year. "No matter what the result in South Vietnam itself," the Clifford Group authors contended, "we will have failed in our purpose if:

"a. The war in Vietnam spreads to the point where it is a major conflict leading to a direct military confrontation with the USSR and/or China;

"b. The war in Vietnam spreads to the point where we are so committed in resources that our other world-wide commitments—especially NATO—are no longer credible;

"c. The attitudes of the American people towards 'more Vietnams' are such that our other commitments are brought into question as a matter of US will;

"d. Other countries no longer wish the US commitment for fear of the consequences to themselves as a battlefield between the East and West." (*United States-Vietnam Relations, 1945-1967*, [Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1971], Book 5, Part IV. C. 6. (c), p. 51.)

These limitations dramatically underline the *international character* of the war in Indochina.

that discussions between officers and enlisted men before each battle action are almost a matter of course.

When 100 GIs refused to go into combat near Quangtri last week, an AP dispatch from the battlefield noted that "So-called combat refusals have become a not infrequent occurrence among U. S. troops in Vietnam in the past 2 1/2 years, especially since the American withdrawal began.

"The U. S. Command has adopted a policy of trying in most cases to reason with soldiers who refuse such orders, rather than invoking punitive measures."

Mass-media commentators seldom emphasize the central importance of the international antiwar movement. The Pentagon papers, however, reveal this to be an important consideration. For example, on May 1, 1967, William Bundy, a chief adviser to President Johnson on war strategy, explained one of his reasons for opposing U. S. mining of the port of Haiphong:

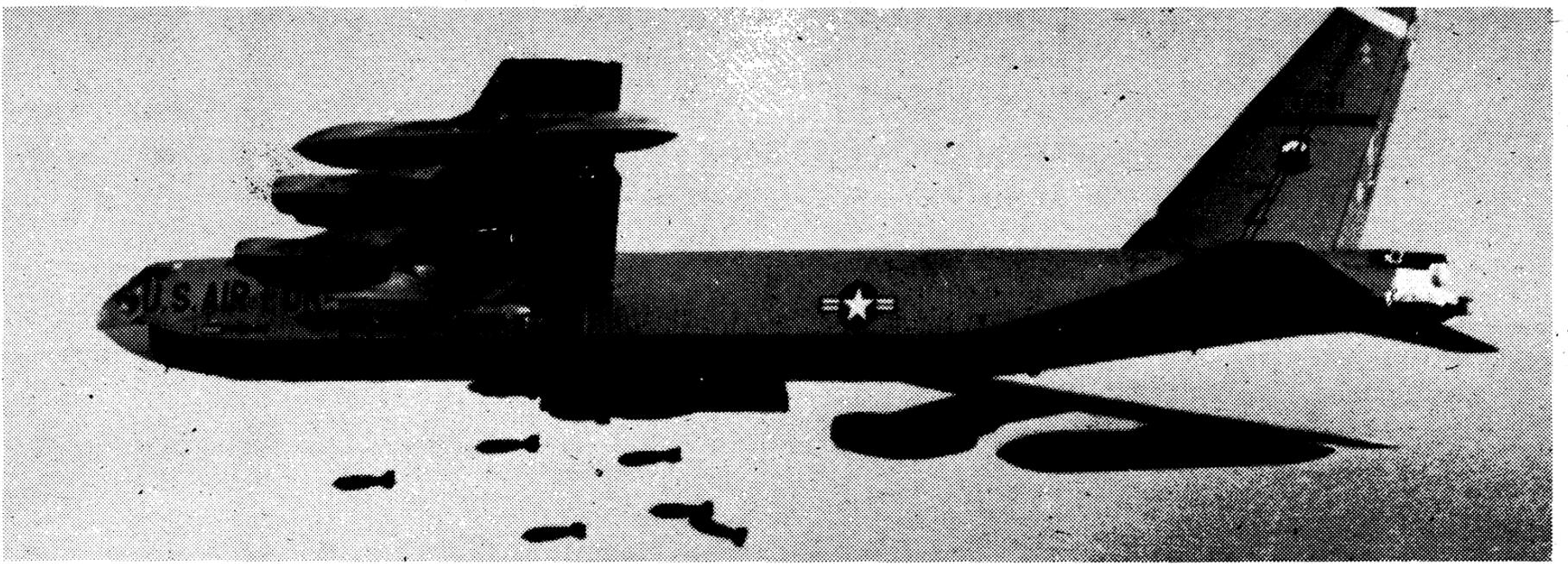
"I cannot leave out the wider international factors, and particularly the British and Japanese as bellwethers. Both the latter have accepted our recent bombings with much less outcry than I, frankly, would have anticipated. But if we keep it up at this pace, or step up the pace, I doubt if the British front will hold. . . .

"Whatever the wider implications of negative reactions on a major scale, the main point is that they would undoubtedly stiffen Hanoi, and this is always the gut question." (Book 6, Part IV. C. 7. (b), p. 25.)

Bundy's apprehensions were shortly to be substantiated even though Johnson did not mine the Haiphong harbor. Giant demonstrations in London and Tokyo in the fall of 1968 were one of the final factors forcing Washington to suspend the bombing of North Vietnam at that time.

Moscow, Peking responses

The failure of either Moscow or Peking to respond in a meaningful way to the U. S. attack on Southeast Asia has permitted Washington to continue the war and to escalate it into the most intensive bombing onslaught in history.



'No area of North Vietnam is off limits'

By ED SMITH

APRIL 19—Any area of North Vietnam is subject to bombing attack by the United States, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday. Laird did "not rule out the possibility" that the United States might blockade the port of Haiphong or mine the channel leading to it.

Soviet naval vessels carry economic and military supplies to Hanoi through the Haiphong harbor. Mining it would constitute a dangerous escalation of the war even beyond levels reached in the 1965-1968 U.S. air war against North Vietnam. Could this mean war with the Soviet Union?

The editors of the *New York Times* ominously declare April 19 that "the Soviet Union may feel that Mr. Nixon is bluffing and, calling him, find that he is not. Since the Cambodian invasion of 1970, the President's aides have boasted of Mr. Nixon's 'unpredictability.' The stakes are too high for the nation or the Congress any longer to accept such risks."

Nixon's drastic new escalation of the war has wiped out the last possibility of believing that the rulers of the United States intend to end the war and abandon their policy of massive military support for the Saigon dictatorship. The outrage expressed by London correspondent of the *Times* Anthony Lewis, quoted in the box on this page, undoubtedly reflects the feelings of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world. There are few who believe that protection of the landlord-military clique in Saigon is worth the escalated murder and maiming of defenseless women, men, and children as U.S. bombers step up the rain of death throughout Indochina.

But it is solely to protect the pro-imperialist government in Saigon that Nixon ordered the new intensification of the war. "Using the full might of American air power was a matter of life and death to South Vietnam," *U.S. News & World Report*, which reflects the views of the military brass, declares in its April 24 issue. "Without U.S. air support," *U.S. News* continues, "great chunks of South Vietnam would have fallen to Hanoi—and with it, perhaps, the entire South Vietnamese Government."

The same article provides information on the extent of the U.S. military buildup: "Navy ships, their number doubled since February, were bombarding Communist positions ashore. . . ."

"President Nixon's air build-up had by mid-April pushed U.S. strength in the war zone to well above 800 planes—and it was continuing to grow. 'Bases in Thailand have so many planes,' said an Air Force officer, 'that they are about to sink.'"

"The B-52 Stratofortress fleet in Thailand and on Guam was increased

to about 130 planes—each capable of carrying 30 tons of bombs—and was playing a major role in the new air offensive.

"A senior commander reported:

"The only way to sweep out the enemy's supply depots, convoys, troop columns and to block the road network is to use saturation bombing. And that means B-52s. One of those babies can do what it would take a couple of dozen Phantom fighter-bombers to do—and do it more efficiently."

This is all-out war, no matter what the administration or anyone else calls it. By April 19, the U.S. air strikes in support of the Saigon regime's forces in South Vietnam "neared the peak levels of 1968, when United States involvement in the war was at its height," the *New York Times* reported from Saigon.

Near Anloc alone, where two Saigon army divisions are cut off, U.S. bombers flew 205 strikes in a single day, including B-52 bombing missions.

Saigon army

The Saigon regime's divisions are totally incapable of defending it against the revolutionary offensive without this massive U.S. air support. This was underscored by the rout of the Saigon 3rd Infantry Division when it was attacked at the beginning of the new offensive. Reporter Daniel South-erland wrote from Hué for the April 18 *Christian Science Monitor*, "What is left of the 3rd Division at the moment is a matter of debate. One estimate has it that the equivalent of an entire regiment out of the division's original three regiments was lost.

"An even less generous estimate has it that about half of the men in the division—more than 4,000 men—deserted, or were killed, wounded, or captured."

In Anloc, troops of the 5th South Vietnamese Division have been besieged for 12 days. The troops of the 21st Infantry Division sent to relieve them have been blocked 15 miles south of Anloc on Route 13. *New York Times* reporter Malcom Browne wrote from Route 13 on April 13, "There was no concealing from the troops that the casualties at Anloc . . . seem to have been appalling. . . ."

"The passage of an army north along Route 13 has more or less opened the road, but like a river of molasses, the road seems to close up behind the army and become as impassable and dangerous as ever. . . ."

"For veterans of the French colonial army here, there are some ugly similarities between this and similar operations of 1954. In the closing months of the French Indochina war, the Vietminh, again and again, would overrun a key town or base, forcing the French to try to send relief by

road; the road columns were frequently cut to pieces."

An AP dispatch carried in the *Los Angeles Times* April 14 described the U.S. bombing support of Anloc. "All available air power was thrown into the battle Thursday [April 13] in the hope that aerial bombardment would prevent defeat.

"U.S. pilots, in exchanges of radio conversations, told of bombing factories and a village near An Loc.

"Told to strike near rubber plantation factory buildings where the rangers were fighting for their lives, one American pilot said: 'It's been a good day for me. I blew that away earlier today. And now I'm going to

The delaying of the report and the army's statement that it will not press charges both testify to the widespread hatred of the war among GIs. The military especially hopes to keep down news about resistance wherever it occurs. According to an AP dispatch from the scene of the revolt April 12, "Lt. Col. Frederick P. Mitchell. . . apparently wanted to get them [the rebelling GIs] away from reporters who had covered their arrival.

"Mitchell turned to the reporters and said: 'All you press are bastards. I blame you for this and you can quote me on it.'"

The antiwar sentiment of GIs is undoubtedly a factor restraining Wash-

"The truth is now impossible to escape if we open our eyes. The United States is the most dangerous and destructive power in the world. And its political leadership seems virtually immune to persuasion by reason and experience.

"It is seven years—seven years!—since Lyndon Johnson began bombing North Vietnam. Literally millions of tons of American explosives have been dropped on Indochina since then, but the peninsula is no more 'secure'—secure for the American system we want to impose on it. Only a fool or a madman could believe, now, that more bombing will bring peace to Indochina.

"Why are we bombing? To keep Nguyen Van Thieu in Saigon. To make sure that Nixon is not the first American President to lose a war. To teach the Russians a lesson about supplying arms to our enemies.

"Those are some of the reasons that are advanced. . . . none of them could remotely justify the disproportionate cost of the bombing in human or political terms."

—Anthony Lewis, *New York Times*, April 17.

blow away a town that's about one mile to the south of those red buildings. There's a little village down here, and we're going to blow that away now."

GI revolt

In a deliberately delayed report, the April 16 *New York Times* carried a news story dated April 14 of the GI revolt—which had actually occurred April 12—when the first U.S. combat troops were ordered into the new battle zone. Interviewing 22-year-old Specialist 4 Mike Crookston, the *Times* stated, ". . . Specialist Crookston was one of about 50 soldiers who balked when told they were being sent to man the ridges west of here.

"The Army says that the men did not disobey a direct order and that no disciplinary action is expected. But it acknowledges that the operation was delayed for at least an hour as Specialist Crookston and others sought a 'solid definition' of where they were going and what would be expected of them.

"The soldiers finally agreed to go, Pfc. Scott Schultz recalled, after the commanding officer 'talked to us and almost guaranteed that nothing would happen to us.'"

ington from sending combat troops into battle. But this does not mean that Washington will indefinitely refrain from using U.S. troops to defend the Saigon regime against the revolutionary offensive.

"While it has been taken for granted that Mr. Nixon would not reintroduce ground troops and commit them to battle, it can no longer be ruled out that, if the South Vietnamese were in danger of collapse, Mr. Nixon would, at the very least, return some forces to ensure the safety of the 95,000 supply and logistical troops on Vietnam's soil," *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Courtney Sheldon reported from Washington, April 17. (Emphasis added.)

So long as Washington remains committed to maintaining a pro-imperialist regime in Saigon, the war will continue and will undergo periodic escalations that will include U.S. forces. "Vietnamization"—the concept that a capitalist regime could be established in Saigon that would be able to defend itself without massive U.S. military and financial support, including troop support—was a myth from start to finish. This is the main lesson of the renewed revolutionary offensive and Nixon's savage response to it.

Antiwar actions blast gov't -- united response planned

United news conferences

By DAVE FRANKEL

APRIL 17—Joint news conferences were held today in New York and Washington, D. C., by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC). Representatives of the National Student Association (NSA) and the National Student Lobby (NSL) also participated in the Washington news conference.

The news briefings were held to announce that the antiwar movement would answer the new escalation of the war with a united response. As Rennie Davis of PCPJ said in Washington, "The news today is that the peace movement is united in our response, which will be on April 22 in New York and on the West Coast, and which will be a massive response."

Margery Tabankin, president of the NSA, and Peter Coy of the NSL announced that their organizations have called for emergency actions in response to the new escalation of the war. They hope to see these actions build toward a nationwide April 21 student strike and the April 22 actions.

Jerry Gordon of NPAC and Fred Lovgren of the SMC were also present at the Washington news conference, along with Brad Lyttle of PCPJ.

In New York, Sara Johnston of the SMC reported on meetings of 500 at Yale University and 400 at Harpur College in Binghamton, N. Y., that took place last night. Students at Harpur, she said, have taken over the student activities center on their campus and are using it to organize antiwar activity, such as leafletting the surrounding community.

Johnston reported that many campuses are discussing the feasibility of striking. She promised that "Students are going to double and redouble their efforts to build the April 22 emergency antiwar demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles. April 22 is only the beginning!"

The news conferences were covered by NBC television, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, AP and UPI wire services, and many radio stations, as well as by representatives of the movement press and TASS, the Soviet news agency.

Boston

By PAT PUTNAM

BOSTON, April 14—More than 2,000 people took part today in an emergency demonstration called by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice and cosponsored by the Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition (GB-PAC).

Demonstrators, including 500 who marched from Harvard Square, 100 from Boston University, and 150 from the University of Massachusetts at Boston, met at Government Center. After a picket line that lasted more than an hour, the demonstrators marched to the Boston Commons, near the statehouse.

Despite the provocation of police who charged into the march to arrest someone for a remark they didn't like, the march proceeded in an orderly manner.

Speakers at the rally were: Jeanette Tracy of GB-PAC; Ngo Vinh Long of the South Vietnamese Student Union; Vinnie Griassi, organizer

for Hospital Workers union Local 1199; Michael Roach of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War; and Kay Litchfield, whose son was killed in Vietnam.

Denver

By JON HILLSON

DENVER, April 15—Despite limited advance news coverage, 1,000 people attended a spirited emergency demonstration here today to protest the



Boston demonstration of 2,000

Photo by Jon Flanders

escalation of the war in Indochina and to demand that the U. S. withdraw all of its forces immediately.

Organized by the Colorado Peace Action Coalition (CPAC) and the Boulder Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), the mile-long march through the streets of Denver's downtown area was led by about 40 members of Colorado's Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW).

At one point in the march a uniformed Chicano Marine joined the veteran's contingent and held aloft an antiwar placard. His action was covered in a second-page picture in the *Denver Post*.

The spirit of the demonstration was reflected at the Colorado state capitol, where the rally following the march was held. Stuck inside a basement window was a greeting to the demonstrators: "Government employees for peace."

Speakers at the rally included Herick Roth, president of the Colorado Labor Council and a vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers; Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president; Gary Mundt, a regional coordinator for the VVAW and a member of the McGovern organization in Colorado; Richard Lamm, a Colorado state representative; Barbara Thornton of the Boulder SMC; Joan Fulks, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. senator from Colorado; Tom Highland, president of the student government at the University of Colorado; and Clark Watson, a leader of the anti-Olympics drive in Colorado and a Black activist.

Wash., D.C.

By CALVIN GODDARD

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 16—A day of antiwar protest here yesterday organized by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice was marked by the arrest of about 225 people. They were charged with demonstrating without a permit when they sat down in Lafayette Park, across the street from the White House.

The protests began with an indoor rally of about 600. Sister Elizabeth McAlister, a defendant in the Harrisburg conspiracy trial; Senator Mike Gravel (D-Alaska); Dave Dellinger of PCPJ; David Livingston, head of District 65 of the Distributive Workers union; Cora Weiss of Women Strike for Peace; Noam Chomsky; and Marjorie Tabankin of the National Student Association were among the

speakers.

About 200 protesters who were not arrested formed an impromptu picket line at ITT's Washington office and then marched to the Vietnamese embassy.

Today some 200 people participated in an emergency antiwar conference PCPJ had called a week earlier. The participants responded enthusiastically to National Peace Action Coalition Coordinator Jerry Gordon, who called for an all-out campaign to build the

April 22 demonstrations. The conference, which included various workshops, decided at the beginning that no proposals would be voted on.

Canada

By GEORGE ADDISON

OTTAWA, April 16—Despite heavy rainstorms in Vancouver, Montréal, and Ottawa, hundreds of Canadians marched against the war in Indochina yesterday, calling for an end to U. S. bombing, the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Indochina, and an end to Canadian complicity with the war.

In Ottawa, 700 marched on Parliament Hill as Nixon and Trudeau met to sign an antipollution treaty. Despite its past support for such antiwar actions, the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party, refused to endorse this demonstration for fear of being associated with opposition to Nixon's visit. Major Canadian newspapers had engaged in an extensive red-baiting campaign against the antiwar movement prior to the actions.

In British Columbia, 250 braved the rain in Vancouver and 200 marched in Victoria. Both actions drew mostly high school students. In Montréal, 250 turned out in heavy rain. An indoor meeting of 400 was addressed by representatives of the Québec Federation of Labor and the Montréal Labor Council, among others.

Divisions within the movement also reduced the size of the Canadian actions. In Ottawa, a physical attack on the rally by members of the Canadian Liberation Movement had to be repulsed. The attackers, who attempted to take over the speaker's platform, felt that the demonstration wasn't "anti-imperialist" enough.

The Canadian Communist Party chose to call an action in its own name on April 15 because the one organized by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee did not call for support to the seven-point peace plan of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. Its action drew 60 people.

Despite these divisions, organizers of the actions are optimistic about further demonstrations planned for April 22. They believe that the recent savage escalation of the war, in particular the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, will help to draw the movement together, especially in the event of a widescale response on the part of the U. S. antiwar movement.

N.Y. forum on antiwar strategy

By GEORGE JOHNSON

NEW YORK—A debate on strategy for the antiwar movement between Jerry Gordon, a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC); George Vickers, executive co-secretary of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ); and Carl Davidson, staff writer for the *Guardian* newspaper drew 240 people to a forum here on April 14.

Discussion at the meeting, which was sponsored by the New York University Young Socialist Alliance and the Militant Labor Forum, centered on the April 22 national antiwar actions in Los Angeles and New York and the attitude of the different speakers to the need for an antiwar coalition.

All speakers stated support for the April 22 demonstrations, although Vickers failed to explain why the PCPJ had endorsed them only a few days prior to the forum. He cited a number of actions that PCPJ is supporting, saying that April 22 was only one of many activities this spring and should not be singled out for special building efforts.

When questioned on why PCPJ refuses to participate in a coalition directed specifically against the war, Vickers answered that people in PCPJ had felt that since NPAC was throwing its energies into building mass antiwar demonstrations, PCPJ could therefore turn its attention to other areas. He also indicated that PCPJ would rather not be involved with NPAC in negotiations over speakers, march routes, the division of money, etc., but would rather "just support" NPAC's actions. Although PCPJ plans to confront candidates with the demand that they support setting a date for 1973 for U. S. troop withdrawals, Vicker claimed that PCPJ won't be endorsing any candidates.

Gordon stressed that NPAC is in favor of a single antiwar coalition that could unite all groups opposed to the war. Davidson also supported such a coalition, saying he felt that "both NPAC and PCPJ agree on the need for mass demonstrations" against the war. Davidson said, "I don't understand why there can't be unity between NPAC and PCPJ."

Gordon ended the meeting by welcoming the PCPJ endorsement of April 22 and urging that PCPJ make a major effort in the remaining week to help ensure the success of the action.



Jerry Gordon

Photo by Howard Petrick

Build antiwar universities!

By **ANDY ROSE**, national chairman, Young Socialist Alliance, and **LAURA MILLER**, national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley

The student demonstrations, mass meetings, and strikes that are mushrooming in protest against Nixon's escalation of the Vietnam war comprise the largest student upsurge since the May 1970 student strike.

An editorial published April 18 in eight Ivy League student newspapers urges students to strike on April 21 and to "shape further actions at general campus meetings." Students on many campuses are already holding mass decision-making meetings, have taken strike votes, or are planning to take such votes.

One of the key questions posed is what students should do during these strikes. How can they best use them to build the power of the antiwar movement?

In 1970, Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the killings of students at Kent State and Jackson State triggered a wave of antiwar protests at some 1,500 campuses—more than half of America's institutions of "higher learning." Millions of students were involved in that strike—the largest student strike in world history.

Campus after campus held huge meetings to democratically discuss and decide what to do. Broad strike committees open to representatives of all campus organizations and to unaffiliated students were established.

The strategy many schools decided upon in 1970 was that of the antiwar university. Thousands of antiwar students physically took over use of the universities to whatever degree possible and transformed them into organizing centers for the antiwar movement.

Classrooms were used to discuss the war and to attempt to win over the entire student body to support for immediate withdrawal from Indochina.

University printing facilities were

taken over to produce antiwar leaflets and other literature. Telephone facilities enabled student strike committees to keep in touch with each other throughout the country and with supporters in other countries.

At the University of Illinois the art and architecture institute voted to turn over its facilities 24 hours a day for producing antiwar posters to be put up all over Chicago.

Students produced leaflets especially directed at trade unionists, high school students, Black people, and other sectors of the population. In short, the campuses put their resources at the disposal of the entire antiwar movement, both on and off campus.

High school and college students mobilized to canvass the community, bringing the truth about the war to millions. Students were also able to focus the power of the mass antiwar sentiment by helping to mobilize massive numbers of people in visible street demonstrations to let the country, the GIs, and the world know that Americans oppose the war.

Why should the university facilities be left, unused, to the university administrations, students asked themselves. The masses of students have the right to take these multimillion-dollar institutions and transform them from serving the imperialist warmakers to serving the antiwar movement.

The huge student upsurge during May 1970 was a key factor in forcing the U. S. to back down and make a speedy retreat from Cambodia. The task before us now is to do the same, and more, of what we did then: to mobilize the American people in such a massive outcry that it cannot be ignored by the government. We must demonstrate the outrage of masses of Americans to such an extent that Nixon is forced not only to continue withdrawing ground combat troops but to withdraw air and naval forces until there is not a single remnant of U. S. military forces in Indochina.

Int'l protests

APRIL 18—Nixon's escalation of the air war in response to the upsurge of struggle in Vietnam has sparked the most significant worldwide protest activity since 1968. Some of the demonstrations that have already occurred or are planned for the coming week were called in response to Nixon's bombing. Others were already in preparation before the current escalation, in response to the National Peace Action Coalition call for international antiwar actions on April 22 in solidarity with the U. S. antiwar movement.

NPAC has sent two of its leading members, Dan Rosenshine and Stephanie Coontz, to Europe to help encourage the organization of antiwar actions. They have spoken before thousands of people throughout Europe and have consulted with many antiwar leaders.

NPAC office worker Steve Chainey told *The Militant* that reports from Rosenshine indicated that the response by Europeans to the bombings, especially of Hanoi and Haiphong, was very similar to the response here in the U. S. Many Europeans had felt that the war was "winding down," but the new bombings convinced them that U. S. aggressive aims had in fact not changed at all.

Many of the cities where demonstrations have taken place or will take place have seen no antiwar actions since 1968. Here are the highlights of international protest.

• **FRANCE.** Ten thousand took to the streets in Paris April 15 in a demonstration organized in little more than a week by the FSI (Front Solidarité Indochine—Indochina Solidarity Front). The action had been scheduled for April 22 but was banned by the government for that date because it conflicted with a national referendum.

• **SWEDEN.** Fifteen thousand people demonstrated in front of the American Embassy in Stockholm April 16 in the biggest antiwar demonstration in Sweden's history. Dan Rosenshine from NPAC appeared on national TV and radio in Sweden prior to the demonstration. Rosenshine also spoke to an antiwar meeting of 2,000 in Uppsala, Sweden.

• **FINLAND.** The April 17 *New York Times* reported that 5,000 people marched in Helsinki April 16 against the U. S. bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong.

• **BANGLADESH.** A rally of 4,000 in Dacca April 16 denounced "U. S. action in Vietnam," reported the *New York Times*.

Other demonstrations against U. S. military action were reported to have taken place in New Delhi, Copenhagen, and Budapest.

NPAC reports that future actions are scheduled for Australia, England, Ireland, Africa, Lebanon, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Switzerland, Belgium, Scotland, Japan, and West Germany.

Students call strikes across the country

By **DAVE FRANKEL**

NEW YORK, April 19—More than 2,000 students from Columbia University and Barnard College packed Barnard's MacIntosh Hall last night to discuss how to respond to the intensified bombing of Vietnam and the threat of further escalation of the war in Indochina.

Disregarding the sentiments of Columbia President William McGill, who urged an angry march of 2,000 students the night before to "hold a silent vigil with appropriate calls to news media," or to "pack College Walk and sit in utter silence," the meeting voted to strike.

The strike's central demand is that the U. S. get out of Indochina immediately. Other demands adopted were for an end to the university's Jason project, which designs weapons for use in Vietnam; for the termination of all university contracts with the military, war industries, the CIA, and the State Department; and that the university sell all its holdings in companies doing business with apartheid regimes.

The main discussion at the meeting focused on whether picketers should try to prevent students from attending class. It was finally decided to set up open picket lines this morning and to hold a noon rally to assess their effectiveness and decide upon further action. A broad steering committee, open to all campus organizations, was established.

President McGill, who attended last night's meeting, asserted his determination to maintain the normal functioning of the university.

Students across the country have reacted similarly to those at Barnard and Columbia. The eight Ivy League school newspapers (Brown, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, and Yale) have published a strike call that is appearing today. In addition to Columbia, students at Harvard, Brown, Yale, Princeton, and the University of Rhode Island in Kingston have already voted to strike.

Actions have been multiplying since Monday, when more than 3,000 demonstrated at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, 2,000 took to the streets in San Francisco, and 1,200 attended a meeting at Harpur College in Binghamton. Called by the Student Mobilization Committee, the Harpur meeting organized a referendum on whether to strike. A meeting at Clark University in Worcester drew more than 900 of the 2,000 students in the school on April 17, and they are also voting on whether to strike.

At the University of Maryland in College Park, 1,500 students turned out for a rally yesterday. Some 1,200 then went to protest at the campus ROTC building, and 1,000 sat down on the main thoroughfare through College Park. A police attack resulted in numerous arrests and injuries. A meeting last night was expected to organize a strike and other actions.

Meetings and demonstrations are occurring at dozens of schools. A city-wide meeting in Chicago was held at the University of Illinois Circle Campus yesterday, and the *New York Times* reported an attendance of more

than 1,000. Rallies of 300 to 500 people have also been held at the University of Chicago, along with meetings at Roosevelt University and Northwestern University.

On the West Coast, more than 500 people turned out for a meeting called by the SMC at the University of California at Santa Barbara on April 17. A city-wide meeting was planned in Los Angeles for last night, and at the University of California in Berkeley the student government has called for meetings of the entire student body today and tomorrow. A rally Monday at San Francisco State College drew 300.

Yesterday 250 students marched from the University of Florida campus to the Federal Building in downtown Gainesville in an action called



Photo by Howard Gerber

Houston, Texas, antiwar demonstration, April 8.

on one day's notice by the SMC and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

The Atlanta Peace Action Coalition and the Atlanta SMC have called for a rally at the Georgia state capitol today.

Among other schools planning actions are: Boston University, Tufts, Worcester Technical, Stonehill, and Amherst Colleges, all in Massachusetts; the University of Vermont; the University of Maine; the University of Connecticut; the University of New Hampshire; New York University; Cornell University; the University of Pennsylvania; the University of Minnesota; San Francisco City College; and Stanford.

Most actions around the country appear to be sponsored by student governments, campus newspapers, local SMC chapters, or a combination of these groups. Local areas report that interest in and support for the April 22 demonstrations have greatly increased. Student governments at Brown University and the University of New Hampshire, for example, have allocated money to finance buses for the April 22 actions in New York as a result of the new escalation.

MAY 1970: Birth of the Antiwar University

A collection of articles documenting the May 1970 student strike against the war in Southeast Asia. Includes leaflets and eyewitness accounts written by the strikers. \$1.05.

Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N. Y. 10014.

In Our Opinion

All out May 6 for right to abortion

An all-out effort is necessary in the next two weeks to build the activities scheduled for Abortion Action Week, May 1-6, and particularly the culminating demonstrations in 17 major cities on May 6. The May 6 marches and rallies, which will call for repeal of all abortion and restrictive contraception laws and for an end to forced sterilization, can have an especially important impact by showing in a large and visible way women's determination to win the right to control their own bodies.

On April 18 a three-judge federal court ruled Connecticut's abortion law unconstitutional on the grounds that a woman must have the right to decide when and if to terminate a pregnancy. The decision stemmed from the 1971 *Women vs. Connecticut* class-action suit involving 838 plaintiffs, one of the first suits brought by women against state abortion laws.

This is the latest in a series of recent court victories that have overturned anti-abortion laws in Florida, Vermont, and New Jersey. Polls, surveys, and CHOICE '72 campus referendums all point to the fact that a growing majority of people in this country support repeal of the abortion laws.

At the same time, the forces opposed to abortion—state and federal governments, so-called right-to-life groups, and the Catholic Church hierarchy—are mobilizing to roll back the victories won by the women's movement. The size of the April 16 New York demonstration against abortion (see story, page 13) is an indication of the powerful resources behind the reactionary attempts to deny women abortions. In New York, the Donovan-Crawford Bill poses an additional threat. If passed, it would wipe out all the gains made since the enactment of the reformed New York abortion law in 1970.

The right-wing charges that "abortion is murder" must be answered by as many women as possible marching in the May 6 actions called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. These demonstrations deserve the full support of all who agree that women should be able to decide whether to bear children. United action in the streets on May 6 by large numbers of women will serve powerful notice to the anti-abortion forces that women intend to continue the struggle for the right to control their own bodies until all laws restricting that right are repealed.

...bombing

Continued from page 1

It is up to the international antiwar movement to force the U.S. war-makers to withdraw all their military forces and materiel from Indochina. This movement has already had a significant effect on the war. In 1970 the antiwar movement helped force Nixon to withdraw U.S. troops from Cambodia, and it has been a major factor in the withdrawal of thousands of GIs from Vietnam.

Testimony to the depth of the antiwar sentiment is the resistance among GIs, particularly the reluctance last week of 100 U.S. infantrymen to enter a fighting zone.

This was only the most recent of a number of such incidents. It shows that Nixon cannot count on the American draftee army as a totally dependable fighting force in this detestable war. Perhaps never in history except in the midst of intense revolutionary situations has there been such open discontent and protest from the very ranks of an imperialist army.

The Saigon army doesn't want to fight. American GIs don't want to fight. And the American people do not support this war. So Nixon is forced to depend on gigantic jet bombers flying miles above their targets.

The antiwar movement has the power to end this war. But it must rely on its own united, mass strength and not place its trust in "peace" politicians, whether Democrat or Republican. History has proved—from Kennedy and Johnson to Nixon—that talk about "peace" is cheap for both the Democrats and Republicans.

While Hubert Humphrey came out with full endorsement of the initial intensification of bombing of North Vietnam, the other "doves" do nothing but play around with meaningless bills that are deliberately made not binding on the administration.

Most ominous of all is the fact that the war criminals who run this country are ready and able to dwarf the genocidal destruction they have already unleashed on Indochina by using nuclear weapons. On April 7 syndicated columnist Jack Anderson revealed new evidence of government contingency plans to use nuclear weapons in Indochina, and antiwar GIs have reported that nuclear-armed vessels are part of the U.S. task force in the South China Sea.

In face of these threatening moves, we must redouble our efforts to mount a campaign of protests throughout the country and the world demanding that the U.S. invaders get out of Indochina now!

No nuclear weapons!

I greatly fear that if the Vietnamese patriots' offensive appears successful Nixon will use nuclear weapons to try to stop it. We need an immediate spreading of the word—not a rumor that it will be done, but a statement that he may possibly do it—and a call for demonstrations of resolute opposition *at once*, immediately, before April 22.

They can be small demonstrations, press conferences—anything to get the idea of this possibility before the public and get opposition to it. If we don't do it preventively, we may be very sorry later. Run a headline! No Nukes on Nam!
Bob Cogan
Erie, Pa.

Under indictment

I appreciated your concern about the renewal of my subscription to *The Militant*, which I have found to be a valuable periodical. However, I am under indictment at this time for failure to report for an armed forces physical and failure to report for induction. Consequently I am broke, but I intend to renew upon the termination of my case.
R. K.
Huntington, W. Va.

Gay rights stand

In the March 24 letters column, a woman who signed herself "A Reader" said she "took exception" to *The Militant's* stand in support of the struggle by homosexuals for civil and human rights. She wrote, "I know it will hurt your cause to align yourself with these sort (sic) of people."

This reader's warning that *The Militant's* stand will prove harmful rests on the notion that such a stand will evoke in heterosexuals and repressed homosexuals the same kind of irrational fears reflected in her own assertion that "it would kill" her and her husband if their children were gay.

In a limited way, it is true that gay liberation and *The Militant's* stand on it evoke deep-seated fears in some people. But what must be recognized is that these same fears—rooted in the sexual repression of capitalist society—would exist even if *The Militant* made the mistake of trying to ignore (or of opposing) the gay rights fight. These fears are stirred by the very idea of social revolution.

There was no gay liberation movement in the early 1950s and revolutionary socialists were rather quiet on the subject of homosexual oppression. This did not prevent Joe McCarthy from mixing accusations of homosexuality into his witch-hunting, anticommunist stew. McCarthy's gay-baiting was based on his perception—either conscious or intuitive—of the role played by sexual repression and the fears it creates in loyally welding people to the status quo.

Because it must confront the powerful and mysterious prejudices of the unconscious so directly in order to exist, the development of the gay movement is a testimony to the depth of the radicalization process now undermining U.S. imperialism on its home territory. As such, it is welcomed by genuine revolutionaries.
Lee Smith
New York, N. Y.

Postal workers

When postal workers walked out of the General Post Office in New York City on March 18, 1970, I was working in the Berkeley, Calif., post office. Like most other postal workers, we in Berkeley joined the general walkout. That first strike in the history of the postal system was provoked by overwork and low pay.

A good deal has happened during the past two years. The postal system is now operated by a semiprivate corporation. Many workers in the system are supposed to be represented by an amalgamated organization called the American Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO, which has incorporated most of the former craft unions and has a contract with the U.S. Postal Service.

It might be expected that with these changes the working conditions and rates of pay would be better. Just the opposite is true. The pay today won't buy as much as what we made two years ago. The work load is much heavier. The new machinery that is now in use has cut the size of the work crews and speeded up the work.

This explains what is happening now. There have been some demonstrations in recent weeks at the General Post Office in New York. About 1,000 postal workers demonstrated and a hundred or so went to the executive offices of the regional manager. These protesters were members of the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union, which started the first strike two years ago.

Grievances of the workers are supposed to have been "processed" and to have moved to the regional bargaining level. They are scheduled to go to postal officials in Washington on May 1 for settlement or for submission to binding arbitration.

If the postal officials continue to stall after May 1, it is possible that postal workers will again demand a settlement of their grievances in the same way they did two years ago. The strike didn't settle much at that time, but it did win a long-overdue wage increase. It is now past time for another one.

Mike Lux
New York, N. Y.

Capitalistic gimmicks?

In reply to Mr. Meighan's letter (*The Militant*, April 7) in which he accuses you of using "capitalistic" gimmickry in your effort to distribute socialist literature, I'd like to ask whether he also opposes the inclusion of artistic content in political posters, leaflets, etc. It's the same thing—directed toward appealing to as many people as possible, whether or not they are as yet "real" socialists.

Right on to April 22! Victory to the offensive of the National Liberation Front!

S. Manty
Pittsfield, Mass.

Enough tricks!

During the past week the federal courts have approved the sale of the Chicago & North Western Railroad to the "employees." As one of the employees of the C&NW I can safely say we don't want it under these circumstances.

Throughout the past decade the C&NW has drained the railroad and pumped the profits into the "parent" North West Industries. Like the Penn Central, the North Western has batteries of bookkeepers and lawyers

The Great Society

adept at making profits disappear by juggling figures. Because the money has been poured into North West Industries, the railroad has been allowed to fall into a state of disrepair. Now that the system is in need of a major overhaul they want to pawn it off on the workers.

The only thing the workers will buy will be C&NW's losses. Control will remain in the hands of a board of directors whose interests are not the same as the brakemen, clerks, signalmen, etc. Enough tricks! Railroad workers need control over all the railroads, not the financial burdens of one of them.

Guy Miller
Chicago, Ill.

Forest Hills dispute

I disagree completely with your article by Elizabeth Jayko, "Right of Blacks to non-ghetto housing" (*Militant*, March 3).

The issue for communists is community control of housing projects—control of the location, the building design, the construction, the setting of rents, the selection of tenants, the management.

I fail to see any issue about the "right" of African-Americans to live in government housing in Forest Hills, because I'm sure there's no real African-American community groups making an issue of moving to Forest Hills.

Jayko depends on the word "racist" (a code word, in her case) to make her point. People against low-income public-housing projects, she says, are "racist." People worried about crime and depreciating property values are "anti-Black."

I personally am against 3,000 people moving next door. I am against highrises, against projects as now controlled, and against the extension of the city.

Russ DuPree
Portland, Maine

In reply

Editors' reply—DuPree misses the point. The issue in the minds of the residents of Forest Hills is not principally "crime," "highrises," or whether one is "personally against 3,000 people moving next door." The issue for them is the maintenance of Forest Hills as a white community, a white preserve off-limits to Black people.

Every citizen of this country should have the right to live where he or she chooses. But the exercise of this democratic right by Black people cuts deeply into the status quo because of their oppressed position. To oppose the exercise of this right by Blacks is to render aid to the forces of racist oppression.

It's true that U.S. cities are disintegrating and are disgusting places to live. But the answer to the decay of the cities is not to oppose the construction of new low-income housing for those presently confined to rat-infested slums. The answer is to build a movement against the capitalist system that has created such cities. And this movement must give total support to the democratic rights and demands for better living conditions of the oppressed nationalities—the greatest victims of the poverty and crime spawned by capitalism.

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.

Expert appraisal—"Talk is cheap." —Hubert Horatio Humphrey in Wisconsin.

Our federally supervised diet—We were pleased to learn that the Food and Drug Administration officially permits certain "minimum" amounts of filth in various food products—like an average of one rat pellet per ounce of corn meal. We were afraid processors were slipping in the stuff illegally to boost the gross weight.

Slow genocide—"Food poisoning ranks second only to the common cold as the most frequent cause of illness in this country," reports the Department of Agriculture. The Department of Public Health estimates that two million Americans are stricken every year by the fever, vomiting, and cramps of food poisoning. The FDA has 210 inspectors to cover some 60,000 food processing plants.

Truehaven—Some 600 prosperous Londoners lined up for as long as

four days to apply for \$73,000 apartments in a new complex in one of the city's posh areas. "It's a nice district," one elderly applicant explained. "You don't get hippies or parking meters."

Editorial interjection?—We don't know if it was a postal put-on, but our last mailing from the National Peace Action Coalition was canceled with the admonition: "Pray for Peace."

Equality of sacrifice—Those carping critics who assert that it's the poor who take the brunt of runaway food prices should consider the fact that some of our better restaurants are now compelled to charge as much as \$6 a pound for lobster.

It's getting grim—If you're unmoved by the price of lobster, consider this: U.S. champagne consumption dropped by nearly 20 percent last year.

The bright side—Meat prices may be

out of sight, but decent clothing is still available at rational prices. For example, Martha's of New York, Palm Beach, and Bal Harbour advises that "the little cocktail dress is back." It features "an aura of complete femininity." \$575.

Favors density—The mammoth World Trade Center nearing completion in New York will employ 50,000 and have an added daily 80,000 visitors. The city's plans for coping with the resulting transit problem thus far consist of a projected enlargement of a subway station a half mile away. Says city planner Richard Weinstein: "I think people who live in New York live here because of the dense concentration of people and ideas." Maybe he means you have to be dense to live in New York.

News of the week—"Drop in Meat Prices Not Expected to Last"—headline in the *Los Angeles Times*.

—HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

WOMEN ARTISTS PROTEST MUSEUM EXCLUSION

—Three hundred women artists demonstrated at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City on April 12, calling for an end to the institution's discrimination against female artists. The action was organized by Women in the Arts. The demonstrators passed out leaflets explaining that the Museum of Modern Art has held only five one-artist shows by women in the last 43 years, while it has featured 995 such shows by men. In addition, the leaflet stated, 94.6 percent of the artists represented in the city's top ten art galleries are men.

Women in the Arts is demanding that six local museums sponsor an exhibition of more than 500 works by women artists. These works should be chosen by members of Women in the Arts, the group says.

STEWARDESSES FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS is an organization involving some 30 stewardesses and ex-stewardesses who are fighting for equal rights on the job and against the airlines' policy of using women employees as sex objects. According to the April 5 *Los Angeles Times*, degrading practices such as National Airlines' "Fly Me" advertising campaign led the women to form the group.

Jan Fulsom, a leader of the organization, has filed a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, along with another stewardess. They charge that Eastern Airlines discriminates against its stewardesses by requiring special physical qualifications that male employees do not have to meet.

Fulsom gives as an example her experience at Eastern's stewardess training school: "They took us to a makeup bar where a lady came by—it was almost like an assembly line—and plucked out our eyebrows. Then she came back and told us what kind of makeup to use and how much weight we had to lose. I felt like a piece of meat."

Stewardesses for Women's Rights says that airlines should give stewardesses better training in safety measures and efficiency instead of emphasizing physical appearance. The group also favors the hiring of more male stewards.

THE FUNDING OF LOBOTOMY RESEARCH by the National Institute of Health (NIH) has come under attack from women. As a March 12 *Washington Post* article explains, "Women are the major target groups in some of the larger psychosurgical studies. . . . the ability (of women) to return to household duties is frequently regarded as evidence of success." The National Organization for Women (NOW) has called for the immediate suspension of this research.

The April 1 *Spokeswoman* reports that in addition to the Institute's involvement in lobotomy research, feminists are also protesting the lack of women in decision-making job categories at the NIH. Several women's groups

plan to file a class-action suit against this discrimination.

WOMEN PRISONERS' NEWSPAPER CONFISCATED

Inmates in the Framingham, Mass., women's prison write a newspaper called the *People's Paper*. The second issue of the paper was printed on the outside in February. When bundles were mailed back to the prisoners, Superintendent Gloria Cuzzi refused to deliver them because she said the paper's content was "inflammatory." Natick-Framingham Women's Liberation and **Brass Tacks**, an underground newspaper, are waging a campaign for the inmates' right to read their own paper. Letters protesting the denial of these women's rights can be sent to John Boone, Commissioner, Massachusetts Corrections Department, 100 Cambridge St., Boston, Mass. 02202. Donations to help keep the *People's Paper* going can be sent to *People's Paper*, c/o **Brass Tacks**, Box 82, Co-chituate, Mass. 01778. Make checks payable to **Brass Tacks**.



University of Toronto students and employees occupied a campus building on April 6 to dramatize the need for day care for children over two. This was the second sit-in in the space of a week. Two years ago students and staff members at the university fought for and won a day-care center for children under two.

CHAUVINIST QUOTE OF THE WEEK—Selective Service System director Curtis Tarr on drafting women into the Army: "You can't put women in tough combat jobs. There are so many things they can't do physically. Tell one to take a mortar casing over the hill and, by thunder, she can't even get it over a log."

—CINDY JAQUITH

Ceylon regime cracks down on socialists

From *Intercontinental Press*

COLOMBO—Ceylon police raided a private home in Colombo March 19 and arrested approximately fifteen persons attending a meeting of the youth league of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary) [LSSP (R)], Ceylon section of the Fourth International.

Beginning in mid-March, the government seemed to have set out to create a climate that would serve to justify arbitrary arrests and indiscriminate attacks on the people once again. The army was put on full alert, barricades were set up in and around key offices, check-points for searching vehicles were reestablished, and leave was cancelled for all government employees. There were several instances of assaults on innocent civilians by the police, and a number of persons who had been released were rearrested.

Rumours were afloat to the effect that the government was expecting another insurrection. The object seems to be to intimidate those sections of the working class who are preparing to fight back against the government's attacks on living standards and to provide the "United Front" coalition with a pretext for maintaining emergency rule. Despite the economic burdens imposed on the working class by the last budget, the government has not been able to resolve the deep economic crisis. The next budget is expected to be even more savage.

The youth league meeting raided by the police was held at the home of Prins Rajasooriya, the assistant secretary of the LSSP(R). All the participants in the meeting were arrested and taken to the Wellawatte police station in Colombo.

After questioning by police, Rajasooriya was asked to sign a statement drawn up by the police specifying his replies. He refused to do this when he discovered that the statement contained "answers" that he had not made. He was then detained along with the others. All those arrested are being held incommunicado and it has so far been impossible even to discover the names of all the prisoners.

It seems clear that one of the reasons for the government's actions is the fact that Rajasooriya is one of the counsels in the habeas corpus trial of P. C. Gunasekera, the brother of Prins Gunasekera, the Sri Lanka Freedom party member of parliament who broke with the governing coalition because of its suppression of civil liberties. (P. C. Gunasekera has been twice arrested without cause, the second time on the same day that the Ceylon Supreme Court ordered him released.) The trial has so far received a great deal of publicity and has obviously embarrassed the government.

It has been learned that police officers at certain stations have been told by their superior officers that the group arrested in the raid had been "detailed" to "attack Colombo." It remains to be seen whether the government will attempt to make such a farcical charge publicly or will simply try to hold the prisoners without trial under the emergency regulations.

Student protest reported in Hungary

By *LEE SMITH*

In the context of increasing friction between the bureaucratic ruling groups in Hungary and the Soviet Union, a student demonstration in Budapest was reported to have taken place last month. The April 12 *New York Times* carried an article from Vienna, Austria, quoting reports from anonymous "travelers" about a student demonstration that clashed with police in Budapest, the Hungarian capital, on March 15. An April 13 United Press International dispatch from Budapest reported the Hungarian government's confirmation of the earlier story.

March 15 is a national holiday in Hungary commemorating the revolution of 1848. According to the UPI dispatch, Hungarian officials "said a group of youths had broken away from a commemorative rally, organized by Kisz, the Hungarian Communist youth organization, and had marched along the route taken by the 1848 rebels."

The anonymous sources in the earlier *Times* article reported that the action was "led by Maoists, or those who believe in permanent revolution. Sources described the attitude of the demonstrators as 'anti-Establishment,'" the *Times* reported.

UPI said April 13 that officials in Budapest "characterized the group as 'a small minority with no political background.'"

No size is given in either report for the demonstrating group, but the first account would indicate that it was at least several hundred. This could be inferred from the report—if accurate—that, after police erected a barricade across the line of march and attacked with truncheons, "there were scores of arrests," and those not arrested then "moved along smaller side streets to get to the Petoft statue."

The demonstrators paused at the statue of nationalist poet Alexander Petoft where, according to the earlier report, one student read a poem of Petoft's that said in part: "We have been slaves until now."

The Hungarian bureaucracy has been growing increasingly independent of the Kremlin during the last few years, seeking more direct commerce with Western Europe and strengthening its ties with Rumania, a country that has already gone further than Hungary in loosening the Kremlin's grip on its economic and foreign policies. These moves have led the Soviet press to accuse the Budapest regime of "bourgeois nationalism" and "Zionist" influence. Recently, Hungarian politburo member Karoly Nemeth delivered a widely publicized speech in which he took the unprecedented step (for an East European bureaucrat) of branding the Soviet charge of "Zionism" for what it is: anti-Semitism.

There is no apparent direct connection between these developments and the March 15 demonstration, but in maneuvering for more elbowroom from Moscow, the Hungarian bureaucrats have fostered a climate in which resentment against Soviet influence is allowed expression within limitations. What may have happened on March 15 is that this process was taken beyond the bounds desired by the bureaucrats.

Massive Quebec strike against gov't

By *MARCEL BLACK*

APRIL 17—The most massive strike in Canadian history began in Québec April 10, when 210,000 public workers struck for a minimum wage of \$100 per week. At this writing they are still out.

The strike was preceded by a one-day general strike on March 28 to mobilize support for the public workers in the negotiations with government authorities. According to the April 10 *Intercontinental Press*, the strike includes "teachers outside the Montréal area, Liquor Board employees, highway maintenance workers, government office workers, health and welfare department employees, school maintenance workers, and non-medical hospital workers."

The April 14 *New York Times* reports that the current strike includes workers in both the Protestant and Catholic school systems in Montréal and workers in Hydro Québec, the province's electric utility.

The *Times* dispatch states, "Joined in what is described as a common front for the strike are 110,000 from the Confederation of National Trade Unions; 20,000 from the Québec Federation of Labor; 70,000 from the Québec Teachers' Federation; and 10,000 from smaller unions." This common front originated in the militant workers demonstrations in support of the strike against the newspaper *La Presse* last fall. Previously the Québec Federation of Labor, which is affiliated with the Canadian Labor Federation and the AFL-CIO, had been divided from action with the other Québécois unions.

British seek to split IRA from Irish masses

From *Intercontinental Press*

By *GERRY FOLEY*

"The greatest single test of Mr Whitelaw's skill will be whether or not he can cajole or persuade a visible segment of the Catholics to separate themselves from the IRA," the authoritative English capitalist weekly *The Economist* wrote in its April 1-7 issue, commenting on the appointment of a British overlord to rule Northern Ireland directly.

The British capitalist press has left little room for doubt about the British government's aim in abolishing the discredited Belfast government. London's move was followed almost immediately by a renewed propaganda campaign designed to give the impression that militant nationalists were losing support in the Catholic ghettos.

The Catholic conservative forces, moreover, were not slow to rise to the bait of a few British concessions that might restore their credibility as negotiators for the oppressed commu-

nity. While a middle-class Catholic women's "peace offensive" was driven out of the Andersonstown ghetto in Belfast in the first week of April, the Catholic clergy remained at a safer distance from their "flock."

From the relative security of the pulpit, the hierarchy can continue to play its historic role as the "soft cop" of British imperialism in Ireland. The primate of Ireland, Cardinal Conway, took the lead of the British campaign to isolate the militant forces in the Catholic community.

In his Easter statement, Conway made a demagogic attack on the ghetto fighters, centering on the largely discredited, blind terror-campaign of the Provisional IRA. He addressed his remarks to Seán Mac Stiofáin, the Provisional chief of staff: "What right have you to continue the campaign of violence against the unanimous voice of the Irish people?"

It is in this context that the British government's decision April 7 to release seventy-three political prisoners must be seen. The April 8 *New York Times* commented:

"Because it was operated almost solely against Catholics, internment had the effect of uniting the Catholic community. In acting against it, Mr. Whitelaw is obviously hoping to add to the groundswell of opinion in favor of peace, with a view to isolating the gunmen."

In the face of growing opposition to the concentration camp system introduced on August 9, 1971, the British authorities have tried to combine flexibility with the maximum intimidating effect. Over 1,500 persons have been arrested under the Special Powers Act, but only 700 were still imprisoned when direct rule was introduced.

Prisoners released can be rearrested at any time and are not likely to forget their experiences in the hands of the repressive forces. Furthermore, other victims of political repression have been tried and sentenced for such offenses as possessing "illegal documents."

On April 5, some Irish papers reported rumors that the British commander in Northern Ireland, General Tuzo, favored trying and sentencing "hard core suspects" by secret military tribunals. The British strategy, thus, seems to call for the use now of more selective and intensive repression designed to isolate and destroy the nationalist vanguard.

In this situation, the political initiatives the militant leaderships take in the next few weeks can be vitally important. The Provisionals have reportedly responded to the "peace campaign" by projecting the idea of a referendum in the Catholic community. However, in any such poll—if it can be carried out, which is highly doubtful—the conservative forces will have the advantage.

Moreover, giving credence to the idea that a passive vote is the proper way of determining the will of the Catholic people can only increase the authority of the elected bourgeois parliamentarians, who will now be the spearhead of the British government's attempts to isolate the militants.

In contrast to the Provisionals, the Official republicans have generally propagated the concept of direct, active democracy. In its maneuver to conciliate at least a part of the Catholic community, the British government is in an awkward position to refuse increased freedom of action to community-based organizations.

The success of the British strategy may depend on the ability of the Official IRA to find bold new formulas utilizing the main contradictions of the imperialist system to mobilize the masses of the Catholic ghettos.

Background to Dominican struggle

By C. M. TAVAREZ

The revolutionary fighters of April 1965 in Santo Domingo wrote one of the most heroic chapters in the long, blood-stained history of Latin-American resistance to U. S. imperialism. Since April 24 is the seventh anniversary of that revolt, it is appropriate to give some of the background to the Dominican events leading up to and following it.

The 1965 U. S. invasion of the Dominican Republic was the fourth time U. S. Marines had occupied that country. The previous occupation lasted from 1916 to 1924. The bloody tyrant Rafael L. Trujillo got his start during that occupation as a procurer of prostitutes for the U. S. Marines. The Marines sent him to a school the U. S. had set up for training a puppet Dominican military establishment. By 1930 Trujillo controlled the Dominican armed forces and was elected president. He maintained his grip for 31 years by cultivating powerful friends in Washington and the Pentagon. He also organized a political patronage system that made his close friends wealthy and simply murdered opponents he thought threatened his

Fearing that the Dominicans might follow the example of the 1959 Cuban revolution, the U. S. State Department began to pretend concern about

Trujillo's brutality. The attempt by an armed group of anti-Trujillo Dominicans to overthrow his government on June 14, 1959, served as an additional warning. (This was the origin of the June 14 Movement, the main anti-Trujillo force in the country during the tyrant's last year.) In early 1960, the U. S. voted in the Organization of American States for sanctions against Trujillo in an attempt to establish a precedent for intervention under OAS cover should the need arise.

Trujillo was assassinated on May 30, 1961, by members of his own organization who had decided to move before a popular revolution overthrew them along with Trujillo. Trujillo was replaced by one of his own appointees, Joaquin Balaguer, who received the undisguised support of the United States. The *Trujillato*—as the Trujillo machine is called in Santo Domingo—remained in power. But soon the population began engaging in strikes and mass demonstrations for democratic and social demands.

A revolutionary process had begun that has deepened ever since, in spite of all the U. S. State Department's maneuvering to stop it. The central demands of the popular forces were the disbanding of the bloody military machine built by Trujillo and the na-

tionalization of the vast holdings of the *Trujillato*. A series of general strikes and mass demonstrations between November 1961 and January 1962 forced the ouster of Balaguer and the restoration of many civil liberties.

The country's first honest election since Trujillo took over was held in December 1962. Juan Bosch, the liberal candidate of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, ran on a program promising drastic social reform. He overwhelmingly defeated the candidate of the conservative National Civic Union.

In 1963 the masses supported a new constitution embodying the basic social reforms Bosch had promised. The constitution was never enforced, however, for Bosch was overthrown by a right-wing military coup led by General Elias Wessin y Wessin on Sept. 25, 1963. The military junta appointed Donald Reid Cabral head of a triumvirate, and Washington recognized and fully supported this right-wing military dictatorship.

The June 14 Movement resisted the coup and defended the constitution. On Nov. 28, 1963, it issued the "Manifesto of the Constitutional Guerrillas." The main band of guerrillas was wiped out soon afterward, including its central leader, Manolo Tavarez. Most of the struggle for a restoration

of the constitutional government continued underground.

That struggle would have very likely succeeded in April 1965 if 23,000 U. S. Marines hadn't invaded the country. The popular uprising began April 24, when liberal army officers ousted the regime of Reid Cabral and called for the restoration of the constitutional government. This led to the U. S. invasion and a bloody war in which several thousand Dominicans were killed.

What were the excuses for the U. S. invasion? First, to "protect American lives and property." This was not very widely believed, since not a single U. S. civilian had been killed or wounded, and no one had threatened to expropriate any of Wall Street's sacred holdings in Santo Domingo. The second public excuse was that the Marines were sent to "prevent another communist state in this hemisphere."

After one year of continuous fighting, the constitutionalists were forced by the U. S. to make a "peace pact," and on June 1, 1966, elections were conducted under the auspices of the Pentagon and the U. S. State Department. The pro-U. S. Reformist Party of Joaquin Balaguer "defeated" Juan Bosch of the Dominican Revolutionary Party.

Continued on page 29

Arab revolution advances in Dhofar

By TONY THOMAS

While the Arab revolution suffered setbacks in the repression of the Sudanese Communists last summer and the repression of the Palestine resistance by the Israeli, Jordanian, and Lebanese regimes, one place in the Arab world where revolutionary forces are still advancing is in Dhofar in Oman. The guerrilla forces of the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf (PFLOAG) control most of Dhofar and enjoy the support of the majority of the estimated 100,000 to 250,000 Dhofari people.

The Arab Gulf-Persian Gulf area, site of the bulk of the Arab world's oil reserves, is one of the most strategic areas in the world. Sixty-seven percent of the capitalist and 33.5 percent of the total world oil reserves are located in this part of the world.

Dhofar is located in the southern part of the Sultanate of Oman, which occupies the southeastern end of the Arabian Peninsula. While formally independent, Oman has been controlled by Great Britain since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The Dhofari people are a mixture of Arabs, non-Arab people who speak Himyari, and Black African descendants of the Sultan's slaves. The Dhofaris have continuously revolted against Omani rule since Dhofar was annexed by the Sultanate in 1881.

The Sultanate has responded by attempting to keep the Dhofaris completely isolated from modern political and economic life. Fred Halliday, a British writer who visited Dhofar, described conditions under Sultan Said bin Taimur in the March 22, 1970, *London Sunday Times*: "In areas of Dhofar where the Sultan's edict still runs, the society has a medieval texture. It is forbidden to play football, to smoke in public, to wear glasses, shoes or trousers, to have electricity or to import medicine, to eat in public or to talk with anyone for more than 15 minutes. The Sultan has several thousand slaves, mamlouks descended from Africans imported from Zanzibar. They are used as a bodyguard and forbidden all contact with the native population."

Under Taimur's regime, Dhofaris were prohibited from many fields of industrial and commercial employment in Dhofar and other parts of Oman. Pakistani, Somali, and other aliens constituted most of the workforce in Oman's small industries. Likewise, the armed forces are mostly Pakistani troops with British officers.

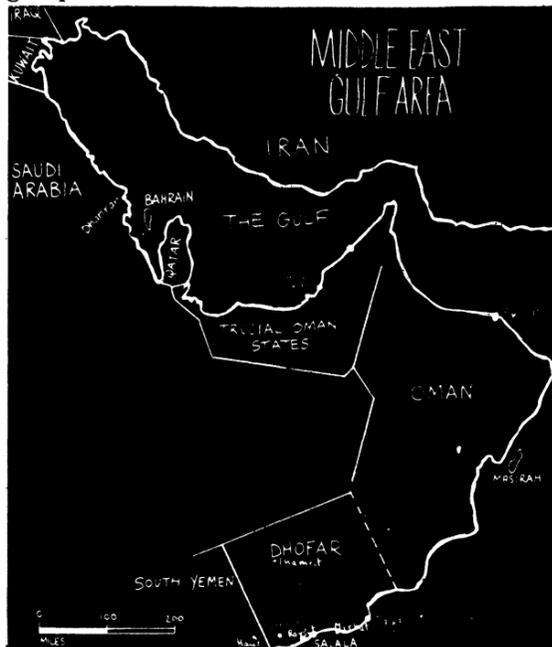
Despite this attempt to cut off the Dhofari people from modern life, many Dhofaris were able to find jobs in the oil industry in Kuwait and other states on the Persian Gulf. This experience politicized them and helped lay the basis for the

formation of the Dhofari Liberation Front (DLF) in 1964.

Claiming support to "Nasserism," the DLF launched military actions against the Omani authorities on June 9, 1965, to gain self-determination for Dhofar.

A split occurred in the DLF in 1968. In September 1968, the majority of the DLF formed the PFLOAG. The name of the new group indicates support for the "liberation" of the entire Gulf area. The PFLOAG claims to support the ideas of Mao Tsetung and Che Guevara and to reject "Nasserism."

In 1970 the National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf—an Omani group with aims similar to the PFLOAG—was



formed and launched guerrilla actions. This organization and the PFLOAG issued a statement in 1970 that defined their aims as completion of the "national democratic tasks . . . [the formation of] a broad national front to eliminate the colonial presence, put an end to the rule of the feudal families, establish progressive national rule, and realise all the accomplishments that are required at this stage." (*Dhofar: Britain's Colonial War in the Gulf*. Published by the Gulf Committee, London, 1972.)

The principal aims of the fronts at this time are: the removal of British air and naval bases from Dhofar and Oman, collective ownership of all land, freedom for all slaves, and equal rights for women.

Based on this program, the PFLOAG has been able to win important victories. According to two

spokesmen for the PFLOAG interviewed in the March 1 issue of the New York radical weekly the *Guardian*, 90 percent of Dhofar has been freed from Omani control. Salalah, the capital and residence of the Sultan, is completely cut off from land communications with the rest of Oman. According to Eric Rouleau, a senior correspondent for the French daily *Le Monde*, the guerrilla operations reach to the barbed-wire fence that surrounds Salalah and sometimes extend into the city itself.

Britain has made large-scale efforts to suppress the rebellion. Nearly 200 British Special Air Service troops have been sent to Dhofar. In addition, more than 100 British officers, formally part of the British army, command the Omani army.

In the summer of 1970, the British engineered a coup that overthrew Said bin Taimur, replacing him with his son Quabus. Quabus, who was trained at the British military academy at Sandhurst and served in the British army in Germany, attempted to give the regime a "liberalized" face. He freed some of the slaves and allowed some political exiles to return, but he continued his father's campaign of repression against the Dhofari people. The only substantial result of his "reforms" was to spark the outbreak of political and economic struggles by alien and other workers in Oman itself last fall.

One of the most positive features of the PFLOAG is its concern for women's liberation. This is an especially serious question in the medieval atmosphere of Oman. One of its central demands has been to outlaw the selling of brides between families. According to the Gulf Committee and other sources, women have been integrated into all facets of the PFLOAG's activities, including the armed struggle.

In addition to the British, the U. S. imperialists are strengthening their hold in the Arab Gulf to deal with the threat of revolution in Dhofar and elsewhere. In January, the U. S. State Department announced that the U. S. would be setting up a naval and air base in Bahrain in the Persian Gulf, where a former British base is being closed. With a policy similar to "Vietnamization," the Nixon administration has heavily armed Iran, which has already seized two islands commanding the entrance to the Persian Gulf.

As the struggle in Dhofar poses a threat to "stability" in the Middle East, it is not out of the question that the U. S. or the U. S.-controlled Iranian regime would intervene if Britain or Oman failed to crush the Dhofaris.

Those who want to learn more about this struggle can obtain information by writing to: The Gulf Committee, c/o Russell Foundation, 3 Shavers Place, London, S. W. 1., England; and PFLOAG, P. O. Box 5037, Maala, Aden, Democratic Republic of Yemen.

May 1-6 actions to demand abortion right

By CINDY JAQUITH

Seventeen cities have demonstrations and rallies scheduled for May 6 to demand repeal of all abortion and restrictive contraception laws and no forced sterilization. Leading up to these actions, teach-ins, debates, campus rallies, and high school assemblies will take place as part of Abortion Action Week, May 1-6, called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

The *Women vs. California* class-action suit against the California abortion law will be filed May 2. The suit involves 2,500 plaintiffs. WONAAC has called for a picket line at the San Francisco City and County Superior Court May 2 in support of the suit. No less than three anti-abortion bills have recently been introduced in the state legislature. One of these bills would require the approval of the state supreme court for every abortion performed in California.

On May 4 women in Los Angeles will hold a picket line at the federal courthouse to support the *Women vs. California* suit and California Bill No. 433, which would guarantee young people access to contraceptives.

Sixty women from San Francisco, Berkeley, Sacramento, and other cities in Northern California attended an Abortion Action Week planning meet-

ing on April 15 in San Francisco. Outside the meeting, 15 members of anti-abortion groups picketed and played "Taps."

The student government at the University of Texas in Austin has endorsed May 1-6 and sent a letter to all student governments and women's organizations in Texas, urging them to support and help build Abortion Action Week.

The May 6 demonstration in Houston has been endorsed by the Harris County National Organization for Women (NOW), the Harris County Women's Political Caucus, and Houston Women's Liberation. Houston abortion law repeal activists have demanded that the city council support Abortion Action Week and set up a Commission on the Rights of Women.

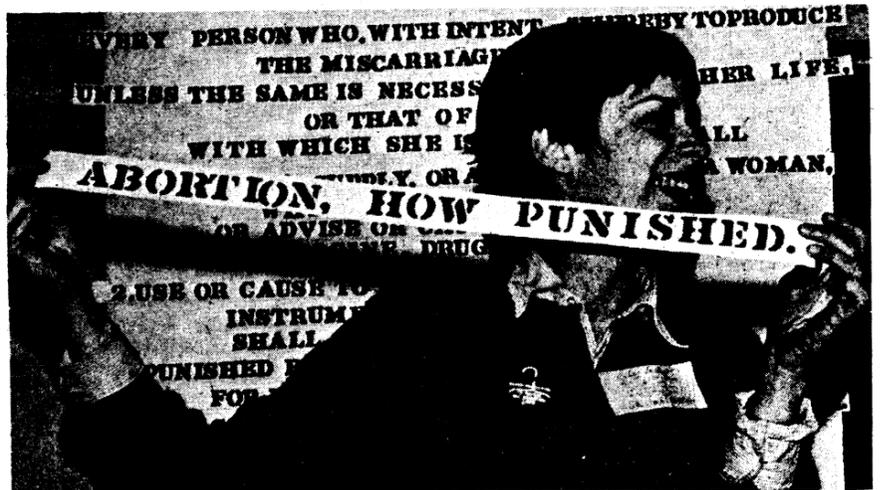
The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) in Cleveland is sponsoring a program on abortion for welfare workers during Abortion Action Week. Meetings on contraception are being organized in predominately Black high schools and in Black community centers by Sisters in Struggle, a Black feminist group in Cleveland.

Special Abortion Action Week activ-

ities involving high school women include a May 3 High School Women's Day in Tallahassee, Fla., where assemblies will take place in two schools. High school days will also take place on May 3 in Boston and in Madison, Wis. Austin women plan a High School Education Day on May 2, with workshops in the city high schools on abortion and contraception.

On May 9 in Detroit, women will picket the board of education meeting to protest the board's refusal to provide adequate education and counseling on birth control and abortion in the schools.

Four new areas report plans for abortion law repeal rallies on May 6: Dayton and Athens, Ohio; and Tallahassee and Gainesville, Fla.



Betsy Farley of the Minnesota Women's Abortion Action Coalition auctioned off the Minnesota abortion law, line by line, at an abortion law repeal rally in Minneapolis April 8. The rally concluded a one-day conference attended by 150 supporters of the right to abortion. A major article on the conference appeared in eight different suburban newspapers.

Texas women hear SWP, Raza Unida candidates

By SUSAN LAMONT

MESQUITE, Texas—More than 250 women gathered here March 10-12 for the first statewide convention of the Texas Women's Political Caucus (TWPC). The convention began Friday evening with brief addresses by some 70 candidates for public office in Texas, mostly from the Democratic and Republican parties.

Several Raza Unida Party candidates, Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate Debby Leonard, and Melissa Singler, SWP candidate for U. S. Congress from the 10th C. D., also spoke Friday night and were warmly received.

On Saturday morning, the keynote speakers were Frances Farenthold, the leading liberal contender for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination; Myrlie Evers, widow of Medgar Evers; and Marta Cotera, Raza Unida Party candidate for state board of education.

Cotera spoke on the role played by Chicanas in the Chicano liberation struggle, including their participation in establishing and leading La Raza Unida Party. Pointing to the need for Chicanas to work with the women's liberation movement, she said that the movement in turn must

recognize that all Chicanos in this society are oppressed, including men. She drew enthusiastic applause when she said that since the feminist movement is out to change the world, women should not be afraid when it comes to the Democratic and Republican parties. Women, she said, should quit thinking of these parties as their only alternatives; they should quit playing hostess and ladies' auxiliary to these parties.

More than 50 Raza women attended this part of the convention.

After a discussion of whether or not the TWPC should endorse candidates, a motion was passed to support Farenthold, Democratic candidate for governor, and Alma Canales, Raza Unida Party candidate for lieutenant governor. This was a significant decision for the TWPC, in view of the fact that its orientation has primarily been toward influencing the Democratic and Republican parties. La Raza Unida Party is an independent Chicano party that runs candidates against the two capitalist parties. The support for Canales reflects the strength LRUP has in Texas and the desire of many women in the TWPC to involve Chicanas in the caucus.

The motion endorsing Canales was

coupled with the endorsement of Farenthold. The few LRUP women still present at the time of this vote supported the motion, despite the fact that LRUP is running its own candidate for governor, Ramsey Muniz.

Other resolutions adopted at the convention called for a government-financed system of child-care centers, passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, support to the United Farmworkers, total repeal of the abortion laws, and the creation of a TWPC lobbying committee. A resolution was passed for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia and for support to the April 22 antiwar demonstrations.

After a heated debate, the convention also voted to lower caucus members' dues to allow more poor women, especially Black and Raza women, to become involved in the TWPC.

SWP campaign supporters at the convention distributed hundreds of pieces of literature, including a leaflet entitled "Is Farenthold Really a Choice?" which compared the program of the Democratic candidate to that of SWP gubernatorial candidate Debby Leonard. Women at the convention purchased \$10 worth of SWP campaign buttons and posters, as well as \$30 worth of radical literature.

800 at NOW gathering reject red-baiting move

By MARY SCULLY

UNION, N. J.—"Woman Power—A Force for Change" was the theme of the third New Jersey conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW) held here April 8 at Newark State College. Several other groups, including the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) and the New Jersey Women's Political Caucus, cosponsored the gathering. More than 900 women, many of them students, attended.

The conference, organized for educational rather than decision-making purposes, opened with a general session, where participants heard speeches by Paula Kassell, eastern regional membership coordinator of NOW; Nelle Morton, a theology professor at Drew University in N. J.; Dorothy Mery, director of the New Jersey Women's

Division; and Jacqueline Ceballos, eastern regional director of NOW.

The conference then broke down into workshops on such topics as women's history, abortion, new family patterns, lesbianism, "third-world women," working-class women, and consciousness-raising for men.

Activists from the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) came to the conference with literature on the May 1-6 Abortion Action Week. When they requested a table to display their materials, they were denied permission, however. Conference organizers charged that WONAAC, which is an abortion law repeal coalition, instead represented a political party—the Socialist Workers Party. They said it was the decision of the organizing committee to exclude po-

litical parties from setting up literature tables.

Supporters of WONAAC brought this attempt at political exclusion through the use of false charges to the attention of women in the abortion workshop. A full discussion took place of WONAAC, red-baiting, and the importance of nonexclusion in the women's movement. Despite the attempts by the workshop convener to prevent women from taking a position on the question, a motion passed unanimously to recommend to the next general session that WONAAC have a table. Two women at the workshop also expressed their interest in establishing a New Jersey Abortion Action Coalition.

During the second general session, the exclusion of WONAAC was raised

for discussion. Deborah Hart, one of the conference organizers, repeated the red-baiting charges against WONAAC in an attempt to excuse this undemocratic procedure. At this point, the abortion workshop's motion for WONAAC's right to a table was presented. Eight hundred women, in a standing vote, supported the motion. About 100 women were opposed. This vote, rejecting the use of red-baiting in the women's movement and supporting the right of all women to express their views, set an important example in the women's movement.

WONAAC supporters set up a table for the remainder of the conference, which included workshops on women and political power, high school and campus women, and welfare women.

Women picket anti-abortion march

By BARBARA PETERSON
NEW YORK—Responding to an emergency call issued by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), 100 people turned out April 16 to picket a reactionary, anti-abortion demonstration and rally organized by the New York State Council of the Knights of Columbus and supported by the Catholic Church hierarchy. WONAAC supporters, as well as members of the National Organization for Women (NOW), the National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws, and Zero Population Growth marched across the street from the right-wing demonstration.

Police estimated that the Knights-sponsored action drew 10,000 people. The anti-abortion demonstrators carried signs that read "Choose Life," "Pick on Someone Your Own Size," and "Babies Want to See the World, Not the Inside of a Garbage Can." Many of those marching against women's right to abortion arrived in buses from upstate New York.

Several high school bands played for the occasion. When interviewed by a *Militant* reporter, some of the women in one of the bands explained that they supported the right to abortions, but that the Knights had hired the band for the day.

The theme of the right-wing demonstration was that New York's liberalized abortion law, which allows abortions up to the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy, should be repealed and replaced with a much more restrictive statute. Leaflets were distributed supporting the Donovan-Crawford Bill, which would allow abortion only to preserve the woman's life. The bill is now in committee, but will very likely come to the floor of the state legislature for debate during this legislative session.

Supporters of women's right to abortion carried signs and a huge banner that read, "Abortion Is a Woman's Right to Choose—Abortion Action Week, May 1-6."

The police attempted to keep the pro-abortion demonstrators out of sight, but picketers insisted on their right to march down the sidewalk. They passed out leaflets announcing the New York May 6 demonstration for a woman's right to abortion and sold all the WONAAC buttons they had brought. Many people watching the two marches responded favorably to the May 6 leaflets, and some women joined the pro-abortion picket line.

In light of this mobilization of right-wing opposition to women's right to abortion, the May 6 demonstrations for repeal of all anti-abortion and restrictive contraception laws and no forced sterilization must be built as large as possible. The New York demonstration will assemble at 12 noon on May 6 at First Avenue and 27th Street and will then march to Union Square for a 3 p. m. rally. For more information, contact WONAAC, 150 Fifth Avenue, Suite 315, New York, N. Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 675-9150.

Albany rally demands gay rights

By STEVE BEREN
ALBANY, N. Y., April 15—Despite gray skies and unseasonably cool weather, about 400 gay people, representing gay liberation organizations throughout the state converged on the steps of the state capitol here this afternoon.

The demonstration called for the repeal of the New York State sodomy, solicitation, loitering, and impersonation laws, and supported the passage of legislation currently before the state legislature that would prohibit discrimination against homosexuals in the areas of housing, employment, and public accommodations.

Last spring, an omnibus gay civil rights bill introduced by Assembly-

man William Passanante was defeated 80-67.

Shortly after the rally began, about a dozen persons who had walked to Albany from New York to dramatize the urgency of gay rights legislation marched up through the crowd to the speaker's stand. Each briefly addressed the crowd.

The remainder of the rally consisted of brief speeches and messages of support from various individuals and groups.

The speakers included Richard Wandel, president of New York Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) and a participant in the walk from New York; feminist author Kate Millet, who also walked from New York; Elizabeth Jayko, Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate in Queens (8th C. D.), who read greetings and a message of support from SWP presidential candidate, Linda Jenness; the Reverend Magora Kennedy, who announced, "I'm the first gay person on the Chisholm slate"; Jim Owles, former president of New York GAA; Bob Milne of New York Mattachine; Deni Covello, Gay Women's Liberation Front (GWLFF); Lee Brewster, Queens Liberation Front; Barbara Love; and many others. A message of support was read from Assemblyman Passanante.

Despite the modest size of the demonstration, the number of groups represented by banners, leaflets, and speakers indicated broad support.

The organizers of the demonstration viewed it as a steppingstone to Gay Pride Week (June 19-25), which will culminate in a large gay liberation march on Christopher Street Liberation Day, June 25. Gay liberation protests will also be held in Miami and San Diego at the Democratic and Republican conventions.

Spanish women organize

From *Intercontinental Press*

Women in Spain are beginning to struggle for equality in the face of great discrimination and despite the risk of imprisonment, reports Birgitta Gustafson from Madrid in the March

23 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*.

"Our most immediate goal is naturally to reach women in the lower social classes," said a twenty-seven-year-old activist named Maria. "We have succeeded in obtaining permission from the management of one factory where many women are employed to hold talks there. Of course, we are obliged to speak in very moderate terms—no fiery calls to battle. But what we are hoping is that at least some of these women will become interested. In this way, we can begin to broaden our base."

The women's group does not have the resources for putting out publications. And distributing leaflets can entail a prison sentence of six months to six years, according to Gustafson. In view of such an atmosphere of repression, one of the main difficulties the group faces is making its voice heard and letting women know that the group exists.

"In general we are against the system in this country and against the capitalist system as a whole, in which the woman is more exploited than the man," explained Maria.

One of the most oppressive aspects of life for women in Spain is the double standard to which they are subjected and the stranglehold of the family, she said. It is not considered proper for women to go out unaccompanied by a man after 10:00 p. m., for instance, and unmarried women as old as thirty are expected to continue to live with their parents.

An area of special concern is the discrimination women face in the job market. "For a woman to get a job that requires schooling and qualifications, she has to know ten times as much and be ten times as efficient as any male candidate for the job. Naturally, business companies make the most of this fact and underpay the woman for her qualified work."

An issue that affects both working mothers and mothers who are students is that of child care. Private child-care centers are very expensive, and state-run centers are few and far between. "Our first concrete project is to gather signatures in order to pressure the authorities to do something about the problem of child-care centers," Maria indicated. In one department of the university alone, she said, they had collected 2,000 signatures on a petition.

The Militant gets around...

RECORD NUMBER OF INTRODUCTORY SUBS THIS SPRING: Last week 256 introductory subscriptions to *The Militant* were sent in to the business office—the highest number during any week this spring. In addition, 79 renewal and nine new one-year subscriptions were received. This brings the number of renewals from last fall's subscription drive to 1,383.

Almost half (122) of the introductory subscriptions were obtained by the national Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley teams. The Midwest team sent in 58 and the Mid-Atlantic team, 48.

SALES TEAMS BRING RESULTS IN SEATTLE: Dymphna Flavin, sales director in Seattle, reports that teams have proved to be the best method of selling. Out of their March *Militant* bundles, "teams sold 150 at the Northgate shopping center and 25 at Pike Street (an open market). The rest were sold at high schools (combined with leafletting for the state Socialist Workers Party election campaign), at the University of Washington, and along the main avenue in the university district." They are now organizing sales at the Sanitation Department, where "the paper seems to get passed around, as two workers told us the second week," and at the post office. Sales in the Black community have also received an encouraging response.

BEST SOURCE ON IMPERIALISM AND CO-

LONIALISM: An SWP campaign supporter in Denver who is teaching a class on "Imperialism and Colonialism" sent in the names of 28 of his students who signed up to receive introductory subscriptions to *The Militant*. "I've decided to use *The Militant*," he writes, "as it is the best source of information I can get on a weekly basis."

ISR RENEWALS APPROACH 10 PERCENT: During the last three weeks, 74 renewal subscriptions to the *International Socialist Review* were received, making the total number of renewals this spring 362. This is approximately 10 percent of all those subscriptions that have expired by this time. The majority of these subscribers were gained during the fall subscription drive.

The *ISR* also received 63 introductory, 37 new six-month, and 19 new one-year subscriptions during this three-week period.

ANOTHER AREA INCREASES ITS BUNDLE: Los Angeles has increased its weekly *Militant* bundle to 200 and its *ISR* bundle to 100 as part of a campaign to greatly increase sales. And while other areas are considering raising their bundles, we should mention that both Detroit and Boston, after raising their bundles several weeks ago, have maintained them at 400 each.

THE MILITANT GETS TO FORT LAUDERDALE, TRINIDAD, AND ELLENSBURG: We re-

cently received weekly bundle orders for 10 *Militants* from supporters on the Central Washington State College campus in Ellensburg, Wash., and for 15 *Militants* from a YSJPer in Trinidad, Calif.

And a member of the Young Socialist Alliance writes from Florida, "I'm going to be in Fort Lauderdale for two or three months, so to make the most of it, I'm ordering a *Militant* bundle—five to start, and I'll increase it if I can sell them. I'll mainly be selling at high schools in the area, where there are several SWP campaign supporters, and at a local hospital that holds nightly discussions on the various mass movements. On second thought, you better make it 10 *Militants*."

Other *Militant* readers who would like to take regular bundles to sell, can fill out the coupon below (*Militants* are 17 cents each for bulk orders, payable at the end of each month).

—NANCY COLE

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

5 10 25 other

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

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

Socialist campaigns break new ground

Oregon

By JOHN STUDER

PORTLAND, Ore. — Oregon has a tradition of revolutionary activity dating back to the struggles of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in the lumber fields around the turn of the century. This tradition is being carried on by the Oregon Socialist Workers Party 1972 campaign, the first SWP campaign ever run in the state.

The SWP-endorsed candidate for Portland School Board, Position One, is a 17-year-old high school student, John Linder. A veteran leader of high school struggles, Linder was a key figure in the recent protests of the school board's refusal to charter the Student Mobilization Committee as a school club. After a series of high school demonstrations and debates at school board meetings, the SMC charter was finally granted. Linder became so well known in the course of this struggle that at school board meetings now one often hears the chair's reluctant, "All right, Mr. Linder, what do you have to say about this issue?"

Linder has also spoken out at school board meetings supporting the campaign by high school women to remove the Rose Festival Princess Selection from the schools. Each year the schools hold beauty contests in which high school women are chosen as Rose Festival Princesses. A group called Women Against the Rose Festival Princess Selection has demanded that the school board allow binding referendums in the schools so that students can vote on whether to continue the princess selection.

Currently on a speaking tour of Portland's high schools, Linder also



John Linder

recently spoke at a candidates meeting sponsored by the Portland Federation of Teachers. He endorsed the PFT's fight for higher wages and for an end to layoffs and won the biggest round of applause of all the candidates appearing at the meeting.

Philip Hardy, 23, is the SWP-endorsed candidate for mayor of Portland. Hardy has been active in the antiwar movement since 1965. In 1967 the University of Illinois unsuccessfully attempted to expel him as one of the leaders of a sit-in against Dow Chemical recruiters. Now, Portland city officials are trying to exclude him from the mayoral race by using a 1913 law that states candidates must have lived in Portland for three years.

On March 24 the city decided that on the basis of this law, Hardy's name would not appear on the May 23 primary ballot. The socialist candidate immediately responded by filing suit against the unconstitutional statute. On March 29, the Multnomah County Circuit Court upheld the law, but with the aid of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), Hardy plans to appeal this ruling.

The city's attempt to keep voters from hearing Hardy's views has not prevented him from waging a vigorous campaign. In his efforts to help build the April 22 antiwar action in Los Angeles, Hardy urged that the city declare April 17-22 "Portland Peace Action Week," and he called upon his opponents in the mayoral race to join with him in bringing the largest possible Portland contingent to the Los Angeles demonstration.

Ruth Getts, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate, is currently a student in the Portland Community College women's studies program. She has also attended Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, where she was a leader of the May 1970 student strike. Her role in organizing student protests during the U. S. invasion of Cambodia led the university president to declare her "the most dangerous woman on campus."

Getts' opponents in the senatorial race, incumbent Democrat Mark Hatfield and Democrat Wayne Morse, apparently consider her "dangerous" enough that they have manufactured excuse after excuse every time she has challenged them to a debate.

As an activist in the abortion-law repeal movement and through her debates with anti-abortion forces, Getts has received a large amount of news coverage. Recently she was invited to address a meeting of the Oregon Women's Political Caucus.

Linder, Hardy, Getts, and their supporters are also building the SWP campaign of Linda Jenness for president and Andrew Pulley for vice-president. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley are currently running a full slate of candidates in the student-government elections at Portland Community College.

The Portland headquarters of the 1972 Oregon SWP Campaign Committee is 208 S.W. Stark St., Room 201, Portland, Ore. 97204. Telephone: (503) 226-2715.

Florida

By BILL BOYD

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — Jack Lieberman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Congress from Florida's 2nd C.D., has received an enthusiastic response to his campaign from students throughout the state this spring.

Lieberman is well-known in Florida as the student leader dismissed from Florida State University (FSU) last November for teaching a course entitled "How to Make a Revolution in the U. S." His dismissal followed a series of attacks on the Young Socialist Alliance by the Florida Board of Regents and state senators William Barrow and Robert Haverfield. These attacks sparked a protest in Tallahassee and led to the formation of the Committee for Free Speech at FSU.

Lieberman toured Florida during February with two national field secretaries of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. "Everywhere we went, students were familiar with my case, favored reinstating me at FSU, and supported my right to teach my course," Lieberman comments. "My case is being appealed to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, and the Committee for Free Speech at FSU is publicizing it statewide."

Lieberman spoke recently at an FSU campus rally organized by the Quincy Five Defense Committee—an organization demanding freedom for five Black community leaders from Quincy, Fla., who are being tried on frame-up charges of armed robbery and murder. "The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance condemn these arrests. We see

the trials of the Quincy Five as one part of a system of unjust arrests and trials. The case of the Quincy Five is connected to the cases of Angela Davis, the Soledad Brothers, Huey Newton, and Bobby Seale. The case of the Quincy Five is not an isolated instance—it's just one more example of the 'justice' that Black political activists experience under this racist, capitalist system."

Lieberman also recently spoke to a rally of 250 in Quincy, organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Preceding the Florida primary election, busing was a big issue in Florida politics. "You will notice that out of all the candidates and parties to make statements on busing—all trying to get their licks in before the primary election—my party was the only party to support the right of Black people to choose wheth-



Photo by Gus Holzer/Florida Flambeau

er they want busing. The SWP is the only party running for office in Florida that stands for Black control of the Black community," Lieberman pointed out. The Tallahassee Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley printed a statement on busing and distributed it at the rally.

Lieberman's campaign for Congress and the campaigns of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates, have received widespread Afro-American endorsement. These include such figures as Willie Holden, president of the Florida Association of Black Student Unions, and Raleigh Jugger, chief of staff of the Malcolm X United Liberation Front.

The Florida press knows Lieberman as well as Florida students know him. The response of the news media to Lieberman's campaign has been enthusiastic from the very beginning. He has received excellent coverage in every major newspaper in the state, as well as good television and radio coverage. His campaign was featured in a three-page spread in the Sunday magazine section of the March 26 *Tampa Tribune*. Entitled "The Radical Candidate," the *Tribune* article began: "He doesn't look like a revolutionary. The soft-spoken, self-assured manner of the young man sitting across the table seems to contradict all the clamoring, gesticulating stereotypes of years past. But, by his own admission, he is a revolutionary, and this year he's attempting to carry that revolution to the very steps of the nation's capitol. . . ."

"In four years at Florida State University (FSU) in Tallahassee 'Radical Jack' Lieberman has made quite a name for himself. He so enraged the state legislature that one senator demanded he be thrown off campus, calling him 'that s.o.b.' and a 'card-carrying communist.'"

The Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley at Florida State University involves about 25 active campaign workers. Five people have joined the YSA as a result of the campaigns of Jenness, Pulley, and Lieberman. One YSJPer remarked that "We have a real drawing card for the YSJP here—Jack Lieberman. His campaign gives us a local vehicle for getting out the ideas that are put forth in the Jenness-Pulley campaign."

To contact the Florida SWP Campaign Committee, write to SWP Campaign, c/o Boyd, 514 N. Bronough St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32306. Telephone: (904) 224-7499.

Connecticut

By TIM CRAINE

NEW HAVEN, Conn. — On April 4 General William Westmoreland was scheduled to speak to a closed meeting at the Yale Political Union. Nearly 1,000 students and antiwar activists from the New Haven area showed up to greet him, and as a result, the general refused to speak. A spontaneous antiwar teach-in took place instead.

After the teach-in, a group of demonstrators, led by Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), marched to a local TV station to demand that the film of the Winter Soldier Investigation be shown. Among the veterans at the head of the march was John Ratliff, a Yale law student who is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Congress from Connecticut's 3rd C.D.

An organizer for Eugene McCarthy's presidential campaign in 1968, Ratliff became a socialist while serving in the Army in Vietnam from June 1969 to June 1970. He recalls that during the U. S. invasion of Cambodia, he was stationed in a combat zone near the Cambodian border. Along with several other GIs, Ratliff joined in spontaneous antiwar demonstrations on the base in solidarity with the massive student strike taking place in the United States.

When he returned to Connecticut, Ratliff helped found a chapter of Vietnam Veterans Against the War. He was one of the organizers of the Connecticut contingent that participated in the week of veterans' demonstrations in Washington, D. C., preceding the April 24, 1971, antiwar action there.

The Ratliff campaign is the first so-



John Ratliff

Photo by Ellen Lemisch

cialist campaign in Connecticut since Morris Chertov ran for governor on the SWP ticket in 1948. The local press, although unaccustomed to seeing socialist candidates, has given the Ratliff campaign serious coverage.

In addition to reporting Ratliff's campaign kick-off rally on March 25, the local newspapers have carried statements by the socialist candidate on Nixon's busing moratorium, on rising food prices, and on the frame-up trial of Black Panthers Bobby

Continued on page 29

The 1972 Socialist Workers Party Platform



Linda Jenness

Photo by Harry Ring



Andrew Pulley

Photo by Brian Shannon

The Democratic and Republican parties bear joint responsibility for the situation facing the people of the United States.

The Republican Nixon has carried on the military intervention in Indochina initiated by the Democrats Kennedy and Johnson. The White House continues to order murderous air raids on the people and countryside of Indochina. Despite Nixon's election promise to end the war, Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, and Americans are still dying.

At home, continued war spending gives added impetus to the inflationary spiral. Working people are being forced to pay the astronomical costs of the war. While prices and taxes keep going up, wage controls imposed by the government prevent working people from gaining fair wage adjustments to offset the soaring cost of living. Skyrocketing prices make the continued high unemployment even more painful.

These economic hardships inflicted upon the American people result from the needs of the very wealthy—a tiny minority who run this country—to improve their competitive position on the world market. In line with this, the bosses are determined to hold real wages down and to squeeze more out of the workers by intensifying speed-ups and layoffs.

The Black community is confronted with savage police assaults and political frame-ups of activists such as Angela Davis, the Soledad Brothers, and others. Afro-Americans face racial discrimination in housing, education, job opportunities, and every other area of economic, social, and political life.

Similar problems confront Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and other oppressed nationalities.

Responsibility for the erosion of civil liberties in the United States lies squarely with the Republicans and Democrats. The twin parties of big business have failed to offer any meaningful programs to meet the needs of women; they have turned a deaf ear to the demands of American youth; and they have refused to deal effectively with the ecological disaster that faces the country. Virtually an entire generation of young people feels increasingly alienated because of the sterility and decay marking the culture of American capitalism.

The capitalist system

The basic policies pursued by the Democrats and Republicans are not accidental, nor merely the results of decisions made by individual politicians. The policies of the capitalist parties flow from the needs of the capitalist system itself and from the outlook of the ruling capitalist class.

The Vietnam war is a prime example. The objectives of the U. S. government have nothing to do with "democracy" or "freedom" in Indochina. The war is part of a global strategy of counter-revolution designed to maintain world capitalism and to preserve the position of U. S. imperialism on an international scale.

This same policy has led to U. S. military interventions in the Dominican Republic, Cuba, the Congo, Korea, Lebanon, and many other countries—under both Democratic and Republican ad-

ministrations. The capitalist politicians consider it part of the "game plan" to send young men to die all over the world to maintain and extend the capitalist system and capitalist profits.

Racism is also woven into the fabric of American capitalism. Racial oppression pays off in profits for the capitalist class, providing a pool of cheap labor to be drawn upon in periods of expansion. Racism is also used to justify imperialist domination of the colonial world by perpetuating the myth that it is "natural" for rich nations to exploit poor nations. Racism also serves to keep white workers from realizing that their interests lie with the Black and Brown masses, and not with the white capitalist rulers.

The imposition of wage controls shows once again how the capitalist government stands on the side of the rich and against the poor. Wage controls pare down the standard of living of the working people. They benefit only the bosses, who are already hauling in superprofits.

The government of the United States is not a neutral defender of the interests of the "public," as it claims to be. It is the instrument through which the profit-hungry capitalist class runs society in accordance with its own interests.

The passing differences that crop up among politicians of the two capitalist parties reflect tactical differences over how best to maintain capitalist rule or factional squabbles over control of the pork barrel of government patronage. There is no fundamental difference between the Democrats and Republicans—they are both committed to preserving capitalist exploitation.

Regardless of how "sincere" or "honest" or even "militant" the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties make themselves out to be, no real improvement in the conditions of working people can come about through supporting them. There is no "lesser evil" among the candidates of the capitalist parties.

Social progress has never been achieved except when masses of people have organized themselves and fought for it. That is how the capitalist system itself, along with all its evils, will be uprooted.

More and more people are coming to the conclusion that from the point of view of satisfying human needs, this system is totally irrational.

Millions of Americans, not to mention those in other countries, are underfed, while the government pays farmers not to produce. Why? Because producing abundant, inexpensive food isn't profitable.

In the richest of all countries, the crisis in housing in our cities has reached the proportions of a national disaster. Yet there is virtually no low-cost housing construction. Why? Because building low-cost housing is not profitable.

Today's technology makes possible substantial improvements in the quality of life for all Americans, yet this technological capacity is not used to make adequate medical care available to working people; it is not used in any effective way to stop pollution; it is not used to protect consumers against shoddy, worthless, or dangerous products. Why? Because none of this is as profitable as war spending or defrauding the consumer.

Billions of dollars are spent on instruments of mass destruction to be used in nuclear, chemical, and biological warfare; other billions are put into gadgets to be rocketed into outer space. Yet the government refuses with utmost callousness to make possible a decent life for millions of older citizens who live in poverty on paltry pensions or Social Security benefits. Funds are denied to schools, libraries, and hospitals. Child-care centers are not built. Why? Because under this system the private profit of the few comes first.

What socialists want

The Socialist Workers Party is campaigning in 1972 for the following program to meet the crisis facing the American people:

BRING ALL THE TROOPS HOME NOW! STOP THE BOMBING OF INDOCHINA! Nixon talks about "winding down the war" to confuse the majority of Americans into thinking that he is heeding their demand for peace. Yet the killing goes on and Nixon escalates the air war. Many politicians talk about "setting a date" for withdrawal—sometime in the future. But what the Vietnamese people want, and what the majority of Americans want, is the withdrawal of all U.S. troops and war matériel right now!



Photo by Sally Feingold

Abolish the draft! No more draftees for Washington's war machine. Support the right of GIs to freely express their views on any issues of concern to them, including racism in the military and the need to end the war in Indochina. Organize a national referendum to give the people the right to vote on whether to continue the war or end it at once. Unconditional amnesty for all those in jail or in exile who have been accused of evading the draft or deserting.

Dismantle all U.S. bases around the world. End all U.S. interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Support the struggles of the Asian, Latin American, African, and Arab peoples for national independence and social liberation. Support national liberation struggles such as those in Ireland, Palestine, Bangladesh, Québec, and Puerto Rico.

FOR A PROGRAM TO MEET THE NEEDS OF WORKING PEOPLE. To fight the government's assault upon the rights and wages of the working people, the Socialist Workers Party calls for a united mobilization of the entire labor movement. We propose the convocation of a national conference of the labor movement, with delegates democratically elected by rank-and-file workers, to map out a campaign of struggle on all fronts against wage controls, inflation, and unemployment.

The Socialist Workers Party proposes the following program for an effective, united challenge to the government's antilabor policies:

Opposition to all wage controls.

End the war and war spending, the most important cause of inflation.

Cost-of-living escalator clauses in all contracts to protect workers against inflation. Include cost-of-living increases in all pensions and social security payments, and in welfare and unemployment benefits.

Organize committees of the unions and consumer groups with the power to regulate prices.

To combat unemployment, shorten the workweek—with no reduction in pay—to whatever extent necessary to spread the available work to all those who need a job. As an immediate step, reduce the workweek to 30 hours.

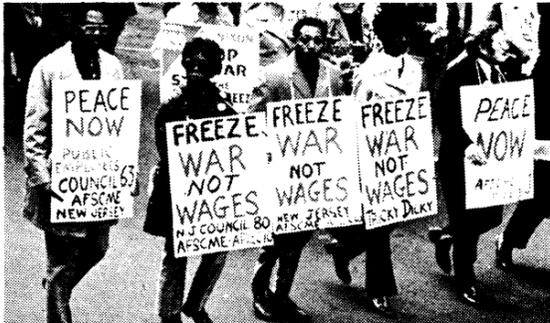


Photo by Sally Feingold

Launch a crash program of public works to provide jobs for the unemployed.

Guaranteed unemployment compensation at union wages for all those out of work, whether or not they have worked before.

While the corporations rake in superprofits, they turn more and more to the government for aid in their crusade against the standard of living and democratic rights of working people. The right to strike is an unconditional right. Repeal all laws restricting the right to strike, and all laws undermining union independence from the government, such as the Taft-Hartley Act. For an end to "special" antistrike legislation, such as was threatened in the West Coast longshoremen's strike.

For rank-and-file control over all union affairs.

For equal rights in the unions and on the job for Black and Raza workers and for women, and for full union support to their struggles. Preferential hiring for women and for workers of the oppressed nationalities.

For an independent labor party based on the trade unions to defend the rights and standard of living of working people against the parties of the bosses, and to fight for a workers government.

END THE BURDEN ON LOW-INCOME FAMILIES. Today, one of every 10 U.S. families is living in poverty. Yet, while welfare rolls continue to rise, welfare spending is cut back.

To help alleviate the problems faced by working people and the unemployed, we propose:

Abolish all taxes on incomes under \$10,000 a year. Confiscate all profits on war goods. A 100-percent tax on incomes above \$25,000 per year.

Roll back all rents on apartments to a maximum of 10 percent of family income.

Free quality medical and dental care for all, through socialization of medicine.

For a food and drug administration controlled by workers and consumers, not the food and drug corporations.

For a nationally coordinated program to build safe, efficient, comfortable mass public transit systems. All mass transit to be free.

FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHT OF BLACK PEOPLE TO CONTROL THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES. Slumlords and price-gouging merchants are a permanent part of life in the Black communities. Inequality of wages is being perpetuated by wage controls imposed by the Democrats and Re-



Photo by Mark Satinoff

publicans in office. Black youth continue to be drafted and killed in disproportionate numbers in the war in Indochina.

Black people should have control over schools, police, housing programs, hospitals, and other institutions in the Black community. Launch a crash program with federal, state, and city funds to build new housing, decent schools, and other projects in the Black communities to overcome years of deprivation and discrimination. The funds should be administered by the Black community.

Support busing in cases where Black people see that it can help obtain better education for their children. All decisions about busing should be made by the Black community.

Appropriate whatever funds are necessary to provide jobs for all Afro-Americans who need them, with preferential hiring and upgrading as needed to equalize opportunities.

It is the right of Afro-Americans to keep arms and organize themselves for self-defense against all attacks.

Black people are hampered in their struggle because they are denied equal political representation and lack political power. To fight effectively for control of the Black community and to help win the struggle for justice and equality, a mass Black political party is needed, a party independent of the Democrats and Republicans. The Gary, Ind., national Black political conference of nearly 8,000 Blacks showed the growing sentiment for Black political action and was an indication of the potential support such a party can have.

A mass Black political party, to be effective, would do much more than participate in elections. Gearing its demands around actions, it would seek to mobilize all the forces of the Black people in the struggle to win Black community demands.

CHICANO LIBERATION. The massive Chicano Moratorium marches against the war have dramatized Chicano opposition to the slaughter in Indochina. Yet La Raza still suffers disproportionately from the draft and war casualties. Chicanos are denied the use of the Spanish language—in school, on the job, in the courtroom, and in



Photo by Walter Lippmann

prison. Discrimination in housing, education, and jobs confronts Chicanos at every turn.

Chicano and Mexican workers are continually harassed by U.S. government immigration agents. Attempts to organize agricultural workers are met with violence and other strikebreaking tactics by the growers.

The true history of the Chicano people is not taught, and racist stereotypes continue to appear in textbooks and advertising.

Chicanos have begun to organize themselves independently of the capitalist parties through La Raza Unida parties. The fight for Chicano control of the Chicano communities will be advanced by building these parties into mass parties on a national as well as a local scale.



Photo by Howard Petrick

END THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN. Laws restricting abortions deny women the right to choose whether to bear children. The Socialist Workers Party calls for repeal of all anti-abortion laws and removal of all restrictions on contraceptive information and devices. End forced sterilization.

For a massive government-funded program to develop safe and effective birth-control devices. Abortion and contraceptives to be free on demand.

Equal pay for equal work. For ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and enforcement of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex. Pro-

tective legislation beneficial to women should be extended to cover men as well.

End discrimination against women in education. For open admissions to all institutions of higher learning.

For free, quality 24-hour child-care facilities, available to all children.

HALT THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT. The rape of the environment by the big corporations continues unchecked by government control. Legislation without teeth allows polluters to continue practices that threaten the entire continent with ruin.



For a 100 percent tax on every cent in profits made by the polluters. All corporations to be compelled, under threat of confiscation, to install pollution-control equipment and to meet standards set and enforced by committees of workers and consumers.

SUPPORT THE DEMANDS OF AMERICA'S YOUTH. Students and young working people face unique problems in this society. Students are told to "stay in school," but even college diplomas no longer guarantee a decent job. What is taught in school is increasingly irrelevant to today's problems and needs.

Cutbacks in funds for education and soaring college tuition costs keep many young people out of school. We call for free education through the university level, with government stipends for those students who need it. For guaranteed jobs when students leave school.

For student-faculty control of education. School facilities should be made available to the antiwar movement, the women's liberation movement, the

labor movement, the oppressed nationalities, and others fighting for social progress.

Abolish all laws that discriminate against youth. Full constitutional rights for all students. For the right of young people to serve on juries, to register and vote where they go to school, and to run for public office.

END INHUMAN TREATMENT OF PRISONERS. Prisons under capitalism are instruments of oppression against the most exploited sections of the population. They will have no place in a socialist society. As immediate steps toward establishing basic civil and human rights, we demand: An end to censorship and restrictions on mail, books, and newspapers. All labor to be paid at union wages. Humane treatment and conditions for all prisoners.

FOR DEMOCRATIC ELECTION LAWS. The lack of equality under the law is shown by the fact that independent candidates and parties other than the Democrats and Republicans face a labyrinth of discriminatory and onerous election laws that make it difficult, often impossible, for any but the capitalist parties to get on the ballot. These laws have the intent and effect of legislating a permanent electoral monopoly for the capitalist parties.

FULL CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS FOR GAY PEOPLE. For an end to all laws that discriminate against homosexuals. For legislation and executive orders to prohibit harassment and discrimination against gay people.

PROTECT AND EXTEND CIVIL LIBERTIES. The government is resorting more and more to political trials of activists in its attempts to silence opposition to its policies and intimidate those who are fighting for social change. We are faced with increasing government use of police-state practices, such as infiltration of agents-provocateurs, wiretaps, harassment of activists by FBI and U.S. Treasury agents, illegal surveillance of citizens, and continued use of the unconstitutional Attorney General's list of so-called "subversive" organizations.

FOR GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF INDUSTRY. Expropriate the major corporations and banks and operate them under the control of dem-

ocratically elected workers committees. Plan the economy democratically for the benefit of all instead of for the profit of the few.

FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA. Bring to power a workers government, with full recognition of the right of self-determination to the oppressed nationalities, to reorganize America on a socialist basis.

SUPPORT THE SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN. Support the demonstrations of the antiwar movement. Support mass actions against the oppression of Blacks, Chicanos, and women.

For an independent labor party! For an independent Black party and an independent Chicano party!

The Socialist Workers Party campaign is the only national campaign in 1972 that presents this perspective of political action independent of capitalist politics.

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are dedicated to ending the capitalist system of war and inequality—a system that degrades human life, warps cultural values, and prevents the masses of people from controlling the institutions that affect their lives.



The Socialist Workers Party is fighting to build a society without war, poverty, or unemployment and to put an end to racism, sexism, and the exploitation of the working class. We want to open the way for the unparalleled growth in culture, freedom, and development of every individual that will be possible when the vast resources available to us are used to serve human needs instead of serving private profits.

Such a society, a socialist society, is worth fighting to achieve. Join us!

Support the socialist campaign!

Young Socialists build campaign

By SANDRA MAXFIELD

When the Socialist Workers Party launched its 1972 campaign in Cleveland last Aug. 12, the majority of the 1,200 supporters gathered at the kick-off rally were young people. SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, now winding up their second round of national tours, have spoken at hundreds of colleges and high schools in their first nine months of campaigning. One indication of the support they have won among students is the fourth-place finish Jenness scored in the March 27-28 CHOICE '72 presidential poll at the University of Wisconsin in Madison.

In addition to appearances on campuses, the socialist candidates have addressed meetings of GIs, trade unionists, and prisoners. Jenness and Pulley have found that young people are especially receptive to the socialist alternative in 1972 and are the most active builders of the SWP campaign.

Young supporters of the Jenness-Pulley ticket are organizing Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP) groups across the country. The YSJP is made up of people who do not necessarily agree with all of the planks of the SWP platform but do agree that the Socialist Workers campaign is a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties.

"The YSJP," says Linda Jenness, "is the backbone of our campaign. YSJPer are the activists, the organizers, the speakers, and distributors of literature for our campaign. They are the troops of the biggest socialist campaign since the time of Eugene V. Debs."

For many in the YSJP, the Jenness-

Pulley campaign has been their first participation in an election campaign. Some, however, have previously worked for other candidates, such as Lindsay, McGovern, or Chisholm. On the basis of their personal experiences, these young people have concluded that the Democratic Party cannot become an instrument for social change and that it cannot be "taken over" by those who sincerely want to change society.

Many YSJPer are veteran activists of the antiwar movement, campus struggles, and Black and Chicano student organizations.

"It's exciting to be part of an election campaign that is helping to promote mass demonstrations rather than discourage them," says one YSJPer who worked for McCarthy in 1968.

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley build the antiwar movement and are active in the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia. The YSJP also helps organize demonstrations and other activities in support of the women's liberation movement.

At the recent National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., Andrew Pulley and a YSJP delegation distributed thousands of pieces of campaign literature on the Black struggle. They discussed the necessity of forming an independent Black political party with convention delegates and observers.

A team of Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley has just concluded an extensive campaign tour of Southern Black campuses in which they signed up several hundred Afro-American students as supporters of the SWP ticket.

In addition to campaigning for Jenness and Pulley and for local SWP candidates, the YSJP is also fielding

Young Socialist slates in student-government elections. YSJP candidates have run campaigns at Brooklyn College, the University of Minnesota, Arizona State University, and other campuses this spring.

One of the most important YSJP activities is participating in the petition drives necessary to win state ballot status for the socialist candidates. Altogether, approximately 500,000 signatures are needed to get on the ballot in the projected 30 states this fall. More than 100,000 signatures have already been collected in Florida, Ohio, Utah, Kentucky, Indiana, Michigan, Vermont, and New Jersey.

Petitioners in these states reported an excellent response to the SWP ticket, particularly on the campuses, where a high percentage of students are now registered to vote. YSJP teams have also petitioned at shopping centers, street corners, housing projects, and unemployment lines, as well as at beaches, zoos, rock concerts, and other recreational centers.

Large numbers of signatures are required in the following states: Massachusetts (56,000), Texas (27,000), Illinois (25,000), New York (20,000), and Washington, D.C. (13,000). YSJP volunteer teams are especially needed in these states, where petitioning will be done during the late spring and summer.

In conjunction with the summer petitioning, special socialist educational programs are projected in major cities. These programs will feature many national leaders of the SWP, who will be giving lectures and leading discussion on questions of socialist theory and practice. All YSJPer are welcome at these classes.

Many Young Socialists for Jenness

and Pulley do not belong to an organized group that meets regularly. Some do. But all of them agree on one thing: they want to help build the SWP 1972 campaign and help increase the number of those who support the program of the candidates.

"It's women who seem most excited about the campaign," observed Linda Jenness, remarking on the number of women who have signed cards endorsing her campaign after hearing her speak. Many campaign supporters are Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans. A number of GIs are actively working on the campaign.

The youthfulness of the candidates and their defense of the interests of young people are a strong attraction to the campaign for many YSJPer. "I find that being a 20-year-old vice-presidential candidate is a definite asset in the campaign," says Andrew Pulley.

Additional copies of the 1972 Socialist Workers Party Platform are available from the SWP 1972 Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. \$1 for 100.

In the months to come, thousands of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will be energetically building the campaign around the country. They will be challenging all of the other candidates and their campaign representatives to debates, and pressing the capitalist candidates for clear answers to the most important questions of the day. YSJPer will be distributing millions of pieces of campaign literature, selling subscriptions to *The Militant*, the campaign newsletter, and staffing literature tables in high schools and on campuses everywhere.

THE CANDIDATES

JENNESS



Photo by Harry Ring

Linda Jenness was born Jan. 11, 1941, in El Reno, Okla., but she has been a legal resident of Georgia most of her life. After graduating from high school, she attended Antioch College, where she majored in history; while in school, she studied in Mexico and France. After leaving school, she taught English in Spain for a year and worked as a secretary in Washington, D. C. She speaks Spanish fluently.

Influenced by the Cuban revolution and the war in Vietnam, she joined the Young Socialist Alliance in 1966. She served as an officer of the Washington, D. C., Mobilization Committee at the time of the Oct. 21, 1967, antiwar march on the Pentagon. She worked for Merit Publishers (now Pathfinder Press) in New York in 1968. In September 1968 she represented the YSA in Lares, Puerto Rico, at the hundredth anniversary celebration of the Puerto Rican independence movement. In January 1969, she spent five weeks in Cuba as part of a YSA delegation invited by the Cuban government to participate in activities marking the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

Linda Jenness was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta in 1969 and for governor of Georgia in 1970.

While a candidate in Georgia, she

worked as a secretary. She was a leader of the Atlanta Mobilization Committee and was active in Emory University Women's Liberation.

She is the coauthor of several pamphlets on women's liberation: "Women and the Cuban Revolution," "Abortion: A Woman's Right," and "Kate Millet's Sexual Politics: A Marxist Appreciation." She also coauthored the pamphlet "The Wage-Price Freeze Swindle" and edited the forthcoming Pathfinder Press book *Feminism and Socialism*.

In the spring of 1971 Jenness toured the country, speaking on the women's liberation movement.

She spoke as a representative of the SWP at the April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstration in San Francisco.

PULLEY



Photo by Brian Shannon

Andrew Pulley was born May 5, 1951, in Greenwood, Miss. When he was 12, he moved to Cleveland, Ohio. He was expelled from John Adams High School in 1968 for playing a leading role in what school officials termed a "riot"—students had walked out of their classes as part of the nationwide protest by Blacks in the wake of the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. Given the choice of going to jail or joining the Army, he joined the Army.

As a GI at Fort Jackson, S. C., he became involved in one of the first GI antiwar organizations in the country—GIs United Against the War in

Vietnam. As the organization's influence spread throughout the base and gained national attention, the Army decided to crack down on it. Its main leaders were arrested and threatened with court-martial. Pulley became one of the defendants in the celebrated case of the Fort Jackson Eight. He spent 60 days in the stockade before a well-publicized defense campaign brought about his release and discharge from the Army. (The full story of the case of the Fort Jackson Eight is told in *GIs Speak Out Against the War* by Fred Halstead; Pathfinder Press, New York.)

In 1970, Andrew Pulley was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Congress from California's 7th C. D., the seat now held by Democrat Ron Dellums. During his campaign, he toured India, Ceylon, Japan, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand, speaking on the growing radical movement in the United States and helping to increase international support for antiwar demonstrations scheduled that fall. He also flew to South Vietnam in an effort to speak to GIs about the war and his election campaign. The U. S. embassy in Saigon, however, refused to allow him off the plane.

Following his congressional campaign, Pulley worked as a switchman in the Chicago rail yards.

In the spring of 1971 he was the Chicago coordinator of the Black and Brown Task Force to End the War in Vietnam. He addressed the April 24, 1971, antiwar rally in Washington, D. C., as a spokesman for the SWP.

In September 1971, shortly after his vice-presidential campaign was launched, he visited West Germany to get a firsthand report of racial discrimination against Black GIs. He also visited Ireland, where he spoke to representatives of the Republican movement.

SWP local candidates

Fielding the largest slate of candidates in its history, the Socialist Workers Party has thus far announced 89 local candidates in 15 states and the District of Columbia. In 1970, 75 SWP candidates ran for office in 15 states, and in 1968 there were 44 SWP candidates in 11 states.

CALIFORNIA: Susan Vass, U. S. Congress, 5th C. D.; Peggy Bunn, 6th C. D.; Ken Miliner, 7th C. D.; Dorothy Dillon, 8th C. D.; Dean Reed, 17th C. D.; Dennis Scarla, 19th C. D.; Don Bechler, 21st C. D.; Carole Newcomb, 26th C. D.; Bonnie Aptekar, 28th C. D.; Mariana Hernandez, 30th C. D.; Laura Moorhead, 37th C. D.; Brenda Brdar, State Assembly, 16th District; Carole Seidman, San Francisco School Board.

CONNECTICUT: John Ratliff, U. S. Congress, 3rd C. D.

COLORADO: Joan Fulks, U. S. Senate; Fern Gapin, U. S. Congress; Miguel Pendas, U. S. Congress; John Hillson, Colorado University Board of Regents; Barbara Hennigan, CU Board of Regents.

FLORIDA: Jack Lieberman, U. S. Congress, 2nd C. D.

GEORGIA: Alice Conner, U. S. Senate; Keith Jones, U. S. Congress, 5th C. D.

ILLINOIS: Fred Halstead, U. S. Senate; Pat Grogan, governor; Antonio

DeLeon, lieutenant governor; Ed Jurenas, secretary of state; Suzanne Haig, attorney general; Norman Oliver, Cook County state's attorney; Patty Reedy, University of Illinois Board of Trustees; Bill Rayson, U of I Board of Trustees; Jackie Shaffer, U of I Board of Trustees.

MASSACHUSETTS: Don Gurewitz, U. S. Senate; Jeanne Lafferty, U. S. Congress, 9th C. D.; John Powers Jr., 18th C. D.

MICHIGAN: Linda Nordquist, U. S. Senate; Maceo Dixon, U. S. Congress, 1st C. D.; Nancy Kimker, 13th C. D.; Christy Wallace, 17th C. D.; Rudy Zeller, 23rd C. D.; Claytee Artz, Board of Education; Robin Maisel, Board of Education; Paul Adams, Wayne State University Board of Governors; Laura Robb, Wayne Board of Governors.

MINNESOTA: Mary Hillery, U. S. Senate; Bill Peterson, U. S. Congress, 5th C. D.

NEW YORK: Hedda Garza, U. S. Congress, 5th C. D.; Elizabeth Jayko, 8th C. D.; John Hawkins, 12th C. D.; James Mendieta, 14th C. D.; Susan Winsten, 16th C. D.; B. R. Washington, 19th C. D.; Joanna Misnik, 20th C. D.; David Keepnews, State Assembly, 66th District.

OHIO: Herman Kirsch, U. S. Congress, 20th C. D.; Cecil Lampkin, 21st C. D.; Caryl Loeb, 22nd C. D.

OREGON: Ruth Getts, U. S. Senate; Philip Hardy, Portland mayor; John Linder, Portland Board of Education, Position 1.

PENNSYLVANIA: Nancy Strebe, U. S. Congress, 1st C. D.; Diana Tasciotti, 2nd C. D.; Jean Savage, 3rd C. D.; Rose Ogden, 4th C. D.; Harvey McArthur, state treasurer; Ed Fruit, auditor general; Marilyn Markus, state senate, District 7; Jack Barrett, State House of Representatives, Dist. 187; Carol Lisker, State House, Dist. 188; Sal Mastriano, State House, Dist. 198.

TEXAS: Richard Garcia, U. S. Senate; Debby Leonard, governor; Mike Alewitz, lieutenant governor; Tom Kincaid, attorney general; Richard Finkel, U. S. Congress, 8th C. D.; Melissa Singler, 10th C. D.; Kathy Stallworth, 18th C. D.; Steven Wattenmaker, 20th C. D.; Evelyn Sell, State Board of Education; David Rossi, State House of Representatives, District 86; Anne Springer, comptroller of public accounts; Maren Jasin, county commissioner, Precinct 3; Howard Petrick, commissioner of the General Land Office.

WASHINGTON: Doug Swanson, governor; Anne Montague, secretary of state; Joann Cormier, attorney general; Gary Johnson, superintendent of public instruction; Craig Honts, U. S. Congress, 1st C. D.; Judy Moschetto, 7th C. D.

WASHINGTON, D. C.: Herman Fagg, nonvoting delegate to U. S. Congress.

Funds

() Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____ for the socialist campaign. I can contribute \$ _____ per month through November.

() I would like more information on the Socialist Workers campaign.

() I endorse the Jenness-Pulley ticket as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties, although I do not necessarily agree with all the planks of the SWP platform.

() I would like to help organize a Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley group.

() I want to help petition to put the socialist campaign on the ballot.

() Enclosed is \$1. Send me 10 weeks of *The Militant*, the weekly newspaper of the socialist campaign.

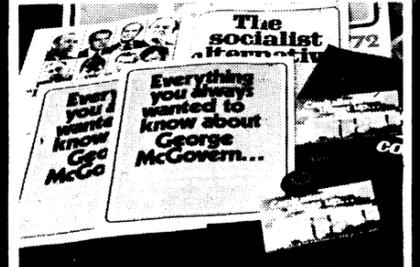
() I want to help sell *The Militant*. Send me a weekly bundle of _____ *Militants* and _____ subscription blanks.

Literature



(reduced rates for bulk orders)
\$1.00/100: Campaign Platform (Militant supplement); Brochures—Out Now; Women's liberation and the Socialist Workers Campaign; Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley; Chicanos and the '72 elections. \$2.00/100: The Black Community and the '72 elections (brochure).

25c each: "Everything You Always Wanted to Know about George McGovern" (truth kit).



BUTTONS, 30c each: Linda Jenness picture; Andrew Pulley picture; Vote Socialist Workers in '72; Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley; Capitalism Fouls Things Up; Raza Si, Guerra No.

POSTERS, 10c each: Linda Jenness for President; Andrew Pulley for Vice-President; Bring All the Troops Home Now; Black Control of the Black Community; Control Chicano del Barrio Chicano; Repeal All Anti-Abortion Laws; Eugene V. Debs; Vote Socialist Workers in '72.

STICKERS, \$1.00/100: Black Control of the Black Community. \$1.00/200: Capitalism Fouls Things Up; Vote Socialist Workers in '72.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Organization/school (for identification only)

706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-4150.

'72 Socialist Campaign

David Deitch, in his April 7 Boston Globe column, writes:

"The McGovern victory in Wisconsin means, among other things, that another attempt is being made to revitalize electoral politics in America

"One group that will have to deal with the rhetoric surrounding the McGovern campaign is the Socialist Workers Party. . . .

"Moving through these parts is Andrew Pulley, the young black SWP vice-presidential candidate, whose task is to extend the SWP attack against McGovern now that this left-most Democrat is becoming a serious contender for the presidential nomination. . . .

"In an interview this week, Pulley argued that 'a general radicalization of the American people is under way and this is irreversible. The ruling class is afraid of this trend and will tap a McGovern if that is the only way to hold things together. . . .'"

Mark Schneider of the San Francisco Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley reports: "McGovern spoke here April 5 at a \$25-a-plate dinner. Obviously we couldn't go in, but 40 McGovern truth kits were sold in less than 40 minutes."

The Northwest YSJP campaign team, stopping at Chico (Calif.) State College recently, sold 42 truth kits and \$33 worth of radical literature. They reported that the McGovern truth kits sold quickly "after it was made clear that it was definitely anti-McGovern."

To order "Everything you always wanted to know about George McGovern," send 25 cents (15 cents per copy on bulk orders) to Socialist Workers Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York-N. Y. 10003.

The following new stickers are now available from the SWP national campaign office: "Bring all the troops home now, Stop the bombing, Vote Socialist Workers" (in black), "Control Chicano del Barrio Chicano" (in brown), "Repeal all anti-abortion laws, Vote Socialist Workers" (purple or green), and "Vote Socialist Workers, Linda Jenness for President, Andrew Pulley for Vice-President" (red or blue). The stickers cost \$1 per 100.



Stop the bombing
Bring all the troops home now
Vote Socialist Workers
 SWP campaign sticker

The April 1972 Gay Activist, newsletter of the New York Gay Activists Alliance, reports that Linda Jenness and several other candidates have responded favorably to a questionnaire distributed by the GAA State and Federal Government Committee. The article notes that "of the long list of '72 Presidential contenders, the principal holdouts, Nixon, Wallace, Muskie and Gus Hall have refused to take a stand on . . . gay rights."

The Illinois SWP campaign committee reports that Antonio DeLeon, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor and a member of Local 492 of the International Association of Machinists, confronted a Muskie spokesman addressing the April 6 meeting of the union.

The Muskie representative was peppered with questions on Muskie's support to the wage freeze, the war, and Muskie's racist statement about refusing to run with a Black running mate.

After DeLeon identified himself as a member of the SWP and outlined the SWP program for the labor movement, the president of the local tried to red-bait him. But the vice-president came to DeLeon's defense, saying that DeLeon had a right to his own views and the same right to air them as the Muskie supporter.

The meeting endorsed Muskie, 18 to 12.

The following are excerpts from letters to the national campaign office:

"Laura Miller: I viewed with great interest your interview on the Al Capp Show on April 1, 1972. Let me congratulate you in attempting to get your point across to such a rude and basically ignorant All Capp. I feel that you are a very well versed person trying to enlighten the programmed masses as to the true situation in our country. I would very much like to receive information on your movement." M. C. Meredith, Saginaw, Mich.

"The Binghamton YSA supplied me with enough endorser cards to supply the few people (40) that I know.

"It seems that Marx and Lenin are a no-no to certain elements here. And if there is anything I hate, it's to be misinformed by capitalist news media, TV, radio, and newspapers.

"I could use just a few more endorser cards. Keep up the good work, and let's fight this one to win." M. P., State Correctional Institution at Dallas, Pa.

During the week ending April 13, a total of 616 endorser cards for the Jenness-Pulley ticket were received by the national campaign office, bringing the total number of people signing endorser cards so far to 9,061.

Sixty-three people attended an April 1 campaign dinner in the Twin Cities SWP campaign headquarters. SWP senatorial candidate Mary Hillery chaired the meeting, and Becky Bohan, the recent YSJP candidate for president of the University of Minnesota student body, was the featured speaker. The dinner and social raised \$140 for the Minnesota campaign, and an additional special collection of \$200 was made for the national campaign Matching Fund.

— STEVE BEREN

Victory for Mass. petitioning

By JUDY UHL

Massachusetts Secretary of State John Davoren, reversing an earlier decision, has agreed to allow the names of all the statewide candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on the same nominating petition.

Davoren had informed the Boston campaign office that separate petitions would be required to nominate the SWP presidential ticket and senatorial candidate. Each petition would have to be signed by 56,038 voters.

Davoren reversed his decision in response to a letter from the SWP pointing out the clearly discriminatory nature of his ruling and explaining the legal arguments the SWP would raise if it were forced to take the issue to court.

The new ruling will make it possible for the Socialist Workers Party in Massachusetts to qualify senatorial candidate Don Gurewitz for ballot status. "We expect considerably more press coverage and requests for speak-



Jeanne Lafferty Photo by Lenny Goodman

ing engagements by winning ballot status for our local candidates," said Dave Wulp, Boston SWP organizer.

In addition to Gurewitz, the Massachusetts campaign supporters will circulate petitions on behalf of Jeff Powers for Congress in the 18th C. D., and Jeanne Lafferty for Congress in the 9th C. D.

Meanwhile, petitioners in New Jersey report that they will file their signatures in Trenton this week. They obtained 2,350 signatures on behalf of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley in just three days.

Two of the petitioners averaged more than 300 signatures per day. The petitioning was done almost entirely on the state college campuses.

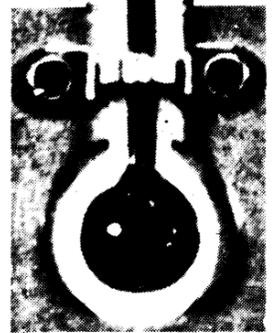
The petitioners report that they found a very high rate of registered voters, since a drive to register new voters had just taken place on the campuses.

The campuses had been saturated with campaign literature well in advance of the ballot push. Generally, students were very responsive to the petitioners and indicated that they knew about the campaign and the candidates. "This helped us get signatures," said one canvasser. "We just pointed to the posters and said 'sign for Jenness and Pulley.' The response was almost 100 percent."

During the month of May, 125,000 signatures will be collected to put the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket on the ballot in Illinois, Texas, Iowa, South Dakota, Idaho, Louisiana, Mississippi, Delaware, and Washington, D.C. If you would like to help or if you would be willing to be a presidential elector for the SWP ticket in your state, contact the SWP National Campaign Office, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

23,993

13,993



\$20,000 Campaign Matching Fund Drive ends \$3,993 ahead of goal

The Socialist Campaign Matching Fund has concluded, \$3,993 ahead of its \$20,000 goal. The \$13,993 raised by the Socialist Workers Party national campaign office and the \$10,000 in matching funds provided by a campaign supporter in California add up to the total of \$23,993.

A total of \$1,998 came in during the last week of the drive, all in mail contributions and pledges to the Matching Fund. With one exception, this week's total consisted of contributions a pledges of less than \$100.

While the conclusion of the Matching Fund is a major step in the fund-raising efforts for the campaign, it does not end its need for contributions.

() I can contribute \$ _____ to the Socialist Workers campaign.

() I pledge to contribute \$ _____ every month between now and November.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

SWP '72 campaign spurs YSA growth

Laura Miller, national organization secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Tom Vernier are national coordinators of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. During the winter and spring, the YSJP organized meetings for both coordinators on dozens of campuses and high schools throughout the country. On their tours, Miller and Vernier spoke to hundreds of students about the 1972 Socialist Workers Party campaign. They also met with campaign supporters to help organize YSJP activities. Recently, The Militant interviewed both coordinators in New York.

Militant: What kinds of people have attended your talks?

Miller: Many of the people who come to our meetings have not yet made up their minds which candidate to sup-



Tom Vernier

Photo by Ed Weaver

port in 1972. They look at our campaign as one of the serious choices before them. Our meetings also attract a lot of McGovern supporters, Chisholm supporters, and other people who are backing liberal Democrats or Republicans.

We've drawn the largest audiences at debates with youth supporters of the other candidates. One hundred people turned out for a debate I had with the leader of the Young Democrats at the University of Texas in Austin, for example.

Vernier: I've often found that at these debates many McGovern supporters switch to Jenness and Pulley in the course of hearing us explain what's wrong with the Democratic Party. After I had a series of successful debates with McGovern supporters in the San Francisco Bay Area, I arrived in Los Angeles to find that the McGovern people there refused to debate us. They had called the Muskie and Chisholm offices as well, to warn them that they might lose some of their supporters if they confronted us in a debate.

Miller: I've met many students who are going through the same process I did four years ago. At that time, I was an organizer for the McCarthy campaign. I thought I was involved in doing something that had never been tried before: taking over the Democratic Party. It took me 10 months of working on McCarthy's campaign to learn that the Democratic Party will never be reformed and that McCarthy's main goal was to keep young radicals like myself from getting involved in independent political action that could be effective in changing this society. Soon after I realized my mistake, I joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

Vernier: The team of Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley that toured Southern Black colleges this spring found that Black students have serious questions about the Democratic Party and are open to the ideas of the SWP campaign. On many campuses Black students were discussing the meaning of the Gary National Black Political Convention and the overall strategy for Black liberation.

The Afro-American team collected

more than 300 endorsers for the campaign during their tour. At Tougaloo College in Mississippi, 10 percent of the student body of 800 signed cards endorsing the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

Militant: What effect has the campaign had on the growth of the Young Socialist Alliance?

Miller: We've established several new locals of the YSA since the beginning of the campaign. For example, there are now locals in College Park, Md.; New Haven, Conn.; New Brunswick, N.J.; San Antonio, Texas; and Gary, Ind. Most of the new members in these locals first came into contact with the YSA through the SWP campaign. In San Antonio, eight people decided to join the YSA after Linda Jenness's visit in March.

One YSA local was formed in the course of a struggle to win recognition for the YSA on campus. At Texas Tech University in Lubbock, the administration refused to accept the YSA's application for recognition as a legitimate student group, even though the student charter committee unanimously supported the YSA's right to a charter. After a month-long struggle to win recognition, highlighted by a meeting for Linda Jenness that drew 400 students, the administration gave in and accepted the YSA's application. By the end of this fight, six campaign supporters had decided to join the YSA.

Militant: How have high school students responded to the socialist campaign?

Miller: The YSJP organized high school meetings for me in nearly every city I visited. High school students are watching the elections very closely, and many of them have heard of our campaign. When I was in Washington, D.C., I spoke to nine high school classes. Many of the students purchased campaign literature and endorsed the Jenness-Pulley ticket. Two students asked to join the YSA. One was a Chicano who was attracted to the YSA because of our support to the Raza Unida parties.

Militant: What kinds of campus activity is the YSA involved in?

Vernier: YSA members are running in student government elections on slates with other Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

In the Boston University student government elections, five YSJPers ran for office on a program that called for using BU's facilities to help organize the movements for social change, and linking the struggles of students to those of working people, Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities.

Two important issues came up in the midst of the election campaign. A struggle emerged in opposition to the administration's threat to abolish student fees, the only financial resources controlled by the student government. The YSJP candidates helped lead the fight to maintain the fees and defend the students' right to use those resources for political activities. As the elections approached, the presence of Marine recruiters on campus provoked a student strike. The YSJP campaign was closely identified by students with both struggles. As a result, four of the five YSJP candidates finished second in the elections.

The YSA and YSJP have also been involved in other campus struggles, such as the campaign at Columbia University in New York to end discrimination against women employees. In Austin, Texas, the YSA and YSJP organized support for the shuttle bus drivers' strike.

300 strike school to protest Pulley ban

By CARLA HOAG

PORTSMOUTH, N. H.—Three hundred students at Portsmouth High School went on strike April 12 in protest of the administration's refusal to permit a meeting for Andrew Pulley. Although several announced presidential candidates have spoken at the school in the past, including Democrats Edmund Muskie and Vance Hartke, the administration repeatedly turned down requests for a meeting for the Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate. After exhausting all channels, the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and the Black Student Union called for the strike.

When Pulley arrived in Portsmouth on the morning of the 12th, students were gathered on the hillside opposite the school. As school buses drove up, more students joined the strike. Some left their classes and came outside. By 9:30 a.m., 300 students, about one fourth of the student body, were on strike.

After Pulley addressed the strikers, 28 students signed cards endorsing the SWP campaign.

Although the Portsmouth city attorney admitted that the strike was legal, 20 YSJPers at the high school were suspended for their participation in it. The YSJP plans to file suit against the Portsmouth High School principal.

During this final week of his New England tour, Pulley addressed Afro-American groups at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine, and at the University of Rhode Island. Grito, the Puerto Rican student organization at Brandeis University in Waltham, Mass., sponsored a meeting for Pulley, and students at Harvard, Boston University, and Worcester State University also heard the vice-presidential candidate.

More than 1,000 people heard Pulley speak during his visit to New England. Sixty-eight people endorsed the SWP ticket, and six, including three Afro-Americans, asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance. Two Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley volunteered to travel with the vice-presidential candidate in the New England area.

Jenness in Denver

By SKIP BALL

DENVER—Two hundred students at the University of Utah in Logan turned out to hear Linda Jenness during the first part of her April 10-17 tour of the Rocky Mountain states. The Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate drew another 200 students at Colorado State University in Colorado Springs when she debated right-winger Fulton Lewis III.

Two TV stations, the *Denver Post*, and the *Rocky Mountain News* covered a news conference Jenness held here. She also spoke on two two-hour radio programs, after which the Denver SWP campaign committee received letters and contributions from as far away as Spearfish, S.D., and Flagstaff, Ariz.

On April 15, Jenness addressed 1,000 people at an antiwar rally in Denver. In its article on the demonstration the following day, the *Denver Post* quoted extensively from the SWP candidate's remarks: "Jenness voiced support 'for the GIs who last week refused to go into combat. The American soldiers were told to go out and fight the enemy, but who is the enemy?' she asked.

"Was it the Vietnamese who froze our wages last year? Is it the Vietnamese who are responsible for the conditions in the Black communities and the barrios?" She answered her own question. "No," she said, "Our enemy lives in the White House and sits at a congressional table."

Later the same evening Jenness spoke to 100 persons gathered for the opening of the new SWP headquarters at 1203 California St. in Denver. A total of \$250 was collected there for the campaign.

An average of \$20 was also collected at each of the campus meetings for Jenness. She spoke at Colorado University, Denver Center (CUDC); at Metro State College; and at Denver University. At CUDC Jenness was to have debated Ken Johnson, state coordinator of the McGovern campaign, but Johnson backed out at the last minute. The meeting was instead turned into a campaign rally for Jenness. At Denver University, one of those endorsing the SWP ticket after Jenness' speech was the school janitor, who pledged \$5 a month to the campaign.

If you support...

Jenness and Pulley presidential campaign . . . antiwar movement . . . Black and Raza struggles for self-determination . . . women's liberation movement . . . self-determination for Vietnam, Palestine, Quebec, Ireland, and all oppressed nations . . . end to wage controls and unemployment . . . full rights for gays . . . student rights . . . socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China . . . a socialist America . . .

...join the Young Socialist Alliance

- I want to join the YSA.
 I would like more information about the YSA.

Contribute to the YSA

This spring the YSA is carrying out a campaign to raise \$46,000. Your contribution is needed. Enclosed is a donation of (circle one): \$100, \$50, \$20, \$10, \$5.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

YSA, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Georgia panel debates election strategy

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—A lively discussion on electoral politics took place on March 18 in the offices of *The Great Speckled Bird*, the South's leading underground newspaper. Portions of the group interview were printed in its March 27 issue.

At the conclusion of the interview, Julian Bond, Democratic state legislator, agreed to a public debate with Keith Jones, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from Georgia's 5th C.D.

Other participants in the interview were newly elected delegates to the Democratic convention—Shirley Chisholm delegates Wade Harris and Marna Hale Gaston, and George McGovern delegate Bebe Smith. Harris is the student body president at Atlanta University's Morehouse College, and Gaston is a student at Spelman College.

The unexpected outcome of the March 11 elections of Democratic Party convention delegates provoked much controversy among Georgia Democrats. Most party regulars were defeated, including the state chairman and all but one pro-Muskie delegate. None of the Wallace delegates were elected.

Ten conventions were held, one in each congressional district. More than 5,000 people—many Blacks and youth—attended the fifth-district convention, where Chisholm delegates and Bond swept the elections. (Bond was elected as an unpledged delegate, but following the Wisconsin primary, he endorsed McGovern.)

Lieutenant Governor Lestor G. Maddox, a Democrat, denounced the delegate selection as a "farce, shame and disgrace" and said, "The Socialists, the civil rights agitators and those who think the world owes them a living have moved in and taken over the Democratic party machinery."

Most other Democrats, from Bond to "establishment" figures like defeated state party Chairman Charles Kirbe, have hailed the election results as "proof" that the Democratic Party can be reformed.

The *Bird* interview revolved around the question of the effectiveness of working within the Democratic Party to achieve social change.

Chisholm delegate Harris led off the discussion. "The students were casting a vote of protest because they were dissatisfied with the way things were set up in the past. We felt we could be part of the convention process this time. . . . The student slate won over a group of seasoned politicians, and this is one of the best things that could happen."

McGovern delegate Smith said, "It was a triumph for beating the system, for showing that it is possible to be within the system and beat it." Bond agreed with the remarks of Harris and Smith.

Keith Jones conceded that the elections show "that there is deepgoing sentiment for change." But, he added, "You're not beating the system. What you are doing is getting drawn into that system's framework."

Bond most clearly spelled out the perspective of working in the Democratic Party. Referring to the delegate elections, he said, "Given the fact that Black voters, like in 1964 and 1968, are going to once again massively support the Democratic Party, I wanted to see that as many Black delegates as possible got a chance to have something to say about what was happening at the convention. . . ."

Later, Bond said, "I don't necessarily worry about the [Democratic] nom-

inee being the lesser of two evils because that is quite often the choice that people have to make."

Bond warned against high expectations from working in the Democratic Party. He admitted that the delegate elections "didn't change the basic power relationships" and were "simply one part of a very long and complicated and ongoing process. . . ." But, he concluded, "You've got to begin somewhere."

Keith Jones presented the socialist view of where to begin and how to get where you want to go. He pointed out that on issues of concern to those being interviewed, the Democratic presidential hopefuls were no better than Nixon. He cited the wage controls: "Every single Democratic contender has said they favor some type of wage freeze."

Jones reminded the others of the worthlessness of the commitments of Democratic and Republican candidates. "We got a commitment from Richard Nixon in 1968 to end the war—with a secret plan. In 1964 we got a commitment from Johnson. In 1964 people voted massively for the Democratic Party. They voted for Johnson as the lesser evil than Goldwater."

Throughout the interview, Jones spoke of the need for the oppressed

to build their own independent power. He supported the concept of a Black political party based on the struggle for Black control of the Black community. He told how Chicanos in Crystal City, Texas, had made gains by forming their own party, La Raza Unida Party.

Jones supported the antiwar movement and the women's liberation movement and pointed out that none of the Democratic or Republican candidates were campaigning to build the April 22 antiwar marches and the May 1-6 Abortion Action Week.

The control of the two major parties by the capitalist ruling class was cited by Jones. He said Democratic and Republican candidates have to cater to the outlook "of the people who run this country: the Fords, the Rockefellers, the Mellons, the DuPonts. Those people decide when the United States is going to war, with whom, and for what reasons. They're the ones who decide whether or not a wage freeze is going to be imposed. They're the ones the government functions in favor of."

Jones concluded that the Democrats "can talk a lot of rhetoric, but when it comes down to the nitty-gritty of who's trying to build movements to bring social change in this country, it's not inside the Democratic Party."



Photo by John Hawkins

Great Speckled Bird interviews (left to right) Democrats Marna Hale Gaston, Bebe Smith, Julian Bond, and socialist Keith Jones.

Wash. Indians both victims and scapegoats

By JAY LA VASSAR

SEATTLE—Because of industrial pollution and the construction of dams on all the major rivers draining into the Puget Sound basin, the tremendous salmon runs of the past can no longer migrate up these rivers. Rather than place the blame where it belongs, on big business interests, the state of Washington has chosen instead to make Puget Sound Indians the scapegoats for the declining salmon runs.

Before whites came to Puget Sound, salmon fishing was the basis of the Indian economy here. Fresh, smoked, or dried salmon was the staple of the Indian diet, and the fish was made the center of religious beliefs, stories, and ceremonies.

In 1853, the 17,000 Puget Sound Indians were forced by the armed might of the U.S. government to cede 64 million acres of their territory to the land-hungry whites. The Indians were herded into a cramped 6-million acres of reservations. In return for this monstrous land robbery, Governor Isaac Stevens granted Indians the right to continue salmon fishing because, in his words, "It was thought necessary to allow them to fish at all accustomed places, since this would not interfere with the rights of citizens and was necessary to the Indians to obtain subsistence."

The growth of industrial capitalism

in the Northwest took its toll on the salmon, however. While the salmon catch as late as 1916 totaled more than 16 million fish, the catch in 1967 had declined to less than three million. (Indians took only 6 percent of this number.)

Salmon runs have plunged because of environmental destruction. Sulfite wastes have been poured into the waters by paper and pulp mills, "industrial parks" have eliminated spawning areas, logging activity has buried salmon eggs, and dams obstruct the migration of the fish up the Skagit, Green, Nisqually, and Puyallup rivers.

When building artificial hatcheries to compensate for the salmon destroyed by industrial activity, the state government of Washington has bowed to the wishes of "sportsmen" by concentrating exclusively on strains of salmon that will strike a fisherman's lure. Valuable types of salmon such as Chum, Rink, and Sockeye—all important to the Indians—face extinction. (These fish must be caught with nets.)

At the same time, the state has attempted to ban both off-reservation fishing and fishing on the reservations, fueling the completely false notion that Indians are responsible for capitalism's criminal destruction of the environment. *Pollution is killing off*

the salmon, not the negligible Indian catch.

The militant struggle of the Puget Sound Indians, refusing to be intimidated by racist terror tactics—including the shooting of Indian leader Hank Adams—has forced some favorable federal court rulings and has so far maintained some Indian fishing rights.

The coming summer's fishing season is crucial in the Indians' fishing-rights struggle. The state fisheries department has proposed that off-reservation fishing by Indians be permitted in certain prescribed areas if the salmon runs exceed predictions. Representatives of the Makah, Nisqually, Lummi, Puyallup, and Muckleshoot Indians attended a March 30 hearing in Seattle to discuss the state's proposal. Arguing that the fisheries department was treating them as surplus labor to be used in harvesting surplus salmon, the Indians maintained that a definite season should be established, guaranteeing them a fair share of the total catch. Weak-hearted support was offered the Indians by an official of the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Opposition at the hearing came from the Olympic Protective Fish and Game Society. This inappropriately named organization is made up of resort owners, "sportsmen," and Indian hat-

ers. Arguing against any Indian fishing rights, the society spokesmen called for the elimination of all commercial fishing from Puget Sound during the tourist season. In maintaining that Indians should enjoy no rights other than those held in common with "other citizens," the sportsmen relied on the lie that Indians are destroying the salmon. This is amusing to a people that lived in harmony with the environment for centuries before the whites came to Puget Sound.

The Indians vigorously defended their rights. A representative of the Lummi Indians said one fisherman with a gill net caught more Nooksack River salmon in one night than all the Indians caught during the whole 1971 season. He further stated that Indians intend to arrest any commercial fishermen they find in the Bellingham Bay during the 1972 season. They will be arrested for violating an 1857 treaty that makes the bay a part of the Lummi Reservation.

Fishing rights are vital to the survival of the Northwest Indians. Much of the culture of this proud people has already been destroyed. Gone are the longhouses, the great canoes, and most of the Indian dialects. The salmon still remain, and fishing rights have become the rallying point for a fight against more than a century of victimization.

The following is the second and final portion of a speech given by Bert Corona Jan. 22, 1972, at the Mi Raza Primero Conference in Muskegon, Mich. Corona is a founder and former president of the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA) and is presently a leader of Hermandad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers) in Los Angeles.

In the first part of the speech (see *The Militant*, April 7), Corona spoke on the need for the labor movement and La Raza to break with the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and on the need to build an independent Raza political party.

Here Corona outlines the reactionary character of the Dixon Arnett

The problem is our *carnales* [brothers and sisters], who in their poverty come from Mexico to find work. They are the enemy! I said to myself, *hijo de la gata parda* [son of a brown cat]. What propaganda!

That's what they are going around telling us in Los Angeles. They are trying to divide the Chicano from the *Tijuano* [someone from Tijuana], the Chicano from those who have papers. To those with papers they say, "You're not like the Chicanos. Don't let them call you that. The name comes from chicanery. It's insulting. Don't use it." But those who really lose out are the people without papers—they really have no rights. They tell them all kinds of lies, and these people are truly anxious for someone to help them.

That is why we have to redefine what is meant by unity. Our unity

ments that our supposed "friends"—in the name of protecting the Mexican-American worker—are attempting to enact. They put all the blame on the poor Mexican worker, when all of us should know that it is the economic system that is to blame for the fact that there aren't enough jobs! [Applause.]

The masses and the workers are a vibrant force. They buy, eat, live, and use. They are the ones who create the markets. They are not the enemy. Without the working people there would be nothing. What would be left if all the *mexicanos* were to leave the Southwest? How would the economy of the Southwest, or over here where you are, function?

It is very important that we make these points clear—that they are not going to divide us, that they are not going to throw these lies at us and

trict] with 3,200 votes. Muskie and all the Democratic presidential candidates went over there to support the candidate of their party, Richard Alatorre. Well, we didn't win. But as they say, *me chingarón pero los jodi* [they screwed me, but I messed them up]. [Applause and laughter.]

We didn't win, but we *did* defeat the puppet, the political opportunist, that the Democratic Party had chosen as the best qualified to represent us. They didn't take us into account; we had already held our convention and selected our candidate. There were no possibilities that we were going to elect Ruiz. The intent of that campaign was to destroy the power, at least for that one time, of the Democratic Party. So, we didn't win, but neither did they. That is the lesson we established for always. And there will be more of them.

The possibility exists of forging unity of all our Raza and of not letting ourselves be guided by those who always go around shedding tears that what they are proposing is for our benefit, as both Kennedy and Muskie say, and as those who unfortunately stuck us in California with this Dixon Arnett Law say.

Farm Workers Union

The Dixon Arnett Law has caused some very serious damage within our community. We are not only suffering from the fact that they cut welfare by \$200-million in Los Angeles County. . . . We are not only living with the permanent racism of the system, which has always been the scourge of our people. But now, in addition, they have passed this law. And I have to say *camaradas* [comrades, or brothers and sisters], although it hurts me very much to have to say it—but truths cannot be hidden—this Dixon Arnett Law was approved by the Farm Workers, thinking, like the labor movement, that perhaps a law could help them to organize better.

I understand their intention. I understand the frustration of Farm Worker organizers, because I have been a volunteer organizer in Coachella and in other places in California. I know the frustration that exists when you are organizing people, and they are on strike, and then the strike is broken by *esquirols* [scabs] brought in by the *patrón* from Mexicali, Rio Colorado, or from Tecate [in Mexico] by the thousands! And they can bring in thousands every day because of the hunger that exists in those valleys. I understand that frustration, but I think the *camaradas* of UFWOC [United Farm Workers Organizing Committee] made a mistake if they think that they are going to be able to do in politics what the entire labor movement of the AFL-CIO has been unable to do.

The Farm Workers thought that by supporting that law they were going to impede the importation of *esquirols* for the purpose of breaking strikes. But the legislature doesn't belong to the Farm Workers. The legislature is bought and paid for by the corporations, including the *mexicanos* we have there—those they give money to so that they can run as Republicans or Democrats. They're not from the Raza Unida Party. The legislature voted and approved and *changed* that law, which went in like a bullet and came out like a cannon shell. Instead of only preventing the bringing in of scabs—which we are all in favor of—the law approved by the legislature reads like this: "That every *patrón* can be fined from \$200 to \$500 if he 'knowingly' employs 'illegal' workers and upon doing so, adversely affects the employment of workers who are permanent residents here." Look how broad the law is. The state is now intervening in the question of immigration, which is under federal jurisdiction.

So what has been the result? Tens of thousands of *mexicano* workers, born here, with documents or without

The 'illegal alien' scare -speech by Bert Corona

Law, passed by the California legislature with the support of many trade unions and most liberal Democratic Party politicians. This law is part of a national campaign to make undocumented Raza workers and other "illegal aliens" the scapegoats for economic problems, especially unemployment. Similar legislation is being considered by Congress.

The Arnett law was declared unconstitutional a month after Corona's speech by the Los Angeles Superior Court. In a move to reinstate the law, Governor Ronald Reagan has issued a decree that all Californians must take an oath that they are U.S. citizens or otherwise legally entitled to work in the state.

The speech was delivered in Spanish and has been translated and edited by Militant staff writer Antonio Camejo. Apart from minor stylistic changes, editing has been limited to brief deletions for reasons of space. These have been noted by an ellipsis (. . .).

Copies of both parts of Corona's speech are available (25 cents each part) from The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

About two months ago I went to a conference in Bay City, Mich., where I spoke about how they are using the Immigration Service and the new immigration laws to exploit the *mexicano* workers more and more, to fill them with fear so they won't organize or complain or go to the union.

I was invited to speak that afternoon on TV. I was scheduled for six, but the manager of the station said I would instead speak at six-thirty, "because we have to present a professor here who is a friend of the station owner, and he will speak before you." So I said, "fine."

Well, who was that *torito* [little bull] they threw at us? That man stood up there for half an hour and tried to sell to the so-called "Mexican-Americans" the idea that the greatest threat to their well-being is not the capitalist system, not the corporations, not bad wages, not discrimination, not exploitation. No! You know what is? A massive horde conglomerated on the other side of the border like hungry wasps, with their teeth bared, descending upon us good "Mexican-Americans" to take away our jobs, lower our salaries, and create problems for our children with diseases and bad living conditions.

It's not the system, nor the corporations, nor racism, nor discrimination!

must embrace all *nuestros carnales* [our brothers and sisters], because regardless of what is said, the danger does not stem from those who come across the border. They are the ones who have helped create the great riches of this country. There is not a furrow in a vegetable field, not a tree in an orchard, nor a dam, mine, railroad, or road that is not linked with the sweat and blood of *nuestra Raza* who come from the other side. [Applause.]

The people don't cause unemploy-



Photo by Harry Ring

'They put all the blame on the poor Mexican worker, when all of us should know that it is the economic system that is to blame for the fact that there aren't enough jobs!'

ment. The workers don't steal the jobs. Workers don't cause unemployment or low wages. Workers don't cause bad health and working conditions. Who does? Only the owners of those factories, the owners of those mines, the owners of those fields and modern plants. But they dare to throw the blame on the unfortunate worker and his family who come here to earn their daily bread.

Unfortunately, many times the unions, deceived and taken in because they have a *puesticito* [little job] over there in the government, say the same thing. They support the law advocated by Ted Kennedy and Edmund Muskie that would increase the personnel of *la migra* [the Immigration Service] 10 times—not just on the border, but so they can roam the entire country looking for our people. More personnel so that the wives, husbands, and children of those who are here legally can't come in. Those are the amend-

destroy us.

Let us examine the character of the *mexicano* family, of the family of La Raza. In every family there are those who were born here, those from the other side [of the border] with documents, and those here without documents. . . . What are we going to do, deport all our grandparents and their friends who don't have documents? *This was our territory!* [Applause.]

We have to remember that this situation exists because the corporations and the great financial interests—which operate on both sides of the

river and the border—have only one norm by which they function: they want greater and greater profits by whatever means. Or as the saying of the militants goes, "By all means possible." They are going to defend their interests and their system of profit. That is why they have designated the role they have for us, and that is why they have tried to feed us the lie that by working inside their political party, the Democratic Party, we are going to obtain political power. We have already seen what that history has been.

I believe we have a great future and great hope with our party, La Raza Unida Party. We are just barely *gateando* [crawling on all fours], but with that little *gateo*, we have made those who travel in jets turn around and say, "Oh, Oh! Here they come already."

Look at the campaign of Raul Ruiz [California 48th State Assembly Dis-

documents, have been fired under the pretext of the Dixon Arnett Law. Now the *patrón* calls all the *mexicano* workers together and says, "Look, I don't know which one of you is legal or illegal. I want every Mexican worker to show me his birth certificate or his green card."

And then what happens to the person who doesn't have one, who was born, say, in Texas? In many of the counties in Texas there are no records. They sank with the hurricanes and who knows what else. I can just hear a *carnal* saying, "I know I was born in Hidalgo County in Texas, but I don't when or where. But I've lived there all my life." Then how come you don't speak English? "Well, over there no one speaks English!" [Laughter.]

That's why I wish that the Raza Unida Party would triumph in about four counties down there, because then we could ask them for birth certificates. [Applause.] We could ask the Raza Unida *camaradas*, such as county clerks and city clerks, to make all the Raza we have there in California *naturales* [inhabitants from birth]! [Laughter, shouts, and applause.]

We have to take political power to straighten out all these anomalies, all this exploitation—because the immigration law is part of the system of exploitation. . . .

The *patrones* are now saying to La Raza, "All of you have to prove that you are here legally. Those of you who aren't can bring me \$500, and I'll put it in a fund so that in case I get fined you can pay it." So our poor Raza has to sell *la tierrita* [little plot of land] to pay \$300 to the *coyote* [labor smuggler who arranges to get Mexicans across the border], \$200 to the employment agency to find a job, and then a \$500 deposit with the *patrón* so he doesn't lose



'Tens of thousands of *mexicano* workers, born here, with documents or without documents, have been fired under the pretext of the Dixon Arnett Law.' — Photos are of March 4 antideportation action in L.A.

anything in case they fine him. Did you think that the *patrones* were going to lose? How are they going to lose when they are the owners of the system? You can invoke the Ten Commandments against them, but if they're the owners of the system, they are the ones who apply them. And who are they going to apply them against? Against us, naturally. [Applause and laughter.]

Demonstrations

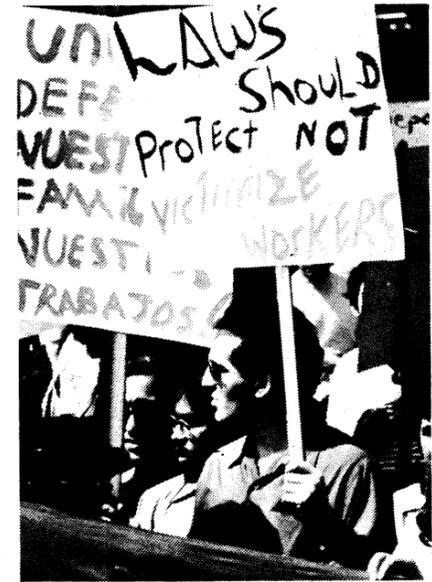
We have succeeded in forcing certain setbacks to the Dixon Arnett Law. They were going to put it into effect in January, but because of the demonstrations and organization we have created among those without documents, they postponed it until March.

In Los Angeles we have an organization called *La Hermandad General de Trabajadores* [The General Brotherhood of Workers] and 99 percent of the members are workers with-

out documents. In one *barrio* there, we have more than 8,000 members, of which 5,000 are paid up. They pay dues of \$15 a year each, so we don't need government programs, foundations, or anything of that kind. . . . We have gone before the courts, we have set up picket lines, and last night we marched right down Broadway from Olympia to the Federal Building passing out our leaflets. Now the people without documents are no longer afraid of *la migra*! They are catching on to the idea of mobilizing themselves, of not being paralyzed with fear. We tell them, "The most that they will do is throw you across the border. And in the end, you're not in hell. They speak Spanish there, you can get *tortillas*, and then, you can come back. [Applause and shouts.]

I believe, *hermanos* [brothers and sisters], that this organization is going to be the largest in the Southwest for the following reason. The Department of Labor itself tells us that in what they call the 'labor market' of Los Angeles County and part of Orange County there are 250,000 Mexican workers without documents! The Los Angeles School District has more than 100,000 matriculated children who are without documents. Over there in Los Angeles we have half a million of our people without documents, and one of these days you are going to see a demonstration down Broadway of 100,000. Then, who are they going to deport? . . .

That fright that if you don't have papers, you can't say anything, is gone. Before, it was "Change your name! Work for whatever the *patrón* offers you! Go and clean the foreman's house on Saturdays and Sundays! Take your wife over to help the foreman's wife on Saturdays and Sundays! Pay him kickbacks! Clean his shoes! Wipe his ass!" [Laughter,



Photos by Walter Lippmann

shouts, and applause.]

The people have opened their eyes. They know that if they are organized, they can defend themselves. *La migra* applies the law in the most brutal and inhuman way. They divide families and cause the most incredible psychological damage to children who have their parents taken away. *La migra* causes social dislocation on a grand scale. They make liars out of the honorable. But at the same time, they are helping us organize to a certain extent.

Cesar Chavez once said, "I give thanks to the *patrones* sometimes because they are so stupid, so brutal, so malicious, that they help us organize the people." So this law is helping us to organize our people—people who are the most exploited and the most vulnerable, people about whom the unions say, "we can't organize them. All the scabs are illegals." Well, they lie, because half of those in Cesar Chavez' union in Cali-

fornia are people without documents. The majority of many unions, of the laundry workers, of convalescent hospital workers, of workers in the electronics industry, or in the garment industry are made up of workers from Mexico without papers. They are in the unions. . . . *Así que no vengan a hacernos pendejos a nosotros* [so don't try to take us for fools] [Applause]. . . .

Imperialism in Mexico

Today I read in a paper that Mexico is creating half a million new workers annually for whom no work is available. The other day we received a copy of the economic survey of the *Asociación de Bancos de Comercio de México* [Association of Commercial Banks of Mexico], and for the first time these banks analyze the economic situation in Mexico in a complete fashion. One of the most revealing things, although at the same time sad for us, is that the population of Mexico is growing at a tremendous rate, but unemployment is growing at an even faster rate.

In Mexico right now, out of a population of 25-million people who should be working, there are only jobs for 12 million. And you have to include in that figure the 12-year-old children who go around selling *chiclets* and *chácharas* [cheap items sold on the streets] in the cities along the border. Twelve million people have to maintain an entire country of 55 million. What would happen if this country suffered from more than 10 percent unemployment? There'd be a revolution. Already, with more than 6 percent unemployment the U.S. is scandalized. Mexico suffers from 48 or 49 percent unemployment. Why?

I want to quote a report that just came out so you understand who is responsible for all this. We should never think that it is our own people or our own countries such as Mexico or other countries of Central and South America that are incapable of developing themselves, that they don't know how to provide their people with enough jobs. No.

Just listen to this current business survey. It says, "Indeed, no other area in the capitalist world brings the U.S. monopolies such profits as Latin America. According to official data, direct U.S. investment in the countries of this region between 1950 and 1967 amounted to \$4.662-billion, while the total profits and dividends received here during the same period from those countries amounted to \$16.079-billion." Four to one! How can Mexico, Panama, Honduras, Guatemala, or the Dominican Republic develop if this country takes out 400 million for every 100 million it invests? . . .

That is what we have to take into account. All of these welfare laws, all of the tricks and obstacles, and the Dixon Arnett immigration law are put into action to guarantee one thing: that the people to whom they are applied become more docile, more exploitable, more unstable, poorer, and more vulnerable. For what? For the creation of super-profits that the system thinks it has a right to extract from the exploitation of us, other minorities, and the other workers. That is the reality of things, and I think that our Raza Unida Party always has to take into account that reality. We can't be a party that is going to totally accommodate itself with part of the system because they promise us little things. We, as a party, must always defend the interests of the great majority of our people, of the poor, of the masses of our people, and struggle for our political independence and self-determination. Then and only then will we be a party worthy of the support of *nuestra Raza*. And then we can really say, *Somos una Raza Unida!* [We are a united people!] *Qué viva la Raza! La Raza Unida!* [Long live our people! Our united people!] [Standing ovation.]

Reagan pushes to restore death penalty

By WALTER LIPPMANN

LOS ANGELES—The Reagan administration and its supporters have opened a massive campaign to restore capital punishment in California. They hope to create a hysterical atmosphere in which they can make the death penalty "constitutional."

On Feb. 18, the state supreme court voted 6 to 1 to abolish the death penalty, declaring it violated the state constitutional safeguard against cruel and unusual punishment.

Noting the worldwide trend toward the abolition of capital punishment, the court stated: "We have concluded that capital punishment is impermissibly cruel. It degrades and dehumanizes all who participate in its processes."

Reaction was swift among California's law-and-order politicians, led by Governor Ronald Reagan. Conjuring up visions of blood-drenched city streets, and shedding crocodile tears for "vulnerable" prison guards, these politicians have moved on several fronts to overturn the court's decision.

Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty, while supporting efforts to reinstate capital punishment, conceded, "If you have enough money, you'll be able to avoid the death penalty."

This point is amply verified in a study by the State Department of Corrections entitled *Executions in California, 1943-1963*. Of the 158 Californians sent to the gas chambers in that 20-year period, fully 50 percent were unskilled workers. Their median age was 31, their median educational level was ninth grade. While Blacks make up 7 percent of California's population, they constituted 23 percent of those executed.

The California Correctional Officers Association, the prison guards organization, has announced a campaign to raise 520,806 signatures to place the question of capital punishment on the November ballot. This effort has been endorsed by the Reagan administration.

Another tactic being supported is the attempt to ram a constitutional amendment through the state legislature to restore the death penalty. This passed its first hurdle April 12 when it was approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee. Approval of the amendment by the legislature would place the issue on the ballot without collecting a half-million signatures.

Reacting to these moves, Laura Moorhead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 37th C. D., said, "There are no capitalists behind bars in California, no oil company executives doing time after the oil spills in San Francisco and Santa Barbara. The killers of George Jackson still rule in San Quentin, never having been brought to trial.

"Reagan and Co.'s campaign to restore the death penalty must be defeated. A massive public show of opposition up and down the state must be mobilized.

"We can defeat these reactionary moves," Moorhead concluded. "Every opponent of capital punishment, everyone who values human rights over property rights, must unite to turn back this reactionary, racist offensive."

By DERRICK MORRISON

At the National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Ind., March 10-12, the Reverend Jesse Jackson spoke favorably of the idea of forming a Black political party. Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher's convention speech pointed in that direction. And the National Black Agenda—the programmatic document endorsed by the more than 3,000 convention delegates—strongly implied the need to form a Black party.

Then why didn't the convention form such a party? The main reason lies with the firm grip those Black politicians committed to the Democratic Party had on the convention. But these politicians got plenty of aid from the organized Black nationalist groups that came to Gary.

The major nationalist groups that participated in the convention—Congress of African People, Congress of Racial Equality, Republic of New Africa, Black Panther Party, the Student Organization for Black Unity and the Washington, D. C., Black United Front—are on record as supporters and advocates of organizing a Black party.

The Congress of African People (CAP) figured prominently at Gary, and one of its national leaders, Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones), was designated one of the three convention cochairmen. CAP not only supports the formation of a Black party in the U. S., but calls for a "World African Party."

Baraka, as chairman of the political liberation council of CAP, has spelled out this concept in a number of articles and speeches. In a document entitled "Strategy and Tactics of a PanAfrican Nationalist Party," which appeared in the Sept. 10, 1971, issue of *Black News*, a Brooklyn-based nationalist publication, Baraka stated:

"Important to any movement we can make as a people . . . is the selection and training, and growth into brotherhood of the cadre. The center. The conscious. The Committed. The Dedicated. Those of us who move out of a clear sense of IDENTITY-African: PURPOSE-Restore our People To Their Traditional Greatness: DIRECTION: Black Nationalism: and with that, the creation, building and Development of the world wide African Nationalist (PanAfrican) Political Party." (Emphasis in original.)

The Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU), a national organization based primarily in the South, has helped initiate a fledgling Black party in North Carolina called the Black People's Union Party.

The March 7 *New York Times* reported the Reverend Doug Moore of the D. C. Black United Front as saying that the nationalists would push for the formation of a national Black party at the convention.

Besides these formal positions of the nationalist organizations in support of a Black party, other formations and individuals either agitated for or issued statements endorsing the concept. For instance, the Reverend Jackson, national president of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), indicated for the first time his support of the concept in his convention address.

And a couple of weeks before the convention, Bryant Rollins, executive editor of the *New York Amsterdam News*—an influential Black weekly whose circulation is second only to *Muhammad Speaks*—stressed the idea that the convention should form a national Black party.

Why didn't the nationalist delegates mobilize this sentiment, give it program and direction, and struggle at the convention for its implementation?

'Unity' illusion

The answer to this question lies in the illusions these nationalists devel-

Gary convention & the struggle for a Black party



Photo by B. R. Washington

'Contrary to what Baraka and other like-minded nationalists think, political independence does not begin in the Democratic Party, but outside of it, in opposition to it. They will not be able to use the party of the oppressor to build the power of the oppressed.'

oped in respect to the Gary convention. They thought that by subordinating their positions on a Black party to the preservation of "unity" with the Congressional Black Caucus and other Black Democratic politicians, they were contributing to the process of building the political power of Black people. So they sought support on tangential issues.

Baraka and CAP sought endorsement of their proposal for a National Black Political Assembly. CORE sought support for opposition to busing Black students to white schools in favor of Black community control of the schools. The Republic of New Africa proposed that the convention demand freedom for its activists jailed in Jackson, Miss., and support the RNA-sponsored plebiscites in the South to establish a Black state.

The Panthers wanted endorsement of their "survival" programs providing free food, clothing, and other commodities in the Black community. The D. C. Black United Front introduced a resolution supporting the right of the Palestinian Arabs to self-determination and calling for the dismantling of the Zionist settler-state of Israel. SOBU requested support for the projected May 27 national demonstration in solidarity with the African revolution.

All of these proposals were passed with no break in "unity." But the fact that this "unity" was based upon submerging the Black-party question became quite clear when nationalists leading the Louisiana delegation put a resolution on the floor calling for such a party. None of the delegates who are members of the major nationalist groups mentioned above rose to support and defend the resolution. Baraka, who was chairing the convention session at the time, tried to avoid it.

When the Louisiana delegates persisted, Baraka opened discussion. The resolution was successfully pigeonholed, however, with the aid of the Illinois and Indiana delegations. The Reverend Jackson, who spoke for Il-

linois, clinched the operation with the argument that the Black Assembly would inevitably lead to the realization of a Black party. The Louisiana delegates broke out in applause upon hearing this and withdrew their resolution.

Baraka had used a similar argument the night before with a group of more than 100 nationalists assembled in a caucus. The caucus meeting occurred March 11, following the first convention session, where delegates expressed massive opposition to the strangulation of floor discussion by Representative Charles C. Diggs (D-Mich.), a convention cochairman.

At this meeting, Baraka threw out hints that the politicians might be "using" him and other nationalists for less than honorable purposes. He then went on to minimize this, focusing on the need to push for passage of the proposed Black Assembly. The nationalists present agreed to this plan.

As outlined by CAP, the National Black Assembly would be composed of 427 Blacks, ranging from politicians to community activists. It would serve as a "focal point of black politics in the United States, moving to a more concrete relationship with our brothers and sisters on the (African) continent," according to Baraka in the March 13 *Washington Post*. Moreover, "It would be a chief brokerage operation for dealing with the white power political institutions [read Democratic and Republican parties]." So the chief function of the Assembly is to operate as a pressure group upon the two capitalist parties.

The more than 3,000 delegates endorsed the proposal. But does the Black Assembly, as some have been led to believe, actually represent the beginnings of an independent Black party? There is nothing wrong with pressuring the two capitalist parties for concessions. But the operation of the Black Assembly, while giving the appearance of independence, is contingent upon endorsing the politics of the Black Democratic politicians,

which is only another way of becoming hooked to the Democratic Party. This is the real meaning of the "unity" at Gary.

Baraka's perspective

Baraka and the Newark CAP have already borne out this logic. Ever since the election of Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson in 1970, Baraka and his followers have submerged themselves in Democratic Party politics. They are now preparing for the national convention of the Democratic Party in Miami next July. Moreover, since the Gary convention, some of the nationalist groups in New York City have begun preparations along the same line.

Contrary to what Baraka and other like-minded nationalists think, political independence does not begin in the Democratic Party, but outside of it, in opposition to it. They will not be able to use the party of the oppressor to build the power of the oppressed. By refusing to mobilize Black people's political strength for themselves, in a party of, by, and for Black people, they are in fact continuing the utilization of that strength to augment the political power of the white capitalist oppressor. So the formation of the Black Assembly is hardly a step toward independence.

This is not to say that nationalists should not attempt to achieve *unity in action* around specific issues with the Black Democratic politicians, or Black Republican politicians for that matter. For a specific action, such as the May 27 African Liberation Day or in the defense of the jailed RNA activists, support should be sought from all Blacks, whatever their political persuasion. For example, in the Chicano liberation movement, many Chicano nationalists have built powerful actions against the war in Southeast Asia, against police brutality in the Chicano community, and in defense of democratic rights for victimized Chicanos. And they have involved Chicanos of all political opinions. But when it comes to the question of power, i.e. political control of the community, that's where some Chicano nationalists have drawn the line with Chicanos in the Democratic Party.

Since Chicanos do not control the Democratic Party, and since they see that party bearing a lot of the responsibility for oppressing the Chicano community, Chicano nationalists have created their own party—La Raza Unida Party. This independent Chicano party is active in Texas, Colorado, and California. And where this party exists, Chicanos are beginning to utilize their political strength on their own behalf. They are opposing the rule of the Democratic and Republican parties at the ballot box as well as in the streets.

Black people have a lot of political strength. That's why the Democratic politicians work so hard at keeping that strength operating on behalf of the Democratic Party. However, Black people have already organized to utilize their political strength in their own interests—on the campuses, in the high schools, in the military, in the prisons, and on the job in some cases. This is where mass opposition has been displayed to the policies and programs of the Democratic and Republican parties. The next stage of the struggle—which the Gary convention pointed to but did not actually mount—is the generalization of this process of independent organization into the electoral arena by the formation of a Black party.

This is the conclusion many Black people have already drawn. As the present set of illusions about the nature of the Democratic and Republican parties wear out, many more will be pushed in that direction. The next time a Black convention is held, the chances are that a real discussion will take place on the need to embark on an independent course.

Adam Clayton Powell: a balance sheet

By TONY THOMAS

On April 4, the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr., died in Miami, Fla., at the age of 63. Thousands of Blacks in New York mourned the death of the former U.S. congressman, and around the country thousands attended memorial rallies.

To millions of Black people Powell symbolized the struggle for political representation for the Afro-American community.

Powell gained much of his early notoriety in the Black community by associating himself with mass struggles and the radical movement of his time. He came to prominence by leading a struggle in the 1930s to get jobs for Blacks in public utilities, transportation, and big stores. In this struggle, Powell was backed by the Communist Party and several CIO unions.

He was elected to the New York City Council as an independent in 1941, and the Black community saw his election as a victory for the right of Blacks to be represented in the previously all-white council. This was a time when significant sentiment existed in the Black community and the labor movement for independent politi-



Adam Clayton Powell in 1945

cal action.

Powell also became a sponsor of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which defended 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party tried by the Roosevelt administration under the Smith Act for their political opposition to World War II.

Powell could probably have utilized this sentiment for independent political action and his own broad support in Harlem to get elected to Congress on a ticket independent of the capitalist parties. Instead, when he ran for Congress in 1944, he campaigned for and received both the Republican and Democratic nominations. Powell remained a Democrat for the rest of his political career, although he received the Republican nomination several times and supported Eisenhower for president in 1952 and 1956.

Powell's career in Congress—and his expulsion from it—demonstrates the limitations of working within the Democratic Party.

While he was able to win a few concessions against race discrimination—such as desegregation of some of the facilities in the congressional buildings—he was unable to win any substantial gains.

Between 1960 and 1967 Powell was chairman of the important House Committee on Education and Labor. As such, he was responsible for the passage and planning of much of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson's "labor" and "war on poverty" legislation. Both Johnson and Kennedy praised him for this work. However, none of these programs even proposed, much less brought about, any type of substantial change in the conditions of Black people.

Powell's reward for being a "good" Democratic Congressman for more than 20 years was his expulsion from Congress in 1967. In 1960, on a television program, Powell accused Esther James of Harlem, of being a "bag woman," or a graft collector for the New York police. James sued Powell, who ignored the suit. In 1966, Powell was ruled in contempt of court and could not enter New York City without paying a substantial fine or facing arrest.

Powell was also under attack during this period for alleged "corruption"—chiefly putting relatives on the payroll and taking expensive vacations on congressional funds. Since these and much bigger operations, such as the Nixon-Mitchell-ITT scandals, are a normal part of U.S. capitalist politics, the hysteria against Powell came from the racist perspective of putting Congress's leading

Afro-American in his place. On March 1, 1967, the House voted 307 to 116 to exclude Powell from the 90th Congress, taking away his seniority and thus his chairmanship of the Education and Labor Committee.

Almost the entire Black community sided with Powell against this blatantly racist move. In Harlem and Washington, D.C., large rallies were held in his defense. There was talk by many about Black people breaking away from the Democratic and Republican parties as an answer to the bipartisan racism toward Powell.

Again, Powell refused to utilize this opportunity. He ran for reelection as a Democrat, winning overwhelmingly in a special election held in 1967 and in the 1968 elections. He was finally seated in the 91st Congress in 1969—by a vote of 251 to 160—but was fined \$25,000. In 1968 he settled accounts with Esther James and was allowed to return to New York.

In 1970, suffering from cancer, Powell was defeated in the Democratic primary by Charles Rangel, presently Harlem's congressman.

Many supporters of the Black Congressional Caucus think Black people can make significant gains through "getting a piece of the action" in the Democratic party. Powell led a political machine in Harlem for more than 20 years and rose to the chairmanship of an important congressional committee. But he was unable to win any substantial gains for Black people because he was forced to stay within the limitations set by the Democratic Party.

In the end, even this didn't prevent him from being made a scapegoat for the racists who control his own party. And none of this helped form the type of independent Black mass movement that can fight for the interests of Harlem and other Black communities.

African Liberation Day

Significant momentum has developed behind the national Black demonstration slated for African Liberation Day, May 27, in Washington, D.C. Building activities are underway in St. Petersburg, Fla.; Houston, Texas; New York City; Northern California; and in several other parts of the country.

The demonstration was endorsed by the more than 3,000 delegates at the

National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Ind., March 10-12. Shortly thereafter, the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee (ALDCC) held a news conference in Washington, D.C., to formally announce the action.

The national steering committee of the ALDCC is headed by Owusu Sadaukai, president of Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, N.C. Among the members of the national steering committee are Congressional Black Caucus Chairman Louis Stokes; Imamu Amiri Baraka of the Congress of African People; Reverend Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Angela Davis of the Communist Party; Georgia state legislator Julian Bond; Huey P. Newton of the Black Panther Party; Stokely Carmichael; Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher; U.S. Representative John Conyers (D-Mich.); Black Women's Development Foundation Director Dr. Inez Reid; U.S. Congressional Delegate (D.C.) Walter Fauntroy; H. Rap Brown; and Rosie Douglass, chairman of the Black Student Union in Canada.

The following statement was issued April 17 by Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

We wholeheartedly support the national Black demonstration slated for African Liberation Day, May 27, in Washington, D.C.

We feel that this action will provide a focal point for the growing Pan-Africanist sentiments—the global expression of the nationalism of Black people. Along with the antiwar demonstrations protesting the U.S. war in Southeast Asia, the May 27 action will expose and attack another tentacle of U.S. imperialism.

The purpose of the action is to promote Black awareness in the U.S., Canada, and the Caribbean of the national liberation struggles being waged in Africa—specifically in South Africa, South-West Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese-held territories of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. The demonstration will also protest the U.S. government's backing of the racist white-settler regimes occupying those countries. The organizers expect upward of 10,000 Black people to participate.

By Any Means Necessary

NORTH CAROLINA PANTHERS CONVICTED ON FRAME-UP CHARGES. Three members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in High Point, N.C., were unjustly convicted Feb. 5 of assaulting a police officer. They have been sentenced to prison terms of 7 to 10 years. The jury of eight whites and four Blacks acquitted a fourth Panther, George Dewitt.

According to a letter sent to **The Militant** by Derrell Hopkins, coordinator of information of the North Carolina BPP, the charge grew out of an assault by more than 65 sheriff's deputies and High Point police on the Black Community Center at 6 a.m., Feb. 10, 1971. Dewitt, Randolph Jennings, Larry Medley, and Bradford Lilley were occupying the Center at the time.

The police had no search warrant. The eviction notice they possessed did not take effect until 7 a.m. In serving such a notice, it is usual to give the occupants 48 hours to leave the premises.

The police ignored normal procedures and began firing, reports Hopkins. One policeman was wounded, and Medley, 17, was hit in the shoulder.

The four were arrested, and bond was set at \$60,000 each. Bond was later reduced to \$15,000 each, and after a support rally of 1,000 people in High Point last July, bond was set at \$4,000 for two of the defendants and \$3,000 for the other two. A couple of months later, Medley,

who still had the rifle slug in his shoulder, and Jennings were out on bail. More defense rallies were held.

After the conviction, the two defendants out on bail were thrown back into jail, and appeal bond was set at \$7,000 each for all three. Hopkins reports that it may be one to two years before the appeal is heard. The High Point Panthers are asking for funds toward bail so that the three won't spend that time in jail. Donations should be addressed to: High Point Three Defense Fund, P. O. Box 2019, Winston-Salem, N.C. 27102.

BLACKS IN BINGHAMTON, N. Y., MOBILIZE AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY. More than 500 people—two thirds of whom were Black—attended a March 22 open hearing before the Binghamton City Council on the subject of a civilian police review board. Militant correspondent Betti Sachs reports that the demand for a review board arose out of a blatant display of police brutality against a Black woman March 3.

According to a fact sheet put out on the case by the Broome County National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Vivian Wooden, five weeks pregnant, went shopping with her three children. She returned to the parking lot to find a white man waiting beside

her car. He said he had damaged her car, but blamed her because it was improperly parked. He then asked for her license, car registration, and the name of her insurance company. Since he refused to give her similar information, she refused. He called the cops.

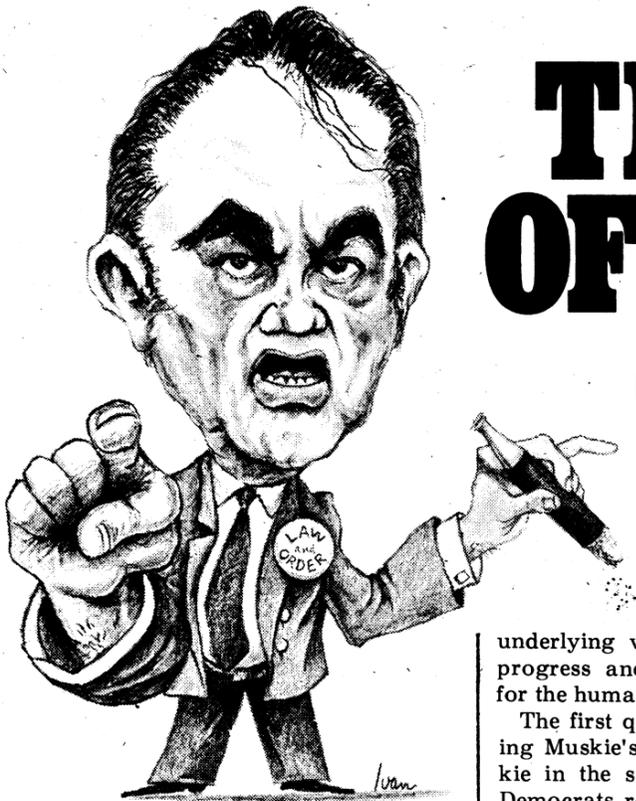
The police took the side of the man and forcibly handcuffed Wooden's hands behind her back. They threw the sister in a police car, abandoning her children and groceries. One cop then sat on her stomach, despite cries that she was pregnant. To further humiliate the sister, upon arrival at the station a male cop proceeded to run his hands over her body, reaching into her bra and down into her slacks. This was called a search!

After she had spent several hours in jail, friends finally obtained her release. She was charged with "interfering with governmental administration," whatever that may be.

The NAACP held a demonstration, filed letters of protest to city officials, and formulated the proposal for a review board. Among the groups that supported the demand and spoke at the hearing were the Urban League, Unitarian Church, Broome County Coalition for Prison Reform, and the Harpur College Black Student Union, Young Socialist Alliance, and Women's Liberation.

Some of the speakers emphasized the need for community control of the police.

—DERRICK MORRISON



THE MEANING OF THE WALLACE CAMPAIGN

By CAROLINE LUND

In the wake of the Florida and Wisconsin Democratic primaries, theories have emerged about a "new populism" and a "politics of dissatisfaction" regarding the large vote totals received by Alabama Governor George Wallace. Wallace came in first, with 42 percent of the vote, in the March 15 Florida primary and second in the April 4 Wisconsin primary, with 22 percent of the vote.

What is the meaning of the relatively high vote for Wallace? And what is the most effective way to fight the reactionary politics he stands for?

First of all, Wallace stands for racism, and most of his votes come from people with racist prejudices. Marshall Frady, in his book *Wallace* (World, 1968), quotes the Alabamian as saying, "Let 'em call me a racist. It don't make any difference. Whole heap of folks in this country feel the same way I do. Race is what's gonna win this thing for me."

Wallace claims to have "reformed" since his 1968 campaign. He now tries not to use the word "nigger," and says he was wrong in the past to enforce school busing for the purpose of segregation. This is a testimony to the growing impact of the Black liberation movement.

Despite this, Wallace's racist message is plenty clear to his supporters. He simply uses code words now—like "crime in the streets," "lazy welfare loafers" and "dope addicts" to appeal to prejudice and hatred of Black and Brown people.

But there is another factor contributing to the Wallace campaign's appeal. That is its demagogic attempt to speak to the general dissatisfaction of growing numbers of people with the economy, the government, and the two-party system.

He appeals to dissatisfaction with "unresponsive government," government bureaucrats, deficit spending and inflation, and a tax system that drains the "little man" and grants loopholes to the rich. Through his main slogan, "Send them a message," Wallace tries to appeal to the notion that a large protest vote for an "extreme" candidate would at least let the ruling politicians know that the voters were looking for some real changes.

An indication that the Wallace vote in Wisconsin had some aspects of a general protest vote was expressed in a survey of Wisconsin voters conducted by the *New York Times*. The poll showed that 25 percent of Wallace voters supported liberal Senator George McGovern as their second choice.

Underneath his demagogy, however, Wallace's program comes down to a totally reactionary mixture of white supremacy, male supremacy, state's rights, antilabor policies, limitation of civil liberties, and anticommunist warmongering. His campaign gives inspiration and sustenance to ultraright, fascist-type organizations. Wallace and all he stands for must be defeated, but this cannot be done within the framework of the two-party system.

Liberals capitulate

A look at the liberal Democrats' response to the Wallace campaign demonstrates that they do not differ fundamentally from Wallace's reactionary politics and therefore are not an answer to his campaign. Both the liberals and Wallace support this rotten capitalist system.

Muskie, for example, reacted to the Wallace victory in Florida by calling him "a threat to the

underlying values of humanism and decency and progress and the prospects for the improvement for the human condition. . . ."

The first question that comes to mind upon hearing Muskie's criticisms of Wallace is: Why is Muskie in the same party as Wallace? If the liberal Democrats really consider Wallace such an abomination—which he is—then why don't they throw him and all the other Dixiecrats out of their party?

They don't because the vote-catching influence of the Dixiecrat wing of the party means more to them than their professed differences with Wallace.

Wallace is a Democrat—a representative of the same capitalist party as Muskie. In 1960 Wallace supported the presidential campaign of John F. Kennedy. He ran on the Democratic ticket in 1962 for governor of Alabama. In the 1964 presidential elections he ran for the Democratic nomination in several state primaries. In 1966 his wife, Lurleen Wallace, ran as a Democrat for governor of Alabama as his stand-in. In 1970 he was re-elected governor on the Democratic Party ticket.

In 1968 Wallace ran for president on the American Independent Party ticket. But despite its independent form, his campaign was actually geared to putting pressure on the Democratic Party, not to building a new and permanent party apparatus. This perspective was confirmed by his decision to run for the Democratic presidential nomination this year.

In general Wallace has succeeded in his goal of making the liberal Democrats feel the pressure of his campaign. They have capitulated to him to some degree on virtually every issue he has raised.

First on the busing issue: the liberal Democrats have generally bent to Wallace's position on this issue—stressing opposition to "forced busing," or the "limitations" of the busing policy. On the wave of opposition to busing that Wallace's campaign helped create, the Senate voted Feb. 29 for a provision that would prohibit the use of federal funds for busing if local authorities opposed it. Muskie, McGovern, and Humphrey all voted for the measure—thus siding with racist local authorities who have been trying to prevent busing for integration.

None of the Democrats are campaigning for the solution of a crash program to adequately equip and finance Black schools under the control of the Black community.

Another racist plank in Wallace's campaign is opposition to welfare. In his Wisconsin campaign he told audiences, as paraphrased by Jon Nordheimer in the April 4 *New York Times*, "that their tax money is being used to subsidize dope addicts on welfare in New York City."

Hubert Humphrey joined right in with Wallace on this theme. His campaign commercials in Florida condemned "lazy welfare chislers."

On "law and order," Humphrey said in Florida: "Why let George Wallace pick up the biscuits out here? Why let him be the only one for law and order? I was for law and order before he could spell it."

Humphrey's attempt to appeal to Wallace supporters in Florida took on a ridiculous character as he assured them, "I have been a church member, a Sunday School teacher. . . . I believe in Jesus Christ and God Almighty. . . . I'm a father, a husband, a grandfather, and an owner of a business." (*New York Times*, Feb. 27.)

His purpose in this personal testimony was to convince reactionary Wallace supporters that he is also a firm believer in the authoritarian values of class society.

Senator Edward Kennedy was another liberal who felt the need to make a gesture toward Wallace. The March 27 *Newsweek* reports him as saying: "The Democratic Party ought to be

for tax reform and welfare reform and law-and-order and some of the other things that he [Wallace] talks about. . . ."

Trailing after the Democratic liberal candidates are the trade-union bureaucrats. Like Muskie, the labor fakers talk about the threat posed by the Wallace campaign. But their answer to Wallace—supporting Muskie or Humphrey—is no answer at all.

The Committee on Political Education, the AFL-CIO's electoral arm, is putting out some literature against Wallace in an attempt to counter support for him among trade unionists. One COPE memo points out that Wallace is "the candidate of the anti-labor, open shop industrialists of the South, whose henchmen still beat up union organizers. (He's never moved to repeal Alabama's 'right to work' law.)"

The AFL-CIO published similar literature during the 1968 elections. On a TV appearance in 1968 Wallace answered such attacks by asserting that the Alabama AFL-CIO had endorsed his 1962 campaign for governor of the state.

In their long history of supporting the Democratic Party, the trade-union bureaucrats have also implicitly supported the Dixiecrat wing of the party. And labor bureaucrats in the South have given direct support to the Dixiecrats. This is an important reason why so few workers in the South are unionized. The labor fakers' support for Democratic Party politicians like Wallace in the South has precluded militant struggle against low wages and antiunion laws.

Thus the labor bureaucrats' opposition to Wallace for his antilabor policies is hollow. Their opposition is based on their support for the liberal Democrats—who are equally responsible with the Republicans for the present wage controls and federal antilabor laws.

The trade-union officials have failed to fight Wallace on the issue of racism—a major basis for what support he has among working people. They have failed to take up a struggle against racist hiring practices. They have failed to fight for shortening the workweek at no reduction in weekly pay, so that jobs can be made available to all. The absence of such struggles has encouraged some white workers to see Black and Chicano workers as competitors for scarce jobs. The trade-union officials' default on the issue of racism has opened the door for backward workers to support Wallace.

The official leadership of the unions has also defaulted by not providing a program of struggle to defend the rights of working people against rising prices, unemployment, and wage controls. Nor have they provided an alternative in the political arena other than continuing to support the Democratic Party liberals. They refuse to support the launching of a labor party that could fight for the interests of working people.

They have no way to answer Wallace when he says, "There's not much difference between the Nixon approach and (that of) the liberal candidates of the Democratic Party." (*Washington Post*, Jan. 14.) And many working people know Wallace is right on this.

The liberal Democrats try to scare everyone into voting for them by pointing to the "specter" of Wallace, but they really have no fundamental differences with him, only tactical disagreements. Both the liberals and Wallace start from the same premise: upholding the capitalist system that spawned Wallace in the first place.

The best way to answer Wallace in the 1972 elections is through supporting the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Linda Jenness for president and Andrew Pulley for vice-president. The Jenness-Pulley campaign is fighting for the rights of working people, Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities, and the unemployed and those on welfare in the only effective way: through opposition to both the Democratic and Republican parties and through helping to build independent movements against the policies of these capitalist parties.

Prices: Butz blames all but farm business

By LEE SMITH

The uproar over rising food prices has once again focused attention on Nixon's new secretary of agriculture, Earl L. Butz. When he was appointed last December, Butz's intimate connections with corporate agribusiness and his past service under agriculture secretary Ezra Taft Benson in the Eisenhower administration made him an easy target for verbal potshots from vote-hustling, farm-state Democrats.

But while the controversy surrounding his appointment must have made the administration cringe, this time around Butz has welcomed the spotlight. He has seized the platform provided by the turmoil over food prices and is attempting to turn the issue to Nixon's political advantage by demagogically posing as a champion of the "hard-pressed family farmer."

Butz's formula is both simple and deceptive: everyone is to blame for increased food prices, Butz says, except the farmer. In February he explained how consumers are at fault: "Mrs. Housewife has so much income—supplemented with food stamps and everything else—she has created tremendous demand for meat." He has continued to repeat this argument; he makes it again, for example, in an

April 16 *New York Times Sunday Magazine* article.

On the editorial pages of the previous day's *New York Times*, Butz included "middlemen" among the villains, mentioning truckers, marketers, packagers, and retailers.

It is certainly true that the markups made by the conglomerates that monopolize farm markets and retail food chains play a major role in boosting the prices paid by the consumer. Butz, however, points to the underpaid workers in the marketing industry as the culprits. "Employees in food marketing firms are getting 2.5 times higher wages than twenty years ago," Butz writes. He fails to provide the information that the average hourly wage of food marketing workers—\$3.24—is not a living wage, regardless of the fact that it is two-and-a-half times higher than it was in 1951.

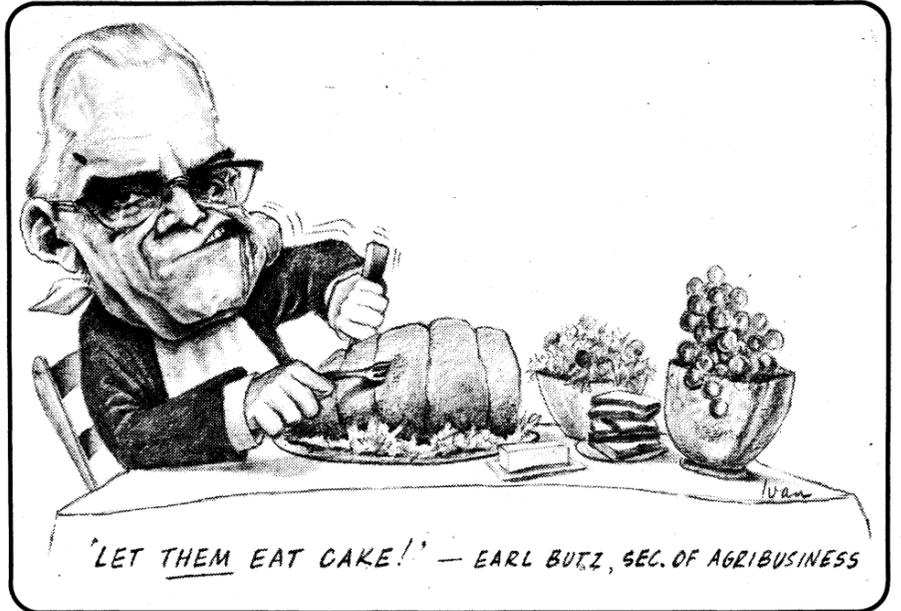
Yet Butz, who received a considerably larger share of the payroll as a director of Ralston-Purina prior to his appointment, has the arrogance to conclude his article: "Recently, one of the leading labor leaders in this country complained that food prices were going up. . . . Maybe it's time he also took note of the fact that [no food prices] will stop rising until he

and many others who are criticizing President Nixon's economic program while pressing for ever-higher labor costs stop making them go up."

The miserable \$3.24 hourly average earned by marketing workers and the considerably lower wages earned by farm workers—about which Butz also complains—are not the reason

shoppers in some cities pay more than 90 cents a pound for ground beef today. And the reason is certainly not that "Mrs. Housewife has so much income." Butz can afford to throw some empty criticism at nameless "middlemen" in the course of an attack that concentrates its fire on work-

Continued on page 29



N.Y. state employees make gains in strike

By MARVEL SCHOLL

On March 31, about 140,000 state civil service employees walked off their jobs. They were angered by the impudent New York State offer of a 4 percent wage "hike," that was actually a mere bookkeeping transaction. All workers in state-run hospitals and institutions struck for one-and-a-half days, despite a court injunction and the infamous Taylor Act, which prohibits strikes against the state.

The strike was sparked by the workers' refusal to accept the state negotiator's proposal to reduce annual paydays from 26 to 25, with a promised bonus of 1.5 percent to be paid on April 1, 1973, if productivity increased.

When the strike began, the news media was filled with horror stories and pictures of hospital patients intended to arouse public hostility against the strikers. (For an excellent description of actual day-to-day "care" given these patients under "normal" conditions, see "The Crime of Willowbrook" by Lee Smith, *The Militant*, April 21.)

Immediately after the strike began, Junior Leaguers and ambitious politicians rushed to volunteer their services as scabs. Some of them may have been honestly concerned. But the majority were there for only one reason—to help break the strike.

If that is not true, where are they today? What are they doing to help obtain badly needed additional employees and facilities for the care of

patients at Willowbrook School for the mentally retarded or at Grasslands Hospital for the mentally ill. What are they doing to help ease the plight of overworked employees in all of the state's understaffed institutions?

Under the agreement that settled the short strike, workers will get a 4 percent wage boost, plus a 1.5 percent bonus, based on increased productivity, on April 1, 1973.

The strikers also won speedier grievance procedures, a continuation of the \$6,000 annual minimum wage, and a \$200-a-year differential for workers in areas where the cost of living is relatively higher.

The state succeeded in retaining its demand for a productivity study on a number of proposed work-rule

changes.

This militancy of low-paid civil servants, now organized into the Civil Service Employees Association, has an irony all its own. The CSE was the brainchild of the Rockefeller administration. It was a hastily organized company union designed to circumvent an organizing drive announced in the mid-1960s by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. It effectively stopped the AFSCME drive, but now it has turned on its own master to demand living wages and decent working conditions. This happened often during the great labor upsurge in the 1930s in such unions as the Communications Workers, the Auto Workers, and the Steel Workers.

The National Picket Line

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS PRESIDENT DAVID SELDEN called for the establishment of a U.S. Office of Education as a quasiautonomous arm of the federal government. At a teachers conference in Washington, D.C., on April 5, Selden said he hoped such an agency would be able to solve some of the problems that plague the schools of the country—the most urgent being money.

School systems throughout the country, particularly those in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, are floundering for lack of funds. The traditional method of financing schools through local property taxes, besides being grossly unequal, can no longer sustain the expanded needs. The result is ancient, run-down facilities, overcrowded classrooms, lower educational standards, fewer teachers, and total disregard of student needs. In short, most big-city schools are not places where children are taught much.

That \$80-billion is spent every year for military purposes while schools badly need funds is proof enough that a big change is long overdue.

On April 11 the Detroit Board of Education canceled jobs of 1,548 probationary and temporary teachers and asked for \$18-million from the Michigan legislature to keep the schools open next year. Mary Ellen Riordan, president of the Detroit Federation of Teachers, was "shocked." But what happened there is happening elsewhere and should come as no surprise to anyone in the Teachers union.

Selden, who heads the union nationally, doesn't talk much about the financial problem, preferring to urge "an honest and effective national strategy for education." The Teachers union, however, in

cooperation with parents and students, could convince the federal government to finance the bankrupt city school systems. This would require mass demonstrations in major cities when schools open next fall and a determination in the communities to make the schools serve the needs of the students.

UNIONS HAVE NEVER GAINED ANYTHING BY ASKING CONGRESS to do for them what they must do for themselves. The May 1968 Constitutional Convention of the United Auto Workers adopted a resolution asking for "an equitable incomes policy applicable to all forms of income—including profits, dividends, interest, capital gains, executives' salaries and bonuses, professional income—to replace the unfair and discredited guideposts which apply in practice only to the wages of organized workers."

The 1968 UAW resolution called for "A Price-Wage Review Board assisted by a Consumer Council to mobilize the forces of public opinion in behalf of responsible price and wage decisions."

They didn't get what they demanded, however, and what they did get has turned out to be the opposite of what is needed.

PAY BOARD VINDICTIVENESS AGAINST STRIKERS showed up in the April 13 decision against the 38,500 New York telephone workers who had conducted a seven-month strike. They finally returned on Feb. 13 with a settlement slightly more than what most members of the Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO, accepted before the wage freeze last August.

Pay Board Chairman George Boldt now claims that the strikers, also members of CWA, lost their "tandem" relation with other phone workers because they refused to accept the original settlement.

The Pay Board move backs up the Telephone Company, which is conducting a campaign of intimidation against the 23 CWA locals in New York State that led the strike. The company fired 13 former strikers and suspended 54 for "misconduct" during the long strike. Daniel Keenan, president of a Westchester County local and a strike leader, is among those fired.

Rick Carnivale, president of New York City CWA Local 1101, charges that the phone company violated the contract from the day the strikers returned to work.

PAY BOARD REGULATIONS operate against union workers but even more against the unorganized and semiorganized. This was clearly demonstrated in the April 11 partial settlement of the four-month strike of airline mechanics against Hughes Air West.

Most airline mechanics belong to the International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO, and have a top wage scale of \$6.50 per hour. The 400 Hughes mechanics belong to the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association and were working for \$1.44 less, 28.4 percent below the IAM scale. They finally went back to work for a Pay Board-approved 5.5 percent raise. The Pay Board has not yet ruled whether to grant the increase needed to bring them up to the IAM standard.

— FRANK LOVELL

In Review

Photo exhibit Executive Order 9066

Executive Order 9066. Collection of 60 photographs. Presented by Maisie and Richard Conrat and the California Historical Society.

The portrait of a Japanese child tagged for shipment to a concentration camp will haunt the tens of thousands of visitors who saw Executive Order 9066 at the San Francisco De Young and the Berkeley University art museums. The exhibit is a collection of 60 photographs of one of the most blatantly racist acts committed by the U. S. government—the internment of more than 110,000 Japanese and Japanese-Americans in concentration camps during World War II.

Scheduled to be shown in New York City and Washington, D. C., the exhibit has also been published as a book in hardbound and paperback editions by the California Historical Society (distributed by Scrimshaw Press).

Although there were no cases of sabotage or terrorism by Japanese living in America, liberal President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on Feb. 19, 1942. The order empowered General John L. DeWitt, commander of the Western Defense Command, to declare "military areas" and to exclude "any and all persons" from them. DeWitt enforced this order selectively, ignoring aliens of German and Italian descent and ordering all persons of Japanese descent to leave the "strategic areas" of California, Oregon and Washington.

On March 2, 1942, DeWitt instructed all persons of Japanese ancestry, including all those who were as little as one-sixteenth Japanese, to dispose of their property in five days and to report to relocation centers. Two thirds of those interned were native-born U. S. citizens. In the exhibit the tired, bewildered faces of the Japanese being evacuated are ironically counterposed to quotations from General DeWitt ("The Japanese race is an enemy race. . ."), the editor of the *San Francisco Examiner* ("Herd 'em up, pack 'em off and give them the inside room of the badlands. Let 'em be pinched, hurt, hungry and dead up against it"), and headlines from the *San Francisco Chronicle* ("100,000 Japs Now Cleared From Coast").

The Japanese and Japanese-Americans affirmed their loyalty in spite of the racism of their treatment:

"In this solemn hour we pledge our fullest cooperation to you, Mr. President, and to our country. There cannot be any question. There must be no doubt. We, in our hearts, know we are Americans—loyal to America. We must prove that to all of you." (Telegram to President Roosevelt from the Japanese-American Citizens League, Dec. 7, 1941.)

Photographs of the barren, wind-swept camps, the cemetery in the desert marked by irregular chunks of stone, the silhouette of a guard tower complete with spotlight and barbed wire fence, and a soldier standing with his bayonet, guarding five Japanese with shovels on their shoulders, vividly evoke the realities of camp life.

Many of the photographs are of the men and their families involved in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, an all-Japanese unit that is the most highly decorated in all U. S. military history. The unit suffered 9,482 casualties—more than 300 percent of its original infantry strength—and received more than 18,000 individual decorations.

It is interesting to note (the exhibit doesn't) that although voluntary enlistment into the armed forces was encouraged in 1943, only 1,200 Japanese-Americans volunteered prior to renewal of the draft for Japanese-Americans in 1944. Three hundred *Nisei* (second-generation Japanese-Americans) refused induction. A Japanese woman is quoted in the exhibit: "They took my boy to the Army, and now they take my other children to a concentration camp." In contrast, in 1943, when the Army called for 2,500 Japanese-American volunteers in Hawaii, where few Japanese-Americans were interned, nearly 10,000 volunteered.

When a loyalty oath was required of these people who had been stripped of their possessions, incarcerated in "relocation centers," and drafted into the Army, 5,766 *Nisei* renounced their American

citizenship (5,409 subsequently asked that it be returned, and 4,978, as of 1959, were able to regain their status as American citizens).

The exhibit includes a photograph of some of the 4,724 Japanese-Americans who left the United States as repatriates or expatriates. These included 1,659 "aliens" repatriated to Japan; 1,949 American citizens who were minors accompanying their repatriate parents; and 1,116 who had renounced their American citizenship, 930 of whom were between 20 and 35 years of age.

Executive Order 9066 has aroused general public interest in the Bay Area, where there is a large Asian-American population. Nearly all the media, including the Japanese-American press, have featured articles on the display. Edison Uno, one of the consultants for the exhibit, said that the response has been overwhelmingly favorable.

Although the photographs have been carefully selected for their artistic merit, their main value lies in their educational role. Many people had no knowledge, or only a vague conception, of the evacuation and the camps. This exhibit effectively concretizes the experience of a people interned on the basis of their skin color.

Of course, Executive Order 9066 is only one

berries. In Los Angeles County, they had effective control over an even larger number of truck crops—more than 90 percent of the acreage of such crops as lettuce, peas, spinach, green onions, beets, broccoli, and summer squash. When the Japanese were evacuated, such groups as the Western Growers Protection Association, the Grower-Shipper Vegetable Association, the Associated Farmers, and the California Farm Bureau—all of which had been outspoken in their agitation for internment—obviously profited by the elimination of their competition.

Property was sold at huge losses in the few days before internment. The Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco estimated that losses amounted to \$400,000,000, not including lost interest, wages, income, and appreciation. The average rate of reimbursement by the federal government has been estimated at ten cents on the dollar, not including inflation. The Japanese never regained their position in the produce market.

The central irony of the evacuation is that the people of Japanese descent actually believed, in spite of their experiences, that the U. S. government was fighting a war against racism and for freedom and democracy for all. Most of the American people also believed this myth. This gullibil-



1) Bainbridge Island, Wash., March 30, 1942. 2) Hayward, Calif., May 8, 1942. 3) Manzanar Relocation Center, July 3, 1942. "A hot windstorm brings dust from the surrounding desert." 4) Florin, Calif., May 11, 1942. Soldier furloughed to help his family prepare for internment. 5) Kent, Wash., March 2, 1944. Barbershop owner. The first four photos are by Dorothea Lange.

of many racist outrages suffered by oppressed peoples throughout the history of the United States. The treatment of the Japanese-Americans was no mistake; it was part of a tradition that included the enslavement of Africans, the genocidal slaughter of the Indians, and the conquest of the Mexicans in what is now the Southwestern United States.

A sketch of the history of the oppression of the Japanese and Chinese in this country is included in "The Japanese in California" by Donald Pike and Roger Olmsted, which forms part of the book version of the exhibit. As they put it, "A century of anti-Orientalism, punctuated by outbursts of physical and civil violence, stood back of the relocation order of 1942. . . . The Japanese, restricted from working in the cities by strong labor union agitation, gravitated to agricultural labor."

Despite various efforts to keep them from buying land, by 1940 the Japanese operated 5,135 farms in California covering 226,094 acres. They specialized in intensive farming on small tracts of land and grew 42 percent of the state's total commercial truck crop. They held a virtual monopoly of such products as snap beans for market, spring and summer celery, peppers, and straw-

ity and the racism of American society enabled the government to test its atomic weapons on the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

Today, however, people's consciousness is changing. The struggles for national liberation in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have inspired struggles for social change within the United States.

People are beginning to investigate the past in order to change the future. An example of the new militant attitude of youth is the critique of the exhibit by *New Dawn*, a paper published by the San Francisco Japanese-town collective. *New Dawn* objected to the omission of information on the strikes and other struggles in the camps and to the stereotype of the Japanese as "very helpless, passive people who were easily interned and controlled without any problem at all."

The creation of this exhibit and the general interest in it reflect this change and serve to develop consciousness of the racist policies of the American ruling class. For the Asian people in particular, learning the lessons of discriminatory legislation in California, the evacuation and concentration camps, Hiroshima, Korea, and Indochina will fortify our present struggles.

— KATHRYN PON

Fontana strike deals blow to 'sharing plan'

By J. BURTON

FONTANA, Calif. — On March 16, the 45-day strike against the Kaiser Steel plant here came to an end with a vote to approve terms worked out between the company and United Steelworkers of America (USW) Local 2869. The accord, ratified by a vote of 2,516 to 492, did not eliminate the company's "profit-sharing" plan, but it reshaped the pattern of future bargaining to conform with that prevailing in the rest of the steel industry.

The "sharing" plan was the major issue in the strike. It originated in 1963 when "tuxedo unionist" David McDonald, then USW president, and I. W. Abel, then secretary-treasurer, joined the steel bosses in hailing "profit sharing" as the dawn of a new era of labor-management cooperation. The plan, providing for bonuses in line with productivity increases, was adopted by the USW in 1964 and re-installed again in 1968. What the plan really meant was more work for fewer workers. In addition, the regular contract came up for renegotiation every three years, while the "sharing plan" came up only every four years.

The new settlement provides for a common termination date for both the

contract and the plan. In addition, it includes guarantees of 10 percent and 15 percent bonuses in case the computed "sharing" bonuses fall below these rates.

The new pact also eliminates the previous wide pay differential between so-called incumbent and nonincumbent workers. Incumbents were those who had been working for incentive bonuses before the "sharing" plan came in. They retained their incentive pay in addition to the "sharing" bonuses, while newer workers received only the latter. Incumbents performing the same work as newcomers often earned from 45 to 65 cents an hour more. For the employers, this had the happy consequence of creating friction among the workers.

At the onset of bargaining for the latest settlement the USW proposed that incentive plans similar to those in effect in the rest of the industry be substituted for the "sharing" plan.

Because the incentive systems of other steel companies cover only about 85 percent of the production and maintenance workers and none of the clerical workers, the USW proposal had the effect of weakening the union's stance and losing it the support of

the clerical workers. When the production and maintenance Local 2869 voted 2,446 to 2,179 for a strike, the clerical Local 3677 voted 316 to 29 against striking. Kaiser seized on this split to launch an antilabor propaganda drive. Adding up the combined votes of the two locals, Kaiser maintained that since a majority of its employees had not voted to strike, the international should not have given strike sanction to Local 2869.

The company's vicious attack on the union received an assist from Clerical Local 3677 President Marty Fitzsimons, whose verbal attacks on the production workers local and the international got wide play in the media. In this climate, attempts were made to whip up a back-to-work movement with newspaper ads taken out in the name of local "solid citizens."

Acknowledging the damage done by this campaign, Local 2869 President Dino Papvero said, "We know that this strike involves legitimate issues. The [sharing plan] is the most effective device ever concocted for dividing workers and pitting them against each other. If our demands are boiled down to their essence, the issue is union survival. We simply don't believe our

local can survive another four years with the [sharing plan] Kaiser wants to install."

The strike victory takes on especial importance in light of the obstacles that were overcome. It poses sharply some basic questions about the long-standing collaborationist policies of the USW leadership, which resulted in the "sharing" plan. Today, I. W. Abel (who has learned the fit of a tuxedo himself since winning the USW's presidency in a campaign against McDonald's "tuxedo unionism") is pushing the bosses' scheme of "productivity committees." The alleged purpose is to save steelworkers' jobs, supposedly threatened by foreign competition. The real purpose is to have the union crack the whip in speeding up and sweating more profits out of steelworkers without improving their earnings. This will help the steel barons compete for profits with foreign steel firms, but at the cost of driving down the living standards of the workers.

The Kaiser strike shows that steelworkers' interests lie in fighting back against the bosses, not in joining hands with them.

...UAW

Continued from page 3

to have a job, wipe out unemployment. Demand a reduction of the workday in accordance with the extent of unemployment. A first step would be the immediate revision of the wages and hours law, reducing the 40 hour workweek to 30 hours, with no reduction in pay.

3) Sponsor the organization of massive neighborhood committees, not for the limited purpose of monitoring prices but in order to impose effective price controls in the market place.

4) Demand a cost-of-living provision (similar to the UAW escalator clause) for all wages and incomes of poor people, specifically providing for wages and relief payments to rise in accordance with prices. This should be a matter of *national policy* proclaimed by the government as a protection against rising prices.

5) Take an intransigent stand against any form of wage controls.

6) Defend everywhere the unconditional right to strike. Demand the elimination of all laws undermining the independence of the unions, such as Taft-Hartley and Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin.

7) Join the fight of Black people, other oppressed nationalities, and women against all forms of discrimination. Support a policy of preferential hiring and training of Black people and of women in order to compensate for the centuries of discriminatory treatment they have received.

8) Call for the organization of a labor party based on the union movement to run labor candidates and present labor's demands in the general election, to win the support of the overwhelming majority of the American people, and to establish a workers government.

The UAW could only initiate this program. Its realization would need the support and participation of many more unions.

All unions are now plagued with the same problems. A national emergency congress of labor should be convened to deal with the present crisis. Such a congress—with delegates elected democratically at the local level—could mobilize the power of the 20-million-member union movement and halt the antiunion offensive of the employers.

This program of action is a program to end war, unemployment, and

inflation—the three most basic economic and political issues today.

This list of proposals is a first step towards drafting labor's program for America. It asserts that the workers, through their own organizations and with the help of their allies, are the only ones capable of solving the social problems of this nation and the world.

It seeks to replace the anarchy of capitalist production with a new social order of production for use, not for profit.

...bombs

Continued from page 4

troops to Southeast Asian combat; and a united front of Soviet and Chinese forces in defense of the Vietnamese revolution would have made the imperialists' attack on Southeast Asia unthinkable. Every week that passes without the formation of such a defense increases the danger of a third world war.

The actual considerations of the imperialists thus lead revolutionists to an assessment of the way to halt the U. S. aggression that is entirely different from the one presently propagated in Moscow and Peking. In the place of "strong warnings" and insignificant aid, the Vietnamese desperately need a united front of the workers states, a front committed to blocking Washington's escalation with whatever military and economic means are necessary.

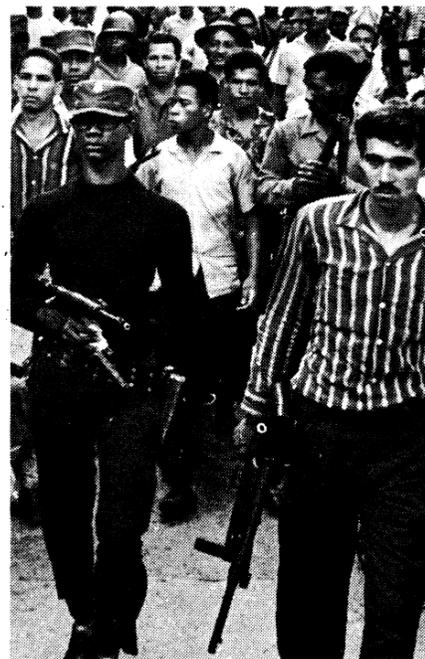
On the field of international politics, the Vietnamese above all need a massive, global antiwar movement. They need a movement that rallies each and every person all over the world who opposes the war.

These are the forces that the imperialists respond to. Side by side with the heroic liberation fighters on the battlefields of Southeast Asia, a united international antiwar movement can bring the pressure on Washington that will force the United States to end the war.

...struggle

Continued from page 11

From 1966 to 1970, Balaguer carried out a campaign of annihilation against the left. Close to 1,000 constitutionalists were assassinated, the university and high schools were occupied by the police several times, and the jails were packed to capacity with political prisoners.



Armed Dominican rebels in 1965

In 1970 Balaguer was "reelected," and the same policies of repression continued. Again, hundreds of leftists were murdered and thrown in jail by the "incontrollable," as Balaguer calls his forces of repression. The murder of innocent youth by La Banda, a fascist-like terrorist gang supported by Balaguer's police and armed forces, led to its being disbanded last fall after the Dominican population took to the streets against such terrorism. The Dominican Revolutionary Party and other organizations have launched an international campaign to mobilize protests against these atrocities.

At the present time, the University of Santo Domingo is occupied by Balaguer's police. Hundreds of students are in jail. Ten students were wounded, and Sagrario Diaz, a brilliant student of economics, was murdered by the police. The police and armed forces have vandalized and destroyed parts of the university. Their excuse is that they were looking for "communists" and "bank robbers." Few actions have done more to expose the criminal and cynical nature of the Balaguer regime.

...Conn.

Continued from page 14

Seale and Erica Huggins.

Ratliff's campaign is zeroing in on the problems faced by the residents of the 3rd C.D., which includes New Haven. For many years, New Haven was nationally known as the "model

city," where urban renewal was supposedly "solving the problems of the inner city."

"What urban renewal actually accomplished," Ratliff points out, "was to funnel federal funds into aid for local businesses, while destroying the homes of Black people without providing decent, low-income housing." The Black community, which has suffered the most from urban renewal dislocation, has had no role in planning the "Model Cities" program.

"It's a myth that New Haven is a model city," Ratliff says. He cites such corporations as United Illuminating, which has raised its rates during the "price freeze" while continuing to pollute New Haven's air, and the Connecticut Bus Company, which has been cutting back on services while simultaneously raising its fares, as sources of the real problems in New Haven. Change cannot come about by supporting the Democrats or Republicans, who serve the interests of these big corporations, Ratliff contends.

Cliff Bush, president of the Black Student Union at the University of New Haven, has endorsed the Ratliff campaign, along with many feminists, students, antiwar activists, and members of VVAW.

One of the major activities of Connecticut SWP campaign supporters will be petitioning to win ballot status for Ratliff. To help with the petition drive, write to SWP Campaign, P. O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

...Butz

Continued from page 27

ers and consumers.

Part of his aim is to deliver the farm vote for Nixon in November. Butz's attacks on unions and city shoppers find a receptive ear among big farming employers. At the same time, the secretary of agriculture tries to make it appear that by opposing food price controls he is looking out for the modest gains brought to smaller farmers by the slight conjunctural rise in the farm market prices of most raw foods.

In fact, Butz doesn't give a damn about small farmers. His loyalty lies with the giant corporations in farming and processing and marketing. His entire career of teaching at Purdue University and directing these big companies has been marked by loud and sustained applause for "progress" in agriculture and the disappearance of small farms.

Calendar

BOSTON

VOICES OF DISSENT. Audio Collage of Antiwar Demonstration April 22, New York City. Wed., April 26 at 8 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sat., April 29 at 8 p.m. on WBUR-FM, 90.9.

LOS ANGELES

MAY DAY CELEBRATION. Speakers: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party 1968 candidate for president; and Antonio Camejo, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., April 28. 8 p.m.: Rally. 9:30 p.m.: Party. Boces Hall, 1528 N. Vermont. Donation: \$2. Aisp. Socialist Workers Party. For reservations and more information, call (213) 463-1917.

NEW YORK

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN WEEKEND. April 28-29. All sessions except Saturday night rally at Physics Building, New York University, Broadway and Washington Place. \$1 per session, \$2.50 for entire weekend.

Fri., April 28, 8 p.m.: Socialist Strategy in '72. Speaker: Peter Camejo.

Sat., April 29 10 a.m.: For a Black Party. 1:30 p.m.: Women's Political Power in '72. Speakers: Susan Winsten, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 16th C.D.; Joanna Misnik, SWP candidate for Congress from the 20th C.D.; Brenda Feigan-Fasteau, spokeswoman for the National Women's Political Caucus; Cathy Samuels, Chisholm delegate and member of the Women's Political Caucus. 4 p.m.: Film: *To Make A Revolution*.

Sat., April 29, 8 p.m.: **NEW YORK SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential candidate; Joanna Misnik, SWP candidate for Congress from the 20th C.D.; and John Hawkins, SWP candidate for Congress from the 12th C.D. Tishman Auditorium, New York University Law School, Sullivan St. and Washington Square South. Aisp. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and Socialist Workers Party. For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

FORUM ON IRELAND. Speaker: Liam McMillan, commander, Belfast brigade, IRA. Thurs., April 27, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (at 4th St.). Contribution requested. Aisp. The Hanna Sheehy Skeffington Irish Republican Club.

PHILADELPHIA

THE MIDDLE-EAST CRISIS. Speaker: Jon Rothschild, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of 10th and Market streets). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (215) WA5-4316.

SAN FRANCISCO

SHOULD ANTI-ABORTION LAWS BE REPEALED? Speakers: Susan Vass, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 5th C.D., and Dr. Francis Filice, professor of biology at the University of S.F. and chairman of the United for Life Committee. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (415) 626-9958.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

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TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE AND CAMPAIGN RALLY. Friday and Saturday, April 28 and 29. April 28, 8 p.m.: The Class Struggle and Politics in America. Speaker: Art Sharon, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member and former CIO organizer. April 29, 1 p.m.: Feminism and Socialism. Speaker: Delfine Welch, National Executive Committee, Young Socialist Alliance.

CAMPAIGN RALLY. April 29. Hear Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate; Mary Hillery, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Bill Peterson, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 5th C.D.; Refreshments 5:30. Banquet 6:30. Rally 7:30. Donation: \$5, or \$1.50 a session and \$3 for banquet and rally. Aisp. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. For further information, call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN '72 WEEKEND. April 28-30. Grace Episcopal Church, 1041 Wisconsin Ave. N.W. Fri., April 28. 8 p.m.: The Meaning of Life: A Marxist View. Speaker: George Novack, Marxist scholar and author.

Sat., April 29. 12 noon: Wilhelm Reich and the Sexual Revolution. Speaker: Betsy Whittaker, active feminist and socialist. 2:30 p.m.: Will My Country be the Next Vietnam? Panel discussion: Anis Kassim, representative of Palestine Solidarity Committee; Mary Baggary, spokeswoman for Official IRA; Professor Leonard Kapungu, U of Md. (from Zimbabwe); James Harris, chairman, Socialist Workers D.C. Campaign Committee. 5 p.m.: By Any Means Necessary. Speakers: Herman Fagg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for D.C. Congressional Delegate; and Richard X Clark, a leader of the Attica revolt.

Sun., April 30. 2:30 p.m.: Wage Controls and the Unions. Speaker: Frank Lovell, staff writer for *The Militant*.

Aisp. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. For more information, call (202) 783-2363.

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Conference & Campaign Rally

TWIN CITIES

Friday and Saturday, April 28 and 29

April 28, 8 p.m.: **The Class Struggle and Politics in America.** Speaker: Art Sharon, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member and former CIO organizer. April 29, 1 p.m.: **Feminism and Socialism.** Speaker: Delfine Welch, National Executive Committee, Young Socialist Alliance.

April 29

Hear Andrew Pulley, SWP vice-presidential candidate; Mary Hillery, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Bill Peterson, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 5th C.D. Refreshments 5:30 Banquet 6:30 Rally 7:30 Donation: \$5, or \$1.50 a session and \$3 for banquet and rally. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. For further information, call (612) 332-7781.

SOCIALIST Campaign Weekend

Talks and panels. APRIL 28, 8 p.m.: Hear Peter Camejo on **Socialist Strategy in '72.** APRIL 29, 10 a.m.: **For a Black Political Party.** 1:30 p.m.: **Women's Political Power in '72.** 4 p.m.: Film-- **To Make a Revolution.** \$1 per session; \$2.50 entire weekend. New York University, Physics Building (at Broadway and Washington Place).

Campaign Rally

APRIL 29, 8 p.m.: Hear Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate **LINDA JENNESS**

Joanna Misnik, SWP candidate for Congress, 20th C.D. John Hawkins, SWP candidate for Congress, 12th C.D. Tishman Auditorium, NYU Law School (Sullivan and Washington Square South). Admission: \$1.

LOS ANGELES

THE SOCIALIST STRATEGY FOR '72

Regional Socialist Conference, April 29-30. April 29, 1 p.m.: "Why the ruling class holds elections and how revolutionists use them." 3:30 p.m.: "Is abortion a woman's right?"—debate between representatives of the Socialist Workers Party and Right to Life. 8 p.m.: "Why America should go socialist." April 30, 11 a.m.: "The oppressed nationalities and the elections." 2 p.m.: "Vietnam—crisis for U. S. imperialism."

All sessions held on UCLA campus, W. G. Young Hall, Room 2224. Donation: 75c per session, \$2.50 for entire weekend (includes three-month subscription to the International Socialist Review). Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, and ISR. For more information, call (213) 463-1966.

from Pathfinder

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- Eugene V. Debs, Canton, Ohio speech, 1918



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'Gag rule' imposed in Angela Davis trial

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN JOSE, Calif., April 18—A "gag rule" was imposed on the Angela Davis murder-kidnapping-conspiracy trial last week prohibiting all attorneys in the case from granting interviews to the news media. This action by Judge Richard Arnason seriously restricts the constitutional right of free speech and the right to a public trial, which only unhampered news coverage can assure.



Angela Davis

The state has announced the conclusion of the first phase of its case against Davis. So far the defendant has not been mentioned in the prodding of witnesses and the recapitulation of the events of Aug. 7, 1970, which have taken up the first three weeks of testimony.

Phase two of the case began this afternoon with a dramatic reading of the Jan. 16, 1970, Monterey County indictment against the Soledad Brothers. Chief prosecutor Albert Harris responded to the request of the defense that the recent acquittal of the Soledad Brothers—John Cluchette and Fleeta Drumgo—be mentioned in the court record by stating that their acquittal was "immaterial" to this case.

The prosecution's case rests on the contention that Davis financed and planned the taking of hostages to be exchanged for the Soledad Brothers because of her alleged passionate love for George Jackson.

Two state "experts" this week added to the grisly, dime-novel accounts of the 19-second fusillade that ended in the death of four people Aug. 7. Dr. John Manwaring, a pathologist, reported on the results of the autopsies he performed the day of the incident. Judge Harold Haley, he testified, had received a shotgun blast in his head and a pistol wound in his chest.

Although the state contends that Ruchell Magee killed Haley by firing the

shotgun, Manwaring admitted that either one of the wounds could have been fatal. A second autopsy conducted in October 1971 at Magee's request indicated that Haley was probably killed by the pistol wound.

Fred Wynbrandt, chief criminologist researching the Davis case for the state, testified that the bullet that entered Haley's chest was fired by a .357 magnum pistol owned by Ted Hughs, a sheriff's deputy. The pistol was taken from Hughs by Jonathan Jackson. Later, according to the account put forward by state's witness and assistant district attorney Gary Thomas, Jackson exchanged the pistol for a second pistol held by William Christmas.

While Thomas's account implies that Christmas shot Judge Haley with the pistol, the defense has suggested that Thomas himself might have shot Haley while aiming at one of his abductors. A portion of Thomas's testimony has been contradicted by the state's own witnesses. Thomas stated that he shot Jackson before shooting James McClain, Christmas, and Magee. However, San Quentin guard John Wesley Matthews, a skilled marksman, testified that he himself shot Jackson.

Matthews' version was bolstered by Manwaring's autopsy report that the bullet that killed Jackson probably entered from the side facing the door of the van he was driving, and by Wynbrandt's ballistics report, which reveals the existence of bullet holes in the door.

The complicated nature of the case may stem from the continual reworking the state has had to perform in order to avoid using openly political evidence against Davis. Since the beginning of jury selection, prosecutor Harris has expressed his outrage at the wide news media coverage of viewpoints sympathetic to the defense. Judge Arnason imposed the "gag rule" April 12 to grant Harris's desire "to try this case only in the courtroom."

In a courtroom not far from the Davis trial, closing arguments were given today in the case of 24 supporters of the Davis defense who were arrested in February for peacefully picketing outside the courtroom. Prosecutor Dennis Lempert told the all-white jury that actions anywhere in the state that could be construed as attempting to influence a potential juror or officer of the court were illegal. The defense attacked the vagueness of the charge and the selectivity with which it has been enforced solely against supporters of Angela Davis.

This week's highlights in the Angela Davis trial

APRIL 12—Six police officers and sheriff's deputies give accounts of Aug. 7. The defense characterizes their testimony as repitious and having "nothing to do with this case." Judge Richard Arnason imposes a "gag rule" prohibiting interviews to the press.

APRIL 13—Dr. John Manwaring, a pathologist, reports on the examination of the bodies of Judge Harold Haley, Jonathan Jackson, James McClain, and William Christmas.

APRIL 14—Court in recess. Angela Davis visits a pretrial hearing for co-defendant Ruchell Magee, whose trial date was set for May 22.

APRIL 17—Fred Wynbrandt, criminologist of the California Department of Justice, gives ballistics report.

APRIL 18—The state begins to establish Davis' motive of "passion." A police officer testifies that Davis observed a hearing of the Soledad Brothers in 1970.

S.F. antiwar offices destroyed by arson

SAN FRANCISCO, April 19—The offices of the Northern California Peace Action Coalition (NCPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) in San Francisco were burned out early this morning. The San Francisco Fire Department's initial report was that the fire was purposely set. Cans of paint thinner were found around a gas heater.

Coinciding with the new U.S. escalation of the war and the height of NCPAC's activity in building the April 22 demonstrations against the war in Indochina, this attack was seen by activists as a blatant attempt to intimidate antiwar organizers and hamper the work of building antiwar actions.

This attack comes on the heels of a red-baiting editorial in yesterday's *San Francisco Chronicle* supporting the new U.S. escalation and accusing those protesting it of being either Communist sympathizers or Communist dupes.

Also covered in the press yesterday was a demonstration of 600 people organized by NCPAC in downtown San Francisco in protest of the escalation.

SMC and NCPAC organizers report that all office equipment, a mimeo-

graph machine, literature, and supplies were destroyed, and that a new



Photo by Ron Payne

NCPAC and SMC helped build the massive April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstration in San Francisco.

office will have to be found. Both organizations have appealed for messages of support and financial aid. Letters and money can be sent to: SMC or NCPAC, c/o Laura Dertz, 330A Guerrero, San Francisco, Calif. 94103.

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