

THE MILITANT

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

Nixon vows more bombing

Protest on May 4!

— page 6



Photo by Mark Satinoff

New York, April 22. Over 150,000 across U.S. protest war.
--see pages 12-17.

MAY 6 ACTIONS DEMAND WOMEN'S RIGHT TO ABORTION

— pages 4, 5

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HEAD OF FIREMEN'S UNION ACCUSED IN BEATINGS OF GAY ACTIVISTS: Michael Maye, president of the Uniformed Firefighters Association of Greater New York, has been positively identified as an assailant in the savage attack on gay activists April 15 at the New York Hilton. The assault occurred at the annual dinner of the Inner Circle, an organization of past and present political reporters. Maye and other "men in tuxedos" kicked, punched, and threw the gays down escalators, possibly causing permanent physical damage to some.

Three city officials have stepped forward to identify Maye, a former Golden Gloves heavyweight champ, as one who "threw his whole body into his punches" and who ground his heel into the groin of Morty Manfred. Maye has not been arrested.

The gay activists were leafletting the dinner to protest the anti-gay bigotry of the mass media.



Jim Owles, a victim in April 15 attack, may have sustained permanent eye damage.

Victims of the assault, as well as writer Gore Vidal and Congressman Edward Koch spoke at a protest rally. Criminal and civil actions are planned. For further information and to help out financially, contact: Gay Activists Alliance, Legal Defense and Bail Fund, Box 2, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

ASK THE VIETNAMESE: Three Soviet students began a debating tour of the U.S. on April 16, the day Nixon bombed Hanoi and Haiphong. The debate topic? "How can the United States and the Soviet Union work together to promote world peace?"

PUERTO RICAN HIGH SCHOOL CONFERENCE: The April 16 Claridad reports on the first national congress of FEPI (Federación Estudiantil Pro Independencia—Pro Independence Student Federation) held in San Juan, Puerto Rico, April 9. Some 500 persons, "mainly high school students and workers" attended. Resolutions approved were "development of an intense campaign against draft registration, the demand that one year of Puerto Rican history be required in the public schools, solidarity with the struggles in Vietnam and Latin America, solidarity with Humberto Pagán, and complete physical and moral support for all Puerto Rican workers."

IT'S ENOUGH TO TURN YOUR STOMACH: Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin have "pledged the support of the Yippies and Zippies . . . to help Senator George McGovern of South Dakota win the Democratic nomination and election as President," according to the April 24 New York Times. Rubin said McGovern is "the only candidate worthy of our support" and "the last hope for the electoral system in this country." Rubin had previously endorsed Shirley Chisholm.

Exactly one week earlier, McGovern was hustling votes among cops in Boston. The April 18 Times quotes him as saying he wanted to be "helpful" and understood police had "a tougher and more difficult job than in the past."

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO PAUL BOOTH?: The national secretary of Students for a Democratic Society in 1966 was Paul Booth, one of the mostly widely known of the New Left leaders of the time. Now he is cochairman of Citizen's Action Program, formerly Campaign Against Pollution. He was quoted in the Chicago Tribune some time ago as saying, "I feel that I have gone from ineffective moral witness protest to serious mainstream negotiation."

The Tribune seems to welcome the change. "He has left the barricades for the conference table," it notes approvingly. Booth negotiates "in a room alone with a 'big shot.' Alone in a room without 500 people behind him shouting 'right on.'"

"Part of me is intimidated by these men of awesome power," Booth admitted. "They are like little governments all by themselves. But the only way to demystify these giants is by meeting them, face-to-face, talking."

'A CHEAP SMEAR' IS RIGHT: A special Commission of Inquiry was set up some months ago to investigate charges of "police agency" leveled by the Daily World and members of the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League against the National Caucus of Labor Committees.

The Labor Committee is a small left-social-democratic grouping. Its national chairman is Lynn Marcus.

The commission consisted of attorneys Conrad Lynn and Rowland Watts; journalists Fred Cook and Dwight MacDonald; professor Richard Ohmann; and scholar Eric Bentley.

The charges were printed in George Morris's "World of Labor" column in the Oct. 19, 1971, World. The commission asked the CP and the World to prove the charges by Feb. 25. Of course they couldn't, since the charges were slanders substituting for political argument. So the commission reported that it "finds the charges to be unsubstantiated."

The April 17 issue of the liberal weekly magazine The Nation called the CP charges "a cheap smear" and came out for "free and open debate" within the left.

ON THE SPOT DEATH SENTENCE FOR SMOKING: The latest cop outrage in New York was noted in a small item in "Metropolitan Briefs" in the April 24 New York Times. "A Transit Authority patrolman shot and killed an unidentified youth last night on a South Bronx street when the youth fled after being arrested for smoking in a subway station, the police reported."

The executioner-cop got his man, "reportedly about 18 years old," less than a block away from the station.

SPORTS SHORTS: Neil Dobro from Boston sent us a note about the recent Boston marathon. "Nine women ran and for the first time were permitted to be legally entered. However, they were all given 'F' series numbers and put in a 'separate competition.'"

Comedian Dick Gregory also ran. "Gregory, who has been fasting for one year as a protest against the war and is now down to 98 pounds, competed in the grueling 26-mile marathon. Wearing black, red, and green colors of Black nationalism and an embroidered peace symbol, he received warm greetings and cheers from the crowd."

"Twenty-five antiwar activists leafletted the crowd and held aloft a huge banner advertising the April 22 march in New York. Gregory told reporters that 'The future of the war depends on what the American people do in the streets.'"

MONEY TALKS: "The Lorax" is an animated pro-ecology TV show on CBS. When T. Seuss Geisel (Dr. Seuss), the creator of "Lorax," first presented a series of sketches to the network for approval, "there were loud harrumphs," according to a recent issue of Newsweek. "CBS officials were leery of offending a whole corps of industrial advertisers. 'I had to broaden the book,' recalls Geisel. 'This meant shifting some of the blame from industry to people in general. But if I hadn't, I don't think the project would have gone through.'"



© 1971 by Dr. Seuss and A.S. Geisel

The Lorax: 'I speak for the trees'

MILITANT FORUM (LABOR): The largest Black newspaper in Portland, Ore., the Clarion Defender, sent its editor, James Walker, who wrote a front-page article. Forty people attended in all—including members of the Communist Party, Student Mobilization Committee, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Workers League, and National Caucus of Labor Committees.

The occasion was the second Militant Forum in Portland, April 14. The topic of discussion was "The Wage Freeze and the Fight Against the War." Jeff Mackler, vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers local in Hayward, Calif., and Lawrence Black, a member of Operating Engineers Local 87a, were the speakers.

—JOEL BRITTON

Vietnamese offensive bigger than Tet

By DICK ROBERTS

APRIL 26—In the Tet offensive of 1968, the city longest held by the revolutionary forces was Hué. During the Tet revolt virtually every major city and many smaller ones were held for a brief period. But the revolutionaries were thrown back by massive U.S. retaliatory bombing. Hué was held for 28 days.

It is now clear that the renewed revolutionary offensive—which is entering its second month—is on a significantly larger scale than the Tet offensive. More troops on both sides, more advanced weaponry, and more massive U.S. air and naval power are employed.

After one month of the new offensive, the revolutionary forces are not fighting a last-ditch effort to hold just the one city of Hué as they were at the comparable time during Tet.

They are sweeping across central South Vietnam, threatening to divide it in two; they are fighting on five major fronts; they have liberated villages in three provinces; and they have cut off three Saigon army divisions, including the one that was supposed to be dictator Nguyen Van Thieu's crack battalion. There have been massive desertions from the Saigon army on all fronts. All this is so despite the most intensive U.S. bombing in the history of the war. And the new revolutionary offensive is still pushing forward.

The newly revealed top-secret memorandum Henry Kissinger prepared for President Nixon one year after the Tet offensive shows that in 1969 the Joint Chiefs of Staff declared: "The enemy retains a significant capability to launch offensive actions in South Vietnam. . . . However, it is doubtful that he can successfully carry off a large-scale offensive and achieve 'dramatic' results on a par with the Tet offensive. . . ." (*New York Times*, April 26.)

Even two months before the renewed

attack, U.S. military strategists were confident it would not be on the scale of Tet. They asserted the attack would come in the Central Highlands and they were prepared for it. *Times* correspondent Craig Whitney wrote Feb. 3, "in the field, especially in the highlands outposts of Benhet, Pleiku and Kontum, which are reported to be the targets of the much-heralded offensive, the concern is less apparent. . . . If the North Vietnamese win any major battles it will not be because the South Vietnamese are unprepared." The attack on Kontum was launched April 24.

• "More than 20 North Vietnamese tanks attacked the forward command post . . . at Tancanh in the Central Highlands northwest of Kontum this morning and drove the Government forces out," reported the April 24 *Times*. "What happened to the thousands of Government troops at Tancanh was unknown. . . . Over the weekend, almost an entire battalion of several hundred Government troops was reported eliminated, partly by large-scale desertions."

• The next day, April 25, "South Vietnamese forces in the Central Highlands, splintered into small and disorganized groups . . . were falling back toward the provincial capital of Kontum today with the North Vietnamese in pursuit. . . .

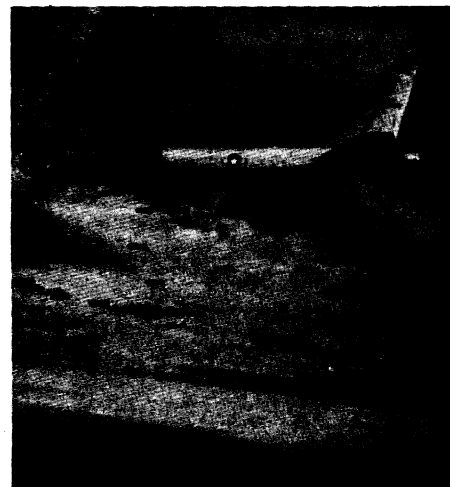
" . . . all the forward defenses of Kontum have been evacuated under pressure. . . .

"All of South Vietnam's strategic reserve forces have now been thrown into battle. . . ."

• April 26, word from Saigon: "Military officers reported yesterday that North Vietnamese forces attacking on several fronts in the Central Highlands had trapped 2,000 to 3,000 Government troops in a border outpost northwest of Kontum, pressed 5,000 others into retreating and appeared to be on their way to cutting South Vietnam in two."

And from Pleiku, *Times* reporter Malcom W. Browne wrote April 25, "The whole defensive chain of fire bases established to shield the Central Highlands from invasion from the Laotian and Cambodian borders was abandoned in today's operations, which were carried out mostly by American helicopters."

Why, when the Saigon puppet armies outnumber the revolutionary op-



ponents, when they have more sophisticated weaponry, when they were supposed to know about the impending offensive, and when they are backed up by massive round-the-clock U.S. bombing, do they fail to stem the advance, retreat pell-mell, and desert in large numbers?

The answer is not to be found in the memorandums supplied to the White House by the U.S. intelligence apparatus. It lies in the *political realities* of the Vietnamese civil war.

On one side stands the hated capitalist-landlord regime in Saigon, its police force and armies. The Saigon government, imposed on South Vietnam, is armed, financed, and militarily supported by Washington. Washington has ordered the most horrendous bombing in the history of warfare against the Vietnamese people. This has driven millions of people from their homelands into wretched

refugee existences and it has actually destroyed much of the countryside, parts of which now look like the desolate, cratered landscape of the moon.

On the other side are the revolutionary forces, who have been struggling to throw off the imperialist oppressors for more than three decades. They are Vietnamese, not foreigners. These young workers, peasants, and students have known nothing but warfare throughout their entire lives.

A *Times* reporter in Phuochiep, South Vietnam, wrote April 25, "North Vietnamese soldiers, about 300 strong, quietly made their way early today to this village 24 miles northwest of Saigon."

"'Dear uncles and aunts,' a political officer said through a portable loudspeaker. 'You are advised to pack up and leave your homes before light. Otherwise you will run the risk of being killed by the puppet army artillery. The revolutionary forces will be here for three days.'"

Refugees "expressed little resentment toward the North Vietnamese. But an incident at Truglap turned some against the Government force."

"When the villagers began to leave as the enemy had instructed, some militiamen tried to turn the people around. A few shots were fired and two or three villagers were killed."

"'The VC had the kindness to tell the villagers to go to avoid being killed by the fighting,' said Mrs. Le Thi Tan."

A *Life* correspondent writes, "Thuyen is a short, swarthy soldier in ARVN's Third Division. His left leg is bandaged and his eyes are dazed. 'The planes dropped bombs on Camlo city and killed two of my children and severely injured my wife. Two of my brothers were also killed.' A doctor with the rank of captain stops the interview and ejects us from the hospital. Why? we ask. 'Because the soldiers do not tell the truth. They will only give you propaganda.'"

The Militant gets around...

ANTIWAR ACTIVITY SPURS BUNDLE INCREASES: Areas responded to the increased antiwar activity last week with an enthusiastic effort to get *The Militant*, with its coverage of the war and the antiwar demonstrations, into the hands of as many activists as possible. Fifteen areas increased their bundles, many of them double their usual number, and one area—Portland—nearly quadrupled theirs. The week before, supporters from the Upper West Side in New York had tripled their bundle in order to sell during the Columbia University demonstrations and strike. The increases for last week's issue totaled 1,940. We expect that bundle increases will continue to come in during the next few weeks.

Socialist literature tables sold \$200 worth of publications in Los Angeles, and \$30 in San Francisco. In New York, the 1972 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee sold more than \$200 worth of campaign literature and distributed thousands of free brochures. The Young Socialist Alliance sold \$300 worth of buttons.

APRIL 22 DEMONSTRATION SALES: A total of 1,845 *Militants* and 507 copies of the *International Socialist Review* were sold at the April 22 demonstrations in New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Approximately 100 people sold 900 *Militants* and 300 *ISRs* in Los Angeles; 10 people sold 280 *Militants* and 25 *ISRs* in San Francisco; and despite freezing rain, 150 people sold 665 *Militants* and 182 *ISRs* in New York.

Top *Militant* sellers were Bob Davis, who sold 80 *Militants* at the San Francisco demonstration, and Cliff Lardinois, who sold 60 *Militants* at the Los Angeles demonstration. Holbrook Mahn led

the way in *ISR* sales, with 40 at the Los Angeles demonstration, and in New York top *ISR* saleswomen were Toby Emmerich, who sold 26, and Jean Fargo, who sold 25.

RENEWALS TOTAL 1,458: Last week 75 renewal subscriptions, mostly from people who subscribed during last fall's drive, were sent in. The business office also received 94 introductory and eight new one-year subscriptions. Chicago was the top area with 25 renewals.

LINDA JENNESS'S PAPER SELLS: One hundred twenty-four *Militants* were sold at a regional antiwar demonstration of 1,000 in Denver on April 15. Socialist Workers presidential candidate Linda Jenness was one of the speakers.

Skip Ball from Denver reports that "one saleswoman who sold 25 *Militants* said that following Jenness's speech all she had to say was 'this is Linda Jenness's paper,' and people would buy it right away."

CHICAGO SALES AT CAMPUSES AND PLANTS: *Militant* supporters from Chicago sold 380 copies of the April 14 issue. In half an hour, three people sold 38 *Militants* and 4 *ISRs* at a General Motors plant, and 155 *Militants* were sold during the week at eight campuses. Dave Saperstan, sales director from Chicago, reports that they did this by organizing noon-time and afternoon blitzes during which they also leafletted for the April 22 demonstration and the May 1-6 abortion actions.

DORM SALES: Three members of the Young Socialist Alliance at Livingston College in New Brunswick, N.J., sell 35 *Militants* each week by going door to door in the dorms. They have found it easy to sell *Militants* in the dorms because

it gives them an opportunity to talk to the students and explain what *The Militant* is. "If the salesperson is simultaneously aggressive, friendly, and obviously enthusiastic about *The Militant*," William Warwick writes, "the customer often finds it difficult to resist buying a copy."

FROM AN SWP CAMPAIGN SUPPORTER IN SANTA BARBARA, CALIF., the national campaign office received the following letter: "I've been getting *The Militant* now for about seven weeks, and for seven weeks I've been getting a hell of a lot more out of your newspaper than I ever did cost-wise from most of the 'straight' news I've subscribed to in the past. Keep things going like they are! You're doing some good work—particularly in terms of trial coverage of the Berrigan, Davis, Harlem Four, and other trials."

THE MILITANT GETS TO FIVE NEW CITIES: Requests for weekly bundles of *The Militant* came in last week from Elmwood, Ill.; Evansville, Ind.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Fairfield, Conn.; and Utica, N.Y. The request from Utica was accompanied with a note: "Some high school students have expressed a desire to help me sell *Militants* here. In the area high schools especially, there is quite a lot of interest in radical politics."

— 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.

Why Democratic precinct leader decided to become a socialist

Until a year ago, Caryl Loeb, 31, was a precinct chairwoman in the Cleveland Democratic Party and "vice-chairman" of the Cleveland New Democratic Coalition. She is now the Ohio Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the 22nd C.D. In an April 23 interview with Militant correspondent Jean Y. Tussey, Loeb explained how her experiences in the Democratic Party led her to become a socialist.

Militant: When did you first become active in politics?

Loeb: For years and years I had always voted for the Democratic Party. I was opposed to the war, but I didn't really know why. It seemed to me the war was a matter of saving face, and I couldn't see the usefulness



Caryl Loeb Photo by Dave Saperstan

of it. In 1968 I watched the Democratic Party convention on TV, and that's when I decided to get involved. I saw the police cracking the skulls of people who were demonstrating for something I believed in—they were against the war.

Shortly after that, I did some work for SANE (Society for a Sane Nuclear Policy). Then, when the New Democratic Coalition (NDC) was formed in Cleveland, I decided to work through that organization.

Militant: What type of organization was the NDC, and what role did you play in it?

Loeb: The NDC's purpose was to form a coalition of liberals in the Democratic Party to take control away from the old conservative coalition of

political bosses and Dixiecrats. In other words, its purpose was to reform the Democratic Party.

After almost a year of Tuesday night NDC discussions and trying to get the membership to go into the community and become involved, I began working on my own on Democratic Party campaigns. I hoped that electing someone whose intentions seemed good would make a difference. I realize now that the individual candidate makes little difference in terms of the problems in the community. It's true that they can get a sewer fixed or see that some streets are lit, but I know now that they can't change the basic situation in which people live.

I worked for several Black Democratic candidates, including Carl Stokes. The more I worked for these candidates, the more I suspected that the problems of Black people and poor people were simply out of these politicians' control.

While working on the campaign of David Strand for state representative, I ran for precinct committeewoman in the Democratic Party. I won by going door to door with one of my sons. He handed people a leaflet that said I would be their voice in the Democratic Party if elected.

I won by three votes, but I turned out to be nobody's voice because I boycotted the county convention along with the 21st Congressional District Caucus. Led by Louis Stokes, brother of Carl Stokes, this caucus is made up of Black and liberal Democrats.

In November 1970 we were working on the campaign of John Sweeney for state representative. At one of the meetings where we were discussing campaign literature, someone said, "Okay, now, what difference will it make if John Sweeney is in the state legislature?" And I typed out "none." By then, obviously, I knew there was no hope in the Democratic Party.

Shortly after that I was at an NDC meeting where there was a debate between a Stokes man and one of the leaders of the NDC over the question of a proposed city income tax. The Stokes man said that if the tax was not passed, the "little people" would suffer by losing public services. The NDC leader said that if the tax was passed the "little people" would suffer because the tax rates would be proportionally higher for the poor than for the rich. When I questioned them,

they both admitted that either way the majority of people in Cleveland would lose out.

I said to myself, there has to be a better way. The next day I resigned from my position as "vice-chairman" of the NDC, and I never went back.

They weren't too disappointed, incidentally, because while in the NDC I had led a feminist "uprising," which among other things, deposed one of the male fat cats in the NDC.

Militant: Can you describe what happened?

Loeb: One of the women in the NDC had organized a feminist consciousness-raising group. We met for about a year and a half, and during that time we realized that we had been very active in the NDC—active keeping files, mailing letters, making telephone calls and coffee. The men, on the other hand, even some who held the same positions we did, were meeting with the Democratic Party leaders, making policy, and being bosses. By the time of our revolt, we were ready to take over those jobs.

Militant: When did you decide to become a socialist?

Loeb: By the time I left the Democratic Party I decided that I had been a socialist all along. The first thing I did was decide to vote for Marcia Sweetenham, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Ohio in 1970. I read about her campaign in a copy of *The Militant* a neighbor gave me. I decided her program was perfect and that she was a feminist. But when I went to vote for her, her name wasn't on the ballot because of the election laws that discriminate against independent parties. So, disappointed, I voted for the Democrat—John Gilligan.

The next thing I decided was that I had to be working with some group, not just working as an individual. It strikes me as funny now, but I knew where to look for socialists because of the red-baiting attacks on the anti-war movement by the newspapers.

I went to the National Peace Action Coalition convention in December 1970 to see what kind of radicals were there. I spent the entire time interrogating radical newspaper salespeople.

The one group that stood out far and away was the Young Socialist Alliance. They were the only ones who knew what their program was, weren't

afraid to tell people about it, and whose program was logical.

It's interesting that no one makes a conscious, careful decision to be a Democrat or a Republican, but when you decide to be a revolutionary socialist you make a very deliberate, thought-out decision about how and through what organization you will function. Transforming society is serious business.

By the time I finally joined the SWP in March 1971, I had begun to work at the Cleveland Peace Center. It was very refreshing to work for a consistent antiwar movement instead of for peace candidates who turn around on you after they're elected—like Lyndon Johnson. Or like Eugene McCarthy, who I really was depending on in 1968. When he lost the nomination, he went home to write poetry.

Militant: What are the differences between election campaigns run by the Democratic Party and the campaign you are now running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket?

Loeb: One difference is that the Democrats tell people to channel all their energies for the changes they want into working for a Democratic Party candidate. The sole end to that strategy is that either the person is elected or not, but no basic change comes about.

As a socialist candidate, I'm telling people to use their power to build the women's liberation movement, the antiwar movement, and the struggles for Black and Chicano liberation. I now have the opportunity to tell people the truth about this society and about what society could be like under socialism. It's an education for the people I talk to and it's an education for me.

In the Democratic Party, whenever possible, you avoid political issues. In my socialist campaign, I address myself to the issues whether people ask me to or not. That's one of the big differences between the Democrats and the SWP. The Democrats are trying to maintain the stranglehold they and the Republicans have on the majority of people in this country, and one of the biggest threats to their ability to do this is their own program. By running SWP campaigns, we help expose the fact that the Democrats and Republicans are incapable of solving the critical problems of war, taxes, inflation, unemployment, poverty, racism, pollution, and sexism.



One thousand Swedish women demanding equal pay, free child care, and free abortion marched in Stockholm on April 8. The Swedish feminist organization Group 8 built the action. Among the speakers at the rally was Carol Lipman, on tour in Europe for the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. Sign at left reads: "Struggle for Socialism and Women's Liberation."

Woman teamster speaks on abortion

Five women members of Teamsters Local 688 in St. Louis participated in the April 8 abortion law repeal conference held in Chicago to build the May 1-6 Midwest Abortion Action Week. During a panel at the conference, Rose Roberts, a member of Local 688's political action committee, spoke about the role unions can play in working for repeal of the abortion laws and for other women's issues. The following are excerpts from her panel presentation:

"Our union has what is called a city-wide shop conference every two years. We elect delegates and alternates from each one of the shops that is represented by Local 688. At these [conferences] we break down into committees and then we involve ourselves in the issues that pertain to each of these committees.

"The one I chose to work on in 1970 was on discrimination, and the bill that I was most enthusiastic about was the repeal of the abortion laws in Missouri. The Missouri law states that it is a felony to perform an abortion or to give advice or drugs leading to an abortion, except where an abortion is necessary to save the life of a mother.

"I would like to read the resolution

this resolution and getting it passed. I had the opportunity to testify recently at a committee hearing in Jefferson City [Mo.] before the Civil and Criminal Rights Committee. They were having a hearing on the abortion bill. . . . There were about 500 people at this particular hearing, and of course the committee listened not only to our viewpoints but also had the opposition there. . . . The committee seemed as though they couldn't be less interested. I thought some of them were going to fall out of their chairs, the way they were sitting there. But when I got up and said, 'I represent Local 688, which has 14,000 members,' I felt I got across to them. . . ."

In the question and answer period Roberts described the Feb. 13 Teamster women's conference in St. Louis. This was not a decision-making conference, but the women present expressed strong sentiments in favor of abortion law repeal, child-care centers for working women, and equal pay. Roberts said that the one speaker at the conference who opposed abortion, State Senator John Schneider, "got put down real fast."

According to Roberts, the union now plans to hold one women's conference every year. The Feb. 13 gathering



Photo from Missouri Teamster

Women members of Teamsters Local 688 in St. Louis discussed the need for child care, abortion law repeal, and equal rights on the job at their Feb. 13 conference.

that was passed [at the 1970 Local 688 city-wide conference]. . . . It says: 'Whereas the present Missouri and Illinois laws are unfair and lead to the slaughter of many women, and such are made up by male legislators for women, infringing on the rights of women and unfairly discriminating against the poor and working class; and whereas there is a distinct and urgent need for an effective birth-control center in our community; and whereas many working women have a difficult time finding competent care for their small children while they work; therefore, be it resolved to work through our political action committee for the abolition of all Missouri and Illinois abortion laws, making this decision a personal and/or a medical decision, rather than a legislative one; and be it further resolved that the Labor Health Institute establish a birth-control information center; and be it further resolved that when abortion is legalized that it be possible for the Labor Health Institute doctors to perform abortions; and be it further resolved that Local 688 [work] for the establishment of quality day-care centers throughout the metropolitan area. . . .'

"There were some 700 delegates at this convention. I would say [they were] predominately male. We have about 14,000 members in Local 688, and about one fourth of these are women. So we were somewhat outnumbered at this convention. However, [the resolution] was discussed on the floor and it was passed almost unanimously. . . .

"Because of the work that I did on

drew 60 of the union's 3,000 women members and was "a beginning." She said, "Hopefully we can get more people involved in political issues. Not only as women, but as working women as well." She announced that she would try to get Local 688 women to participate in the Chicago May 6 demonstration and gave her personal endorsement to May 6 and the Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition.

After the panel, Roberts was interviewed by Pat Grogan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Illinois. Roberts discussed the attitudes of Local 688 women toward the women's liberation movement, stating, "most of us who are familiar or [are] involved with . . . women's liberation feel that it is completely necessary. Some who [are] not involved with the actual women's lib say that they're opposed to it, but they're for all the things women's lib stands for."

Roberts told Grogan that she supported the activities being organized by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition to unite women in the fight for repeal of the abortion laws: "It is impossible to do anything as an individual. You have to get together as a group with a common problem and get enough backing so that you can be heard, because one person is not going to get very far. But if you band together as a group on one problem, then you will get somewhere. And I think this [abortion] is a problem that concerns all women—working women and mothers who stay at home with their children and college students. Everyone should be concerned with this problem."

Momentum builds for abortion protests

By CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK, April 25—The new attacks on women's right to abortion in New York have broadened the support behind the May 6 demonstration here initiated by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). May 6 marches and rallies for repeal of anti-abortion and restrictive contraception laws and no forced sterilization will also take place in 16 other cities as the culmination of Abortion Action Week, May 1-6.

In New York, pro-abortion forces have issued a call for united action on May 6 in response to the anti-abortion Donovan-Crawford bill and the April 16 demonstration against the right to abortion organized by the Knights of Columbus. The Donovan-Crawford bill would replace New York's liberalized abortion law with a statute making abortion legal only to save the life of the woman.

Fifty-three prominent individuals and organizations have signed a full-page ad in the April 27 *Village Voice*, urging participation in the May 6 demonstration to defend the right to abortion in New York. The ad is sponsored by the May 6 Coalition for Abortion Rights.

Signers of the ad include Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.); New York State Assemblyman Albert H. Blumenthal; Alva Buxenbaum; Jacqueline Ceballos, eastern regional director of NOW; Essex County (New Jersey) NOW; Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.); Florence Fenster, from the International Typographical Union; Betty Friedan; actor Ben Gazzara; Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party; Long Island Committee to Defend the Right to Abortion; Long Island NOW; and the Manhattan Women's Political Caucus.

Other endorsers include the National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws; New York City chapter of the National Association of Social Workers; New York State Federation of Reformed Synagogues; New York University Women's Liberation; Queens County Liberal Party; Vickie Raphael, New York State coordinator of Students for McGovern; Esther Newberg, New York State Muskie for President; Carmen Ristorucci; actress Janice Rule; Beulah Sanders; Staten Island NOW; Gloria Steinem; United Church of Christ; Roslyn Willett, chairwoman, Women's Political Caucus, Inc.; Women's Health and Abortion Project; WONAAC; and Zero Population Growth.

An identical ad will also appear in the April 30 *New York Times*.

A group of state legislators, city

officials, rabbis, and others held a news conference here today in support of the right to abortion. Rabbi Robert D. Schreidman, associate director of the New York Federation of Reformed Rabbis, opened the conference with a call for support to the May 6 demonstration in New York. Other speakers at the news conference included Percy Sutton, Manhattan Borough president; Mary Lindsay, wife of Mayor John Lindsay, and Larry Lader of the National Association



Photo by Howard Petrick

Dr. Barbara Roberts

for Repeal of Abortion Laws. Sutton added his name to the growing list of May 6 endorsers.

WONAAC supporters report an enthusiastic response to literature about May 6 at student strike rallies and demonstrations organized to protest the new escalation of the war in Southeast Asia. In addition to speaking at campus strike rallies around the country, WONAAC activists marched in the April 22 antiwar demonstration in New York under an Abortion Action Week banner. Despite the sleet and cold, \$200 worth of May 1-6 buttons were sold and thousands of leaflets on the May 6 actions were distributed.

WONAAC national coordinator Barbara Roberts addressed the April 22 New York rally. In her speech, Roberts pointed to the hypocrisy of Nixon, who piously warns that abortion is murder while sending U.S. bombers to rain destruction on the people of Southeast Asia.

For more information on Abortion Action Week, contact the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 315, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 675-9150.

May 6 march routes

The following march routes for the May 6 abortion law repeal demonstrations have been set:

Atlanta: 12 noon, assemble at Capitol steps; march begins at 1 p.m.; rally at Hurt Park at 2 p.m.

Austin: 1 p.m., assemble at University of Texas; march to Federal Building for rally.

Boston: 1 p.m. rally at Copley Square; march to Statehouse, then Boston Common, for second rally.

Chicago: 11:30 a.m., assemble at State and Wacker; march begins at 12:30 p.m.; rally at Civic Center at 1:30 p.m.

Cleveland: 12 noon, assemble at New Federal Building, East 9th and Lakeside; march to Old Federal Building at Public Square for rally at 1 p.m.

Denver: 1 p.m., assemble at City and County Building; march to rally at west side of Capitol.

Detroit: 12 noon, assemble at Grand Circus Park; march to Kennedy Square for rally at 1:30 p.m.

Houston: Abortion fair and rally at Hermann Park.

Minneapolis-St. Paul: 2:30 p.m., assemble at Governor's Mansion, 1006 Summit Ave., St. Paul; march begins at 3:30 p.m.; rally at Capitol steps at 4:30 p.m.

New York: 12 noon, assemble at First Avenue and 27th Street; march to Union Square for 3 p.m. rally.

Philadelphia: 12 noon, assemble at Federal Building, 9th and Chestnut, for picket line.

Sacramento: 12 noon, assemble at City Plaza; march to Capitol steps for 1 p.m. rally.

In Our Opinion

Answer Nixon All out May 4!

President Nixon's April 26 ultimatum demanding that the Vietnamese liberation fighters surrender is a declaration that he intends to continue the murderous bombing throughout Southeast Asia until Washington's goals are achieved. It is also a reckless threat to all humanity.

The potential of nothing less than a nuclear world war is contained in Nixon's warning that Moscow must "respect the U.S. presidency"—while U.S. bombs rain down on Vietnam, including on the port of Haiphong, where Soviet ships are harbored.

Nixon's vow to do whatever is necessary to crush the Vietnamese revolution must be answered by united national and international anti-war protests!

To Nixon's demagogic appeal for "unity" behind his war program, we must answer: Unify all the forces of the American populace against Nixon's war program!

Build massive protests against the war May 4!

Build and sustain antiwar activities on all levels until the United States stops the bombing and gets out of Southeast Asia!

Never have Washington's objectives in Southeast Asia been spelled out with more arrogance—to crush the revolution in Vietnam and stabilize a proimperialist regime in Saigon. These objectives are the same as those that brought Washington into this civil war seven years ago.

"We will not be defeated," asserted the president. "We will not surrender our friends to Communist aggression."

The "friends" Nixon is talking about are the hated capitalist clique in Saigon, which owes its origin and present existence solely to U.S. financial and military support.

The "aggression" Nixon is talking about is not an aggression at all. It is a long struggle of the Vietnamese people to throw off the real foreign invaders, the U.S. imperialists who daily rain bombs on their country.

Nixon's speech was a pack of lies. The "enemy indiscriminately shelled civilian population centers" in its new advance, the president declared. But the truth reported by newsmen from the battlefield (see page 3) is that the advancing revolutionary forces warn civilians to flee from the war zones. The indiscriminate murder of innocent women, men, and children is carried out with bombs disgorged from U.S. jets in the skies.

Nixon stated that the "enemy must halt the invasion" before the U.S. will "negotiate." He charged that it is "a clear case of naked and unprovoked aggression" because the Vietnamese of the North crossed an international border and entered South Vietnam. But this is an artificial border imposed by the big powers at the 1954 Geneva Conference. The Vietnamese of the North and those of the South are one people.

The only invasion taking place in Southeast Asia today is the massive land, sea, and air invasion by the United States.

Nixon stated that "Vietnamization has proved itself." This is a lie. The inspiring offensive of the revolutionary troops in South Vietnam, the faltering response of the Saigon regime armies, and the huge escalation of U.S. bombing support all show that "Vietnamization" is impossible.

Never will the gang in Saigon be able to stand without U.S. support. And this means that the danger of recommitting U.S. troops to combat will last as long as the war lasts. Nixon's new escalation cannot end the war. It makes the war bigger and more fraught with danger for all.

Nixon declared that he had undertaken and intends to undertake "journeys of peace," first to Peking and now to Moscow. This is a lie. These are journeys to enable Washington to continue the war. Peking's toasting of Nixon while the air escalation began last winter is now more than matched by Moscow's criminal refusal to cancel the invitation to Nixon, as the air warfare reaches its greatest level in the war's history.

Moscow and Peking should not be greeting the commander of the imperialist attack. They should be taking the lead in forming a united front to defend the Indochinese people against Nixon's attack—by any means necessary!

The president's lies about U.S. activities in Southeast Asia were matched only by his phony appeal to the "unity" of the people of this country behind U.S. aggression. The overwhelming majority of the people in this country, however, have shown their opposition to the war again and again. Last week, tens of thousands of marchers in New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco showed what Americans really think about the war, and particularly about Nixon's new escalation. Thousands are marching again on April 29.

Does the president dare to assert that demonstrations anywhere near this size could be built by his supporters?

It is the job of the antiwar movement to unify the opposition against Nixon's escalation and to continue to mount massive protests. To Nixon's reckless, arrogant, and lying speech of April 26 we answer:

STOP THE BOMBING!

OUT NOW!

BUILD MAY 4!

Letters

War criminals

The San Diego Student Mobilization Committee is holding a "Vote for the War Criminal of your Choice" referendum. The results have not been the usual when compared to other "war criminal" votes across the country. Where others have held the "vote," Nixon was the winner. At San Diego State University, however, the vote has gone differently. With well over 500 votes, the leader is capitalism, followed by LBJ and then Nixon. I would also like to have an honorable mention about our fourth and fifth place winners: Jesus Christ and John Wayne. We hope to double the amount of votes during Peace Action Week.

As an individual I would like to say that the coverage of the anti-war movement in *The Militant* is second to none.

Darrell Reuther
San Diego, Calif.

Likes humor

I thought your April 14 issue was especially well done. I liked the cartoon of H. Humphrey and the analysis of the record of Muskie. The cartoon showed a degree of humor your paper sometimes lacks.

You probably get praise very seldom, so I thought I would give you some. Keep up the humor especially.

Dick Turnbull
Vancouver, Wash.

Militant advertising

In comment to the letter on *Militant* advertising in the April 7 letters column doubting the sincerity of the socialist struggle, I feel that your advertising tactics are more than proper. Do others think that paper and ink are purchased with Ma's Apple Pie? Keep on advertising. We shall win!

William J. Finn
Walpole state prison
S. Walpole, Mass.

GM's strategy

A recent article in the *New York Times* highlights many of the problems facing the American working class. Entitled "G.M.'s Toughest Division," the article deals with General Motors Assembly Division and its top boss, Joseph Godfrey. Godfrey's operation reveals a very high degree of "rationalization." Daily computer print-outs report the work done in 18 plants employing 91,000 workers. Godfrey uses the problem of foreign competition to justify his policies. But underneath it all is a solid capitalist approach that would do Marx justice. Says Godfrey, "... if we can occupy a man for 60 minutes, we've got that right."

The article details how every plant that has come under Godfrey's control has experienced "labor problems." The combination of speedups and cutting the workforce has resulted in so many disputes and strikes that even other sectors of GM management are wondering if the effort is worth it.

Significantly, it was the policies of speedup and cutback that sparked the recent strike in Lordstown, which is one of the plants under GMAD control. Typical of the cynicism of the top brass, Godfrey keeps one of the Lordstown picket signs as a prize memento.

The article also contains an interview with Irving Bluestone of the UAW GM department. Bluestone makes a good case of documenting the types of speedup that are oc-

curing, plus the attempts to bulldoze existing contracts and formal and informal agreements. However, Bluestone seems most concerned with explaining to GM how its policies only hurt its own profits. At the end of the article he shows the UAW's total bankruptcy of any real challenge to GM's latest policies. "[GM] will have to weigh disrupting a relation with workers against the efficiencies they gain. That's their decision. We can only react."

Seth Wigderson
Atlanta, Ga.

Idaho's anti-gay law

Near the end of March the Idaho state legislature, in a scandalous move, repealed the new criminal code that removed homosexual sex, fornication, and adultery from the category of crimes. The liberalized state law had only taken effect on Jan. 1, and had made Idaho one of the first states (with Illinois, Connecticut, Oregon, and now Hawaii) to legalize homosexual sex acts.

The fact that Idaho had thrown out its law characterizing homosexuality as "the infamous crime against nature" was especially significant in that the antihomosexual hysteria that was an ingredient of the 1950s witch-hunt etched a noticeable scar in Boise in 1955. The homosexual scandal that tore the city apart (with people denouncing their neighbors with puritanical zeal) was made famous in John Gerassi's *The Boys of Boise*.

There are still puritans there, and with help from, among others, the racist and sexist Mormon church, they whipped up a campaign to restore legalized sexual repression.

- Idaho's homosexuals, fornicators, and adulterers should do something about this.

David Thorstad
New York, N. Y.

Chemistry lesson I

I am an ardent fan of Harry Ring's "Great Society" column. In that column on April 7, under the heading "antipolluters at work," Harry ran a story about ketchup. To reduce the solid wastes (whatever those are) accumulated in the production of ketchup and tomato sauce, Harry reveals, hydrochloric acid is added. Then, to reduce the resulting acidity, sodium hydroxide is added. Harry concludes that the flavor might be improved with a little arsenic to boot.

Now, I'm an anti-additive nut along with the best of them. I always buy the stuff that has no more phosphates, without BHT, minus sodium nitrite, and guaranteed to be free of gaurdies, 4-hydroxytryptophane, and the like. But if a high school course in chemistry (taken, I admit, sometime during the Wars of the Roses or thereabouts) is any guide, the result of mixing hydrochloric acid with sodium hydroxide is a violent chemical reaction producing ... salt and water. Ordinary old table salt and water. Pure water, incidentally. But salty.

If that's the case, then Harry's headline should have read "Diluters at Work." For what the wily old tomato magnates appear to be foisting upon us is not poisonous, but merely briny.

Merry Maisel
Denver, Colo.

Chemistry lesson II

To Harry Ring: I read your "Great Society" column in every issue. Invariably there are humorous and

informative shorts from a wide range of sources. Sometimes, however, there are items which don't make too much sense. Case in point: "Anti-polluters at work" in the April 7 issue.

I agree too much crap is put into processed food; however, a little basic chemistry tells you:

$HCL + NaOH = NaCl + H_2O$

That is, hydrochloric acid plus sodium hydroxide gives you sodium chloride (table salt) and water.

Roy Simmons

Houston, Texas

Greek revolution

We wish to announce the *Front Line*, a newsletter devoted to the problems of the Greek revolution. Our effort goes beyond the existing activity in the U. S. in that we are primarily interested in reaching the Greek community directly (as opposed to "influencing" governments) with news and texts of the active resistance within Greece. We will report on all the groups which we know of that are engaged in active struggle.

One dollar will bring you our first five issues, and any amount over that would be greatly appreciated. Buttons and bumper stickers are also available.

Pena

Box 5128

Clinton, N. J. 08809

Question from a Martian

I am a recent visitor to your planet from Mars and would appreciate your help to figure things out here on Earth. For example, as I understand it, there is a holy book, called *The Bible*, which says that long ago God gave the land of Palestine to the Jews. The Jews know this for a fact, because He was their God . . . and they wrote the book. My question is, why don't the Arabs agree?

P. A. B.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Arab revolution

I read every copy of *The Militant* newspaper and also the *International Socialist Review*. I find them very interesting and get a lot out of them.

But I would like to point out one thing that I have been thinking a lot, and it is the following:

I don't think that *The Militant* newspaper is giving enough attention to the Arab world and the Arab people in their deadly struggle for freedom and for the unity of all Arab countries. I would like to mention especially the Palestinian people and their armed organizations.

The American public does not know anything about the Palestinian's heroic fight for their rights and freedom against Israel and the King of Jordan. It will help the Palestinian revolution a lot if the American public starts to know more and more about the Palestinian problem and the Palestinian people, who are the nucleus of the revolution in the Arab world against Zionism, imperialism, and the Arab reaction.

Bashar T. Farouki

Naperville, Ill.

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.

The Great Society

Down to its last few tenements—In the first public disclosure of its assets, the New York diocese of the Roman Catholic Church estimated its net worth as a mere \$643-million.

The eternal family—If it's up to a New York supreme court justice you'll spend forever with your relatives. In a five-page decision, Judge Wilfred Waltemade upheld a cemetery's refusal to let the last descendant of a family sell the remaining seven of 10 burial places in a family plot. The judge said the law recognizes "the natural desire of man to rest with his own people." "Those already interred," he opined, "should not have strangers in their midst."

Life cycle—In our youth, aspirants to "manhood" swallowed down rot-gut whiskey, and between coughs, gasped, "It puts hair on your chest." Now Estee Lauder has elevated the target with a beer-based "Malt-Enriched Shampoo, Hair Thickener and Hair Control." It puts hair on your head.

Their favorite charity—We recently reported that a leader of Canada's ruling Liberal Party admitted that the organization was dependent on 95 major Canadian corporations for financial support. Responding to some of the public discussion this evoked, Prime Minister Trudeau assured that it was a "myth" that these corporations use their contributions to influence government policy.

In the grand tradition—The recently wedded Prince and Princess Alfonso de Bourbon y Dampierre (she's Franco's granddaughter) are honeymooning in the U. S. after a stopover in the Bahamas. "We have a little house there," Prince B&D explained, "I went fishing. And she cooked."

Sound familiar?—The "cargo cult" of Papua New Guinea is a favorite of media feature writers. These "simple," "credulous" people got their first glimpse of Western consumer products during World War II and invested them with a magical quality worthy of worship. An April 4 New York Times article says, "The cultists be-

lieve in the creation of wealth by supernatural means is reinforced by local interpretation of passages of the Bible dealing with miracles, authorities say." They sound like good brain-washed Americans to us.

More primary results—In a poll of visitors to the Amsterdam branch of Madam Tussaud's waxworks museum, President Nixon won first place as the most fearful figure. But at the London Tussaud museum he only placed third, a nose ahead of Jack the Ripper. Maybe he didn't get enough visibility.

—HARRY RING



"Payroll? Hell, lady, we're delivering the chopped sirloin."

Women: The Insurgent Majority

RENT-A-BIRD—Apparently the next logical step after National Airlines' "Fly Me" ads is the new Rent-A-Bird business in Miami, where \$50 buys a female "companion" for six-hours' time. One of Rent-A-Bird's owners, Betty Skarl, defends the enterprise as a routine business operation—"like stocking shoes in a shoe store," as she puts it. As the degrading name of the company suggests, Rent-A-Bird's appeal is mainly to men looking for prostitutes.

The fact that the Miami Chamber of Commerce and the Better Business Bureau have both endorsed Rent-A-Bird illustrates the two-faced approach the capitalists take toward prostitution. On the one hand, the government harasses and arrests prostitutes, but at the same time they give back-handed support to the sale of women's bodies for profits. As Engels pointed out in *Origins of the Family*, the ruling class allows prostitution to flourish because it is a necessary outgrowth of the family system. Rent-A-Bird is just one of the more sickening examples of how human relationships under capitalism are reduced to economic relationships.

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN SMITH—Some readers of the *Daily World*, a newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party, feel that the paper is going a bit too far on the question of women's liberation. In particular, the head of the Minnesota Communist Party, Betty Smith, has objected to the fact that the *World* called her "chairwoman" of the Minnesota CP. In a letter printed in the April 20 *Daily World*, Smith insisted that she be called "chairman" in the future.

"We object to the use of 'chairwoman' for most political posts because it is too easily confused with the chairman and chairwoman posts in the two old parties, in which chairwoman was and still is all too often a bare bone tossed to the feminine voters," Smith wrote.

She went on to say, "And since chairperson and chairwoman still contain male pronouns, the substitution of either seems a moot point when the substitution implies that the pronoun is all-important. . . . please cut out the 'chairwoman' when you refer to me, especially since the document you quoted was not signed in that way. All the best, Betty M. Smith, Chairman, Minnesota Communist Party."

The *World* ran the letter under the title "Thank you, Madam Chairman."

PROTECTING WOMEN FROM TOO MUCH EQUALITY—As the thirteenth state ratified the Equal Rights Amendment, leaving 25 more to go before the ERA becomes law, New York state senators debated and finally passed the measure, sending it on to the State Assembly. Democratic Senator James D. Griffin from Buffalo strongly opposed the amendment, because, he said, he wanted "to protect" women from such dangers as working late at night. Griffin apparently felt quite competent to decide for women whether they should have equal rights. "I don't think your wife or my wife thinks much of this liberation idea," he said.

BOULDER BEAUTY CONTEST FLOPS—The April 14 *Colorado Daily*, student newspaper at the University of Colorado in Boulder, reports that there were no takers in this year's Most Perfectly Engineered Coed Contest, sponsored by the Associated Engineering Students. Fearing a major protest from the campus women's liberation movement, the AES declined to publicize the event and instead just sent invitations to all the sororities. No women had accepted as of the day of the contest.

Campus feminists were ready with plans to oppose the contest if it actually took place—including entering former student-government vice-president Ken McKenna as a candidate.

WOMAN SHOWS UP MALE RACERS—The Boston Marathon, a traditionally all-male bastion, opened its doors to women long distance runners this year, for the first time. Nine female contestants entered the race, but they were judged separately in a female division instead of being allowed to compete directly against the men. This maneuver saved the Marathon's organizers from some embarrassment. Under joint scoring, Nina Kuscsik, the winner in the women's division, would have beaten 800 of the 1,072 male contestants. Kuscsik finished in 3:08:58. Not far behind her was Kathy Miller, who shocked Marathon officials a few years ago by "illegally" entering the race under the name K. Switzer.

—CINDY JAQUITH

Returns in Texas campus poll

By JANICE LYNN

The University of Texas at Austin (UT) has announced the results of the Impact '72 presidential preference poll held on the campus in March. The poll was conducted on 25 Texas campuses. At UT, 5,038 students participated.

The poll was arranged so that students voted for the candidate of their choice out of a list of three possibilities. Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness received between 4.9 and 15.2 percent of the vote, depending on the candidates pitted against her in each combination. The following are the results of the presidential poll:

Henry Jackson, 18.9 percent; Richard Nixon, 38.5 percent; Linda Jenness, 15.2 percent.

Hubert Humphrey, 29.8 percent; Nixon, 37.1 percent; Jenness, 12.1 percent.

Edmund Muskie, 51 percent; Nixon, 30.2 percent; Jenness, 7.6 percent.

George McGovern, 61.2 percent; Nixon, 31.7 percent; Jenness, 4.9 percent.

In the poll on candidates for U.S. senator from Texas, SWP candidate Richard Garcia received 4.1 percent and La Raza Unida Party (LRUP) candidate Alma Amaya polled 4.3 percent when paired against Democrat Ralph Yarborough and Repub-

paired against Democrat Preston Smith and an "undesigned Republican." Against Democrat Dolph Briscoe, Leonard polled 12.1 percent and Muniz got 12.9 percent of the vote. Leonard received 1.8 percent and Muniz, 2.6 percent against Democrat Frances Farenthold.

The Impact '72 referendum results were as follows: strongly in favor of legalized abortion, 67.4 percent; in favor of immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia, 64.5 percent; strongly in favor of full rights for 18-year-olds, 66 percent.

In the April 12 CHOICE '72 poll at Indiana University in Bloomington, Jenness finished ninth in a field of 15 candidates, ahead of Jackson, Benjamin Spock, John Ashbrook, Gus Hall, Pat Paulsen, and Wilbur Mills. Jenness received 74 votes. The winner of the poll, McGovern, received 1,379 votes. A total of 3,961 students participated in the poll.

On the referendum questions, 66 percent supported immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia and 86 percent favored repeal of abortion and restrictive contraception laws, and no forced sterilization.

The Bloomington poll also asked students to indicate party preference. The results were: independent, 36 percent; Democratic Party, 34 percent; Republican Party, 25 percent; Social-

51 votes, placing fourteenth among 20 candidates. McGovern won the poll with 1,435 votes.

University of Kentucky students favored immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia by 74 percent, repeal of the abortion laws by 80 percent, and a ban on strip mining by 81 percent.



Richard Garcia

CHOICE '72 was launched in Philadelphia on April 4 with a news conference attended by representatives of the Jenness-Pulley, Humphrey, McGovern, and Muskie campaigns, the Philadelphia Women's Abortion Action Coalition, and the Student Mobilization Committee. On April 10 the CHOICE '72 project was presented to the Philadelphia school board, with the request that the poll take place in all city high schools.

The Washington (D.C.) Teachers Union, which has endorsed holding CHOICE '72 in the city's high schools, has sent letters to all members of the D.C. school board, asking that they support the poll as well.

CHOICE '72 polls will take place on April 29 at Georgia State University in Atlanta; on May 5 at the University of Illinois in Chicago; and on May 9 at the University of California in Los Angeles.

Alan Einhorn, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley candidate for student body president at Boston University, received 15 percent of the vote in the elections held the second week of April. Three hundred eight students voted for Einhorn, who came in second in the race. The votes for the other YSJP candidates were as follows: Nancy Charpentier, vice-presidential candidate, 341 votes (17 percent); Joe Auciello, candidate for community affairs secretary, 307 votes (17 percent); Rob Cahalane, financial affairs secretary candidate, 342 votes (19 percent); and Andy Epstein, candidate for student life secretary, 333 votes (19 percent). A total of 2,087 students voted in the election.

lican John Tower. Both Garcia and Amaya received more than 12 percent of the vote each when paired with Democratic candidate Sanders.

SWP gubernatorial candidate Debby Leonard got 13.2 percent of the vote and LRUP candidate Ramsey Muniz received 12.9 percent when

ist Workers Party, 2 percent; and American Independent Party and Peace and Freedom Party, 1 percent each.

Approximately 2,500 students at the University of Kentucky in Lexington voted in a CHOICE '72 poll held April 18-19. Linda Jenness received

Suit challenges Calif. ballot law

By MARK SCHNEIDER

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. — Attorneys working with the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) filed suit April 12 in the California supreme court against the section in the state election code concerning placing new parties on the ballot. The section requires 663,340 signatures on independent nominating petitions or 66,334 members registered to vote under the party label. Plaintiffs in the suit are the Socialist Workers Party, the Prohibition Party, and the Socialist Labor Party.

Each of the plaintiffs has run candidates before in California. The Prohibition Party appeared on each statewide ballot until 1964. Although the Socialist Labor Party was never on the statewide ballot, it has run local campaigns and publicized national candidates as write-ins.

The Socialist Workers Party has never had its name on the California statewide ballot, but it is the only party ever to have met the state's independent candidate requirements for congressional candidates. The SWP has also run candidates in many of the "nonpartisan" county and municipal races in California. In 1970, the SWP ran an extensive write-in campaign, putting forward a full slate for statewide offices. Organizers considered this the biggest socialist campaign run in California for many years.

In a news conference announcing the suit, CoDEL representative Bob Schwarz called this law "a violation of the letter and spirit of recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions guaranteeing the right of 'one person one vote' and equal protection of the law to all, not just to the parties presently in power."

Ken Milner, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the 7th C.D., pointed to the importance of this suit for others besides the plaintiffs. "In my campaign I am urging Black people to follow the example of Chicanos and Latinos in La Raza Unida Party and form their own political party, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. The fact that more than 20,000 people in California have registered La Raza Unida Party and yet that party is still kept off the ballot, is a further indication of the way election laws are stacked against Blacks and La Raza. I hope that this suit will help break the stranglehold the Democrats and Republicans have maintained for so many years through election laws that exclude other parties from the ballot."

Representatives of the Prohibition Party and the Socialist Labor Party also appeared at the news conference. A statement by Alvin Duskin, ecologist and leader of the San Francisco Opposition, was distributed at the news conference. The statement said:

"In my opinion, the signature requirements for party qualification are clearly unreasonable, unrealistic, and should be termed discriminatory in respect to legitimate 'minor' parties. I earnestly applaud the efforts of CoDEL in respect to this litigation and fully support the plaintiffs' position."

The attorney for the suit, Michael Sorgen of the Mission Office of the Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation, said the next step would be a decision by the state supreme court on whether to hear the suit. He called upon the court to resolve once and for all the conflict that arose when the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a district-court ruling that Ohio's election law was unconstitutional, but ruled the Georgia law permissible. (Ohio had required a new party to gather signatures equal to 15 percent of the previous statewide vote, while Georgia requires 5 percent.)

Though California's requirement of 10 percent falls between those two, certain similarities, such as discriminatory requirements on structuring the parties and holding primaries, make California's law closer to the former Ohio provisions.

CoDEL plans a publicity campaign to make this important suit known to as many people as possible. Anyone wishing to contribute to this effort should contact the West Coast office of CoDEL, Box 40445, San Francisco, Calif. 94140.

SWP fights for place on Utah ballot

By JUDY UHL

On April 17 Utah Secretary of State Clyde Miller ruled that he would not recognize the Utah Socialist Workers Party. Each of the three new parties who sought ballot status has been refused recognition, leaving the ballot to the Democrats and Republicans.

To win ballot status under the existing law, a party must obtain signatures from 500 voters, including 10 in each of 10 counties, hold county conventions and obtain officers of the party in each of 10 counties, and hold a state convention. The Human Rights and Communist parties were denied ballot status when they failed to meet the signature distribution requirement. (The Human Rights Party failed by one signature in one county!)

The SWP obtained 942 signatures, including the necessary distribution. At its state convention, held on April 14, Evelyn Reed and Clifton DeBerry were nominated for president and vice-president, along with four presidential electors. Reed and DeBerry were nominated as stand-in candidates for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. Unlike most states, Utah requires a candidate to be qualified to hold office in order to run. Reed and DeBerry both meet the age requirement, 35, for holding the office of president.

On April 17 SWP State Vice-Chairwoman Lana Magleby submitted the names of the candidates of the party along with a statement from the Utah state officers of the SWP. "We feel that the law requiring ten separate county conventions is unnecessarily burdensome and undemocratic," the officers said. "We are filing suit to challenge the constitutionality of that requirement . . . we think the courts will release us from the burdensome requirement of holding ten county conventions."

In a letter to Magleby, the secretary of state replied that the county convention requirement is "mandatory."

"We are forced to conclude that your Party has failed to fully qualify as a new political party for the election this year," he wrote.

During a recent trip to Utah, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley National Coordinator Tom Vernier met with attorneys representing the American Civil Liberties Union. They have agreed to take the case. The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) is assisting in preparations for the court challenge.

"Distribution requirements such as this one have been invalidated many times in the past," noted CoDEL Legal Director Ron Reosti. He described the effect of such requirements. "Only 3 percent of the residents of Utah live in the ten least populous counties, while more than half the residents of the state live in the three most populous counties. More than half the state's residents could not get together to win ballot status for a new party, while 3 percent could," Reosti explained.

All but one of the five suits that have invalidated distribution requirements in other states in the last few years have been initiated by the SWP.

'72 Socialist Campaign

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley national coordinator Tom Vernier has just completed a speaking tour in Massachusetts. He reports that "In a debate at Tufts University, a representative for the McGovern campaign argued that Massachusetts students should not participate in the April 22 antiwar march in New York but instead spend that day canvassing for McGovern." Vernier said that McGovern's Boston headquarters "refused to allow any April 22 literature to be displayed in their offices."

Vernier noted that "This clearly reveals McGovern's strategy of defusing the antiwar movement, of channeling the antiwar movement activists into his campaign machine as opposed to engaging in mass protests in the streets."

Three major newspapers, the New York Daily News, Newsday, and the Long Island Press printed articles on the announcement of Hedda Garza's congressional campaign in Long Island, N.Y., on the SWP ticket. She launched her campaign in the 5th C.D. with a statement blasting Nixon's stepped-up bombing in Southeast Asia and calling for an all-out effort to build the April 22 antiwar demonstrations. The Newsday article labeled her campaign "unique" and said that "Mrs. Garza has enlivened county executive debates and pledges to 'rattle them' again this year."

A red, white, and black button with the slogan "Raza Si, Guerra No, Vote Socialist Workers" is available from the SWP national campaign committee for 30 cents each (15 cents each on orders over 50, 12 cents each on orders over 200).

As of April 20, a total of 9,376 signed Jenness-Pulley endorser cards have been received by the Socialist Workers national campaign office.

On March 30 and 31, George Novack, a noted Marxist scholar, spoke to several hundred students in a series of classroom meetings at Utah State University. He spoke on the topic "The Meaning of Life: A Marxist View."

Feminist author and anthropologist Evelyn Reed spoke with Florynce Kennedy and others before 250 people April 17 at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb. The meeting discussed issues facing the women's liberation movement.

And on April 18, more than 200 people attending a Middle-East teaching at New York University heard a panel of speakers representing differing viewpoints, including Peter Buch of the Socialist Workers Party, who spoke in support of the Arab Revolution and the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Novack, Reed, and Buch are all members of the Socialist Workers Party National Campaign Committee. If you would like to set up a campus speaking engagement for any or all of them, contact the national campaign office.

The Northwest YSJP campaign team reports that during a visit to Washington State University in Pullman they sold 50 copies of "Everything You Always Wanted to Know about

George McGovern . . ." in just three hours.

The following are excerpts from mail recently received by the SWP national campaign office:

"I am currently a precinct captain in the Democratic Party. There are many young people like myself who are doing their best to take advantage of the existing party structures to accomplish specific goals. There is, however, a growing feeling that this method is not going to work beyond a certain point. Enclosed is \$7.50 for 50 copies of the McGovern Truth Kit. When will you have a Muskie Truth Kit ready? The Militant is an excellent paper. It has become one of my major news sources." Regan McCann, Reno, Nevada.

"At the end of March, Andrew Pulley spoke at the University of Evansville. After talking to people from the YSA (Young Socialist Alliance), I decided that my time could best be spent coordinating a Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley chapter. I had previously been a candidate for state representative on the Indiana Peace & Freedom Party (ticket). I have withdrawn my candidacy to work on organizing a YSJP chapter." Steve Beumer, Evansville, Ind.

"Brothers and Sisters: With the new situation in Southeast Asia we felt the following letter was appropriate.

"It's so frustrating to know there is a conspiracy against the majority (the oppressed and exploited) by the minority (those rich capitalist avaricious gluttons). What the YSA, SWP and The Militant makes us realize is that possibly we can beat this capitalist existence. You supporters of a socialistic, humanitarian, and harmonious society give us courage to realize socialism could and must transpire.

"Good luck to Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley, Laura Miller. Please keep fighting." Sam Chetta, Diane Slakie, New York, N. Y.

A poster with the slogan "Vote Socialist Workers, Linda Jenness for President, Andrew Pulley for Vice-President" (black and white on orange, or orange and white on black) can now be purchased for 10 cents per poster, or 4 cents per poster on bulk orders.

A letter to the editor printed in the April 13 Portsmouth (N. H.) Herald protests the refusal of Portsmouth High School officials to permit a meeting for Andrew Pulley. Sherman Pridham, a teacher, writes, "Wasn't April Fool the first of April? Surely Mr. Cusick's (the superintendent of schools) 'barring' of vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley from speaking at the high school because he isn't 35 is a joke. Surely no thoughtful person can accept that kind of reasoning." Pridham pointed out the hypocrisy of an educational system that "refuses to allow . . . students free access to ideas."

Address all inquiries, literature requests, contributions, and reports of campaign work in your area to SWP National Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

— STEVE BEREN

Revolutionary youth & the new upsurge on the campuses

The following statement was issued April 25 by the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

— Democratic or Republican—faithfully looking after the interests of a tiny handful of rich bankers and businessmen.

Many young people realize that the so-called peace candidates vying for the Democratic Party nomination offer no real alternative, and that it's time to stop giving the system "one more chance."

At the same time, the disintegration of the "New Left" has taught politicizing youth that there is no shortcut or clever scheme that can substitute for seriously working to change society.

Today, young people are not only actively involved in struggles for political and social change but are also searching for the correct program and theory, which can give direction to their efforts.

The Young Socialist Alliance has such a program—a program based on the long experience of the Marxist movement and the concept that the working class is the essential force to end capitalist rule.

The YSA supports and builds all the movements for social change, realizing that these movements must continue in a revolutionary direction in order to win their demands. We support the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1972 elections.

If you agree that the war in Southeast Asia is only part of a general policy of the U.S. capitalist system, then you should agree with the need for an organization to fight all aspects of capitalism.

If you want to help end all wars, which means ending capitalism, then you should join the YSA and participate with us in the most urgent task before youth in this country—building an organization that can help lead the struggle for socialism.

() I would like more information about the YSA.

() I want to join the YSA.

() Enclosed is \$1.25 for a copy of Young Socialist Strategy for '72.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

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

Four months ago, when the mass media and even some radicals were proclaiming the death of the antiwar movement, the Young Socialist Alliance insisted:

"The overall strategy of the ruling class of attempting to crush the Vietnamese revolution has not changed

"This continuation of the war can only lead to new upsurges in antiwar activity as Nixon's myth that the war is winding down is exploded. . . . New upsurges will occur. They will occur as a result of the contradiction between the ever deepening antiwar sentiment in the United States and the actual continuation of the war itself. . . .

"We must make the April 22 mass actions as successful as we possibly can. . . . The exact size of the actions cannot be predicted. A major escalation of the war, which could lead to a major upsurge of the antiwar movement, is not excluded." (Young Socialist Strategy for '72, available from the YSA national office.)

We backed our analysis with action. The YSA has been in the forefront of building the antiwar movement, and YSA members around the country are deeply involved in the current upsurge on the campuses and in building April 29 and May 4.

As revolutionaries who see the importance of defending the Vietnamese revolution, we seek to work with all who oppose the war to build united mass demonstrations and to reach out to ever-broader sections of the American people—especially working people and GIs—building a movement that can win the demand for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces and materiel from Southeast Asia.

The current antiwar upsurge takes place in the context of growing distrust of the entire system. More and more young people realize that the war in Southeast Asia, racism, sexism, pollution of our environment, the 6 percent unemployment, wage controls, rising inflation, and the callous disregard for human life shown by Kent, Jackson, Mylai, and Attica are all characteristic of a system oriented toward profits rather than human beings.

These are not the mistakes of one "bad" administration but the conscious policy of every administration



Photo by Harry Ring

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley literature table at Los Angeles April 22 antiwar demonstration.

¡La Raza en Acción!

"BORDER" PATROL MOVES INLAND: According to a March 19 *New York Times* article datelined Miami, Okla., the U.S. Border Patrol has placed a permanent outpost in that city, some 600 miles from the Mexican border. The station was set up in January and is expected to apprehend 300 so-called "illegal aliens" per month. According to the *Times*, most of those caught are headed for the light-industrial complexes of Chicago.

In case some *carnal* or *carnala* needs to know, the checkpoint operates at the Missouri-Oklahoma state line on the Will Rogers Turnpike portion of Interstate Highway 44. Agents are said to "routinely inspect vehicles as they stop to pay tolls since that is the last mandatory stop before reaching Chicago." Russell Bruce, the agent in charge, also told the *Times* they now have roving patrols that range west and north into Kansas and Oklahoma, and east and north into Missouri.

MORELOS AND ZAPATA COME TO SAN JUAN, TEXAS: José María Morelos Street and Emiliano Zapata Street will now appear on city maps in San Juan, Texas, as the result of a resolution passed by the Raza Unida Party administration there. According to the March 23 Spanish-language newspaper *Ya Mero*, the streets are located in the Palm subdivision recently annexed to the city. Morelos was a Mexican revolutionary hero during the fight for independence. Zapata, of course, was the revolutionary peasant leader who fought until his death in 1919 so that "the land should belong to those who work it."

COLORADO RAZA PROTESTS CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS: The Mexican-American Parents Advisory Commission (MAPAC), together with other parents, confronted a local school board in Fort Collins, Colo., last month over the question of abusing students with "paddling."

The March 4 *Denver Post* reported one parent, Joe Coria, as saying, "I spank my child quite often, but a two-foot-long paddle wielded by a 200-pound man should be considered flogging."

Lupe Giron, a member of the Fort Collins Human Relations Commission, stated that her 13-year-old son was "boarded" for simply failing to complete an assignment. This exposed statements by teachers, who said that corporal punishment was being used "only as a last resort."

Another woman, Martha Rye, told how her three daughters who are students at Blevens Junior High School had been pinched and had their arms twisted by a teacher there.

Lee Ortiz, chairman of MAPAC, told the board that "The repeated abuse of students at Lincoln [school] in the form of corporal punishment can no longer be condoned or tolerated." According to the *Post*, the board decided only to receive written reports on "all corporal punishment cases for study."

In the meantime, MAPAC plans to take the matter before the state board of education.

REDLANDS UNIVERSITY BLASTED FOR RACIST PRACTICES: Lino M. López resigned as director of the off-campus intercultural program at Redlands University's Johnston College in Southern California, earlier this year. He was protesting the administration's refusal to recruit Chicano students and faculty in larger numbers.

According to the March 8 *El Chicano*, López reported that "despite an intensive recruiting program that I have carried out with the help of Chicano students, the Mexican-American enrollment has only increased from 18 to 35 in the last three academic years. And there is only one Mexican-American teacher, and she was just hired this year." The total student body numbers 1,800.

López complained that "when the admissions office people received an application from a Chicano, they appeared anxious to find fault with it. They rejected it for the least omission without telling us what information the student needed to complete the form."

Despite the continuing racist admissions policies of most colleges and universities when it comes to La Raza, there are three "American" institutions in which we are well represented: the jails, the army, and the unemployment centers.

— ANTONIO CAMEJO

National Chicano caucus maps independent course

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

SAN JOSE, Calif. — The front-page headline of the April 23 *San Jose Mercury News* read, "Raza Unida Coup at Chicano Meet." The "Chicano Meet" was the first National Chicano Political Caucus, which was held here April 22 and 23 and was attended by some 1,000 Chicanos.

The "Raza Unida Coup" refers to the democratically made decisions of the overwhelming majority of the participants to support the Raza Unida Party and to change the agenda and political

Although the move caused a certain amount of confusion and the loss of some participants, a majority reconvened at the new conference site for the Saturday night session.

The keynote address had been given Saturday morning by Roberto Mondragón, the lieutenant governor of New Mexico. Mondragón opposed the Vietnam war and criticized the Democrats and Republicans. Then he stated, "Although I choose to work for social change inside the Democratic Party, I respect the work of La Raza Unida



Photo by Gary Orkin

Raza contingent in Houston antiwar march, Nov. 6, 1971. National Chicano Political Caucus called for immediate withdrawal from Indochina.

thrust of the conference. These changes met with the disapproval of conference organizers from MAPA (Mexican-American Political Association), LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens), and the GI Forum.

The motion supporting the independent Chicano political party came as the result of a change of tactics by militants from around the country. They had considered walking out in support of the California Raza Unida Party, which two weeks earlier had voted to boycott the conference. While sympathetic to the California RUP pickets outside the conference, they decided they could be most effective fighting within the conference for their perspective of independent political action in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans.

The vote to support the RUP came Saturday afternoon, April 22, after Juan Hipolito Jr. of the Austin, Texas, RUP took the floor and held up a full-page picture of Democratic presidential hopeful George McGovern that appeared in the conference program pamphlet. He stated, "This is what they [the conference organizers] have brought us here for." He got an immediate, enthusiastic response from the audience. Hipolito went on to protest that in spite of the fact that the most important political issue before La Raza is the building of an independent Chicano party, the conference organizers had not even included the topic on the agenda. He then moved that the next point of discussion be support to La Raza Unida Party.

The chairman, Armando Rodríguez, president of MAPA, attempted to ignore the motion and go on with the scheduled reports from the conference steering committee. This created an outburst of protest. Another motion was made that the conference support the Raza Unida Party. When the chairman again attempted to move on with the agenda, hundreds began chanting "Vote! Vote!" When the vote was finally taken there were only two votes against supporting the RUP. Abstentions were not recorded.

A motion was then made and passed to dissolve the steering committee, appoint Bert Corona, an RUP supporter and leader of the anti-deportation struggle in Los Angeles, the new chairman for the conference, and move on with the discussion of independent Chicano political action.

After Corona assumed the chair, order was restored to the gathering. A San Jose Raza Unida Party member then made a motion that the conference be moved from the "Anglo-owned" Hyatt House Motel to Lee Matthesen School in the barrio.

Party. . . . we must have mutual respect."

Another main speaker was Reies López Tijerina. Tijerina was very critical of those who want to build a Chicano party. He expressed his opposition to La Raza Unida Party by stating, "The revolution comes first, then the parties. We want to be like the gringo and establish the party first." He then urged that we develop "brotherhood awareness," stating that the biggest problem we have is to unite all the races in "brotherhood."

It was after the lunch break, following Tijerina's speech, that the conference organizers lost control.

By Sunday morning, the "official" conference organizers were left with some 95 followers when they attempted to resurrect the Hyatt House gathering as the official conference. They were greeted, even by their own followers as well as by RUP supporters, with protests that it was an illegal gathering and that they had no authority to speak in the name of any "National Chicano Political Caucus."

MAPA and LULAC issued a bitter statement to the news media stating that they had lost because they were "out-shouted" (a blatant lie). They said, "We cannot, do not, and will not support La Raza Unida Party because we are nonpartisan organizations." This statement could not help but ring hollow to those who have watched MAPA endorse not only Mexican-American but also Anglo Democrats since its inception.

The well-attended news conference held by the majority caucus had a quite different tone. Rather than bitterness, elation was the order of the day.

In his opening statement to reporters, Corona stated, "It is with a feeling of victory that this statement is being framed here for the Chicano people who need justice in this country and who no longer want part of what has gone on before with the major parties selling us out year after year, exploiting us and abusing us."

The statement, agreed upon by delegates from the various states, was read by Evelyn Alarcón, chairwoman of Chicanas for Angela (Davis) of Los Angeles. It included support to proposals made by CASA (Centro de Acción Social Autonomo—Autonomous Center for Social Action) opposing the deportation of undocumented Raza workers, a call for building La Raza Unida Party throughout the country in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans, for "an immediate total withdrawal of U.S. forces from Indochina" and an end to "U.S. imperialism" in Latin America, and for Chicanas being represented "on all policy-making and decision-making bodies concerning La Raza."

CP dismayed by tone of Gary convention

By TONY THOMAS

In connection with the March 10-12 National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Ind., the Communist Party launched a new series of attacks on the idea of forming an independent Black political party.

The key target of the Communist Party's attacks was the preconvention advocacy of a Black political party by Imamu Amiri Baraka of the Congress of African People and by other Black nationalists whom the CP calls "go-it-alone separatists." While these nationalists—particularly Baraka—have supported the formation of a Black party in words, at the convention they pushed a strategy similar to the CP's—working in the Democratic Party, giving the Democrats "one more chance."

Nevertheless, a series of articles in the *Daily World*, a newspaper that reflects the views of the CP, has centered its attacks on Baraka because even rhetorical advocacy of a Black party gets a very favorable response in the Black community. And as the failure of the strategy of operating within the Democratic Party becomes more obvious, it is possible that this rhetoric will help persuade Blacks to form their own party.

Writing in the March 11 *Daily World*, Ted Bassett states: "Far from advancing the cause of Black freedom . . . Baraka's all-Black political Party would play into the hands of the white ruling class."

"For one thing the chief ace in the hole of this ruling class which has enabled it to maintain over the decades its exploitation of Black and white workers and its barbarous racist oppression of the U.S. Black people has been its success in utilizing white supremacist ideas to keep white and Black working people separated. . . . nothing would suit them more than to have Baraka on the other side of the street doing their bidding by fostering separatism through this national all-Black political party."

Bassett goes on to compare the idea of an all-Black political party with racism and anticommunism, posing it as something that would divide Blacks from other oppressed and exploited people.

The Communist Party offers a two-pronged strategy as an alternative to this supposedly "divisive" strategy of building a Black party.

The most important part of the CP strategy is support for the type of pressuring of the Democratic and Republican parties that prevailed at the Black political convention. Praising the strategy of the Congressional Black Caucus, Bassett wrote in the March 10 *Daily World*: "As an independent movement within the Democratic Party growing out of the 13-member Black Congressional Caucus, the National Black Political Convention . . . can bring a comprehensive program embracing the special demands of the Black people into the center of the 1972 Presidential contest."

In other words, rather than organizing a Black party, which could mobilize the power of Black people in their own interests at the polls and in the streets, Blacks should spend their time trying to influence the Democratic presidential candidates.

Not content with opposing a Black party, the CP attacked many of the radical and nationalist stands adopted at the Black convention, perhaps feeling that they would be unsuitable to the proimperialist Democratic Party liberals it supports. Its target was the National Black Political Agenda, a programmatic document adopted at Gary.

In an article in the March 18 *Daily World*, Bassett wrote, "Another negative aspect of the convention is the separatist tone in which the program of economic and social reforms in the National Political Agenda is couched."

"On this score [Democratic] State Senator Coleman Young, chairman of the 246-member delegation from Michigan, denounced the National Black Agenda as a 'hastily written, irresponsible document that is separatist in tone.' The Michigan delegation walked out during the last moments of the convention in protest against what Young aptly termed 'steamroller tactics.'"

The fact is that the Michigan delegation walked out because they felt that the Black Agenda as it was worded and passed at the convention was too radical for the Democratic politicians they support in Michigan. They wanted the Black Agenda purged of attacks on the Democrats. This is what they told this writer and others on the spot when they walked out.

Apparently, what Bassett and the

Communist Party saw as "divisive" about the "separatist tone" of the Black Agenda and the idea of an Afro-American party is that—in words if not in deeds—they pose the question of Black people separating from the capitalist and racist Democratic Party.

As for the "steamroller tactics" referred to by Young and Bassett—to be consistent they would have to urge Afro-Americans to walk out of the Democratic Party because of its utter lack of internal democracy. It's true that the Gary convention was bureaucratically run, but if it had been more democratic, the results would have been even more radical, not less. It would have been more nationalist and led more toward a break with the pro-Democratic Party strategy of the convention organizers.

The CP counterposes its concept of an "antimonopoly" or "people's" coalition or party to the strategy of forming a Black political party. Instead of urging workers, Black people, and Chicanos to form their own political parties to struggle for radical change, the CP advises them to unite with liberals inside the Democratic Party until the liberals can be convinced to form an "antimonopoly" party. Bassett and other Communist Party leaders hold that building a Black party would prevent "antimonopoly" unity of oppressed and exploited people (and the liberals). In other words, they think it would be divisive if Blacks didn't wait for more backward

sectors of the population, such as white workers, before they broke with the Democratic Party.

In actuality, the effect of Black people breaking with the Democratic Party and forming a Black political party right now would be just the opposite. It would spur the radicalization and political independence of those who remained within the Democratic Party.

By breaking with the Democratic Party and relying on themselves, Black people would set an example for other oppressed working people. They would show how to mobilize independent political power and win meaningful gains. Second, the development of an independent Black political party with a mass base would mean that the Democratic Party would no longer be politically viable—that is, able to win elections. Other oppressed nationalities and labor would be forced to leave the Democratic Party as Chicanos in a few states have already begun to do.

This would set the stage for real unity on the part of oppressed and working people, unity in action against the oppressors and exploiters, the Democratic and Republican parties and their capitalist owners. Because the Communist Party opposes this type of unity, supporting instead unity around political support to the oppressors, it is forced to attack both Black nationalism and the rising sentiment for a Black political party.



Photo by B. R. Washington

Communist Party opposed nationalist thrust of Gary convention.

By Any Means Necessary

STRUGGLE CONTINUES IN CAIRO, ILL. At an April 8 Survival and Solidarity Rally in Cairo, Ill., the Reverend Charles Koen, head of the Cairo United Front, affirmed that the Black economic boycott of white Cairo merchants would continue. The boycott is now three years old. According to a United Front press release, about 1,800 people turned out for the rally to pay tribute to the struggle.

"The 36-month-old boycott has been successful due to Universal Spirituality, Unity, total commitment, and discipline," Koen told the rally. At one of the high points of his speech, he stated, "I'm going to struggle on! If I'm not able to run this race, then I'll walk this race. If I'm not able to walk this race, then I'll crawl this race. If for some reason I'm not able to crawl this race, then I'll think this race. I may not be able to move out, but as long as I've got my staff, I'm going to wobble along."

Koen hasn't fully recovered from the fast he underwent last summer to protest his unjust imprisonment in St. Louis. The outcry of Black and radical leaders across the country forced St. Louis officials to release him after he had served two months of a six-month sentence.

According to the United Front press release, the conference also announced the formation of the National Political Prisoners Committee. Georgia

Jackson, mother of Jonathan and George Jackson, will serve as chairwoman of the committee.

Two weeks before the rally, a subcommittee of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission conducted three days of hearings in Cairo. The subcommittee came to investigate Cairo—a place where the city government minces no words about the fact that it aims to maintain white supremacy. Black people, who constitute half of the more than 6,000 residents of the city, have had to resort to armed self-defense against the police and armed white vigilantes.

Subcommittee members asked city officials why they have turned down federal aid programs and other forms of assistance. For example, the federal government had offered a \$75,000 grant to establish a police-community relations program. Police Commissioner James Dale testified that it was turned down because "it was too heavy on administration," according to the March 26 *Los Angeles Times*. But the real reason for the refusal is that the city government found it impossible to abide by the civil rights statutes that would accompany the grant.

Similarly, the school board turned down a grant from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to help desegregate the schools.

Although subcommittee members expressed much frustration with the testimony of city officials, they made no effort to talk to the victims of the city government in the Black community, and to record

what plans they might have for the rectification of the city's ills.

Maurice B. Mitchell, the chancellor of the University of Denver and one of the members of the subcommittee, was quoted in the March 26 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* as having commented, "In a sense this is the closest thing to a political dictatorship that I think exists in this country."

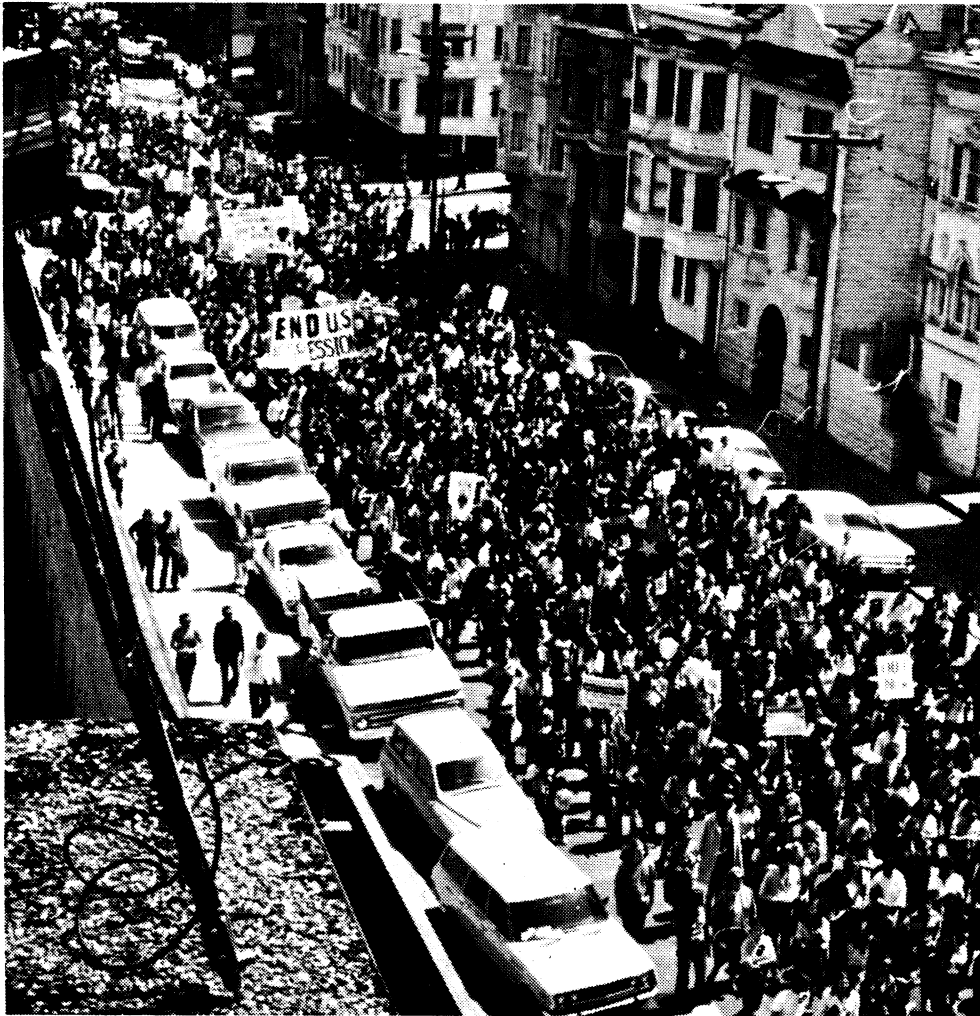
—DERRICK MORRISON



Reverend Charles Koen

Photo by Cairo United Front

Mass protests de



San Francisco, April 22



Los Angeles, April 22

New York

By DAVE FRANKEL

NEW YORK, April 23—Antiwar demonstrators, their number estimated at more than 100,000 by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), thronged midtown Manhattan yesterday in the largest antiwar demonstration New York has seen in three years.

Undeterred by the cold, steady rain and despite a virtual news blackout on plans for the demonstration, protesters began assembling across the street from Central Park as early as 9 a.m. Thousands waited in nearby restaurants, under awnings, and in doorways until the march began. Others huddled under umbrellas, made paper rainhats, or poked holes in big plastic garbage bags to use them as raincoats.

Although most of the marchers were young, there was plenty of diversity. A contingent of more than 200 came from Dwight Morrow High School in Englewood, N.J. It included 30 members of the school band. Another group brought along two drums, a tambourine, and cymbals.

Students from the Columbia School of Architecture gave out black balloons, while some from Pratt Institute in Brooklyn marched with a float they had made—an octopus representing U.S. imperialism.

Five people from Atlanta marching within the gay contingent of several hundred had a banner that read "Gay Liberation Front of Ga. says come OUT NOW!"

An Irish contingent was grouped around a large banner with green lettering that demanded "U.S. Out of Vietnam Now! England Out of Ireland Now! Irish Republican Clubs of the USA and Canada."

About 200 members of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers union marched with signs saying "End the War—End the Freeze," and "Stop the Bombing—Get Out Now!"

The marchers chanted all the way downtown to the rally point, which was on the Avenue of the Americas between 38th and 42nd streets. The most popular chants were: "One-point peace plan—Out Now," "Peace Now," "Join Us," and "1, 2, 3, 4—We don't want your fucking war."

The rally was marked by the same high spirits as the march. Chants of "Out Now" followed almost every speaker. Jerry Gordon, one of NPAC's coordinators, set the militant tone of the rally when he said:

"Some people say we should get off the streets and send petitions to Congress instead. We've traveled that route before. During the Cambodian crisis, the students were told to stop demonstrating and

to start collecting signatures for an end-the-war bill, the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment. So students collected millions of signatures, Congress voted the Amendment down, and U.S. bombers continued murdering the Vietnamese by the hundreds of thousands.

"We have to learn from this. We have to learn that we must rely on ourselves, on the masses of the American people. No matter what legislation comes up, no matter what candidate we support, we cannot just leave it to someone else to end the killing. We have to build a mass movement to end the war."

Gordon concluded his speech with a call for further demonstrations in cities throughout the country on April 29 and for support to the May 4 moratorium on the basis of the antiwar movement's demand for immediate and total U.S. withdrawal from Indochina.

Fred Lovgren, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee, challenged Nixon to call a prowar demonstration and compare the turnout to those at actions sponsored by the antiwar movement. He urged students to use the facilities on their campuses to reach out to the rest of the American people. Margery Tabankin, the president of the National Student Association, called on students to go to factories, PTA meetings, and churches, and to build the April 29 rallies and the May 4 moratorium.

John Lennon and Yoko Ono made a surprise appearance at the rally. Lennon urged the demonstrators to stay in the streets and led them in singing an enthusiastic round of "Give Peace a Chance."

The importance of the independent actions of the antiwar movement was also mentioned by Dave Dellinger of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. "It's good you're here," said Dellinger, "because if the American people don't keep on going back into the streets, it will make no difference who's in office next fall."

Daniel Ellsberg, the defendant in the Pentagon papers case, said that the turnout at the demonstration showed "it is a slander and a lie that the American people care only about American deaths."

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, received a strong response from the crowd. Referring to the Vietnamese, Pulley said:

"They are not *my* enemy. Are they *your* enemy? "Have these people ever attacked our country or bombed our cities and farms? Was it the Vietnamese who shot down the students at Kent State and Jackson State? Was it the Vietnamese who shot down Black people at Augusta and Baton Rouge? Are the Vietnamese putting Angela Davis on trial for her life? Is it the Vietnamese who deny equal

rights to women in this country? Did the Vietnamese freeze your wages?"

After every question people roared "No!" "Our enemy," Pulley said, "is in Washington, D.C. . . ."

Senator George McGovern, although invited to speak, declined the invitation. Among those who accepted and did speak were: Ngo Vinh Long, a Vietnamese student; John Kerry, a Vietnam veteran; Irwin Silber, executive editor of the *Guardian* newspaper; David Livingston, president of District 65 of the Distributive Workers; Mary Cotter of the Irish Republican Clubs of the USA and Canada; and Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Dr. Barbara Roberts, who spoke for the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, pointed out that while Nixon carries out his butchery in Vietnam, he opposes, in the name of the "sanctity of life," the right of women to control their own bodies. She urged the marchers to support the actions on May 1-6 for the repeal of all anti-abortion laws.

Among the other speakers heard were: Sandy Model of the High School SMC; Ruby Dee, who spoke on behalf of Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.); Representative William Fitts Ryan (D-N.Y.); Robert Abrams, Bronx borough president; Ramon Arbona, first secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; former congresswoman Jeanette Rankin; and NPAC coordinator Ruth Gage-Colby. The rally was chaired by actors Ossie Davis and Ben Gazzara, and by NPAC coordinators James Lafferty and Katherine Sojourner.

None of the speakers criticized the marchers for participating in the rally or attacked the need for such rallies, although this has often happened at other large antiwar demonstrations.

A few small ultraleft groups that have consistently opposed the antiwar movement and its perspectives over the years were present, but were unable to disrupt the march or rally.

Estimates by the news media on the size of the demonstration were consistently low. The April 23 *New York Times* stated that "The marchers' estimates of the crowd ranged from 30,000 to 100,000, but most news people put the figure at 35,000." The *New York Daily News* estimated 40,000.

The march, however, was 27 blocks long. In the front, it filled Central Park West, and then Broadway, with a wall of people packed in solidly from curb to curb, although toward the rear it was not so tightly packed. Police estimate that as many as 7,000 to 8,000 people can fit on one block. Given the number of people who marched only a short way due to the weather, the NPAC

demand 'Out Now!'



Photo by David Warren



Photo by Lora Eckert

New York, April 22

estimate of more than 100,000 seems the most realistic.

The message of the April 22 demonstration came out clearly. One local CBS-TV news commentator, in giving his impressions, remarked on the determined mood of the marchers. Paraphrasing Jerry Gordon's speech, he said he felt that the antiwar demonstrators had decided to rely on themselves, on their actions in the streets.

Probably the best comment on the spirit of the people at the demonstration was made by one young person who was asked how he liked it as he was leaving the rally. He just said, "Wow!"

Los Angeles

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Led by a contingent of Chicanos, thousands of people joined in a march and rally here April 22 against the Vietnam war.

As they marched down Wilshire Boulevard and overflowed the bandstand area of MacArthur Park, longtime residents agreed it was one of the largest antiwar demonstrations ever held in this city. It was comparable to the Chicano antiwar moratorium held here in August 1970.

Estimates of the actual number participating varied. It was this reporter's estimate that some 30,000 people either marched in the parade or came directly to the rally site.

The action was organized by the National Peace Action Coalition with the active support of the Student Mobilization Committee. It won the last-minute endorsement of the Peace Action Council, a long-established Los Angeles peace formation, and various groups associated with it.

Participants in the march down Wilshire Boulevard were overwhelmingly young. The march was spirited and militant, but recognition of the need for a well-ordered action seemed near-universal. The monitors had no difficulty in moving the huge crowd from the formation point to the rally site without providing the police or provocateurs the opportunity for creating trouble.

A group of American Nazis tried to initiate a confrontation as the marchers entered the park, but they were quickly surrounded by a large, effective group of monitors and the marchers simply passed them by. The police, who have attacked previous demonstrations, were on good behavior.

There was a broad range of constituencies represented in the line of march.

In addition to the Chicanos, there were Asian-American, Black and Armenian contingents.

There was a women's contingent, a gay wom-

en's contingent, and a gay men's contingent.

There was a big SMC contingent, as well as students marching as groups from the various campuses.

Trade unionists marched under a banner that declared: "Freeze war, not wages."

In addition to a GI and veterans contingent, there was an added contingent of Disabled Veterans Against the War.

For the first time there was a contingent of the handicapped, which filled a specially reserved section of benches at the rally.

An Anti-Imperialist Contingent of several hundred included adherents of various ultraleft sects plus young people simply attracted by the radical rhetoric of their placards and chants.

In addition to the women's contingent, other women marched with placards identifying themselves as from Women Strike for Peace and the National Women's Political Caucus.

Among Democratic and Republican party supporters, the only visible group was Students for McGovern.

Members of the medical profession formed their own contingent. There were also a number of people in clerical garb, although they did not march as a group.

Banners identified groups from Austin, Houston, Phoenix, Denver, Portland, Seattle, San Francisco, Santa Barbara, and San Diego. Speakers at the rally included representatives of virtually all the participating contingents and constituencies.

Some of the speakers were: the Reverend Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Mary Clarke of Women Strike for Peace; Carol Feraci, the antiwar "White House singer"; James Gotesky of SMC; Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate; Raul Ruiz of the California Raza Unida Party; Anthony Russo, a defendant in the Pentagon papers case; and Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party.

The rally was chaired by NPAC coordinator John T. Williams, West Coast NPAC coordinator Bertha Dertz, and Julia Mount, a Chicana activist associated with the Peace and Freedom Party.

Entertainment was provided by Phil Ochs, Glen Chandler, Harrison and Tyler, the Elysia Band, and the Harvey Mandel Band.

The crowd was as serious as it was militant. An unusually large number stayed and listened attentively throughout the speakers program.

The response to the various speakers offered testimony to the widespread radicalism and to the growing discernment with which that radicalism is being expressed. This was particularly ap-

parent in the differing responses accorded Miguel Gomez of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent and Linda Jenness.

The tired rhetoric of an ultraleft period gone by that was offered by the Anti-Imperialist Contingent speaker was received with quiet courtesy.

In contrast, Jenness's powerful, reasoned indictment of America's ruling class as the main enemy of all the oppressed at home and abroad evoked roars of agreement and applause.

Her militant denunciation of the current drive to deport undocumented Mexican workers, delivered in fluent Spanish, won shouts of approval and appreciative applause from Chicanos.

The audience also expressed deep appreciation for those who have acted against the war. Carol Feraci, who utilized the occasion of a White House performance to denounce the war, was warmly applauded. On being introduced, Anthony Russo was given a standing ovation.

Another gauge of the seriousness of the participants was the unusually generous response given to an appeal for funds made by Dr. Morris Starsky, the socialist philosophy professor currently involved in a free-speech fight. Nearly \$5,000 was collected.

There was a particularly enthusiastic response when John T. Williams reported on the solidarity demonstrations being held in various parts of the world.

An important theme of the rally was that the demonstration must be regarded as a springboard for ongoing massive action in response to Nixon's continuing escalation of the war.

A special meeting of the SMC was held immediately after the demonstration to map further campus activity. The meeting was attended by about 150 young people.

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES—Participants in the antiwar rally here were particularly responsive as Socialist Workers Party presidential nominee Linda Jenness pounded out her denunciation of the U. S. ruling class. They shouted their agreement as she blasted the hypocrisy of the propaganda that paints the Vietnamese liberation fighters as "the enemy" of the American people.

"Our enemy sleeps in the White House," she declared, "and sits in the congressional chambers and in the Pentagon."

"The real America is out in the streets," she said. "The real America belongs to us, and we are going to build a movement that will take America back."

Raul Ruiz, who recently ran for the California

Continued on following page

legislature as the candidate of La Raza Unida Party, also condemned the Democratic and Republican parties. He urged Chicanos to take the road of independent political action.

Most of the vast audience waited until late in the afternoon to hear Black Panther Party Chairman Bobby Seale, who had spoken earlier at a rally in San Francisco.

"We are moving at a new level against racism, imperialism, and war," Seale said. "We must stop the fascist-imperialists before they pollute the entire world. The only solution to pollution is a people's humane revolution."

But the Panthers' lack of a program for basic social change was suggested when Seale said his party was telling the people in the Black community not to vote until the party told them to. He offered no indication of what the Panther choice would be.

The Reverend Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference assailed the political frame-up of Angela Davis as well as the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

A Vietnam veteran permanently paralyzed from the chest down said, "We saw we were not helping the Vietnamese; we were destroying them. The same people who sent us there threw us in their garbage pails of despair when we got back."

Jim Gotesky of the Student Mobilization Committee reported on student strikes now underway against the war nationally and urged accelerated campus actions. "We must close our campuses down," he said, "and reopen them as antiwar universities."

Rita Goldberger of the Lesbian Contingent and Len Evans of the Gay Men's Contingent were listened to attentively and received a good audience response.

Other speakers at the rally included Sue Kunitomi Embrey of the Asian Contingent; Robert Morse, an active-duty sailor; Luke McKissick, counsel for Billy Dean Smith; Pam Tigar of the Women's Contingent; and a representative of the Armenian Youth Movement.

Size of L.A. action

LOS ANGELES—For lack of the resources needed to assure an accurate count, there are invariably different estimates, even among objective observers, as to the actual numbers involved in antiwar demonstrations.

Estimates varied widely on the size of the April 22 action in Los Angeles.

The police, not surprisingly, offered the nonsensical figure of "four to five thousand." The *Los Angeles Times* estimated 12,000, but its massive front-page picture suggested far more.

The CBS-TV reporter dismissed the police figure, saying it was obviously far more. "Ten thousand plus," he said, would be a safe estimate, and added that in all likelihood it was the largest demonstration ever held in Los Angeles.

This reporter arrived at an estimate of 30,000 after stopping to watch the entire procession go by and making three complete tours of the rally site. In addition to comparing it to previous demonstrations that I've covered in New York and Washington, D.C., I had the comparison with the Chicano antideportation march held here last month.

That was a sidewalk march, and at one point the participants grouped into ranks of four. I counted the entire procession at that point, and there were 4,000 people. There were certainly five to six times as many in the street April 22, and several thousand more came directly to the rally.

—H.R.

San Francisco

By CECILY ASHTON and ASHER HARER

SAN FRANCISCO—A highly successful antiwar march, rally, and "peace festival" were held here on April 22. The protest was initiated by the Bay Area April 22 Coalition.

The antiwar demonstrators marched from the Golden Gate Panhandle to a rally in Kezar Stadium, attended by about 25,000. The march was led by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and a sizable Vietnamese student contingent carrying a large gold and red banner. The banner listed three demands: "U.S. set the date for total withdrawal of U.S. and allies, permanent cessation of bombing, stop all aid to the Thieu regime."

Most of the marchers were young. There were proportionally more Chicano and Asian youth than had ever before marched in San Francisco. The day was sunny and warm, and the marchers were in high spirits. An almost festive atmosphere prevailed.

Jane Fonda, one of the speakers at the rally, commented that this atmosphere was "in a certain

sense justified because the Vietnamese people are winning."

No disruptive incidents occurred during the march or rally, largely because the police kept out of sight once the march began.

In addition to the thousands of homemade signs carried by marchers, each contingent had a banner: the Vietnamese students, the women, the various high school groups, peace groups, the political candidates, the radical political parties, and the few unions that were officially represented. Among the unions were the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1695, and the Social Workers Union of Santa Clara. The march was a sea of banners, mostly in bright colors.

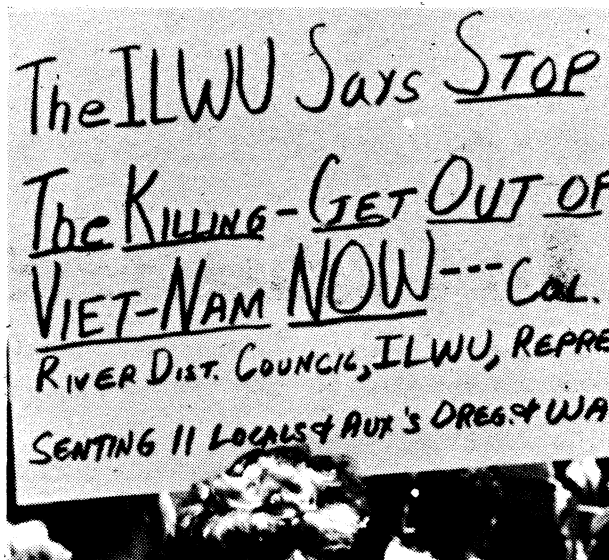
As the protesters approached Kezar, a group of about 100 from the Asian contingent performed the snake dance made famous by Japanese antiwar students. Marchers clapped in time to the dance.

It was clear that the demonstrators were there primarily for one reason: to tell the U.S. government to get out of Vietnam now.

"Out Now!" was the first of the slogans raised at the beginning of the march that really caught on. Started by the Tamalpais High School contingent, it became a thunderous roar as it was picked up by the marchers.

The rally program consisted of songs by Country Joe MacDonald, eight speakers, plus recorded messages from Nguyen Thi Binh, foreign minister of the South Vietnam Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG); Nguyen Minh Vy, negotiator for North Vietnam in Paris; and Angela Davis.

The Vietnamese, in recordings and from the platform, emphasized the PRG's seven-point program. So did the recorded message from Angela Davis, which stated that the *only* solution was "to force the American government to accept the seven-point program." Davis's statement was introduced by her sister Fania Jordan.



Los Angeles, April 22

Photo by Harry Ring



New York, April 22

Photo by Mark Satinoff

Fernando Chavez, son of Cesar Chavez, read a statement from Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farm Workers Union. It emphasized the government's attack on labor, tying in the war with the wage controls.

Dick Gregory called for a boycott of Standard Oil and General Motors, predicting that this would force them to join the movement, thus ending the war.

Gregory also informed the rally that as a protest against the war, he hadn't eaten any solid food since he spoke at the April 24, 1971, San Francisco antiwar rally. "I hoped I wouldn't have to come back this year," he said, and declared he would go on a 40-day water-only fast in support of his boycott proposals.

Jane Fonda took up Gregory's proposals. She said: "We all know that we have to deal with the monied interests of this country, but that's a long struggle and the Vietnamese can't wait. I have recently been on three continents, and I can tell you that North America is considered the enemy.

Every time we have a demonstration, every time we sign a petition, every time we have a march in protest against the imperialist forces of this country, we are striking a blow against them internationally—and we must never forget the international implications of what we do."

A peace festival after the rally was attended by several thousand. Space had been made available around the stadium for all antiwar groups. More than 50 groups participated, ranging from radical political parties and bookstores to peace and cultural groups and Democratic Party candidates like McGovern and McCarthy.

The Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and the ILWU were there with their books and pamphlets. Also present were representatives of Iranian students, the Greek resistance movement, Concerned Asian Scholars, Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, Vets Against the War, Gay Liberation, both the Berkeley and the San Francisco Women's Health collectives, American Civil Liberties Union, and Dancers Against the Imperialist War.



New York, April 22

Photo by Mark Satinoff

The Socialist Workers Party booth, backed by a huge banner saying "Join the '72 Socialist Campaign for President," was well received. Thousands of campaign leaflets were distributed.

After the rally and festival, the program continued with films, an antiwar skit by the VVAW, and a program in Kezar Pavilion featuring Country Joe MacDonald, Dick Gregory, and Jane Fonda.

The San Francisco demonstration was originally seen as an alternative to the national demonstrations in Los Angeles and New York called by NPAC and endorsed by the World Peace Conference that met in Versailles Feb. 11-13. But Nixon's sudden escalation of the war made it clear that differences within the antiwar movement took second place to building massive demonstrations of all who oppose the war.

During the several weeks preceding April 22, the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee, which had originally endorsed only the Los Angeles and New York actions, carried on a campaign in the Bay Area and in the surrounding region to build all of the April 22 demonstrations demanding an end to the war in Vietnam.

...elsewhere

APRIL 25—The upsurge in antiwar activity following Nixon's escalation of the war in Vietnam was reflected in a number of local demonstrations on April 22 in addition to the main ones in New York and on the West Coast.

In Chicago, some 2,000 people marched one mile from the Civic Center to Grant Park. One thousand rallied in St. Louis, and in Cleveland a coalition of peace groups organized a demonstration of 500. Portland, Ore., had a demonstration of 1,000.

In Danbury, Conn., a group of seven prisoners in the Federal Correctional Institution joined the nationwide antiwar protests early. On April 20 they climbed to the top of a 175-foot water tower and unfurled a white sheet marked with a peace symbol and the demand "Stop the war in Vietnam."

The acting associate warden of the prison was quoted in the April 22 *New York Times*. Showing his perspicacity, he said, "My own personal opinion is that the increased bombings and the campus unrest probably influenced them."

The protesters stayed on top of the water tower, clearly visible from a nearby highway, until April 22.

Another unorthodox protest took place in Middleton, N.J., where antiwar protesters attempted to block the sailing of a Navy munitions ship, the U.S.S. *Nitro*.

The demonstrators took to canoes in the course of their action, and as the ship left for Vietnam yesterday, seven of its crew jumped over the side in protest, according to the April 25 *New York Times*.

Int'l actions protest bombings

PARIS, April 24—The three-week-old offensive of the Vietnamese liberation forces and the increased U.S. escalation of the war, especially the bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong, have produced greatly increased activity by the European antiwar movement.

Mass demonstrations had already been scheduled by antiwar groups in more than a dozen countries in Europe for the following dates: April 15 in Sweden, Denmark, France, and Finland; April 22 in Germany, Belgium, Italy, Scotland, England, Ireland, Spain, and Switzerland; April 29 in Holland and Luxembourg.

In addition, many actions in Europe were held in immediate response to the bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong. Groups in a number of countries are also planning further actions to carry forward the momentum that has developed this spring.

Two representatives for the National Peace Action Coalition, Dan Rosenshine and Stephanie Coontz, have been traveling throughout Europe speaking at demonstrations, meeting with antiwar leaders, and encouraging the broadest possible united front to build mass actions.

● **SWEDEN:** April 15 demonstrations took place in 47 cities. Altogether, more than 23,000 Swedes marched in these actions. The largest single demonstration was in Stockholm, with 11,000 people participating.

These April 15 actions were the largest antiwar demonstrations in Sweden's history.

The demonstrations were organized by the United-NLF groups, which have organized antiwar actions in Sweden since 1965. A week of activities began on April 9 and culminated in the April 15 actions. During this week, mass meetings were held in 138 cities. The total number of participants in both the meetings and demonstrations is estimated at 50,000.

A wave of revulsion swept Sweden after the April 16 bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong. The Swedish news media severely condemned the bombings, portraying them as acts of desperation by Nixon.

On April 16 antiwar activists gathered at the American Embassy, and a number of them have camped in front of the embassy since that day. On April 18 another demonstration of 5,000 was held in front of the embassy.

Saturday, April 22, saw a demonstration of 2,000 in Stockholm and another of equal size in Goteborg.

Among the speakers at the April 15 action and the preceding meetings were representatives of the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG), the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and NPAC.

Following the bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong, an interview with Dan Rosenshine of NPAC was carried on national Swedish radio and television.

A number of organizations that had planned separate May Day demonstrations have now combined their demonstrations into one. They have decided that Indochina will be the central issue of this action. The May Day action will conclude with a mass meeting demanding that the U.S. get out of Indochina.

● **DENMARK:** A national demonstration of more than 10,000 was held in Copenhagen as the conclusion of Indochina Week, April 9-15. The week was organized by the Danish Vietnam Committees (DDV)—whose origin dates to the beginning of the antiwar movement.

A tour of eight Danish cities during Indochina Week featured Vietnamese representatives and speakers from the DDV who had recently returned from North Vietnam. Among the speakers at the April 15 Copenhagen action (and the April 14 mass meeting the night before) were a Vietnamese representative and Diana Johnstone, a supporter of the National Peace Action Coalition living in Europe.

On April 16 more than 1,000 demonstrators converged on the American Embassy to protest the bombings of North Vietnam. An action has been scheduled for April 26 by the Vietnam Committees and Vietnam 69, another antiwar group.

● **FINLAND:** An action was scheduled for April 15 by the Finnish United-NLF groups. The April 17 *New York Times* reported that 5,000 people marched in Helsinki on April 16 against the U.S. bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong. It is unclear whether this refers to the same action.

● **NORWAY:** According to Christian Svenberg, international secretary of the Swedish United-NLF groups, "an immediate response action of several thousand" took place in Oslo on April 16.

● **FRANCE:** The Indochina Solidarity Front

(FSI) held an action of 10,000 people in the streets of Paris on April 15. Originally the FSI had called for a week of protest April 15-22, with a mass demonstration on April 22. The French government, however, declared that holding an action on April 22 would be illegal because of the scheduled April 23 referendum on British entry into the Common Market. The French government traditionally outlaws all street demonstrations in the days preceding national elections.

The April 15 action was called at an FSI planning meeting on April 7. Given the short time available for preparation, the action was considered a success. It received wide press coverage. There were also actions in several other cities throughout France.

Among the speakers in Paris on April 15 were



Photo from Dagens Nyheter

"U.S. out of Indochina" says banner in Stockholm demonstration of 11,000 April 15.

Laurent Schwartz, a French intellectual well known for his role in the fight against the Algerian war, and Stephanie Coontz of NPAC.

The following week, FSI meetings were held in many cities in France. April 17 was designated a day of education against the American multinational firms located in France that are engaged in the production of war matériel. A city-wide high school antiwar action was held in Paris on April 19. On April 21 more than 1,000 people attended a panel discussion on "Indochina 1972" featuring journalists Jean Lacouture and Wilfred Burchett, FSI leader Dr. Marcel-Francis Kahn, and Stephanie Coontz.

In response to the increased bombing of North Vietnam, the coalition of 48 French organizations that hosted the Feb. 11-13 Versailles conference called on April 17 for a massive action in Paris to take place April 25. Actions are also scheduled by the Committee of 48 for a number of other cities. These actions are also being supported by the FSI.

● **GERMANY:** Actions were held throughout Germany on April 22. The largest was in West Berlin, where more than 10,000 people marched in an action organized by an ad hoc committee composed of more than 20 groups.

This was the largest antiwar action in Germany in four years and was widely covered in the German and European press.

Diana Johnstone, representing NPAC, addressed the Berlin demonstration, along with well-known German intellectual and academic figures.

Other actions were held in Mannheim, Stuttgart, Köln, Hamburg, Tübingen, and Reutlingen.

● **BELGIUM:** On April 20 a teach-in of more than 2,000 people was held at the University of Brussels. Among the speakers were the secretary of the Brussels Labor Federation; representatives of the PRG, DRV, and the Cambodia Front of National Unity; Dan Rosenshine of NPAC; and representatives of the Brussels University and High School Indochina committees. The meeting was chaired by Henri Rolin, a former cabinet minister who is president of the Belgian National Vietnam Committee.

On April 22 a demonstration of 2,500 took place in Liège, the country's main industrial city, located in the French-speaking section of Belgium. The action was sponsored by the Liège section of the General Federation of Belgian Workers and the Confederation of Christian Unions, along with the National Vietnam Committee.

The turnout at the rally and march included a high percentage of Liège workers as well as students and antiwar activists who had come from other parts of Belgium. Speakers at the rally included Henri Rolin, Rosenshine, a PRG representative, and Liège trade-union leaders.

Another action is scheduled for May 6 in Antwerp, located in the Flemish-speaking north of Belgium. It is being organized by the Humanitarian Work Group X, a pacifist organization. All three Belgian actions were officially cosponsored by the Belgian National Vietnam Committee.

The Brussels teach-in received additional advance publicity when it was preceded by a week of physical confrontations between prowar and antiwar forces in the city. The conflict began when two dozen South Vietnamese students participating in an antiwar hunger strike were attacked by pro-Thieu South Vietnamese living in Belgium, joined by a small number of Belgian fascists.

The right-wing forces then called for "a mass demonstration to protest the communist invasion of South Vietnam," which drew only 400 people. After the demonstration, these prowar forces attacked and vandalized the offices of the University of Brussels student government.

But by the end of the week it became clear that the "offensive" of these right-wing forces had fizzled. Hundreds of Brussels students had organized themselves into defense guards to protect their meetings and offices.

● **SWITZERLAND:** A mass meeting organized by the Ad Hoc National April 22 Committee in Zürich drew 2,000 people. In view of the increased escalation of the war, the organizers decided to hold an evening street demonstration following the mass meeting, which swelled to more than 2,500 people.

Stephanie Coontz of NPAC spoke at the meeting, together with German and Swiss antiwar leaders.

● **SPAIN:** According to the April 24 *International Herald Tribune*, demonstrations were held in Barcelona and Tarrasa on April 22. The Barcelona demonstration was reported to be the third in a week. It was forced to disperse when Spanish police and soldiers arrived on the scene. Two arrests were reported.

The *Herald Tribune* listed the Barcelona demonstration as being 600-strong and Tarrasa as 250. However, Paris radio broadcasts reported the Barcelona action as "several thousand."

Antiwar demonstrations in Spain, of course, encounter immediate police attack, so the demonstrators are organized to meet this situation. For example, on Nov. 6, 1971, more than 500 Spaniards demonstrated in Madrid in solidarity with the American antiwar actions and dispersed their demonstration after 15 minutes in order to avoid arrest and victimization.

● **ITALY:** Meetings and demonstrations were held in Milan, Bari, and Livorno. An April 25 mass meeting scheduled for Milan has the support of a wide spectrum of local organizations.

On April 8-10, Dan Rosenshine of NPAC was invited to speak at meetings in the universities of Turin, Rome, and Naples. Three hundred attended the meeting in Turin, 800 in Rome, and 250 in Naples.

One important development in Italy was the recent decision by the Metallurgical Workers Federation in Turin to condemn the American escalation in Indochina. They called for U.S. withdrawal and expressed their solidarity with the April 22 demonstrations in the U.S.

● **GREAT BRITAIN:** About 500 marched in Glasgow, Scotland, in an action sponsored by the Glasgow Indochina Committee. The group, formed this spring, is now contacting groups throughout Scotland to discuss a cross-Scotland action. The preparations for this action were assisted by Stephanie Coontz of NPAC, who spoke at several meetings in the Glasgow area April 16-18.

GROUP '68, an antiwar organization of Americans living in London, has been holding daily vigils outside the American Embassy for the past week. On April 22 they were joined by 400 Londoners in a demonstration of solidarity with the American antiwar actions.

Strategy for student strike

By CAROLINE LUND

When all eight of the Ivy League university newspapers called for a student strike on Friday, April 21, university presidents were worried. They remembered well the powerful impact of the May 1970 student strike and weren't anxious to see another one.

Seven of the eight Ivy League university presidents hurriedly held a telephone conference to decide what to do. Columbia University President William McGill said the others all agreed with him that it is not "proper" to "close a university down" because this would "limit the rights of the faculty and other students" to get an education.

The *New York Times*, voice of a powerful section of the ruling class, chimed in on the same theme, saying: "The goal is not to shut down the universities but to end the war."

By appealing in this way to "the rights of other students" and by implying that the university does not have anything to do with the war, these supporters of the status quo are attempting to confuse the American people and deal a blow to the student antiwar movement.

The student antiwar movement has demonstrated that universities and colleges are an integral part of the support for the government's war policy. Universities house ROTC programs to train officers to direct the Vietnam war. They equip and run such departments as the Harvard Center for International Affairs and the Columbia School of International Affairs, which do research for Defense Department and CIA counterinsurgency programs. The Defense Department gives contracts to universities to help them develop the most efficient weapons and other methods of destruction.

Therefore, part of the struggle against the war must be a struggle against university complicity with the war, war research, and war training. During the May 1970 upsurge, students declared that the university should be part of the antiwar movement, not part of the imperialist war apparatus.

Against the desire of the majority of students, university administrators like McGill are trying to defend the right of the university to continue its aid to the war.

A section of the student movement, however, has raised the idea that since the university is aiding the war effort, it should be destroyed—through burning or trashing. This perspective does not make sense because those facilities—the buildings, desks, telephones, etc.—are not what is aiding the war. It is the way in which university facilities are used—not the facilities themselves—that students are opposed to.

Burning down a ROTC building will certainly put it out of commission, but it also destroys a building and many resources that could be profitably used by the antiwar movement for its ends. A more effective strategy is to organize masses of students to take over the university facilities and use them in the service of the antiwar movement.

This was done, for example, at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst during the May 1970 student strike. There the student strike committee voted to turn the ROTC building into a medical center. The strike medics simply moved in and took over; ROTC was forced to move out.

Taking over the university and opening it up as an antiwar university is better for another reason as well. Burning and trashing is an invita-

tion to the administration or the government to attack the antiwar students. It unnecessarily gives them an opportunity to victimize leaders and participants in the movement by reducing the movement's popular support. Destroying buildings does not make it clear to nonstudents (or to the majority of students) that the war is the focus of the struggle.

Another tactic that has been proposed in the current student upsurge is the use of coercive picket lines to bar other students and faculty from entering the university. This tactic has been applied by a relatively small number of students at Columbia University. This experience has indicated, however, that such tactics do not help



Students hear Columbia President McGill read injunction against strike picket lines.

to build support for the strike among the students who are less committed to the antiwar movement.

A major task of an antiwar student strike should be to win over the greatest possible support from all students and faculty. Rather than barring less committed or prowar students from the campus, an effort should be made to reach them with antiwar literature, workshops, and speakers who would explain the goals of the strike in classes that continued to meet.

Coercive picket lines by a small group of students cannot be substituted for the support of the majority of the student body. At this stage in the movement, coercive picket lines tend to create a confrontation between the committed antiwar students and students who also oppose the war but are less committed. This is senseless. What is really needed is a political confrontation between the antiwar students and the government warmakers and their agents in the university.

Since the picket lines at Columbia were relatively small, they gave Columbia President McGill the opportunity to shift the discussion away from his own complicity with the war and claim that the picket lines were "denying the rights" of the faculty and other students.

Reaching out

Another idea that has been raised is that during the student strike antiwar students should aid in antiwar organizing in the community. This can also be best accomplished through opening up the universities as antiwar universities. The university can be used for producing leaflets relating the war to all sectors of the population; it can be used as a dispatch

center for sending students canvassing in the community and sending speakers out to trade-union meetings, church meetings, high schools, etc. Students can make university facilities available to Black organizations, women's organizations, trade unionists, and high school students to hold their own antiwar meetings.

In this way the student movement can play an important role in encouraging the extension of the antiwar movement to the masses of working people in this country, including the GIs who have to fight the war. This powerful potential of the student movement to help mobilize the American people to stop the war is what the rulers of this country are afraid of,

and they will try every method to derail it.

The *New York Times*, for example, in its April 20 editorial on the student strike movement, urged antiwar students to use their "eloquence, knowledge and their newly won franchise" to "hasten the defeat of any political candidate who hedges on the war issue. . . ." The thrust of the editorial is that working for candidates is the best way to win changes. The *Times* is trying to counter the very thing that gives the student movement its effectiveness: the determination of masses of students to depend only on their own power—their own independent organization dedicated to immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Indochina. No matter whom students plan to vote for, they are beginning to see that the best results come from their own united mass action, appealing for the support of all who oppose the war.

The student movement's consciousness of its own power was expressed in the editorial appearing in the Ivy League student newspapers that called the April 21 strike. It said: "The antiwar feeling that coalesced into a national student strike two years ago delivered an ultimatum to the Nixon administration: You cannot expand the war in Asia without risking massive disruption at home."

"This ultimatum was instrumental in forcing the American invading force to withdraw and in precluding the use of American ground troops in Laos."

The task ahead of us is to mobilize that same power until all U. S. bombing stops and every last soldier, plane, and bomb is withdrawn from Indochina.

Student strike, work stoppage, at UC Berkeley

BERKELEY, Calif., April 25—A student strike here at the University of California in Berkeley has developed in response to the new escalation of the war in Southeast Asia, a campus employee work stoppage, and a strike by UC law students. Four thousand UC students, meeting on April 20, voted to strike around three basic demands: an immediate halt to U.S. bombing and immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia; support to the campus union's demands; and support to the demands of the striking Boalt Hall students, who are fighting for increased admissions of Black, Chicano, and Asian students to the law school.

An emergency meeting of the ASUC (Associated Students of the University of California) passed a resolution April 17 endorsing the union's demands and calling for general meetings of the student body on April 19 and April 20. The resolution was initiated by Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley senators in the ASUC.

The union's work stoppage, which involves 1,000 campus workers, is in support of a uniform central grievance procedure, a signed contract, no wage cuts, and wages on a par with those paid by private businesses and at other universities.

Twelve hundred students attended the April 19 meeting. Brenda Brdar, ASUC senator and candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for the State Assembly, presented a proposal on behalf of several other ASUC senators and ASUC President Larry Seidman. The proposal called for an educational campaign to explain the issues of the work stoppage and how they relate to the war in Southeast Asia.

At the April 20 rally, participants were urged to build the April 22 antiwar demonstrations scheduled for Los Angeles and San Francisco.

At a strike coordinating-committee meeting that afternoon, the Student Mobilization Committee proposed that Pauley Ballroom be opened up as a center for organizing antiwar activities as well as actions in support of the union and Boalt Hall strikers. The body was unable to agree on any clear focus for the next day's activities.

A rally on April 24 drew 1,200 students. Today's rally was attended by about 500. The SMC distributed the National Strike Bulletin and leaflets for the April 29 antiwar demonstration in San Francisco at both rallies.

In other developments, the Student-Faculty Committee for a Convocation, which involves ASUC senators, faculty members, and representatives of the SMC and the Campus Anti-Imperialist Coalition, has begun discussing the idea of holding a convocation of the entire university community to discuss the war. The site of the meeting would be the huge campus theater, where in May 1970, 1,500 students voted to reconstitute the university as an antiwar organizing center. The ASUC Senate and the *Daily Californian*, the UC Berkeley student newspaper, have endorsed the convocation proposal.

Student strikes, protests, across country

APRIL 25—Hundreds of schools across the country held rallies, marches, and student strikes last week. Some of the schools in the Midwest that went out on strike April 21 were: University of Illinois in Champaign; Southern Illinois University in Carbondale; Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, which had a rally of 5,000; Western Illinois University in Macomb; University of Northern Iowa in Cedar Rapids; Grinnell College, which had a meeting of 500 out of a student body of 1,300; Washington University in St. Louis; University of Iowa in Iowa City; Indiana University in Bloomington; Drake University in Des Moines; Lincoln High School in Des Moines; University of Wisconsin in Madison and Milwaukee; University of Missouri at Columbia; Marquette University in Milwaukee; and St. Ambrose College in Davenport, Iowa.

Some of the cities in the Midwest planning April 29 demonstrations are Chicago; Kansas City, Indianapolis and Evansville, Ind.; and Des Moines and Waterloo, Iowa.

● In Minneapolis, an April 29 demonstration was called at a meeting on April 23. The meeting also called for an April 26 demonstration against Honeywell, a major producer of anti-personnel weapons used in Vietnam.

At Moorhead State College, 1,200 rallied April 21, while at the University of Minnesota at Morris, a campus of 2,500, five busloads of students went out to help in the organization of antiwar activities elsewhere in the state.

Other Minnesota colleges on strike were St. Johns College, Mankato State College, and Carleton College.

● Nearly five thousand students demonstrated at the University of Maryland on Friday. Students there are still out on strike. Rallies at McLean High School in McLean, Va., and Marshall High School in Falls Church, Va., drew 500 and 750 respectively. Rallies were also held at George Washington University and Georgetown University in Washington, D. C.

D. C. activists are organizing a march on the

Pentagon for April 29. A candlelight vigil at the Capitol is scheduled for May 3, followed by a rally on May 4.

● Seven hundred attended a rally at Henry Ford Community College in Detroit April 21, while at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, more than 3,000 students participated in various strike activities.

● At Tufts University in Boston, a meeting of almost 2,000 students April 24 unanimously passed the proposals of the emergency student antiwar conference held the day before in New York. They also decided to leaflet the polls during the Massachusetts primary election, to leaflet neighboring high schools, and to establish trade-union contact committees.

Strike activities are also continuing at the University of Massachusetts in Boston. A 9 a.m. meeting of 400 people held there April 24 voted to continue the strike indefinitely and to hold mass meetings every day to make further decisions. The meeting also passed the antiwar conference proposals, along with demands for the removal of ROTC from the campus and for an end to campus military recruiting. A march to the office of the university's president drew about 1,000.

At Boston University, 80 percent of the faculty voted in favor of supporting an indefinite student strike. Activity in the Boston area is geared toward the April 29 demonstration and the May 4 moratorium.

● Nina Knapp writes from Boise, Idaho, that 450 students from Boise State College marched through the city to the steps of the state capitol, where they held a rally, on April 21. Another demonstration is being planned for May 13 at Mountain Home Air Force Base outside of Boise.

● Students at the University of Texas in Austin held a rally and mass meeting of 3,000 April 21. They then marched around the campus and into Austin, their numbers swelling to 5,000, chanting "Out Now!" Police broke up the demonstration with tear gas, and there were some arrests and injuries.

● A rally was held at the University of North

ern Colorado in Greeley April 21, while at the University of Colorado in Boulder, a mass meeting of 800 students decided to support the April 29 demonstration in Denver and the May 4 moratorium. An assembly of the entire school has been called for May 1 and is expected to approve a strike for May 4.

● An April 25 news conference called by the Colorado Peace Action Coalition announced an April 29 march there. Corky Gonzales of the Denver Crusade for Justice has agreed to appear at another news conference on April 27 to discuss the Chicano contingent being built as part of the demonstration.

● A demonstration of several hundred students at John Carroll University in Cleveland April 24 forced the cancellation of the annual ROTC banquet. It had been preceded by a demonstration of 100 on April 21.

Among the schools taking part in strike activities in Ohio were: Ohio University in Athens, where over half the student body struck April 21 and a week-long teach-in is planned; Kent State University; University of Toledo, which has scheduled an April 29 march to the Federal Building in Toledo; Wittenberg University in Springfield; Bowling Green State University; Marietta College; Case Western Reserve University; and Cleveland State University.

Oberlin College had a rally of 3,000 April 21, and students from Oberlin and Hiram College are planning to go to Cleveland for the April 29 demonstration planned there.

● On April 20, students at Temple University confronted Pennsylvania Governor Milton Shapp, who endorsed the April 22 demonstrations, and persuaded him to provide five buses for transportation to the New York April 22 demonstration. A rally of 500 to 600 was held at Temple the following day.

At Rutgers University, across the river in Camden, N.J., 250 attended a mock trial of President Nixon organized by students at Rutgers Law School and the SMC.

Student conference plans more actions

By DAVE FRANKEL

NEW YORK, April 24—An emergency national student antiwar conference, hosted by the Student Mobilization Committee on a few days notice, drew some 650 people here yesterday.

Fred Lovgren, SMC national coordinator, explained that the purpose of the conference was to call for a "sustained organizing drive, both on and off campus, aimed at continuing the present upsurge and at drawing new layers of the population into antiwar activity."

The conference voted to support the April 29 demonstrations called by the National Peace Action Coalition last week. It also decided to build the May 4 moratorium around the demand for immediate, total, and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces and matériel from Southeast Asia. The May 4 moratorium was called at an April 20 news conference of antiwar and civil rights figures. More than 20 U.S. senators and congressional representatives, as well as such figures as Daniel Ellsberg, are supporting it.

The student meeting also called for a national

student strike May 4. Thirty two of the 148 schools represented at the conference were high schools, and the body voted to place special emphasis on high school strike actions.

The conference issued an international appeal "to our brothers and sisters throughout the world to join us in powerful, massive actions on April 29 and May 4." A representative from the Canadian antiwar movement was present at the conference.

A proposal from some students at Princeton University that the April 29 actions be built as a national referendum in the streets on Nixon's war policies was accepted. Proposals that the conference call an immediate, nationwide student strike to last until the war is over were rejected. Most people felt that different campuses would have to decide the duration of strikes on their own and that an immediate strike call was unrealistic in many areas.

People from 28 states attended the gathering, and at least 30 schools had representatives from their student governments or student newspapers.

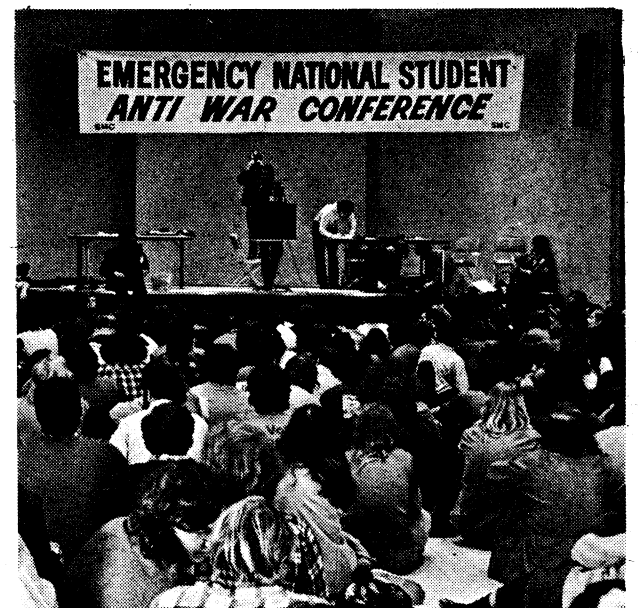


Photo by Ellen Lemisch

New York April 23 antiwar conference

N.Y. city-wide meeting sets April 29 rally

By JAY RESSLER

NEW YORK, April 24—This evening more than 300 antiwar activists, coming from about 30 schools in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, met at New York University to discuss plans for the April 29 demonstration in New York City. The meeting was called on 24-hours notice.

Among those attending the meeting were student government heads, campus newspaper editors, and numerous representatives from campus strike committees, Student Mobilization Committee chapters, and the National Peace Action Coalition. Also represented were: The Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Women's National Abortion Action Coalition; Socialist Workers Party; AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) Local 1930; Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley; the Tunnel Workers union; and several other community and political organizations.

The meeting responded enthusiastically to a proposal by Anita Bennett, New York coordinator

of NPAC, for a central rally on April 29 at 1 p.m. at Washington Square Park, organized around the demand for the immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. troops and matériel from Indochina.

Bennett also proposed a second city-wide mass meeting on April 27 to finalize the speakers' list for April 29 and to plan united actions for the May 4 student strike and moratorium. Feeder marches from as many parts of the city as possible were suggested for the April 29 rally.

In the discussion that followed, almost every speaker endorsed these proposals. A number of reports from campuses around the city indicated that the level of antiwar activity had not declined in the wake of the April 22 mass demonstration.

A speaker from Pratt Institute, which had earlier offered the use of its printing and silk-screening facilities to all the campuses in the area, reported that students there were planning a feeder march to the Washington Square rally from Brooklyn.

A student from the Brooklyn College SMC and

strike committee announced that Brooklyn College students would join with Pratt students in the feeder march and urged a campaign to reach out to those campuses and high schools where activity had not yet begun.

Additional reports were presented from Queens College; Columbia (which is also planning a feeder march); Drew University; Wagner College; The New School; New York University; Stuyvesant High School; Queens College, Cooper Union; Barnard; and Sarah Lawrence College. Many students stressed the need for coordinated activities between the campuses.

The meeting received enthusiastic greetings from Edward Cross, the representative of the Tunnel Workers union, who hailed the student movement for the courageous leadership it has provided in the struggle against the war. It was also reported that Teamster Local 810 at NYU is planning to strike against the war on May 4 if at least 2,000 students also strike.

By **DICK ROBERTS**

"I am convinced, because of several conversations with Louie re Mitchell that our noble commitment has gone a long way towards our negotiations on the mergers eventually coming out as Hal wants them."

That's the sentence in the memorandum allegedly written by ITT lobbyist Dita Beard that has touched off the biggest political scandal of the last decade. This article is meant to record some of the points that have developed in the case as of late April 1972.

To begin with, the three people

Far from denying such contributions, however, Beard asserted that she had been informed by William R. Merriam, head of ITT's office in Washington, that the commitment might have been as high as \$600,000.

Beard's testimony conflicts with the testimony of all the other major figures involved in the affair.

JUDGE RICHARD McCLAREN. This judge—now holding Julius Hoffman's position in a Chicago federal district court—was the head of the Justice Department's "Antitrust Division" during the ITT case. McClaren began his antitrust career in the Nixon administration as an outspoken trust-buster. But he dropped the suit against

economic report to justify settling the ITT suit on terms favorable to the corporation.

For over a month, the administration succeeded in blocking cross-examination of Flanigan by the Senate committee. When the wealthy investment banker finally did come before the committee April 20, it was under an agreement between the White House and the committee that allowed Flanigan *not to answer questions about contacts he might have had with either Kleindienst or officials of ITT!* Other than that, Flanigan actually asserted that he had no part in the government's decision to settle the antitrust suits, acting only as a "conduit"

es against a San Diego supporter of the Republican Party. Kleindienst's appointment as chief U. S. lawmaker was still pending after six weeks of congressional "hearings."

LOUIE B. NUNN. This former Republican governor of Kentucky told the Senate committee that Dita Beard was "usually" drinking. "Sometimes she was drinking more, sometimes less." Nunn was directly named as a go-between of ITT and the administration in the original memorandum.

HAROLD S. GENEEN. Highest paid chief executive in the United States—his salary was raised in 1971 to \$812,494—about four times as much as most Americans make in their entire lives—has offered continuously contradictory testimony about his own and ITT's role in the scandal since it first started.

For example, Geneen contended that "there was absolutely no connection" between his company's pledge of support to Nixon and the administration's settlement of the suit. Geneen said that \$200,000 was the most involved, contradicting statements by Beard, California Representative Bob Wilson, and others.

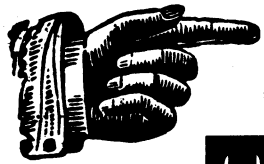
On March 13, ITT issued a statement asserting that Geneen had held discussions with more than a score of high government officials, including former Attorney General Mitchell and some Democrats, about the ITT suit. This included Flanigan and Wilson. On March 29, Geneen swore under oath that he never discussed antitrust policy with either Flanigan or Wilson.

Geneen stated that he did not know who ordered ITT to shred its files in the Washington office. About the memorandum, "He said that he first read about it in the press," according to the March 16 *New York Times*.

DR. VICTOR LISZKA. This physician told the Senate committee that Dita Beard was suffering from periodic "distorted and irrational" behavior when she supposedly wrote the memorandum. Liszka faces a Justice Department investigation on federal charges of overcharging Medicare patients. Liszka, according to Anderson, also performed a number of physical examinations on potential Hamilton Insurance Co. policyholders—an ITT subsidiary.

DR. L. M. RADETSKY. This physician testified that Beard "is far from being irrational, far." When Beard apparently collapsed in her hospital bed-room during hearings, Radetsky stated she had suffered from heart failure and would be unable to answer further questioning for six weeks. Radetsky also faces a Justice Department investigation on criminal charges involving Medicare.

Meanwhile, two cardiologists commissioned by the committee examined Beard and testified they could find no objective evidence of heart disease.



A COMPLETE GUIDE TO THE ITT SCANDAL

named in the sentence are Louie B. Nunn, former governor of Kentucky; John N. Mitchell, former attorney general of the United States; and Harold S. Geneen, president and chairman of the board of the International Telephone & Telegraph Corp., eighth largest U. S. corporation.

The memo implies that contributions by ITT to the Republican Party induced the Nixon administration to drop an antitrust suit against ITT. The suit would have blocked the largest conglomerate merger in U. S. history—ITT's acquiring of the Hartford Life Insurance Co. After first pressing the antitrust suit against ITT, the Nixon administration dropped the suit in July 1971. At about the same time, it was revealed that the Republicans would hold their national convention in San Diego, where there are several large hotels owned by ITT, including the one that was slated to be President Nixon's campaign headquarters. Here are the principal figures in the North American aspect of the controversy so far:

JACK ANDERSON. He released the memorandum in his nationally syndicated column, "The Washington Merry-Go-Round." According to *Newsweek* magazine, "As Anderson tells it, congressmen cheat on their income tax, philander at government expense and occasionally handle sensitive official business while gloriously drunk. White House officials are chronic liars who regularly seek to cover up clandestine involvements with big business or foreign powers. The military expends most of its energy fighting interservice battles, camouflaging cost overruns and airlifting senators to European watering holes. And mammoth corporations usually manage to buy their way into legislative favor or out of legalistic trouble." This is "hardly a balanced view," the April 3 issue of *Newsweek* states.

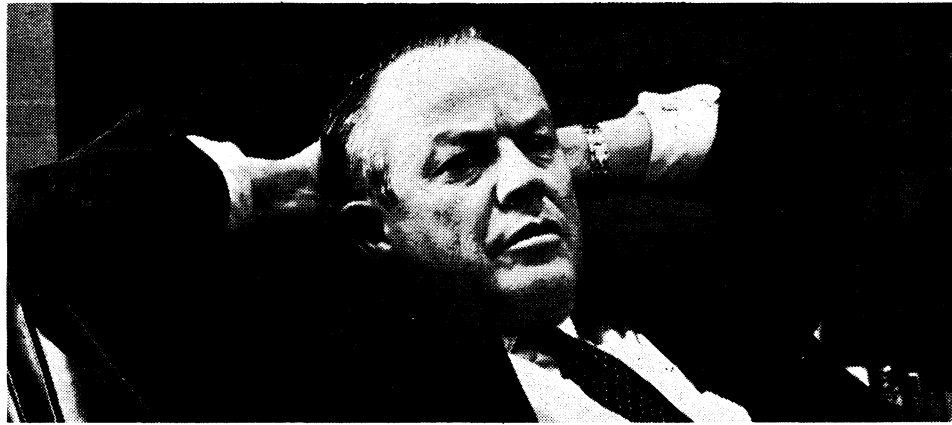
DITA BEARD. Dita Beard is the only registered lobbyist for ITT in Washington, salaried at \$29,000 a year. According to Anderson's April 6 column, Beard is listed by the Republican Party as one of its "major donors," along with such multimillionaire ruling-class figures as Henry Ford 2d and Helen Clay Frick. "It is doubtful that she . . . has ever made any 'major' donations to the GOP out of her own pocketbook," Anderson states.

Beard disappeared the day the ITT memo was first released and turned up several days later in a Denver hospital. After three weeks of silence, she testified to the Senate Judiciary Committee in her hospital room that she had been framed. Beard declared she had written only parts of the memorandum. She said she was "never aware of" any connection between ITT's donations to the Republicans and the settlement of the antitrust suit.

ITT, and Nixon rewarded him with the federal judgeship.

When the scandal first broke, McClaren asserted that he had no consultations with a White House aide, Peter Flanigan, in framing the antitrust suit against ITT. McClaren later admitted that "it now appears there was some consultation." (*New York Post*, March 8.) Flanigan is Nixon's chief adviser on domestic business matters.

The judge's testimony conflicts with his own earlier statements.



Richard G. Kleindienst

FELIX GEORGE ROHATYN. Second in command at the powerful investment banking house of Lazard Freres & Co., Rohatyn is also a director of ITT and the man who negotiated ITT's affairs with the top officials of the Nixon administration. Rohatyn is on the list of millionaire contributors to the Republican Party.

Testimony has revealed that on April 29, 1971, Rohatyn discussed antitrust matters at the Justice Department with Richard Kleindienst, at that time Nixon's deputy attorney general. On the same day, Rohatyn had two meetings with John Mitchell, then attorney general. Everyone participating in these meetings has sworn under oath that the subject of ITT never came up.

An associate of Ralph Nader has charged that following the secret settlement with administration officials, Rohatyn's firm dumped hundreds of thousands of shares of ITT on the public, selling them to trust and pension funds, before the settlement was announced. This saved Lazard Freres some \$1.25-billion.

Rohatyn is also a contributor to Democratic Party presidential candidate Edmund Muskie and a member of Muskie's finance committee.

PETER FLANIGAN. He is Nixon's most influential advisor on business issues, having served on the top level of Nixon's 1968 campaign staff. Flanigan formerly worked for the investment banking house of Dillon Read and Co., one of the central bastions of U. S. financial rule.

Although he has no statutory authority to deal with such matters, Flanigan supervised the preparation of an

in one aspect of the case. (See McClaren, above.)

RICHARD G. KLEINDIENST. As acting attorney general, he testified that the memo had to be "phony." The March 17 *New York Times* quotes him as saying, "It's got to be incredible. It has no relation to anything factual, and it can't relate in any way at all in the matter in which that [settlement] came about." In December 1971, law-and-order-man Kleindienst, who managed Barry Goldwater's 1964 campaign, wrote a letter to Democratic

Party Chairman Larry O'Brien stating that the ITT settlement "was handled and negotiated exclusively" by McClaren. This was the lie that Judge McClaren attempted to uphold in his earlier testimony.

It has now been revealed that Flanigan was in on the ITT matter and that Kleindienst himself had at least five meetings with ITT director Rohatyn, including the April 29, 1971, meeting mentioned above. On March 7 Kleindienst refused to hand over the Justice Department files on the ITT



"Goodness! What on Earth . . . !?"

matter to the Senate Judiciary Committee, stating it was "confidential" and might damage unnamed third persons.

Meanwhile, it has also been revealed that Kleindienst, who played a major role in suppressing investigation of the Kent State murders, was involved in a 1970 quashing of charg-

WALTER C. McCURRY. He is the chemist who testified for ITT that the memo was typed at a later date than alleged by Anderson. In 1965 McCurry testified as a defense witness for the drug peddlers involved in the Kriebien scandal—a fake drug to

Continued on page 22

Survey shows rail workers dissatisfied

By JOHN SPAULDING

A survey conducted by Marie L. Bickett, a faculty member at Kansas State Teachers College in Emporia, with the cooperation of the Emporia local of the United Transportation Union (UTU), reveals some of the attitudes of rail workers. The survey was released in June 1971, prior to the UTU contract settlement.

Three hundred thirty-two rail workers representing all the major crafts and seniority levels from 29 locals in 10 states responded to a lengthy questionnaire.

The report on the survey states, "Our own experience and the report of men who cooperated in taking the poll is strong evidence that the railroad employee wants to be asked his opinion on the disputed issues. He is, in fact, greatly disturbed that in the past his opinion has not been sought in matters that concern him so greatly." The sense of alienation from the decision-making processes, both in management and the union has led "to a feeling of having been abandoned by their political representatives. . . . Strong feelings usually find a mode of expression, and it is probable that continuous provocation of the railroad workers could beget such an extreme reaction as a strike in spite of court order."

The right to strike and compulsory arbitration, two issues that are becoming increasingly important as events unfold, were among those dealt with in the survey. When asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the

statement, "The employees should strike in spite of a court order if rule changes contrary to employee wishes are enacted by the legislature," 80.3 percent of those responding to the poll replied in favor of such action. While workers at every seniority level responded in favor of the right to strike, "it is not the young newcomers to the trade, men to whom we readily ascribe immoderate reaction, but it is the mature man, those who have been serving longest with the Carriers, who lead in expressing strong approval of breaking the law to procure their right." It is the workers with 30 or more years of seniority, who have been through countless confrontations with management and seen many of their struggles suffocated under court orders, that responded with the most militancy for the right to strike.

When asked to rank items they most opposed, the imposition of compulsory arbitration was one of the issues that ranked highest. When considered by itself, this issue pulled an opposition vote of 74 percent of the total group. Those union members between the ages of 36-45 showed the most opposition to compulsory arbitration, with 80.6 percent opposed.

"There is a feeling," the report states, "among the men who understand the meaning of compulsory arbitration that legislation to this effect would mean the end of wage and work rule changes favorable to the employee and the further diminishing of the railroad wage status. With these effects would come also the eventual downgrading

of railroad employment to the level of nonunionized labor. A union without the right to strike is powerless and may as well not exist."

Interdivisional runs (which permit the railroad to run crews through terminals at a distance greater than the former limit of about 100 miles) also ranked as one of the most opposed issues.

With the signing of the new contract, this work-rule change is being shoved down the throats of the workers by the carriers, with the cooperation of the UTU bureaucracy. When asked their feelings about the work-rule modification of "Interdivisional runs with all miles paid at the higher rate," 47 percent opposed the suggestion and 23.7 percent registered "no opinion." Those members polled who worked on the road crews—in other words, those most directly affected by the work-rule change and the prospect of longer hours and the eventual reduction of the work force—opposed the measure much more strongly. Road enginemen were 73.3 percent and trainmen were 55.1 percent against the work-rule change.

Fully a third of the survey deals with the relationship that exists between the union leadership at all levels and the rank and file. It concluded that there was a low level of rank-and-file participation in local union affairs, primarily because the members did not feel that effective change could be made even by participating in union activities. More than 75 percent of the rail workers polled agreed with

the statement, "UTU officials have isolated themselves from and insulated themselves against the union membership." Three fourths of those polled did not feel that the bureaucracy was carrying out the wishes of the rank and file, and 62 percent did not feel that "UTU officials are actively concerned about the welfare of the union members."

CORRECTION

The article on the Right To Vote Committee in the United Transportation Union that appeared in the April 22 Militant incorrectly stated: "The principal goal of the RTVC, winning the membership's right to vote on contracts, did not make it onto the convention agenda."

A proposed change in Article 91 of the UTU constitution that would have given the membership the right to vote on contracts was placed on the agenda, debated, and voted on. With no roll call but a simple hand vote, the measure lost 843 to 810.

The right of the membership to vote on the ratification of contracts has been the center of controversy for several years. Rank-and-file pressure forced the Canadian UTU to grant this right to its members last year, but a motion to do the same for American UTU members failed by a small margin.

Continued on page 22

Muslims blast police raid on mosque

NEW YORK—In the wake of a totally unwarranted and unprovoked assault by New York City policemen upon Muhammad's Temple No. 7 in Harlem, Minister Louis Farrakhan has called for the withdrawal of white police from the Black community.

The assault occurred on April 14 when two police officers, supposedly responding to an emergency call about an officer in distress on the second floor of the Temple, burst into the place. Because they "came charging into our temple like criminals... they were treated like criminals," said Minister Farrakhan in the April 16 *New York Times*.

The two young Muslims at the door, although unarmed, halted the progress of the officers toward the second floor.

Several more officers then entered the premises. The majority of them were expelled by the Muslims, and at this point—according to witnesses on the street and newspaper reports—the expelled officers broke the glass on the door and started firing "warning shots." More than 100 policemen poured onto 116th Street and Lenox Avenue, where the mosque is located. This brought out about 1,000 residents. In the ensuing action, a plainclothes officer was hit in the head with a brick and a police car was overturned and burned.

The police left the highly charged area after evacuating two officers wounded inside the mosque and arresting two Muslims.

Although the emergency call turned out to be false, the police say their response was legitimate, and that the

shots into the mosque were "fired high." Minister Farrakhan has disputed this, however. He maintains that the Muslims, or Nation of Islam, had an agreed-upon procedure for investigating emergency calls—since a lot of them have been false—in respect to the mosque. Eric Pace wrote in the April 15 *New York Times* that "one police commander said privately that general police policy had been not to enter the mosque. 'We've told these guys that 50 times,' he added." The police have refused to admit publicly of any policy.

On April 17 Minister Farrakhan and Yusuf Shah, another Muslim official, showed reporters the bullet holes in the wall where the "warning shots" went. Despite police assertions that they were "fired high" two of the shots

were about four feet and six feet from the floor.

On the basis of this evidence, Minister Farrakhan is not only demanding the withdrawal of white police from Harlem and their replacement with Blacks, but an apology from Mayor John V. Lindsay and Police Commissioner Patrick V. Murphy, and the dropping of charges against the two Muslims arrested, Lewis Dupree and Bobby Hopes.

Although one officer was wounded with gunshots and later died, no Muslim has been charged with firing a weapon. Dupree and Hopes have been charged with assault and slapped with a bond totaling \$30,000. The only possible conclusion is that the dead officer was shot by other officers.

The National Picket Line

RECENTLY I WROTE A STORY ON THE UNION BUREAUCRAT, what he is, and how he got that way (*The Militant*, April 14). The April 17 *U.S. News & World Report* has a run-down on the concessions these same kinds of bureaucrats have successfully sold their memberships to stop "rising unemployment" and "keep businesses from closing down."

The union heads accept, apparently without question, the capitalist myth that high wages are the sole reason for rising costs, increasing unemployment, and plant failures. For instance, according to *U.S. News & World Report*:

Contract concessions (probably foregoing second year raises) have been made by the United Auto Workers unit in the Detroit plant of Universal Oil Products Company. The corporation then "announced that its copper-tube plant will remain in operation."

The UAW also convinced workers at the Wolverine Tube plant to a change in work rules to "improve output" (read speedup).

Typographical Union 174 in Los Angeles agreed to allow its members to work four days instead of five "to help cut employers' overhead."

Pay boosts averaging 44 cents per hour have been given up by many employees of the Standard

Register Company in Dayton, Ohio. Therefore "there will be fewer layoffs than expected as the firm's competitiveness improves."

Workers at the Frigidaire division of General Motors at Dayton, Ohio, "also traded off pay boosts of at least 41 cents per hour for jobs."

Workers at Firestone Tire and Rubber of Akron have gone on an eight-hour day, a switch from the traditional six hours. Unions at other tire manufacturing firms are also attempting to "aid management with other concessions aimed at cost cutting."

Iron workers along the Florida Gulf Coast gave up a wage boost "to help preserve the purchasing power of the already inflated American dollar," according to Dutch A. Thomas, business agent of Local 397.

Elementary school teachers in Park Ridge, Ill., voted to pass up a 5.5 percent raise negotiated by the Illinois Education Association. The Board of education then promised to cancel the scheduled layoff of 20 teachers.

Members of two unions voted to take pay cuts averaging 10 percent at Farm Crest Bakeries in Detroit. The conglomerate Ward Food, Inc. then "announced it would not close the bakery."

A wage cut of 30 cents per hour was accepted

by employees of the Continental Die Casting division of F. L. Jacobs Company in Detroit. The corporation had threatened to close down "because it could not compete under existing pay scales, averaging \$3.70 per hour." (An hourly wage of \$3.70 is \$148 per week. When you take away all the federal, state, and city taxes, social security, and what-have-you, how much of that \$148 is left for a family of four to live on?)

Joseph Curran, president of the AFL-CIO Seafarers' International Union, has announced that his union "has suggested that wage increases be tied to increased productivity through more automation on vessels."

None of the companies, corporations, or conglomerates mentioned, have said a word about reducing their own rate of profit. That would be un-American and completely outside the "equality of sacrifice" plea government officials demand of the American people.

And those union bureaucrats who have done their job for the bosses, threatening and cajoling their memberships into making all of the economic sacrifices allegedly necessary to stop inflation—have they voluntarily reduced their own high salaries and expense accounts?

—MARVEL SCHOLL

In Review

Art On Picasso

The Museum of Modern Art retrospective show of Pablo Picasso, which ended April 2, was the occasion for a review by Philip Bonosky in the March 3, 1972, *Daily World*, a newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party. Picasso, who was 90 last October, is a long-time member of the Communist Party of France, a fact that apparently makes Bonosky feel he must "explain" this artist, whose work has been so varied and



Section of 'Guernica'

controversial. The article is a good example of the socialist-realist school of criticism, which under the guise of revolutionary interests, condemns all art that does not fit into its preconceived formula.

In this case it is a "friendly" review. Bonosky says, "A visit to this show, which gives the viewer this Picasso in a great sweep of creativity extending over a lifetime, will help any serious visitor to grasp something of the man and his mind if, at the same time, he brings along with him a firm grasp of the times in which Picasso was born, lived and created."

Then Bonosky gets to his point: "It's this fact of his life [his membership in the French CP], however, which reflects itself only fleetingly in his work that most workers cannot reconcile. If he's a Communist, why doesn't he paint like a Communist? Or, if it's hard to say precisely what a Communist should paint like, why, at least, can't he find some way of reaching — not the middle-class, alienated—but us, the ordinary people, the working people of the world?"

"I think this is a legitimate question, but not one that can be answered here."

Many people like Picasso's early "rose" and "blue" periods, says Bonosky, but:

"The trouble for most people starts when Picasso discovers cubism, and suddenly human beings, homes and things, begin to disappear as we know them and return to us in those famous distortions that have somehow become synonymous for most people with 'modern' art."

On Picasso's painting, "Guernica": "But when Picasso later, in an obvious effort to respond directly to the horrors of fascism, produced his famed 'Guernica,' and later still his painting of American atrocities in Korea, the man-in-the-street still felt at a loss to understand."

Then he concludes, "But one thing cannot be missed: through all the masks of the many Picassos, the spirit that hated all fraud, all oppression, all fascism, struggles to show itself."

What is involved here is a virtual total rejection of broad areas of Picasso's work solely on the basis of what they do not contain. For Bonosky, only what is immediately comprehensible and fits his conception of social significance—backed, of course, by the opinion of "the man-in-the-street"—is culturally meaningful.

A criticism of an artist as famous and controversial as Picasso should at least start with an attempt to understand what is being said—a fitting starting point for a critical appraisal. From the point of view of revolution, and of advancing culture in socialist society, an honest evaluation of all of Picasso's work can only help in the creation of a new culture. Bonosky's rejection of modern art has nothing in common with this process.

—DAVE PRINCE

Books False account of unions

Rebellion in the Unions: A Handbook for Rank and File Action by George Morris. New Outlook Publishers. New York. 1971. 159 pp. Paper \$2.75.

The Communist Party is making strenuous efforts to regain influence it lost in the union movement a long time ago. The party's standing in the unions began to decline during World War II, when it became the most strident supporter of Roosevelt's wage freeze and other anti-labor regulations.

When the cold war period began in the late 1940s, the CP had lost so much support among workers that the conservative Murray-Reuther leadership of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) had little difficulty in ridding that organization of its presence. At its height the CP had considerable influence in about a dozen CIO unions.

Two important unions broke away from the CP faction in the CIO as a result of the right-wing attack. These were the National Maritime Union, led by Joe Curran, and the Transport Workers Union, led by Michael Quill. The main base of CP influence, the United Electrical Workers, split, with the section that remained in the CIO (the International United Electrical Workers) eventually gaining a large majority of the membership.

Other unions, much smaller than these, had to be abandoned or merged with larger organizations. The cold war and McCarthyite witchhunt period succeeded in reducing CP authority in the unions to zero.

Current efforts to recoup some of these losses include publication of books such as *Rebellion in the Unions*. The author of this book has been labor editor and columnist for the CP-line *Daily Worker* (now renamed *Daily World*) since 1944.

Most of the book is a polemic against Joseph Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America. Beirne, a right-wing union bureaucrat, has published two books in which he expounds a conservative philosophy of unionism for American workers. Morris has no trouble in showing that Beirne's prescriptions are of no use to workers.

But, in contrasting the ideas of the Communist Party to those of Beirne and George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, Morris does not give a truthful

account either of CP history or its present policies. Discussing the rise of the CIO in the 1930s, Morris writes, "Many of the younger people today, who know about the thirties only from what they have read, are likely to exaggerate the Roosevelt influence in the success of the organizing of the thirties. . . ." (P. 113.) He neglects to mention that the CP has been in the forefront in popularizing this falsehood, closely followed by the union bureaucrats. Both have tried to picture Roosevelt as responsible for the growth of unionism in the 1930s, at the same time playing down the role of the militant workers who were in fact responsible for the rise of the CIO.

Morris writes that "The Trade Union Unity League of left-led unions [in the late 1920s and early 1930s] had more than 200,000 members when most of its affiliates merged with the larger rising CIO movement." (P. 126.) He leaves out of the record that this League was the ill-starred product of the ultra-left sectarian policy followed by the CP from 1929 to 1934 and was an unsuccessful attempt to build a rival union movement to the then-dominant but conservative American Federation of Labor. But he is answered in his own book (p. 134) by Lenin, who is quoted as writing, "ridiculous and childish nonsense the pompous, very learned and frightfully revolutionary disquisitions of the German lefts to the effect that Communists cannot and should not work in reactionary trade unions, that it is permissible to turn down such work, that it is necessary to withdraw from the trade unions and to create a brand new immaculate 'workers Union' invented by pleasant (and probably for the most part very youthful) Communists." What a devastating reply to the CP policy in the early 1930s! And Morris did not even notice it!

The main feature of the chapter "On Black Liberation" is its important omissions. Morris complains that "Many unions with a high percentage of black and brown membership are still all-white at the top and middle-level leadership. At best they may have a token black person on the union's board." (P. 65.) Morris does not explain why the United Electrical Workers, when the CP was influential in it, failed even to have a "token" Black member on its Executive Board. There were plenty of qualified Black members of the union.



John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, refused to accept a no-strike plea from President Roosevelt in 1943, and the mine workers went out on strike. Communist Party actively campaigned against the strike.

account either of CP history or its present policies.

For example, he writes about the leaders of the American Labor Alliance (ALA), a split off from the AFL-CIO in 1969 led by the late Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers and Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters. "The ALA leaders" Morris says, "cannot point to a single instance in history when Communists, or others of the constructive left, broke strikes or unions or did anything that harms the working class." (P. 104.) It would be easy to list many books filled with instances of such activity, but we will cite only one. This is the strikebreaking campaign carried out by the CP against the coal miners' strike in 1943 in which it aided the Roosevelt administration in trying to break the strikes.

CP organizers were given extra gasoline rations to go to mining towns to propagandize against the miners. They did their best to scab on the miners, but the latter won. (See *Labor's Giant Step*, by Art Preis, pp. 174-197. Pathfinder Press. New York.)

Claiming it would interfere with the war effort, the CP lost most of its support in the Black community during World War II when it opposed Black struggles for equal job opportunities. Morris is silent about this disgraceful episode.

In several places the author attempts to contrast class struggle, which he says he advocates, to class collaboration, which he allegedly opposes and attributes to Beirne, Meany, and others. However, Communist Party support to the Democrats is the most crass example of class collaboration one can find and is exactly like that of the right-wing union leaders.

Morris unknowingly answers himself once again when he writes, "The Democratic Party is a political arm of capitalism, as is the Republican." (P. 157.) That is true. Then why has the CP supported Democrats all these years, and why are they getting ready to do the same this year? The author is silent on this crucial point.

Readers of this book are warned that it is a piece of fakery.

—MILTON ALVIN

Inquiry is whitewash of 'Bloody Sunday'

By TONY THOMAS

An official inquiry made public in London April 19 absolved the British army's role in the Jan. 30 (Bloody Sunday) murder of 13 Irish activists participating in a mass demonstration in Derry, Northern Ireland. The inquiry's decision was completely unsubstantiated by the evidence, and Irish civil rights groups have condemned it as a whitewash.

Lord Widgery, the Lord Chief Justice of England, conducted the inquiry. He said he accepted the version put forward by the British army because of his observations of "the demeanor of witnesses under cross-examination."

Despite the "demeanor" of the army witnesses, the facts are stacked against them. Widgery's report and the army's version claimed that many of the demonstrators were armed and that the British troops fired chiefly at armed "IRA gunmen." But even Widgery had to admit that "none [of the alleged Irish arms] was recovered by the



Scene from Bloody Sunday in Derry

army," and "none of the many photographs [of the Irish demonstration] shows a civilian holding an object that can with certainty be identified as a firearm or bomb." (*New York Times*, April 20.)

Paraffin tests on the hands of 12 of those killed gave no conclusive evidence that they had fired weapons. Two medical examinations of the thirteenth victim, 17-year-old Gerald Donaghy, failed to show that he had carried weapons, though later (!) British officials claimed four nail bombs were found in his pockets. Irish activists have claimed that the bombs were planted.

Supporters of the struggle of the Irish Catholics in Northern and Southern Ireland condemned the Widgery report. According to a *New York Times* dispatch from Belfast, dated April 19, "Most Catholics here appear to believe that the soldiers were unprovoked, and fired indiscriminately at the huge demonstration in the Bogside on Jan. 30. . . . More than three weeks after Catholics had largely welcomed the imposition of direct rule by Britain, the [Catholic] minority is once again sullen."

Tom Conaty, chairman of the Central Citizens Defense Committee in Belfast's Falls Road area, told the *Times*, "It destroys the credibility of anyone who says, 'Give Britain a chance. She will do the right thing.'"

Widgery's whitewash of the British army's brutal massacre of a peaceful Irish demonstration is a slap in the face to the Irish people. It is a sign that the British ruling class is determined to crush the Irish struggle through armed repression.

All who oppose British suppression

of the Irish people's democratic rights are urged to participate in a demonstration called by New York's Anti-Internment Coalition for May 13. The marchers will assemble at noon at Columbus Circle and will then march to the British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) offices at 44th Street and Fifth Avenue.

Supreme Court considers Mandel case

From *Intercontinental Press*

The U.S. Supreme Court on April 18 heard arguments on the government's appeal against the lower court decision that the Belgian Marxist Ernest Mandel had been unconstitutionally barred from the United States in 1969 and prevented from filling speaking engagements at leading Eastern universities. The case provides a clear test of the First Amendment guarantee of free speech.

Eight distinguished American professors had joined Mandel in bringing the suit under the auspices of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Its general counsel, Leonard Boudin, and David Rosenberg of Harvard Law School wrote the brief for the plaintiffs.

The government attorney contended that under the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, Congress had granted the Justice Department unrestricted power to exclude any alien on any ground from this country. The lower court opinion struck down these two sections of the act.

Supreme Court Justice William Douglas asked whether a foreign scholar who wanted to teach Mandel's well-known work *Marxist Economic Theory* could likewise be refused admission. The government attorney answered yes.

Whereas the attorney general had originally offered no reason for excluding Mandel, the government's appeal referred to a trivial technical violation of visa conditions during a previous visit. This was a transparent pretext, since both the American consul at Brussels and the State Department had recommended Mandel's admission after widespread public protest, acknowledging that Mandel had not been informed of any such restrictions.

The government claimed that Mandel's exclusion did not abridge any constitutional right of the academicians since they had access to his views through other media. When Chief Justice Warren Burger asked whether these would include a videotape interview with Mandel, the government said this was permissible but the scholars had no right to demand his personal presence for an exchange of ideas.

Boudin's presentation to the high court came between his participation in the recently concluded Berrigan conspiracy trial at Harrisburg and the pending trial of Daniel Ellsberg in Los Angeles. He opened his reply by pointing out that the case involved the rights of the American plaintiffs, not Mandel's.

The plaintiffs' plea was based upon three points, Boudin declared. First, in addition to the general public interest, the academic community had a special interest in becoming acquainted with all opinions on crucial questions, if education was to proceed freely in a democracy. Second, the sovereign right of the people to know has precedence over the acts of Con-

gress or the Justice Department. Third, the right to hear is a vital ingredient of the First Amendment right to full and open debate of political issues.

The arbitrariness of the exclusion was highlighted by the fact that the Justice Department had refused temporary admission in only nine of 5,000 instances, and the circumstances in most of these did not apply to Mandel.

Was Boudin contending that every time a hundred people petitioned to admit an alien, the Justice Department had to open the doors? Chief Justice Burger asked. Although gradations exist in the application of all rights, Boudin answered, the issues in the Mandel case are too clear and convincing to be overruled.

The court will give its decision on this important civil liberties case some time before the end of its current session in June.

Nixon order is threat to Cuba

From *Intercontinental Press*

The Nixon administration has ordered the U.S. navy to protect pirate ships—by force if necessary—from seizure by the Cuban navy. The new policy, initiated in late February, was revealed by the *Wall Street Journal* in an April 12 dispatch from Puerto Rico. The following day, according to the *New York Times*, "senior officials" in Washington confirmed that Nixon had in fact instructed the navy to protect "merchant ships" of countries "friendly" to the United States.

The policy apparently arose in the wake of the *Johnny Express* incident. Last December 15, that ship, registered to Panama but based in Miami and commanded by a Cuban counterrevolutionary with U.S. citizenship, was seized by Cuba. The crew was soon released but the captain, José Villa Diaz, is still in prison.

At first, Nixon tried to make an issue of the Cubans' seizing a "neutral" ship on international waters. But on December 22 Fidel Castro presented evidence that the *Johnny Express* had participated in armed attacks against Cuba and that the CIA had been involved in coordinating such actions. Nixon quickly dropped public reference to the incident, apparently preferring to move secretly.

The terms of the new policy are rather peculiar, even taking their author into account. If a "friendly" merchant ship is threatened by a Cuban vessel, any U.S. captain may intervene, up to and including firing on the Cubans, provided he has "no knowledge" that the threatened ship is engaged in CIA-type activities, or if he has such knowledge but believes the ship has U.S. citizens aboard.

"Knowledge" that the "friendly" ship is engaged in spying is to be obtained by—asking its captain!

An additional curious note is that the friendly ships will be protected regardless of the friendly power's feelings about the question. The *New York Times* reported that after the *Johnny Express* incident, Nixon offered to escort Panamanian ships in the Caribbean. Panama refused, but Nixon ordered the U.S. navy to do so anyway.

"We seem to be going back to the United States as the 'policeman of the world,'" complained Dante B. Fascell, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Latin America. "I know of no pending request

for such protection by any third countries," he added.

Some may wonder how the United States could be "going back" to a policy it never left. In any case, Congress is now asking for more information on the matter. It may be that some members are concerned about the fact that the United States now has a population of 600,000 counterrevolutionary Cubans, many of whom have boats, and many more of whom nourish delusions of returning, gun in hand, to "free" the Cuban people. None of the *gusanos* work for the CIA—just ask them.

It would be rather embarrassing if the U.S. navy had to transfer ships—from the Tonkin Gulf, perhaps—to cruise the Caribbean protecting a ragtag collection of modern-day Blackbeards.

Edith Beauvais

A tragic auto accident has taken the life of Edith Beauvais, a member of the Communist League (Ligue Communiste), the counterpart of the Socialist Workers Party in France. She was 34 years old.

Edith Beauvais first joined the revolutionary-socialist movement under the impact of the Cuban revolution. At that time she was living in Canada, and she joined the League for Socialist Action. After going to Cuba and working there for a year as a linguist and teacher, she returned to Canada and became a founding member of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the revolutionary-socialist movement in Québec.

Five years ago she moved to France and participated actively in building the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR—Revolutionary Communist Youth). After the JCR was banned due to its leading participation in the May-June 1968 upsurge in France, she helped to build the Communist League. Much of her work was in the international commissions of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Many members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance got to know Edith when she visited this country last summer. She participated in the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference held at Oberlin College in Ohio and also attended the first national conference of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. As she traveled around the country, Edith attended various meetings of the women's liberation movement and was particularly inspired by this movement.

Her life was cut tragically short, but her devotion to the revolutionary socialist movement is an inspiration to those who continue the struggle for a humane, socialist world.



Edith Beauvais

Photo from Rouge

...ITT

Continued from page 18

cure cancer. Although McCrone's testimony was discredited, the defendants were acquitted in Judge Julius Hoffman's court.

MRS. EARL L. TYTELL. She also testified for ITT that the memo was typed at a later date. Tytell and her husband are typewriter "experts" who helped in the 1952 red-scare frame-up of Alger Hiss.

JACK GLEASON. A former White House aide in the Nixon administration who is one of several lower-echelon administration appointees implicated at one stage or another of the scandal. Gleason has admitted throwing away a large volume of White House documents at about the same time ITT was shredding its Washington files. He testified that "I just do not recall" receiving word to "start forgetting things" about contacts with the White House on behalf of ITT.

ED REINECKE. Reinecke, lieutenant governor of California, told reporters in early March that he had discussed setting up the Republican convention in San Diego with Attorney General Mitchell last May (before the settlement). On April 19 he told the Senate committee that the discussions took place in September, contradicting his own earlier remarks and Mitchell's testimony.

REPRESENTATIVE BOB WILSON. Representing much of the San Diego district, a fourth ranking Republican on the House Armed Services Committee largely by virtue of the huge naval base in San Diego, Wilson has admitted and defended ITT's contribution—"up to \$400,000"—paid to the Republican Party. A "non-paid" vice-president of a San Diego advertising agency that handles ITT's hotel accounts, Wilson stated that he talked to Geneen directly about the contribution, citing a figure twice as high as the one given by Geneen.

Wilson stated, "To my knowledge there is absolutely no connection between the personal guarantee of underwriting made to me and a subsequent out-of-court settlement of various lawsuits against ITT." (*New York Times*, April 11.)

JOHN MITCHELL. A former Wall Street bond attorney, Richard Nixon's former law partner, manager of Nixon's campaigns in 1968 and 1972, attorney general of the United States, 1969-72. This top manager of the Republican Party issued a written declaration Feb. 28 that he "had no knowledge of anyone on the Republican campaign committee or elsewhere dealing with International Telephone and Telegraph." (Emphasis added.)

Admitting that he had held a conversation with ITT director Rohatyn, Mitchell stated that he was never involved in the antitrust case and the conversation was "entirely theoretical." Mitchell also admitted talking to Reinecke, but if the question of the Republicans' use of ITT's Sheraton hotel in San Diego came up, "he could have forgotten the remark because 'it made no impression on me, I having no interest in it.'" Concerning the ITT \$200,000, \$400,000, or \$600,000 contribution (depending on who you listen to), Mitchell said that "he had probably learned by reading the newspapers about the pledge," according to the March 15 *Times*.

The law firm in which Mitchell and Nixon were partners did business for an ITT subsidiary. Mitchell's remarks are obviously a pack of lies.

...rail

Continued from page 19

gin at the UTU convention last August. In the survey, 87.7 percent of the UTU members polled were in favor of the right to vote on all national wage and rule contracts.

The workers response to the right-to-vote issue clearly establishes their lack of confidence in the union leadership and their feelings about the effectiveness of the union in protecting both their jobs and their standard of living. "Most of the men polled do want a greater voice in their union, but they feel that merely attending lodge meetings will not give them the power to express their opinions and be listened to by their leaders. They want to be allowed to have a voice in decision-making, and they feel that only a change in the UTU Constitution will give them that voice."

The survey indicates that resentment—both toward the union bureaucracy

and government threats to prevent strikes and institute compulsory arbitration—runs deep within the UTU rank and file. It is only a matter of time before this resentment spills over into open hostility.

A tape recording of the speech by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness at the April 22 antiwar rally in Los Angeles is available for \$2.50 from the SWP '72 Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

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BOSTON

VOICES OF DISSENT. The Meaning of the U.S.-China Detente. Guest: George Novack, Marxist scholar. Wed., May 3 at 8 p.m. on WBTS-FM, 88.1. Sat., May 6 at 8 p.m. on WBUR-FM, 90.9.

CLEVELAND

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY AND BANQUET. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Sat., May 6, 6 p.m.: refreshments. 7 p.m.: dinner. 8 p.m.: rally. 4420 Superior Ave. Aup. Socialist Workers '72 Campaign Committee. For more information, call (216) 391-5553.

LOS ANGELES

ABORTION ACTION WEEK. The Los Angeles Women's Abortion Action Committee is cosponsoring with Cal State Sisters United Abortion Action Week, May 4-11. Activities will include:

Thurs., May 4, 7:30 p.m.: L.A. Feminist Theater.
Fri., May 5: High School Women's Day (all day at various campuses).

Tues., May 9, 12:30-3:30 p.m.: Workshops—Black, Chicana, and Asian-American women.

Wed., May 10, 12 noon: Film—It Happens to Us. 12:30 p.m.: Play—But What Have You Done for Me Lately? 7:30 p.m.: Speaker—Evelyn Reed, noted Marxist anthropologist.

Thurs., May 10, 10:30 a.m.: Abortion Debate. 12 noon: Picket—Federal Courthouse. Unless otherwise indicated, all activities are at California State College of Los Angeles. Call (213) 487-7696 for further information.

THE MILITANT LABOR FORUM presents weekly forums on Friday evenings at 8:30 p.m. Some of the topics covered are: economics; ecology; the struggles of women, Blacks, and Chicanos for liberation; the antiwar movement; literature and art; the student movement; trade-union movement; and the struggles in other countries. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information, call (213) 463-1917.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

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Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.

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Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Bookstore open Mon-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Randy Erb, 114 Huntington St., Hartford, Conn. 06105.

New Haven: YSA and Socialist Workers '72 Campaign, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

FLORIDA: Miami: YSA, P.O. Box 2121, Ocean View Branch, Miami Beach, Fla. 33140.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-8776.

Tampa: Socialist Workers Campaign '72 c/o David Maynard, P.O. Box 702, 4100 Fletcher Ave., Tampa, Fla. 33612.

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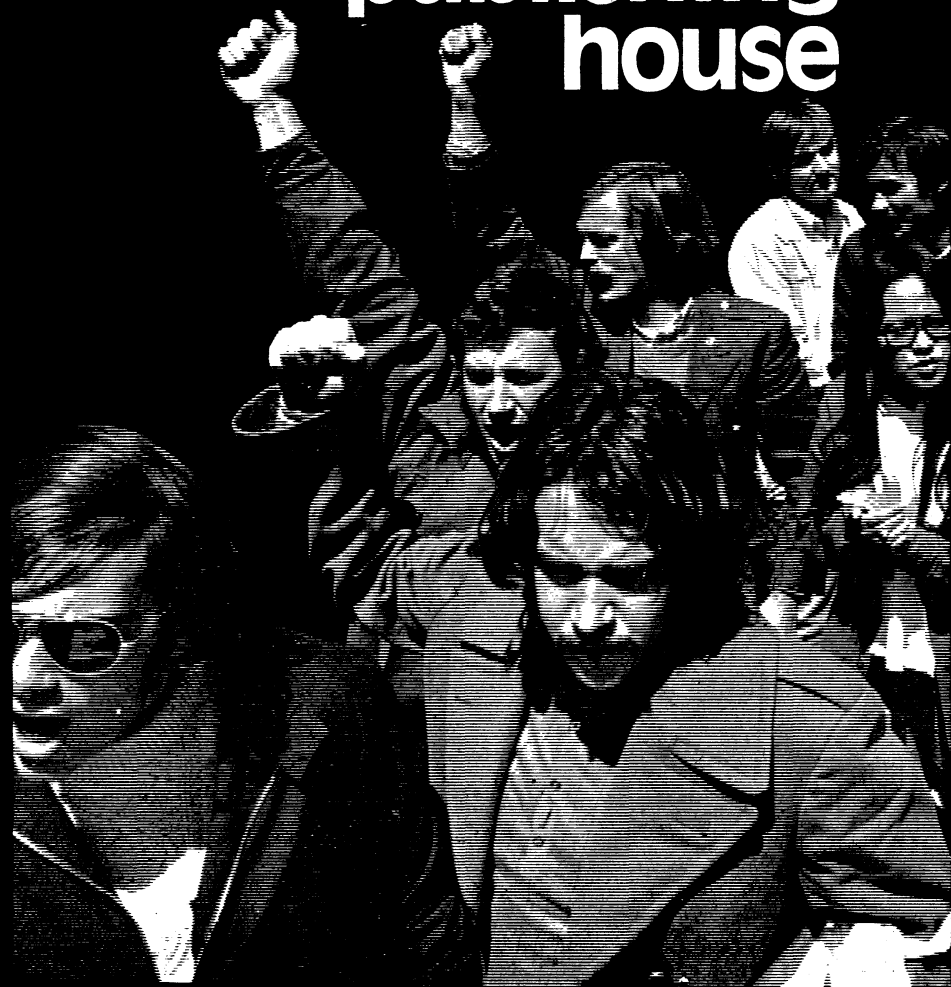
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THE MILITANT

Leaders avoid issues at UAW gathering

By LEE SMITH

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J., April 25—The Twenty-third Constitutional Convention of the United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers (UAW) opened in Convention Hall here two days ago. The first session was devoted to a memorial for late UAW President Walter Reuther and the presentation of the UAW's Social Justice Award to Victor Reuther, who is retiring from the union.

The convention's first full day of business yesterday included union president Leonard Woodcock's state of the union report, a speech by Stephen Lewis, Ontario leader of the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party; a report on finances by Emil Mazey, UAW secretary-treasurer; and a discussion and adoption of resolutions. Woodcock and the UAW leadership are projecting an attitude of confidence and optimism that mutes

social reform legislation. While correctly denouncing the Phase Two wage-price controls as a "farce" and "charade" where prices are concerned and insisting that the war and not wage gains spurred inflation, Woodcock defended his earlier participation on the Pay Board. He paid homage to the myth of the "wage-price spiral" with references to "socially responsible" and "counterinflationary" wage settlements. Woodcock's report commanded so little attention from the delegates that one was moved to comment from the floor afterward: "There is more order in Macy's department store than there was on the floor of this convention during President Woodcock's speech."

The first resolution adopted by the convention directed the UAW's International Executive Board to call a special Collective Bargaining Convention prior to the opening of the next major round of negotiations in the



Photo by Lee Smith

UAW members on May 5, 1971, antiwar rally in New York. Woodcock's report to UAW convention failed to mention importance of antiwar mobilizations.

the concerns most deeply affecting the union's 1.4 million members—speed-up, unemployment, inflation, and the war in Southeast Asia. Their treatment of these issues is tailored to promote UAW support for the Democratic Party in the November elections.

In his report yesterday, Woodcock criticized Nixon's criminal escalation of the bombing of Southeast Asia but failed to mention, let alone support, the antiwar mobilizations it has provoked.

Rather than projecting any strategy for combating the combined government-employer assault on labor's living standards, Woodcock called for UAW support to a hodgepodge of

auto industry in 1973. This practice has recently been followed by the UAW when conventions fall in years when major negotiations are not scheduled. The reason offered in the resolution is that "With the 1972 political campaigns still ahead and with the uncertainties in the national economy, it is obviously too early to set precise collective bargaining goals for 1973."

Socialist Workers Party election campaign supporters distributed more than 500 copies of the SWP election platform and sold approximately 70 *Militants* during the first two days of the convention.

The convention ends April 28.

State bases its shaky case on Davis letters

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN JOSE, Calif., April 25—Angela Davis won a compromise decision from the court today that helped expose the political nature of the case against her. Judge Richard E. Arnason rejected prosecutor Albert Harris's request to submit as evidence an 18-page document allegedly written by Davis. Harris had removed the document from the personal papers of George Jackson after Jackson's murder.

However, Arnason did allow Harris to submit other letters the prosecutor maintains "contain language that is critical" to the state's contention that Davis conspired to kidnap hostages Aug. 7, 1970, to free her "lover," George Jackson.

The defense has charged that the seizure of these letters violates Fourth Amendment guarantees against the seizure of personal papers without a proper warrant and Fifth Amendment guarantees against improper confiscation of private property for public use.

Three of the letters written by Davis were taken from the defendant's Los Angeles apartment on Aug. 18, 1970, by closed-mouth former FBI special agent James McCord, who told the court, "I am not allowed to discuss FBI practices." McCord did let on, however, that he had forced his way into the apartment without carrying a search warrant. "It's not customary to physically take a warrant," the special agent explained.

Another letter Harris submitted as evidence and read to the jury was retrieved by Raymond W. Kelsey, a mailroom clerk at Soledad prison. Kelsey told the court that he found the letter in June 1970 in an envelope addressed to George Jackson from his attorney, John Thorne. Kelsey said that it is prison policy to open all letters from attorneys to their clients to search them for money orders or "contraband" material.

Defense attorney Leo Branton labeled this practice a violation of the

"sacred privilege of confidentiality between an attorney and his client, and beyond that, an invasion of the U. S. mails."

Unabashed by Branton's remarks, Kelsey testified that he read the first paragraph "maybe out of curiosity." Since he believed that it was written by an unauthorized correspondent, he turned the letter over to his superior, Captain Charles Moody. (Moody is the official who supervised the investigation of the murder of the prison guard for which the Soledad Brothers were framed.)

On April 19 Moody mounted the stand to testify that he read the contraband letter and filed it in his folder on the activities of George Jackson—but without notifying Jackson that a letter had arrived. Although Davis was not charged with a crime when the letter was found, it remained in the possession of the authorities until after Aug. 7, 1970, when it was conveniently produced to substantiate the frame-up case against her.

None of the letters the prosecution has introduced into evidence refer to preparations for the Marin County courthouse kidnapping of Aug. 7 for which Davis is charged. They are political letters dealing with the activities of the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee and Davis's feelings of love, admiration, and solidarity for Soledad Brother George Jackson.

In his voyeuristic endeavors, Harris has released excerpts from the letters taken out of context, such as "we too must pick up the sword," and "I dreamt we were together fighting pigs." The first quote, for example, was taken from a portion of a letter entitled "Concerning Black Women," which states that "to take our first steps towards freedom, we too must pick up the sword."

Rather than revealing a passionate "love without bounds" for George Jackson as alleged by the prosecution, the public exposure of the letters merely reveals the warped and sexist nature of the state's case.

This week's highlights in the Angela Davis trial

APRIL 19. Former FBI agent James McCord reveals that he seized several letters from Angela Davis's Los Angeles apartment without carrying a search warrant.

George Murray, an investigator with the attorney general's office, testifies that he was assigned to find material related to Davis among the personal papers confiscated from George Jackson's cell after his murder. Murray found an 18-page document that he attributed to Davis.

Marin County deputy sheriff Mary Ann Brown admits to the defense that she took the typewriter from Davis's private workroom "in the stealth of the night" to type a sample to be submitted as evidence. The defense charges this violates privacy of counsel since Davis is her own co-counsel.

APRIL 20. Jury is excused during arguments concerning suppression of evidence. Judge Arnason sustains the defense motion to suppress the typing sample but allows the prosecution to submit letters for identification.

Nineteen persons who picketed outside the San Jose courthouse last Jan. 31 in support of Davis are found guilty under an obscure California law. The 19 plan to appeal the decision and to demand suspended sen-

tences because of the flimsy case against them. Sentencing will take place May 15.

APRIL 21. Court recessed.

APRIL 24. Mary Borelli is excused from the jury for medical reasons. Alternate juror Robert Seidel, a 69-year-old retired engineer, fills her seat.

The defense argues against the submission into evidence of certain letters Davis wrote to George Jackson and against allowing testimony from San Quentin guard W. R. Sellmer. Sellmer observed the prison meeting between Davis and Jackson and their attorneys on July 8, 1971. The defense maintains that Sellmer's testimony would violate attorney-client privilege.

APRIL 25. Daune Lawson and Josephine Valle vaguely remember seeing in 1970 a woman who looked like Davis in the gunshop where they are employed. Lawson says she can recall Davis by means of the store's sales record. But a check of the sales record reveals that Davis's name is not written in it. Defense attorney Leo Branton moves to strike all of Lawson's testimony.

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