

THE MILITANT

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

Protests continue to demand:

Out Now!



Crewmen aboard USS Constellation push 500-pound bombs to aircraft. U.S. bombers made record number of raids last week. See page 4.

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STUDENT RADICALIZATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: The May 22 Newsweek discloses that resistance to South Africa's apartheid regime is developing not only among Blacks in Bantustan reserves and in Southwest Africa, but also among Black and white college students.

Newsweek reports, "Last week at Turfloop, an all-black college in the Transvaal, student council president Abraham Tiro stunned a graduation day audience that had expected him to speak in ritual praise of school authorities. Instead, he launched into a passionate denunciation of South Africa's apartheid system of separating the races. . . . Tiro was expelled on the spot. And when all of the university's 1,120 students immediately staged an eight-hour sit-down strike to protest Tiro's expulsion, they were promptly expelled en masse."



Newsweek reported that actions were also taking place, on a more modest scale, at some white South African campuses. It cited student actions as a sign that student radicalization was beginning to be added to the troubles of the South African regime.

C RATIONS FOR THE ELDERLY: This capitalist, dog-eat-dog society has long been known for its despicable treatment of old people. You work all your life and then are thrown onto a human scrap-pile to wither away and die.

This situation was highlighted again recently when the press picked up on the use of army surplus C rations being used in Kansas to keep some 100 people on pensions and Social Security from starving as their meager stipends ran out toward the end of each month.

FINGER ON THE PULSE: Lieutenant Governor Ben Barnes of Texas, a protege of LBJ and former treasury secretary John Connally, was expected to sweep the Democratic primary race for governor. Instead, he lost badly. He concluded that he was a victim of the public's desire "to throw the rascals out."

BLACK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS PROTEST WAR: Black high school students in Washington, D.C., organized by students at Eastern High School, staged antiwar rallies and marches to the Capitol on May 10 and 12. Both actions began with morning rallies at Eastern; 400 participated on the first march and about 800 on the second. Signs read "Self-determination for Indochina," and "No more blood on our hands—Black students take the lead."

One student told a rally, "The same people who are dropping napalm on the people of Southeast Asia are doing the same thing in Africa—in Angola, in Mozambique, in Guinea."

Although some school and government officials complained that the students had no right to take off time for the protest, the Black students received widespread support for their actions and are determined to continue to organize against the war.

BLACK CONGRESSMAN THREATENS MASS ACTION: Ralph Metcalfe (C-Ill.) has been considered an Uncle Tom by opponents of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley's Democratic machine. But Metcalfe has emerged at the head of a broad coalition of Black community groups and individuals who are protesting the rampant police brutality Blacks suffer in Boss Daley's fiefdom. They are threatening massive demonstrations this summer if Police Superintendent James Conlisk Jr. and his top cops are not fired. They are also demanding police review boards in each police district and an end to police task force operations in the Black community.

This development was sparked by two cases of police brutality suffered by Black dentists. It follows by a few weeks an independent study that ranked Chicago as the worst of the five largest cities in terms of the number of people killed by police. Needless to say, most of those gunned down are Black; the study found that Blacks are six times more likely to be killed by police than whites.

DILEMMA IS RIGHT: A "public" member of the Pay Board, Dr. Kermit Gordon, wrote an article for the *Christian Science Monitor* a couple months ago called "Pay Board—calm before storm." Among other things, he said "No advanced industrial country in the world has ever been able to achieve full employment, relative price stability, and the maintenance of free economic institutions simultaneously." He regards this as "the grand dilemma of modern capitalism."

WOMEN'S LIBERATION SONG BANNED: The *Chicago Daily News* reports that "Women is the Nigger of the World" has been banned on most Chicago AM radio stations. The pro-women's liberation song was written by John Lennon and Yoko Ono and sung by Lennon. It was released in April.

In response to objections to the use of the word "nigger" to characterize the status of women, an ad was run in *Billboard* magazine that included the following quote from Representative Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.): "If you define niggers as someone whose life style is defined by others, whose opportunities are defined by others, whose role in society is defined by others, then good news! You don't have to be black to be a nigger in this society. Most of the people in America are niggers."

PUERTO RICAN VETS MEET: Fifty people attended the Queens College Puerto Rican Veterans Conference on May 5. Pictures were shown of the bombing of Indochina, and speakers vigorously opposed the war and the forced involvement of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. Army. Speakers included Dixie Bayo of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Jaime Reyes of the Pedro Albizu Campos Student Union, and Richard Garza, a Queens College antiwar activist and member of the Socialist Workers Party.

The conference was dedicated to Jose "Sefel" Verona, a member of the Federation of University Students for Independence (FUPI), who was killed during a U.S. bombing raid while visiting North Vietnam in 1968.

AS WE GO TO PRESS

Twenty-five thousand signatures have been gathered in the first nine days of petitioning (a new record!) as part of the effort to qualify the Socialist Workers Party for ballot status in Texas. Twenty-seven thousand signatures are required and campaign supporters are shooting for 45,000 by the end of May to ensure a place on the ballot for Debby Leonard and other candidates for Texas offices, as well as for the SWP presidential ticket of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.



Debby Leonard

Photos by Howard Petrick

DOMINICAN ACTION: Hundreds of Dominicans took part in an April 29 march and rally in New York to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the April 24, 1965, uprising in Santo Domingo and the subsequent landing of U.S. Marines to crush it. The action was organized by the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD).

The first speaker at the rally was Claudio Tavaréz, representing the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee. He told the gathering how important it is for Dominicans to actively oppose the war in Indochina. "Do you think," he said, "that when the masses of American people turn out in the streets . . . to demand that the U.S. get out of Vietnam—unconditionally and immediately—do you believe that the American people are going to sit by and let Nixon or whoever is in the White House land Marines in Santo Domingo?" The crowd responded with a chorus of "No!"

Pena Gomez of the PRD gave an appraisal of the Dominican revolution, recalling many of the events that led to the April uprising. He also supported the Vietnamese struggle for national liberation.

—JOEL BRITTON

Antiwar students at Northwestern U in community reach out

By DIANNE RUPP

EVANSTON, Ill., May 15—More than 3,500 students at Northwestern University voted to strike in response to Nixon's blockade of Vietnam.

Seven hundred students were already assembled to discuss rent increases at NU the evening of May 8 when Nixon announced the blockade. As news of Nixon's speech spread, hundreds moved to the student lounge to discuss the speech. The rally called for the next day in protest of the rent increases was turned into an antiwar rally and drew 3,000 students.

Many at the rally began chanting "Strike now!" Because Young Americans for Freedom and the Young Republicans had announced their intention to bring an injunction against the university if it was officially shut down, student government leaders called for a strike vote. They insisted that at least half of the students, 3,500, would have to vote for the strike before it would become official.

The rally ended at that point, and about 1,000 students began canvassing the dorms and classrooms to urge a vote in favor of the strike. Other students moved to nearby Sheridan Road, a main artery from Chicago to Evanston, and erected a barricade. Police diverted traffic and removed the blockade at 5:30 the next morning, when only seven students remained to be arrested.

After another large rally Tuesday evening, May 9, the mobilization in favor of a strike vote continued, although many students, including the campus Black student organization, had already declared their determination to strike regardless of the result.

To the surprise of many, the vote in favor of a strike carried by a margin of better than 3 to 1, with more than 3,500 in favor.

Wednesday morning, May 10, 3,000 students marched to the university administration offices to demand that the university officially support the strike. That afternoon hundreds of students marched through Evanston while others poured into the community with leaflets for an evening rally called by students and for the march called in Chicago for Saturday, May 13. Nearly 100 lined Sheridan Road, this time not to blockade it but to leaflet and urge motorists to turn on their lights for peace.

Evanston residents responded, and on the evening of May 10 about 8,000 people gathered at the university's Deering Meadow to hear a variety of speakers. A spontaneous march of about 4,000 followed the rally.

A steering committee, announced at

the rally and open to all, met later that night to discuss the direction of the strike. The 50 people attending the meeting discussed at length the success of the community outreach, the question of civil disobedience, and the merit of using the university as an antiwar organizing center as opposed to simply shutting it down. A schedule proposing various ideas was adopted and publicized on campus.

By Thursday, May 11, the third day of intensive antiwar activity on the campus, students were engaged in a variety of projects. One group went through Evanston performing guerrilla theater skits, and several hundred others marched through the town on a tour of war-related industries. Some prepared letters to members of Congress for distribution, and about 200 others organized a hunger strike.

That afternoon, 300 gathered at Dykes Stadium where ROTC drills were taking place. When students were prevented from entering, a small group called for trashing but received no support from the rest of the crowd.

Throughout the day one group prepared packets of antiwar material and maps of Evanston. That evening several hundred students went door-to-door, urging people to take action against the bombing and the mining of North Vietnam's harbors by attending the demonstration being organized for May 13 in Chicago.

Friday, May 12, was a day of teach-ins. In the morning the biology department explained ecological warfare. That afternoon, a teach-in on both the history of the war and various tactics of antiwar protest drew students not only from NU, but also from Loyola and the National College of Education. Students continued community leafletting, and that evening 3,000 students and residents attended a faculty-prepared teach-in on the history of Vietnam, the war and the economy, and the press and the war.

Northwestern sent a contingent of seven buses and many carloads of students to the May 13 demonstration in Chicago. It was joined there by a contingent of medical students from the NU Chicago campus.

After a rally and torchlight march on the selective service office on Sunday evening, May 14, students decided to end the formal strike, declaring it successful in infusing enormous energy into campus antiwar work. An Antiwar Action Group has been formed out of the previous strike committee to continue research and action projects after classes resume.

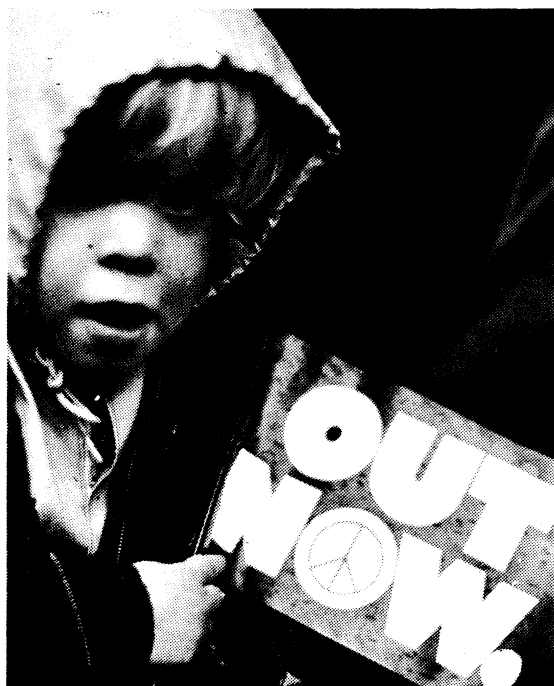


Photo by Lora Eckert

The National Peace Action Coalition-New York will hold a meeting to discuss perspectives for the antiwar movement on Wednesday, May 25, at 8 p.m. at the Local 1199 Drug and Hospital Workers union hall, 310 West 43 Street, New York City.

For further information on antiwar activities, contact the Student Mobilization Committee or NPAC at 150 Fifth Avenue, Room 911, New York, N.Y. 10011 Telephone: SMC (212) 741-1960; NPAC (212) 741-2018.

Jenness-Pulley on Wallace shooting

The following statement by Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, was released May 16.

The assassination attempt against George Wallace on May 15 was another result of the atmosphere of violence bred by the American capitalist system. The United States government is the greatest source of violence on this earth. It is a government that has rationalized and justified raining bombs, bullets, and napalm on the Vietnamese people for more than seven years; stockpiling the greatest killing power in nuclear weapons ever known; brutally enforcing violence against Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities through the police, the prisons, and ghetto conditions; and systematically attacking the wages, living conditions and job conditions of the working class.

The Democratic and Republican party presidential candidates represent

and speak for the capitalist class, which is responsible for these policies that are the prime source of violence in our society. Wallace himself has gone the furthest among these candidates in contributing to the atmosphere of violence against the Black community through his racist demagoguery.

It is this entire capitalist system that must be changed in order to make possible a society free from violence. The Socialist Workers Party is fighting to end imperialist war, racial oppression, and inhuman exploitation—demands that will bring the masses of the American people into struggle against the fundamental cause of violence, capitalism itself, not the system's many individual spokesmen and spokeswomen. Only through the action of the vast majority of Americans will it be possible to replace this rotten system with a new socialist society based on human cooperation and free of violence.

4th Int'l statement on the new escalation

The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on May 10.

The American decision to blockade the ports of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to destroy its lines of communication with China opens up a new and extremely dangerous stage in imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia.

The failure of the policy of "Vietnamization" is now obvious. The Puppet Thieu's army is disintegrating. The powerful antiwar sentiment in the United States and among the GIs blocks the Pentagon from imposing the American fantasy of "Vietnamization" on the revolutionary Vietnamese fighters.

In this situation Nixon, speaking for the section of the American bourgeoisie that has decided to prevent the victory of the Vietnamese revolution no matter what the cost, might be tempted to use every means the air war places at his disposal in an effort to stop the revolutionary offensive: first the blockade, then the destruction of the big cities, then the bombing of the dikes—which would amount to a veritable act of genocide—then the use of tactical nuclear weapons.

By embarking on such a policy, which could lead to the brink of a third world war, American imperialism is also hoping that conservative reflexes will come into play in the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies and that they will increase their pressure on Hanoi to accept a diplomatic compromise that would cheat the Vietnamese revolution out of the ground victory within its reach. The reaction to the new crimes that the imperialists are committing and preparing to commit in Southeast Asia must be immediate and must reflect the utmost determination.

The working masses will never agree to let the spokesman for the Texas oil men prevent the peoples of the world from fighting for their national and social emancipation by issuing arrogant decrees backed up with weapons of extermination.

Into the streets to force an immediate halt to the bombings, the lift-

ing of the blockade, and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces from Southeast Asia! Into the streets to proclaim our unyielding support to the heroic Vietnamese people and our determined opposition to the counterrevolutionary aggression of American imperialism!

Demand complete unity in action between the USSR, the People's Republic of China, and all the workers states in order to break the block-



ade of Hanoi and Haiphong.

Prepare for even stronger responses, for refusals to transport and produce weapons, ammunition, and matériel for the American armed forces in order to harass them in every part of the world in case of a new escalation.

Support the antiwar movement in the United States, which can play a decisive role in stopping the criminal aggression of the Pentagon.

Nixon's action reveals desperation. We must submit imperialist policy in Southeast Asia to continuous blows! By doing so, we will be helping to bring about the victory of the Vietnamese revolution!

Vietnamese resist U.S. bombing, blockade

By CAROLINE LUND

MAY 17—In a public bomb shelter in Hanoi, a Vietnamese officer told *New York Times* correspondent Anthony Lewis, "Nixon cannot understand us. This is the seventh year of the war of destruction. It could last 10 more years and we are still sure we would be victorious. . . .

"We have anticipated the worst and have all the means to face it. Ho Chi Minh said that Hanoi, Haiphong and other cities would be destroyed but that we could not be defeated—he predicted it."

In the May 17 *New York Times* Lewis reported that about half the normal population of Hanoi has already been evacuated. Children will be registered for school next September in the country areas where they are being cared for. Evacua-



Victim of U. S. bombing

tion of nonessential industry and services has also begun and plans exist for total removal of industry and civilians if that becomes necessary. This resistance is in the face of the heaviest bombing against the North since the war began.

The United States command in Vietnam released a summary May 17 saying that 1,800 bombing sorties (a sortie is one mission flown by one plane) against North Vietnam had been made in the week ending May 15. During this week bombing sorties over the North shot up from about 50 per day to at least 250, according to the May 22 *Newsweek*.

The May 22 *Time* magazine reported estimates by former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara that civilian casualties resulting from Johnson's 1968 bombing campaign were 1,000 per week. Most likely, casualties are even greater than that now. Hanoi has charged that U.S. planes have

bombed the Red River dikes and caused heavy civilian casualties.

U.S. mining of North Vietnamese ports has been maintained and extended. The Pentagon revealed on May 15 that mines had also been placed in the inland waterways of North Vietnam, such as the Red River. On May 16 Hanoi radio reported that U.S. planes had replenished the mines in Haiphong and possibly other harbors to make up for those that might have drifted away.

A May 15 AP dispatch told of a further Pentagon disclosure that a seventh U.S. aircraft carrier and at least six more destroyers were on their way to the Gulf of Tonkin, as U.S. military buildup continues. Another antisubmarine carrier was scheduled to head for Vietnam May 16.

In South Vietnam, the offensive of the Vietnamese liberation fighters is almost seven weeks old. Ground fighting was apparently in somewhat of a lull, with the rebels strongly contesting the cities of Kontum and Anloc. The Saigon army—heavily protected by U.S. air power—scored small successes in retaking Fire Base Bastogne, near Hue, on May 15, and previously in an attack near Quangtri city. The Quangtri attack was the very first counterattack launched by the Saigon forces since the beginning of the current offensive. *

On May 13 *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Daniel Southerland reported that the liberation fighters had won a large portion of Binh Dinh province, one of the most heavily populated in South Vietnam and long a stronghold of the guerrillas. Southerland said that the rebels "now control more than 200,000 people and enough rice to feed an entire division of troops for a year."

Southerland quotes an "official" (American or Saigon) source as saying, "In the three northern districts, people loyal to the government try to leave. But people loyal to neither side are happy, because the Viet Cong are bringing justice by eliminating corruption."



Refugees fleeing An Loc

The corruption, disintegration, and lack of motivation of the Saigon army can be better appreciated by taking an overview of its performance in the current offensive. According to the May 22 *Time* magazine, the Saigon regular army is 492,000 strong, while the total of "Communist soldiers" committed to the current offensive is less than 150,000.

"... nonetheless," says *Time*, "they [the rebels] have not only tied up all of ARVN's [the Saigon army's] reserve strength but have also knocked out an ever-growing list of South Vietnamese units—one full infantry division, a third of another division, five infantry regiments, six armored regiments, three artillery battalions, nine ranger battalions, two airborne brigades and three battalions of marines, Saigon's best troops."

In a desperate attempt to head off civilian revolts, Saigon President Thieu imposed martial law on South Vietnam May 10. This enables the government to take over food supplies, ban strikes and demonstrations, conduct unlimited police searches, and close down the universities. On May 14 the Saigon National Assembly voted Thieu the power to rule by decree.

In an effort to whip together his disintegrating army, Thieu has replaced some Saigon army commanders. However, some of the new commanders don't seem much different from their predecessors. Major General Nguyen Van Toan, sent to replace Lieutenant General Ngo Dzu in Saigon's central military region, has a widespread reputation for corruption and for having raped a 15-year-old woman, according to Daniel Southerland in the May 15 *Christian Science Monitor*.

Back in the United States, the Senate voted 47 to 43 on May 16 to approve an administration proposal to make an internationally supervised cease-fire a condition for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. The proposal was an addition to a measure sponsored by senators Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) and Frank Church (D-Idaho) requiring a cutoff of funds for the war and U.S. withdrawal four months after release of American prisoners of war.

The modified Case-Church amendment to a State Department budget bill—although touted as an "end-the-war" measure—is simply a rubber stamp for President Nixon's formula for continuing the war and blockading North Vietnam as outlined in his speech May 8.

A vote on the modified Case-Church amendment was put off until after President Nixon's trip to the Soviet Union.

Ever since the current Vietnamese offensive began, many Senate doves have retreated from even their feeble previous attempts to dissociate themselves from Nixon's war policies.

The Militant gets around...

SALES AT THE RECENT NATIONAL CHICANO POLITICAL CAUCUS IN SAN JOSE, CALIF., included 150 *Militants*, 26 introductory subscriptions, and 297 Pathfinder Press pamphlets on the Chicano struggle. The pamphlet in most demand was "Chicanas Speak Out," with a total of 115 copies sold.

YOU CAN STOP HIM FROM SELLING, BUT . . .

Several weeks ago we reported that *The Militant* had gotten to Omaha, Neb. Last week we received a letter from our salesman there, which said in part, "I regret to inform you that I must discontinue the selling of your superb newspaper due to the fact that my parents, who are supporting me, won't allow me to. . . . I'm sorry for all the trouble I caused you, but I can assure you that you do have a strong supporter of all your political activities. I will be able to vote the socialist ticket in '76 and am in the process now of turning people on to the socialist ticket."

We can report the first result of that "process"—on the same day that the above letter arrived, we also received a request for a weekly bundle of 25 *Militants* from another supporter in Omaha!

TWO FRONT PAGES: Cliff Conner from Atlanta sent in the following comment and suggestion: "I have found the last few issues very easy to sell in the Black community, but I've been selling the back page—the Angela Davis coverage. I think you could increase the visual appeal of the paper if the back page were consciously designed to look like a front page. With a 'second' front page, I think street sales could be increased."

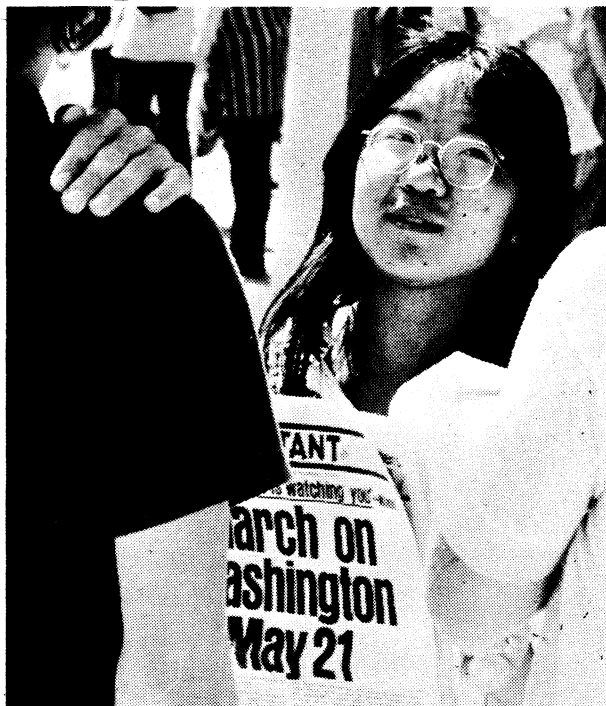


Photo by David Warren

May 13 demonstration sales. More than 450 *Militants* were sold in Minneapolis, 300 in San Francisco, 275 in New York, 207 in Denver, 200 in Washington, D.C., 100 in Chicago, 83 in Seattle, and 50 in Portland according to reports received so far.

HIGH SCHOOL SALES: From the Oakland/Berkeley area, sales director Kathleen Casey reports that they are planning "to work up an in-

troductory leaflet on *The Militant*, attach this to back issues and then plan a couple of days for distribution. We think this will be the best way to begin introducing *The Militant* and thus lay the groundwork for future greater sales."

MORE MILITANTS TO ELMWOOD: After only one week of selling *The Militant*, our salesman in Elmwood, Ill., writes, "Please increase my weekly bundle from 10 to 15. Some friends helped me sell the first 10 around the school and they went fast."

ISR FEATURES ARTICLE ON PRISONS: The May issue of the *International Socialist Review* features an article by Joe Johnson, "Behind the Prison Revolt." Johnson, a former political prisoner himself, documents the injustices of the American penal system and the growing reaction of prisoners against it. When SWP gubernatorial candidate Doug Swanson spoke at the state penitentiary in Walla Walla, Wash., recently, supporters took copies of the May *ISR* with them. The prisoners responded with requests for more literature.

Other articles in the May *ISR* include "Where is the Women's Political Caucus Going?" by Cindy Jaquith, "After the Gary Convention: Toward a Program for Black Liberation" by Tony Thomas, "The Theory of Permanent Revolution and the Underdeveloped Countries" by Peng Shu-tse, and "New American Movement: How to Make a Revolution in Your Spare Time Without Really Trying" by Fred Feldman.

Individual copies can be ordered for 50c each from the *ISR* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014

— NANCY COLE

MOSCOW WELCOMES NIXON: BLOW AGAINST INDO- CHINESE FIGHTERS



Communist Party Secretary, Leonid Brezhnev

By DICK ROBERTS

MAY 17—The Kremlin's treacherous policy of refusing to provide a meaningful defense of the Vietnamese revolution will almost assuredly be capped this week by welcoming the chief agent of U.S. imperialism to Moscow.

As U.S. bombs rained down on defenseless civilians throughout Vietnam, and as Washington mined the harbors and inland waterways of North Vietnam, Moscow issued only the mildest of criticisms. In Washington, a leading Soviet diplomat posed along with President Nixon for the international press. Their smiles and handshakes were carried on television around the world.

Instead of issuing a call for a united front with Peking to defend Vietnam by any means necessary, and instead of calling for international mobilizations of antiwar forces to protest the escalated U.S. genocidal attack, Moscow made it clear that the invitation to Nixon was still good.

"The Soviet Union opened a publicity campaign today to justify its scheduled talks with President Nixon . . .," *New York Times* correspondent Theodore Shabad reported from Moscow May 16.

A leading Moscow television commentator, according to Shabad, explained that the Soviet Union is "steadfastly keeping to its principle of peaceful coexistence despite the stormy course of international events and despite the twists and turns in the world situation."

What the capitulationist policy of "peaceful coexistence" means to Moscow was summed up in one sentence, cited on the front page of the May 16 *Wall Street Journal*. According to the *Journal*, an unnamed "Soviet-bloc diplomat" in Bucharest, Rumania, declared: "The Vietnam problem isn't important in the over-all context of Soviet-American relations."

This subordination of the needs of the Vietnamese revolution to Moscow's dealings with Washington comes at a most critical juncture of the Indochinese liberation struggle.

As Moscow's "moderation" was praised in the bourgeois press, it was also hailed by the *Daily World*, voice of the American Communist Party. "The Soviet Government's statement rebuffing Nixon's provocative brinkmanship is the response the world has been waiting for," a *Daily World* editorial claimed May 12.

"Marked by firmness and resolution, it is without belligerence or threats. . . ."

"The Soviet statement has reassured the world."

'Peaceful coexistence'

The policy of "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism, that is, the Kremlin's policy of subordinating the world revolution to its hope of achieving a détente with Washington, is far from being a policy that ensures the progress of the world revolution to a peaceful socialist future. Washington relies on Moscow's "peaceful coexistence" policy. "Peaceful coexistence" does not hinder the U.S. attack on Indochina; it permits this attack to take place and encourages the Pentagon strategists to go further.

An unusually candid explanation of this aspect of Nixon's policies appeared in a *New York Times* "news analysis" May 10. Max Frankel, the *Times'* Washington bureau head, wrote that "The underlying effect of the challenge to Soviet shipping into North Vietnam, in the President's calculation, is this demand that the Russians share his Vietnam agony as the price of progress on arms control, tempting trade agreements and other agreements that had been prepared for his meetings with Soviet leaders in Moscow this month."

In other words, if Moscow is to get any concessions from Washington on "arms control," trade, or other matters (all the specifics of which are top secret), it must acquiesce to Nixon's escalation of the war. This will give Nixon time to press the bombing counteroffensive against the revolutionary advance.

Max Frankel continues, "While the United States implants its delayed-action mines in Haiphong Harbor and

while the Russians try to circumvent or even to disarm the mines, there will be ample time for Soviet-American consultation and for further fierce battle between the North and the South Vietnamese in South Vietnam.

"If the Moscow meeting still begins on schedule two weeks hence, then the situation in Vietnam will now be a principal item on the agenda. . . ."

"In the name of 'saving the peace' between themselves, the major powers could finally attempt to impose a bargained peace on Indochina." (Emphasis added.) That is, Nixon and Brezhnev would attempt a new version of the 1954 Geneva agreement that cheated the Vietnamese fighters of the victory they had won over French imperialism.

The Moscow television commentator, explaining "peaceful coexistence" May 16, stated, "Our policy has always combined firm rebuffs to aggression with a constructive line of settling pressing international problems and maintaining normal and, wherever the situation allows, good relations with states belonging to other social systems. . . ."

"There are, of course, forces in the world that would like to stop the positive trend in international relations. These forces are not beyond urging upon our country a course of action dictated by the situation of the moment. But such attempts cannot be successful."

Why Moscow is wrong

Leaving aside the veiled threats in the last paragraph—and they could well be directed toward the Vietnamese fighters—there are two main questions: Does "peaceful coexistence" actually "rebuff" the aggression of the imperialists? Does "peaceful coexistence" lead toward the prevention of a third world war, which could result in nuclear holocaust?

The whole history of imperialist counterrevolution in Asia and the Pacific since the close of World War II provides answers to these questions. To begin with, there has not been one month of peace in this region since World War II ended, as one former colonial nation after the next has risen up and struggled to throw off the bonds of imperialist rule. The war in Indochina itself has continued almost without interruption since World War II.

A point similar to the present situation in Indochina was reached during the Korean war. One section of the U.S. ruling class urged a massive escalation of the war, including a bombing attack on Manchuria. But this advice was overruled. Senator Wayne Morse explained why in a highly illuminating speech against escalation of the U.S. attack on Vietnam, Jan. 19, 1966.

"In 1951," said Morse, "the dismissal of General MacArthur by President Harry Truman set off the most intensive study and debate of American interests and objectives in the Far East that has ever been undertaken by the American Nation. . . ."

"If anything like a consensus could be said to have emerged from that experience, it is that a land war in Asia would be a colossal mistake for the United States. Even the advocates of expansion of the Korean war expected to make use of air and naval power, rather than land forces. . . ."

"Any Senator can go to the floor below to the room of the Committee on Foreign Relations and get from the safe the transcript of record which was made at the time of the MacArthur hearing and read the advice of every top military official of the government, bar none—all of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State. . . . I violate no secrecy when I say that advice was: 'See to it that we do not bomb beyond the Yalu, because if we bomb beyond the Yalu, Russia will then move in'; and Russia's air power dominated the skies over Man-

churia.

"That is what most Americans do not know. Most Americans do not know that at the time of the Korean war the United States controlled the air over North and South Korea, but not over China. Russia did."

"President Truman was advised that if those Russian planes took to the air, American troops by the thousands would be massacred in Korea because the only port of exit was Pusan." (*Congressional Record*, Jan. 19, 1966, pp. 666-7.)

The imperialists in Washington were held back from further escalation in Korea not out of any humane interests, not because they balked at grossly extending the slaughter, but solely because they feared losing the war. At that time, Washington strategists could not rule out a significant military intervention by the Soviet Union. This was also a major factor preventing the United States from bombing or sending troops into Vietnam following the defeat of French forces in 1954.

But the gradual escalation of the attack on Southeast Asia beginning a decade later convinced Washington's top decision-makers that neither Moscow nor Peking would intervene in a significant way. They learned with each new escalation and each new probe that Moscow and Peking's "sharp criticisms" were only words. They discounted as insignificant the low levels of military aid supplied to Hanoi by the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking.

"Peaceful coexistence" did not rebuff the imperialists in Korea; they were stalemated by the intervention of Chinese troops and the fear of Moscow's bombers. The policy of "peaceful coexistence" has not rebuffed the imperialists in Indochina. It has permitted Washington to carry out its decade-long genocidal warfare against the Indochinese masses. And the slaughter that is taking place today, the most intensive bombing of the war, belies any claims that there is now "peace" in this world.

These same lessons have to be applied to the question of whether "peaceful coexistence" at least prevents a war between the United States and the Soviet Union. Washington was forced to back off from the attack on Manchuria not by Moscow's "peaceful coexistence" policies but by its military arsenal. A war with the Soviet Union was prevented because the imperialists feared to risk it. Nuclear warfare was avoided not by the demagogic rhetoric on either side but because of the world balance of nuclear power.

So far as the war in Indochina is concerned, it is important to grasp that today the danger of escalation of that war to a nuclear war is *much greater* than it was a decade ago, before Washington launched its massive attack. Every military victory of the imperialists, which, in the last analysis, is a threat to both Moscow and Peking, heightens the risk of world war.

The formation of a united front by Moscow and Peking to defend Vietnam against Washington's attack 10 years ago would not only have eliminated the decade of genocidal warfare in Indochina, it would have eliminated the risk of nuclear war contained in the imperialist attack.

The fundamental error of "peaceful coexistence" is implicit in a remark of the Moscow television commentator quoted above. This is the suggestion that there can be a "positive trend in international relations" if Moscow and Washington reach an understanding. This is not so.

The irrepressible war drive of imperialism, which is proved by the whole history of Southeast Asia since World War II, shows that peace between capitalism and the forces of world revolution is impossible. How can one speak of a "positive trend" when Nixon is ordering more than

Continued on page 22

In Our Opinion

Two dangers

As President Nixon's scheduled trip to the Soviet Union on May 22 approaches, the Vietnam war is reaching a critical juncture. The Vietnamese people, struggling for control over their own lives, face grave threats from two sides.

On the one hand there is the United States—pounding the small country of Vietnam with a considerable part of its naval and air power. As the bombing and military buildup continue, there is no way of knowing how far the U.S. warmakers are prepared to go. The major cities of Vietnam are threatened with total destruction. The U.S. blockade of North Vietnam could possibly lead to the use of nuclear weapons by the U.S., bringing unimaginable suffering to the Vietnamese and the possibility of the destruction of humanity.

On the other hand, there is the danger that the Soviet Union, in a deal with Nixon, will try to pressure the Vietnamese to give up at the conference table what they have won on the battlefield.

Only days after Nixon announced his blockade of North Vietnam, Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Patolichev and Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin came to the White House to sit and joke with President Nixon and to tell him that "Of course the trip is on!" They didn't utter one word of protest over Nixon's bloody escalation in Vietnam!

And these are people who claim to represent socialism and the human values and social justice that the Vietnamese are fighting for. Their performance at the White House does not bode well for what will happen behind the closed doors when Nixon is in Moscow.

In this situation the antiwar movement in the U.S. can play a historic role through its struggle for immediate U.S. withdrawal and self-determination for the Vietnamese. The task ahead is to mobilize the majority of Americans who oppose this war but who have not yet demonstrated their opposition. The masses of the American people have the power to stop Washington's aggression.

Challenge to labor

The two decisions of the Pay Board denying full negotiated wage increases to both East Coast and West Coast longshoremen constitute the most serious attack yet in the Nixon administration's campaign to drive down the real wages of American workers.

The thousands of longshoremen will be left worse off than before their strikes. The Pay Board's ruling cut deeply into wage increases needed to protect workers from past and anticipated inflation. In addition, union leaders had bargained for wage increases in return for accepting restrictions on job protection and on the guaranteed annual wage plan. Now the workers are left with little protection against layoffs or inflation.

The leadership of both the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association accepted the Pay Board's ruling with scarcely a whimper. The officials of both unions defaulted completely, failing to provide any leadership for the necessary all-out struggle against the government's policy of controlling wages and ripping up negotiated contracts.

When the West Coast longshore contract was denied by the Pay Board in March the labor officialdom made at least some sounds of protest. Four of the five labor representatives on the Pay Board walked off the board over the decision, and ILWU President Harry Bridges threatened a strike. But when the Pay Board denied the East Coast contract as well on May 8, longshore union officials totally capitulated.

Spokesmen for the ruling class are now pointing to the longshore wage cuts as a major victory for the Pay Board and for the government's entire wage-control policy. The ease with which the Pay Board was able to get away with slashing the ILWU and ILA contracts sets a dangerous precedent. The government is now ready to strike even more viciously against wage increases won by other unions.

The fact that it was the government that renegotiated the contracts brings into focus the political nature of the struggle that the longshoremen and other workers face. If workers are going to fight effectively the mounting attacks against them, they cannot rely on the institutions and parties of the capitalist employers, including the Democratic and Republican parties.

A fighting policy is required if the unions are going to defend themselves in the face of Nixon's wage controls and antistrike measures. An immediate step to unite and inspire the working class in face of this attack would be an emergency conference of the entire trade-union movement. Such a conference—made up of democratically elected delegates from the rank and file of the unions—could map out a united struggle against the wage controls, inflation, and unemployment.

Several key demands are necessary to confront the problems faced by working people today. One is an escalator (or cost of living) clause in all union contracts, so that wages would rise automatically as prices rise.

Second is an immediate shortening of the workweek at no reduction in weekly pay, so that work can be spread to all those who need a job.

And third is immediate withdrawal from Vietnam—to end this war that is the primary cause of today's inflation.

Letters

Nurses protest war

I think the following is significant and is evidence that the antiwar movement is not dead.

Illinois Masonic Medical Center has a School of Nursing. There are about 80 people enrolled in the program. On Friday, April 28, a leaflet was placed in each student's mailbox and in each faculty member's mailbox calling for a close of classes on May 4 in observance of the nationwide moratorium.

A petition was circulated among the students and over 40 percent of the student body signed it. The petition stated, "We, the undersigned are opposed to the war in Southeast Asia. We believe that the goals of nursing are: 1) the maintenance of life, 2) the easing of misery, and 3) the maintenance of physical and mental well-being. We are opposed to the senseless bloodshed of American, South Vietnamese, and North Vietnamese troops and civilians. We believe that everything war stands for is a direct opposite of what nursing stands for. It is for these reasons that we are opposed to the war in Vietnam (there may be other individual reasons), and we believe classes should be cancelled so that those students wishing to participate in antiwar activities may do so."

On May 2 the director of the school issued a statement saying that "Any student wishing to participate in the moratorium on Thursday, May 4, 1972, has my permission to do so in the afternoon."

Though this may seem only trivial compared to the nationwide strike in 1970 and the observance of moratoriums by giant universities and colleges, not to mention labor unions, I think it is significant because nursing schools are not traditionally known as places of dissent or activism. It is proof that the antiwar movement is still alive and growing.

P. O., Jr.

Chicago, Ill.

'Dangerous criminals'

I've been a reader of your paper for more than a year now. Although I have had and will have my disagreements, your paper is the most accurate reporting around today.

I was witness to an incident Saturday night that reaffirmed my belief in the ludicrousness of this system. There is a school across the street from our house and Saturday night saw at least five police cars along with the fire chief and a fire truck come to the school to apprehend two "dangerous criminals."

These "criminals" were two Black youths who had hit a baseball onto the roof and were trying to retrieve it. The police twisted one youth's arm, despite the fact that he was offering no resistance and was on the roof with no place to run. The two youths were subsequently tossed in the paddywagon. I believe that the police may have let them go after neighbors explained the situation, but I can't be sure.

Now, with the Mafia spreading its tentacles into all aspects of life, don't the police have better things to do? Onward to a just and humane society!

D. S.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Correction

In reporting the returns from the University of Texas Impact '72 poll, a mistake was made. The people who sponsored the poll incorrectly listed the Raza Unida Party candidate for U. S. Senate as Alma Amaya, and *The Militant* reproduced this error.

The RUP candidate for U. S. Senate is Flores-Amaya. Alma Canales is the RUP candidate for lieutenant governor.

Flores-Amaya will be speaking at the University of Texas campus on May 3 along with José Angel Gutiérrez and several of the Socialist Workers candidates. The purpose will be to discourage people from voting in the May 6 primaries and to support instead independent political action.

Mike Alewitz

Austin, Texas

Women prisoners beaten

I wish to inform you and your readers of an incident that occurred recently at Marysville Reformatory for Women, Marysville, Ohio. An incident where the State Highway Patrol (Storm Troopers) literally physically and brutally beat some of the women there who protested the mishandling of one of their sister convicts. I know of this through correspondence with some of the women there since the ending of censorship of mail in the Ohio Penal System.

In March of this year the men throughout Ohio's prisons went on a strike—a work stoppage—shutting down all the Ohio penal industry shops. As a result of the work stoppage by the men, representatives from the Commissioner of Corrections Office were sent to the various institutions to talk with the various convict spokesmen. Demands were made and some concessions were "instantly" given. The men went back to work—a peaceful settlement was made—without calling in the troopers.

However, conditions at Ohio's reformatory for women were much worse than any male institution in the state and remained so even after concessions were given to all the state male institutions.

The women became even more dissatisfied over their seemingly hopeless plight. The tension at the reformatory quickly reached an all-time high, until the spark which lit the fuse. This was an attempt by a matron to apprehend an unruly "girl" who, she thought, burned a hole in a sheet. Other "girls" loudly protested the treatment of the first "girl" by the matron. Troopers came and beat the hell out of a lot of WOMEN.

A burnt sheet . . . the troopers, and now women lay with their skulls cracked . . . beaten with fist and clubs. Satirical? Unbelievable? Preposterous?

Samuel Bell

Co-chairman of Convicts Council
Marion Correctional Institution
Marion, Ohio

Just 'mostly corrupted'

On April 27 an antiwar teach-in attracted 1,500 people to Boston University. One of the speakers was Eric Mann, formerly a leader of the Weathermen. During the heyday of Students for a Democratic Society, Mann was probably the best-known radical in the Boston area. He recently finished serving a year and a half in jail for assaulting a cop.

What did Mann have to say? First, he encouraged people to go underground and to employ "the same tactics as the NLF." He said that the antiwar movement is composed solely of middle-class white students, and that it hasn't accomplished a thing. After some guilt-baiting of the audience, Mann got into the nuts and bolts of his talk. He urged everyone to work for McGovern. With such profundities as "A screw is a screw is a screw, but some screws are worse than others," and "Other politicians

The Great Society

are totally corrupted, while McGovern is only mostly corrupted," and worst of all, "McGovern's strategy as a liberal imperialist and my strategy as a revolutionary communist [sic] are the same—to let the Vietnamese control Vietnam," Mann provided a veneer for the liberalism that was always just under his skin.

Gary Boyers
Boston, Mass.

Irish coverage

We would like to compliment *The Militant* on the excellent coverage it gives to current events in Ireland. Perhaps your readers would be interested in receiving the official wing of the Irish Republican Movement's newspaper, which is published monthly in Dublin and is available in the USA from United Irishman, 37-76 64th St. Flushing, N.Y. 11377. Anyone interested in joining the republican movement can also obtain information from that address.

Bob Heaney
Oakland, Calif.

Religion and struggle

The Militant is to be congratulated for supporting all struggles that lead to an increase in the freedom of the people, whether or not such struggles are consciously socialist in character. Despite the accusations of opportunism from the ultraleft, *The Militant* usually maintains a principled stand on all issues.

One exception, I feel, is found in your April 21 issue. In your "Women: The Insurgent Majority" section, an article entitled "'Brazen and Arrogant' women?" outlines the struggle of a group of Jewish women for equal rights within their religion.

I cannot agree that a struggle for religious reform has any place in a Marxist publication. Religion is an inevitable by-product of class society and will remain until after the latter's overthrow. With the advent of socialism, religion will wither away along with other oppressive superstructural aspects of exploitation.

In the meantime, Marxists should respect the religious freedom of others, but should constantly maintain a materialist analysis, and on no account support religious movements.

P. B.
Providence, R. I.

In reply—The struggle of religious women for equal rights within their churches is not a "religious movement" in the sense of promoting a religion; it is part of the struggle of women for equal rights and human dignity that is sweeping through practically every institution in this country. There are organizations of religious women—including Catholic women—fighting for the right to abortion. Other religious people have formed antiwar organizations.

Any supporter—especially socialists—of human rights for women and self-determination for Vietnam should support and encourage the formation of such groups within the churches.

When religious people organize to struggle for such things as women's liberation and an end to the war, this can only aid them in seeing the reactionary and hypocritical role of the church hierarchies in buttressing the oppression of women and in aiding the ruling class in its imperialist wars.

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.

And if they guess wrong?—President Nixon's communications director, Herbert Klein, said the administration does not preclude the use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam. "We want to keep the enemy guessing," he explained.

What more could they ask?—President Nixon signed into law a bill giving prisoners of war in Vietnam tax-free status on their wages. The law even covers those missing in action and is retroactive to 1961 when, it is estimated, the U.S. began actively advising in Vietnam. Dependents of prisoners and the missing can apply for refunds on previously paid taxes. And still people will try to tell you this is not a just and humane government.

Double the recipe—The Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly bestowed the title of Twice Hero of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Kim Il Sung and officially declared him "the great leader of the revolution, ever-victorious, iron-willed brilliant commander and genius in military strategy." It was his sixtieth birthday.

Nicotine and the nuclear family—It may take socialism and rational human relationships to get rid of coffin nails. A researcher told the American Psychiatric Ass'n that many housewives are afraid they'd lose control if they kicked the habit. One said:

"We are supposed to absorb the frustrations of everyone else in the family and still maintain the image of a superwife and supermother. I don't want to yell and scream at the family and hurt people terribly, so I smoke."

Our ecumenical economic system—A company is now marketing kosher vitamin pills.

Principal told to mind own fornicating business—An injunction was won against a Brooklyn high school principal who banned a school magazine for including four-letter words he felt "would excite lustful interest" among students. Apart from other issues, the complainants explained, the offending words have wide currency among high school students, "and no one in the school would see them for the first time." And, they might have added, those who did wouldn't know what they meant.

Make them leave several times—The Bolivian government said it made a "clerical error" in ordering 119 Soviet officials to leave the country since there are only 40 such officials there. They didn't indicate if the error was made by a clerk or a cleric.

Always criticizing—New York City's salvage bureau sold 470 tons of surplus coal to a dealer for \$3 a ton. Said dealer promptly resold it to another city agency for \$29.60 a ton.

Commented a state auditor's report: "In our opinion, the salvage division did not aggressively pursue the most economical means of disposing of the surplus coal."

It's a shame—A member of the Canadian legislature is concerned because "hippie-type people" in his district are giving their children such names as Tree and Sunflower. He was particularly ticked because some children have been given the name Amchitka. He says it could be an embarrassment to the children later on. Or somebody.

—HARRY RING

DUNAGIN'S PEOPLE

By Dunagin



"And would you like this gift-wrapped?"

Women: The Insurgent Majority

YOUNG WOMEN AND CONTRACEPTION—The U.S. Commission on Population Growth and the American Future has released another survey in connection with its recent recommendations for liberalized abortion laws and access to contraceptives by young people. This study shows that 46.1 percent of unmarried women have had sexual relations by the time they are 19. Seventy-five percent of these women, however, have not used any method of birth control or have used it only infrequently.

In light of this new information, President Nixon's outright rejection of the commission's recommendations shows even more clearly his callous disregard for the needs of young women. Obviously the reason so few of these women used birth control devices is because they are denied by law or too difficult to obtain. The lack of contraceptives hits Black women the most severely. According to the survey, of those young women engaging in sexual activity, 41 percent of Black women, compared to 10 percent of white women, become pregnant.

When Nixon turned down the commission's recommendations on contraception, he said, "Such measures would do nothing to preserve and strengthen close family relations." Presumably, the botched abortions, suicides, and unwanted children that result from the abortion and contraception laws in this country do "strengthen close family relations."

PHONE WORKERS EXPOSE AT&T—Three women employees at American Telephone and Telegraph testified on the sexist and racist practices of the company before a Federal Communications Commission hearing in New York on May 8. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has charged AT&T with discrimination.

According to the women, AT&T refuses to allow female employees into higher-paying or technical job brackets. Gabrielle Gemma, one of the three witnesses, said that women who had to miss work to take care of their young children were told, "we didn't hire you to hear problems about your babies." She said women at AT&T want the company to provide day-care centers.

The women described the humiliating treatment they received from AT&T, including having their home phones

tapped by supervisors. Although telephone operators receive frequent abuse over the phone, particularly from male callers, company rules forbid disconnecting any customer.

The hearings, which are still going on, have also exposed AT&T discrimination against Black and Latino employees and customers, and price-gouging on the part of the company.

THAI WOMEN UPROOT TRADITIONS—The impact of the women's liberation movement is being felt all over the world. In Thailand, where laws and social institutions are extremely oppressive, divorce rights will soon be extended to women. Under present Thai law, only the husband may sue for divorce, on grounds of "adultery."

Two years ago, a group called the Thai Women Lawyers' Association demanded that the government change several laws denying women even the most basic legal rights in Thai society. The divorce law is the first statute that has been modified. The group also wants abolition of the law making it illegal for a married woman to start a career without her husband's permission and the law that makes a woman's possessions "common property" upon marriage unless she stipulates certain property as her own in a premarriage contract. The women lawyers are also proposing a law that allows the garnishing of a man's paycheck for nonsupport of a divorced wife and children.

WOMEN IN THE MILITARY—The 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has upheld an Air Force regulation requiring the honorable discharge of unmarried women in the service who become pregnant. The case involves Captain Susan Struck, who became pregnant in 1970 while serving in Vietnam. Struck is still in the Air Force and has been fighting for the last two years to get the discriminatory regulation overturned. She lost the first round on Nov. 15, 1971, when a court ruled the Air Force regulation constitutional. Now with the circuit court's unfavorable decision she plans to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

—CINDY JAQUITH

Sisters in Struggle is a Black feminist organization in Cleveland that has been active in building the abortion law repeal campaign and other women's liberation activities. According to one of its founders, R. Morgan Hamilton, between 250 and 300 Black women have been involved in Sisters in Struggle activities. On April 25, Militant correspondent Gale Shango interviewed Hamilton about the aims and projects of the organization. The following are major excerpts from that interview.

A Militant Interview

Black women's liberation

Militant: How did Sisters in Struggle begin?

Hamilton: It began as an idea in the heads of six women who came together in October at an abortion education conference at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio. We were all involved individually in the women's liberation movement but not as a group of Black women. Each one of us was very much distressed that there were not more Black women involved in this movement, because we feel it is definitely relevant to us. We wanted to organize, but we weren't sure how to do it. A month later we got together and decided what our goals should be. We put all this down in a statement of existence and we were born.

Militant: What are the activities of Sisters in Struggle?

Hamilton: Our primary activity at this stage of the game, because we're fairly new, is consciousness-raising. We're trying to organize Black women around very specific needs—both as women and as Blacks. We can't overlook the fact that we're oppressed for three different reasons: we're women, we're Black, and we're also poor. So we talk to women, see how they feel about children, the existing social structure, how they would like to see things changed, what they would like to do. We do this primarily through speaking engagements.

We are initially holding informal sessions because we think the best way to reach Black women is not in great big numbers in a hall or formal meeting but right in the living room where the women feel comfortable with each other. So we're setting up informal coffee hours in individual homes of women who have volunteered both their homes and their friends to talk about anything that pertains to Black women. But particularly we'll be talking in the initial coffee hours about contraception, abortion, forced sterilization, and what we can do to better our condition in these areas.

Militant: What relevance does the women's liberation movement have, especially for Black women?

Hamilton: The whole world is in a stage of revolution and we're just one

aspect of a total movement for human rights, for human liberation. But we can't overlook the fact that as women we have some specific problems that must be dealt with if we are to be liberated as a people and as members of a minority group.

In our statement of existence we said we are looking for free day-care centers, controlled by those who use them; for adequate facilities for those who are incarcerated, and this does not just mean a nice, clean jail but educational programs for these women,

medical treatment for these women, special programs for these women. We want inexpensive medical care; we especially want good, decent, adequate prenatal care, so that when our babies are born, they start out on the right foot and they're not already behind in the struggle. We want self-defense for every woman so that she can take care of herself and does not need to depend on anybody but herself.



Photo by Brian Shannon

Black women carrying 'Free Angela—Free Women' sign at Aug. 26, 1970, Women's Strike rally in New York.

Militant: I know Sisters in Struggle is involved in the abortion law repeal campaign. What response have you gotten from Black women?

Hamilton: A very good response. We've learned through our investigations, through our research, that it is Black women who suffer the most from butcher abortionists because they can't afford to buy a doctor or two psychiatrists. They're not the elite who can get anything they want because they've got the money to pay for it. What we want is decent care for our women when they need an abortion, so that they don't have to go to a butcher, so they don't have to lay their lives on the line, so they can go in with dignity to any clinic, to any doctor, to any referral service and be given quality treatment.

We want restrictive contraception laws changed so that our women are aware of what they can do to prevent pregnancy in the first place and so that they know how to use contraceptive devices. And at the same time we want them to understand that there is absolutely nothing that is 100 percent safe and effective and available right now. We would like to change that. We want contraception that will

work 100 percent of the time, that is 100 percent safe, that has no adverse side effects. We want birth control that is always available to anyone, at any age, who wishes to use it.

We do not want our women up against the question: "If I need this abortion must I be sterilized?" That should be a separate question altogether. A woman should be sterilized only when she wants to be and not in order to get a safe, legal abortion.

Militant: What is the relationship between women's liberation, Black women's liberation, and Black liberation?

Hamilton: The two movements go hand in hand, but we must have our own separate women's movement because our men are just as sexist as men in the other race in terms of how they look at the women in the race. The Black liberation movement is for community control of every-

thing; the Black women's liberation movement is for community control of everything. But we must be careful, in lifting up our men and giving them the control they must have, that they do not step on the women and keep them down. The race will not be liberated unless the men and the women are liberated. We have to do this together—we cannot neglect or overlook half of our population.

Militant: I understand that a number of women in Sisters in Struggle attended the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind. Do you think anything was achieved there for Black women or Black people as a whole?

Hamilton: Realistically speaking, I think it was a waste of time. We went there with some definite ideas of what we expected to come out of that meeting. Even though we didn't know the structure, how it would be set up and run, we did expect Black people to be working on the issues rather than concentrating so much on rhetoric. The word "unity" was mentioned 50 million times, but the only unity was the unity not to do anything.

I would have liked to have seen a

Black political party formed. I cannot agree that we are not ready—because this is what the white man tells us—that we're not ready. When we start telling ourselves that we're not ready, then we will never get any place.

I was also disappointed that the needs of Black women were overlooked. Women were put down. There were no women or maybe just one woman elected to the executive council of 50 people. But that's not enough, that's no good at all.

Militant: Does Sisters in Struggle support any particular candidate for president?

Hamilton: No, we do not. We do not because we don't see the party system in this country as a successful way of initiating change. We've watched time and time again as Republicans and Democrats have sold out our people and any other people they could possibly have sold out. They used us to get votes, to get their points across, to get jobs, seats, and money, and then they've forgotten just where those votes and those seats, those jobs and that money came from. So we're not about to support Democrats or Republicans, because we don't trust them. There are non-Democrats and non-Republicans running, but we're not going to support anybody. We'd like to see a total change before we get involved in that kind of thing.

Militant: Do you think the campaign of Shirley Chisholm has any special importance for Black women?

Hamilton: Yes, I do. Shirley's got a lot of guts and I'm for her as a Black woman. What I object to is that she's a Democrat. She belongs to a formal party, and when you belong to that party, it owns you. I'm afraid that Sister Chisholm is going to be used, and I hate to see that coming.

As a woman who has taken the initiative, has declared her candidacy for president, I think she's right on. She's right on because she didn't wait around for people to tell her what to do. She made up her mind and she decided to do it. If she'd just leave that Democratic Party, I'd be all for her.

To obtain copies of the Sisters in Struggle newsletter, or for general information, write to: Sisters in Struggle, 13859 Euclid Ave., #12, East Cleveland, Ohio 44112. Telephone: (216) 249-3606.

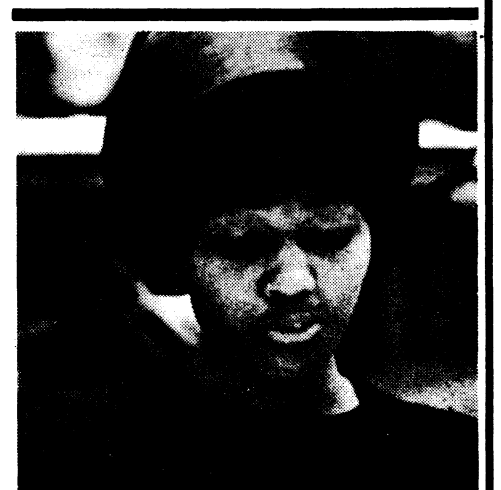


Photo from WONAAC Newsletter

R. Morgan Hamilton

South African feminists speak out

"The African woman is identifying herself with a worldwide revolt against a male-dominated society." This statement was made by Deborah Babiletsa, an African welfare worker, during a seminar on Black women's liberation at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg, South Africa. The April 11 *Christian Science Monitor* reports that a growing number of South African women are beginning to speak out and demand their rights.

South African women must contend not only with their inferior status as women but also with the oppressive apartheid institutions. According to the

Monitor, Babiletsa sees the struggle for women's rights as part of the struggle for the liberation of the African people from the racist white regime.

African women are discussing the relationship between the fight for African self-determination and the fight for women's liberation. The *Monitor* quotes Daphne Masekela, another welfare worker, as stating: "Women's liberation in South Africa means more to black women than it does to white women. The role, function, and responsibility of a black woman has to be relevant to the role and meaning of the black people as a whole." Masekela, says the *Monitor*, "told a symposium

on women's liberation... that the time had arrived for black men to accept having black women act on behalf of the basic needs of their people."

In another development, a civil rights group headed by white women, the Black Sash, submitted a petition to the South African Parliament last year demanding an end to legal discrimination against African women. The petition outlined as "fundamental rights and freedoms" such things as the right to own or rent property, the right to work and freely choose a job, and the right to live where and with whom the woman desires.

Raza Unida Party wins Texas elections

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

The Raza Unida Party once again swept to victory in the April 1st municipal elections in Crystal City, Texas. With the election of two more school board members, La Raza Unida Party now controls all seven positions on the Crystal City Independent School Board.

In 1970, when the independent Chicano party first ran, the school board had only one Chicano member. In that election, José Angel Gutiérrez, founder of the RUP and now president of the school board, led a slate of five RUP candidates to victory. Three of them were elected to the school board and two to the city council. In 1971, two more RUP candidates were elected to the school board.

This year, the two remaining gringo board members decided not to run. Opposing the Raza Unida Party candidates instead were two Mexican-Americans, Emmett Sevilla Jr. and Julián Saldivar. Alberto Sánchez, Crystal City chief of police, and José Mata, both running on the RUP ticket, were elected. The voters also approved a \$2.8-million bond for construction of a new high school in the city.

Raza Unida Party candidates Buenaventura Gonzales and Pablo Puente were reelected to the city council, giving the RUP continued control over city hall.

According to the April 14 *El Sol de Texas*, Sánchez received the highest vote in the elections with 1,727 votes. The city population is slightly over 10,000 of which approximately 85 percent is Chicano.

Earlier this year, Eliseo Sánchez (a distant relative of Alberto Sánchez) was dismissed as Crystal City chief of police. The Feb. 25 *El Sol de Texas* quoted city manager Francisco Rodríguez as stating that Eliseo "was not ready for the changes that we want here." Rodríguez also indicated, according to *El Sol*, that Eliseo Sánchez had not done enough to contain the abuses of the county sheriff.

In February, Alberto Sánchez, who had joined the force after the RUP takeover of city hall in 1970, became the new chief. He is a former cannery worker and has been active in community affairs and the Raza Unida Party since before the 1970 electoral victory. His joining the police force was part of the RUP effort to improve police-community relations.

Another RUP victory was scored in Cotulla, a city of 3,500 just southeast of Crystal City. Arcenio García, director of the Neighborhood Center, was elected the second Chicano mayor in the city's history. Only 24 years old, García is one of the youngest mayors in the country. Elected to the city council were RUP candidates Enrique Jiménez (who ran unopposed) and George Carpenter. Together with RUP candidate Filiberto Ruiz, who was elected to the council in a special election Jan. 8, Raza Unida Party Chicanos now have a majority of the five council seats. The other two places are filled by Anglos.

In the Cotulla school board race, only one Raza Unida Party candidate was elected. Rolando Carpenter, 22, son of George Carpenter and a

recent graduate of the University of Texas at Austin, successfully defeated his two Anglo opponents. In a telephone interview, Rolando explained that the other two places on the board were hotly contested. The Raza Unida Party candidates, Rodolfo Martínez and Humberto García, ran against the incumbents Reynaldo García and Rogelio Maldonado, both of whom were the party's candidates in 1970. Many people in the community felt that they had not done enough to promote the interests of La Raza in Cotulla, so new RUP candidates were run against them. Although the RUP lost, the race was close. Martínez lost

by 132 votes and Humberto García lost by only 61 votes. The school board is presently composed of seven members: one RUP, three other Mexican-Americans, and three Anglos.

Together with San Juan, Texas, this now gives the Raza Unida Party majorities on three city councils, in the counties of Zavala, LaSalle, and Hidalgo. The overwhelming vote received by RUP candidates in Crystal City—City Clerk Teresa Flores reported a 3 to 1 vote—is one more indication of community support for the Raza Unida Party administration's management of city affairs over the past two years.



Board of Directors of Ciudadanos Unidos (United Citizens), organization behind the Raza Unida Party victories in Crystal City, Texas. Left to right: Jose Angel Gutierrez (pres., School Board); Buenaventura Gonzales Jr. (city council member); Francisco Rodriguez Jr. (city manager); Elpidio Lizcano; Julian Salas; Antonio Rios (pres. Obreros Unidos Independientes—United Independent Workers, union at DelMonte cannery.)

Ga. socialist confronts capitalist candidates

ATLANTA—Alice Conner, Georgia Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate, confronted her Democratic and Republican opponents before nearly 200 students at the University of Georgia in Athens on April 27.

The Interfraternity Council, the meeting's sponsor, had originally refused to allow Conner a place on the panel, which included incumbent Senator David Gambrell, former governor Ernest Vandiver, and State Representative Sam Nunn, as well as spokesmen for State Treasurer Bill Burson and U. S. Representative Fletcher

Thompson. However, a number of campus leaders of the feminist, anti-war, and gay organizations protested this exclusion. They explained that Conner was the only female candidate and the only candidate who supports immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia and homosexual rights. The Council backed down, saying there had been "a terrible misunderstanding."

The April 28 *Atlanta Journal* reported that at the meeting "One candidate favoring freedom for abortion was Alice Conner, 28, of the Socialist

Workers Party. She had temporarily been denied a seat at the table on the Fine Arts stage, but was admitted after students indicated they would protest." Gambrell, Nunn, and Vandiver refused to support women's right to abortion when questioned by the audience.

Gambrell, Nunn, and the representatives of two other candidates tried to project themselves as opponents of the war in Southeast Asia. But when asked point-blank by students if they support Nixon's reescalation of the bombing, each of them answered "yes."

Every "yes" drew boos from the audience. Conner's "no" was applauded.

According to the *Atlanta Journal*, Senator Gambrell was irked with the students' persistent questioning of his positions on the war and women's liberation. The *Journal* quoted him as saying later that the meeting was "not representative of the student body. . . . It was more radical than the student body as a whole." A woman student told the *Journal*, "I don't think of myself as a radical. . . . Maybe he thought we were radical because we didn't just sit here and listen."

¡La Raza en Acción!



CHICANO STUDENTS OPPRESSED IN THE SCHOOLS OF THE SOUTHWEST: The third report in a series of seven to be issued by the U. S. Civil Rights Commission states that "The schools [of the Southwest] use a variety of exclusionary practices which deny the Chicano student the use of his language, a pride in his heritage, and the support of his community." The commission report, which was based on a study of schools in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas, was made public at a news conference in San Francisco May 2.

According to the study, there are 1.4 million Chicano students in the elementary and secondary schools of the Southwest, or about 17 percent of the total enrollment. The 1970 census indicated that at least 50 percent of Raza children enter the schools with Spanish as their native language.

A May 3 *New York Times* article reporting on the commission's study indicated that "When they attempt to express themselves in Spanish . . . they are met with repressive devices that not only inhibit their ability to communicate their ideas and feelings but also subtly undermine their pride in their origins." The Civil Rights Commission report stated, according to the *Times*, what has been common knowledge to La Raza for years: " . . . that suppression of the Spanish language [in the schools] was widespread."

The study concludes that "Until practices and policies conducive to full participation of Mexican-

Americans in the educational process are adopted, equal opportunity in education is likely to remain more myth than reality for Mexican-American students."

The reality is that quality education will not come about until La Raza takes control of the schools in the barrio and implements a fully bilingual and bicultural educational program. The only public school system where such a program is being attempted at all grade levels is in Crystal City, Texas. There, through the victories of La Raza Unida Party, the Chicano community was able to take the control of the schools away from the gringo power structure. With a Chicano majority on the school board, La Raza in Crystal City has greatly improved the education of Chicanos. This achievement stands as an example of what can be accomplished through independent political action.

Copies of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission reports may be obtained by writing the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402.

THE GRINGOS CAN'T COUNT WHEN IT COMES TO CHICANOS AND PUERTO RICANS: Last December, I reported in this column how the U. S. Census Bureau had "lost" between 274,000 and 4.8 million Chicanos in taking the 1970 census. It now appears that in addition, they didn't count perhaps as many as 389,000 Puerto Ricans in New York City alone.

The *New York Times* reported April 20 that the preliminary 1970 federal census figures show only 811,834 persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage living in New York City. The State of New York had estimated a far higher figure of 1,051,000 Puerto Ricans for 1970, and Nick Lugo Jr., director of the Puerto Rican Labor Department's Migrant Division, "conservatively" estimated that there were 1.2 million Puerto Ricans in the city. Lugo charged, according to the *Times*, that "the census had seriously undercounted or wrongly classified Puerto Ricans here."

There is evidence that some Puerto Ricans were classified as Blacks and others simply not counted. For example, there are discrepancies in the federal figures issued. The Census Bureau reported, for instance, a population of 1,668,115 Blacks in New York City, putting Puerto Ricans at about half of the Black population. Yet federal figures also indicated that there were 260,040 Puerto Rican students in the city schools in October 1970, about two-thirds of the Black student population of 392,714.

The inaccurate count is not simply a question of meaningless government statistics. The amount of federal grants to the Puerto Rican community and political representation could be affected. A group called the Puerto Rican-Hispanic Populace Coalition Committee has petitioned the Census Bureau demanding a recount, according to the *Times* article.

— ANTONIO CAMEJO

60,000 demonstrate May 13, denounce Nixon's blockade

By DAVE FRANKEL

MAY 16—Well over 60,000 people demonstrated in cities across the United States on May 13 in an emergency response to Nixon's mining of North Vietnamese ports. The demonstrations, called by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), were the prelude to a march on Washington, D.C., being organized for May 21 by NPAC and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

• The largest action on May 13 occurred in Minnesota, where more

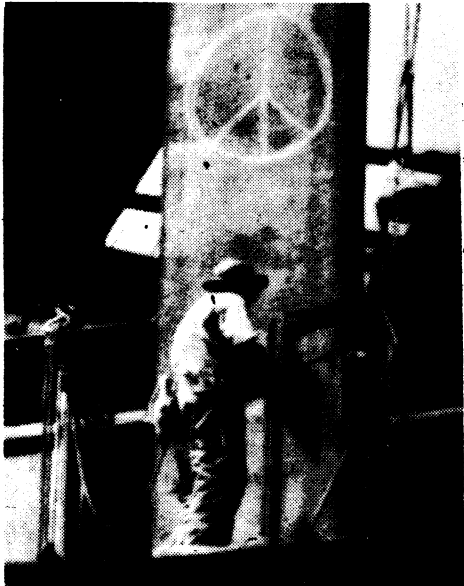


Photo by Dave Warren

San Francisco construction workers registered their attitude against the escalation also.

than 15,000 people marched 11 miles, from the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis to the capitol in St. Paul.

According to *Militant* reporter David Riehle, the march on May 13 was preceded by several days of massive student actions, particularly at the University of Minnesota. Rallies of several thousand occurred there on both May 9 and May 10.

Following the May 10 rally, students marched to a nearby draft board, and then about 1,000 blocked an intersection in a business district close to the campus. Minneapolis police, using clubs and tear gas (some of which was dropped from a helicopter), drove the demonstrators back to the campus, whereupon a barricade across Washington Avenue, a major traffic artery passing through the campus, was erected by students.

At this point, Riehle reports, a full-

scale police riot began. Police charged into the central mall area of the campus, indiscriminately clubbing and gassing demonstrators and bystanders alike. Thirty-three students were arrested and eight hospitalized, including one whose skull was fractured by police as he lay sunbathing on the mall.

Later, Governor Wendell Anderson called up three companies of national guardsmen at the request of Mayor Charles Stenvig to defend the ROTC armory on the campus.

On May 11, 10,000 students rallied at noon to hear antiwar speakers, including former senator Eugene McCarthy.

• In New York on May 13 more than 6,000 people marched from Times Square to the Central Park band shell. A rally held there was attended by almost 10,000. All of the speakers urged a big turnout at the May 21 march in Washington.

• A similar demonstration of 8,000 to 10,000 was held in Chicago May 13, with speakers from the Chicago Peace Action Coalition, the Chicago Peace Council, the Chicago Area Military Project, and the Student Mobilization Committee.

• A march of 7,000 in Denver May 13 capped a week-long series of demonstrations against the war across Colorado, including a demonstration of 2,000 at Colorado State University in Fort Collins on May 11.

Jon Hillson reports that literally hundreds of onlookers joined the two-mile-long march in response to chants of "Off of the sidewalk, into the streets!" and that many people in passing cars raised fists and flashed peace signs in solidarity with the marchers.

• Demonstrations of 4,000 in San Francisco and 2,500 in Seattle also took place. In Seattle the University of Washington football team played its only spring game on Saturday. Thirty thousand people were present, and at half time the team read a statement expressing its solidarity with the antiwar protest actions around the country and its opposition to the war.

• More than 1,000 marched in Portland, Ore., and 1,500 attended a rally there despite the city government's attempts to intimidate protesters. Two days earlier, on May 11, a small group had split off from a march of 2,000 from Portland State University and broke a number of windows. Acting Mayor Neil Goldschmidt used this

incident as a pretext to ban further antiwar marches and to issue a statement urging Portland residents not to participate in any more antiwar demonstrations.

The Student Mobilization Committee refused to be intimidated and went ahead with plans for the May 13 demonstration. Portland SMC coordinator George Kontanis reports that although Goldschmidt was forced by public opinion to grant the permit for the march along the route requested by the SMC, he refused to announce that the permit had been granted until two hours prior to the demonstration.

More than 400 police on foot, motorcycle, and bus surrounded the march on both sides and followed it from beginning to end. Despite this blatant provocation, the march proceeded peacefully. It was seen as a big victory for the Portland antiwar movement, particularly since the fight for the march permit was covered in banner headlines by the Portland press.

• Demonstrations of 3,000, 2,500, and 2,000 occurred in Boston, Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia, with other areas reporting smaller turnouts. In Albuquerque, N.M., where police on May 9 seriously wounded Carolyn Babb Coburn, a 22-year-old University of New Mexico (UNM) law student, demonstrations have continued throughout the week, as in other areas.

Fourteen students at UNM have been wounded by police using shotguns over the past week, and more than 50 others have been arrested. One of those hit by gunfire was Paul Smith, a Vietnam veteran at UNM.

A rally on Thursday of about 2,000 people was followed by a march and candlelight vigil, also of 2,000, the next night. The usually hostile *Albuquerque Tribune* admitted that "Residents came out of their houses and held lighted candles as the marchers went by."

Meanwhile, *The Militant* learned that 17 prisoners at Albuquerque's Montessa Park Detention Center have been on a week-long hunger strike to protest Nixon's renewed escalation of the war.

• Reports continue to come into *The Militant* on the local actions following Nixon's speech on May 8. Theodore Johnson, a reader from Davenport,

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Chicago welfare workers organize against the war in Vietnam

By BOB CANTRICK

CHICAGO, May 13—Approximately 100 welfare workers marched as a contingent in today's antiwar march here. Several volunteered as monitors for the action or otherwise helped in its organization, and the Illinois Social Service Employees union gave official endorsement to the day's activities.

The fact that this was the first time that there has been a large degree of organized antiwar activity by public aid employees in Chicago and that the contingent was built in only four days indicates the widespread outrage over Nixon's latest provocation.

Spontaneous meetings took place in at least three district offices around the city on the day after Nixon's speech. Those at the meetings decided to make banners for the Saturday march and to mobilize other welfare workers to participate in the action.

In the Northern District Office, workers organized a picket line at a nearby draft board during several successive lunch-hour periods. At Garfield District Office a resolution was passed by a meeting of about 20 workers condemning Nixon's escalation, demanding immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and matériel from Indochina, and endorsing the May 13 demonstration.

In addition, Friday, May 12, was designated as antiwar day. On that day black armbands were distributed to the entire staff. A telegram condemning the escalation and demanding immediate U.S. withdrawal was circulated and gathered nearly 150 signatures out of an office of about 200. A donation of 25 cents a signature was solicited in order to pay the cost of sending the telegram to Nixon and senators Percy and Stevenson from Illinois. The funds left over were

spent on materials for banners and posters for the demonstration.

Many of the staff contributed their lunch hours and coffee breaks on Thursday and Friday to producing the banners and placards. An informational picket line on the sidewalk in front of the office building was organized as part of the day's activities and was maintained by about 30 participants for nearly two hours by having the staff members stagger their lunch hours.

Office resources, materials, and facilities were used extensively in building for Friday's antiwar day and Saturday's demonstration. The office conference room and lunchroom were used for meetings and the ditto machine was used to produce announcements of meetings, press releases, leaflets, and a short antiwar newsletter, to give only a few examples.

Labor support for May 21 action grows

MAY 16—The organizers of the May 21 antiwar march on Washington have announced that Jerry Wurf, international president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and a member of the executive council of the AFL-CIO, is scheduled to speak at the action. Wurf is one of the most prominent trade unionists ever to agree to address an antiwar demonstration.

Six hundred thousand leaflets for May 21 have been provided by New York trade unions. District Council 37 of AFSCME is devoting the back page of its biweekly newspaper to the war and the May 21 demonstration, urging its members to turn out for it. District Council 37 has reserved 10 buses, seats on which will be free to its members.

AFSCME representatives have stressed the importance of the legal and peaceful character of the demonstration in the decision of their union to participate in the May 21 action.

A train has been chartered to take about 1,000 trade unionists to the demonstration. It is expected that it will be filled mainly by members of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers Union; District 65 of the Distributive Workers of America; and the Fur, Leather and Machine Workers union. Both Local 1199 and District 65 have also put out their own leaflets on the May 21 demonstration.

Sponsors of the action include senators Vance Hartke, Philip Hart, Birch Bayh, and Mike Gravel; 14 members of Congress; professors George Wald and Noam Chomsky; Americans for Democratic Action; SANE; Episcopal Peace Fellowship; Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam; New Jersey AFSCME; Bob Muller of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War; Victor Gotbaum, executive-director of District Council 37 of AFSCME; Moe Foner, executive secretary of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital union; David Livingston, president of District 65, Distributive Workers of America; and Clifton Caldwell, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters.



Photo by Ellen Lemisch

New York, May 13

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Antiwar activists generally agree that the demonstration against the war held here April 22 was a significant response to Nixon's escalation. It was a militant action embracing a diversity of constituencies, and most observers agree it was as big or bigger than any antiwar demonstration ever held in this city.

It could have been even bigger.

Responsibility for the fact that it wasn't rests with the Communist Party and with the leadership of the traditional peace formation here, the Peace Action Council.

Although it retains only a small fraction of the strength and influence it exercised in the 1930s and 1940s, the Communist Party remains a significant force within the radical community in L. A.

The Peace Action Council, whose active leadership is mainly influenced by Communist Party policy, was until recently generally regarded as the central peace formation in the area. PAC is the Los Angeles affiliate of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

If the Communist Party and PAC had chosen to mobilize their forces to help build April 22, there is no question that significant numbers would have been added to the turnout.

Instead the CP and the PAC leadership did everything they could to prevent April 22 from happening, and when this position became totally untenable, gave last-minute formal endorsement but did little to build it.

Following a broad national antiwar convention in early December that called the April 22 actions in New York and Los Angeles, the National Peace Action Coalition-West went to the Peace Action Council and requested that it endorse and join in building the demonstration.

However, at the urging of its executive secretary, Irving Sarnoff, the PAC steering committee voted not to endorse or help build the April 22 demonstration.

Moreover, the forces Sarnoff represented were not content with refusing to support April 22. They made a serious effort to wreck it.

After their refusal to endorse the demonstration, Sarnoff and several other Anglos appeared at two NPAC-West steering committee meetings and at one general coalition meeting, along with some 20 Blacks, most of them from the Che-Lumumba Club of the Communist Party. Even though Sarnoff was among their principalspeakers, the group declared they were there as a "Third World Caucus" and proceeded to present ultimatums that patently could not be met. They demanded the complete restructuring of NPAC with "80 percent Third World representation" and demanded that NPAC support the seven-point program of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam. The attempts to disrupt the meetings went so far as to include threats of physical attack.

When these scandalous efforts were successfully rebuffed, the "Third World Caucus" disappeared. But the Communist Party and the PAC leadership did not give up their active opposition to the building of April 22.

'A great waste'

An interview with Sarnoff appeared in the April 15-30 *Los Angeles News Advocate*, an alternate community publication.

"PAC's original feeling was that we did not wish to endorse anything that we didn't work on," Sarnoff said.

Why did PAC choose not to work on April 22?

"Basically," the *News-Advocate* reported, "Sarnoff feels that PAC's 'reading of the community' causes members to believe that putting resources into a single issue demonstration and march is 'a great waste.'"

In addition to seeing demonstrations against the war as "a great waste," Sarnoff said he was opposed to NPAC's central demand of "Out Now."

PAC favors the demand to "set the date" for U.S. withdrawal instead. They say they favor it because that's what the Vietnamese are demanding.

A much more plausible explanation,

NPAC for its refusal to support the Seven Point Peace Proposal of the PRG."

The arguments were as false as the boycott call was scandalous.

Consistent with NPAC's position, Black, Chicano, and Asian contingents all related the war to the issue of domestic racism in banners, plac-

Communist Party and April 22 in Los Angeles



Photo by Dave Warren

Part of the crowd of 30,000 that demonstrated in Los Angeles April 22. The Communist Party's West Coast newspaper called for a boycott of the action. The head of the local affiliate of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice said he considered such mobilizations 'a great waste.'

in view of the PAC leadership's support to the "dump Nixon" drive, is that McGovern and other liberal Democrats favor "setting the date" and oppose the demand for immediate U.S. withdrawal.

However, Sarnoff assured the *News-Advocate*, "We want to stress that we're not telling anyone not to go. Some groups which belong to PAC are participating as individuals. That's great. I'll probably go myself."

The West Coast voice of the Communist Party, the *People's World*, had a more candid approach.

The April 15 issue of that paper includes an article that is a prime example of the treachery—and I use the word advisedly—the treachery against progressive causes of which the Communist Party is capable.

It was the first issue to appear after Nixon's escalation. A front-page article began with the usual rhetoric: "The urgent need for popular action in opposition to the increased escalation. . . ." etc., etc.

The call-to-action article concludes with a call to boycott the April 22 Los Angeles demonstration.

"April 22, in Los Angeles," the *PW* declared, "another action has been called by the Natl. Peace Action Coalition. The demonstration has been boycotted by the majority of peace and progressive organizations on the West Coast."

"NPAC, a Trotskyist-dominated organization, has incurred the wrath of many in the black and Chicano communities for concentrating on the war to the exclusion of the critical domestic onslaught faced by minorities in this country. Others have denounced

ards, and chants. Virtually every speaker at the rally did the same. This rounded out and buttressed the central axis of the demonstration—opposition to the escalated war in Vietnam.

Similarly, NPAC has correctly refused to commit itself as a coalition to the PRG's seven-point peace program, or any other, because it is committed to the principle of supporting complete self-determination for the Vietnamese. And for Americans that means demanding nothing less of the U.S. government than immediate, unconditional withdrawal.

Furthermore, to seek to build a demonstration against the war on the basis of commitment to one or another particular peace program serves only to narrow the base of support, not broaden it.

But supporters of the seven-point program were in no way excluded from the demonstration. An entire contingent marched under that banner and that point of view was presented by one of the most prominent speakers at the rally, Pentagon Papers defendant Anthony Russo.

But all of these "objections" were so much double-talk on the part of the CP. The blunt fact is that it opposed the demonstration—as it has some previous ones—because it went counter to its central activity of building the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. And it is quite willing to subordinate defense of the Vietnamese revolution to that class-collaborationist activity. Another factor in the CP's opposition to the April 22 action was its organizational sectarianism.

With the bombing of Hanoi and

Haiphong on April 16, the position of boycotting April 22 became utterly untenable. As more and more forces began joining in on building the demonstration—including forces associated with PAC—the Sarnoff group finally decided to give formal endorsement to the action.

On April 20, PAC joined with NPAC and other peace groups in a united press conference to announce that despite differences, there would be united support to an April 21 indoor PAC rally and to the April 22 march.

While Sarnoff appeared at the united press conference for PAC, his agreement was far from enthusiastic.

The April 21 issue of the underground paper, *The Staff*, reported on the unity agreement and included an interview with Sarnoff. His statement could hardly be characterized as a clarion call to action.

In response to a question, Sarnoff declared: "There is no rapprochement. We haven't gotten together with NPAC. We are simply urging people, because of the escalation, to participate, to involve themselves in every kind of antiwar action—on the street, inside halls, in their homes [!], wherever."

The Staff asked Sarnoff, "Do you feel there is much sympathy outside the movement for street demonstrations at this time?"

Sarnoff gravely responded: "I don't know much about other places. I would say the Bay Area probably has a great deal of interest in the street demonstrations. . . . In Los Angeles I have a feeling that this is not true. . . ."

The stubborn resistance of the Los Angeles Communist Party to building April 22 was not a West Coast aberration.

The Communist Party in New York originally opposed the demonstration there. And while the *Daily World* caved in a bit sooner and offered formal support, it went along with the decision of the West Coast CP to try to limit the Los Angeles action.

The *World* called for support to the scheduled demonstrations in New York and San Francisco, but the Los Angeles demonstration became a nothing.

An April 18 *Daily World* editorial, entitled, "Stop the mad bomber!" said: "The demonstrations scheduled for New York, San Francisco and other cities Saturday, April 22, should be expanded far beyond their original

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On the crowd's edge

LOS ANGELES—On previous occasions I have written satirical articles envisioning the kind of conversation Communist Party supporters might engage in as they try to cope with the numerous contradictions in party line.

The following is a conversation that really occurred; I jotted it down immediately after I heard it.

At one point during the April 22 march I stood on a ledge to photograph the throngs of demonstrators going by. Two men in their 50s clambered up along side me. From their conversation it was readily apparent they were old-time "progressives."

"Look at it, it's really big," the one said. "Did you expect it?"

"Is Sarnoff here?" the other responded.

"Yes, he's up front," the first said.

At that moment a particularly impressive mass of spirited, chanting young people came marching by.

The first man shook his head and said, "If they can do this, we must be doing something wrong."

—H. R.

The following speech was given by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential candidate, at campaign rallies during her spring tour this year.

President Nixon often talks about "democracy and the free world." McGovern talks about "justice, democracy, and humanity." Kennedy talks about a "true democracy," and Muskie about a "real democracy." They all throw around the word "democracy" as though everyone knows what they mean by it.

But what do these politicians from the Democratic and Republican parties mean by democracy?

Do they mean the kind of democracy of 1776, when the colonists struggled for independence from England? At that time the farmers and artisans organized a militia to fight the British, and the dock workers of Boston, organized by Sam Adams, formed the Sons of Liberty to fight for freedom from tyranny.

Do they mean the kind of democracy represented by the struggle of the farmers and workers to make sure that the Bill of Rights was included in the Constitution? The Bill of Rights was only included in the Constitution because the government feared there would be an insurrection if it wasn't.

Do they mean the kind of democracy that involved hundreds of thousands of slaves in the fight to abolish slavery? Do they mean the type of democracy that during Reconstruction enabled hundreds of Black Americans to be elected as senators, members of Congress, and state legislators throughout the South?

No, this is not what the Democratic and Republican party politicians mean by democracy. They are not talking about the participation of the majority of people in the decisions that affect our lives or in the struggle to improve our lives.

The Democratic and Republican parties have ruled this country for more than 100 years. What does their record on democracy look like?

For the past 10 years both the Democratic and Republican administrations have been waging a war in Indochina that has cost the lives of more than 50,000 American men, more than a million Vietnamese, and countless Laotian, Cambodian, and Thai people. The war has devastated the small country of Vietnam, turning its countryside into a wasteland, destroying its rubber plantations and its rice farms, and poisoning its rivers and streams beyond recovery.

No vote on war

Who decided that the United States of America was to bear the responsibility and the shame for this carnage? Not the Vietnamese. Not you or I. Not the American people. When did we vote on this war? Everyone knows that if the question of the war were to be put on the ballot, the majority would vote against it. In fact, the most recent polls indicate that a majority of the American people would vote for the immediate and total withdrawal of the troops.

The American people are not involved in the decisions about Vietnam, nor are we consulted on other foreign policy decisions. The Pentagon papers on Vietnam, as well as the Anderson papers on Pakistan, proved that decisions about foreign policy are made by a tiny handful behind closed doors.

Nixon's trip to China was clouded with secrecy. While in China, he and Henry Kissinger and a few more of his henchmen went into a room with Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai, and a few other Chinese bureaucrats. They bolted the door, started their wheeling and dealing, and the American, Chinese, and Vietnamese people may never know what kind of deals they made or how they played with the lives of millions of people.

That's not democracy. Democracy means that people participate in *all* aspects of government. The American people have not chosen to be citizens of a country that is siding against the struggles of the Irish, the Bengalis, the heroic Palestinian Arabs. We have not chosen to be citizens of a country that is seen around the world as reactionary, that crushed struggles for independence, engages in counterinsurgency, and aids military dictatorships.

(When President Nixon was asked by a reporter whether he was going to send a representative to General Thieu's inauguration, since the election was obviously a farce, Nixon said: "Let me say in that respect that if the United States followed the practice of not sending representatives to inaugurations unless the President or Prime Minister was there as a result of a contested election, we would only have one-third as many delegations to send, and we wouldn't want to do that!")

Not only are the American people not involved in determining foreign policy, but our civil liberties are continually being abridged as well.

There was an article in the *Christian Science Monitor* recently that explained exactly where former attorney general Mitchell stands on this aspect of democracy, the question of civil liberties. Mitchell said that the government has "inherent power to halt publication of articles by newspapers based on secret papers from the government."

Mitchell also thinks that this "inherent power" of government includes the right to use electronic eavesdropping, preventive detention, and the no-knock police raids. In other words, Mitchell thinks that the U.S. government has the "inherent right" to snoop and pry into the lives of Americans.

J. Edgar Hoover, who headed the FBI for nearly 50 years of both Republican and Democratic administrations, left records of more than 25 million Americans who he thought "should be watched."

And then Nixon appointed William Rehnquist to the Supreme Court—a man who fully supports spending our tax money for all this sneaking around and spying on people.

But democracy involves more than the question of civil liberties and deciding on foreign policy. Democracy should also mean having a say over the economic, social, and political aspects of our lives.

For example, last November the Price Commission appointed by Nixon said that landlords could raise rents. That meant that millions of us who live in apartments woke up one morning to find our rents raised without having been consulted about it in any way.

How about the Pay Board? The Pay Board, appointed by Nixon and supported by all the presidential hopefuls in the Democratic Party, at first consisted of five representatives of business, five of labor, and five of the "public." Then, when four of the labor members resigned, Nixon reconstituted it as a "public" board.

But who is this "public"? The vast majority of people in this country work for a living. We don't own factories, we don't own the machinery or the trains and airplanes. All we have are minds and bodies to sell for a wage or a salary. That's why working people have traditionally been called "hired hands"—because that's how the capitalists view us, as a pair of hands to do their work. Now they hire some of our brains also to help them make more profits.

There are basically three classes of people in our society today. First, there are the big businessmen, the bankers, the millionaires. This is the capitalist class. Second, there is a relatively small group of small businessmen, farmers, lawyers, doctors, and others like that. And third, there are the working people, who are about 80 percent of the population between the age of 18 and 65.

So who is this "public" that is represented on the Pay Board? Is it some new class of people we don't know about or some creatures from outer space?

This Pay Board is a farce. We all know that the so-called public board sides with big business, and that is Nixon's intention. But even if they wanted to make the Pay Board *seem* democratic, even if they wanted it to at least formally reflect the real character of American society, it should have 12 labor representatives on it and three businessmen.

Congress a farce

The Congress of the United States is an even greater farce. It doesn't represent the working people—Black, white, Puerto Rican, Chicanó, male or female. Listen to the composition of the House of Representatives. There are 236 lawyers, 145 businessmen and bankers, 61 educators, 36 farmers (and by farmers they don't mean people who work on farms; they mean people like the governor of Georgia, who is a millionaire peanut farmer, or Senator Eastland, who calls himself a farmer), and 36 journalists. In the Senate there are 65 lawyers, 27 businessmen and bankers, 13 farmers, 11 educators, and seven journalists. (Some senators and representatives listed more than one occupation.)

Not one auto or steel worker, not one domestic worker, not one farm worker, not one nurse, not one sanitation worker, not one GI.

The Socialist Workers Party doesn't run people for public office who are businessmen and bankers. We run people like Andrew Pulley, a railroad switchman. They're not stuffed-shirt lawyers or gentlemen farmers.

Can you imagine sitting down with Nixon or Muskie or Kennedy or Humphrey or McGovern over a beer, and then grabbing a sandwich and going to a movie? What could you talk to them about? Just think how uncomfortable you'd be. Those people are not part of real life as the majority of Americans know it. They don't know any-

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY SPEECH BY LINDA JENNESS

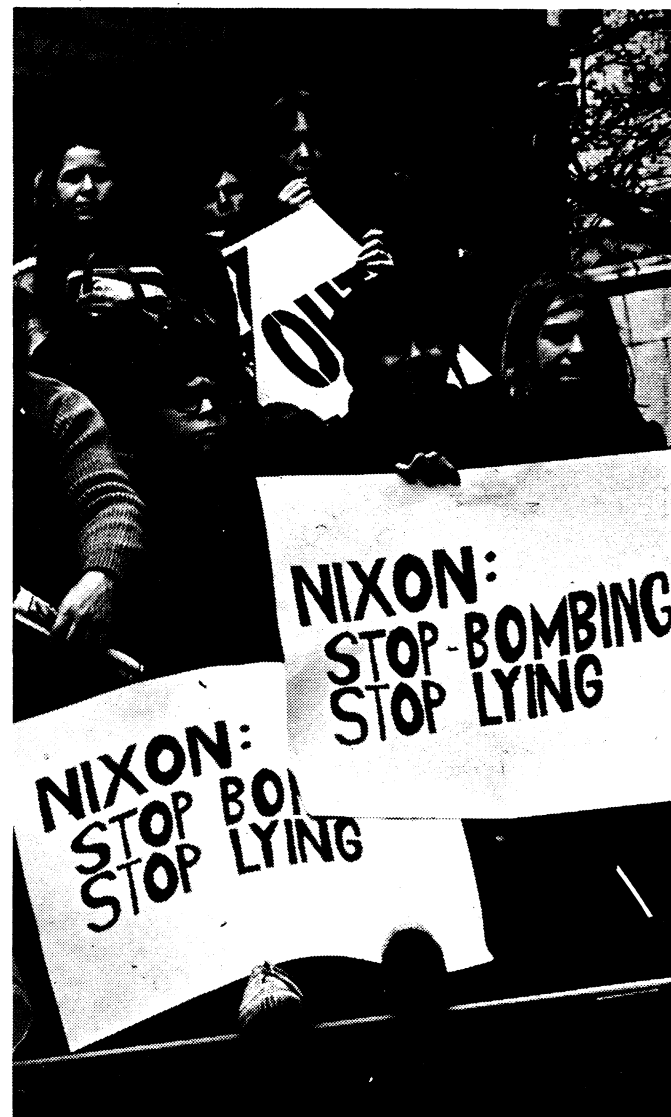


Photo by Ellen Lemisch

The American people were not consulted on Vietnam war.

thing about how we live. That's not true with the Socialist Workers Party candidates; we're part of the real world of American people.

Working people in this country can't afford to run for office. The capitalists spend millions of dollars to get their candidates elected. And they even tried this year to pass a bill in Congress to give still more money to the capitalist politicians to run their campaigns. And from the pockets of the taxpayers, no less.

In addition, the election laws make it difficult, if not impossible, for independent candidates and minority parties to get on the ballot. And even when we do meet all the requirements, we often are arbitrarily kicked off the ballot.

You have to be 25 to run for Congress, 30 to run for the Senate, and 35 to run for president and vice-president. That means a very large percentage of the youth is excluded from the ballot. Prisoners can't vote. Spanish-speaking people are given a ballot totally in English. The elections in this country are undemocratic from top to bottom.

No vote on pollution

The pollution of our environment is another example of the lack of democracy in this country. Day in and day out, the Americans who live in the metropolitan areas have to face miserable, unsafe, unhealthy pollution. The average person wakes up in the morning feeling a little nauseous. He or she then breathes the equivalent of two packs of cigarettes a day in polluted air. The food we put on our table could have anything from mercury to botulism. Water—recycled from a polluted river—leaves little brown specks in the bottom of the glass. And at the end of the day we go to bed coughing.

None of these things are under our control and many of us feel that there is nothing we can do

ISM & RACY DA JENNESS



Photo by Howard Petrick

Capitalism means no democratic control over pollution created by big business.

about it. (And then, to add insult to injury, the *New York Times* recently called it a big victory when the Senate Public Works Committee reported that they are going to try to end water pollution by 1995!)

Women aren't permitted to decide when and if to have children because of the abortion laws. And because we can't make that decision, we can't decide for ourselves on other things—like our jobs or careers, our education, or whether to participate in the social and political life of our country.

Black people aren't allowed to decide what kind of education their children are going to get because they don't control their own schools.

Chicanos are not allowed to speak Spanish in the schools.

Gay people can't decide their private sexual lives.

Teachers are forced to teach things that are not true or relevant, and their talents are used to mold youth into accepting the status quo. Just think how a young woman teacher must feel when she picks up the *Oxford History of the American People* to tell her students about the role of women in society and finds a tiny section on the women's rights movement under the heading "Bootlegging and Other Sports."

Many artists in this society, unless they are very famous, cannot eke out a subsistence without selling their artistic talents to produce lies on billboards or TV commercials.

Workers, whether computer operators or auto workers, help produce or distribute products. But they have no control over what product is produced, or whether the product is the best that could be produced, or what happens to the product after it is produced. They are completely alienated from the activity in which they spend most of their waking hours.

There are more than six million people unem-

ployed today. The capitalist system requires businessmen to periodically cut back on production and lay off workers. The workers aren't consulted about the fact that their way of living is taken from them.

A person can go to work one morning and find out that the employer has ordered some new labor-saving equipment, or has merged with another company, and 'doesn't need as many workers. His or her job is gone, but they weren't asked. They aren't offered another job. They are just told, "Here's a few weeks' unemployment pay. Good-bye and good luck."

Just think of the millions of creative ideas that are lost every day because of this insecurity, this lack of control, this alienation. Someone working in an electronics factory who has an idea for making an article better or for saving some work doesn't dare propose it because it might mean that his or her job will be replaced.

It's the workers themselves who have the very best ideas about their jobs—ideas on how to make something taste better, or run better, or be more attractive or sturdy, or making working conditions safer. These ideas are not heard or taken into account. The creative energy of the millions of people who work in our society is simply snuffed out.

What socialists want

What socialists are struggling for is democracy in all aspects of life. That is what we mean by democracy. Many people think that what socialists want is to expropriate the industries and big factories. That's true. We want them taken out of the hands of the tiny minority of capitalists who presently own them.

But we want to do much more than that. We want secretaries, janitors, miners, factory workers—all types of workers—to have democratic control over what they produce and their working conditions. The type of government we want is a national council truly representative of working people—consisting of democratically elected delegates from the factories, offices, hospitals, schools, department stores, and every other place where people work. What we mean by democracy is people having a voice in all areas of their lives, including their jobs—not just the right to vote for a businessman or lawyer every two or four years.

On my tours around the country I am continually asked: "How can we be sure that a socialist society would establish this kind of democracy and what would it look like?"

First of all, we have to admit that we don't have a blueprint for socialist society. We have no crystal ball to see the future in all its details.

But there are some things we do know. We know that things are getting worse in our society. We know that the quality of life is deteriorating and that people are beginning to fight back. And as people fight back, through many forms of direct action, we see the expression of the kind of democracy that socialists are talking about. We see people fighting to change the world by gaining control of it.

Women are fighting for participation and control. Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos are fighting for participation and control, and we are seeing a change in the thinking of working people. Many are beginning to see that we can't have democratic control as long as the capitalists and their political parties are in power. They have to be kicked out before there can be democracy in this country.

It has been shown time and time again in revolutionary struggles that as the mass movements grow, their organizations become new forms of democracy. And as those forms emerge, they become the alternative government, existing side by side with the capitalist government. And when that situation occurs, there is the possibility of a revolution.

During the huge general strikes in May-June 1968 in France, action committees were formed in the high schools, on the campuses, and in the factories. These action committees were broader than the unions and involved more people.

In May 1970 when Nixon invaded Cambodia, the largest student strike in American history occurred. Strike committees were formed on the campuses. These strike committees held mass planning meetings, sometimes involving thousands of students, that assumed responsibility for many of the functions of the university. They utilized the facilities of the universities to build the anti-war movement. In some areas these high school and university committees elected representatives to city-wide strike committees. For example, in Chicago a city-wide strike committee had 1,500 representatives—two from each of 750 schools.

It's these types of democratic formations, coming out of the mass movements, that will develop among all sectors of the population as their struggles develop. These organizations will develop on

a local, regional, and national scale—becoming national congresses or councils, or whatever they will be called.

What guarantee do we have that a socialist society will be democratic? No sure-fire guarantee. But we do know that the force that is capable of organizing a mass movement, that can overturn capitalist rule, is the same force that is going to ensure the development of, and the continuation of, democracy. And that force is the mobilized power of the masses of American people.

Workers take over

Sometimes people say to me, "Well, the American workers aren't capable of running society. They don't have any experience or training in running a society."

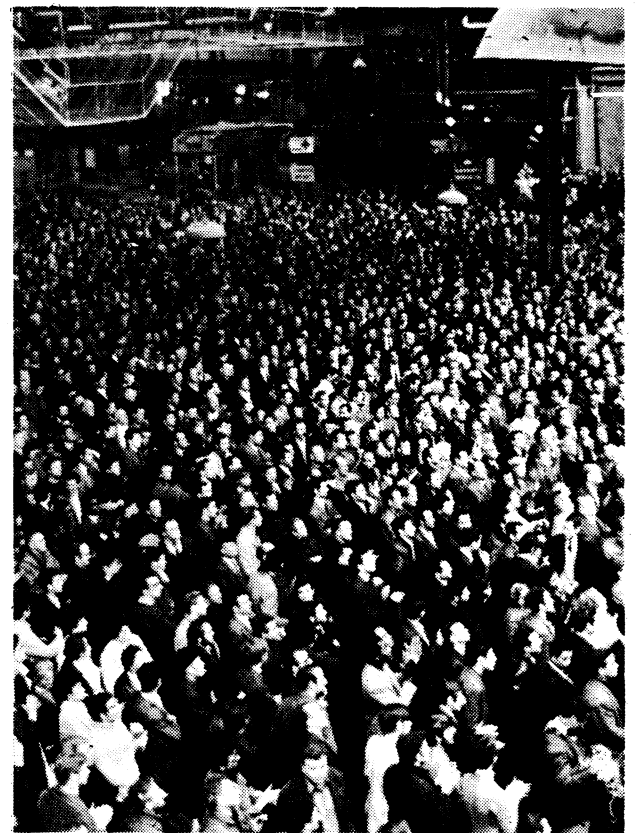
Just the opposite is true! It is the working people who know best how to run society.

Take for example Operation Price Watch set up by the AFL-CIO in New York City. This is an independent committee set up by the union to monitor the post-freeze price increases. If Operation Price Watch were developed to its fullest extent, it would mean that in New York City there would be an army of workers several million strong that would know if the prices were raised. The meat cutters know if extra fat is going into a piece of meat. The cooks and waitresses know if smaller portions are being served. The retail sales and stock workers know if packaging is being manipulated. Who could possibly know better how to administer a price watch than working people?

But they haven't been asked. Instead, Nixon appoints a Price Board composed of seven people from this nonexistent class he calls "the public."

The people of America can run society in all aspects. That's what democracy means, and that's what socialists are fighting for. That's the goal we offer young people in this election campaign. That's the vision revolutionary socialists have fought for—for more than 100 years.

Marx and Engels wrote the following in the *Communist Manifesto*: "All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority."



Ten million French workers and students struck in 1968 and 'Action Committees' in many factories and schools assumed control. Full democracy includes workers' control over production and working conditions.

Ever since that time, socialists have believed that socialism and democracy are inseparable; they go hand in hand.

I would urge those of you here tonight who have not yet joined the socialist movement to compare our program and our view of democracy with that of any Democratic or Republican party politician. They have no plan for democracy, no program for democracy, and no conception of what democracy means.

It's socialism that means the unleashing of unimaginable creativity, involvement, participation, discussion, and debate. Socialism means democracy, and that is one of the reasons we are running against the Democrats and Republicans in the 1972 elections. I hope that you will become part of the struggle to bring about that democracy by joining the Young Socialist Alliance or the Socialist Workers Party.

'72 Socialist Campaign

A reporter for the *Cleveland Press* interviewed participants in a recent antiwar rally in Cleveland to determine how youth would be voting in the upcoming elections. His conclusion appeared in the May 1 issue of the paper:

"Most of those polled at the peace rally indicated they would support Socialist Workers Party candidate Linda Jenness. . . .

"She's the most consistent candidate for peace," said Bruce Marcus, 23, of East-Cleveland, rally organizer. "McGovern thinks he's got the war issue all his own, but he has voted for every major war appropriation measure in Congress. I can't support him."

"Pam Gordon, 18, a student at Cleveland Heights High School and a registered voter, said she believes young people will swing the balance in the election. She said she, too, will support Linda Jenness."

The article also quoted a reluctant McGovern supporter: "If it's between McGovern and Nixon, I'll vote for McGovern. But he's just your everyday liberal, nothing more."

Ron Ridenour, a reporter for The Los Angeles News Advocate, comments favorably in the paper's May 1-15 issue on an interview he had with Linda Jenness:

"Linda Jenness, 31-year-old Socialist Workers' party candidate for president, had just arrived at the SWP hall after delivering one of the best received speeches at the large and militant anti-war demonstration April 22 when a gawky teenage girl rushed toward her, beaming."



Photo by Walter Lippmann

Linda Jenness addressing April 22 antiwar rally in Los Angeles.

"Can I shake your hand," the youthful radical excitedly asked. . . . Jenness shook her hand and spoke with her for several moments as a gathering crowd pressed around them.

"... observers were surprised at the enthusiastic reception Linda Jenness generated at MacArthur Park last month. Her militant anti-war speech made even the most severe leftist critics take notice.

"Maoists, CPers and independents alike listened intently as she said:

"... The Vietnamese people are not our enemy. Our enemy sleeps in the White House; our enemy meets in the Pentagon; our enemy sits in the Congressional Chambers; and our enemy is this rotten corrupt degen-

erate, racist system that is run by big business!"

"The mainly young and radical demonstrators, numbering some 20,000 at the rally, roared with applause. Chicanos and Latins were pleased when she spoke at length in articulate Spanish. . . ."

North Country, a Portland, Maine, underground paper, printed in its March 2 issue a two-page response by YSJPer Bruce Kimball to a previously published article that praised Senator George McGovern. Kimball notes in the article:

"Linda Jenness has time and again challenged George McGovern to a debate—something that a man who 'has never shied away from taking a stand on the great questions of conscience' should be happy to do. He consistently refuses to do so, calling her a 'kook', 'too young', 'not in the same party', or sometimes claiming that he has never heard of her. Dissent outside of the two-party system is something George McGovern doesn't want to deal with."

The April 24 issue of The Scarlet, Clark University (Massachusetts) student newspaper, quotes Andrew Pulley on the futility of voting for capitalist politicians:

"People think that these politicians will do something about the war. McGovern because of the nature of his 'heart', Kennedy because he's a Catholic, and Nixon because he's a pacifist. I don't think so."

Pulley's speech accepting the SWP vice-presidential nomination is being serialized in Philadelphia's largest Black newspaper, The Philadelphia Tribune. In the first half of the speech, printed in the March 21 issue, Pulley states:

"The absence of an independent Black political party has allowed the Democratic and Republican parties to keep a hold on the Black communities.

"They have used Black capitalist politicians to get votes, while the conditions in education, housing and employment continue to deteriorate."

Linda Jenness polled 63 votes, placing ninth out of 22 candidates, in the CHOICE '72 presidential preference poll held April 26 at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale. A similar poll taken at Stanislaus State College in Turlock, Calif., gave her 14 votes—eleventh in a field of 19 candidates.

"The Fight Against Wage Controls and Inflation—A Program for Labor" is now available from the SWP Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. The brochure costs \$1 per 100 copies. Single copies are free.

A member of Women for a New World in Oswego, N.Y., recently wrote to the national campaign office:

"You have generated our interest in the Socialist Workers Party. We will promote your campaign for Jenness and Pulley. To this end, we will sell The Militant, and distribute brochures. Speakers and candidates would be most welcome. . . ."

YSJP teams visited 26 states this spring

By JANICE LYNN

NEW YORK—During February, March, and April, six national teams of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley traveled throughout the country. Each team was on the road an average of eight weeks, gathering support for the SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

Thousands of dollars contributed by campaign supporters enabled the teams to cover almost 30,000 miles and visit 104 campuses in 26 states.

During their travels, the teams signed up a total of 1,698 new endorsers of the SWP campaign. Four thousand single copies of *The Militant* were sold, in addition to 425 introductory subscriptions to *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*, and 23 one-year *Militant* subs.

Campaign supporters on more than 30 campuses formed active YSJP chapters as a result of the teams' visits.

The most popular piece of campaign literature was "Everything you always wanted to know about George McGovern . . ." which was purchased by a total of 1,445 people. Radical book and pamphlet sales netted \$1,114.77. Two hundred twenty-four copies of Peter Camejo's "How to Make a Revolution in the U.S." were sold, and the teams also reported selling 100 copies of *Intercontinental Press*, a publication especially attractive to foreign students.

Shelia Ostrow, captain of the Midwest YSJP team, commented, "One of the things that impressed me the most was that even in small towns in the Midwest, young people were really looking for an alternative. They were disgusted with what they saw around them and many were quickly losing faith in the Democratic and Republican politicians. Many students had not heard of Jenness and Pulley before, but after they had read our literature, they would return to our table and sign up to endorse the campaign."

"Not since the time of Debs' Red Special have so many people been reached by socialist ideas," remarked Henry Scheer, captain of the Southwest YSJP team. (The Red Special was the name given a train rented by the Socialist Party for the last few months of Eugene V. Debs' presidential campaign in 1908. The train carried Debs and a crew of campaign workers from coast to coast).

Louise Halverson, also of the Southwest team, reported, "We signed up 408 new endorsers of the Jenness-Pulley campaign, including 110 people at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque."

Some of the campaign supporters the team encountered asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance, the revolutionary-socialist youth organization.

"Three people paid us their \$2 initiation fee and \$2 first month's dues to join the YSA," continued Halverson, "and many more people expressed interest in joining as soon as they could."

The Northwest YSJP team also met people who wanted to join the YSA. Susan Welch, team captain, reported, "As a result of our efforts, six people have joined the YSA in Arcata and Eureka, Calif.; Pullman and Spokane, Wash.; and Reno, Nevada."

Team member Val Moller added, "During our visit to the University of Idaho in Moscow, we met people who agreed to be presidential electors and to help petition to get the SWP

on the Idaho ballot."

One of the most successful aspects of the Northwest team's work was the \$325 in honorariums raised by speaking engagements on campuses in the region.

John Hawkins was the captain of the Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley team, which visited 18 Black campuses in eight southern states and also attended the March 10-12 National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind.

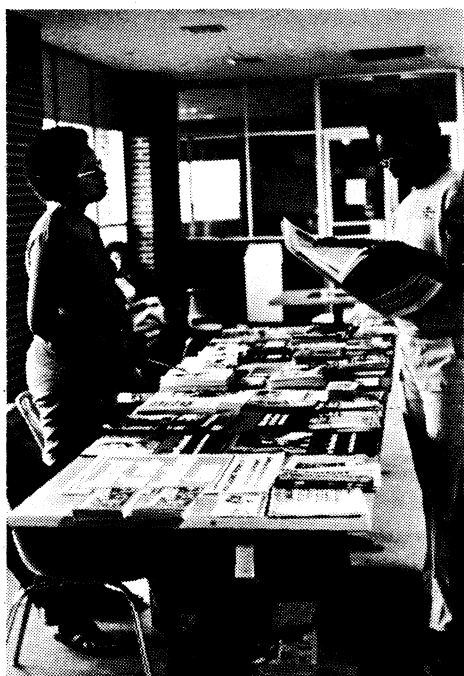
"There was a lot of interest in socialist ideas, indicated by the fact that we signed up 365 new Afro-American campaign endorsers and sold over 1,300 copies of *The Militant*," Hawkins said. "At Tougaloo College in Mississippi, 81 people (approximately 11 percent of the student body) signed SWP endorser cards. At Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, 70 endorsers were obtained. We sold 46 copies of the *Transitional Program for Black Liberation*, 35 copies of *Fraud of Black Capitalism*, and 23 copies of *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*."

"We were not too successful in selling the McGovern pamphlets," Hawkins continued, "as there was no visible support for McGovern on any of the Southern Black campuses we visited. The open letter to Shirley Chisholm in the March 24 *Militant*, however, met with considerable interest. While Chisholm had little organized support on the campuses, students were generally sympathetic to her campaign but genuinely open to the alternative that the SWP campaign offers."

The national campaign hopes to be able to send out more teams of Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley during the fall to reach thousands more Black students with the socialist alternative to the racist policies of the Democrats and Republicans.

Captain of the Mid-Atlantic team, Jeannie Reynolds, commented, "One of the things we found was that the campus press and radio stations were very helpful and interested in the campaign. We found we were able to give interviews and write articles for the campus papers at many schools."

The Florida YSJP team, in addition to setting up several YSJP chapters, went to meetings for the various Democratic presidential contenders during the Florida primary period. The YSJPer distributed SWP campaign literature at these meetings and challenged the candidates on their voting records during question and answer periods.



Afro-American team member Laura Moorhead talks to students about SWP campaign.

Polluters oppose California referendum

By STEVE BECK

SAN FRANCISCO—A report released April 26 revealed that a smear campaign against California ballot Proposition 9, a pollution control initiative, is being financed by the state's biggest polluters. The release of income and expenditures by "Californians Against the Pollution Initiative" showed the group has to date received \$841,957 from 325 contributors.

Donations of \$25,000 or more came from Barvo Oil, Gulf Oil, Texaco, Shell Oil, Southern California Edison, Pacific Gas and Electric, General Electric, Westinghouse, Stauffer Chemical, E. I. duPont de Nemours, Celanese Corp., FMC, and the Los Angeles Clearinghouse Association.

The release of the list of donors was hailed as "an historic first" by Edmund G. Brown Jr., the secretary of state. "For the first time in history," Brown said, "voters will know long before the election exactly who is trying to influence those votes."

Two years ago, another antipollution referendum initiative, Proposition 18, was defeated after a similar campaign by the "Committee Opposing Prop 18." It has since been disclosed that Standard Oil, Gulf Oil, and other oil giants gave that committee \$95,000.

The current initiative was placed on the ballot by the People's Lobby, which gathered 500,000 signatures to take advantage of an obscure statute allowing voters to make law by referendum.

In December 1971, the People's Lobby got hold of a letter from Standard Oil of California Board Chairman Otto Miller proposing a campaign against Proposition 9 to the public relations firm of Whitaker and Baxter.

The letter recommended "formation of a citizen's committee with a very broad base, including conservatives, Democrats, labor leaders and minority group leaders."

Then up popped Californians Against the Pollution Initiative. Pliable student, labor, and conservative leaders began spouting the big companies' line that Proposition 9 is a "red herring to distract the people of California from the real progress toward a solution of environmental problems."

Appropriately enough, the polluters' propaganda slogan—"Too many Bugs in Prop 9"—appears on mammoth billboards lining the freeways

and on the sides of exhaust-belching municipal buses.

The May 11 *San Francisco Bay Guardian* details how individual companies are propagandizing against the measure. For example, Pacific Gas and Electric sends out a newsletter to consumers along with its bills; articles in the newsletter blast Proposition 9. Westinghouse includes similar attacks in sheets given to employees with their pay.

Ronald Reagan gave the people of California a taste of the kind of program he counterposes to "hysterical" efforts such as Proposition 9 by proposing a new department of environ-

mental protection. The move would combine water quality, air pollution, and solid waste disposal under the authority of a single agency, and in the process, absorb the authority of the existing air and water boards.

The giant campaign against Proposition 9 underscores the lie the population across the country is constantly bombarded with in every form of advertising media: the lie that "People cause pollution." It is industry that is responsible for pollution because it would be less profitable for the capitalist owners if production were organized to be less destructive to the environment.



Photo by Dennis Barloga/San Francisco Bay Guardian

Standard Oil and other major polluters finance anti-Proposition 9 billboards for motorists to read as they are caught in smog-belching traffic on the state's freeways. The one above is in San Francisco.

Black students file suit against Hayakawa

By NORTON SANDLER

SAN FRANCISCO—On March 21, a suit was filed in federal district court here charging San Francisco State College President S. I. Hayakawa, the board of trustees of SFSC, Governor Ronald Reagan, and several school and student government officials with conspiring to violate the First, Fourth, and Fifteenth Amendment rights of students at SFSC.

The plaintiffs in the suit include Charles Jackson, 28, a former Black student leader at the college. The conspiracy charges directed at the school officials include manipulation of rules, fraudulently withholding office records, delaying Black students' paychecks, illegally declaring students ineligible for matriculation and student government office, tampering with academic records, and the circulation of a "blacklist" of community persons who are denied benefits and privileges at the college. The suit is documented with affidavits from 20 students.

According to Jackson, the suit is a direct outgrowth of the attempt by

Hayakawa to crush the strength of the Black Student Union and other groups on the SFSC campus.

Hayakawa, who was shuttled into the president's chair in 1968 by Reagan, is esteemed in ruling-class circles as a model president because of his "firmness" in dealing with dissent on campus.

After his appointment, Hayakawa was "startled" to find students using their fee money to finance the 1968-1969 student-faculty strike against the college. The new president had no difficulty in obtaining a court ruling to place the \$200,000 Associated Students' budget in a comfortable receivership with the Bank of America. Hayakawa, who called police from three Bay Area counties onto the SFSC campus to ruthlessly beat student strikers, self-righteously said his action was to prevent the money's being used "to buy guns."

Reactionary state legislators immediately responded with laws providing college administrators with direct control over student funds.

Charles Jackson and Richard Oakes, a well-known Bay Area Native American leader, decided to run for student government in April 1970. Without explanation, their slate and that of the Young Socialist Alliance were disqualified. Then Jackson was told that he was not carrying enough credits, even though his registration slip—which he showed to *The Militant*—clearly indicated that he was carrying more than enough units.

Jackson took part in the election by supporting a slate that was sympathetic to his own views. Nevertheless, 400 write-in votes were cast for Jackson. The winner received only 600.

One of the affidavits filed with the current suit states that Dean William Harkness told the student legislature not to grant money to Black students because they would only use it to buy guns. Shortly afterward, all Blacks holding positions in the Associated Students were kicked out of their jobs. In the process of investigating the dismissals, Jackson dis-

covered a "blacklist" signed by Hayakawa denying college employment to anyone on the list. The names of all persons arrested during the strike were listed, whether they were found guilty or not.

The list includes members of the Third World Liberation Front, the Young Socialist Alliance, Students for a Democratic Society, Progressive Labor Party, and others, among them Nathan Hare, editor of the *Black Scholar*. The names of officers and leaders in the organizations were marked with asterisks.

Jackson and his attorney, E. A. Cawley, have personally documented all of their charges. It is not known whether Hayakawa's list has been circulated beyond SFSC.

Several deans and administrators have been fired from their jobs or resigned in the two years since the strike. The suit asks for the reinstatement of all faculty and students victimized by the constitutional violations. It also seeks \$150,000 damages for each of the 20 plaintiffs.

Seattle forum hears Indian on fishing rights

By MIKE KELLY

SEATTLE—Frank Wright, a leader in the fishing rights struggle by Northwest Indians, spoke to the Militant Forum here April 28. A founding member of Survival of American Indians, Wright is also a past chairman of the Puyulap Tribe Council and currently chairman of that tribe's fishing committee.

Wright explained that since fishing rights were granted to the Northwest Indians in treaties signed in the middle of the last century, they have been compromised over and over again by the government acting in behalf of both commercial fishing interests and white "sportsmen." (See *The Militant*, April 28.)

He reported the lying propaganda of resort owners' groups such as the Olympic Protective Fish and Game Society and of the state fish and game commission that tries to depict Indians as responsible for the declining salmon runs, although industrial pollution and government dams are the real culprits. Using the argument that salmon are an "endangered species," the state is trying to deny Indians their treaty right by bringing them under the jurisdiction of laws applying to non-Indian fishing.

Wright traced the history of the current fishing rights struggle from its beginning in legal battles during the 1950s. A decade of unfavorable court

rulings, Wright said, convinced his people that the courts were not the proper battleground. "We had no business going to court. . . . Our business is to negotiate as a nation. . . . We are to be dealt with as a nation," Wright said.

Wright put the government's efforts to deny the Northwest Indians their fishing rights in the larger context of the history of genocide against the Indians carried out by the U. S. government. "My father and mother were both forced to go to school and there to forego their own language, their own ceremonies, their own religion, or be thrown in jail," he said. He said this drive to destroy the Indian culture had been largely effective, re-

sulting, for example, in his own inability to speak his language.

He criticized the racist, one-sided coverage of the Indian struggle by the press. "We are at the mercy of the press," he said, "because we don't own it."

He said he had grown up in a house filled with hatred, the hatred of his father for white people. The history taught in U. S. schools, Wright charged, leaves out the genocide against the Indians. "They're still doing it now . . . trying to get our property away . . . trying assimilation by force." He said that in his opinion, "the Indian people do not want to assimilate, and it is our right not to."

Black Dems for HHH, McGov

By DERRICK MORRISON

A while back the Black Democratic politicians were meeting and talking defiantly about taking an independent bloc of Black delegates to the Democratic Party convention this year. The purpose of the maneuver was to focus attention on demands concerning the Black community and then deliver Black support at the convention to the presidential candidate most in accord with those demands.

To develop a set of demands, a number of these politicians organized the National Black Political Convention held last March in Gary, Ind. There a National Black Political Agenda was hammered out. And to gather Black delegates uncommitted to a white presidential hopeful, these politicians projected the idea of either running Black favorite sons on the state level or a Black candidate nationally. This idea was the chief topic of discussion before the Gary convention.

The events of the past few weeks, however, have highlighted the unwillingness and inability of the Black Democrats to carry through on these plans. In the days before the May 2 Indiana and Ohio primaries, many Black politicians scrambled to get aboard the bandwagon of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey or Senator George McGovern.

Julian Bond, a Democratic legislator in Georgia and the originator of the plan to run Black favorite sons in the primaries, announced his support for McGovern April 27 in Cleveland. Representative John Conyers (D-Mich.), one of the chief backers of the plan to run a Black candidate for

president, announced for McGovern two days later in Cleveland. In the Indiana primary Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, one of the cochairmen of the National Black Political Convention held in his city last March, reportedly jumped into Humphrey's camp.

The May 6 New York *Amsterdam News*, an influential Black weekly, reports that Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.)—who is running for the nomination herself—predicted that Massachusetts Senator Ted Kennedy and Arkansas Congressman Wilbur Mills would get the Democratic nomination for president and vice-president.

Outside the circles of the professional politicians, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, president of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), announced his endorsement of McGovern along with Conyers. And in the San Francisco *Sun Reporter*, a Black weekly, the Reverend Hosea Williams, a leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), is shown giving McGovern the Black Power handshake in an ad sponsored by Black Californians for McGovern. This group is chaired by Assemblyman Willie Brown. Most of the Black Democratic politicians in California opted for either Humphrey or McGovern early this year.

Representative Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) was dismayed at the actions of Jackson and Conyers, so much so that he asked the former not to attend a rally of 800 in the Black community in Cleveland, according to the May 2 *Plain Dealer*. The rally was held the night before the primary.

Stokes charged Jackson and Conyers with "playing games" on the people.

He and his brother Carl fielded a slate of Black delegates in the 21st Congressional District committed to the latter as a favorite son. Since neither Humphrey nor McGovern filed delegates for that district, the Stokes slate won.

In the District of Columbia primary held the same day, the slate of Black delegates committed to the Reverend Walter Fauntroy, the D.C. nonvoting representative to Congress, won. Humphrey and McGovern did not enter this contest either.

The lack of a contest in these districts makes for rather shallow victories for Stokes and Fauntroy. Given the way that Humphrey—by dint of his influence and strength in the national Democratic Party—has been wrapping up the Black vote in the primaries, Stokes and Fauntroy would either have been defeated or joined his camp if he had decided to enter a slate of delegates in their districts.

This only goes to illustrate that the extent to which the Black Democrats can implement any electoral strategy is dependent upon the stamp of approval by Democratic Party chieftains like Humphrey. McGovern, who is also one of those chieftains, gave some leeway to Stokes but used Conyers and Bond to chase after Black votes outside the 21st C.D.

If the Black politicians, rather than "playing games," were for real about building Black political power, they would call upon Black people to end all reliance upon the capitalist Democratic Party in order to set up political machinery of, by, and for the Black community—a Black party.

Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, meet at Harvard

By ROGELIO REYES and LOUIS PROYECT

BOSTON—More than 150 people came to Harvard University May 8 and 9 to consider the problems involved in setting up a Chicano-Boricua (Puerto Rican) studies program. The meeting adopted a recommendation favoring such a program at Harvard.

Participants included Harvard Chicano and Puerto Rican students, who initiated and hosted the conference; directors of Puerto Rican studies at various New York universities; and directors of Chicano studies from Texas and California universities. A keynote speech was given by Roberto Mondragón, lieutenant governor of New Mexico. The conference attracted a representative from Nixon's Cabinet Committee on Minority Affairs, Luis González.

One of the issues discussed at length was the need to have community control of the Chicano-Boricua studies programs. A step in this direction is the support the conference received from the Cambridge Spanish-speaking Council. This group plans to hold a mass meeting where members of the Latino community will elect four representatives to a steering committee whose purpose will be to coordinate student and community direction over the program.

Nearly all the participants understood the importance of Chicano-Boricua studies as a means of exposing the real economic and social roots of the oppression of these two peoples. This was the central theme of the speech to the conference by Ramón Arbona, first secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in the United States.

Another significant aspect of the meeting was the coming together of two nationalist movements in common struggle.



As presidential campaign intensifies, Black leaders drop talk of 'independence' and support Humphrey and McGovern. Above, Hosea Williams gives McGovern Black power handshake.

By Any Means Necessary

BLACK PANTHER PARTY RENOUNCES 10-POINT PROGRAM, SUPPORTS SHIRLEY CHISHOLM FOR PRESIDENT. In the July 3, 1971, issue of the *Black Panther*, weekly paper of the Black Panther Party, the Panthers announced that their 10-point program for Black control of the Black community—written back in October 1966 when the party was first organized—does not "fully reflect the needs and desires of our people in 1971."

They added that the program would no longer be printed in the paper "until such time when words can be arranged and organized into a program and platform which more accurately reflects and defines the present needs and desires of our people."

Apparently the Panthers have failed to develop this new program, because they ran the same announcement in the April 1 edition of the *Black Panther*.

But if they have yet to codify a new turn, the Panthers gave clear indication of their course when they announced on April 27 their support for Shirley Chisholm. Chisholm is a Black Democratic Party congresswoman from Brooklyn, and she is seeking the nomination of the Democratic Party for the office of president.

Over the signature of Huey P. Newton, the Panthers announced that "our entire Party membership and all Community Workers shall be active in daily work and that our Party machinery shall

be set into motion to support Sister Shirley Chisholm. . . ." So apparently this support will not be just paper endorsement.

Thus, the Panthers have become another victim of the sometimes militant rhetoric of Chisholm. However, Chisholm's rhetoric does not modify or qualitatively change the nature of the Democratic Party. Owned lock, stock, and barrel by U.S. imperialism, the Democratic Party will defend and maintain imperialist interests, not the interests of the people. The Democratic Party is committed to upholding racism, sexism, national oppression, and class exploitation—all the things the Panthers say they are against.

To uphold these policies and yet keep popular support, the Democratic Party must sow confusion and disorient the minds of the people. The Panthers, through supporting Chisholm, have now joined the game.

To help groom themselves for participation in bourgeois politics, the Panthers junked certain elements of their past. Such was the fate of the 10-point program.

The importance of the 10-point program for Black control of the Black community lay not only in what it said, but in the fact that the Panthers had organized some militant actions in high schools, campuses, and the community to achieve its implementation. It was a Black nationalist program. It required that Black people mobilize and organize themselves independently of the institu-

tions of the oppressor in order to effect their liberation.

However, back in 1969 the Panthers began to retreat from these struggles and to denounce Black nationalism because of differences with certain tendencies within the Black nationalist movement. Coupled with their adventurist fixation on "pick up the gun" rhetoric, this move isolated the Panther Party from the movement and the Black community.

In response to this isolation, the Panthers eventually abandoned the ultraleftist verbiage about armed struggle and "revolutionary suicide." But rather than pursue a course of organizing mass actions to implement nationalist objectives, the Panthers instead fell into social-work programs of providing free food, clothing, and other commodities to the Black community. They continued to denounce Black nationalism.

These missionary efforts, called "survival" programs, have become the chief orientation of the Panthers. As was the case with the talk of becoming "urban guerrillas," the survival programs relegate the masses to the position of spectators in the struggle. The Panthers become the "servants" of the people. And now Shirley Chisholm has apparently become the "savior" of the people.

The Black community needs neither servants nor saviors. What they need is a program of mass action enabling them to demonstrate and build their own power in order to win liberation.

— DERRICK MORRISON

Speaker tells of struggle in Mozambique

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK CITY—On May 12, the Upper West Side Militant Forum here featured a talk and slide presentation on the freedom struggle in Mozambique by Robert Van Lierop. Van Lierop, an Afro-American photo-journalist, spent about six weeks last fall in the liberated areas of that Portuguese colony with the guerrilla fighters of Frelimo (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique—Mozambique Liberation Front).

Van Lierop and Robert Fletcher, another Afro-American photo-journalist, raised the money for the project, which includes a 16-mm. film that is now being edited, after Van Lierop suggested the idea to members of Frelimo. When a third person who had planned to be part of the project had to drop out, Howard Fuller of Malcolm X Liberation University joined Van Lierop and Fletcher for the first four weeks of their visit to the liberated areas.

In his presentation, Van Lierop stated that Frelimo has improved the lives of the one million peasants living in the liberated zones of Mozambique by setting up schools and medical centers and helping to improve agricultural production. Each person, regardless of sex or age, he said, is integrated into a general mobilization against Portuguese colonialism. Before Frelimo launched its campaign of armed struggle in 1964, more than 95 percent of the population in the third of Mozambique now controlled by Frelimo was illiterate. Today that is rapidly changing, according to Van Lierop.

Using modern military equipment channeled to it by the U.S. through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Portugal is employing in Mozambique many of the "search and destroy" tactics we associate with U.S. policy in Southeast Asia, Van Lierop said. He showed slides of bomb damage and burnt-out villages. "But the enemy is confounded," Van Lierop said, "because he thinks that by destroying a hut, he has destroyed a school; he thinks that by destroying a hut, he has destroyed a hospital." Showing slides of villagers who had moved into the bush during a Portuguese offensive, Van Lierop said that when a village is destroyed, the

people simply move—hospital, school, and all—until the offensive ends.

Slides taken at an encampment abandoned by Portuguese troops showed mortar shell canisters, grenades, and other equipment made in the U.S. West Germany and France also provide important aid to the Portuguese, as do the white-settler regimes in the Republic of South Africa and in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Van Lierop said that three battalions of South African troops were fighting along with the Portuguese Army in Mozambique. He said that Israel provides indirect aid, for example, by licensing South Africa to manufacture Israeli machine-guns for use against Frelimo and against the liberation movements in the other Portuguese colonies of Angola and Guinea-Bissau.

World imperialism considers the struggle in Mozambique important for both strategic and military reasons, Van Lierop said. Strategically, the Mozambican ports are vital to the trade of Ian Smith's racist regime in Zimbabwe and of the "African puppet regime" in Malawi. They are also used by South Africa for shipping minerals mined in the northern part of that country. More importantly, however, a victory by Frelimo against Portugal in Mozambique would be a "psychological boost" to the freedom struggles in the other Portuguese colonies, in the white-settler states, and throughout the rest of Africa and the world, he said.

Van Lierop said that the guerrilla fighters of Frelimo feel a strong sense of solidarity with the Vietnamese and Palestinian freedom fighters, as well as with the Black liberation movement in the U.S. "When I first met representatives of Frelimo in 1967," Van Lierop said, "I found they were familiar with the work of Malcolm X and even with the work of Martin Luther King Jr." On his visit last fall, he said, all the people he talked to knew about George Jackson and Angela Davis. While he was there, the news of the Attica massacre came in a South African radio broadcast monitored by Frelimo. "The South Africans hailed Rockefeller's action as consistent with what they were trying to do there in their country," Van Lierop said.

An important military and prop-



Photo by Robert Van Lierop

Guerrilla fighters of Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo). Frelimo mobilizes oppressed, regardless of sex or age.

aganda target of the Frelimo guerrilla forces is the Cabora Bassa dam project. The aim of this project, for which the Portuguese have solicited capital from the major West European countries, is the construction of a huge dam on the Zambezi River. The dam would be used for irrigation and to generate electrical power, and part of the plan involves the settlement of one million white Europeans in an area surrounding the dam. Frelimo has vowed that the project will not see completion; the initial construction has already been considerably slowed by military harassment and sabotage.

Van Lierop put the major stress in his presentation on the way in which Frelimo has organized an alternative government in the liberated areas that involves the people in decision-making and strives to mobilize the spirit and energies of every person living in these areas. One dramatic example of the way in which Frelimo draws on the talents of the entire population was the visit of the guerrilla column with which Van Lierop and Fletcher traveled to a leper colony. Before Frelimo moved into the area, Van Lierop said, superstition and fear of the disease condemned lepers to an outcast existence. Today, while the minimum of isolation necessary for medical rea-

sons is still maintained, the lepers in the colony are integrated into the activities of the nearby village. Van Lierop showed slides of a celebration in which the lepers, villagers, and guerrillas all danced together, and he told the audience how the lepers contribute to the liberation struggle by engaging in agricultural production.

The concept of leadership advocated by Frelimo, Van Lierop said, is expressed in a Portuguese word that translates into English literally as "the responsables." The leaders in Frelimo are called "the responsables," and "that's how leadership is viewed," Van Lierop said, "not as rank or privilege, but as a responsibility."

Van Lierop said he considers the May 27 African Liberation Day demonstrations an important way of manifesting the support of Afro-Americans for struggles in Africa such as the one in Mozambique.

Van Lierop and Fletcher are available for presenting the slides and a talk about their trip to any interested group. They expect to have their film of the trip completed by the end of the summer. For information about a slide presentation or the film, or to make a financial contribution toward the completion of the film, write to Robert Van Lierop, 211 East 21st St., New York, N. Y. 10010.

Team builds May 27

By JOHN HAWKINS

NEW YORK, May 17—After a little more than a week on the road, the Afro-Americans for Jenness and Puley team visiting Black college campuses in the South reports that they have received a tremendous response both to the Socialist Workers Party 1972 campaign and to the national African Liberation Day (ALD) demonstration slated for May 27 in Washington, D. C.

To date the team has visited Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn.; Tougaloo College in Tougaloo, Miss.; and Southern University in Baton Rouge, La. Reports Baxter Smith, team captain, "It's really difficult to find supporters of any other campaign on the campus. We have gotten more than 250 people to sign cards endorsing the campaign so far. Sixty new endorsers were signed up at Tougaloo, where 80 had already endorsed the campaign. And in two days at Southern University, 190 students endorsed the campaign."

"At Tougaloo College we tried to

arrange a meeting in conjunction with the CHOICE '72 elections that were taking place on the campus. However, we were not able to find supporters for any of the bourgeois candidates and had to call off the meeting and instead organize a meeting for the SWP campaign." Meetings for the team have been held on all three campuses and have been well attended.

Smith also reports that students are organizing to attend the ALD action in Washington, D. C. "On all the campuses we have visited there are posters, leaflets, and bumper stickers on the demonstration. Students in Nashville are organizing a car pool to go to D. C.; at Tougaloo the Black Unity Coordinating Committee is planning car pools. At Southern University, the Blackstone Society is trying to get buses from the school to take people to Washington, and if that's not possible, they plan to hold a solidarity march in New Orleans."

"We have been able to distribute hundreds of leaflets on the demonstration and have also distributed a good number of bumper stickers and posters," Smith added.

Since the start of the tour on May 5, the team has sold close to \$100 worth of revolutionary literature, more than 150 copies of *The Militant*, and a number of subscriptions to *The Militant*.

As a result of meetings and discussions held with the team, two people

at Tougaloo have asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance. The team plans to visit campuses in New Orleans; Greensboro, N. C.; and the Chesapeake Bay area in Virginia.

African liberation discussed

By DEBBY LEONARD

HOUSTON—The Militant Labor Forum here May 12 heard Dawolu Gene Locke on "In Defense of African Liberation." Locke is a leader of Africans in America for Black Liberation (AABL) and Houston coordinator for the May 27 African Liberation Day demonstration in Washington, D. C.

He spoke on the relationship between American imperialism, the liberation movements on the African continent, and the plans for May 27.

"Every hour while I am speaking, struggles are being waged. This is not by accident but by design, because if we clearly understand the military-economic arm of this country, we will certainly see that a complete pullout in Vietnam and a halt to the American war machine is in fact not pos-

sible; that there must exist Vietnams throughout this world because without the existence of Vietnams the ability of capitalism to maintain itself inside this country would be seriously dented.

"So African people inside this country have been asking ourselves if that is the case—as we applaud the complete victories of our brothers in North Vietnam, as we clearly see them putting a foot in the behind of American imperialism, we ask ourselves where will imperialism move next? Where next will the military, industrial, and economic arm of this country and her allies reach? We have come to the conclusion that it will be in southern Africa."

Locke further asserted, "At this point we recognize clearly the necessity for us as a people to merge our struggle within the United States with the struggle of African people throughout the world."

Locke said the Pan-African movement was still in its formative stages. He said that on May 19, the birthday of Malcolm X, there would be a rally here at the newly opened Black Arts Center in memory of Malcolm, Dr. Martin Luther King, and in support of the struggles in southern Africa. For more information on African Liberation Day activities in the Houston area, contact the office at 1610 Blodgett Ave., Houston, Texas 77004.

Attack on New York abortion right fails

By JOANNA MISNIK

NEW YORK—The Donovan-Crawford bill, which would reinstate the nineteenth-century New York statute forbidding all abortions except to save the life of a pregnant women, passed the state legislature on May 10. Although Governor Nelson Rockefeller vetoed the bill on May 13, the right to abortion remains in jeopardy in New York.

The Donovan-Crawford bill had been given little chance of passage, or even attention, until a flurry of activity by anti-abortion forces gained prominent news coverage this spring. On April 16 the Knights of Columbus mobilized 5,000 to 10,000 people in a New York demonstration against abortion. Armed with color photographs of aborted fetuses and threats of primary fights against pro-abortion legislators, the right wing carried out an intensive pressure campaign at the state capitol in Albany. The Catholic Church hierarchy openly threw its influence, apparatus, and wealth into the fight to deprive women of their right to abortion. In New York City the archdiocese provided a rent-free annex of its own offices to the anti-abortion Right to Life Committee.

President Nixon endorsed this reactionary campaign in a letter to Cardinal Terence Cooke on May 5. In his letter Nixon condemned liberal abortion policies as "impossible to reconcile with either our religious traditions or our Western heritage." He continued, "One of the foundation stones of our society and civilization is the profound belief that human life, all human life, is a precious commodity—not to be taken without the gravest of causes."

On May 6 a demonstration of 1,500 in New York demanded the right to abortion without restriction. Initiated by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), the action was transformed into an emergency response to the Donovan-Crawford bill and was cosponsored by dozens of groups and individuals.

WONAAC supporters held a picket line at the state legislature in Albany on Tuesday, May 9, when they learned that the Assembly was going to vote on the controversial abortion bill. After six hours of impassioned speeches—in which the opponents of the Donovan-Crawford bill acknowledged that abortion is a question of women's rights—the Assembly voted 79 to 68 to pass the stringent abortion law. The next day the Senate followed suit in a 30-27 vote.

Angered by this attempt to condemn women once more to primitive and hazardous illegal abortions, representatives of all sections of the women's movement met to plan a united response. A news conference on Friday, May 12, announced a protest to be held Monday, May 15, at Rockefeller's Manhattan office to demand that the governor veto the Donovan-Crawford bill. Announcing the demonstration, National Women's Political Caucus leader Gloria Steinem read a joint statement to the press. The statement began, "Over the years male-dominated legislatures and courts have tossed around women's rights like a political football." The abortion fight in New York, said the statement, is "the most serious and most stark example of this kind of maneuvering with women's lives."

Among the groups represented at the press conference were the National Organization for Women (NOW), the Women's Political Caucus, the National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws, WONAAC, the YWCA, the National Association of Social Workers, Black Feminists United, the American Civil Liberties Union, the New Democratic Coalition, the Socialist Workers Party, the Women's Health and Abortion Project, New Women Lawyers, and New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal.

The announcement of the demonstration was widely publicized and played a role in the governor's decision the following morning, May 13, to veto the Donovan-Crawford bill. Rockefeller had previously indicated that he would veto the bill, but he wavered during the debate and proposed several "compromises" that would limit the period for legal abortions to 16 or 18 weeks. Under the present law, abortions are legal in New York through the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy.

The seriousness—and near success—of the campaign to eliminate the right to abortion in New York has alerted thousands to the precariousness of the abortion reforms won so far. Support for the Abortion Rights Act introduced into Congress by Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.), a bill that would repeal all restrictive state abortion laws, is growing. New York WONAAC is planning an ambitious program of education and action aimed at defending and extending the right to abortion in New York, as well as at drawing lessons for the fight on a national scale to repeal all anti-abortion laws.



Photo by Pennie Warren

Jessica Star, a national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, received a standing ovation when she denounced Nixon at May 6 rally in Sacramento, Calif., for right to abortion.

Dockers angry at Pay Board wage cut

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, May 16—All is quiet on the San Francisco waterfront. Today's news that longshoremen's unions on both coasts had submitted to the Pay Board's cuts in their strike settlements came as no surprise.

Conversations with working longshoremen and ship clerks showed merely different degrees of anger with the Pay Board and disgust with the top leadership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). But longshoremen expressed no wish whatsoever to continue the struggle at this time, without support from the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) on the East Coast and under the leadership of ILWU President Harry Bridges.

On American President Lines Pier 80 this morning, groups of longshoremen and ship clerks were talking it over. "I'll bet Bridges comes to our next meeting and tells us we won another 'victory,'" said one longshoreman. "You know, Harry's getting so he can lie almost as well as Tricky Dick."

"Now wait a minute, Al," interrupted another longshoreman. "You know Harry said not to go on strike—that we couldn't win any more than the shipowners were willing to give us before the strike."

"Sure," answered Al, "and he was in the right spot to make his prediction come true, wasn't he? Chairman of the Strike Committee, surrounded by his 'yes' men, with negotiations closed to the rank and file. And you know, Harry doesn't like to be wrong—no matter what it costs us."

"Are you saying Bridges sold us out? Is that what you're saying?"

"Now you wait a minute," answered Al. "I'm not crying 'sell-out.' I'd rather say that our leader is beginning to think like a shipowner. Did you hear that old-timer on Channel 5 last night? The reporter asked him what he thought, and he said, 'Harry Bridges has got more conservative over the years than we thought—I guess we've been taken.'"

A young Black ship clerk who had just joined the group commented, "That's what is called diplomacy. But did you hear that other guy? When the reporter stuck the mike under his nose, all he could say was 'Pretty bad, pretty bad, pretty bad.'"

"He was right," said another of the group, a man well past 60. "But we should have expected it, the way the strike was run—sloppy, giving the shipowners all the breaks, working the PMA ships, tying up the foreigners, moving military cargo through the picket lines, working the passenger ships. I could go on and on, but what's the use? Working men usually get shafted, but it's pretty bad when you get shafted by your own leaders."

There was a silence for half a minute, then Al said, "Don't get so down, Mack. There's always next year. We still got the union."

"It was the Pay Board, and Nixon, and the whole damn government that screwed us, not Harry," offered the longshoreman who had defended Bridges. "He did the best he could. Don't forget that the shipowners double-crossed us. And don't forget that Harry wanted to strike again but Gleason wouldn't go!" (Thomas Gleason is head of the East Coast ILA.)

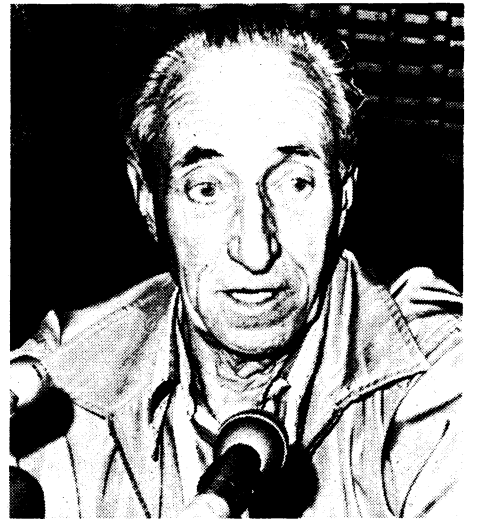
"Bullshit," commented Al. Just then the 8 a.m. whistle blew.

Undoubtedly, similar conversations are taking place up and down the coast, from Vancouver, Wash., to San

Diego, Calif. Lessons were learned during the long months since the ILWU first struck July 1, 1971, and the ranks are talking it over.

The Pay Board cut the ILA Wage settlement from 70 cents to 55 cents per hour on May 8. Previously, it had cut the ILWU wage increase from 72 cents down to 42 cents. The unions have accepted these cuts.

Bridges had claimed he would call for a continuation of the strike "if the Pay Board cuts back our negotiated settlement as much as one cent." Hostile news commentators are now



Harry Bridges

throwing these words in Bridges' face. But the rank and file always knew Bridges was bluffing. And also Gleason. When the Nixon administration said, "Put up or shut up," they backed down, which came as no surprise.

The *New York Times* of May 14 called the Bridges-Gleason tilt with the Pay Board a "big circus." Quite apt. The *New York Times* headline the same day was: "Pay Board Seems to Have Won The Big Test." The reporter states that "Ever since the board's birth last November . . . everyone in Washington had recognized that the sink-or-swim test . . . would come on the waterfront. On all coasts powerful unions with long traditions of militancy were using their economic muscle to push through agreements calling for increases far above Pay Board guidelines."

But the unions did not use their muscle to go all the way to smash the Pay Board and end the wage controls. Four labor members left the board, but one remained—one too many. Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters union had decided to stay and "work within the system."

In the current situation, the Gleason leadership has covered its capitulation with flag-waving. An unnamed Gleason lieutenant told the *Times* reporter: "Can you imagine us blockading all United States ports at the very moment the President is blockading North Vietnam?"

Gleason was among the guests invited by Secretary of Commerce Peter G. Peterson to a banquet for the Soviet trade delegation May 15.

But the longshoremen and ship clerks who work for a living are in a different situation. Mechanization and automation are taking away their jobs. The "guaranteed wage" clause in the new ILWU contract is followed by 13 additional pages of small print that ensure no one will collect the guarantee. For example, an "illegal work stoppage" will invalidate the guarantee for everyone in the port in which the work stoppage occurs.

The union's rotational hiring hall has been seriously undermined by Section 9.43 of the new contract. Rank-and-file control of the union has eroded under the Bridges leadership. If the union is to remain strong, changes must be made when the contract ends July 1, 1973. The struggle will go on. Most longshoremen understand this.

YWLL convention urges support to Dems

CHICAGO—The Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), a youth organization in political solidarity with the Communist Party USA, held its second national convention in Chicago, Ill., May 5-8. It was reported that 571 registered for the conference, although the main draft resolution had projected an attendance of 800, roughly twice the size of its founding convention two years ago.

According to the credentials report given on the last day of the convention, 199 of those attending were full and alternate delegates, 203 were observers, and 69 were guests. Almost half were women, 210 were Afro-American, and a handful were Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Asian-American.

The YWLL claims a membership of 1,250 from 60 branches in 30 states. The main report indicated the growth of the YWLL has occurred only in the new branches.

The YWLL was established in Feb-

ruary, Tyner stated that the role of the Soviet Union "in the world revolutionary process has been indispensable." No mention was made of Nixon's scheduled trip to that country in the face of his latest reckless moves to crush the Vietnamese revolution.

In discussing political organizations that the League is trying to "isolate," Tyner pointed out that "the Trotskyites remain a real factor among left youth . . ." particularly in the student movement. Tyner was referring to the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, whose growing influence in the last few years has caused increasing concern to the YWLL, as was reflected throughout the convention.

Expressing YWLL's total contempt for important new components of the current youth radicalization, Tyner bluntly stated:

"What we have is the same wrong concepts—you know: subjective idealism, right and left opportunism, petty-

could recruit. These would be part of various other organizations that the YWLL seeks to establish as part of the Broad Youth Front, such as a National Student Union, an organization of barrio and ghetto youth, and a youth sector of the Angela Davis defense committees. (Much of the recent growth of the YWLL can be attributed to its activities in defense of Angela Davis.)

A report on "industrial concentration," the main orientation of the YWLL for the past two years, was given by Judy Edelman. While a number of places were listed where YWLL members are said to be carrying out political work in industry, information was not given on how many YWLL members are actually in trade unions or on what its union members do. The report centered mainly on the weaknesses of the YWLL in this arena. These include not enough concern for bringing "working youth and working-class youth" into the peace movement, the movement to free Angela Davis, and others; inadequate attention to "Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican caucus movements"; and "insufficient struggle against racism . . . special problems faced by working women . . . and lack of a real youth approach."

The third report, given by Roque Ristorucci, dealt with the 1972 elections. Twenty-five to thirty minutes were spent on the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

This report projected as major tasks defeating all candidates who are in any way for the continuation of the war and all "reactionary" candidates, forming a "people's party," and turning out the largest possible number of votes for the CP presidential ticket.

While the report also called for the election of "independent, left, socialist, and CP candidates," the Jenness-Pulley campaign was referred to as a narrow, sectarian campaign that is in the interest of reaction. The main basis cited for this criticism of the SWP campaign, which has already received significant support and extensive publicity, was the SWP's principled and consistent opposition to the Democratic Party.

Ristorucci criticized the SWP's position as not taking into account essential differences between Humphrey and McGovern. The YWLL, he said, should build institutions to "keep McGovern honest."

Ristorucci also attacked the SWP campaign for supporting what he claimed to be the most reactionary aspects of bourgeois ideology, namely gay rights, feminism, and Black nationalism. He also attacked the SWP for supporting the concept of a Black party, a Chicano party, and a labor party while directing its attacks against liberal Democrats like "the McGoverns, the Chisholms, and the Abzugs."

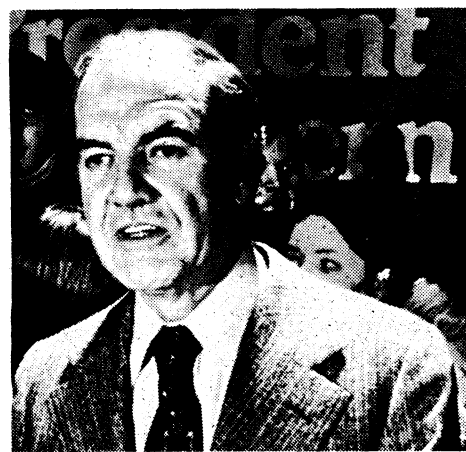
On Sunday morning, May 7, the convention heard a report on peace by Richard Hoyen, who pointed out that YWLL has abstained from the daily work of the peace movement. He argued against the attitude of some

YWLL members who see this abstention as radical. Apparently under the pressure of the Student Mobilization Committee, which has played a major role in mobilizing the student movement around the demand of "Out Now," the peace report called for the formation of competing organizations—"multiracial, multi-issue" peace coalitions on the campuses around the program of setting a date for withdrawal.

A Black liberation report, given by Carolyn Black, projected among other things, doubling the YWLL's Black membership in the next two years. She reported that approximately half its membership is now Afro-American.

Various workshops were held on Sunday evening, including a women's workshop. One of the central issues confronting the women's liberation movement and a key force around which women are organizing today—the legalization of abortion—was not discussed in this workshop. Several workshops took place simultaneously in the same room, creating considerable confusion. Since there was no women's workshop report to the convention as a whole, it was never clear where the YWLL stands on the question of the oppression of women.

Following a credentials and constitution report, the convention heard the organizational report by Matty Berkelhammer, which revealed some of the organizational problems still facing the YWLL. Insufficient involvement in the mass movements, espe-



YWLL convention report on '72 elections urged efforts to "keep McGovern honest."

cially the antiwar movement, was singled out as one of the YWLL's major weaknesses. The organizational report projected having 120 "mass" branches and a membership of 5,000 by 1974.

While the convention was supposedly open to nonmembers of the YWLL, individuals recognized as belonging to certain organizations were not allowed to observe the convention.

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance and supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign, however, talked with many conference participants. YSA and SWP campaign literature tables were set up in the same hotel as the conference. Copies of *The Militant* were sold along with the pamphlets *In Defense of Black Nationalism: An Answer to the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League*, and *The Family: Revolutionary or Oppressive Force?*



Photo by Mark Satinoff

April 24, 1971, "Out Now" demonstration in Washington, D.C. At the YWLL convention, delegates discussed problem of YWLL's abstention from building the antiwar movement.

ruary of 1970 following the disintegration of another youth group reflecting the views of the Communist Party, the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs. At that time the YWLL claimed 600 members.

About 600 people attended a CP election campaign rally on Sunday that featured Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, CP presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Pat Bonner Lyons, YWLL candidate for Boston school committee last fall, chaired the meeting. The theme of Hall's talk was that the main task in the 1972 elections is to defeat the "three vultures of monopoly capitalism," whom he listed as Humphrey, Nixon, and Wallace. No mention of McGovern was made in his speech, but support was implied. The fund collection totaled \$1,780.

The convention began on Saturday morning with the main political report, given by Jarvis Tyner, YWLL national chairman. Tyner pointed to the revolutionary offensive in Vietnam and the growth of the antiwar movement as one of the most encouraging recent developments and stated that it was the "united mass actions" of the antiwar movement that forced Nixon to initiate the troop withdrawals. This admission was significant because of YWLL's abstention from the antiwar movement since its founding.

Speaking of the international situa-

tion, Tyner stated that the role of the Soviet Union "in the world revolutionary process has been indispensable." No mention was made of Nixon's scheduled trip to that country in the face of his latest reckless moves to crush the Vietnamese revolution.

In discussing political organizations that the League is trying to "isolate," Tyner pointed out that "the Trotskyites remain a real factor among left youth . . ." particularly in the student movement. Tyner was referring to the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, whose growing influence in the last few years has caused increasing concern to the YWLL, as was reflected throughout the convention.

Expressing YWLL's total contempt for important new components of the current youth radicalization, Tyner bluntly stated:

"What we have is the same wrong concepts—you know: subjective idealism, right and left opportunism, petty-

bourgeois individualism—emerging in new forms, but with the same basic class content. Gay liberation (basically another white movement) doesn't deal with racism and pushes homosexuality as being revolutionary. Racism sidetracks many of the white radicals. They still don't have a clear class self-interest approach to this question.

"Narrow Black nationalism, though waning, still remains a real factor among Black youth. Similarly, many Chicano and Puerto Rican, as well as Asian and Indian radicals, are heavily disoriented by nationalism. "Male supremacy remains a big battle for us—and also feminist trends still hold a big sway among radical women.

"All of these ideological problems remain an obstacle to forwarding the fight. All of these trends among radical and broad sectors of U.S. youth are blocks to the development of the Broad Youth Front."

These "ideological blocks," Tyner charged, are the cause for "great lulls" in the youth movement and an ideological struggle must be waged to uproot them.

Also projected in the political report was the need to build a mass YWLL through "intermediary forms"—that is, "left youth forms" broader than the YWLL but under the control and leadership of it, out of which the YWLL

could recruit. These would be part of various other organizations that the YWLL seeks to establish as part of the Broad Youth Front, such as a National Student Union, an organization of barrio and ghetto youth, and a youth sector of the Angela Davis defense committees. (Much of the recent growth of the YWLL can be attributed to its activities in defense of Angela Davis.)

A report on "industrial concentration," the main orientation of the YWLL for the past two years, was given by Judy Edelman. While a number of places were listed where YWLL members are said to be carrying out political work in industry, information was not given on how many YWLL members are actually in trade unions or on what its union members do. The report centered mainly on the weaknesses of the YWLL in this arena. These include not enough concern for bringing "working youth and working-class youth" into the peace movement, the movement to free Angela Davis, and others; inadequate attention to "Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican caucus movements"; and "insufficient struggle against racism . . . special problems faced by working women . . . and lack of a real youth approach."

CHOICE '72 vote in Mass.; N.Y.

Socialist Workers Party candidate Linda Jenness finished second in a CHOICE '72 presidential preference poll held April 19 at Stonehill College in North Easton, Mass. Jenness received 9 percent of the votes, or 15 of the 173 votes cast. George McGovern led the poll with 95 votes. Richard Nixon and Edward Kennedy were tied for third place, followed by Edmund Muskie, Hubert Humphrey, and Shirley Chisholm. All other candidates received five or fewer votes. Stonehill College is a small Catholic school.

At Columbia-Greene Community

College in Athens, N.Y. 126 of the school's 275 students recently participated in a CHOICE '72 poll. Linda Jenness came in fourth, with 10 votes, or 7.9 percent of the total. George McGovern won with 47 votes. Second place went to Richard Nixon, and third place to "undecided" voters.

On the question of the war in Southeast Asia, the two largest votes at Columbia-Greene were for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops—40.9 percent—and for setting the date for withdrawal—36.2 percent. The results of the referendum on abortion were: 30.5 percent for free abortion on demand

with no forced sterilization; 23.4 percent for maintaining the present abortion laws decided on by the states; 18.7 percent for laws similar to the New York statute; and 15.6 percent for abortions only to save the life of the woman.

Student government elections were held in conjunction with a CHOICE '72 poll at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale on April 26 (see "'72 Socialist Campaign," page 14). Larry Roth of the Young Socialist Alliance was elected to the student senate, defeating his closest rival by more than 50 votes.

In Review

Pamphlets Black nationalism: revolutionary force

Two Views on Pan-Africanism by Robert Allen and Tony Thomas. Pathfinder Press. 24 pp. Fifty cents.

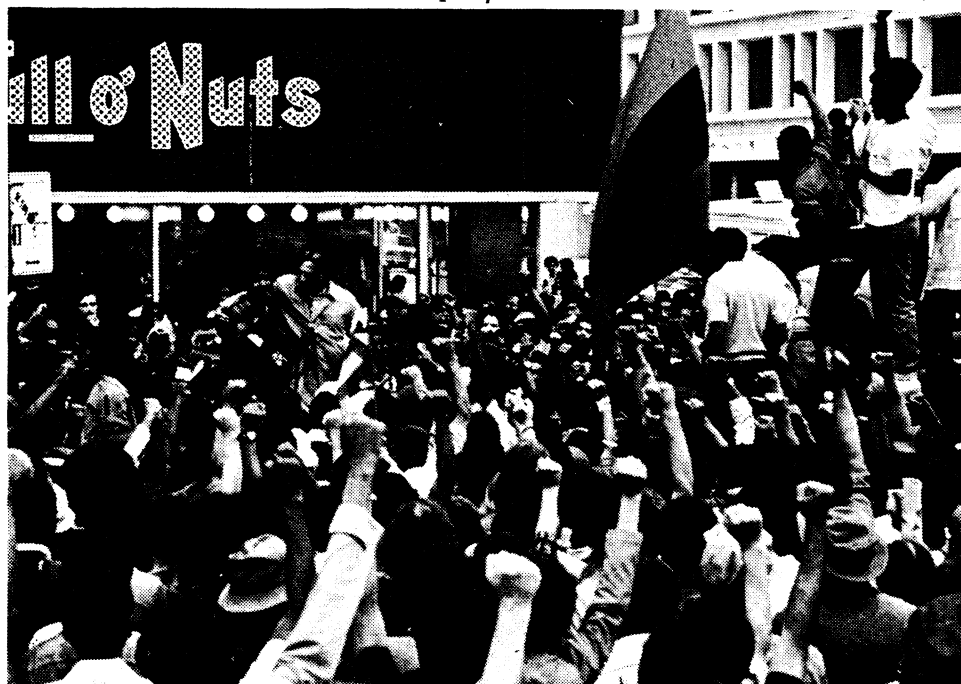
In Defense of Black Nationalism by Tony Thomas. Pathfinder Press. 32 pp. Fifty cents.

The Case for an Independent Black Party. Introduction by Paul Boutelle. Pathfinder Press. 24 pp. Fifty cents.

The deteriorating conditions in the Black community in relation to society as a whole have served to sharpen Afro-America's hatred of the norms and values of white America. The continued refusal of whites to accept

correct conclusion that in essence, the antisocialism of many of these Pan-Africanists was simply misdirected anti-Stalinism.

Thomas's article examines "the relationship between the worldwide African revolution and the U. S. Black liberation movement, and the relationship between Pan-Africanism and revolutionary socialism." He explores specific questions Pan-Africanists have encountered in their attempt to develop an adequate approach to such issues as the theory of the necessity of building a "land base," the interrelationship of revolutionary socialism and Pan-Africanism, and the attitude of Pan-Africanists toward certain African heads of state.



Red, black, and green flag of Black nationalism at Harlem demonstration protesting Attica massacre. Identification with African liberation struggles deepens nationalism of Blacks in U. S.

Blacks as equal humans with all of the rights and privileges enjoyed by them has led an increasing number of Blacks to reject white society altogether and look to Black Africa, the Caribbean, and parts of Latin America as salvation from this hell-hole. This need to relate to the worldwide Black liberation struggle has served to revive the Pan-Africanist movement, adding to the already deep Black nationalist feelings.

Two Views on Pan-Africanism is an important contribution to the process of defining the meaning and relevance of this revived movement to the struggle for Black liberation. The pamphlet consists of two articles by Robert Allen, author of *Black Awakening in Capitalist America*, and Tony Thomas, staff writer for *The Militant*. Both articles deal primarily with socialism and its relationship to Pan-Africanism.

Allen goes back into history to early Pan-Africanist thinkers, such as W. E. B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey, examining their attempts to establish a Pan-African consciousness and program among African-Americans. He also discusses such contemporary thinkers as George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah, and Stokely Carmichael, and points out some of the factors that he contends were the causes of hostility between some Pan-Africanists and socialists. He touches on the role of the Stalinized Communist International in this matter and draws the

This pamphlet is a very good introduction to Pan-Africanist ideas and serves as a springboard for discussion of the whole subject.

Communist Party

In the face of the increased attraction of nationalist ideas there are organizations—claiming to be revolutionary—that try to derail the nationalist movement. Not least among these groups are the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League. The growth of nationalist and Pan-Africanist consciousness in the Black community presents definite problems for them. They fear its basic independent thrust, its tendency to go beyond the control of the liberal politicians the CP is so fond of supporting. Because Black nationalism does not fit into their plans for an "antimonopoly coalition" or their schema of "Black-white unity," they oppose it. As a result, these merchants of capitalist reform have resorted to attacking Black nationalism and its defenders to bolster their anti-Marxist positions.

Important among these attacks was a talk given by Tony Monteiro, a leader of the YWLL and CP, who charged the Young Socialist Alliance with being racist. Actually the talk was an attack on both Black nationalism and the YSA's support of it. A thorough answer to Monteiro's slanders is contained in Tony Thomas's pamphlet *In Defense of Black Nationalism*.

Thomas adeptly answers Monteiro's charges and sets the record straight. "The YSA and SWP, in contrast [to the YWLL and CP], see support to the nationalist struggle of the Black people as the only revolutionary policy. Black nationalism flows from our struggle against hundreds of years of oppression. It is rooted in the most oppressed sector of the U. S. working class. It can lead to the mobilization of millions of Black people, challenging every aspect of this decaying capitalist system. As revolutionary socialists who want to destroy the entire capitalist system and liberate African-Americans and other oppressed peoples, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party give unequivocal support to the Black nationalist movement."

A Black party

An idea that has been receiving more and more attention in the Black struggle is the need for an independent Black political party. Delegates to the recent National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., had the opportunity to discuss this issue but were prevented from doing so. The question of what political force will represent the Black community was too hot a subject for the Democratic Party organizers of the Gary convention. Nevertheless, the call for a Black party that would struggle against Democratic and Republican control of the Black community remains the fundamental issue confronting all Black nationalists and Pan-Africanists today.

The Case for an Independent Black Party examines the problems and possibilities surrounding the task of constructing a Black party. The pamphlet, which contains the text of a resolution passed by the 1967 national convention of the Socialist Workers Party, discusses past attempts to build Black parties as well as the character and program a viable Black party would require.

"A political party based on the ghetto," it points out, "could carry out many worthwhile activities in addition to running for or holding political offices. It could conduct education about Black history and revolutionary struggles elsewhere; take measures to form cooperatives and credit systems to ease the economic squeeze; defend black victims of government persecution; initiate literacy campaigns among adults; organize Afro-American cultural affairs and community recreation. Its contests for or control of legitimate authority would give it much more leverage in fights against landlords, brutal cops, and job discrimination. It could organize neighborhood patrols against crime and rackets and demand an end to the alien and repressive police powers of racist rulers. It could provide a broad framework for unifying various Black groups in struggle. . . .

"If a Black party starts organizing and using its leverage effectively, the masses will learn from it, follow it, develop their consciousness in and through it. Such a party can become the best means for breaking out of the trap of capitalist misery and harnessing the enormous revolutionary potential of the ghetto masses."

—BAXTER SMITH

Socialists and elections

Aspects of Socialist Election Policy. *An Education for Socialists* pamphlet issued by the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party. New York. 87 pp. \$1.35. 1971.

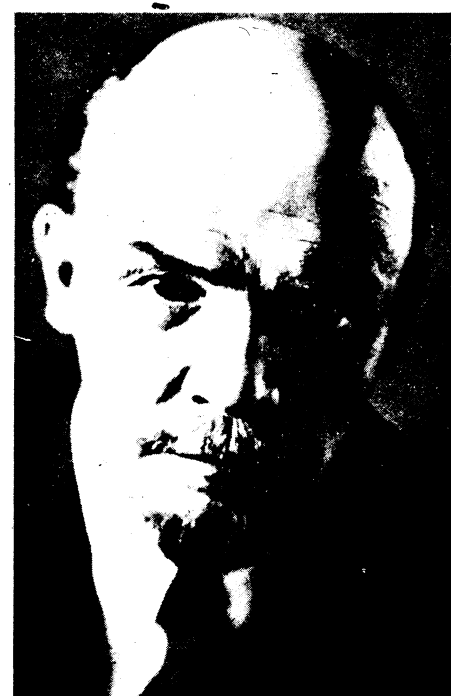
This bulletin is a compilation of articles connected by brief notes by Doug Jenness. The articles discuss the basic principles that guide revolutionaries in their policy toward capitalist elections and provide concrete historical and contemporary examples of different tactical applications of the basic principles.

The first selection is the theses on "The Communist Attitude to Parliamentary Reformism" adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist [Third] International in 1920. Very briefly, the theses lay out the way in which a revolutionary party's approach to elections is subordinate to promoting mass action—"a whole system of developing demonstrations, growing ever more acute in form, and logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist order of government." Enumerating the various electoral tactics a party may choose to employ, the central thrust of the theses is that: "The electoral campaigns must be carried on . . . in the sense of . . . a revolutionary mobilisation of the masses around the watchwords of the Proletarian Revolution."

Informed by the approach outlined in the theses, the other articles explore the demand for a labor party, the capitalist reform parties that ran national campaigns in 1948 (the Progressive Party) and 1968 (the Peace and Freedom Party), the United Socialist election campaign of 1958, independent Black electoral action versus Black candidates running in the Democratic Party, the congressional campaign of Communist Party leader Herbert Aptheker in New York in 1966, and the "independent socialist campaigns" of Hal Levin, Leslie Silberman, and James Weinstein in New York in 1966.

The material is a rich source of information about socialist electoral policy and can serve as the basis for a series of classes on the subject.

—LEE SMITH



Electoral experience of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party contributed to revolutionary approach to elections.

Quebec workers strike to protest arrests

By TONY THOMAS

MAY 15—Despite the apparent defeat of the April 11-21 strike of Québec's 200,000 public workers, the struggle continues. Thousands of Québécois workers initiated walkouts on May 9 to protest the arrest of three strike leaders, Louis Laberge of the Québec Confederation of Labor, Marcel Pepin of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, and Yvon Charbonneau of the Québec Teachers Federation. These three unions had united to form a Front Commun (Common Front) to carry on the strike.

Their initial demands were for a 46 percent wage increase and a \$100 weekly minimum wage. The government's last offer before strike-breaking legislation was adopted was for a raise of between 5.3 and 6 percent a year in a three-year contract.

According to an article dated April 18 in *Labor Challenge*, a Canadian biweekly revolutionary-socialist newspaper, the strike leaders had urged workers to ignore injunctions since "the unions themselves have taken measures to maintain 'vital services' affecting human life, as in the hospitals." Before the strike ended, many local unions were summoned before the courts and now face

penalties ranging up to \$50,000 per day on strike. A number of local leaders have been sentenced to one-month jail terms and fines.

The first breach in the strike came when three locals of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, representing 8,500 workers at the Hydro-Québec electric facilities, returned to work on April 13. These workers were a special target of the government, which attempted to foster a back-to-work movement through newspaper, radio, and TV attacks on the workers.

On April 21 the government passed an emergency law (Bill 19) against the strike. According to the May 8 *Labor Challenge*, this law deprives the workers of the right to strike for two years and empowers the Québec premier to decree a new contract if the unions do not settle with the government by June 1.

The Front Commun leaders originally opposed following the orders set down by Bill 19 and held a referendum in the unions on the question. Although the vote was 65 percent in favor of continuing the strike, the leaders felt the margin wasn't great enough to carry the strike successfully in the face of the government attack. Reversing their position, they urged the strikers to return to

work April 22.

According to the May 10 *New York Times*, the new series of actions was triggered when Laberge, Pepin, and Charbonneau surrendered to provincial authorities May 9 to begin serving one-year prison sentences. Two thousand workers demonstrated in the city of Québec and thousands more walked out across Québec. The May 14 *New York Times* reported that many workers were still out, and that walkouts were spreading.

The actions in defense of the three jailed labor leaders are the product of the combined nationalist and class radicalization affecting Québec. Québécois workers are responding to attacks by Anglo-Canadian, Québec, and U.S. firms on their living standards through inflation and unemployment, as well as to attacks on the language and national rights of the French-speaking majority in Québec.

The May 14 *New York Times* interviewed a Québécois worker, still out, who typified this new mood: "We're tired of being pushed around, and now we're pushing back. . . .

"If we can show them that we're strong and together, why then, we're capable of anything."

Jobs are scarce for Vietnam veterans

By LEE SMITH

For hundreds of thousands of American young men, drafted to participate in the horror of a war they do not support, the misery of service in Vietnam is replaced after discharge by the misery of joblessness.

Government figures reported in the May 14 *New York Times* indicate the extent to which unemployment plagues the Vietnam veteran. The seasonally adjusted April unemployment rate stood at 5.9 percent for the work force as a whole. For the Vietnam veterans, the April rate was 8.6 percent. That translates into 344,000 men facing the daily frustration of employment-office lines, applications, and interviews that come to nothing.

For the younger veterans, jobs are even more of a problem, and Black Vietnam veterans face the worst situation of all. The unemployment rate for all veterans between the ages of 20 and 24 in April was 12.7 percent. For Black Vietnam

veterans, the unadjusted rate for the first quarter of 1972 was 15.3 percent. (Even Blacks who are not veterans are harder hit than white veterans—the unadjusted first-quarter rate for Black non-veterans was 14 percent, for white veterans it was 9.3 percent.)

New York Times writer Leonard Sloane reports in the May 14 article already mentioned that 30,000 New York City veterans, or about 10 percent of the Vietnam vets living in the city, are currently looking for work and unable to find it. Many of these men feel an understandable bitterness and resentment about their situation. They have risked their lives, have seen their buddies killed, and in many cases have been wounded themselves in a war they either oppose or do not understand. Now that they are home, they must face what they see as an indifferent or even hostile attitude on the part of employers.

"I took the civil service test for the post office and I went to Western Electric, C.B.S., the telephone company, the transit and Con Edison,"

Vietnam veteran John McDonough told Sloane. "I passed their tests and now I'm on four different waiting lists." Describing the employers' attitude, McDonough said, "I don't think they give a damn one way or another. The market is surfeited and being a vet just doesn't mean anything."

Black veteran Michael Mayhew told Sloane he has had a series of interviews since his discharge in February, but "There's been nothing too exciting around. I just want to keep my beard on my job and if I can do that, I'll be happy."

Another veteran, Eddie Davis, said he thought employers "seem to be a little hostile" to Vietnam veterans.

Gerald Townsend, who received an early discharge in January still has not found work. He told Sloane he probably could have found an unskilled factory job, but "the take-home pay would be around \$77 a week and I'm getting \$61 now from unemployment insurance, so it doesn't pay to get [that kind of] job."

The National Picket Line

THE RAILROAD INDUSTRY IS SICK, as everyone knows. It suffers from lack of capital, a crippling disease that often proves fatal to capitalist enterprises. The immediate cause is the siphoning off of huge amounts of capital by the railroad conglomerates for speculation and investment in more lucrative ventures.

The collapse of the \$6-billion Penn Central empire has focused attention on other rail conglomerates. Some of these are such holding companies as the Chicago-Milwaukee Corp., Illinois Central Industries, Santa Fe Industries, Katy Industries, Southern Pacific Co., and Union Pacific Corp. There are 13 of them altogether, all based on the different railroad lines indicated by the name of the holding company. The purpose of establishing these holding companies is to invest in such enterprises as real estate, pipe lines, trucking firms, computer services, petroleum and mineral developments, and electrical manufacturing. Some have investments in enterprises as remote from railroading as broadcasting, a Gulf Coast shrimp fleet, apparel makers, and soft drinks.

The financial manipulators who control these huge conglomerates argue that through such investments the railroad industry will be nurtured back to health. However, the victim is becoming weaker under this treatment.

Other prescriptions are proposed. All of them call for a heavy and steady infusion of new capital into this industry through government subsidies of some form. One is tax exemptions. Another is direct subsidization through government corporations, such as Amtrak, that operate rail passenger service for the relief of the railroad companies. Some interested parties are prescribing complete nationalization of the railroad industry.

ONE COMMON INGREDIENT in all these prescriptions is the attempt to revive and ensure the

system of private profit by cutting labor costs and increasing the rate of profit for those financial interests that presently bleed the railroads.

All these different cures have been tried with varying degrees of success. In England the railroads have been nationalized. This has not worked well for the rail workers. For example, on May 13 all railroads in Britain halted to protest the British government's attempt to impose below-standard wages and to stop a union movement that sought to raise wages. The government's Industrial Relations Court ordered a ballot of all 300,000 British railroad workers to test rank-and-file support of the union action. Meanwhile, rail management temporarily halted all rail operations.

IN THIS COUNTRY the scheme to reduce the work force and cut labor costs is already agreed upon, and the rail union officials are cooperating in revising work rules. What remains to be decided is only the method of recapitalizing the industry.

The railroad tycoons are anxious about what form the inflow of government subsidies will take. They expect to grab the lion's share. No less anxious about this shakedown operation is Al H. Chesser, president of the 200,000-member United Transportation Union, which represents switchmen, brakemen, conductors, and others in the operating department of the nation's railroads.

Chesser is not worried about what form the federal subsidy takes.

In a plea that appeared April 30 in the financial section of the *New York Times*, Chesser called for tax relief for "our industry." He had previously called for nationalization of the bankrupt Penn Central. He has subsequently hinted that it may be necessary to nationalize the entire industry.

Chesser does not care about the details. "The time has come for both sides to stop wasting en-

ergy and resources fighting each other," he states, "and use those energies and resources for our mutual advantage. When we do this, everyone—labor, management and the public—gains and no one loses."

The big financial interests that now control the railroads are little interested in Chesser's pleas for cooperation. They have everything from him that they need. He has already agreed to give up the fight for higher wages, better working conditions, and more jobs on the railroads.

THIS FIGHT HAS NOT YET BEEN GIVEN UP by many rail workers in the United Transportation Union. Within that union, the Right To Vote Committee is organizing the defense of jobs and working conditions. At the union's founding convention in Miami Beach, Fla., last August, the committee won the support of more than 800 of the 1,800 delegates on a vote to change the UTU constitution to give the membership the right to vote on contracts.

Its publication, *Progress Report*, calls for membership ratification of all union contracts, the right of the union to strike when necessary, a cost-of-living clause in all wage agreements, and a six-hour day at eight-hours' pay. This last demand is designed to prevent further cutbacks in the work force, which have already taken a severe toll.

These four demands, taken together, are suited to the most elementary and basic needs of the railroad workers today. They will be won in open struggle against the present management of the railroads, not in collaboration with that management for legislation that will pour federal funds into the industry and limit wages.

Rail transportation is an essential industry and ought to be expropriated, **but under the control of the workers in this industry.** At some point this will become the demand of these workers.

—FRANK LOVELL

Calendar

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

ATLANTA

CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN. Speakers: Debby Bustin, Georgia Women's Abortion Coalition; and Karen Sandys, Women's Defense Coalition. Fri., May 26, 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information, call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF RALLY. Sat., May 27, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opposite South Station). For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

VOICES OF DISSENT. Candidates for the 9th Congressional District Speak Out. Jeanne Lafferty, Socialist Workers Party; and Ray L. Green, Independent Black candidate. Wed., May 24, at 8 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1 Sat., May 27, at 8 p.m. on WBUR-FM, 90.9.

SOCIALISTS IN THE '72 ELECTIONS. A series of classes. 7:30 p.m. at 655 Atlantic Ave. (opposite South Station). Admission: \$1 per class. Ausp. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

Mon., May 29: The History of Socialist Campaigns in the U. S. Speaker: George Basley.

Wed., May 31: A Marxist Looks at Miami—Politics in the '72 Elections. Speaker: Laura Miller.

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETINGS. Every Sunday night at 7 p.m. All campaign supporters are welcome. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opposite South Station).

CLEVELAND

WHY ARE PRISONERS REBELLING?—A panel discussion. Fri., May 26, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Debs Hall Forum. For more information, call (216) 861-3862.

LOS ANGELES

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; the 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.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

BLACK VOICES FROM PRISON. Speaker: Etheridge Knight, former inmate, presently poet-in-residence at Washington University in St. Louis. Fri., May 26, 8 p.m., 2744 Broadway (106th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (212) 663-3000.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:15 a.m. every Wednesday, KPFF-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE MINNESOTA FARMER LABOR PARTY. Speaker: Dave Riehle. Fri., May 26, 8 p.m. 1 University N.E., Minneapolis. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum. For more information, call (612) 332-7781.

...CP

Continued from page 11
scope in auspices and participation." (Emphasis added.)

To assure that this curious formulation was not taken as an oversight, an editorial the following day entitled, "All out on April 22" declared: "In New York and San Francisco hundreds of volunteers have sprung to the task of mobilizing thousands to the demonstrations Saturday April 22. Elsewhere, April 22 has also been selected on an emergency basis for protest actions." (Emphasis added.)

The Communist Party apparently assumed that support for the New York demonstration had grown so much that they couldn't afford to con-

tinue their boycott, but that it was still possible to try to cut down the size of the Los Angeles action with these oblique stay-away signals to their supporters.

The April 22 issue of the *Daily World* included a report from Hanoi, where CP presidential nominee Gus Hall was at the time. The article began with a quote from Hall:

"We shall not rest, we shall not lose a day or an hour in taking every step that will mean an end to this infinitely brutal war. . . ."

The cynical hypocrisy of that "pledge" borders on the obscene. The record in Los Angeles proves that if it had been up to the Communist Party, April 22 would not have happened.

...USSR

Continued from page 5

1,000 bombing strikes a day against revolutionists in Vietnam? The sole guarantee of world peace is the *elimination of imperialism.*

Thus the response required by the Vietnamese revolution is far from the one emanating from Moscow. What is desperately needed is a united front of the workers states,* led by Moscow, to defend Indochina against U.S. aggression by any means necessary. This should be coupled with a massive mobilization of the antiwar movement, nationally and internationally,

to expose and oppose the genocidal escalation of the war being carried out by Washington.

Moscow could play a key role in rallying the world's population to demonstrate against the hated war. Instead of welcoming Nixon in Moscow on May 22, it could open a new stage of defending the Vietnamese by calling for global antiwar protests May 21.

...antiwar

Continued from page 10

Iowa, sent in a newspaper clipping reporting a demonstration of more than 3,000 in Iowa City on May 9. At Southern Illinois University in Carbondale, 3,000-4,000 students marched through the town on May 10, and a peaceful sit-in of 3,000 in the campus "free speech area" the next night was attacked by police using tear gas.

● The May 15 *New York Times* reports that Harold Gibbons, vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and Barry Commoner, nationally known ecologist and a professor at Washington University in St. Louis, joined with the Vietnam Veterans Against the War in filing a suit in federal court aimed at forcing the U.S. to set a date for the withdrawal of its military forces from Vietnam.

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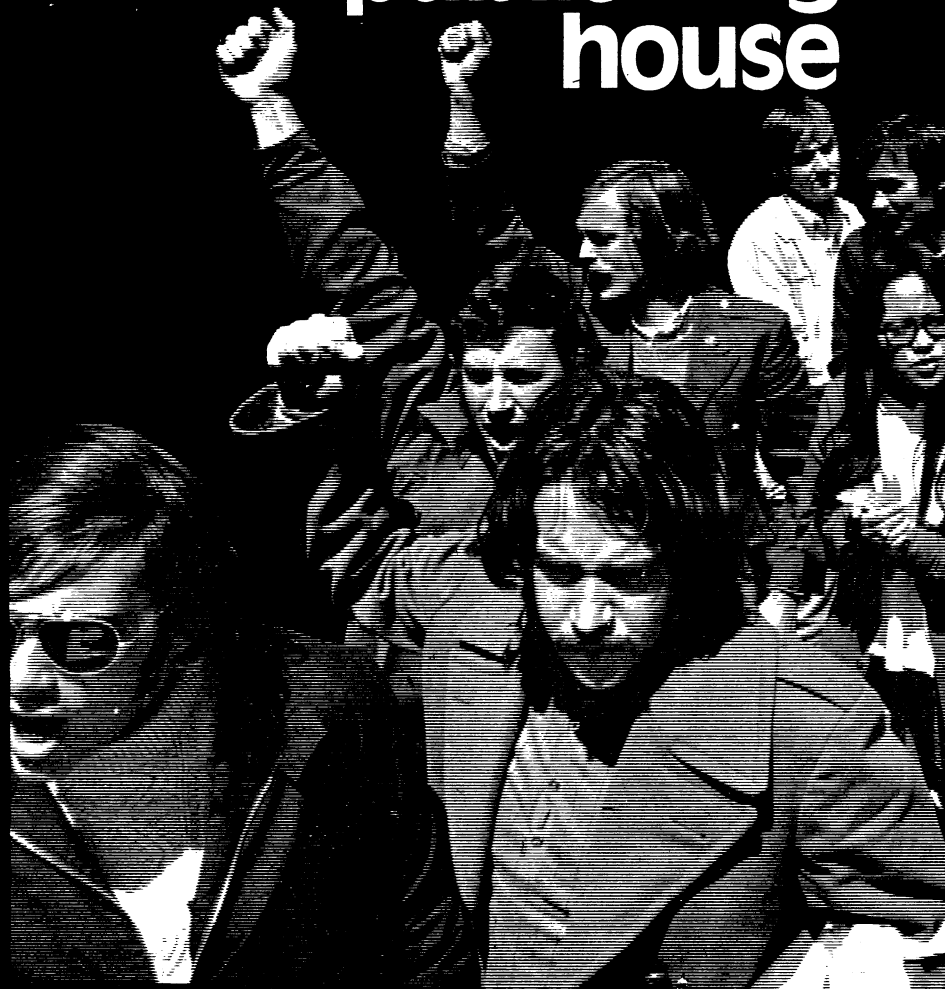
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THE MILITANT

Jenness speaks to 500 at protest meeting on Vietnam held at University of Mexico

By RICARDO OCHOA

MEXICO CITY, May 17—Yesterday a meeting here sponsored by the Comité de Defensa de Vietnam (Committee for the Defense of Vietnam) was attended by more than 500 students. Well-known student leaders chaired the gathering, which was held in the Che Guevara Auditorium at the University of Mexico.

Among the speakers was Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States. Other speakers were Carlos Monsivais, a writer and one of the editors of *Siempre*, a major weekly magazine published in Mexico City; Dr. Coeli, the director of the faculty of the Colegio de Psicología (School of Psychology), several professors of the School of Sciences, and three student leaders of UNAM (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México—Autonomous National University of Mexico).

Also invited to the meeting was a member of the recently founded Comité de Mobilización pro-Vietnam (Mobilization Committee for Vietnam). The committee's representative announced that the committee plans a big protest demonstration today in Mexico City against the Nixon government and

in unconditional support of the Vietnamese people's struggle for victory against Yankee imperialism.

Other speakers were a professor of biology, Ramón Caceres, who explained the ecological disasters caused by the American bombing of **Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, is on a 14-day fact-finding and public-speaking tour of Latin America. In addition to Mexico, she is scheduled to visit Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. She will be speaking to mass meetings, holding news conferences, and meeting revolutionary socialists throughout Latin America.**

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Indochina, and Héctor Capello, who delivered a message against the war in Vietnam from the International Psychoanalysts Association.

Linda Jenness, who has been an activist and a leader in the American antiwar movement since 1966, addressed the meeting in Spanish. She said that the American people are in solidarity with all the people around the world who want to end the war in Southeast Asia. The U.S. imperialists have no right whatsoever on the soil of Vietnam, she said.

Jenness called for the U.S. government to withdraw immediately, unconditionally, and totally all troops and matériel from Vietnam. The U.S. government should leave the Vietnamese people alone, she said, and Nixon should stop his course of destruction against people in underdeveloped countries. She compared the present crisis brought about by Nixon's mining of North Vietnamese ports to the Cuban missile crisis created by President Kennedy in 1962. In closing, Jenness saluted the antiwar demonstration to be held in Mexico City today.

The coordinator of the Mobilization Committee said that its appeal had been signed by well-known intellectuals, among them writers Elena Pontiatowska, Carlos Fuentes, and Fernando Benítez, and a number of university professors, including

Manuel Beinbert. The committee calls for an end to the bombing, support to all actions against the war, and for support to the Vietnamese people in their fight for an independent and unified Vietnam, free of any foreign intervention.

Several daily newspapers in Mexico City have published articles on the Mobilization Committee, quoting sections of the statements by the writers. The committee expects today's demonstration to be large. It will be the first major antiwar action to be held in Mexico in more than four years.



Linda Jenness

Photo by Howard Petrick

Davis defense demands 'Drop all charges!'

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN JOSE, Calif., May 16—The state rested its case against Angela Davis yesterday with a reading of excerpts from an 18-page document allegedly written by Davis. The document was seized from George Jackson's San Quentin prison cell after his death Aug. 21, 1971. In a phlegmatic voice reserved for the reading of law texts, prosecutor Albert Harris picked his way through the passages he maintains are critical to his case.

The prosecution contends that these declarations of love for George Jackson reveal the motive that drove Davis to plan the capture of hostages at the Marin County Civic Center on Aug. 7, 1970. The document was allegedly typed by Davis while in jail almost a year after the Marin County events.

Today, defense counsel Leo Branton moved that all charges against Davis be dropped. He said of the prosecution's evidence, "You mean you have kept the defendant in jail for sixteen months and subjected her to terror and agony and that's the only evidence you have?"

"The only theory you have proven," he asserted "is that Angela Davis is a warm, articulate human being who has love and compassion—yes—for George Jackson, but [also] for humanity and especially the Black people she represents so well."

In none of the letters submitted to the jury (written both before and after Aug. 7, 1970) does Davis mention plans to free George Jackson and the Soledad Brothers by illegal means. On the contrary, Branton told the court, the letters "show that Angela Davis was involved in a campaign to free the Soledad Brothers by legal means . . . making speeches and attending fund-raising functions . . . engaged in the pursuit of first amendment rights."

The prosecution called 93 witnesses and submitted more than 200 items of circumstantial evidence in seven weeks of testimony. The first half of the prosecution's case was devoted to a lurid description of the events of Aug. 7, including the killing of Judge Harold Haley. Although some of the police at the scene recalled hearing the escaping prisoners shout something similar to "Free the Soledad Brothers," none of them responded to the slogan as if it were a condition for release of the hostages.

In the final portion of its case, the prosecution attempted to show that Davis supplied the weapons used on Aug. 7, that she had an opportunity to conspire with Jonathan Jackson in the weeks preceding Aug. 7, that she fled California to avoid prosecution, and that she expressed her motive of "passion" in letters to George Jackson.

Although Davis legally and openly purchased the guns over a period of two years prior to Aug. 7, no proof has been offered to show that she gave them to Jonathan Jackson or that she knew the purpose for which he planned to use them.

Several witnesses stated that they had seen Davis accompany Jonathan Jackson as he visited his brother, George, at San Quentin, and that they had seen the two in the vicinity of the Marin County courthouse on the day before the escape attempt.

The defense cited legal precedents, however, to show that "mere association does not make a conspiracy." Branton pointed out today that the prosecution is attempting to force the jury to draw inferences of crime from otherwise common and legitimate acts. The defense stipulated that Davis took a plane to Los Angeles Aug. 7 but maintains that she was traveling in the normal course of her business.

Davis's later journey across the

country under an assumed name, the defense has stated, was made because of her innocence rather than her guilt. Her incarceration for more than a year without bail served to substantiate her belief that she would not get a fair trial.

The open political content of the case against Davis was deleted earlier this year when the state's murder case against the Soledad Brothers began to fracture and the defendants were finally found innocent. Harris has asked the court to drop the first count of the indictment against Davis, which charges her with speaking at a Los Angeles rally to free the Soledad Brothers.

The defense will present its first witness to the jury this week and is expected to rest its case before June 1.

Judge Richard Arnason will rule in the next few weeks on the motion to drop all charges against Davis.

In a related development, 22 supporters of Davis convicted of picketing in front of the San Jose courthouse were sentenced yesterday. They received 30-day suspended sentences and six months' summary probation with the condition that they do not picket "in the same manner or the same place" for the length of the probation. The defendants plan to appeal the decision.

On May 20, the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis will cosponsor a noon rally against war, repression, and racism at 16th and Williams streets in San Jose.

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