

Build the May 5 nat'l student moratorium

- page 8

THE MILITANT

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

**Bring
them
all
home
now**



**The truth about the May Day Tribe /9
The struggle for abortion law repeal /12
Black nationalism and Black workers /10**

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 West Coast labor builds April 24 Gainesville Black student struggle
- 4 High school in Crystal City, Texas
- 5 Palestinian forces leave Amman East Bengal declares independence
- 8 May 5 moratorium
- 9 Answer to May Day Tribe
- 10 Black nationalism and Black workers
- 11 Join the YSA
- 12 The struggle for abortion rights
- 14 SWP plans national convention
- 15 Houston socialists lead fight against Klan
- 16 Nixon's inflation alert—attack on steelworkers
- 17 Florida YSA in campus rights battle
- 18 Columbus antiwar forces fight right-wing threats Gay conferences held in DeKalb, Binghamton
- 19 Roots of the April Coalition
- 20 On kidnapping in Brazil
- 24 Nixon plans wider war L.A. SWP offices vandalized

- 2 In Brief
- 3 April 24 Countdown
- 6 In Our Opinion Letters
- 7 Great Society Third World Liberation Notes
- 20 In Review

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 35/NUMBER 16
APRIL 30, 1971
CLOSING NEWS DATE—APRIL 21

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Technical Editor: JON BRITTON
Business Manager: FLAX HERMES

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone 243-6392. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$6 a year; foreign, \$7.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada, \$18.00, all other countries, \$24.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$26.00; Latin America and Europe, \$40.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

NEW HAVEN PANTHER DEFENSE BLOCKS PROSECUTION THEATRICS: Judge Harold M. Mulvey ruled April 16 that evidence relating to the condition of Alex Rackley's body on discovery was inadmissible in the trial of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins. The prosecution sought to introduce gruesome photographs and other gory evidence, but attorney Catherine Roraback successfully argued that such exhibits were irrelevant, since neither Seale nor Huggins is accused of witnessing Rackley's death or of doing the shooting. The episode was unusual in a trial where the judge has previously allowed the prosecution to introduce heaps of extraneous "evidence" over defense objections.

COMMUNE CENTENARY DEMONSTRATION: An international demonstration in Paris May 15-16 will honor the centenary of the Paris Commune. It is being sponsored by 19 organizations affiliated with, or sympathetic to the ideas of, the Fourth International, the international revolutionary organization founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.

ART SALE AND EXHIBIT: An exhibition and sale of graphic art representing five decades, "From the Palmer Raids to the Nixon Era," will be at the Sculpture Studio, 202 East 77th St. in New York May 1 and 2 from 2 to 5 p.m. The exhibit-sale is being sponsored by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC), which celebrates its twentieth anniversary this year. The \$1 contribution at the door and proceeds from the sale of works displayed will go to help finance the continuing work of this important civil liberties organization in supplying legal help for political battles to defend and extend democratic rights. For further information, call (212) 638-8120. Or, if you are not in the New York area and want to make an anniversary gift to the ECLC, address checks or money orders to ECLC, 25 East 26th St., New York, N.Y. 10010.

SACB MOVES WITCH-HUNT TO NEW YORK: The Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB—pronounced "scab"), a vestige of the 1950 Kilgore-McCarran anti-subversives legislative package pushed by Hubert Humphrey and others 20 years ago, scheduled hearings in New York April 21 to continue its harassment of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL). A demonstration was called to protest the witch-hunt proceedings.

THE VATICAN ON WAR AND 'HOT PANTS': We have not been able to detect any difference in the much-publicized "hot pants" from "short-shorts," which have been around for years, but the Vatican disagrees. The April 13 *L'Osservatore Romano*, the Vatican newspaper, suggested hot pants and other modern fashions might be partly to blame for the recent wave of sex crimes in Italy, according to the April 16 *New York Post*. The same article told of a meeting that day between Paul VI and five rock music groups. One of the musicians, some of whom wore hot pants, asked the Pope why he didn't ban participation in war the way he bans contraception. "It's not in my power," the pontiff replied.

SURVEY RIP-OFF RATE: A company called Management Safeguard, Inc. conducts surveys for department stores by posting people at store entrances who follow every third customer through the door to see who is shoplifting and how much. The company's president, Saul D. Astor, reports from the results of studies that one out of 22 persons shoplifts in Boston; one out of 16 in New York; one out of 11 in Philadelphia; and one out of eight in Chicago. Pointing out that the average shoplifter takes goods worth about \$7.75, Astor comments: "No one is really enriching himself by shoplifting. He has an underlying feeling that he is being cheated by the stores, particularly now that we've had the inflation of the past couple of years."

20,000 GI-FATHERED VIET ORPHANS: Ann Bryan, *New York Post* correspondent in Saigon, said in an April 16 article that 20,000 children, born as a result of the exploitation of Vietnamese women by GIs, are living in the overcrowded, ill-equipped and under-staffed orphanages of South Vietnam where a Vietnamese woman is likely to leave the unwanted result of an invader's rape. Because U.S. and Saigon officials both refuse to recognize the existence of such children (and have consequently barred the attempts of organizations like the Pearl Buck Foundation to aid them), these children face conditions which boost the South Vietnamese infant mortality rate (of 500 deaths per 1,000 live births) even higher.

BENEFITS OF SPACE PROGRAM: The British occupying forces in Northern Ireland are making use of technology developed in the U.S. moon flight project. Ac-

ording to the April 2 *Irish Times*, British military helicopters are being equipped with shields constructed of plastic similar to that worn by U.S. moon men when they planted the stars and stripes in moon dust. The shields are a reaction to close scrapes with freedom fighters' rifle fire.

Hear Peter Camejo April 24, 8:30 p.m.

Peter Camejo, 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for senator from Massachusetts, will be speaking on "How to Make a Revolution in the U.S.," Sat., April 24, 8:30 p.m. at the George Washington University Student Union Ballroom, 21st St. N.W. (between H and I St.). Sponsored by GWU Young Socialist Alliance. For further information, call 223-2267 in Washington, D.C.

BUREAUCRATIC TOADS: Ensuring for themselves a despised place in history and the scorn of future generations of Soviet citizens, the officials of the Soviet Writers Union continue to go along with the rest of the Stalinist bureaucracy in hounding and harassing Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. Last month, Georgy Markov, secretary of the writers union, justified in a news conference the failure of any Soviet publishing house to consider Solzhenitsyn's new novel, *August 1914*, for publication. Authorities also classed the author's \$78,000 Nobel prize money as a gift, rather than a prize, reducing the value of what Solzhenitsyn is eligible to receive under Soviet law. When the writer protested that the money was a prize and not a gift, these cloddish bureaucrats cynically demanded proof and refused to acknowledge proof when it was produced.

MOST IDIOTIC RITUAL AWARD: To the United Daughters of the Confederacy, who plan a May 8 ceremony for the reburial of the rotten bones of Traveller, Gen. Robert E. Lee's horse, dug up to go in a museum in 1907.

MCCARTHYISM IN REVERSE? Sen. Hugh Scott, evidently expecting to be taken seriously, charged on the ABC-TV show "Issues and Answers" April 11 that the recent rash of exposures of FBI practices are blown out of proportion by FBI critics practicing what Scott called "reverse McCarthyism."

BERRIGAN GRAND JURY MISUSES AUTHORITY: The FBI served subpoenas on 11 persons April 16, ordering them to appear before the federal grand jury that indicted the Harrisburg Six defendants. Those subpoenaed are persons the defense has planned to call as witnesses in the trial. The defense committee denounced the jury's action as an illegal attempt "to obtain statements from witnesses for the defense after these witnesses had previously refused to talk with FBI agents."

COURT VICTORY FROM SELMA BATTLE: A three-judge federal court panel declared Alabama's anti-riot law unconstitutional April 9, halting the five-year attempt of Alabama authorities to prosecute William House and Stokely Carmichael under the law for their role in the 1966 Selma protests.

GAYS SPEAK TO L.A. FORUM: A panel of gay activists addressed the Los Angeles Militant Labor Forum March 26 on the subject of the revolutionary nature of the gay liberation movement. Panelists included Morris Kight of the Los Angeles Gay Liberation Front, Stan Williams of L.A. GLF, Steve Egan and Tess of Orange County GLF, and Sherri Goldsmith of the Lesbian Feminists.

CLEVELAND WOMEN HIT MUMP-JOWLS' ABORTION STATEMENT: One hundred women demonstrated at the old Federal Building in Cleveland April 10 for Free Abortion on Demand/No Forced Sterilization and Repeal of All Antiabortion Laws. A United Women's Contingent speaker answered Nixon's hypocritical statement about "the sanctity of life" with which he justified cutting back abortions in military hospitals. Lee Cooper of Cleveland Women's Liberation Health Collective and Maureen Landers, from Cleveland Heights High School Women's Liberation, also spoke.

— LEE SMITH

West Coast unions mobilize against war

By CAROL LIPMAN

SAN FRANCISCO — Organized labor's support for the April 24 San Francisco antiwar demonstration continues to pour into the West Coast offices of the National Peace Action Coalition at 755 Market St. in San Francisco. Last week, the San Francisco Central Labor Council endorsed the march, overriding the objections of its elected leadership.

Similarly, the powerful Transport Workers Local 250-A, Bus and Trolley Drivers, San Francisco, voted to support the April 24 demonstration. The union's membership overruled a recommendation from the local executive board to table, and voted to support the march.

Other recent endorsements include the Office and Professional Employees Local 3, San Francisco City Employees Local 400, and the United Transit Workers Local 1741 (East Bay Transit Workers).

Overall labor support for the antiwar demonstration has been bigger and broader than that for any past action, and it includes active support and participation from many unions. Four AFL-CIO central labor councils (Santa Clara, Contra Costa, San Mateo and San Francisco) have already endorsed the action. The Marin and Sacramento central labor councils have resolutions pending, and affirmative action is expected. Only one labor council, Alameda, turned down a resolution (by a narrow margin

of two votes). But the labor council's newspaper has published the march route for the demonstration and information about the labor rally on April 24.

Many of the unions endorsing the demonstration have published articles in their newspapers about the action. The California Federation of Teachers has published a special edition of its paper building the demonstration, which will go to every teacher in the state. Many teachers locals are organizing their own buses for the demonstration.

The United Auto Workers, at a nine-state meeting of its political arm, CAP (Community Action Program), of Region Six, passed a resolution supporting April 24 last month. Since then, the union has published a special leaflet on the war, which includes a coupon for buses and endorsement for April 24, to pass out at plant gates. Paul Shrader, Western Regional Director of the UAW, will be speaking at the April 24 demonstration in San Francisco.

Three of the central labor councils and scores of unions in the area are now distributing a special NPAC labor leaflet on April 24, and a special labor poster for the demonstration is posted in union halls and offices throughout the entire bay area.

Organizers of April 24 expect that the labor support for this action is just a harbinger of what is to come if the United States government continues its aggression in Southeast Asia.

Black students lead Florida school protest

By WAYNE HIEBER

GAINESVILLE, Fla., April 17 — Sixty-eight Black students were suspended and arrested here yesterday in the office of University of Florida President Stephen O'Connell. They had come to present a list of demands that had first been put forward one and one-half years ago.

The demands included the establishment of a Black cultural center, recruitment of more Black faculty (at this time there are only 15 Black faculty out of over 2,000) and the admission of 500 more Black students by the fall term of 1971. Before the suspensions there were less than 325 Black students out of a student body of over 22,000 students. O'Connell's response was: "I will never accede to these racist demands."

Following the suspensions and arrests, a spontaneous protest demonstration of over 1,000 students assembled and marched to the administration building, occupying three floors of the building. The president announced that all students in the building were suspended, and ordered campus and city police to remove the students to the city jail. By this time the crowd in the administration building had grown to about 2,000.

At the same time, thousands of students chanting, "O'Connell's got to go!" and "Racists must go," assembled outside the building, blocking access to waiting buses.

Police attempted to disperse the crowd with mace, tear-gas barrages, and baton charges into the assembled masses of chanting students, but all attempts failed. Nine more students were arrested but released when the buses were besieged by thousands of singing and chanting demonstrators.

A general student strike was called that evening, initiated by the Black Student Union and unanimously endorsed by a mass meeting of thousands of students. A strike center was established, and demonstrations continued throughout the weekend of April 17-18. All Black students and faculty have voted to quit en masse if all the demands of the BSU are not met, including the ouster of the racist president.

Support strikes are being initiated at Florida State University, University of South Florida, Florida A & M, Georgia State University, and many other universities and high schools in Florida and Georgia.

A statewide meeting of all Black university students is scheduled to take place in Gainesville on April 20.

After a rally on the afternoon of April 16, a leading Black activist in Gainesville was arrested on a trumped-up robbery charge involving \$30. It is clear that the Gainesville police are waging an attack against the Black community.

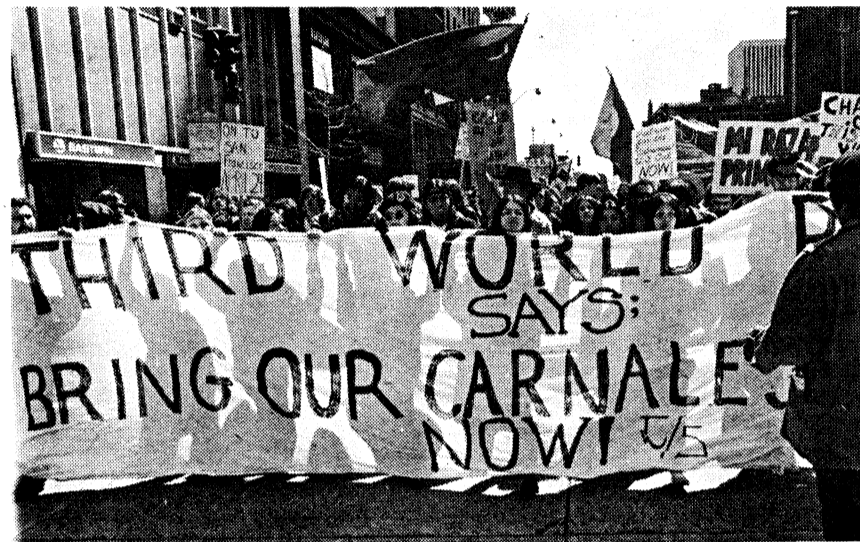
As of this writing, spirits are high and the struggle will continue.

April 24 countdown

An April 17 antiwar action in Denver, Colo., to build for April 24 was joined by 5,000 people. Led by a Chicano contingent of 300 persons, the march also had a United Women's Contingent, a veterans' contingent, and a gay liberation contingent.

Four thousand people marched in an April 17 building action in Seattle, led by a Chicano contingent. After the march and a rally, organized by the Seattle Peace Action Coalition, hundreds of participants went door-to-door petitioning to put an antiwar referendum on the city election ballot in November.

Three thousand people turned out April 18 for a building action in Austin, Texas. A contingent of 600 active-duty GIs led the march, carrying a banner saying "On to Washington April 24!"



Seattle, April 17

Photo by Shelby Harris

One hundred fifty out of 204 members of the editorial department of the San Francisco Chronicle sent the following telegram to President Nixon on Monday, April 19: "We, the members of the San Francisco Chronicle editorial department, in support of the April 24 demonstration against the war in Vietnam, urge you to withdraw unconditionally and immediately all American forces in Southeast Asia." The signers included such well-known columnists as Herb Caen and Art Hoppe.

The San Francisco Board of Supervisors, by a vote of six to three, has designated April 24 as "a day of public determination to end the war in Vietnam." The Board of Supervisors of Sacramento, by a vote of four to one, has endorsed the National Peace Action Coalition "goals and march" in Washington and San Francisco.

An April 19 Washington Post editorial, welcoming demonstrators to D.C., complimenting the administration on its improved attitude of cooperation in granting permits, and singling out the National Peace Action Coalition for special mention because it has been "working feverishly to set a legal, peaceful and orderly tone to the events," listed the hours, addresses and phone numbers of reception, medical, marshal-training, and housing centers for the benefit of "our visitors this week."

On the facing page was a syndicated column by professional red-baiters Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, headlined "Muskie and the Trotskyites," which contained many falsehoods and a few truths. The kernels of truth that emerge from the red-baiting attack of these two hack writers are these: 1) YSA has replaced SDS as "the most important radical organization on college campuses"; 2) YSA and SWP are "the most dynamic, most effective organization(s) on the American left"; and 3) "Well-organized and purposeful, the Trotskyists take the trouble to plan nationwide demonstrations." Like all red-baiters, Evans and Novak make their biggest mistake in short-changing the many other individuals and groups who share the YSA's and SWP's commitment to mass action and immediate withdrawal.

The Student Mobilization Committee reports unprecedented growth around the April 24 action. There are now more than 30 campus SMC chapters in Northern California and well over 25 high school and junior high school chapters. Two elementary school SMCs have been formed recently in San Francisco.

The results of a poll taken by the Washington Post of D.C. residents were published in the April 18 issue, showing three out of five persons backing the April 24 action.

The national president of the American Federation of Government Employees, AFL-CIO, John F. Griner, threatened to remove the charter of Local 650 if the members used the union's name in the April 24 antiwar march, even though the local had voted to support the action by a four-to-one margin. Local 650 is constituted of workers in the patent office, but Local 1826 and Local 2677 at the Library of Congress and Office of Economic Opportunity have also passed antiwar resolutions. While a spokesman for Local 650 said his unit would abide by Griner's "cease and desist" order and participate in April 24 as individuals, spokeswomen for the other two locals said they would stick by their resolutions. "There's no way in hell he can interpret the constitution the way he has," Martha Tabor of Local 2677 said.

Chicano control of schools in Crystal City

By MIRTA VIDAL

CRYSTAL CITY, Texas—In the spring of 1969, students at Crystal City High School raised a series of demands aimed at improving the schools. The school board and administration were able to intimidate the students into discontinuing their efforts to have these demands met. But they failed to demoralize the students.

In December of that same year, the students staged one of the best organized and most successful school walkouts in Texas. Approximately 1,700 out of 2,300 students in grades one through 12 walked out, virtually closing down all three schools in the city.

Their demands included bilingual education, school participation in federal programs (such as a lunch program), better physical conditions in the school, Chicano counselors, scholarships, the right to bring whatever literature they wanted into the schools, and an end to racist practices in the selection of cheerleaders.

This confrontation with the school board officials and the school administration not only won the student demands but helped to politicize and mobilize a large part of the community. The desire of the parents and students to throw members of the racist school board and City Council out of office resulted in the successful campaign to build La Raza Unida Party, which has since won a majority on the school board and complete control of the City Council.

Today, students at Crystal City High School, the only high school in the predominantly Chicano city, enjoy more rights than most students in high schools and even colleges across the country.

One of the central leaders in the 1969 high school rights struggle was Mario Treviño, now a junior at Crystal City High School. He is a member of the statewide Board of Directors of MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization) and served as chairman of Crystal City MAYO, which was formed following the successful walkout.

In a recent visit to Crystal City, I attended two MAYO meetings and was able to witness the changes the school has undergone since Chicanos began to gain control of their community through La Raza Unida Party.

Referring to the Student Mobilization Committee High School Bill of Rights, Treviño described some of the changes involving student rights:

Students may now form political organizations in the school regardless of the point of view or the causes such as an organization champions. "A clear example," says Treviño "is having MAYO in the school, which we could never have had before. It is now accepted."

They also have the full right to use school facilities. "Before, we could not express our views and they just banned whatever we did," he explained. "Last Jan. 7, we celebrated the walkout anniversary. We didn't use the auditorium, because it was too small. But we used the school grounds. We stood on the steps and there we made our speeches. MAYO can now use the facilities as easily as Future Farmers of America, Future Teachers of America, or Future Homemakers of America."

Political material, pamphlets, leaflets, and radical newspapers such as *The Militant* and *The Key* (a student underground newspaper) are distributed freely in the school. On this, Treviño commented, "We usually ask the principal for permission, just to be courteous. But if some time we're in a hurry, we just go ahead and do it." The principal, of course, is Raza—that is, a Chicano who has not sold out.

Although the school has no formal statement on the rights of students, there is also no code telling the students what they can and cannot do, such as what they should wear. "At first the principal wanted a dress code. But we went to the superintendent and he vetoed it, so we have no dress code. One reason we can do it is that most of the teachers are young and they come with fresh, new ideas and they are with us," said Treviño. In

contrast, he pointed out that Southwest Junior College, 40 miles from Crystal City, still has a dress code.

Whereas before students were required to attend assemblies that catered to the Anglo students, programs have now been changed to relate to the Chicano students. Nor do they have to attend, though they usually do.

Asked whether students had the right to strike, Treviño replied, "Before, we did not have that right; there were reprisals against us. Now they respect us and are willing to hear us."

"We have a student court. If there is any problem between students and teachers, the student court reaches a verdict, which helps the principal decide. But if the student does not agree with the verdict he will petition the school board. The school board can then make a decision at a public meeting or take action, if the petitioner wants it."

"I petitioned the school board asking that the cafeteria boycott non-union lettuce. It was voted on that same night at a public meeting." The decision was 4 to 3 in favor of the boycott—the ratio of Raza Unida members on the board at that time—making Crystal City High School the first school in Texas to boycott lettuce and the second in the nation after Harvard. During the boycott, union lettuce was transported by bus to Crystal City.

Students at CCHS, according to Treviño, are not penalized for their political or moral beliefs, have access to their personal files, as do their parents, and are not discriminated against on the basis of sex. He pointed to a program, for example, that encourages males who show an interest in the field to become nurses to help alleviate the drastic shortage of nurses. "Before we had our school board, we were pushed into being mechanics and having minor positions like ditchdiggers. If they could, they would encourage us to go into janitorial work. The former principal of the school told my brother that his IQ showed he wasn't the college type, that all he could do was go into labor or be a janitor. He's got his masters in law now and is the head of the bilingual program in Dallas."

Eleven Chicanos from Crystal City have already been killed while serving in Vietnam. Since Raza Unida gained a majority on the school board, however, complicity with the war machine has been ended. Army recruiters who would visit the school once a year to fill their quota are now forbidden to go into school at all; nor are rec-

ords of the students made available to them. In fact, a draft counseling system has been set up at the school, which the students are encouraged to take advantage of. Out of 43 cases that the counselor has handled so far, not a single one has been drafted, although some have chosen to enlist.

The democratic right of all students in the school to vote is also a novelty at CCHS. Students fought for that right and it is insured by La Raza Unida having a majority on the school board. Unlike the former student councils which were chosen by teachers and students and were mostly or all Anglos, all students are now eligible to serve on the council.

Elections for cheerleaders and other school representatives are held during school hours, and every single student gets to vote. The fact that cheerleaders were formerly chosen by the teachers sparked the walkouts which have brought the Crystal City High School students this far along in the struggle to control their own lives.

The impressive victories of the CCHS students are a product of mass struggles involving the active participation of the community, combined with independent electoral action. What has happened in Crystal City holds important lessons for similar struggles by Black, Puertorriqueño and Chicano students elsewhere.

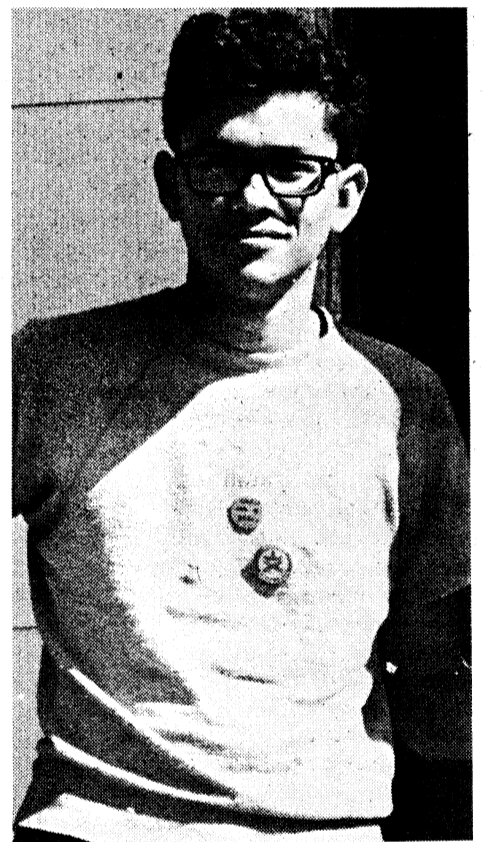


Photo by Antonio Camejo

Mario Treviño

WE'RE ALL TIED UP... doing things by hand that machines can do better

Help us purchase those machines by giving to the Militant Improvement Fund

Many of you will be reading *The Militant* for the first time with this special issue. And we hope you will become regular subscribers. In the past year, we have significantly expanded our circulation and our coverage and improved the appearance of the paper. We want to continue this process. However, our immediate need in this connection is to purchase two labor-saving machines. We need a Cheshire labeling machine, which will automate the present cumbersome method of individually

stamping the name and address of each subscriber onto *The Militant* by hand. And we need a photo typositor, which will make *The Militant* look even better than it now does by providing us with virtually any style of headline type available. We have set a goal of raising \$5,000 within the next few weeks for this purpose. We hope you can respond generously. Send in your contribution today.

Militant Improvement Fund

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

I want to help expand and improve *The Militant*.

Enclosed is my contribution of (circle):

\$1,000 \$500 \$100 \$50 \$20 \$10 \$5 Other: \$

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Palestinian forces leave Amman

By TONY THOMAS

APRIL 17—The Palestinian resistance recently suffered one of its most serious defeats since the September 1970 Jordanian civil war. Many armed commandos have apparently been forced to withdraw from Amman and other major Jordanian cities.

The Palestinian commandos are struggling to liberate Palestine—the West Bank of Jordan and the present territory of Israel—from Zionist control. To replace Zionist Israel, they call for a democratic state in which all religious, national and racial groups would have equal political, social, religious, and cultural rights.

The Zionist regime in Israel fosters extreme racism and anticommunism amongst Jews in order to rationalize the oppression of the Palestinian people. The April 12 *Time* magazine published a Lou Harris poll of Israeli public opinion which revealed the depths of this anti-Arab racism.

Comparing themselves to Arabs, 53 percent of the Israelis polled thought Arabs are lazier, 74 percent thought they are less intelligent, 75 percent more cruel, 80 percent believed them more cowardly, 66 percent more dishonest, and 67 percent simply said the Arabs are "inferior" to Israeli Jews.

"Among the Israelis, 23 percent say they would be bothered if an Arab sat beside them in a restaurant, 26 percent if they had to work closely with one, 49 percent if an Arab family moved next door, 54 percent if their children had an Arab teacher, 74 percent if their children became close friends with Arabs, and 84 percent if a friend or a relative were to marry an Arab."

Since the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war, the existence of Palestinian commandos has been a challenge and threat to the traditional leaderships of the Arab states. By carrying out guerrilla actions against the Israeli-occupied portions of Palestine, they threaten the possibility of a compromise between the Arab governments, Israel, and American imperialism which would be detrimental to Palestinian interests.

By mobilizing, organizing and arming the masses of Palestinians who live

in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and other Arab countries, the commandos have created independent power bases which challenge the stability of the capitalist regimes in these countries.

Nowhere has this been more clear than in Jordan, where the largest number of Palestinian refugees are. Since the winter of 1968, major confrontations between the Palestinians and the armed forces of Jordan's King Hussein have taken place. They culminated in a bloody civil war in September 1970 in which tens of thousands of Palestinians were slaughtered by Hussein. Since the civil war, the Palestinians' organized forces have been demonstrably weakened.

The latest confrontation occurred after a series of attempts by the Hashemite leaders of Jordan to disarm the Palestinian forces in Amman, Jordan's capital, and in other Jordanian cities.

On April 6, King Hussein announced that he wanted all armed commandos and major Palestinian arms out of Amman in two days. He also charged that commandos based in Syria or Syrian regular forces had shelled Jordanian positions on the Syrian border.

On April 9, a settlement was announced which was accepted by Hussein and the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the major Palestinian organization, led by Yasser Arafat of Fateh. According to the April 11-12 *Le Monde*, the settlement established a six-person committee (two PLO, two Jordanian, and two Syrian) to organize the evacuation of commandos from Amman. Under these terms, the Palestinians were given an extension of Hussein's deadline for leaving Amman.

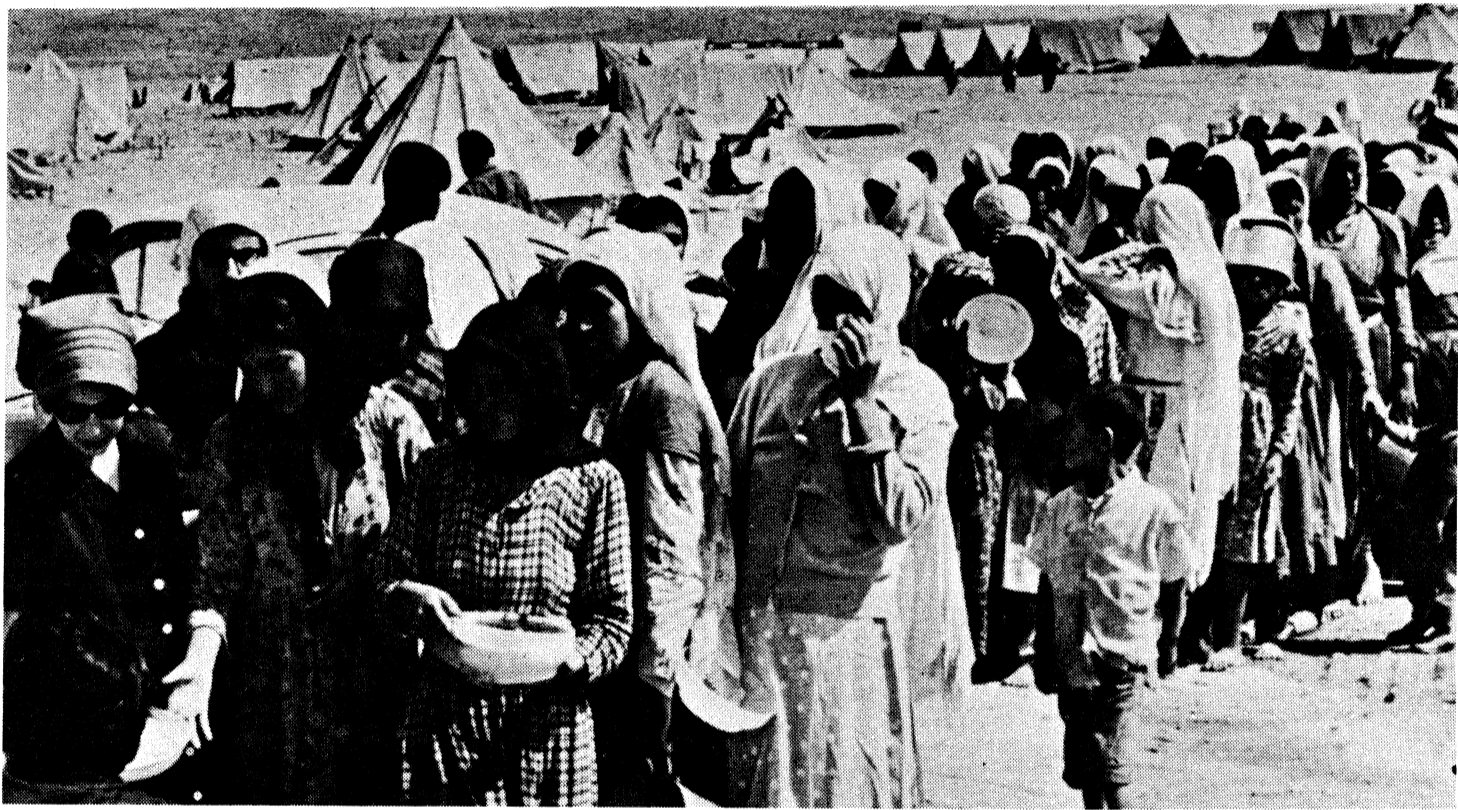
Hussein was quoted by *Le Monde*

as saying, "This is what we have wished for, and desired."

There is no reason to believe that Jordanian attacks against the Palestinians will cease if Amman is evacuated. This is the tenth agreement between the Palestinians and the Jordanian Army since November 1968.

This setback, however, does not mean that the Palestinian resistance struggle will not continue. The masses of the Arab people support the struggle against Zionism, forcing the Egyptian and other regimes to issue verbal denunciations of the Jordanians though they refuse to lift a finger to defend them or even give them adequate military supplies.

The masses of the Palestinian people are still exiled from their homeland, still living in refugee camps, and still demanding self-determination by any means necessary.



Palestinian refugees in Jordan face bleak existence in refugee camps.

East Bengal declares independence

By MARCEL BLACK

APRIL 17—A provisional government for Bangla Desh [Bengali Nation] was declared on April 13 in Chudanga, an East Bengali city 110 miles northeast of Calcutta, India. The government is to be led by Tajuddin Ahmed, one of the leaders of the Awami League in East Bengal. Sheik Mujibur Rahman is to be president, although he is believed to be held captive in West Pakistan.

Tajuddin Ahmed proclaimed the "full sovereignty and independence" of Bangla Desh and called for other governments to recognize it and give it military aid.

Meanwhile, large numbers of refugees have fled to India in the wake of the Vietnam-style "search and destroy" tactics used by the Pakistani forces, as the center of fighting shifted from the cities to the villages.

The April 13 *New York Times* reported, "The Pakistani armed forces . . . are destroying food stocks, tea plantations and jute mills." Col. M. F. G. Osmany, commander of the Bangla Desh forces, is quoted as saying the Pakistani's "targets are mostly civilian. They are trying to terrorize and starve the population."

According to the April 15 *Washing-*

ton Post, "often the threat of an army appearance is enough to cause a village to haul down its Bangla Desh flags.

" . . . the refugees all report that army troops have burned and looted their villages," the *Post* continues. "In some areas, the people hid in the fields for one or two days before the army moved on and they began their journey to the [Indian] border."

An Associated Press dispatch filed from Dacca, the capital of East Bengal, describes the devastated Pakistani-held territories: "In the teeming working-class districts, [people] roam through a black wilderness of ashes and charred bamboo stumps. It is all that remains of the flimsy homes where thousands . . . lived. At least 24 entire city blocks have been devastated since Yahya Khan ordered his troops into Dacca on the night of March 25. . . ."

"Dacca University remains closed. Student dormitories are strewn with litter and pocked with bullet holes." This dispatch describes the situation on April 12, weeks after the Pakistanis seized the city.

The April 17 *New York Times* reported that the Pakistani Army has undergone a blood-purge of East Ben-

gali soldiers. A Bengali ex-officer reported that Bengali troops were being slaughtered wholesale by the Pakistanis, even if they do not support Bangla Desh. The officer reported that on March 30, sixty Bengali soldiers in his regiment were taken out and shot. He himself escaped by feigning death after being wounded by a firing squad.

Throughout Pakistan, stringent martial law is being enforced. Foreign correspondents, newspapers and magazines are banned. According to an April 11 *New York Times* report, "A person who listens to foreign radio broadcasts on East Pakistan events has to whisper when relaying the news for fear of being reported as a subversive."

New laws have given the government the power to arrest people for seven years with no trial and to ban "undesirables" from politics, public media, and other "means of influencing public opinion."

Zulifakar Ali Bhutto, leader of the West Pakistan-based Pakistan Peoples Party is now jockeying for the eventual leadership of a reunited Pakistan. This pseudo-socialist was able to gain political importance in the 1968-69 struggles against Ayub Khan, in

which he posed as a "reasonable" champion of capitalist democracy.

Bhutto's party gained 88 seats in the December elections. The Awami League won 188 seats, i.e., a majority. Bhutto is attempting to use this slim margin to claim that he is the constitutional heir-apparent in Pakistan, since the leaders of the Awami League have been eliminated by the civil war.

At a press conference held in Karachi on April 14, Bhutto called for "an equitable economic system under . . . democracy and under one flag." Bhutto also hinted that if the Bangla Desh forces were crushed he might even support "autonomy" of some sort within a reunited Pakistan.

Bhutto's statements are part of a two-pronged strategy used by the Pakistani rulers to smash the Bengali struggle. On one hand, they offer the return to constitutional democracy, which has been promised for over 15 years if "peace" is achieved. On the other hand, they savagely murder the masses of East Bengal. Official Pakistani sources who once treated Bhutto as a threat to their regime, now describe him as a "great patriotic Pakistani."

Woodcock & April 24

Support from the organized labor movement for the April 24 mass demonstrations is unprecedented. Never before have so many unions not only endorsed an action for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops but actively mobilized their membership to participate.

However, on April 17, one week before masses of Americans were to pour into the streets for the April 24 antiwar protest, Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Automobile Workers, did his best to minimize participation by auto workers. At a St. Louis conference of antiwar students and trade unionists, Woodcock announced that the UAW National Executive Board had decided not to endorse the April 24 actions.

In his speech to the 200 students and workers at the conference, Woodcock disparaged the significance of actions like the April 24 mobilization by calling them "one-day events" that "quickly slip back into history."

This statement richly demonstrates the trade-union bureaucracy's blindness to and fear of independent mass political mobilizations. These parasites can't see--or don't want to see--how the consciousness of millions of Americans is being transformed as they come to the conclusion that this war must be ended and the best way to force this is by large numbers of them joining mass demonstrations in the streets like April 24.

The April 18 *New York Times* reported that Woodcock proposed "a persistent, day-to-day effort to change the thinking of congressmen who could end the conflict by voting to cut off military funds" as an alternative to mass antiwar actions.

But it is the growing rejection of reliance on capitalist politicians in favor of independent mass actions that is the central feature of all the movements of today's radicalization--the women's liberation movement, Black movement, Chicano movement, student movement and antiwar movement. And it's the step that American labor must--and will--take.

Woodcock further expressed his contempt for the industrial workers he pretends to represent by warning against holding the "romantic illusion" that American workers would strike against "their" government.

Another UAW official at the same conference deepened this reactionary theme. He said, "The person in the shop has a high school education; he's always thinking about the money he's making. He's not likely to go off for a day and lose pay."

The scornful picture these bureaucrats paint of the American workers--who have supposedly sold themselves body, mind and soul to the boss--really reflects the mentality of the bureaucrats, who have sold themselves lock, stock and barrel to the ruling class.

Let Woodcock try to tell the postal workers, the teachers, the state, county and municipal employees, that American workers will not strike against their own government. Let him explain to the unionists with "high school educations" marching on the 24th they are only capable of thinking about their money.

Woodcock and his cronies pose as opponents of the war, but at the same time oppose the most effective way to struggle against the war, which is mass action for immediate withdrawal of all troops--independent of the needs of either Republican or Democratic "friends of labor."

Woodcock explained to his St. Louis audience that it was "internal union matters" that led to the decision not to endorse April 24--but these "internal" matters are not as inscrutable as Woodcock pretends. He and his ilk are scared stiff of the independent mobilization of the UAW membership against the war. It could give the ranks a taste of their own power. And such power could be used in the shops, in the streets--and in the unions. The bureaucrats fear growing repetitions of what occurred on April 12 in San Francisco. There the delegates to the Central Labor Council shouted down the recommendation of their elected "leaders" and voted to endorse April 24.

The antiwar movement has had the opposite approach to the American workers, GIs and oppressed nationalities from that of the Woodcocks. The antiwar movement has always had the goal of reaching out to all Americans and encouraging them to assert their power to reverse Washington's war policy.

The antiwar movement has been built upon the knowledge that it is these working people--Black, Chicano and white, male and female, in uniform and out--who are going to transform this country. And they will do it with or without a "high school education."

The antiwar movement has already changed the politics of this country, and Woodcock's speech itself is a testimony to that fact. No matter how hard the Woodcocks try to block this process, mass mobilizations like April 24 will continue to demonstrate the power and strength of independent mass action.

The antiwar movement must go on now to the next mobilizations, aiming at involving unprecedented new forces in antiwar struggle, including ever greater numbers of American workers, until we win the withdrawal of U.S. troops and materiel from all of Southeast Asia.

We have never had a greater responsibility or opportunity.

Hartke

Senator Vance Hartke (D-Ind.) has taken the most advanced position of all capitalist politicians on Vietnam by calling for immediate withdrawal of troops.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that he accepted \$500 from the Olin Corporation for his campaign chest, as did 53 others in Senate and House races in 31 states, according to the *Los Angeles Times* of April 11, 1971. Olin makes ammunition for use in Vietnam and illegally neglected to report its handouts.

"We aren't trying to buy votes," said a top official from Union Oil, which did the same thing, "we're trying to buy an entree to talk about our problems."

Sure!

That's why we in the antiwar movement must rely upon ourselves and show our power in the streets and not rely on capitalist parties or politicians in them.

Michael Smith
Detroit, Mich.

From a subscriber

Your paper is right on! I especially like your coverage on antiwar activities, Panther trials, and the revolutionary struggles for freedom all over the world. Enclosed is a check for six more months of *The Militant*.
D. D.
Elmwood, Ill.

'Alternatives in Print'

The Social Responsibilities Roundtable, a group of young and radical women and men librarians in the American Library Association, has put together a 168-page catalogue of movement publishers with a listing of their publications. This directory, entitled *Alternatives in Print: An Index of Movement Publications*, lists some 217 groups ranging from the vaguely movement to the organized left-wing groups, and is an excellent source guide for both librarians and people operating movement bookstores. The great mass of American left-wing pamphlet literature is listed in this directory, making it a tool that can save years of time in building up a good collection for a store. It can be ordered from the Office of Educational Services, Ohio State University Libraries, Columbus, Ohio 43210. The cost is \$3.50 a copy, 10 percent off for 10 or more copies.
Jim Kendrick
Berkeley, Calif.

Abortion

A recent letter to *The Militant* raised the question of whether the fetus is a human being. I hope the following will be helpful.

The fetus is not a human being, not legally or biologically. Laws in the 50 states differ substantially on the subject, just as they do on drinking, driving and divorce, but none calls abortion "murder." All states permit abortion under certain circumstances, i.e., to save the life of a pregnant woman. Many states also permit abortion if the pregnancy resulted from rape or incest. If the fetus were a human being, then the product of rape or incest would be just as "human" as the result of copulation by agreement or between unrelated people.

The Catholic Church, currently the only organized group opposing abortion, has performed many a flip-flop in its position. From 1211 until 1869 the Roman pontiffs held that

abortion performed in the early months of pregnancy was not homicide for the very reason that the fetus was not yet a human being; it had as yet no rational soul. Abortion was permitted up to 80 days for a female fetus and up to 40 days for a male. As it was not possible to ascertain the sex, the 80-day rule was normally applied.

Another proof of Catholic inconsistency is that until the decree of 1713, Catholics had not baptized the abortive fetus of less than 30 days. Between 1713 and 1917 the baptism of such an early fetus was permitted if the doctors and theologians entertained a reasonable doubt as to whether it had yet received a rational soul. Thus we find that the church had no official position as to the human status of the fetus, but left the decision to individual doctors and theologians. Since 1917, even a fetus of less than 30 days must be baptized.

The problem, of course, is based on the exact time when "ensoulment" takes place. Some believe that to be at the moment of conception. However, research scientists in reproduction maintain that the occurrence of identical twins may take place several days after fertilization. Based on science, it would appear that "ensoulment" could not take place at the moment of conception. Some people say that "ensoulment" takes place when the fertilized egg attaches to the uterus. Still others say that the time is at quickening [beginning of motion by the fetus], at viability, when the fetus can live independently outside of the uterus, or even at birth. So we can find no agreement on the subject. Modern scientists have never specified the moment when the fetus becomes a "person."

Some writers on the subject have suggested that the fetus is not a human being, but is a "blue print," which if permitted to develop may eventually develop into a human. I prefer to think of the fetus as a "parasite," something which is "dependent on something else for existence or support without making a useful or adequate return." On this premise, we can easily conclude that the parasite should continue to exist and be supported only at the discretion of the host, or more properly in this case, the "hostess."

For readers who wish to study the subject, I recommend two scholarly writings: *The Law of New York Concerning Abortions and the Status of the Foetus 1664-1968* by Cyril C. Means Jr., New York Law Forum, Fall 1968; and *Unfinished Business: Birth Control and Women's Liberation* by Lucinda Cisler, which is included in *Sisterhood is Powerful, An Anthology of Writings from Women's Liberation Movement*, Vintage Book V-539.

A sister
New York, N. Y.

CP aldermanic campaign

During the recent aldermanic campaign here in Chicago we had the opportunity of seeing the Communist Party in this city switch tactics from its usual position of support to liberal Democrats. In one ward (out of 50) the CP ran its own candidate for alderman, Theodore Pearson. The Socialist Workers Party ran Naomi Allen in the same ward.

Unfortunately, however, the shift in the form of the CP's electoral activity has in no way been accompanied by a change in its reformist essence. I thought *Militant* readers might be interested in a comment

The Great Society

made by Pearson at a campaign meeting where several candidates in the ward spoke.

Immediately following a speaker for the SWP campaign, Pearson began his remarks by attacking the SWP for only being interested in mass movements (such as antiwar, women's liberation, and the struggle for Black and Latin control of their communities), which are, according to Pearson, removed from the problems of the ward. "Specifically," he stated, "a candidate for alderman should not raise questions which have no direct relevance to the ward, such as 'Black and Latin control of Black and Latin schools' when there are no predominantly Black or Latin schools in the ward."

Stephen Bloom
Chicago SWP Campaign Director
Chicago, Ill.

Correction

The figures given in the April 14 *Militant* for the April 3 Third World Task Force antiwar march and rally in Washington, D. C., were incorrect. The actual size of the march was about 100, and participants at the rally numbered close to 200.

James Harris
Third World Task Force
Washington, D. C.

Union-busting bill

The Arizona House of Representatives is currently considering a blatantly antilabor bill designed to stop the union movement among Arizona farm workers. The bill, introduced by Stan Akers, a grower, and backed by the full strength of the agricultural lobby, could remove from farm workers their rights of organization and collective bargaining.

This bill attacks workers' rights in various ways. Among other things, it undermines collective bargaining by giving employers the right to negotiate the terms of employment on an individual basis. It excludes all but a fraction of agricultural workers from participating in the election of bargaining representatives by restricting elections to periods when the number of permanent employees exceeds the number of temporary employees. It provides for temporary restraining orders enjoining strikes for 60 days upon filing of an affidavit by an employer claiming risk of crop injury.

Gustavo Gutierrez, Arizona representative of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (AFL-CIO), has called for a broad response to "this cynical effort to crush the aspirations of the farm workers of Arizona for a better life for themselves and their families."

Letters of protest should be sent to Sam Falke, chairman of the Economic Affairs Committee, and Burton Barr, House majority leader, House of Representatives, State Capitol Building, Phoenix, Ariz.

Letters of support may be sent to the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, Box 155, Tolleson, Ariz. 85353.

John Beadle
Phoenix, Ariz.

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.

How would he know?—Pleading for discipline and restraint in advertising, a Madison Avenue executive says, "It's getting so bad that people don't even believe the truth any more."

The Christian ethic?—The Knoxville-Knox County Public Library system reports that the most frequently stolen book is the Holy Bible.

Spiritual note—Any performance of **Jesus Christ Superstar** requires authorization from the copyright owners.

The march of science—A patent has been issued for an artificial Christmas tree which can be folded into a small carton between seasons.

Capitalist metamorphosis—Midway through a tour of the Caterpillar tractor plant near Joliet, Ill., visitors are shown a video tape entitled "Caterpillar City." Part way through, the commentator croons: "After all, at Caterpillar people are our most important material."

That answers that—In our youth, a somewhat less affluent period than the present, a popular procapitalist argument was, "Does socialism mean that if I have two shirts, I have to give you one?" We haven't had that one thrown at us recently, and maybe that's related to the finding of a New York

shirt company, which asserts that the average man now has 16 shirts.

Inflation victim—The British government has indicated it will accede to pressure from the royal family for an increase in Queen Elizabeth's \$1.14-million annual allowance to compensate for increased living costs. We hear the queen is demanding an escalator clause, pegged to the price of champagne.

Like gold—A D.C. restaurant was



"And all those pesticides, you've been dumping on Vietnam, General. . . . How come they haven't defoliated the marijuana plants?"

Grin and Bear It by Lichty

robbed of \$700 in cash and \$400 worth of steaks. The cash was probably a bigger bundle.

Add wax for luster—Canada Dry and Schwepps are moving in on the bottled water market. Both are peddling "purified" tap water. Canada Dry says it's using the same "polished water technique" as in its pop.

Changing times—A help wanted ad in the *San Francisco Chronicle* seeks a computer programmer for a "nondefense" engineering company.

Doctor of Peace—Manhattan College of Riverdale, N.Y., says it has instituted the nation's first undergraduate major in the study of peace. Typical courses will include Anatomy of Peace, Peace and Revolution, and Biology of Human Behavior. Maybe that last one will explain why the Vietnam war makes people sick.

Steadier hands—The Wisconsin Farmers Insurance Exchange is offering nonsmokers a 10 percent discount on automobile insurance. The company said that a study showed that nonsmokers have a significantly lower accident record. And that doesn't even take into account the fact that they live longer.

—HARRY RING

Third World Liberation Notes

Despite the arrest of 12 of their members and police threats on their lives, the Republic of New Africa succeeded in holding a "Land Celebration Day" in Hinds County, Miss., March 28. The celebration, attended by about 300 New Africans, consecrated 20 acres of land the RNA hopes to use as a base for building a Black nation in the South. The land was named El Malik and is to be the RNA capital. The RNA claims as national territory the five southern states of Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

According to the president of the RNA, Brother Imari Abubakari Obadele, whose slave name was Richard Henry, the Republic hopes to conduct a plebiscite among Black people in Mississippi to decide whether they wish to be citizens of New Africa or citizens of the U. S.

The "Land Celebration Day" was planned for the whole weekend but had to be limited to one day because of police harassment. During the week of the intended celebration, the police arrested 10 New Africans and two local sisters in nearby Bolton. The arrested included Brother Jomo Kenyatta, RNA minister of defense for Mississippi, and Brother Fala Masakia, commander of the First New Orleans Multi-Purpose Unit. Later on, two RNA Forcemen from Boston were arrested upon driving into Jackson. The charges against the 12 ranged from illegal possession of weapons to obstructing justice.

The April 10 *New York Times* reported one local FBI agent as saying, "We'd love to go down there and run them off. . . ." And in the same article, "Attorney General (A. F.) Summer said that the state would take unilateral action against the separatists if the federal government 'failed to exercise its constitutional duties.' He remarked that the state's first impulse would be to prosecute the separatists in the Mississippi courts, but he did not rule out more direct steps 'if conditions warranted it.'"

The RNA carried out the celebration under protection of RNA self defense forces. Most of the New Africans left the area afterwards, leaving behind a few New African Forcemen for security. The 12 arrested are now free on bail.

The land was bought from a Black farmer, Lofton

Mason. He is considered by whites to be an "uppity nigger," and on several occasions has had his farm sabotaged by the Klan.

The RNA, formed two years ago, hopes to start "New Communities" throughout the South. Contributions and requests for information can be sent to: The Republic of New Africa, Box 50896, New Orleans, La., 70150.

In opposition to the Whitney Museum exhibition of "Contemporary Black Artists in America," the Black Emergency Cultural Coalition is supporting the "Rebuttal to the Whitney Museum Exhibition" at the Acts of Art Galleries (15 Charles Street, New York.) The BECC, as reported in this column last week, is boycotting the Whitney because no Black art expert was consulted about the exhibit. Because of this protest, 15 Black artists withdrew their works from the Whitney and placed them in the Acts of Art, a Black-owned gallery. That left 60 pieces. The Acts of Art exhibit now contains 50 works.

The BECC at first collaborated with the Whitney in getting the exhibit together, but pulled out when officials reneged on their promises.

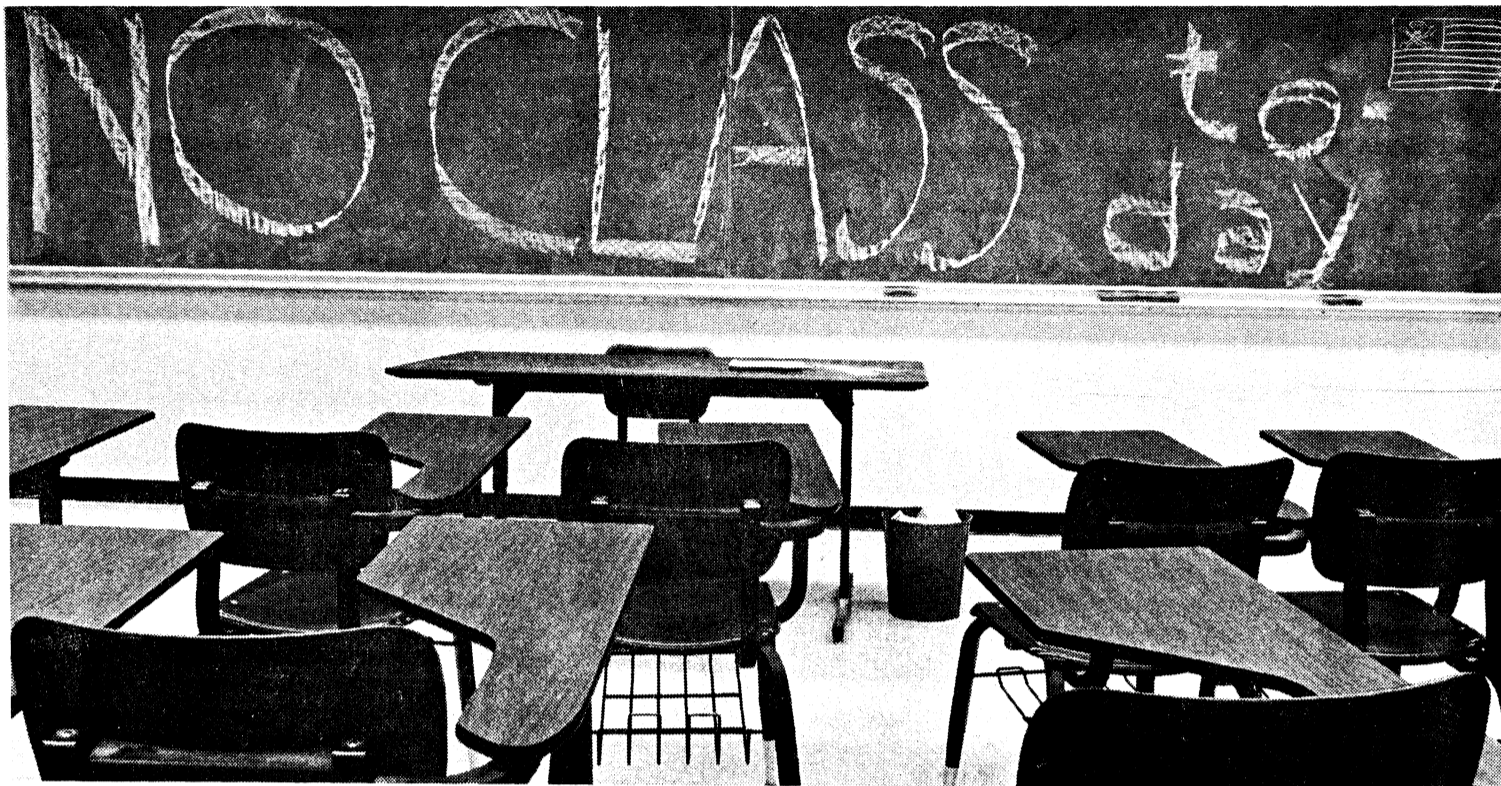
The campaign by Black GIs against housing discrimination in West Germany was reported in the April 2 issue of *The Militant*. Last month, the Pentagon extended the right of overseas base commanders to declare housing off limits if landlords discriminated. This was after a Black Army judge stationed in West Germany filed a petition demanding a court of inquiry into the matter. But the Army later on denied the petition for a court of inquiry, which would have meant hearing GI charges against base commanders. So the commanders can continue to carry on their business with racist German landlords with impunity.

The refusal of the Pentagon to hear the petition only adds to the explosive situation building up among Black GIs.

—DERRICK MORRISON

MAY 5

National Antiwar Moratorium



Continue the Spring Antiwar Offensive to Bring All the Troops Home Now!

Last May, Nixon invaded Cambodia and murdered U.S. students at Kent and Jackson State. These events gave rise to the most powerful explosion of antiwar activity in U.S. history. Campuses were taken over to build the massive street demonstrations that rocked the country.

This May, despite his promises of peace, Nixon continues a monstrous war of aggression in Indochina. He continues this war in arrogant defiance of the overwhelming antiwar sentiment of the American people. We have had enough!

This May, Nixon will once again hear from students of this country. On May 5, Duane Draper, president of the Association of Student Governments; Debby Bustin, SMC national coordinator; and David Ifshin, president of the National Student Association, leaders of the three largest national student organizations, call on our brothers and sisters on campuses and in high schools throughout the country to join with us in strikes, rallies, memorial meetings, and demonstrations. May 5 will be a moratorium on business as usual.

THIS WAR HAS GONE ON TOO LONG. ONE YEAR AGO, NIXON MURDERED AMERICAN STUDENTS TO DEFEND HIS RIGHT TO MURDER THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. WE SAY, GET THE UNITED STATES OUT OF INDOCHINA AND GET OUT NOW!

May 5

Antiwar demonstrations on campuses and in communities around the country to commemorate the massacre of students at Kent State and Jackson State and the nationwide outcry against the invasion of Cambodia. In New York City: City-wide rally at Bryant Park, 5 p.m.

Mail to SMC, 1029 Vermont Avenue N.W., 8th Floor, Washington, D.C. 20005. Or in New York—SMC, 135 West 14th St., 5th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10011

- I want to join the SMC. Enclosed is \$1. Please send me a membership card.
- Send me information on the May 5 activities in my area.
- Enclosed is a contribution of \$_____ to help build the antiwar movement.

NAME _____ PHONE _____
STREET _____ CITY/ STATE _____ ZIP _____

SCHOOL/ ORGANIZATION _____

May 16

(ARMED FORCES DAY) Civilians will make this solidarity day with antiwar GIs by joining them in peace activities at military bases.

Join the SMC

The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam is the mass national organization of American youth united in uncompromising struggle against the war in S.E. Asia.

Our program is simple. We fight for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all United States troops and materiel from S.E. Asia, for abolition of the draft, and against all forms of campus complicity with the war. We support self-determination for Vietnam and Third-World America, and constitutional rights for GIs and high school students.

We are an action organization with a strategy of building mass actions like those that have already brought millions of Americans into the streets against the war. We will continue to build a movement that can unite every sector of this society—students, labor, women, Third World, GIs, gay people—in the struggle against the war.

The SMC seeks to unite everyone who is opposed to the war, regardless of their views on other political questions. Only through such broad unity, based on common agreement to participate in antiwar action, can we build a movement powerful enough to force the withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina.

Mass action versus calculated confrontation:

An answer to the May Day Tribe



800,000 demonstrate in Washington, D.C., Nov. 15, 1969. The May Day Tribe calls participants in such actions "dumb sheep."

By DOUG JENNESS

The breadth of support from nearly every sector of American society for the massive antiwar actions in San Francisco and Washington, D.C., on April 24 is unprecedented. Never before in U.S. history has there been such broad domestic opposition to a war—while the capitalist government was actually waging it.

The April 24 demonstrations are the latest manifestation of the antiwar movement's sustained activity, the most recent of the periodic mass actions organized over the past six years. Such mobilizations are the greatest organized force the American people can bring against the Nixon administration at this time. For any person seriously interested in ending the Vietnam war, they are inspiring events.

Unfortunately, there are always some people who reject the power and significance of mass actions and think there may be some other means to force the government to end the war. Such is the case with a group that calls itself the May Day Tribe, headed by Rennie Davis, a former leader of the now defunct Students for a Democratic Society and the similarly defunct New Mobilization Committee.

A component of the heterogeneous People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), the May Day Tribe counterposed its own actions, scheduled for early May, to the April 24 demonstrations. Although it acceded to the PCPJ's decision to support April 24, in practice the May Day Tribe has done little but attack it.

Davis brought his proposals to the Jan. 8-10, 1971, conference of the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression (short-lived predecessor to the PCPJ), where they didn't receive much support.

He then took them to the Feb. 7-8 Ann Arbor "Student and Youth Conference on a People's Peace," called by the National Student Association, where they were adopted.

Originally, the conception was to have a series of activities the first week of May which would include, among other things, an auto stall-in on the bridge linking Washington to the Pentagon area of northern Virginia.

These activities are still planned and Davis and his followers have announced that they intend to support PCPJ activities beginning on April 25, hoping to convince some people to stay in Washington after the April 24 mass demonstration. In order to accommodate those they expect to stay over, they applied for permission to use Rock Creek Park as a camping site. When a permit was denied, Davis announced that they would use the park anyway, thus raising the specter of a confrontation with Washington cops.

'Stop the government'

At a Feb. 8 news conference in Washington, D.C., Davis explained the goals of the actions: "Unless Nixon commits himself to withdrawal by May 1—that is, if he won't stop the war—we intend to stop the government."

A resolution adopted at the Ann Arbor conference indicated how they hope to back up this ultimatum. "To be effective—i.e. to provide the spark that can coalesce people who oppose the war into activity—we must be willing to do more than march. . . . Civil disobedience will allow groups as diverse as church and youth groups to take part. It also means that people will be taking some risks, opening themselves to arrest. But mass arrest penalties for white people are still relatively light and the demonstration will not be Gandhi-like. People can and should defend themselves from attack."

In their *May Day Manual*, they add: "In brief, the aim of the May Day actions is to raise the social cost of the war to a level unacceptable to America's rulers. To do this, we seek to create the specter of social chaos while maintaining the support or at least the toleration of the broad masses of American people."

Their description of their own intentions, including the anticipation of arrests and physical attacks, could hardly be clearer.

Davis and his disciples are planning an action consciously intended *not to involve* large numbers of antiwar Americans. If the American people "tolerate" their action, it is sufficient for them.

Their reference to "penalties for white people" makes it clear that they don't expect many Blacks, Chicanos or Puerto Ricans to participate.

"We've all felt that it's a damn poor demonstration that can only boast a big body count for its accomplishments," states a recent (undated) May Day Tribe Leaflet. "No more demonstrations like November 15th [1969] or May 9th [1970]."

This is the heart of their political opposition to the April 24th demonstrations. They reject mass action, the most powerful form of political struggle that exists.

'Dumb sheep'

Not only do they attack mass action, but they have arrogant contempt for those that participate

in such actions. "Nobody gives a damn," their leaflet states, "how many dumb sheep can flock to Washington demonstrations, which are dull ceremonies of dissent that won't stop the war."

Since these self-appointed shepherds aren't interested in appealing to millions of antiwar Americans and involving as many as possible in action directed against the government and its imperialist war policies, who then do they hope to attract to their more exciting and titillating activities? They don't explicitly say, but it's clearly a very thin stratum of already radicalized persons, frustrated by their limited political impact on the most powerful ruling class in history and looking for shortcut alternatives to the difficult task of organizing and building a mass movement.

Why do Davis and his cohorts think that actions carried out by a relatively small number of radicals organized around built-in confrontations with the cops are more effective than mass actions? They believe that confrontation with the cops serves to radicalize people. Furthermore, like children throwing tantrums, they think they will scare "old man" Nixon into setting a date for withdrawing U.S. troops from Indochina.

It's true that many people will be angered by unjust and savage police attacks on such actions and a few may even draw radical conclusions as a result. However, actions like these, which almost always are smashed or dispersed, fail to accomplish their objectives (they are hardly capable of "stopping the government"), and consequently they serve to demoralize, frustrate and victimize more people than they radicalize.

Government officials, rather than being frightened by ultimatums, defiance of the law, threats of social chaos, etc., use these acts and accompanying rhetoric to isolate and victimize groups like the May Day Tribe.

Davis told the press that if the May Day Tribe defied the ban on camping in Rock Creek Park it might result in a confrontation similar to what occurred in Chicago at the 1968 Democratic Party convention. He was one of the leaders of the 1968 Chicago demonstration and apparently considers it a model for effective action.

Chicago

The truth about the Chicago action is that it was one of the smallest antiwar actions organized by a national coalition in the history of the antiwar movement—no more than 7,000 were at its largest rally during a week of activities—even though it received more publicity than most national antiwar actions.

It was small because the clique within the leadership of the National Mobilization Committee that organized it publicly proposed to disrupt the Democratic Party convention, thus alienating many antiwar Americans. Many left-wing forces did not participate because, in the context of the Democratic Party convention, the action appeared to be backing Eugene McCarthy's bid for the presidential nomination. This was reinforced by the fact that at the final rally, where revolutionary socialists were barred from speaking, the platform and sound equipment were turned over to McCarthy.

Daley's cops viciously attacked the demonstrators throughout the entire week, and afterwards the leaders, including Rennie Davis, were indicted on trumped-up conspiracy charges. Although the police attack and the conspiracy indictments stirred nationwide outrage, no rational person would say that a smashed demonstration with many victims was a success or showed a serious political challenge to the government's war policy.

Davis and the other leaders knew full well that the action's small size and Daley's determination to prevent any disruption of the Democratic Party convention would result in arrests and injuries.

Like his irresponsible leadership role in the Chicago action, Davis and his supporters take a similar attitude toward those participating in the May Day activities. Although it mouths niceties about the nonviolent character of its plans, the May Day Tribe has been organizing its action in such a way as to almost guarantee a violent attack on the demonstrators. Davis and his clique acknowledge in advance that the participants will likely be arrested and possibly attacked physically. They even advise everyone to bring medical supplies to Washington.

For them, the people they hope to shepherd into their actions are only so many "dumb sheep" whose cracked skulls and fines are the necessary sacrifice for carrying out their confrontation tactics.

Although they attack the broad leadership of the coalition that organized April 24 as "movement generals" and "elite bureaucrats," they are in reality falsely projecting onto the April 24 leadership the only concept of political leadership that they themselves understand. Their arrogant elitism and contempt of the masses turns them into manipulators who play with the safety and lives of others.

Another aspect of the Chicago demonstration which is similar to the May Day plans is that it

Continued on page 21

Black nationalism and Black workers



"Far from being a 'middle-class' ideology, the nationalist movement has grown and developed most strongly in the large urban concentrations of Black workers." Above, Atlanta sanitation workers during strike last year.

By TONY THOMAS

In his speech, "Trotskyism, Racist Voice on the Left," at the Center for Marxist Education in New York on April 9, Tony Monteiro voiced many of the wrong ideas on Black nationalism held not only by the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League, which he represented, but by others in the radical movement.

In his attacks on Black nationalism, and on the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party be-

cause of their support for Black nationalism, Monteiro presented the erroneous theory that there is a conflict between the nationalism of oppressed minorities and the class struggle of workers.

Monteiro stated: "The YSA's position that poses the national question of Black liberation as if it was synonymous with the class question is but a form of blunting class consciousness among Black workers. . . ."

He also charged that nationalism

flowed from non-working-class elements in the Black community. This is not the first time the Communist Party has said this. In his book *Ghetto Rebellion to Black Liberation* (1968), Claude Lightfoot, a leading Black spokesman for the CP, claimed that Black nationalism originates from "the unemployed and the underemployed, the youth and business. . . . Their very existence and life experiences mitigate against a working-class outlook. This situation, therefore, is the main social base . . . for Black nationalism today."

This notion that Black nationalist sentiments are rooted primarily in demoralized and declassed strata or middle-class sectors of the Black community is totally false.

Ninety-five percent of the Black community consists of employed workers, unemployed workers, and their families. The special exploitation of Blacks under capitalism, i.e. national oppression, sets Black workers off as a super-exploited section of the working class.

The advantages to the capitalist ruling class of separating one section of the working class from another by national oppression is that it provides a cheap reserve force of labor as well as a way to divide and weaken the working class.

Far from being a "middle-class" ideology, the nationalist movement has grown and developed most strongly in the large urban concentrations of Black workers. Both the nationalist radicalization of the Black community following W.W. I, in which Marcus Garvey played a prominent role, and the current deeper upsurge have their prime support among Black workers.

An obstacle?

Is there a conflict between the deepening nationalist consciousness of Black workers and their class consciousness as workers? Is nationalist consciousness an obstacle in the struggle of Black workers against capitalism? Monteiro would have us believe the answer to these questions is yes.

But it's not true. Class struggle against capitalism is not only the narrow economic struggle of organized workers fighting for higher wages, better working conditions, etc. It is both a political and economic struggle embracing many organizations and movements.

For example, the antiwar movement against the imperialist war in Vietnam is just as much a part of the class struggle as the economic demands of workers, because it politi-

cally challenges the right of the capitalist rulers to wage a war that the American people don't want.

Likewise, the Black liberation movement fighting for political and economic emancipation of Black people confronts the capitalist rulers with demands that they oppose or cannot meet.

By struggling for control of the institutions in our own communities, Black people are challenging the right of the capitalist class to control our lives. Victories scored by the Black movement are blows against capitalist rule and aid the overall struggle against the capitalist class.

Nationalist consciousness then is the development of increased political consciousness by Black persons and is in reality a form of class consciousness.

At the present time, Black workers who have been affected by and are part of the mass upsurge of the Black community are the most class conscious workers. In some places, they have organized Black caucuses to fight for the particular demands of Black workers, including specifically political demands. An important example is the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement, a Black nationalist workers group in the Polaroid camera factories in Massachusetts. It has internationally and nationally exposed the complicity of the Polaroid company with South Africa's apartheid regime and organized workers against it.

Such struggles by Black workers help to increase the political consciousness of the working class as a whole, contrary to Monteiro's notion that nationalism retards class consciousness.

But Black workers are not only fighting for political demands, they are also taking the lead in struggling for union recognition, higher wages, working conditions, etc. The 1969 hospital workers' strike in Charleston, S. C., and the sanitation workers' strikes in Memphis in 1968 and Jackson and Atlanta in 1970 were led by Black workers. The militancy and determination to struggle of these workers were to a large extent the product of the struggles and growing consciousness of the Black community. This was shown by the fact that in all of these strikes attempts were made to mobilize support from the Black community.

Jackson, Miss.

This along with the raising of demands against racist practices has brought these workers into conflict with union bureaucrats who want to

Continued on page 18

Socialist educational conferences planned

Thirteen state and regional socialist educational conferences have been announced for the two weekends following April 24. Each are scheduled to last from one to three days.

They will feature speakers, panels and general discussion of the main political issues currently facing the revolutionary movement.

Included are: a Houston-Austin regional conference in Houston, a conference in Denver, three conferences in California, four Midwest regional conferences, and four East Coast regional conferences. (Details are listed below.)

These gatherings will offer an excellent opportunity for those who are just becoming interested in socialism to learn more about the activities and ideas of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

At the same time, there will be discussion and planning sessions at many of the conferences for specific activities in the late spring and summer.

Typical events that have been an-

nounced—but by no means a complete schedule—include:

Panel discussions by women activists at the Boston, Northern California (San Francisco), and Denver conferences.

Ruthann Miller, former coordinator of N.Y. People to Abolish Abortion Laws, on "Feminism and the Coming American Revolution," Michigan conference.

Myrna Hill, N.Y. woman activist, on "Feminism and Black Nationalism," Atlanta.

Peter Camejo, 1970 Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts and author of "How to Make a Revolution in the U.S.," speaking at Philadelphia and Ann Arbor.

George Novack, author of works on Marxist philosophy, speaking on "The Meaning of Life—A Marxist View," at Boston and Atlanta.

A debate in Cleveland between Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Council Gail Schangold and

Democratic Party City Councilman Denu Kucinich.

Fred Halstead, chief marshal of the April 24 demonstration in Washington, on "The History of the Antiwar Movement," in Minneapolis.

"Is Socialism Relevant to the Nationalist Movement?"—discussion by Antonio Camejo in Houston.

For complete agendas and further details, contact the following places and phone numbers:

ANN ARBOR (Michigan)—May 7-8, University of Michigan, Angell Hall, Auditorium A. Registration 7 p.m. Ann Arbor (313) 483-7708. Detroit (313) 831-6135.

ATLANTA—May 8-9, Emory University, Geology Building, Room 205. Registration 9 a.m. (404) 876-2230.

BOSTON—April 30-May 2, Northeastern University, Ell Center, Room 346. Registration 7 p.m. (617) 536-6981.

CHICAGO—May 7-9, contact YSA Regional Committee, 180 N. Wacker Drive, Room 310. (312) 641-0147.

CLEVELAND—May 1, Case West-

ern Reserve University, 1914 Lounge, Thwing Hall Student Union. Registration 12, noon. (216) 391-5553.

DENVER—May 8, Denver Free University, 125 E. 18th Ave. Registration 12 noon. (303) 623-9505.

HOUSTON—May 1-2, University of Houston, University Center. Registration 9 a.m. (713) 741-2577.

LOS ANGELES—May 7-8, Los Angeles City College, Franklin Hall 101. (213) 269-4953.

MINNEAPOLIS—May 7-8, Carl Skoglund Hall, 1 University N. E. (at E. Hennepin). Registration 6:30 p.m. (612) 332-7781.

NEW YORK—May 7-8, contact YSA, 706 Broadway, 8th floor (near 4th St.) (212) 982-8214.

PHILADELPHIA—April 30-May 2, 1004 Filbert St. Registration 6 p.m. (215) WA 5-4316.

SAN DIEGO (Calif.)—May 2, University of California, La Jolla. (714) 755-6101.

SAN FRANCISCO—May 7-9, San Francisco State College, 1600 Holloway. (415) 621-3076.

YSA--the organization for radical youth

By LAURA MILLER

When the Young Socialist Alliance was established in 1960, it had a clear political program and an optimistic perspective but very few members. That was in the early days of the present international youth radicalization, before the student movement had become a fact of political life in the U.S. and when campus struggles were as rare as prowar students are now.

Today, millions of young people throughout the world are being mobilized in mass struggles against the outrages of capitalist society—war, poverty, racism, unemployment, sexism, and all the others. Every campus is alive with political activity. The need for fundamental changes is becoming clearer and clearer. The idea of socialist revolution as a real alternative to our present system is capturing the dedication and imagination of growing numbers of students, and the YSA is the largest and most influential revolutionary youth group in the country.

It's growing faster than ever, too. Since the last YSA national convention, which drew over 1,200 young revolutionaries to New York City in late December, young people in over 50 new localities have joined the YSA. This is in addition to the large numbers who have joined already established YSA locals in virtually all of the major cities and campuses. What other radical youth group can boast of active members in places like Farmington, Maine; Murfreesboro, Tenn.; and Metairie, La.

It's an organization of combative revolutionary youth. Every YSAer is a leader, a speaker, a mobilizer, an organizer. YSA chapters are made up of feminists, Black, Chicano and Latino militants, antiwar leaders, high school rights fighters, gay activists.

YSAers are internationalists. Their perspective for making a revolution in the U.S. is based on an understanding of the need for a worldwide socialist revolution. They recognize that struggles for national self-determination, such as those in Vietnam, Cuba and the Arab countries, and revolutionary upsurges such as those which took place in France, Mexico and Czechoslovakia in 1968 provide an impetus to the worldwide socialist revolution and an inspiration to young revolutionaries around the world. On every continent, there are growing organizations which base their activities on the same program and perspectives as the YSA.

What's the secret of the YSA's success?

YSA National Secretary Cindy Jaquith attributes it to two things: "... the fact that the obvious inadequacies of this society are forcing people to seek out new alternatives to this system and the fact that our program presents the *best* alternative."

The alternative offered to radicalizing youth by the YSA is participation in all of the dynamic anticapitalist struggles that will one day culminate in an American socialist revolution.

The antiwar movement

Since the beginning of the antiwar movement in 1965, YSAers have organized campus antiwar groups and participated in mobilizing people for every major antiwar conference and demonstration, including the April 24 actions in Washington and San Fran-

cisco. YSAers have helped to establish the Student Mobilization Committee as the largest student antiwar organization in the United States.

YSAers have been among the key organizers of the antiwar movement within the Army, helping found and build such groups as GIs United Against the War at Ft. Jackson and Ft. Bragg.

Inside the Army and outside, YSAers have been in the forefront of the fight to establish and extend the democratic rights of GIs, their rights of free speech and assembly, freedom to distribute antiwar literature, and other basic liberties.

As the leading radical youth group in the antiwar movement, the YSA has consistently stressed the need for an independent, mass-action-oriented movement around the demand for the total and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia.

Women's liberation

The YSA gives full support to the women's liberation movement. YSA women have been instrumental in the establishment of ongoing feminist coalitions in many cities, and in organizing scores of campus-based women's liberation groups.

YSAers were key builders of the Aug. 26, 1970, women's strike which mobilized 40,000 women in New York City and thousands of others throughout the country. They are currently very active in the burgeoning nationwide movement to end all restrictions on women's right to abortion.

The YSA defends the right of women to control their own bodies and lives and promotes the independent organization of the women's movement.

National liberation movements

The YSA participates in the independent struggles of all oppressed nationalities and unconditionally supports their right to self-determination. Black, Chicano, Latino, Puerto Rican, Asian-American, and Native American YSAers are active in nationalist organizations throughout the country and have participated in mass struggles around the demands of the oppressed nationalities to control the institutions in their communities which affect their lives.

At Merritt College in Oakland, Calif., YSAers supported a mass struggle that forced the college administration to grant a Chicano and Latin-American studies department, which now functions as an important organizing center for the Chicano movement in Northern California.

At Manhattan (N. Y. C.) Community College, YSAers helped to organize a strike for student control which mobilized hundreds of students. Also, the YSA has been a major force behind the successful Black Moratoriums against the war.

Gay liberation

YSAers have been active in organizing the Gay Liberation Task Force of the SMC, which has mobilized thousands of gay activists for April 24 demonstrations. The YSA gives total support to the developing gay liberation struggle against the brutal oppression homosexual women and men face in this society.

High school struggles

Explosions in the high schools this year have demonstrated the increas-

ing combativity of high school students; the struggle to gain the right to organize in the schools will bring thousands more high school students into motion.

The YSA is the leading radical tendency in the high school movement today. High school YSAers have led struggles around high school rights from Portland, Ore., to Sarasota, Fla.

In Chicago and Boston, for example, YSAers have played leading roles in city-wide Black high school strikes which mobilized thousands of students in militant struggle. YSAers, running on Young Socialist action campaigns, have been elected to student governments at a number of high schools around the country, and the YSA has been in the forefront nationally of establishing viable chapters of the High School Student Mobilization Committee to End the War.

Campus struggles

As leaders of the student, antiwar, national liberation, feminist, and many other movements, YSAers play an active and vital role in the student movement on hundreds of college campuses. In the past school year alone, Young Socialist candidates have been elected to student governments at Tufts University, the University of Illinois, the University of Texas in Austin, the University of Houston, and several others.

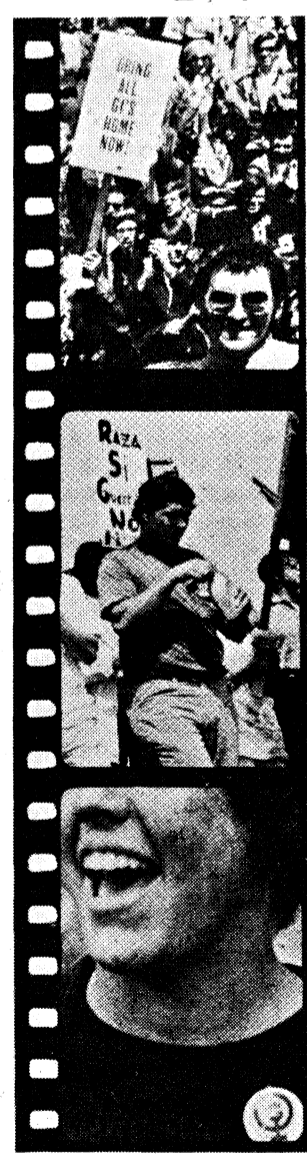
The YSA views the student movement as a primary component in the current deepening radicalization process. Students have spearheaded most of the current movements for social change—from the mass movement against U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia to the fast-spreading movement against the pollution-makers—and the campus provides an excellent base from which to broaden these struggles to other sectors of the population. Key to this perspective has been the fight to establish, deepen and defend the democratic rights of students to engage in political activity—a struggle that goes on daily at every campus in the country.

The YSA wants to transform every university into an antiwar university, a Black university, a Brown university, a women's university—to make all educational institutions serve the needs of the masses of people in the U.S. and around the world and not those of the tiny minority which controls this society.

In short, the YSA is presently engaged in the most urgent task of our time—forging an organization which can help lead the American socialist revolution.

Why not join?

The YSA is the organization for young people who want to fight capitalism... and win.



THE YSA IS FOR PEOPLE WHO WANT TO FIGHT CAPITALISM AND WIN.

CLIP AND MAIL TO: YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE
BOX 471 COOPER STATION, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10003

I WANT TO JOIN THE YSA I WOULD LIKE MORE INFORMATION
NAME _____
ADDRESS _____ PHONE _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

French women:

'We've had illegal abortions'

"A million women have abortions each year in France. They have them under dangerous conditions because of the clandestinity to which they are condemned, whereas this operation, practiced under medical control, is one of the most simple.

"Silence is kept about these millions of women. I declare that I am one of them. I declare that I have had an abortion.

"Just as we demand free access to contraception methods, we demand freedom of abortion."



Simone de Beauvoir: "A step forward has been taken, which will change the attitude of women to the law and to their own feelings of guilt."

This statement was signed and made public by 343 French women, including such prominent women as writers Simone de Beauvoir, Françoise Sagan, Violette Leduc and Marguerite Duras, actresses Jeanne Moreau, Catherine Deneuve, Marina Vlady and Micheline Presle, television director Françoise Fabian, in addition to members of the Women's Liberation Movement of France and the Movement for Freedom of Abortion.

The French abortion law, which has its origins in the Napoleonic Code, makes abortion a misdemeanor punishable by up to two years in prison for a woman who has an abortion or even attempts to have one. Several hundred women are convicted under this law each year. And in addition, some 5,000 women die each year of complications stemming from illegal abortions.

Under French law, confession con-

stitutes proof of a crime; therefore this statement by 343 women puts the government in the embarrassing position of having to open an investigation into the cases of these 343 women or admit the hypocrisy of the abortion law. "We demand a public, collective trial," say the 343 women. "And we will turn this trial into a trial of illegal abortion."

An article accompanying the women's statement, published in the popular French magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur*, April 5-11, explained how



Marguerite Duras: "The hypocrisy must be shattered."

this project began. A group of women writers, teachers, journalists and activists from the Women's Liberation Movement and the Movement for Freedom of Abortion met in mid-February in Paris and decided on this project as the beginning of a campaign for freedom of abortion. They set a goal of obtaining 100 names on the statement in one month. By March 15, they already had 200 names, and more kept coming in. "The response was very moving," said a spokeswoman for the group.

The statement and list of the 343 names, which takes a whole page of the magazine, is accompanied by another full page, written by the women, explaining their view of the abortion issue.

It begins: "The list of signatures on the preceding page is a first act of revolt. For the first time, women have decided to throw off the taboos con-

trolling our bodies." It explains that the women's liberation movement is an historic movement, embracing not only women who have joined the organized Women's Liberation Movement, but "all women who, where they live, or where they work, have decided to take into their own hands their life and their liberation."

"We don't want any part of any place in this society which was built without us and upon our backs. When the female population—the part of humanity that has been kept in obscu-



Françoise Sagan: "Because, like many other women of my generation, I've gone through it."

—takes its destiny into its own hands, then one can speak of a revolution.

"A Movement for Freedom of Abortion has been constituted of all those who are ready to struggle uncompromisingly for freedom of abortion. The goal of this movement is to give rise to groups in neighborhoods and in factories, to coordinate a campaign of explanation and information, to transform itself into a mass movement, which alone is capable of winning our right to determine our own lives."

The article continues: "Free abortion on demand is not the ultimate goal of the struggle of women. On the contrary, it is only the most elementary demand, the demand without which the political struggle cannot even begin. It is a vital necessity that women claim and recover their own bodies. The condition of women is unique

Women challenge Church stand against abortion

By CAROLINE LUND

New developments in the growing struggle for the right of women to have access to abortions continue to confirm the importance of this fight. It is clear that women can count on no concessions from state or federal governments on this issue unless we mobilize to force recognition of the right of women to control our own bodies.

Florynce Kennedy and Diane Schulder, two New York attorneys, are taking legal steps against a powerful opponent of women's right to abortion: the Catholic Church hierarchy. Kennedy and Schulder announced at an April 15 New York press conference that they are beginning a federal court action to challenge the tax-exempt status of the Catholic Church and other organizations and churches lobbying against repeal of antiabortion laws and other laws interfering with freedom for women.

Present at the press conference and supporting the suit were representatives from the New York Women's Strike Coalition, New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, New York Radical Feminists, New Women Lawyers, and Women's Assistance Tours.

Germaine Greer, a feminist from England and author of *The Female Eunuch*, appeared and spoke in support of the U.S. abortion struggle. She stated that there was a conspiracy to conceal new chemical methods of abortion which were being developed in England. This suit is part of a national campaign against the anti-

abortion activities of the Catholic Church, and by September of this year it is hoped that similar suits will be filed in Michigan, Illinois, Massachusetts, and possibly New Jersey.

Evidence will be presented in the suit to show that the Catholic Church is violating its tax-exempt status by financing the antiabortion campaign and that it is violating the First Amendment to the Constitution, which assures the separation of church and state. It was stressed that the suit is against the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, not against Catholics.

According to Emily Goodman, an attorney with New Women Lawyers, the property held by all churches in New York City alone is worth at least \$750-million, none of which is taxable.

An example of a new antiabortion activity financed by the Catholic Church was reported in the April 12 *New York Times*. The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York is opening a counseling service offering "an alternative to abortion." The counseling service, called "Birthright," will be advertised in the major city newspapers. The ad describes the service:

"The sole purpose for the existence of Birthright is to give practical, loving help to any worried pregnant woman or girl—regardless of color or creed. It is the right of every pregnant woman to give birth and the right of every child to be born."

The *Times* reported that "Birthright agencies are springing up in cities throughout the country in an attempt to counteract the trend to liberalize

state abortion laws."

The Sons of Thunder, a right-wing Catholic group in Washington, D.C., is organizing 10 "pilot houses" around the country, says the *Times*, "which will, among other things, refer pregnant college girls to doctors who can help them bring their pregnancies to term [completion]."

The churches are not the only forces fighting against women's right to control their own bodies. The wheeling and dealing of politicians with women's rights and lives was most crassly illustrated by New York Governor Rockefeller during the past week.

On April 8, Rockefeller banned all Medicaid payments for abortions except those that were "medically necessary," presumably to save the life of the pregnant woman. He did this in order to get votes for his budget from conservative, upstate legislators, who don't like public money used for what they call "destroying the unborn."

After a week of strong protests—including a demonstration called by the Women's Strike Coalition and attended by 100 people including two state legislators and a city councilwoman, as well as editorials against Rockefeller's move in the *New York Times* and the *New York Post*—Rockefeller has apparently backed down.

A state official told the city on April 16 to continue paying for abortions for poor women through Medicaid, even though Rockefeller's order banning Medicaid for abortions is still on the books. In order to ensure that Rockefeller will not reverse himself again, the city is taking the state to

in history: they are human beings who, in modern societies, do not have free disposition of their bodies. Until now, only slaves have known this condition."

The women answer French politicians who have opposed abortion on the grounds that it would lower the birth rate. They point out that it is easy for the politicians to call for more babies, because it costs them nothing. "If the only concern of these representatives of the people is the greater reproduction of the people, we



Jeanne Moreau: "I remember all too well the humiliations that it involved."

say to them that it is up to society to give us reasons for reproducing life. And the means."

They point out that the politicians talk of protecting the fetus, but have no qualms about sending 18-year-old draftees to their deaths.

A liberalized abortion law, drafted by Gaullist physician Claude Peyret, is expected to be debated in the National Assembly sometime this year. This law would permit abortion in case of rape or incest, or when the pregnant woman's life is endangered or a deformed child is certain. To this, the French women wrote: "We don't want a better law; we want its elimination pure and simple. We aren't demanding charity, we want justice. We are no fewer than 27 million. Twenty-seven million 'citizens' who are treated like cattle. . . . We will fight to the end because we want only what is due us: the freedom to dispose of our own bodies."

The Ten Commandments . . . a new French version

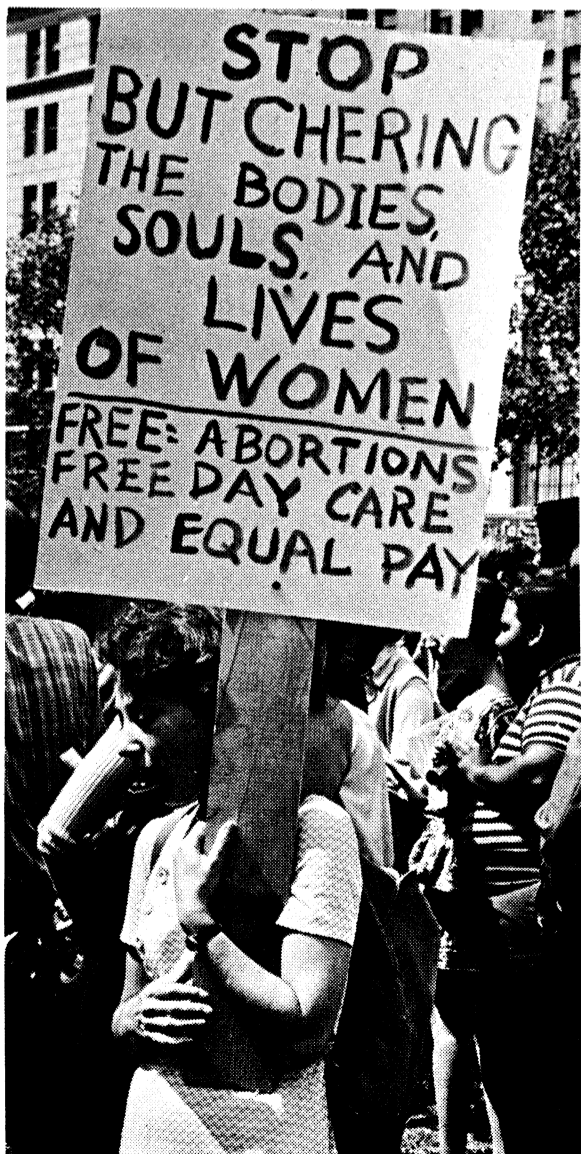
The following satirical piece was written by women who signed the declaration on abortion. It was printed in *Nouvel Observateur* along with their article on the meaning of the abortion issue to women. It was entitled "The Ten Commandments of the Bourgeois State" and lists the hypocritical principles followed by the capitalist ruling classes in regard to women.

1. Thou shalt choose a fetus over a human being when that human being is female.
2. Thou shalt not allow any abortions as long as Debre (French minister of defense) is calling for 100 million French people.
3. Thou shalt have 100 million French people, as long as it costs you nothing.
4. Thou shalt be especially hard on poor women who are unable to go to England for abortions.
5. Thus shalt thou have a reserve army of unemployed to please thy capitalists.
6. Thou shalt be very moral, because god only knows what "our" women would do if they could do what they please.
7. Thou shalt preserve the fetus, for it's much better to kill them at 18, the age of conscription.
8. Thou shalt create a great need for these young men by pursuing a policy of imperialism.
9. Thou shalt utilize contraception thyself, so as to send thy few children to the Polytechnic or the ENA, because thine apartment is only 10 rooms.
10. As for the other people, thou shalt disparage the pill, because that would be the worst possible thing for them.

court in an attempt to get Rockefeller's order banned definitively. The city is charging that the order violates Medicaid statutes, as well as the constitutional right of poor women to equal protection of the laws and due process.

Texas women launched a petition campaign as a way of demonstrating support for the right of women to abortion. On March 29, the Women's Liberation Committee to Abolish Abortion Laws presented a petition containing over 5,500 names to the Public Health Committee of the Texas Senate, the committee in which various abortion reform bills are being considered.

A perceptive answer to President Nixon's April 3 statement against abortion was printed as a letter to the editor in the April 13 *New York Times* from E. James Lieberman, M. D., former chief of the Center for Studies of Child and Family Mental Health of the National Institute of Mental Health. He wrote of Nixon's new doctrine of "Selective Reverence for Life"—according to which the lives of fetuses are sacred, but not those of the Vietnamese—and his ludicrous characterization of himself as a "deeply committed pacifist." "He [Nixon] urged us to be first with the SST, but the president has tolerated quietly the fact that we rank fifteenth in infant mortality among the nations of the world. . . . With the erosion of his leadership among the living, perhaps Mr. Nixon is pursuing the silent majority all the way back to the womb."



Chicanas to hold Houston meeting

By MIRTA VIDAL

HOUSTON—Chicanas, Latinas and Spanish-speaking women from around the country will be gathering in Houston on May 28-30 to discuss the problems faced by women of oppressed nationalities and our role in the nationalist movement.

La Conferencia de Mujeres por La Raza (Conference of Women for La Raza) is being organized by an independent group of women in Houston who have been meeting regularly for the past few months and have since adopted the name *Mujeres por La Raza*, according to Elma Barrera, one of the organizers.

"Among the first things we want to do is to identify ourselves as a group, and it doesn't matter whether we're Mexican-American, or speak Spanish, or we're Brown, or we're Chicanas—it doesn't matter as long as we get together, we organize, and we get recognition and unity," she said.

Both the feminist movement and the Chicano movement have had a profound effect on Chicanas and Latinas, who have traditionally been relegated to second place in the male-oriented Spanish culture. "I really think that Chicana women are the underdogs. We not only have to fight for an identity in society, we have to fight for an identity in our family. As women, we're not anything. Very few of us can go to school. Very few of us can get to do anything, just because we're *mujeres*," said Barrera.

Although many Chicanas are still hesitant to consider themselves part of the women's liberation movement, there is a great deal of interest in what this movement means to them and a growing awareness of the important role they have to play in it. Barrera's account of some experiences with her group testify to that.

"A lot of women at the meetings we've been having have said, 'We're not ready for the movement. We're not ready for women's liberation.' Yet they've been coming once a week and sometimes twice a week to the meetings. Every time there's a meeting, every time there's anything, they come. And they say, 'We're not ready for women's liberation.' But that's exactly what they're doing. They refuse to admit it. They don't want to identify with the movement. But they are movement people."

One important aspect of the conference, which will not be discussing concrete actions for the near future, will be to develop a consciousness and sense of pride of Chicanas and Spanish-speaking women as women, and to help define for us the roles that we are to play in the movement of which we are a part.

"We thought that with the conference we could, for one thing, bring out some leaders from all over the United States, Chicana women."

Discussing some of the more blatant examples of the oppression of Chicanas in our society, Barrera commented: "For the Chicana woman, the second or third grade is the average level of schooling nationally. What is a woman going to do if she's got 15 kids and a second-grade education?"

But, Barrera went on, subjugation of women is not limited to the home. "Take for instance any conference of Chicanos, La Raza Unida or anything; all of the speakers are men, always. And there are a hell of a lot of women doing a hell of a lot of work all the time. We're the ones that carry the load. We're the ones that carry the burden. And we never get recognized for it. We never get to speak, we never get to do anything. Yet we work in the movement with the men. We work just as much as the men, if not more than the men in many instances. But nothing is ever said about us."

Among the workshops that the *mujeres* will be able to take part in at the conference are: 1) "Machismo"—What are we up against? 2) What is the Chicana's role in the *movimiento*? 3) Women in politics—La Raza Unida Party; 4) The feminist movement—Do we belong in it? 5) Education; 6) Suppression and exploitation of women—The Chicano perspective.

Women who are interested in attending should register immediately, since the deadline for registration is May 1. Requests to register and for further information should be sent to: Elma Barrera, c/o Magnolia YWCA, 7305 Navigation Blvd., Houston, Texas 77011.

National SWP convention is planned

By BARRY SHEPPARD

NEW YORK — The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party held a four-day meeting here last month, with NC members coming from cities across the country for the gathering.

The theme which ran through all the discussion was the developing radicalization—its unique characteristics, forms of struggle, and relation to the central goal of building a mass revolutionary-socialist party in the United States.

Several resolutions and reports were approved by the National Committee and will now be submitted to the entire membership of the SWP for discussion prior to a convention in August.

The political resolution adopted by the National Committee deals with the objective roots of the current radicalization—the fundamental international economic and political contradictions of American capitalism. The resolution summarizes this, saying: "The basic dilemma faced by America's rulers today is pointed up by the fact that the very measures required to halt the world revolutionary process and to meet the growing economic competi-

tion movement as Washington plunged into Vietnam.

"The mass actions of this antiwar movement generalized the radicalization, spreading it both geographically and into other layers of the population. From a credibility gap on the war question, suspicions and doubts about the actions of the government widened into a willingness to challenge the authority of prevailing institutions and to reject the norms and ideology of capitalist society.

"As the above movements continued to develop amidst ebbs and flows, new struggles caught on. The most massive of these have been the Chicano and women's liberation movements. New issues, such as pollution of the environment, have further fueled the radicalization. The ruling class has been unable to prevent the radicalization from making a deep impact on the armed forces. The gay liberation movement against the oppression of homosexuals, the prison revolts, the welfare struggles, the divisions in the Catholic Church, demonstrate several key facts. 1) There is no layer too oppressed to struggle, no reactionary prejudice and oppres-

termination together with a working-class revolution to take power and open the road to the destruction of capitalist exploitation, alienation, oppression, racism, and sexism, and the construction of socialism—the first truly human social order."

The working class

The resolution goes into the relation between the radicalization and the working class and union movement in some detail. The Black, student, Chicano, women's and antiwar movements have already had an impact on the working class, and the potential for these movements to directly influence workers is indicated by the large numbers of workers who are Black, Chicano, women, or are young enough to be directly influenced by the general radicalization among youth. The fact that a radicalization of such depth and scope has begun prior to an extensive upsurge and politicalization of the working class indicates the potentially explosive levels the radicalization will reach when massive sections of the working class enter the struggle.

The discussions around the political resolution set the tone for the other discussions. Joel Britton gave the report on the Chicano movement, explaining the rise of the struggle of this oppressed nationality around opposition to the war and for Chicano control of the Chicano community, especially around education in the high schools and universities. He outlined the development of La Raza Unida parties and reaffirmed the SWP's support to the struggle to build independent Chicano political parties.

Betsey Stone presented the report on the women's liberation movement. She outlined a perspective of building a mass, independent feminist movement based on fighting for concrete demands that meet the needs of masses of women, like the repeal of all laws restricting the right to abortion, free abortion on demand, free 24-hour child-care centers open to all, and equal pay and job opportunities.

Other reports dealt with the antiwar movement, the growth of the Young Socialist Alliance—an independent youth organization in political solidarity with the SWP—and the organizational problems and opportunities



tion of their capitalist competitors come into increasing conflict with the maintenance of social stability, ideological authority, and class peace at home."

One important aspect of the international situation, the struggles in the Mideast, was singled out for a special resolution, *Israel and the Arab Revolution*, which was reported on by Gus Horowitz. Focusing on the upsurge in the nationalist consciousness of the Palestinian people since the June 1967 war, the resolution and report developed the SWP position in support of the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination against Zionism and the state of Israel, and in support of the struggles of the Arab peoples against imperialism and its Israeli beachhead. The resolution also rejected the Zionist claim to represent the interests of the Jewish people of Israel and the world, and reiterated the long-standing opposition of revolutionary socialists to anti-Semitism.

The new radicalization

The report on the political resolution was given by Jack Barnes. The resolution outlines the development of the radicalization: "The current radicalization began with a new rise in the Afro-American struggle for self-determination in the early 1960s. This developing independent movement, sparked by a new layer of Black youth, attracted sympathy and support, precipitating a nationwide student movement. The students then became the spearhead of the antiwar

movement too sacrosanct and deep-rooted to be challenged. 2) The actions of each new layer of the diversified movement have raised greater doubts about the fundamental values of bourgeois society. 3) Each extends and deepens interest in radical ideas about the reconstruction of social life. 4) Each drives home the conclusion that new issues and struggles will continue to emerge as the radicalization deepens."

One of the characteristics of the movements that have emerged in the unfolding radicalization has been their independence. They are not wings of the Democratic or Republican parties, nor are they under the stifling control of the labor bureaucracy or the Stalinized Communist Party. "While each has been willing to form action alliances with, and learn from the experiences of, other sectors, they have refused to subordinate their demands or wait for the struggles of others before embarking on their own," the resolution explains.

Another aspect of the radicalization is the willingness of sectors that have come into struggle to engage in direct mass actions. The depth of the radicalization is indicated by the fundamental issues of class society raised by these various movements, and the resolution concludes that, "Today's radicalization is bigger, deeper and broader than any previous radicalization."

The resolution also states: "The characteristics of the radicalization so far have made it clear that the American revolution will have a combined character. It will be a revolution by the oppressed nationalities for self-de-

While rejecting any attempt to predict the exact timing and form of the radicalization of the mass of workers, the resolution asserts that this will be a dual process. Both the impact of the general social and political issues and movements emerging outside the labor movement, and sharpened economic class struggle between the workers and their unions and the capitalist class and its government, will have an effect on the radicalization.

The American left

An important factor even in the course of the radicalization so far, and which will assume decisive importance as it develops, is the new relation of forces in the American left. For the first time, revolutionary socialism as represented by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance has the opportunity to become the most powerful socialist tendency in this country. The key to achieving this will be the ability of the revolutionary-socialist movement to participate in the struggles of the radicalization as they emerge, to successfully counter the attempts of the reformist and ultraleft currents to deflect these movements from an independent and anticapitalist path, and to win the best of the militants from these movements to SWP and YSA. This is the path to building a fighting revolutionary-socialist organization, whose members are the indispensable nucleus necessary for the building of a mass revolutionary-socialist working-class party.

presented by the growth and expansion of the SWP.

National convention

The resolutions adopted by the National Committee, and others to be prepared, will be submitted to the SWP membership for consideration in a three-month period of intensive internal discussion, both in a written form and in the SWP branches. All SWP members, or groupings of members with a common political position, have the right to submit counter-resolutions that contain a different general orientation for the party. All members may also submit to the pre-convention discussion bulletin written articles concerning any aspect of party work or the resolutions under discussion. After three months of such thorough discussion, the membership votes on the general line of resolutions and elects delegates to the convention. If there is a political division, delegates are elected on a proportional basis.

The delegates to the convention, constituting the highest body of the SWP, then make the decisions concerning the basic orientation and political line of the SWP, based on the discussions held both prior to and at the convention, and elect the new National Committee.

It is through this process of intensive democratic discussion and debate that the powerful unity in action the SWP has become known for on the left is achieved, and that a leadership is elected which represents the membership and has its confidence.

Houston socialists lead fight against Klan

By TRAVIS BURGESSON

HOUSTON, April 17—Houston, the sixth largest city in the country, is the scene of a massive and growing campaign to stand up to the Ku Klux Klan and other right-wing terrorists and to challenge their right to harass, intimidate, and physically assault organizations and individuals who openly disagree with their racist, sexist, jingoistic ideology.

For the first time in the long history of right-wing terrorist attacks on the antiwar, Black, Chicano, student, and socialist movements in Houston, a committee has been organized to defend victims of such attacks. The Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston (CDDRH) was formed following the bombing of the Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters on March 12. The aim of the CDDRH is to wage a public campaign to force the Houston city administration to secure the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the bombing of the SWP headquarters.

After reviewing the history of unchallenged acts of right-wing terrorism in Houston, the statement of purpose of the CDDRH states: "The bombing of the campaign headquarters of a legitimate political party running candidates for public office is a direct challenge to civil liberties and democratic rights in this city."

The bombing of the SWP headquarters has evoked widespread protest. Among those responding were the *Houston Chronicle*; the *Houston Post*; the University of Houston *Daily Cougar*; *Space City!*; David Berg, legal chairman of the Houston ACLU; Helen Cassidy, Houston National Organization for Women; University of Houston Women's Liberation Front; seven faculty members of the U of H political science department; the president-elect of the U of H student government; the U of H student senate; U of H Young Democrats; U of H Student Mobilization Committee; Houston Peace Action Coalition; Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam; four coordinators of the National Peace Action Coalition; Rev. William Lawson; W. E. Culbreath of the *Voice of Hope*, a Houston Black newspaper; Lauro Cruz, Harris County state representative; the chairman of the Harris County Democrats; and Nancy Palm, chairwoman of the Harris County Republicans.

Even Houston Mayor Louie Welch, whose administration has done nothing to halt right-wing terrorists, was compelled to condemn the bombing. However, in a later statement, he attempted to pass it off as the work of a "sick mind."

Welch's comment hardly seemed plausible to Houstonians who have witnessed over twenty bombings, shootings and other vigilante attacks in the past year. Pacifica Radio has had its transmitter bombed twice. *The Forward Times*, a Black newspaper, was the target of a bomb attack. Fred Brode, a local antiwar activist, has sand bags in front of his house after being shot at numerous times. *Space City!*, a local radical newspaper, has been shot up and otherwise harassed. These and many other incidents of physical harassment and intimidation comprise a pattern of right-wing terrorism far more involved than the work of a mere "sick mind."

Ku Klux Klan

Confirmation of such a pattern came in the midst of this public outcry with the appearance of the *Rat Sheet*, a publication circulated by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. In the *Rat*

Sheet, Debby Leonard, SWP candidate for mayor of Houston, was the target of a vicious, sexist attack. Names, addresses and telephone numbers of Leonard, as well as Paul McKnight, Mareen Jasin, and Jeannette Tracy, SWP City Council candidates, were listed with the suggestion that they be called between 3 and 4:30 in the morning. *Space City!* and several writers and supporters of the paper were the object of a lengthy attack.

The *Rat Sheet* also made a virulent racist attack on the Black community. It described Blacks as "savages—the Negro inflamed with hatred, dope and ritual has recognized no law but that of the jungle and the Mau Mau." The sheet attempted to whip up sentiment against Blacks (constantly referred to as "jungle bunnies") by screaming racist slander about "invaders" and indicating that the appropriate response would be for all Christian white men to get their guns and train themselves in "self-defense."

The *Voice of Hope*, Houston's leading Black newspaper, answered the Klan attack in a front-page article entitled "Local Klan Plans Warfare on Blacks." The *Voice of Hope* pointed out that when Robert Shelton, Imperial KKK Wizard, spoke at a nighttime Klan rally on the outskirts of Houston last fall, Klan leaders announced that its members were in police, city and county government positions in Houston and Harris counties. Editorially, the *Voice of Hope* reviewed the history of right-wing violence in Houston and the absence of any arrests for the crimes. "There can be little question," it stated, "but that the Klan is and has been guilty of most, if not all of the bombings. . . . There can be no question that this fact is known by both local and federal law enforcement officials. The continued failure to arrest and bring the guilty parties to trial can only lead us to the conclusion that bombings and acts of terror are considered legal and permissible as long as such acts are committed against those who are critical of the 'establishment.'"

The 'investigation'

The *Voice of Hope* also reported on the appearance before the Houston City Council of spokespersons for the CDDRH and others who were attacked in the *Rat Sheet*. Mike Maggi, secretary of the CDDRH, informed council members that a letter had been sent to John Connally, secretary of the treasury and former governor of Texas, exposing the hostile and negligent investigation of the SWP headquarters bombing conducted by treasury aides



Part of damage done to Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters by March 12 bombing.

Photo by Dave Bliss

sent in under the new federal explosives act.

Debby Leonard, subject of this "investigation," explained that treasury agent Richard Brooks indicated that he was "investigating elements in the Black community for possible complicity in bombing our headquarters—a course of action which we considered not only slanderous to ourselves, but an affront and an indignity to the Black community as a whole."

Right-wing groups and individuals such as the Solid Rock League of Women have demanded that the SWP be investigated, asserting that "they would have been tarred and feathered before the turn of the century." City Councilman Lee McLemoore insisted that Debby Leonard should take a lie-detector test.

Local and federal law enforcement agencies have implied that the SWP may have bombed its own headquarters for publicity. However, publication of the *Rat Sheet* has exposed the fallacy of this line of "investigation" since the targets of this smear attack by the Klan have turned out to be victims of acts of terrorism as well.

The fight to defend civil liberties in Houston against right-wing terrorist attacks is of national importance. At stake are freedom of the press, freedom of the electoral process, and freedom of peaceful assembly. In the face of a long-standing tradition of direct and indirect collusion between the Houston police, the city administration, the Klan and associated right-wing groups, the demand that the police and arson department records be opened at a public hearing represents

a direct challenge to the Klan's ability to carry out its terrorist activities with impunity.

Meanwhile, the Klan has nevertheless stepped up its campaign of harassment and intimidation. The United Klans of America meets on Thursday nights. On Thursday, April 8, two known Klansmen visited the Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters and bought a copy of *Space City!* Later that night, four businesses distributing or advertising *Space City!* and one residence housing *Space City!* supporters were shot up. Harassment in the form of stickers stating "The Knights of the KKK are watching you," phone calls, and Klan visits has escalated. Debby Leonard has been informed that an expanded *Rat Sheet* is to appear next month.

The CDDRH is gaining widespread local support and sponsors. However, the fight to turn the tide in Houston promises to be long and hard. The CDDRH wants to place prominent advertisements in the two daily newspapers. It intends to escalate its publicity locally and nationally. Because of the frequency of the harassment and attacks, the committee wants to publish a weekly bulletin to all victims and supporters to maintain solidarity among those under attack and gain even wider support. National sponsorship will be important in this regard. Funds are urgently needed to carry out this perspective. To become a sponsor or to contribute to the CDDRH, or for further information, contact the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, 4334 Leeland, Houston, Texas 77023. Tel: 921-3293.



Frank Converse (second from right) listens to Robert Shelton (on right) at Oct. 10 Klan rally near Houston.

Space City! photo

By DICK ROBERTS

The Nixon administration's latest "inflation alert" is mainly directed against steelworkers who will be negotiating new contracts beginning July 1.

Issued on April 13, the statement of the President's Council of Economic Advisers warned that wage increases like the one recently won by can workers, who are members of the United Steelworkers union, are inflationary. The can workers won a 31.5 percent increase over three years.

The Council of Economic Advisers further declared that big wage increases by the steelworkers would undermine the competitive position of the U.S. steel industry in international trade and consequently lead to a future loss of jobs in the U.S. steel industry.

The administration's statement was

and steel profits shown on this page are taken.

The U.S. steel industry has been heavily buffeted by foreign competition. Edgar B. Speer, president of U.S. Steel, complained to the *Wall Street Journal* Jan. 26 that "before 1980, Japan will pass up the U.S. as the world's top steel producing nation."

The results include a curtailment of steel production in this country, as shown by one of the *U.S. News and World Report* graphs, and a declared profit decline, as depicted in the other graph.

But there is not one shred of justification to the demagogic attack on steelworkers that the wage increases they are seeking are inflationary, or that wage hikes need be the cause of a loss of jobs due to international competition.

east Asia. This inflation is in reality an indirect tax that falls most heavily on working people. Little known is the fact that the deficit projected for fiscal year 1972 (beginning this coming July 1) is \$11.6-billion. And it could easily be much larger.

The projected war spending of the government thus virtually assures continued inflation in the coming period. Workers not only need to catch up with the price rises that occurred during the term of their old contracts. They need protection against future price rises. The steelworkers will be demanding a return of a cost-of-living clause in their contracts, which they gave up in the bitter 116-day strike struggle of 1959.

Meanwhile, the steel industry itself has been continuously raising prices during Nixon's administration. Nixon

order to keep out foreign imports?

Spiraling prices limit increases in real wages and may even force them down. This allows U.S. corporations to extract maximum profits from American workers while minimizing expensive investments in advanced technology. The profitability of such investments in an industry like steel is limited because of the huge investments already tied up in plant and equipment, much of it obsolete, which even during the big prestrike steel stockpiling now going on is operating at only 75 percent of capacity.

The cardinal rule of the corporate rulers is, Why make unprofitable investments in more unused capacity when you can soak the American workers for billions in profits by restricting production (and employment) and raising prices?

So far as foreign competition is concerned, the main vehicle of U.S. imperialism in world trade is not the export of goods from this country, but the sale of goods in foreign markets that are manufactured and sold in those countries by the foreign subsidiaries of U.S. corporations. One never hears an "alert" from the White House about the loss of American jobs when the multinational U.S. giants pour billions of dollars into foreign investments.

Finally, steel has the further protection of its high domestic prices by "voluntary" import quotas which the Nixon administration has arranged with Japan and the Common Market nations. These provide for a limit on the amount of foreign steel sold in this country.

Are the owners of the U.S. steel industry really in the bad shape they and Nixon make out? A closer look at the graphs of *U.S. News and World Report* is not convincing support of their story.

It is true that steel production slumped about 9 percent in the last two years and that this was undoubtedly affected by foreign competition. But it also happens that a recession occurred during this period. The main drag on steel sales came from the slump in the American economy.

Steel production also slumped about 9 percent in 1961-62, during the previous U.S. recession.

The figures in the other chart show that the steel barons raked in \$830-million in profits in 1967; \$992-million in 1968; \$850-million in 1969; and an estimated \$600-million in 1970.

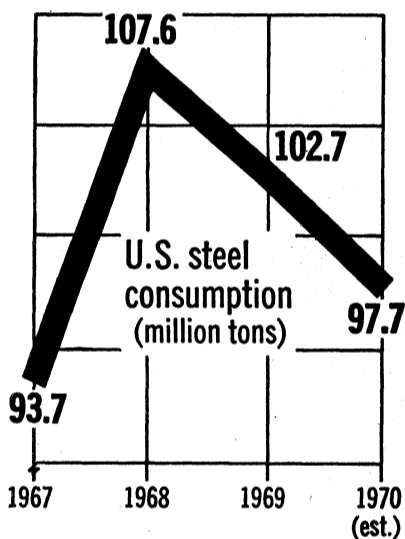
This adds up to the huge sum of \$3.272-billion in stated profits during the four-year period. This leaves aside the important question of what the real profits of the steel industry are—a closely guarded secret in this as in all capitalist industries.

But in the period that steelworkers sweated out these admitted billions of dollars of profits for the owners of the steel industry, their wages declined in terms of purchasing power.

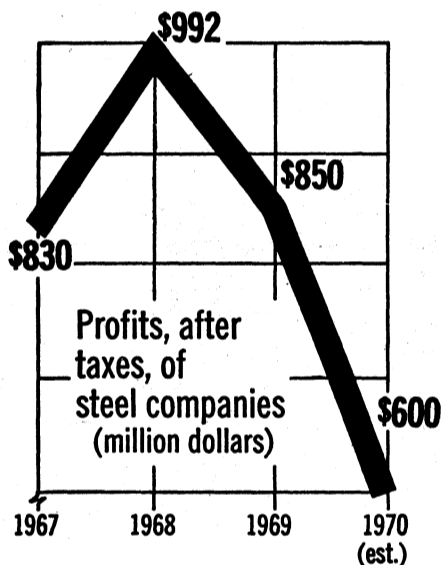
Nixon's economic advisers want to keep it this way. That is the point of their "inflation alert."

NIXON'S 'INFLATION ALERT': ATTACK ON STEELWORKERS

USE OF STEEL IS SAGGING



... AND SO ARE STEEL PROFITS



Source: through 1969, American Iron and Steel Institute; 1970, estimates by USN&WR Economic Unit

immediately praised by steel company executives. R. Heath Larry, vice-chairman of the United States Steel Corp., declared, "The third inflation alert has again emphasized that a declining trend in wage increases is essential if this country is to approach stability of prices and costs."

But labor officials quickly repudiated the blatant government intervention on the side of the steel bosses. I.W. Abel, USWA president, stated, "The facts clearly demonstrate that the steelworkers have been the victims of the inflation, not the cause of inflation. The facts clearly show that the purchasing power of the steelworkers has declined."

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, declared that the steelworkers are "going into negotiations with the government definitely on the side of the employer." Meany asserted that the inflation of the last three years had already reduced steelworkers' purchasing power by about 16 percent.

The ruling class' argument about how steel wage increases would ultimately cost steelworkers jobs was spelled out in an article in *U.S. News and World Report*, Feb. 1, 1971, from which the graphs of steel consumption

Causes of inflation

The central causes of the inflation are the monopolistic pricing policies of the dominant U.S. corporations, of which the steel industry is a paramount example, and the government's massive deficit financing of the Vietnam war.

Workers have been struggling to keep their wages abreast of spiraling prices, but without much success. According to the April 1971 issue of *Monthly Labor Review*, published by the Dept. of Labor, the weekly earnings of American production workers measured in terms of real purchasing power, were actually slightly lower in 1970 than five years earlier at the outset of the war in 1965.

So far as the inflationary effects of deficit spending are concerned, Nixon freely admitted them in his 1969 presidential campaign. One of his big promises was to reduce the federal deficit to zero in order to "combat inflation."

An indirect tax

But the Nixon administration, like Johnson's before it, has resorted to massive, inflation-producing deficits in order to finance the war in South-

U.S. News and World Report gave them a slap on the wrist back in January. At that time, Bethlehem announced a steel-price increase of 12 percent.

The ritualistic scolding came from the White House and Bethlehem "rolled back" its price increase to about 8 percent—an increase that spread throughout the industry.

When the curtain had closed on this little comedy, the *Wall Street Journal* recorded Jan. 26, "The industry has raised its quotes by 11.8 percent since President Nixon took office. . . ."

A new rash of steel-price increases began in March. This occurred as steel users were rushing orders ahead to stockpile their supplies in case of a strike. And there will be yet another round of steel-price increases after the upcoming wage negotiations, whatever their outcome. A rule of thumb in recent years is that steel prices increase three times for every wage increase.

Foreign competition

If foreign competition is such a severe threat, one might well ask, why the continuous upward spiral of steel prices? Why don't the U.S. steel companies improve their technology, expand production and cut prices, in



YSA in Florida campus rights battle

By JOHN VOTAVA

TALLAHASSEE, April 17—A storm of controversy has erupted in the state legislature and in the media across Florida around Jack Lieberman, a YSA leader whose run-ins with authority during several years of anti-war and other political activity have made him the best-known radical in the state. The current uproar is focused on the attempt of some right-wing state legislators to get rid of Lieberman and a free university course he teaches called "How to Make a Revolution in the U. S. A."

Last fall, Lieberman was suspended by the administration of Florida State University (FSU) here for his role in a protest against Marine recruiters the previous term. Lieberman's suspension for the winter quarter came in the midst of a statewide legal and political fight by the Florida YSA for the right to campus recognition at state schools. Although prevented from taking courses by the suspension, Lieberman signed up to teach a course in the Center for Participant Education (CPE) program of the FSU student government, which functions as a "free university."

Last month, Lieberman's class came under attack from the same reactionaries who have been denying campus recognition to the YSA, the Gay Liberation Front, and earlier to Students for a Democratic Society. In the middle of March, Robert Mautz, state chancellor, and D. Burke Kibler, chairman of the Board of Regents, stated they were investigating the "legality" of Lieberman's course. Four Republican state senators and representatives called on Kibler to halt the class and the Universities and Community Colleges Committee of the Florida Senate voted to investigate the course.

In the wake of these attacks, a long interview with Lieberman by Associated Press writer John Van Gieson was published in the *Tallahassee Democrat* and in the *St. Petersburg Times*.

Since mid-March, the crude red-baiting by two Democratic state senators on the Universities and Community Colleges Committee has helped make Lieberman's case into such a clear-cut free speech issue, commanding such wide public support, that Kibler and Mautz are both backing FSU President Stanley Marshall's defense of Lieberman's right to teach his class.

A mass march from the campus to the state capitol is scheduled for April 19, to accompany Lieberman when he answers a subpoena to testify before the senate committee.

After FSU President Marshall told a meeting of college presidents in Gainesville March 23 that Lieberman's class was legal and legitimate, state senators William Barrow and Robert Haverfield, chairman of the committee, went wild. Haverfield issued a statement March 24 saying he was "astonished" by Marshall's remarks. Haverfield threatened budgetary reprisals against the school, and he criticized Marshall for suspending instead of expelling Lieberman last quarter.

On March 26, the *Tallahassee Democrat* ran an opinion piece by its associate editor, David Cook. Cook criticized the entire CPE program, calling Lieberman's course "only the symptom of a worse disease," and attacking in a backward, sexist and super-patriotic manner a Gay Liberation Front course on homosexuality and a course on draft resistance.

On March 31, Kibler and Mautz took their stands behind Marshall, arguing on the advice of their general counsel, Rivers Buford, that "there appears to be no legal basis for denying Lieberman the use of university facilities, unless he is guilty of violating the law, board policy, or the university's own rules and regulations." The FSU student paper, the *Florida Flambeau*, asked Mautz if this justification for CPE's use of the campus on a free speech basis "could be extended to the case of the university's recognition of student groups policy." Mautz said no, but indicated that he personally opposed the Board of Regents' policy on recognition—the first

crack in the solidarity of state school officials on this issue in a year-long battle for recognition rights.

Haverfield's and Barrow's attacks on Lieberman have been so crude that these [Joseph] McCarthyites have alienated even many conservatives. Haverfield has called Lieberman "a nut, who should be put in a camp." Barrow has called the Young Socialist leader an "S. O. B., card-carrying Communist, and I want him off campus." In addition to Kibler, Mautz and Marshall, Julius Parker of the Board of Regents has come out publicly for permitting the class on revolution to be continued.

The *St. Petersburg Times*, in an April 14 editorial, called the attack on Lieberman unjustified and said that Haverfield was acting in a way that disgraced the senate. The influential paper called for him to be stripped of his committee chairmanship.

Lieberman voluntarily appeared before Haverfield's committee April 12, but as he began to make his initial statement, the committee members became flustered and started hooting and hollering at him. Then they demanded Lieberman be put under oath. Lieberman said he would if the committee members would also go under oath. The senators declined, suddenly producing a subpoena that required Lieberman to testify under oath. The Young Socialist asked for time to get a lawyer. The senators first said he had 30 minutes, but then—belatedly covering themselves—they agreed to wait one week, until April 19.

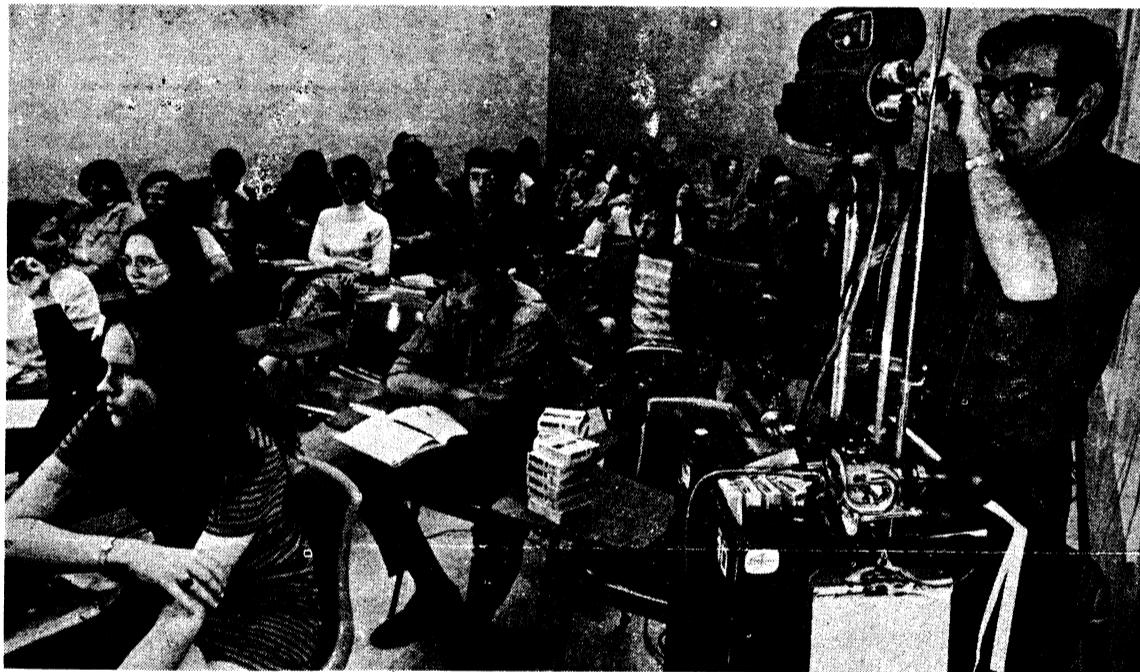
Unable to get the university administration to stop the course or expel Lieberman, these right-wing politicians hope to find something in a "fishing expedition" by grilling Lieberman for several hours, something which they can use to have him expelled or get rid of the class on "How to Make a Revolution."

The response of Floridians to the attack on free speech by these senators has been overwhelming. Not only are students and faculty constantly offering support and help, including members of fraternities, but even townspeople from the city are calling Lieberman up and offering aid. Workers at the capitol have phoned Lieberman, offering to tell him all the dirt they know about Haverfield and all about Barrow's conflicts-of-interest.

Wherever Lieberman walks in town, horns honk in greeting and people flash him friendly salutes.

When he went to the senate committee's hearing April 12, Lieberman was accompanied by 100 students. Three hundred students showed up at his next class, along with a camera crew from WJXT-CBS TV.

Not only does it appear likely that the senators will not succeed in witch-hunting Lieberman's course out of FSU, and not only have their attempts let thousands of young radicals in Florida know about the YSA and the way to fight for free speech, but the entire controversy has strengthened the case for campus recognition for the YSA, the GLF, and any other groups the regents or administration might have sought to ban.



Jack Lieberman's class filmed for CBS-TV.

U of Minn. elects gay student president

By GREG GUCKENBERG

MINNEAPOLIS—The first openly gay student government president in the country was elected at the University of Minnesota April 6-7 in the Minnesota Student Association elections, and referenda supporting women's rights were passed overwhelmingly.

Jack Baker, a law student whose campaign emphasized his homosexuality, received 2,776 of the 6,024 votes cast, while the other two candidates on the ballot received 1,873 and 1,005. His election represented a victory for gay liberation in the sense that it demonstrated how the general radicalization and the gay movement particularly have helped to diminish anti-gay prejudice among many young people.

The Young Socialist Alliance candidates for president and vice-president were handicapped from the outset by the elimination of their names

from the ballot in a primary election in the 27-member student senate. A referendum, initiated by YSA presidential candidate Mary Garrett, calling for an all-student primary in the future, passed by a vote of 4,140 to 898. Garrett received only 203 write-in votes for president, but she was elected to the student senate from the College of Education. Garrett was the only socialist candidate elected to the senate, but four other YSAers also polled a substantial number of votes—Pamela Mills received 768; Nanci Kimker received 762; Kirk Fowler received 686; and David Keil (who was also a write-in candidate for vice-president) received 644.

Referenda supporting women's rights, which had the backing of the YSA slate, passed in the election also. A referendum calling for all students to have access to birth-control information at the University Health Service passed 4,925 to 151 and one

calling for birth-control services passed 4,553 to 503. This service and information is presently available only to married students. While 1,213 of those voting thought such service should be free, 3,104 voted to have the service available at cost and 273 voted for service at prices generally charged elsewhere.

A referendum calling for the repeal of the state's antiabortion law passed 3,946 to 991. A referendum calling for the university to provide 24-hour child-care for anyone in the university community (students, staff and faculty) passed 2,648 to 2,297. While 594 voted for the proposition that such child-care facilities should be exclusively controlled by those who use them, 2,022 voted for joint university-user control and 148 voted for exclusive control by the university.

A referendum calling for women to have equal access to university jobs

passed 4,664 to 361 and another calling for women's equal access to academic opportunities passed 4,683 to 329.

Dan Johnson, the YSA candidate for Board of Publications, running on a platform favoring more coverage of student political activity by the *Minnesota Daily*, no censorship, and a union-printed *Daily*, has not yet had his votes counted. The campaign to have the paper printed by union labor, in which Johnson has been active, has broad support among both students and faculty.

The YSA here counts their election campaign a success. More important than the votes the YSA candidates received as a measure of the campaign's success was the degree to which the socialist candidates were able to focus discussion in the campaign on issues such as the war, women's liberation, police spying on campus and student control.

Right-wing threats in Columbus protested

By MARY ZIMS and DAVIDSALNER
COLUMBUS—The campaign initiated by the Columbus Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee on behalf of Columbus activists threatened with "political assassination" moved into high gear this week with a campaign of publicity, letter-writing, and a public defense meeting of close to 150 on April 14.

The case involves death threats to activists of a wide variety of political tendencies and has stirred controversy in the pages of the Ohio State University *Lantern*, the Columbus dailies, and radio and TV.

A letter signed by 41 faculty members demanding that steps be taken to insure the rights of members of the OSU community from the threat of terrorist attacks appeared in the April 14 *Lantern*.

Julie Bingham of the SMC began the April 14 defense meeting with a chronology of events.

Bob Bresnahan from the Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition described some of the attacks made on the antiwar movement in other areas of the country and the steps taken to counteract them. "Columbus people should be prepared to take the step of forming an ad hoc defense committee if these threats continue," he stated.

Sue Schultz, co-chairwoman of the Columbus Peace Action Coalition, described the appeal made by COPAC for statewide support from the antiwar movement "in order to insure adequate defense in our antiwar activities."

David Salner, also representing COPAC, stated that it is extremely important for a right-wing group such as the Minutemen to be exposed, because "people do not want to join an illegal, right-wing group when its activities are exposed to the public. These groups can be dealt a real defeat in Ohio by our handling of this case."

Clayton Roberts, a professor of history at OSU, stated that all students, faculty, and people of Columbus must express their concern by rallying behind those who have been threatened. "Mayor Sensenbrenner, Safety Director Hughes, President [of OSU] Fawcett, the editor of the *Columbus Dispatch*, and managers of broadcasting networks should openly express their concern for the dangers threatened people and should support these people even at the high cost of public criticism. . . . No one can afford to be silent in the face of erosion of our civil liberties."

The meeting was chaired by the president of the student body, Steve Cling, and was covered in the OSU *Lantern* and on channel 6 TV.

Midwest gay conference

DEKALB, Ill. — The Northern Illinois University Gay Liberation Front sponsored a Midwest Regional Gay Liberation Convention here April 16-18. Approximately 65 delegates representing groups from 10 different cities and campuses participated.

At the opening session, each group of delegates introduced themselves and gave a background of their group's history.

The DeKalb GLF, sponsoring the convention, was organized last year with four people; since then it has grown to 40 members.

The Lawrence, Kan., group organized last August to obtain university recognition. The Madison GLF has been together for two years. Oberlin organized last March and has approximately 40 members. The Southern Illinois University group, organized just recently, has 50 members. The University of Chicago group, organized in December 1969, was for a while a part of the Chicago GLF; it is now separate and has about 30



PROTEST EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION: The Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) demonstrated at the New York City Board of Examiners (NYCBE) in Brooklyn April 13. The NYCBE licenses applicants for city teaching jobs and denies certification to known homosexuals. GAA passed out leaflets at the action, stating, "Keep Sex Out of the Classroom!" and calling for the removal of NYCBE chairwoman Gertrude Unser, as well as for support of the Clingan-Burden-Scholnick-Weiss bill, banning employment discrimination against gays, currently before the City Council. Five members of GAA, including Jim Owles, the president, were arrested for "trespass" when they sat in at the NYCBE offices.

members. The University of Iowa GLF, organized in August 1970, has 25 members. The Louisville, Ky., group has organized free university classes on gay liberation.

After the general session, Rene Hanover of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) led a discussion of gay civil rights. A gay lawyer, Hanover discussed the lack of lawyers willing to take gay cases. Many lawyers who do, lack an understanding of gay people and exploitation by attorneys is quite common, she said. Hanover has organized a panel on homosexual rights for the coming convention of the NLG.

After the gay civil rights discussion, there were workshops. The first was "An Introduction to Homosexuals," designed primarily for straight people, to clear up misconceptions and dispel popular myths about gay people.

Another workshop dealt with counseling the young homosexual. It was designed for counselors, psychiatrists, dorm advisers and gay "telephone counselors." Other workshops were on "Housing Problems of Gay People," "Women," and "Organizing."

In the organizing workshop, the problems each of the groups represented has had in organizing gay liberation groups were discussed.

In the closing session of the convention, the April 24 gay liberation contingent in the antiwar march was unanimously endorsed by the convention.

Participants hoped the convention would lay the basis for more organizing and communication. A mailing list, compiled from the names of those who attended, is being prepared so that as problems come up or solutions are found, each group will be able to communicate their progress to the others.

Guy Maita, a member of the NIU-GLF, stated, "In the past, gay organizations have been separate and autonomous. We hope this convention will be a step toward regional and eventually national organization."

Gays meet at Harpur College

By JOHN LAURITSEN

The Gay Liberation Front of Harpur College at Binghamton, N. Y., held a Gay Liberation Day on Sat., April 17, attended by more than a hundred persons. The purpose of the day of events was to educate the Harpur and Binghamton communities and to reach out to still closeted gays on campus.

The Harpur GLF, which has existed only a few months, has over sixty members and is growing rapidly.

Events began after lunch with short speeches from representatives of Harpur GLF, Tri-Cities GLF, Syracuse GLF, The Red Butterfly, and Gay Activists Alliance.

Afternoon workshops covered such topics as "Is Homosexuality a Sickness?," "The Gay World," "Masculine and Feminine Gender Roles," "Political Activism and Gay Liberation," "Gays and Straights," "Lesbianism," "The Oppression of the Homosexual," and "Bisexuality."

The Gay Task Force of the Student Mobilization Committee supplied a major part of the literature available with leaflets, buttons, and a special brochure entitled "Gay Liberation and the Antiwar Movement." Reaction was favorable to the brochure which presents the idea that human sexual behavior falls along a continuum rather than in separate exclusive homosexual or heterosexual categories, and that sexual channeling is deliberately used by the system for its own ends rather than the good of the individual.

An atmosphere of openness and dialogue prevailed. The participation of straights was encouraged. Women took an active part in the afternoon events and were represented in about equal numbers with men.

In the workshops, there was agreement among straight students that anti-gay attitudes also limited their own freedom to relate in an affectionate and natural way to others, both of their own and the opposite sex. Religion, the family, militarism, and the profit motive were scrutinized and seen as forcing people into narrow and dehumanizing roles.

A "Gay-Straight" dance was a big success with more than 800 attending.

Harpur GLF members plan to join the Gay Liberation Contingent in the April 24 antiwar march in Washington, D. C.

The Harpur Young Socialist Alliance had a literature table featuring *The Militant*, the *International Socialist Review*, and literature on women's liberation.

...Black workers

Continued from page 10

narrowly confine the struggle to "union" questions.

In Jackson, Miss., where sanitation workers went on strike last summer demanding union recognition, an antidiscrimination clause and benefits that most white workers already have, the International office of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees sent Thomas Adams in to break it up.

At one meeting, he stated: "Nobody in the labor movement considers this a strike. You ain't got no strike. You just got a bunch of people not going to work. . . . You didn't get together because of anything except your Blackness. You don't understand unionism. If you want to have a civil rights movement, that's something else. But it's not unionism."

This antinationalist union bureaucrat, with his narrow vision of the class struggle, stated the logic of the Communist Party and YWLL's attacks on Black nationalism.

The Jackson sanitation workers, by combining their own special demands as Blacks with their demands as workers, carried out a strike that was more than a pure and simple union struggle. It was a social struggle as well. These workers were several giant steps ahead of the class consciousness of millions of workers who have been unionized for 30 years.

The 1970 postal strike was also as militant as it was in large part due to the concentration of Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano workers in the Post Office.

The impact of Black workers leading militant strikes, forming independent caucuses, raising political demands, can only help to elevate the political level of other workers and strengthen the struggle against capitalist domination.

Another way in which the Black community could positively affect the thinking of other workers and help to raise the political level of all forces fighting for social change would be the formation of an independent Black party. There has already been much discussion of this in the Black community and a few unsuccessful attempts at forming one have been made.

Such a party, if based on the Black community and dedicated to the liberation of Black people, would be a nationalist party. But because nearly all Blacks are workers, a Black party would also be a workers party. Besides demands that relate to the special oppression of Blacks, it would as a matter of course include demands that apply to them as workers. In addition, it would represent a break from and an instrument of struggle against capitalist political parties.

Yet Monteiro, who advocates that Blacks support politicians in the capitalist Democratic Party, condemns an independent Black party composed of Black workers fighting against capitalist oppression as "classless."

Monteiro totally fails to recognize that the deepening nationalist consciousness among Blacks, which has raised the general political level in the Black community, has also generated growing interest in and acceptance of socialist ideas among Blacks. For example, Malcolm X started out as a religious-oriented Black nationalist and developed into an irreconcilable opponent of capitalism with a greater and greater appreciation of socialism. Malcolm was a consistent and revolutionary nationalist. It will be his example, not Monteiro's vitriolic attacks on nationalism, that will lead millions of African-Americans to greater understanding of the nature of capitalism and how to defeat it.

Roots of the April Coalition

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

BERKELEY—A thousand spectators, mostly students and young people, are in the Berkeley Community Theater, eyes glued to two screens on the stage. The "Red Family," a radical collective headed by former SDS national officer Tom Hayden, has just entered the auditorium with red flags and NLF flags, singing revolutionary songs, including the "Internationale." A few minutes pass. Suddenly, some numbers are flashed onto a screen. Then a cheer breaks out. Yells of "Right on!" and red flags waving in the air build to a crescendo of tremendous enthusiasm.

What happened? Had the NLF captured Saigon? Had revolutionary socialists been swept into office in the city election? No. Four liberal Democrats had won the Berkeley election: Ilona Hancock of the April Coalition, D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons of the Black Caucus, and Warren Widener, vice-chairman of the Alameda County Democratic Party Central Committee and an opponent of the charter amendment which would have strengthened Black community control of the police. Widener was elected the first Black mayor of Berkeley.

The election results were trumpeted as a victory for the radical student movement.

The April 7 Berkeley *Daily Gazette* ran the banner headline "Radicals Top Council Race."

The April 10 *People's World*, the Communist Party's West Coast weekly, ran the headline "Berkeley: Power to the People."

Stew Albert, writer for the underground newspaper the *Berkeley Tribe*, rejoiced, "Maybe we can duplicate Chile on a national scale."

The national bourgeois press, however, took a more realistic view of the matter. *Time* magazine, in an article entitled "Welcome to the System," stated, "The victory scarcely signifies a revolution in Berkeley politics." *U.S. News & World Report* entitled its article "Radicals Use the System and Find That It Works."

A long history

To understand the meaning of these elections, we must look at the history of "coalition" politics in Berkeley. In 1966, Robert Scheer, former editor of *Ramparts* magazine, ran in the Democratic Party primary for the U.S. House of Representatives (7th District). Scheer sought and successfully captured the endorsement of liberal Democrats, radical students, and the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC). One result of this campaign was to weaken the VDC as a mass antiwar organization and divert many student activists back into the Democratic Party.

The Community for New Politics (CNP) grew out of the Scheer campaign. In 1967, it ran a slate of candidates in the Berkeley city election, which included Prof. J. B. Neilands, an openly procapitalist liberal. The CNP also endorsed Ron Dellums and Haziah Williams, both Black Democrats. Its main campaign slogan was "We can begin here to remake a corner of America." How did it say this could be done? By electing the "right" individuals into office.

The Peace and Freedom Party was formed in late 1967 as a continuation of the CNP and ran state and local candidates in the 1968 elections. It registered over 100,000 people statewide on the basis that they could help put the party on the ballot and then switch back to the Democratic Party in the primaries if they wanted to. At no time did the party reject in principle support to the Democratic Party. Its emphasis was on the need for "good" candidates, whom it did not

see forthcoming from either capitalist party.

As soon as the 1968 campaign was over, the party experienced a drastic decline, proving once again that, like its predecessor the CNP, it was not "an ongoing movement," but an electoral coalition based on electing the "right" individual.

In the city elections of 1969, the CNP—now called the Berkeley Coalition—was again revitalized, nominating Ilona Hancock for City Council. The Berkeley Coalition formed an alliance with the newly formed Black [Democratic] Caucus and endorsed three of its candidates. One of the candidates endorsed by the Black Caucus (though not by the Berkeley Coalition) was Democrat Wilmont Sweeney.

In 1970, the same people worked directly in the Democratic Party campaign of Ron Dellums in the 7th Congressional District. Dellums claimed "One man can make a difference" and argued that he was running in the Democratic Party to "take Blacks out of it." In order to prepare for this supposed exodus, his campaign committee registered over 22,000 Blacks and Chicanos into the Democratic Party at the very time that Chicanos in South Texas and Colorado were fighting to break the stranglehold of that same party on the Chicano community by organizing the independent Raza Unida Party.

The end result of the Dellums campaign was to strengthen the Democratic Party, not only in Berkeley but nationally. It helped to reinforce the illusions of Black people that the Democratic Party is "their" party. Refusing to organize Black people independently of that racist capitalist party, Dellums thereby helped set the stage for the defeat of the police charter amendment, which could only have been passed through the independent mobilization of the Black community against the Democratic Party and in particular two Black Democrats—Widener and Sweeney—whom Dellums himself had helped to promote. Even though Dellums supported the amendment, he endorsed and campaigned for Widener, who was against it.

The April Coalition

In the recent elections, the Black Caucus endorsed Bailey and Simmons. The same assortment of radicals, liberals and Democrats formed the April Coalition and decided to run Hancock and Brown. Each group endorsed the other. A campus arm called the April 6 Movement was also formed.

Who were some of the "radicals" behind this movement who turned out the decisive vote from the campus? Jeff Gordon, campus chairman for Democrat Ken Mead, successful candidate for state assembly in 1970; Peter Birdsall, campus chairman, Dellums for Congress; Jon Dixon, campus organizer, George Brown [Democrat] for U.S. Senate; and David Mundstock, who also worked on the Dellums campaign.

Mundstock was quoted in the April 12 San Francisco *Chronicle* as saying: "Despite the so-called radicalism of the candidates, the bulk of the student workers in this campaign were left-wing Democrats, not in the real sense radicals."

And for those who are worried that the April Coalition slate was really radical, the Coalition ran a half-page ad in the April 4 edition of the *Post*, a Black newspaper, which read: "Some people say we're too radical, but our supporters—Ron Dellums, Julian Bond, Benjamin Spock, Maudelle Shirek, Mrs. Medgar Evers, Ken Mead, George Brown, Fannie Lou

Hamer, and hundreds of others don't think so."

Democratic assemblyman Ken Mead, who opposed the police charter amendment, made it clear not only why he thought Bailey, Brown, Hancock and Simmons were not "too radical" but also why he thought they were a positive good in spite of the fact that they favored the amendment: "A large number of Berkeley young citizens are now 'working within the system' working for the election of the April Coalition candidates. . . . I feel an obligation to support their efforts and encourage this kind of constructive action."

Along with Mead, the ruling class would much prefer to have students and radicals campaigning for candidates within *its* parties than engaging in "destructive" things like independent mass action in the streets and independent political action like La Raza Unida Party. Support for either capitalist party strengthens the hold of the ruling class over the working class, women, and oppressed nationalities, while independent political action can only help educate broad masses as to who really rules this country, and thereby weakens the position of the ruling class.

The April Coalition put up pretenses about being opposed to the Democratic Party (a necessary gesture to get young campaign workers to ring doorbells). In fact, however, it vied for the party's standard with the traditional Democratic Caucus. The April 6 Movement campaign newspaper, the *Berkeley Observer*, stated: "Many of these anti-Dellums Democrats supported the Lyndon Johnson delegation in 1968 [as opposed to April Coalition people who only supported LBJ for president in 1964]. They always try to give the impression that their choices are the 'Democratic Party' candidates. They really represent the conservative third of Berkeley's Democrats—those who reside in the Berkeley Hills." In other words, the April Coalition and the Black Caucus believe they are the *real* Democratic Party.

The entire history of "new politics" or "coalition" politics in Berkeley shows a common approach which characterizes the reformist policies of these groups. Their view of the problems the American people face, such as poverty, racism, sexism, environmental crises, and the war in Southeast Asia, is that the wrong individuals are in office. These liberals don't understand that the central problem is not one of individuals but that a certain social class—the capitalist class—rules in Berkeley and nationally. The Democratic Party, as well as the Republican Party, is one of the instruments through which the capitalist class maintains its rule. It finances the party and determines its basic policies.

These policies are diametrically opposed to the millions of Americans who are fighting to bring all U.S. troops home from Southeast Asia, for Black and Chicano control of the Black and Chicano communities, and against reactionary abortion laws.

It's foolish for persons participating in mass actions against capitalist politicians one day, to vote for candidates in the capitalist parties the next day. The independence that the antiwar movements and other mass movements have maintained from the capitalist parties must also be extended to the electoral arena.

There were two parties in the Berkeley elections that campaigned for this perspective—the Socialist Workers Party and the Raza Unida Party. The campaign of the April 6 coalition was diametrically opposed to this independent thrust.

GRANMA

Feminism.

Gay Liberation.

Cuba.

Arab Revolution.

Chicano Struggle.

Marxist Classics.

Labor History.

Vietnam.

Black Struggle.

Ecology.

BOOKS

2509 Telegraph Avenue
Berkeley 841-9744
Hours: 12-10

Women Power

The Mod Donna and Scyklon Z

by Myrna Lamb

This collection of six one-acts, and the full length "musical soap opera," *The Mod Donna*, bursts through the Cinderella myth that every woman is taught to believe. Attacking the image of woman as an appendage of the man, the plays dramatize the rage of the current feminist movement. 200 pp., \$5.95, paper \$2.25

Problems of Women's Liberation

by Evelyn Reed

The author examines the roots of women's oppression from an anthropological, feminist, and Marxist viewpoint. This new edition includes the speech Evelyn Reed gave at 53 universities, "How Women Lost Control of Their Destiny and How They Can Regain It," and also the speech she gave at the June 1970 Socialist Scholars Conference, "Women: Caste, Class or Oppressed Sex?" 96 pp., \$3.95, paper \$1.45

Women and the Family

by Leon Trotsky

Four of the five articles were written by Trotsky in the early 1920s, and discuss creating the means of liberating Russian women from "the barbaric family." The fifth, written in 1936, is an evaluation of the Stalinist bureaucracy's cynical betrayal of women. 48 pp., 75c

Pathfinder Press

873 Broadway, New York 10003

In Review

Magazines

The Second Wave, a Magazine of the New Feminism. Published by Boston Female Liberation. Spring 1971. 40 pp. 75 cents.

Kate Millett wrote in *Sexual Politics*: "It may be that a second wave of sexual revolution might at last accomplish its aim of freeing half the race from its immemorial subordination and in the process bring us all a great deal closer to humanity." A new magazine is out, called *The Second Wave, a Magazine of the New Feminism*. The first issue of what is to be a quarterly contains information and views on such topics as Angela Davis, Nixon's concept of child care, lesbians in the women's movement, the meaning of August 26, witches as oppressed women, ugliness, views of playwright Myrna Lamb, and Black women's liberation—in addition to reviews, poetry, photography, and drawings by women.

Linda Thurston has written an analysis of the content of Nixon's child-care program, the Family Assistance Plan, which is part of his administration's welfare reform proposal. She contrasts the women's movement's demand for universal, tax-funded, community-controlled centers available to all children to Nixon's proposal, which she demonstrates is not designed to provide good child care but rather to "get the poor off welfare rolls and to enlarge the lowest echelon of the labor force." Every feminist should know the facts about this Nixon proposal, which would force welfare recipients who wanted to place their children in child-care centers to accept any job offered them, including as field hands or domestic workers, regardless of pay or working conditions.



There is a long, interesting article by Jo Freeman on how a "gilded cage" has been built up around women, not only through the legal system, which enforces their position as second-class citizens, but also through the more subtle and vicious method of training women to internalize their oppression. That is, women are taught to uphold their own oppression by internalizing the concepts that we are inferior, incapable of high achievements—in short, by convincing us that "we don't need to be liberated."

Freeman analyzes our legal system and its roots in English common law and Roman and Greek law to show how the laws are designed to back up our subjugation in case women try to rebel.

Maxine Williams deals with the common theme that Black women aren't interested in women's liberation. In her article on "Women's Liberation and Nationalism" she points out that "An independent Black women's organization, rather than divide the national liberation struggle, would actually enhance that struggle. . . . An independent Black women's organization would give us the opportunity to reach women who would not ordinarily be reached by male-female organizations, and thus heighten the political consciousness of Black women."

The Second Wave costs \$3 for a one-year subscription, or 75 cents for one issue. You can get a 25 percent discount for orders of 10 or more. Send your orders and money to: Female Liberation, P.O. Box 303, Kenmore Square Station, Boston, Mass. 02215.

— CAROLINE LUND

Books

Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power by Tariq Ali. William Morrow & Company. New York, 1970. 270 pp. \$7.95.

The nationalist upsurge in East Bengal and the West Pakistani government's effort to drown it in blood highlight the importance of Tariq Ali's readable and witty *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power*. By detailing the background to this conflict, it dispels large amounts of ignorance about the political history of Pakistan.

From the origins of the Muslim League in 1906 through the 1968 upsurge that toppled the regime of Ayub Khan, Tariq Ali traces the constant crisis of the Muslim bourgeoisie. In 1947, the partition of British India into Pakistan and India was aimed at setting aside an area for the Muslim bourgeoisie and bureaucracy free from competition from the well-established Hindu bourgeoisie, represented by the Indian National Congress.

In the process of turning the Muslim masses over to one set of masters under the pretext of freeing them from another, partition established one country out of two nations divided by 1,100 miles of Indian territory, having completely different histories, cultures and languages. The only common factor between the two nations of Pakistan was religion.

The relationship between East and West Pakistan can clearly be defined as colonial. The central government, established in the West, was uninterested in the East except as a colony whose raw materials could be marketed for foreign exchange and as a market for its own industrial products.

The Bengalis have been treated as a colonial people in other ways. Although they comprise the majority of the population of Pakistan, they have been denied even token political power. All major bureaucratic posts in East Pakistan were monopolized by West Pakistanis. The army is comprised mostly of West Pakistanis. This is justified by borrowing the racist argument from the former British overlords that the Bengalis are racially inferior.

On the cultural side, only six months after independence, the central government attempted to make Urdu (a West Pakistani language spoken by only 7.3 percent of the population) the *only* official language, despite the fact that a majority of the people speak Bengali.

Tariq Ali traces the background to the current upsurge in East Bengal and gives an analysis of the various parties and political leaders in both East and West Pakistan. The desire for Bangla Desh [Bengali Nation] among the masses of East Bengal has forced the various bourgeois parties and leftist parties to adapt to the mass mood.

The single most critical mistake of bourgeois commentators and some who call themselves Marxist is to assume that Bengali nationalism is the creation of Sheik Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League. Bourgeois politicians like Rahman, whom Ali calls "Pakistan's Chiang Kai-shek," are spokesmen for Bengali nationalism by default of the left parties, he explains.

Campaigning on the basis of nationalist discontent, the Awami League won 167 out of 303 seats in the National Assembly elections last year. It then dropped its nationalist agitation until Yahya Khan postponed the meeting of the assembly, precipitating the current crisis.

In the meantime, the masses had moved to the left. They went beyond the Awami League's demand for autonomy to demand Bangla Desh. The weakness of the Bengali bourgeoisie has made it very wary of independence, and the Awami League leadership tried desperately to reach an accommodation with Yahya Khan. Only on March 25, when the Pakistani Army attacked, did Rahman declare independence.

The Awami League had made no provision for defending either itself or the masses from the military onslaught. The Bengali bourgeoisie, of course, did not want to arm the masses, and by not doing so it has exposed them to a massive slaughter that reminds one of the bloodbath in Indonesia in 1965.

The Maoists have played an equally treacherous role in the current upsurge. Taking their cue from the Chinese government, the Pakistani Maoists have been staunch supporters first of the dictator Ayub Khan and now of his successor Yahya Khan. After Ayub's victory in the rigged elections of 1965 (in which the Maoists took pains not to criticize or embarrass him, the Chinese declared that Ayub's success showed he had the support of the masses.

The current situation clearly shows that the building of a revolutionary party to lead the Bengali masses is the immediate task confronting revolutionaries in East Bengal and throughout the subcontinent. This need has been demonstrated before, especially during the 1968 uprising. In this connection, Tariq Ali quotes Mahbubullah, a revolutionary student leader: "If there had been a revolutionary party, we would have made a revolution in East Pakistan. Even now the objective conditions are very ripe. . . . Our task is to denounce all collaboration with the regime. Even if the Chinese government tells us that there is not a revolutionary situation, we will disagree with them. We know there is a revolutionary situation and we will exploit it. We will not let our generation rot."

The events in East Bengal are having repercussions throughout all of Bengal and throughout India as well. The national question constitutes an explosive element in the political life of the Indian subcontinent, and the ability to orient to and lead the masses in the struggle for national self-determination is the acid test of revolutionary politicians.

— PAULA REIMERS

Brazilian Marxist view of kidnappings

By PETER CAMEJO

Most North American radicals reject kidnapping as a means of fighting the ruling class in the United States. Yet some of the same people think that in Latin America kidnapping is an effective and justifiable tactic. The March 29, 1971, issue of *Intercontinental Press (IP)* published a document by a group of Brazilian Marxists, Ponto de Partida (Starting Point), where this question is put under scientific scrutiny for the first time. The document, entitled "Concerning a Kidnapping in Brazil," is reprinted in the May issue of the *International Socialist Review*.

Many North American radicals have a romantic—and partially paternalistic—concept of the struggles going on in Latin America. Latin America is viewed as one gigantic battleground with military dictators led by CIA agents on one side and armed bands of revolutionaries on the other. The masses are thought to be completely politicized and definitively on the side of the revolutionaries, but unable to take action because of the terrible repression. The ruling class is thought to have its back to the wall and to be confronted with a prerevolutionary situation in every Latin American country, forcing it to unleash a final effort at total repression. This view of Latin America is totally imaginary.

It may come as a shock to ultraleftists who hold such views, but there is more bourgeois legality in some Latin American countries (Chile and Bolivia, for example) than in the United States. And there are some democratic rights in most, with the major exception being Brazil. At the same time, the only country where there is clearly a prerevolutionary situation is Bolivia. And despite general economic instability, in some countries (Venezuela, Brazil, Peru, Paraguay) the ruling class has either temporarily stabilized its rule or is on the offensive against the masses.

Even more surprising for some is the fact that the Latin American left suffers from all the same kinds of problems that face the left in the advanced countries. In Latin America, too, there are reformists, centrists, sectarians, and ultraleftists.

The question of whether revolution will be made peacefully or will require armed struggle has not been settled in the minds of the masses, or even the vanguard. The recent victory of the Allende-led popular front in Chile has reopened that discussion, which some believed the Cuban revolution had answered. For example, even the Tupamaros, who are the best-known of the advocates of kidnapping and similar actions by small armed bands, gave support in a statement last December to a new popular front in Uruguay, the Frente Amplio (Broad Front), and asserted that in "other countries" (not Uruguay) it is possible to "achieve a revolution" by means of elections.

All of these so-called "old" questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics, such as popular frontism (where workers and peasants join with a liberal wing of the bourgeoisie under a program acceptable to the capitalists), working in the mass movements, and building a revolutionary party, are now being hotly debated in Latin America.

The Ponto de Partida document on kidnappings is a very welcome contribution to this discussion. The Ponto de Partida revolutionaries begin by insisting on a scientific approach to the general question of kidnappings and by seeking to explain the political concepts that underlie them. They are critical of the direction the Brazilian left has taken in the present situation: "We cannot hide our dismay at the lack of perspective of val-

iant revolutionists who seem to have lost their historical bearings. As if Marxism had not long ago demonstrated the decisive role of the masses in historical progress, a sector of the Brazilian left is trying to substitute for this reality the will of a few dozen men."

They point out that while thousands are imprisoned in Brazil, the masses seem unable to put up any resistance. Yet no matter how thoroughly one may search through the literature of the groups engaging in "armed struggle" today, nothing can be found to explain this. "Disregarding the elementary principles of the class struggle," the document states, "ignorant of the workers themselves, and incapable of comprehending the deeper significance of the relationship of social forces—the Brazilian vanguard cut itself off from the masses and reduced revolution to a contest between the state apparatus and a few hundred revolutionists. The consequences were to be expected. History seems to mock those who simply ignore what it has previously shown."

"The imprisonment of hundreds of valiant revolutionists and the breakup of the armed groups require a profound rethinking of positions."

The reason the military dictatorship is able to keep thousands of revolutionary activists in jail, explains Ponto de Partida, is that it has temporarily achieved a relationship of forces favorable to it. Kidnappings will do nothing to alter this reality.

For Marxists, this question is neither a moral one nor an abstract one. "Marxists are led to oppose the kidnappings not as a question of principle," the document states. "What we are arguing about is the conception that lies behind these actions, since that is the nub of the question. When the Narodniks took up bombs and revolvers to overthrow the Russian autocracy, they were unconsciously leaving the masses out of their plans. History decided the question and condemned them."

Later on in the document, Ponto de Partida takes up the arguments of those who try to politically justify kidnappings. The first is that "there is no other way of getting the prisoners of the dictatorship released from jail."

"This statement does not stand up under ex-

amination," Ponto de Partida replies, "especially when you consider that while releasing 15 prisoners the government jailed another 200."

The Brazilian revolutionists point out the fatalism and contempt for the masses inherent in the approach of those who favor kidnapping: "They are incapable of basing themselves on the conviction that the masses will engage in new struggles inevitably involving the demand for the release of all the political prisoners. When that happens, we are certain that the dictatorship will have to release all the political prisoners and not just give up 15 in exchange for 200."

Another argument made in defense of kidnappings is that the best revolutionaries are freed as a result of it. Ponto de Partida responds by recalling that in the famous Brazilian kidnapping under discussion it was the Brazilian dictatorship, not the kidnappers, who decided which prisoners were to be freed. Furthermore, there is nothing to prevent the bourgeoisie from deciding to sacrifice the kidnapped hostages. In the wake of the recent kidnappings in Uruguay, Canada and Europe, it is clear that the bourgeoisie on an international scale has moved in this direction.

Ponto de Partida winds up its discussion by exposing the argument that kidnappings are a good means of generalized "armed propaganda" and that they are welcomed by the masses. "To those who declare that the masses applaud the kidnappings, Marxists say, 'Thank you very much.' Here at last we have a complete confession! From the makers of history, the masses have been reduced to the status of mere spectators."

"All we need do now is to imagine the exploited masses of Brazil all packed into one super soccer stadium, the arena of a decisive contest between a few hundred revolutionists and the bourgeois state. The spectators are left with only two alternatives: to applaud or to boo the revolutionary team. There will be no boos; those who lack confidence in the masses can rest assured of that. The military dictatorship remains the main enemy."

A copy of this important document may be ordered by sending 50 cents to *Intercontinental Press*, Dept. M, P.O. Box 116, Village Post Office Station, New York, N. Y. 10014.



The argument that kidnapping is the only way to force the dictatorship to release political prisoners does not stand up, "especially when you consider that while releasing 15 prisoners the government jailed another 200." Above, 13 of the 15 prisoners exchanged for U.S. Ambassador C. Burke Elbrick in 1969.

... May Day

Continued from page 9

combined a liberal political line (implicit support to McCarthy) with ultraleft tactics. At the Ann Arbor conference where plans for the May Day action were made, it was agreed that on May 1 the demonstrators would present Nixon with the People's Peace Treaty. This is a document signed between Vietnamese and American students which includes among other points the liberal demand for setting the date for withdrawal as opposed to immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia. The treaty also enumerates conditions which the Vietnamese must live up to in return for withdrawal of troops. Rennie Davis' militancy seems to be more in his rhetoric and in his determination to have a confrontation than in his political line.

Another alleged virtue of the May Day action was offered by Stephen d'Arazién, in an April 15 *Village Voice* article. D'Arazién, the May Day Tribe's press secretary, writes: "What was needed, it was felt, was a tactic more militant than mere

mass mobilization, one which could capture the energy of the young and keep them from dropping out of the struggle and 'going to the country,' but one which might have an effect." (Emphasis added.)

While admitting that the May Day Tribe's action may have no effect on Nixon's war policies, he justifies it for its "therapeutic" value on those participating. His neighborly concern for those dropping out of political activity is very touching, but it doesn't help solve the political problem of how to build the most effective movement against the Vietnam war.

The history of the antiwar movement has demonstrated in practice that mass actions are the most effective form of struggle. They have made it progressively more difficult for the administration to continue the war and maintain the myth that it has the support of the majority of Americans.

This was clearly illustrated when the massive student strike and demonstrations of unprecedented size in May 1970 forced Nixon to withdraw U.S. troops from Cambodia. The fear of another May

was the principal deterrent to the use of U.S. ground troops in Laos.

We have not yet succeeded in ending the war, but victories such as May 1970 were won without the mobilization of powerful social forces like the labor movement and the Black community.

The task facing those concerned with continuing the fight until the war is over, is to involve those sectors of the population which can have a decisive impact on the government. The course of the war itself, and the massive displays of opposition to it over the last six years, have combined to generate broader and broader support behind the antiwar movement's demand for immediate U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia. New social forces, more powerful than those previously involved in the antiwar struggle, have been mobilized to speak out and show their strength in Washington and San Francisco this spring. This is what April 24 is all about.

But April 24 is not the end. This is only the beginning of a new drive toward even greater mass mobilizations which have the potential power to finally end the war in Southeast Asia.

Calendar

BOSTON

NEW ENGLAND MAY DAY SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE: April 30-May 2, Ell Center, Northeastern U. Fri., April 30, 8 p.m.: George Novack on *The Marxist View of Life*; Sat., May 1, 10 a.m.: *Strategy for the National Liberation of Oppressed Minority Groups*; 1 p.m.: Panel on *The State of the American Economy* with Dick Roberts, David Deitch of the *Boston Globe*, and Arthur MacEwen, associate professor of economics at Harvard; 3-5 p.m.: Workshops; 8 p.m.: Panel on Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* with Kipp Dawson, Evelyn Reed and Eva Chertov; Sun., May 2, 2 p.m.: *The Russian Revolution and Its Lessons for Today's Student Movement*—Barry Sheppard. Registration: \$2 for the weekend. For further information, call 536-6981.

NEW YORK

THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION IN EAST BENGAL—A Marxist Analysis. Speaker: Jon Rothschild, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*. Fri., April 30, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.), 8th Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

ATTEND SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND—April 30-May 2. Fri., April 30: Grand opening of new Socialist Workers Party Campaign Headquarters and kickoff for 1971 mayoralty campaign. 6-8 p.m.: Refreshments and Dinner. 8:30 p.m.: Talk by SWP mayoral candidate Jean Savage. 9 p.m.: Keynote Address by Peter Camejo. Sat., May 1, 12:30 p.m. *How Can Women Gain Liberation?*—panel discussion. 2:30 p.m.: Talk by Black ex-GI Joe Miles. 4 p.m.: *Black and Brown Liberation*—a panel of Black and Brown speakers from Young Lords, Black Panther Party and Young Socialist Alliance. 7:30 p.m.: *From Nationalism to Socialism*—talk by Third World activist Patti Iiyama. Sun., May 2, 11 a.m.: *Brunch with the SWP candidates.* 12 noon: *Socialist Electoral Action*—talk by Ed Elkins, SWP campaign manager. 1 p.m.: *Perspectives on World Revolution*, a panel. Friday night: \$5 (without dinner \$1); Sat. and Sun.: \$3. All at 1004 Filbert St. For further information, call WAS-4316.

NEW YORK

May Day Banquet

May Day banquet in celebration of the opening of the Brooklyn and Upper Manhattan branches of the Socialist Workers Party. Fine cuisine. Guest speaker: Harry Ring, former editor of *The Militant Entertainment*.

Sat., May 8. Social Hour: 5:45 p.m. Dinner: 7 p.m.

706 Broadway (4th St.), 8th Floor.

Tickets: \$3.50. For further information and reservations, call 982-6051.

COME RAP AND LISTEN. Tapes and discussion every Thursday, 7 p.m. at 1004 Filbert St. (Open to Third World people only.) Thurs., April 29: Panel Discussion: *Third World Women Speak Out on Women's Liberation.* A usp. Young Socialist Alliance Tape Library. For further information, call Pam Newman at WAS-4316.

RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

LENIN'S THEORY OF A BOLSHEVIK PARTY. Discussion leaders: Mark Gates, Carl Chisley and Dick Speed. Tues., May 4, 7:30 p.m. International Lounge (University Commons area), U of California at Riverside. A usp. Revolutionary Socialist Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO

FIRSTHAND REPORT ON JORDAN. Speaker: Abdeen Jabara, editor of *Free Palestine*. Fri., April 30, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

SEATTLE

WOMEN IN LITERATURE AND THE ARTS. Speakers: Judy Moschetto and Kathy Hills. Fri., April 30, 8 p.m. 5257 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1, students and unemployed 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

WORCESTER, MASS.

MAY DAY CELEBRATION: Speakers: George Novack on *The Meaning of Life—A Marxist View.* Brent Farland, Socialist Workers Party candidate for School Committee, on *Why Worcester Needs a Revolutionary Change.* Sun., May 2, 7:30 p.m. Academic Center Auditorium (Room 320) Clark University. Refreshments. Sponsored by the Socialist Workers Campaign '71.

Calendar and Classified ad rates: 75c per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. Display ad rates: \$10.00 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; Tuesday noon, three days preceding publication, for Calendar ads.

The Coming American Revolution

Northern California Socialist Educational Weekend, May 7-9

Discussions on: *Women in Revolt.* Speakers: Nina Hanburg, S.F. Women's Liberation; Ruth Rosen, Berkeley NOW; Cindy Jaquith, national secretary and national women's liberation director of the YSA.

How Blacks Will Change Society: Direction for the Black Liberation Movement. Speakers: Franklin Alexander, Angela Davis Defense Committee; Robert Allen, author and educator; Paul Boutelle, 1968 SWP vice-presidential candidate.

Chicano Liberation and Independent Political Action. Speakers: Olga Rodriguez, YSA; Raza Unida activists.

Who Rules America? Speakers: Dan Styron, SWP; further speakers to be announced.

Donation: \$2 or 50c per session. Sponsored by the Northern California Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE, 1600 HOLLOWAY, SAN FRANCISCO.

Enclosed is \$2. I plan to attend the whole conference.

Please send me more information.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

SCHOOL _____

PHONE _____

Mail to Northern California Young Socialist Alliance, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. For further information, call 621-3076.

The Coming American Revolution

SPRING SOCIALIST ACTIVISTS AND EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND . . .
LOS ANGELES CITY COLLEGE FRI. & SAT., MAY 7-8
SPONSORED BY L.A. CITY COLLEGE YSA
FOR TICKET INFO: YSA, 1702 E. 4th ST., L.A. PHONE: 269-4953

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: University: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.

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

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

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Hayward: YSA, Gary Sommer, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hillary St., Hayward, Calif. 94542. Tel: (415) 537-3656.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953. Address all mail to P.O. Box 33395, Los Angeles, Calif. 90033.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Woody Diaz, 5724 Warren St., Arlington, Calif. 92503.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Mark Lampson, 2307-A 24th Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95822.

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

San Diego: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

San Joaquin Valley: YSA, P.O. Box 873, Modesto, Calif. 95353.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Joan Fulks, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Colorado Springs: YSA, c/o J.C. Brown, Fountain Valley School, Colorado Springs, Colo. 80911.

Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 607 E. 13th Ave., Denver, Colo. 80203. Tel: (303) 623-9505.

FLORIDA: Jacksonville: YSA, P.O. Box 8409, Arlington Branch, Jacksonville, Fla. 32211.

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

Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 228-4655.

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

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

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 753-4445 (night).

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o John Heilers, West University Apts. #22, Indiana U, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Mary Bee, 402 Yorkshire, Lawrence, Kan. 66044. Tel: (913) 843-8083.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, Box 324, Student Activities Office, Campus Center, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981, 262-9688.

Pittsfield: YSA, c/o R.G. Pucko, 77 Euclid Ave., Pittsfield, Mass. 01201.

Worcester: YSA, Box 1470, Clark U, Worcester, Mass. 01610. Socialist Workers Campaign '71, P.O. Box 97, Webster Sq. Sta., Worcester, Mass. 01603.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48108.

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

East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 14, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

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

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o John Constant, 5219 Wayne St., Kansas City, Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 924-3714.

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

Wayne: Paterson State YSA, c/o Clyde Magarelli, Paterson State College, 300 Pompton Rd., Wayne, N.J. 07470.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Marilyn Vogt, 369B Hackett Blvd., Albany, N.Y. 12208. Tel: (518) 482-4584.

Binghamton: YSA, P.O. Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway, 8th floor (nr. 4th St.), New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (SWP) 982-6051, (YSA) 982-8214, (Merit Books) 982-5940.

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill: YSA, Box 2448, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Sarabeth Carr, 3653 Shaw, Cincinnati, Ohio 45208. Tel: (513) 871-4725.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.

Columbus: YSA, 2519 Indianola, Apt. A, Columbus, Ohio 43202. Tel: (614) 267-7948.

Kent: YSA, Box 1, Musselman Hall, Kent State U, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Tel: (216) 672-4956.

Oxford: YSA, P.O. Box 321, Oxford, Ohio 45056. Tel: (513) 529-6501.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OKLAHOMA: Norman: YSA, P.O. Box 2057, Norman, Okla. 73069.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Val Moller, 2014 N.W. Gilsan, Room 511, Portland, Ore. 97209. Tel: (503) 223-4830.

PENNSYLVANIA: Mansfield: YSA, c/o Ken Evans, Apt. 208-A, Corey Creek Apts., Mansfield, Pa. 16933.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA 5-4316.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Tel: (401) 863-3340.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, c/o Charles Kelly, Box 187, Melrose Hall, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916.

Murfreesboro: YSA, Box 8343, MTSU, Murfreesboro, Tenn. 37130.

Nashville: YSA, c/o Mike Leibman, Box 3703 Sta. B, Vanderbilt U, Nashville, Tenn. 37203.

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

Dallas-Ft. Worth: YSA, Box 863, UTA Station, Arlington, Texas 76010.

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

Houston: SWP, YSA and Pathfinder Books, 3806 Wheeler, Houston, Texas 77004. (713) 741-2577.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o Margot Ramirez, 210 Price Ave., San Antonio, Texas 78211.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, c/o Dayne Goodwin, 855 North 7th St. East, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 2000 P St. NW, Rm. 413, Wash., D.C. 20036. Tel: (202) 833-9560.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, P.O. Box 2301 C.S., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

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

WISCONSIN: La Crosse: YSA, c/o 431 N. 9th St., La Crosse, Wis. 54601.

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

Milwaukee: YSA, 1682 N. Franklin Pl., Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: (414) 276-4463.

Oshkosh: YSA, 572A Boyd St., Oshkosh, Wis. 54901. Tel: (414) 233-6155.

While you're in Washington...

COME TO THE YOUNG SOCIALIST MOVEMENT CENTER

Open April 19

**In DC call
223-2267,8,9**

**2000 P St NW
(at 20th St, near
DuPont Circle)
Rm 305**

- REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE
- FILMS, PLAYS, GUERRILLA THEATRE
- COFFEE & SNACKS
- SPEECHES, FORUMS, PANELS, DISCUSSIONS, DEBATES

The May issue

International
socialist
review
MAY 1971 FIFTY CENTS

ABORTION

The fight of women to control their own bodies against the politicians, the church hierarchy & the United States government

Also: U.S. imperialism and
Mideast oil

CLIP AND MAIL TO: INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, 14 CHARLES LANE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10014

- ENCLOSED IS \$1.00 FOR SPECIAL THREE MONTH INTRODUCTORY OFFER
 ENCLOSED IS \$5.00 FOR ONE YEAR (11 ISSUES)

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

Black Identity

"Just as a tree without roots is dead, a people without history or cultural roots also becomes a dead people."

Malcolm X

The history of Blacks in America is a history of struggle. But that history has been distorted and denied. Knowledge is a weapon in the fight for liberation.

Read

MALCOLM X ON AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY, \$1.00

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY, speeches by Malcolm X, \$5.95, paper \$1.95

W. E. B. DU BOIS SPEAKS, edited by Philip S. Foner

Two volumes: 1890-1919/ 1920-1963 each volume: \$7.95, paper \$2.95

PATHFINDER PRESS, 873 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10003 Write for a free catalog.

BOOKS

For a wide selection of books and pamphlets on the antiwar, anti-pollution, Arab, Native American, Black, Third World, and women's liberation movements, and for the most complete selection of the speeches and writings of Leon Trotsky, Malcolm X, Che Guevara, Ernest Mandel, James P. Cannon, Evelyn Reed, George Novack, Rosa Luxemburg, Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

ATLANTA: MILITANT BOOKSTORE, 1176 1/2 W. Peachtree St., tel: 876-2230. **BERKELEY:** GRANMA BOOKSTORE, 2509A Telegraph Ave., tel: 841-9744. **BOSTON:** MILITANT LABOR FORUM, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, tel: 262-9688. **LOS ANGELES:** MODERN BOOK SHOP, 1702 E. 4th St., tel: 269-4953. **MADISON, WIS.:** CHE GUEVARA MOVEMENT CENTER, 202 W. Gilman St., tel: 256-0857. **MINNEAPOLIS:** LABOR BOOKSTORE, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin), 2nd Fl., tel: 332-7781. **NEW YORK:** MERIT BOOKSTORE, 706 Broadway (4th St.), 8th Fl., tel: 982-5940. **PHILADELPHIA:** SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, 1004 Filbert St., tel: WA5-4316. **SAN FRANCISCO:** PIONEER BOOKS, 2338 Market St., tel: 626-9958.

INTER-CONTINENTAL PRESS

- ... to follow the war moves of the Pentagon.
- ... to keep abreast of the mounting worldwide antiwar demonstrations.
- ... for a week-to-week analysis of these big international developments-- and many others.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

P. O. Box 116
Village P.O. Station
New York, N.Y. 10014

Name _____
Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
() \$15 enclosed for one year. () \$7.50 enclosed for six months.

THE MILITANT

Nixon's policy: more, not less, war

By DICK ROBERTS

"We have some cards to play and we intend to play them to the hilt," President Nixon told a meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington April 16.

Nixon stated that there would be U. S. forces in South Vietnam "as long as there is still time needed for the South Vietnamese to develop the capability of self-defense." He declared U. S. air power would be used "against North Vietnam and its forces" as long as Hanoi holds American prisoners of war.

In other words, Nixon now admits that "Vietnamization" means indefinite U. S. military occupation of Vietnam.

And the Laos debacle showed what this can involve: massive U. S. artillery and air support of South Vietnamese troop operations throughout Indochina—in which American GIs as well as hundreds of Vietnamese soldiers and thousands of Indochinese civilians will get killed.

Plans have already been announced for a new military operation near the Laos border. The new "sweep" will include U. S. troops, but military officials have not yet revealed the role GIs will play.

Nixon now hopes to gull Americans into believing that although there will be "residual" U. S. forces in South Vietnam for some time to come, the war will de-escalate and these U. S. forces will not be playing a major role.

But the evidence all points in the other direction. The introduction of 15,000-pound bombs into battle against the revolutionary forces—the huge destructiveness of which is vividly illustrated in the photograph—was another step in attempting to make up for the reduced number of U. S.

ground troops with expanded U. S. air power.

This could mean fewer U. S. combat casualties. But it emphatically does not mean less war, less destruction, or less slaughter of innocent victims.

An interesting observation was quoted by *Washington Post* correspondent Peter A. Jay, in an article written in Saigon April 13. Jay cited an American official who is an expert on the "pacification" program in the Mekong Delta.

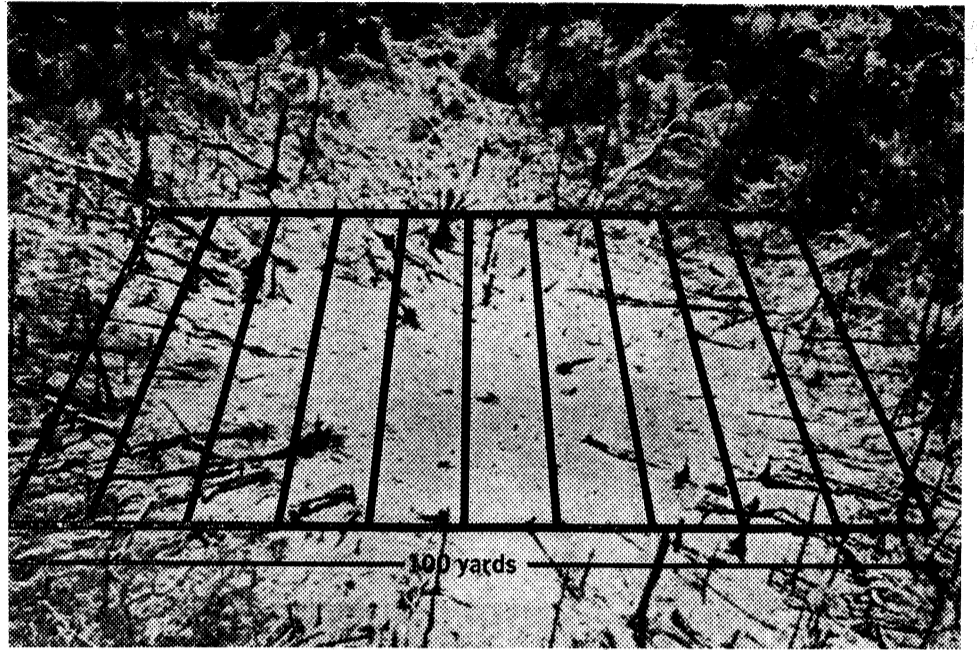
This area is generally considered to be the most "secure" in terms of obedience to the Saigon military clique. But, the pacification officer told Jay, "In 1952, the French pacified the delta, and then after Dienbienphu it turned sour overnight. The same thing happened again under (former president Ngo Dinh) Diem in the early 60s, and again in 1968 after Tet. And it could happen again now, even though the government is as strong as it's ever been."

Thus, with every major victory of the liberation forces in the last two decades, the people of the Mekong countryside have swept away the oppressive apparatus of the Saigon regime, according to this U. S. expert.

New York Times correspondent Gloria Emerson discussed the pacification program April 18.

She concluded: "The great and grand goals of pacification still shine brightly for some courageous, committed Americans; but there is still one small thing that four years [16 years—D. R.] of pacification, billions of dollars, and thousands of United States advisers have sadly enough not yet brought about:

"It is being able to walk down a country road at night, or drive on



A view of the devastating effect of one of the 15,000-pound bombs the U.S. is now dropping on Vietnam. The huge bombs, which explode laterally rather than dig craters, clear an area the size of a football field.

a highway, without risking your life."

This is the balance sheet on the long counterrevolutionary drive by U. S. imperialism in the South Vietnamese countryside. When Nixon states that U. S. forces will remain in South Vietnam until the Saigon dictatorship can defend itself—and this is the precise meaning of his assertions—it must be clearly understood that this means *permanent U. S. military occupation and permanent war.*

Events like the defeat of the U. S.-Saigon invasion forces in Laos and the ever greater mobilizations of the antiwar movement in the U. S., symbolized by the April 24 demonstra-

tions in San Francisco and Washington, serve to increasingly narrow the administration's room for maneuver in prosecuting its treacherous war policies.

But it is evident that the administration will continue to press the hated war as long as it is capable of maintaining a military foothold in Vietnam. That is why the antiwar movement must continue to counterpose to Nixon's schemes *immediate and total withdrawal of all U. S. forces.* Anything short of this means continuation of the slaughter, already in the third decade since revolution first swept Indochina at the close of World War II.

SWP headquarters vandalized in L.A.

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES—Political vandals destroyed books, pamphlets and posters at the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance here late April 17 or early April 18 with damage estimated at over \$5,000. Chemical foam from fire extinguishers and other liquids were used in the attack.

The vandals broke padlocks on a side entrance and on the doors of offices and the cash box. One hundred dollars in cash was stolen. Socialist Workers Party representatives at the headquarters, located at 1702 East 4th St., point out that the attack occurred one week before the April

24 antiwar demonstrations in San Francisco and Washington, which the YSA and SWP have been active in building. A similar attack was made on the offices of the National Peace Action Coalition in San Francisco April 12.

"This is clearly an attack against the antiwar movement and our socialist politics," Helen Myers, organizer of the Los Angeles branch of the SWP, said in a news conference here April 19. "The attackers destroyed pamphlets on the antiwar movement, women's liberation and Black and Chicano liberation, as well as stealing important office files."

The attack, the seventh in two years

on this headquarters, occurred on the tenth anniversary of the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba by CIA-aided counterrevolutionary exiles.

Last May 27, the same YSA and SWP headquarters was nearly destroyed in an armed arson attack by Cuban exile counterrevolutionary *gusanos* (worms), who made those present lie on the floor, threatening them with automatic weapons while they set the building ablaze. Three *gusanos* charged with the attack jumped bail last Sept. 17 before they could be brought to trial. A fourth is free on bail while his trial is pending.

This attack, as in the May 27, 1970, arson attack, occurred during prep-

arations for a major antiwar protest. Last year, it was the May 30 Memorial Day protest against the invasion of Cambodia.

Social Services Union Local 535, whose State Executive Board was meeting in Los Angeles, passed a strong motion denouncing the attack and reiterating its support for the April 24 action.

Jim Little, SWP candidate for Junior College Board of Trustees, who received more than 15,000 votes in the April 6 municipal elections, stated, "This attack will not intimidate us. On the contrary, we will redouble our efforts to build the most massive possible demonstration on April 24."



The Militant

Now that you've read it
why not subscribe?

Special offer to
antiwar activists

10 issues \$1

\$6 for regular 1 year subscription.
For GIs—\$1.50 for 6 months.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to The Militant,
14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.