

THE MILITANT

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May 15: GIs march against the war



1,000 marched in Killeen, Texas, May 15

Photo by Steve Rose

By LEE SMITH

The May 15-16 weekend was marked in more than a dozen places around the country by GI antiwar actions, demonstrating the growing opposition among members of the armed forces to U.S. aggression in Indochina. Despite restrictions by the brass at most bases, and severe harassment of GI organizers at some, a number of the actions were significant in size.

Demanding immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam, more than 1,000 GIs marched through the streets of Killeen, Texas, May 15. The demonstration was organized by the Ft. Hood Spring Offensive Committee. The significant turnout might have been even larger had the brass not restricted hundreds of GIs to base and placed them on "riot duty."

A truckload of GIs from Ft. Polk, La., joined the Ft. Hood GIs and civilian supporters of the demonstration from a number of antiwar organizations, including the Student Mobilization Committee and the Dallas Peace Coalition.

The GI organizers of the action had faced stepped-up harassment in the week before the demonstration, including the arrest of the Spring Offensive Committee leadership for "loitering" and "disrupting a public walkway" while they stood outside an antiwar coffee house several days before the march. These charges were replaced with the equally ridiculous charge of "interfering with a police officer doing his duty," but the case was dismissed by the judge when it came to court.

The march was concluded by a rally with speakers from Vietnam Veterans Against the War and from the Black and Brown communities and a woman speaker. Pete Seeger entertained the crowd with folk songs. Plans were announced at the rally for a statewide demonstration in Austin May 21.

On May 21, Nixon, Agnew, Hubert Humphrey, Billy Graham, Lyndon Johnson, and other warmakers are going to be taking part in ceremonies to dedicate the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. National Peace Action Coordinator Jerry Gordon and SMC National Coordinator Debby Bustin have been invited to speak at an antiwar protest counterposed to the library dedication.

On May 16, 1,300 people, including more than 600 GIs from Ft. Bliss, gathered in McKelligon Canyon in El Paso, Texas, for a peace festival. The crowd heard speeches from David Cortright, the GI whose legal battle against a punitive transfer to Ft. Bliss made national news early this year; Don Gurewitz, a national coordinator of NPAC; and Bill Patterson, a local Vietnam veteran. Rock bands and folk singers also performed.

More than 1,000 people, including about 150 active-duty sailors, marched around the Great Lakes Navy training base in Chicago May 15 and then attended a rally in Foss Park, adjacent to the base. The rally was addressed by an active-duty GI, spokespeople from the Chicago Area Military Project and Movement for a Democratic Military, as well as Eliseo Medina of the United Farm Workers, who denounced the Navy's purchases of scab lettuce.

More than 6,000 people, led by a contingent of 25 active-duty GIs, marched in Salt Lake City May 15 in the largest antiwar action ever held there. The march from the state capitol to Pioneer Park included contingents of college students, high school students, women, gays, trade unionists, veterans and religious organizations.

The rally included entertainment (Country Joe MacDonald was one of the performers) as well as antiwar speeches. The action

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STARSKY CASE: Morris Starsky, the revolutionary-socialist professor who was fired from Arizona State University last June because of his ideas, is seeking \$1.2-million in damages and reinstatement at ASU's philosophy department. His legal suit was amended May 10 with the filing of a more detailed complaint against the university regents, who fired him in the face of opposition from the school's president and two faculty committees. Starsky is currently teaching on a one-year appointment at San Diego State College.

RIGHT-WINGER'S TRIAL DELAYED: The trial of Thomas Kevin Stewart, a member of S. Thomas Sutton's Legion of Justice storm troop in Chicago, has been continued until June 2. Stewart is coming to trial on two consecutive sets of charges, the first stemming from vandalism and burglary of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance offices in June 1970, and the second from an armed raid on SWP-YSA offices in November 1969.

AIDING "THE ENEMY": John M. Sweeney, a 21-year-old Marine sergeant, faces a possible life prison sentence in his court-martial trial for "aiding the enemy." Sweeney claims his company commander shot at him and left him to die in Vietnam in 1969. He says two NLF scouts found him four days later and treated him for malaria. After that he went to Hanoi, where he spoke on the radio, and then to Sweden. Last summer he voluntarily returned to the U.S.

SORE THUMB: Last month, when Lt. Rory J. Sutton passed out leaflets soliciting money for the Vietnam Vet-

The House Internal Security Committee (HISC), successor to the House Un-American Activities Committee, opened hearings on the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice May 18 in Washington. The first round of hearings, scheduled to last three days, was to consist entirely of testimony from "friendly" witnesses. Various government and police officials told the committee on the first day that antiwar demonstrations in the nation's capital April 24 through May 5 had cost government agencies more than \$5.5-million in salaries and the use of equipment. No one asked committee member John M. Ashbrook, who says an objective of the demonstrations was to make the government spend money, how much the hearings are costing.

Jerry Gordon, an NPAC coordinator, charged at a May 18 Washington news conference that "the object of the House Committee, pure and simple, is to smear the antiwar movement." Gordon said their intent is obviously not to "investigate" NPAC or PCPJ, "since the activities of both groups have been conducted in the full glare of national publicity." The bank records of the two groups have been subpoenaed by the HISC. Gordon called this action an invasion of privacy. No antiwar activists have yet been subpoenaed, but the possibility remains open that such subpoenas could be issued for a further round of hearings.

erans Against the War, his superiors decided that was the last straw. Shortly after he arrived in Longbinh, Vietnam, the long-haired lieutenant was found during shake-down inspection sleeping in the enlisted men's barracks. Later he refused to stop wearing beads. Then he refused to take off an antiwar armband. All his men call him "Rory." Now, says Lt. Col. George R. Davis, he is recommending Sutton be given an honorable discharge "because he is just not an officer."

U.S. FIGHTS LAW: The government is challenging in district court the Massachusetts law providing no state resident be required to serve in undeclared wars like the one in Vietnam.

ANTIWAR PETITION: Gustavus Adolphus philosophy professor George Jones Jr. was one of 115 signers of a petition protesting the Indochina war sent to the president, vice-president, cabinet, and all members of Congress. The petition violated a ban on such correspondence imposed by the school's administration first on Jones and then on the entire faculty.

SUPERSTITION: An item in the May 18 New York Times reporting the plans of the 2,000 residents of St. Alfio, Sicily, to carry holy relics to the edge of Mt. Etna's lava flow, evidently to ward it off from their threatened homes, reminded us of our favorite scene from Holly-

wood's War of the Worlds: a priest approaches the Martian saucer holding aloft a crucifix and reciting the 23rd Psalm—then a metal tentacle peers out and emits a ray. The clergyman turns to ashes.

RAIFORD: Florida governor Reubin Askew has temporarily suspended three officials and seven guards at Raiford State Prison. On Feb. 12, guards opened fire with machine-guns and shotguns on prisoners while they were massed in the recreation yard demonstrating support for a hunger strike in the maximum security section. Askew suspended the guards for 20 days and the assistant superintendent, chief correctional officer, and guard captain for 30 days because of their involvement in a Feb. 16 "show of force" in which they viciously beat prisoners on strike. The governor claims he has ordered an investigation of the Feb. 12 shooting.

PROGRESS: A May 15 New York Times article, purporting to describe the humane improvements within fundamentally inhuman capitalist prisons, listed a number of practices abandoned at some prisons in the last few years: knocking prisoners who are stripped naked up against the walls of their cells with high-pressure water hoses, starving prisoners for 72 hours, whipping the bare buttocks with rawhide strips, and pushing needles under inmates' fingernails.

SURVEILLANCE SUIT: Sixteen plaintiffs from the Black Panther Party, New York University, antiwar groups, and the New York Gay Liberation Front filed a class action suit May 18 with the assistance of the New York Civil Liberties Union, National Conference of Black Lawyers, National Lawyers Guild, Center for Constitutional Rights, and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, seeking to compel police to destroy improperly acquired information in their dossiers and to cease using informers and infiltrators in political organizations except with court authorization.

IRS BACKS OFF: The Internal Revenue Service announced May 11 that it would cease its attempt to revoke the tax-exempt status of the Columbia Daily Spectator at Columbia University for refusing to abide by the IRS political guidelines, according to the May 12 Spectator. The guidelines, prohibiting partisan political activity on campus, were part of the Nixon administration's reaction to the May 1970 upsurge against the invasion of Cambodia.

LAND OF THE FREE: In announcing an overdue and inadequate campaign to provide free polio and measles immunization to preschool children, New York City Health Commissioner Dr. Mary C. McLaughlin reported May 18 that four out of 10 children below the age of six in the city have not been immunized. There were serious outbreaks of measles, which could be eliminated totally on the basis of medical technology, in both Brooklyn and the Bronx this year—in the richest country in the world.

RED-BAITER: Frank Erwin, the former chairman of the University of Texas regents, told a Law Day luncheon in Fort Worth May 1 that "hard-core revolutionaries" are a bigger threat than "long-haired protesters." Erwin told his audience that a group of "clean-shaven, intelligent, highly dedicated people" are conducting a "well-organized campaign" aimed at "destroying our society and substituting another based on the Communist teachings of Leon Trotsky."

BERRIGAN: Defense attorneys for the eight Harrisburg defendants will argue in court May 24 that the kidnap/destruction-of-property/conspiracy indictments be dropped because illegal wiretaps were used to obtain evidence leading to the indictments. U.S. Attorney General John Mitchell admitted in an affidavit May 18 that wiretapping was used to gather evidence against Sister Elizabeth McAlister.

FOR FILM FANS: The May 12 New York Times reported that Charlie Chaplin has made available for worldwide theatrical, television and video cassette showings nine films he has kept off the market until now. The nine films, which will be released in a package as a festival in the U.S. at the end of the year, are: City Lights, Modern Times, The Gold Rush, Limelight, The Great Dictator, Monsieur Verdoux, A Dog's Life, Shoulder Arms, and The Pilgrim.

— LEE SMITH

N. Zealand antiwar actions biggest ever

From *Intercontinental Press*
By GEORGE FYSON

WELLINGTON, New Zealand—The April 30 New Zealand-wide antiwar demonstrations involved far greater numbers than ever before in active opposition to the Indochina war. Protests took place in every major city and many smaller towns.

In comparison with the July 17, 1970, mobilisation, previously the most successful protest, which drew 4,300 people across the country, on April 30 more than 35,000 marched in the streets. This included a giant crowd in Auckland, estimated by the organisers to be close to 17,000. Auckland is New Zealand's largest city, with a population of 600,000.

The central demand of the mobilisation was for the immediate withdrawal of all New Zealand, United States, and allied armed forces from Indochina.

Figures from other centres include 8,000 marching in Christchurch, 5,000 in Wellington, 2,200 in Dunedin, and 2,200 in Palmerston North—which is a town of 50,000 persons. A total of twelve cities and towns held antiwar marches, some places seeing their first protest ever. And everywhere the numbers exceeded the most optimistic predictions of the organisers.

Although for the most part the mass media gave negligible coverage to the developing mobilisation before April 30, it was featured in all the newspapers afterwards. The news media also highlighted the peaceful, orderly character of the protests.

Support for this mobilisation came from a broad range of forces, and one of the noticeable new features in the weeks leading up to April 30 was the appearance of leaflets, articles, and other material supporting the mobilisation, issued by all sorts of groups.

University students still made up the highest percentage of marchers, but the proportion was less than in the past. High-school students have begun organising, and they formed antiwar committees and high-school students associations in many parts of the country where no such things had ever existed before. Dozens of high-school groups issued their own leaflets and posters for the mobilisation.

Church groups, including figures from most denominations, were active in many centres, and issued a national

mobilisation leaflet, as did a newly formed women's group in Wellington. In both Auckland and Wellington, groups of women against the war marched under their own banners for the first time.

Several trade unions and prominent unionists endorsed the mobilisation, and the New Zealand Seamen's Union held a national strike in support of the demonstrations. This is the first time such action against the war has been taken by trade unionists in New Zealand, although the Federation of Labour policy calls for the immediate withdrawal of N.Z. troops from Vietnam. In the future other militant unions can be expected to take similar action. The Wellington Trades Council issued a national leaflet building the mobilisation.

Support from the Labour party was the best for any antiwar demonstration yet. Although the party itself did not officially endorse the mobilisation, it said that members were free to participate, and several Labour Members of Parliament and branches endorsed the action. Labour M.P.s, along with prominent trade unionists and church leaders, spoke at many rallies following the marches.

The mobilisation was launched at the highly successful National Antiwar Conference of more than 600 persons in Wellington March 13-14. [See *The Militant*, April 16]. In many centres, including Auckland, entirely new coalitions were built after the confer-

ence to organise the mobilisation.

Auckland is the stronghold of the Maoist N.Z. Communist party, which refused to support either the conference or the mobilisation. In their weekly paper, *People's Voice*, they ran several articles attacking the mobilisation organisers as "counterrevolutionary."

In the view of the CP, the slogan calling for immediate withdrawal of N.Z. and U.S. troops was insufficient. Instead, they proposed "anti-imperialist" slogans such as "Victory to the N.L.F.," "Smash imperialism," and "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war."

When they saw at the last minute how big the mobilisation was becoming, they tried to pretend they supported it, while still distancing themselves from the organisers. In the marches they carried a few placards with their own slogans, but their influence on anybody at all was negligible. The CP's pitiful display over this mobilisation was a heavy blow to their prestige.

Apart from the Communist party, the antiwar movement was strongly united behind the mobilisation. In particular, the N.Z. Trotskyists, the Socialist Action League, played a most important role in building the mobilisation, both on a national level and in Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch. On April 30 a record 3,000 copies of the League's paper, *Socialist Action*, were sold.

Two days before the mobilisation, the prime minister, Sir Keith Holyoake, announced at the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization conference in London that it was possible that the information gathered at the conference might form the basis for a decision to withdraw all New Zealand troops from Vietnam. At the same conference, the U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers said that the policy of Vietnamization was working. In 1965 the New Zealand government sent a few hundred troops to Vietnam to give political support to the U.S., and in the same way today it is making tiny withdrawals and talking about the approach of total withdrawal in order to lend credibility to Nixon's "Vietnamization" and "withdrawal" propaganda.

The April 30 mobilisation was a fitting answer to Holyoake. It made clear that increasing numbers of New Zealanders are not satisfied with the withdrawal of one artillery battery and its redeployment in Malaya. New Zealanders are coming to reject the idea of "forward defence," which is in reality part of a plan for the continued exploitation of Southeast Asia.

Future mass mobilisations against New Zealand's involvement in Southeast Asia and its support of the United States war in Indochina look like being even more successful than April 30, which to most participants was just a beginning.



Demonstrators outside Wellington Town Hall after huge antiwar march through city.

SMC gathering plans future activities

By MARK UGOLINI

MAY 15—At a National Steering Committee meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee held at the University of Chicago today, 90 young people representing 23 campuses, eight high schools, and two junior high schools across the country met to evaluate the significance and impact of April 24 and the spring antiwar calendar, as well as to plan activities for the coming months.

Assessing the spring offensive, Debby Bustin, national SMC coordinator, outlined the impact of the giant April 24 marches on Washington, D.C., and San Francisco, and the SMC's role as a major driving force behind them. Referring to the large contingents of labor, women, Third World people and gays, Bustin commented: "The statistics on the breadth and size of April 24 and all of our hard organizing have led us to see very clearly that we are at a qualitatively new level in the antiwar movement, that we are the majority . . . that we are young and powerful . . . and that we must continue."

Bustin's report on the spring offensive discussed the organizational gains made by the SMC on the campuses and in the high schools through the building of April 24, as well as the moratorium activities on May 5 in memory of the murdered Kent and Jackson students. It was reported that on May 5 very sizable memorial actions took place on nearly every major campus in the country, while in large numbers of high schools and junior highs, students organized teach-ins, strikes and walkouts in memory of Kent and Jackson and for full democratic rights.

The tone of Bustin's remarks emphasized the need for all to realize the large role the SMC played in the success of the spring antiwar activities and that the primary objective of the SMC must be to continue to play a vanguard role in the campaign to reach out to those who have not yet marched against the war and to actively involve them in mass actions for immediate withdrawal.

A discussion of the post-April 24

civil disobedience activities in Washington was an affirmation of the strong stand taken by the SMC against the hysterical reaction of the D.C. police to the thousands of antiwar demonstrators who expressed their opposition to the war during that week. Hundreds of protesters and D.C. citizens were victims of wholesale illegal arrests and were herded off in cattle trucks to detention camps without being charged with any illegal acts, while tear gas was indiscriminately used throughout the city by D.C. police.

Jay Ressler of the national SMC staff reported, "Although the SMC disagrees with the tactic of civil disobedience at this point in the antiwar movement as not being capable of mobilizing broad sections of the American population into mass action against the war . . . we stand 100 percent in defense of the civil liberties of those who expressed their moral outrage to the war in Washington and demand the immediate release of the 'Washington, D.C., 10,000' as well as the dropping of all charges against Ren-

nie Davis and John Froines."

The Steering Committee also laid out a perspective for continuing activity for the remainder of the spring and into the summer. The major focus of activity will be around the building of the national convention of the antiwar movement, sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition on July 2-4 in New York City. The NPAC convention will be an opportunity for the entire antiwar movement to come together and through democratic discussion and vote lay out activities for the next massive offensive of the antiwar movement in the fall. The SMC will play a major role on the campuses and in the high schools by encouraging attendance of all who oppose the war and see the need to organize against it.

Continued activity will also include local actions to end the draft now, as well as campus and high school activity against all forms of campus complicity and for full democratic rights.

Is women's liberation relevant to Chicanas?

By MIRTA VIDAL

Several Chicano publications have recently carried articles regarding *la Chicana* and her relation to the women's liberation movement. This discussion taking place in the Chicano movement reflects a healthy curiosity and a growing awareness among both sexes that Chicanas are by no means exempt from the inferior role to which all women are relegated in the present social structure.

With this realization many important questions have been raised. Underlying all the written material on this topic to date is one essential question: Is the feminist movement relevant to Chicanas?

The answer to this question can only be an unconditional "Yes!" The fact is, whether male chauvinist Chicanos can accept this or not, Chicanas are oppressed.

Capitalism can only survive as long as people are divided—one nationality against another, one sex against the other and so on. By pitting different groups and social layers against each other, capitalism follows the policy of divide and rule. It tries to assure that those who are most oppressed will be available to work for lower wages, to replace those who demand a decent living wage.

At the bottom of the scale is the Chicana, who faces a triple oppression. That is, she is oppressed because she is Brown, she is oppressed as a worker, and she is oppressed as a woman. To deny that is to be totally blind and ignorant of the nature of the system from which La Raza is struggling to be free.

What, then, does this mean for the Chicana vis-a-vis the feminist movement?

While it is true that total liberation will not be accomplished as long as the present economic system prevails, many important changes crucial to the specific needs of Raza women can be fought for and won right now.

Struggles for equal wages, equal job opportunities, free child-care centers, are but a few examples.

Especially important to Chicanas is the right to control their own bodies. Chicanas have been brutally used by the racist establishment as "guinea pigs" for experimentation with birth control devices. They have been sterilized against their will or without their knowledge—in keeping with the vicious racist myth that the economic problems of Brown people result from their having too many babies.

Also, the existing abortion laws are extremely oppressive to the thousands of Raza women who live in constant fear of an unwanted pregnancy. Thousands of Chicanas die each year at the hands of butchers or from attempts at self-induced abortions—for fear of having a child when not legally married (in a society that punishes only the woman for this "sin"), or for fear of giving birth to a human being who cannot be provided for.

The right to have an abortion when a woman so chooses is one of the most basic rights women must have if they are to control their own lives. And the struggle for this right, coupled with the fight against forced sterilizations, is extremely important to and directly in the interest of Chicanas.

They and they alone must decide

whether they want to have children or not, when they want to have them and how often, rather than be forced to give birth because of laws that were written by white males. Winning this right is an integral part of the struggle of Chicanas to take their destiny into their own hands.

An argument that has often been raised by Chicano and Latino so-called "revolutionaries" is that the role of the women is to bear the children needed to "carry on the struggle." This position not only insults women by reducing them to baby-making machines, but also writes them off as incapable of playing any significant role in the struggle or deciding how they will contribute to it.

Another source of confusion within the nationalist movement is the charge that Chicana and Latina feminism is detrimental to the nationalist movement because it divides the movement and turns women against men.

This accusation is no less absurd than calling for Brown-white unity on the grounds that Chicanos organizing separately will divide the struggle of the working class to do away with capitalism.

In some cases this position is merely another variation of the same old male chauvinist "keep the women in their place" attitude, disguised under the cloak of "La Causa." More often, however, reluctance or hostility toward Chicana or Latina feminism flows from the misconception that the two movements are somehow counterposed.

Thus even *El Grito del Norte*, which has carried several articles favorable to feminism in the past, recently printed an article, entitled "Soy Chicana Primero," which included the following statement: "If the Chicana chooses to go white women's liberation, she has chosen to alienate herself from her people and has chosen to make it on her own, by herself. Her strength is lost to her people. If the Chicana chooses to become a Chicana PRIMERO, to stand by and for her people, then she has become stronger by joining the struggle of her people."

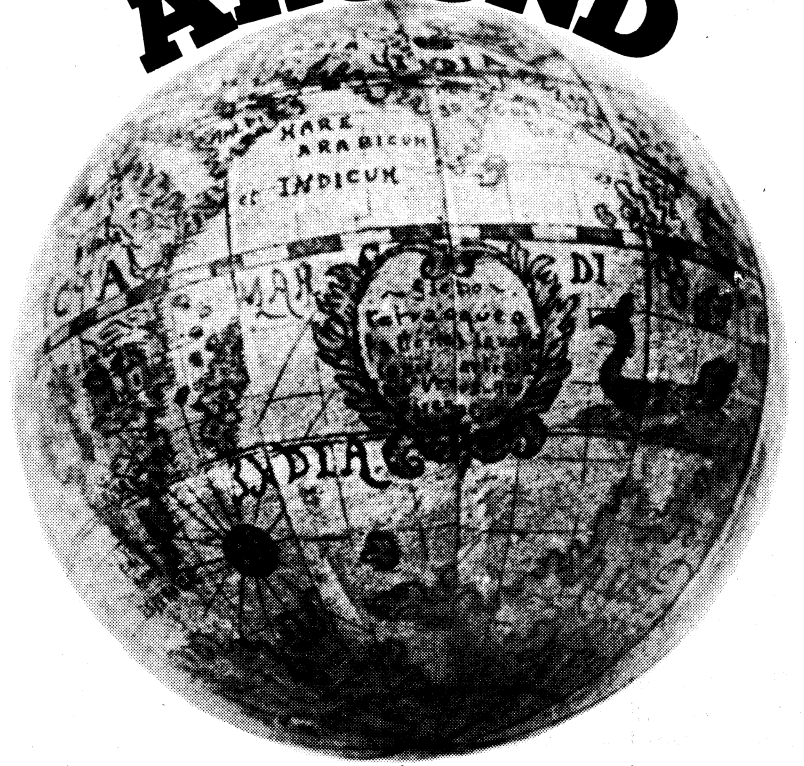
There are two basic fallacies in this statement. The first is that a Chicana who becomes a feminist must abandon La Raza and become part of a separate movement whose interests are unrelated at best, or opposed at worst, to those of La Raza.

This assumption leaves out the fact that half of La Raza happens to be women, with specific interests and specific demands to fight for that relate first and foremost to women.

Just as women are one important sector of the Chicano movement, so are students, so are workers, so are GIs, etc. Chicanos are not all oppressed to the same degree and for the sole reason that they are Brown. They are also oppressed as workers, as students, as GIs, as women. And it is precisely for that reason that they must organize, together as workers, as students, as women, to become an effective force.

The majority of Chicanos, for example, are workers. Yet no one would have told the massive number of Chicano students who took part in the high school blowouts of 1969 around their own specific demands, that they were dividing the movement or "alien-

WHAT WE SAY GETS AROUND



HELP US SAY IT BETTER. GIVE TO THE MILITANT IMPROVEMENT FUND.

The contribution during the past week that came from farthest away was one of \$50 from two supporters in Samoa. "We have been reading *The Militant* for nearly a decade," they say, "and we'd be lost without its hard-hitting political analyses, especially in American Samoa. . . . Malo 'o le fauvale Amerika, ma le fauvale i va o atunu'u (Well done on the American revolution and the international revolution)!"

Within the past week, a total of \$398.50 was contributed to the Militant Improvement Fund by readers. This brings to \$3,383.50 the amount we have received toward our goal of \$5,000. We need this sum in order to purchase two labor- and time-saving machines: A Cheshire labeling machine and a photo typositor. The first will automate our present method of individually stamping each subscriber's name and address onto *The Militant* by hand; the second will enable us to improve the appearance of *The Militant* by placing at our fingertips virtually any style of headline type available.

We still need to raise \$1,616.50 within the next week if we are to meet our goal on schedule. The goal of \$5,000 is the minimum we need to meet the opportunities for expansion in the coming months. We are asking all our readers to make a special effort now. No matter how small your contribution, send it today.

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

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ating themselves from the people" because they raised demands of particular relevance to high school students, which did not directly affect the Chicano worker on the job.

The important point that has to be understood is that these individual struggles can only result in the strengthening of La Raza as a whole. A Chicana who can stand up and fight for her own freedom will have that much more to contribute to her people, both in terms of experience and in terms of the concrete gains made in the process.

The second fallacy in the argument raised in *El Grito del Norte* and one that has been often used to discredit the feminist movement is that women's liberation is a "white thing." The fact that the movement at this time may be disproportionately white is irrelevant to the validity of the movement

and the demands that it raises.

Although Chicanas will have to organize independently of other women because of the nature of their triple oppression, which is different from that of other women, they can also unite with other women on the basis of concrete struggles that affect all women.

Such demands as abortion on demand—no forced sterilization, 24-hour child-care centers, equal job and education opportunity, are directly in the interest of Chicanas and Latinas.

The organization of all the women of La Raza into a massive force that can challenge the white male rulers of this country, who are responsible for the oppression of Chicanas, Latinas, and all women is one of the most important tasks facing that powerful sector of the Chicano liberation struggle—*las mujeres de la Raza*.

High school women take on Board of Ed

By CAROLINE LUND

The New York High School Women's Coalition has launched a campaign to win birth control and abortion counseling and referral in the high schools. This campaign was described to *The Militant* by Lynn Silver, a 13-year-old eighth-grade student at Hunter College High School and an activist in the coalition.

Lynn Silver is also a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. A member of the Student Mobilization Committee, she joined the YSA about a year ago.

Discussing the High School Women's Coalition's campaign, she said, "Some schools now at least tell you what contraception is, but no school will tell you where you can get it, or where you can get an abortion. And in many schools these are completely forbidden subjects."

Representatives of the High School Women's Coalition appeared before the Public Agenda Meeting of the New York City Board of Education on April 20, and presented petitions containing close to 10,000 signatures of high school students and teachers supporting their demand. The petition read: "In each high school there should be several girls, trained members of the student body (who would not be chosen on the basis of their grade average or other unfair criteria), and teachers, who would do abortion counseling and refer girls to centers where they can get pregnancy tests or be provided with contraception."

"We were supposed to have three speakers at the Board of Education meeting," Lynn Silver continued, "but they put us off until after 11 p.m., and we ended up having only two. We pointed out that in the 1968-69 school year, in New York City alone, there were 2,500 reported pregnancies of unwed women between 13 and 18 years old. There are probably many more that are not reported."

"Women are traditionally kicked out of school for getting pregnant. In New York they are sent to special schools, but all New York schools are in bad shape, and the schools for pregnant women are even worse—in terrible condition and overcrowded."

"The Board of Education asked for \$5-million last year in order to build 15 more of these special centers to meet the increasing need. But what we need instead of special schools is preventive birth control counseling so girls don't have to have unwanted babies."

Silver said that when the women spoke before the Board of Education there were about 150 people in the audience waiting to speak on their own demands, many being Third World parents and students. "When we spoke, we got a fantastic response."

The people would cheer us and boo and swear at the conservative Board members.

"There is one token Black, one token Puerto Rican and one token woman on the Board. The woman is an ardent Catholic and didn't make any response except to shudder when we mentioned abortion. The Black member of the Board, Isaiah Robinson, asked us what our demands had to do with Black people. He said, 'I'm here in the interests of the Black man.' So we replied, 'What about Black women?'"

Silver said the High School Women's Coalition plans to go before the Board again in the future, and in the meantime is trying to get more signatures on their petition and more support. "One of the forces we think can help make the Board of Education move on this," said Silver, "is parents. Because one of the excuses the Board can use is to say to us 'Of course we may agree with you, but what are your parents going to say about it?' So we are going to get together with people from the Bronx Parents Association, which has a reputation of being radical, and the United Parents Association to see if they will support us."

I asked Silver what kind of sex education existed in the high schools. "About 60 percent of schools have sex-education classes now. They're almost always segregated. Most of them don't teach you about contraception. In some schools they spend years teaching you about your reproductive system without telling you where your clitoris is. The boys' classes teach about condoms, I've heard. But the sex education is only in the twelfth grade in most schools, and for many students that's too late. In some

schools, like Stevenson High School, 75 percent of the students have dropped out by 12th grade. Many of the women probably dropped out after getting pregnant.

"So since you can't get the information in school, you have to ask around. If you're lucky, you can find out from a friend, or your friend's sister tells you about a place where you can get a diaphragm if you lie about your age. The most tragic thing is that many girls have tried to make their own contraceptives or abort themselves. I've known girls who died trying to make their own IUD's out of paper clips and pieces of plastic."

"People get pretty desperate," she continued. "My friend's sister tried to abort herself with quinine."

"Or some women just think they have to have the child. Like I heard about one girl who thought you had to be raped to have an abortion."

Many students are afraid to tell their parents they want contraceptives or an abortion. "Many kids feel that if they'd say, 'Hey Mom, I'm pregnant,' their parents would just beat the hell out of them."

I asked Silver what kind of response the High School Women's Coalition was receiving from other women students, and she said it was "fantastic!" "There are very few women who can say no to our demand. We got lots of teachers to sign the petition, and some principals. Some students and teachers—like a lot of other women—think of women's liberation as something that's not serious. But when you talk to them about birth control and abortion, that's something else; that's something they can respond to. They don't realize that they are interconnected."

Lynn Silver sees the campaign for

birth control and abortion information as interconnected with the more general fight of young people for equal rights. "What high school women face is the oppression of women combined with the oppression of minors. For instance, in New York women have won a greater right to abortion, but women under 16 still face discrimination. Women can get birth control now, but not if you're under 16."

"If you're a minor, your parents have total control over you. They can keep you from going out; they can lock you in the house; they can beat you up if you try having any kind of sex, like if they find out that you're pregnant."

"As a woman, you face the whole fear about whether you will get pregnant, or whether you have VD, and there's nowhere you can find out easily. And this is combined with the fear that your parents will find out, or that they know already. Or the worry that your friend's parents will tell your parents they saw you with someone."

"There's the whole problem of having to get parental consent for an abortion in many hospitals. Your parents have to *permit you* to control your own body. For instance, the statutory rape law says that if you sleep with a guy he could be arrested—because your parents say it was rape, not because you say it is rape."

The High School Women's Coalition now has around 300 contacts in 15 schools plus contacts with high school women around the country. To get in touch with the coalition, write: High School Women's Coalition, 118 E. 28 St., Rm. 405, New York, N. Y. 10016.



Washington, D. C., April 24

Photo by Sue Swope

Women fight Brown U admissions policy

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—The struggle for equal admission of women at Brown University in Providence, R. I., has begun! A report recommending equal acceptance of women and men was recently approved by a university committee.

In the late 1800s, Brown made an initial "commitment" to the education of women by establishing Pembroke, a coordinate women's college. This coming year, Brown and Pembroke will merge under a single administration but will continue to admit men and women in a 2-to-1 ratio.

A subcommittee of the larger ad-

missions committee recommended May 6 that Brown change its discriminatory admissions policy, to admit equal numbers of women and men, and to set up a single selections board also composed of half women and half men.

A group of students and faculty members, led by the campus women's liberation group, Women of Brown United, mobilized support for the report. A rally was held before the meeting and then the 100 rally participants sat in at the meeting to voice their opinions. After much discussion, the report was approved. It will now go

to the faculty and administration for approval and implementation. Women of Brown United and other concerned members of Brown are organizing to force Brown to once again make a "commitment" to women.

Among the arguments presented against the possibility of equal admissions was that Brown, as a science-oriented school, would end up with men in its science departments and women in its humanities (since everyone knows that women are not inclined toward science!). This was countered with the concept that more women interested in science can be

recruited. Another argument was that alumni give more money to Brown than alumnae!

Among the most amusing of the counterproposals presented was that there should be no guidelines for admission by sex but that the most qualified applicants should be accepted. This is the policy that the university claims it is currently following!

These are just a few of the warped arguments against the very just demand of equal admissions. Women's liberationists and others on the Brown campus are preparing for a long hard struggle.

Panther victory

On May 13, 13 members of the New York Black Panther Party were acquitted on a total of 156 counts arising from indictments on charges of allegedly conspiring to bomb public buildings and murder policemen. After a 15-month trial, the longest in the history of New York's Supreme Court, the jury reached a not-guilty verdict on all counts in less than two hours, an overwhelming repudiation of the prosecution's frame-up and affirmation of the defendants' innocence.

This was an inspiring victory for all organizations and individuals who are victims of similar government attacks. It will give a big boost to the defense efforts of Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins, Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, and dozens of others.

However, not all the defendants are yet free. Four are in exile in Algeria and are seeking amnesty on charges of jumping bail. Five others, after being acquitted, were sent back to prison to await trial on unrelated charges. They are now attempting to raise money for bail.

The victory scored by the 13 Black Panthers was not due to the alleged "fairness" of the capitalist judicial system but to the sustained public campaign on behalf of the defendants that created tremendous pressure on the court and jury. The same kind of pressure must now be applied to win amnesty for those defendants who fled the country and to gain the immediate release of all the defendants still being held on other frame-up charges.

Struggle continues

At the May 10 annual meeting of California's state cops, U. S. Attorney General John Mitchell made one of the most vicious and distorted attacks on the antiwar movement yet. He charged the thousands of antiwar militants who participated in the civil disobedience actions in Washington, D. C., the first week of May, with being akin to Hitler's fascist Brown Shirt gangs. He urged police forces in other cities to duplicate the illegal dragnet form of mass arrests used by Washington's cops to suppress antiwar actions.

This reactionary, police mentality expressed by Mitchell is also manifested in the legislation sent to Congress on May 14 by the Nixon administration. It would allow federal courts to detain many defendants in prison by refusing to grant bail. Congress already approved this undemocratic and unconstitutional system for the District of Columbia, where it's been in effect since February.

Additional legislation has been submitted that would deny the presumption of innocence of a person appealing conviction on a felony charge. This places on the defendant the burden of proving that he or she is not likely to flee or endanger other people or their property if released on bail. Currently, the government must prove that bail should be denied for some reason. The proposed legislation would totally abrogate the constitutional provision that a person is innocent until definitively proved guilty.

If both these pieces of legislation were adopted and put into effect nationwide it would represent a serious blow to constitutional rights. Along with the increasingly common practice of imposing excessive bail such as the \$100,000 for most of the Panther defendants, this new legislation is clearly intended to be used as a weapon against the oppressed nationalities and the antiwar and radical movements.

The barbaric and long drawn out detention of prisoners convicted of no crimes has already helped generate deep anger and widespread revolt in the country's prisons. The reactionary measures being considered by Congress, if put into effect, would most certainly--and justifiably--lead to even greater resistance by prisoners.

These proposed laws are part of a pattern that has included the attacks on the Black Panther Party, Angela Davis, the Harrisburg Eight, and many others. It also includes the scandalous arrest and treatment of Mayday Tribe activist Leslie Bacon and the new "conspiracy" charges against Mayday organizers Rennie Davis and John Froines. Yippie leader Abbie Hoffman and pacifist Bradford Lyttle were also indicted on the absurd charges of allegedly "fomenting riot" and "assault with a dangerous weapon," respectively, during the Mayday actions.

The acquittal of the 13 Black Panthers in New York showed that a determined and massive public campaign can successfully counter attempted victimizations. Mitchell's reactionary attacks, and those of many local officials, must be met with a firm and united opposition. We must demand that charges be immediately dropped against the Harrisburg Eight, other Panther defendants, Davis, Froines, Lyttle and Hoffman; that Bacon be released; that all charges against antiwar demonstrators arrested in Washington be thrown out; and that the reactionary and unconstitutional "preventive detention" legislation, along with similar local measures, be wiped off the books.

To do this, we must reach and educate the broadest number possible about the crucial issues involved in such assaults on the fundamental liberties of all.

Women confront bishops

You might be interested in the following. Canadian Catholic women presented a frankly worded series of demands to their bishops assembled in Ottawa. The demands added up to equal status, respect, and immediate ordination of women to the priesthood.

The bishops talked with the women for more than an hour in a dialogue they later called "unprecedented." No vote was taken on the demands.

One bishop, Michael Rusnak of Toronto, openly disapproved of the women and their demands. Women's role in the church, he said, is as "suppliers" to bear children and keep up the church's population.

"If all of us go to the altar, there'll be nobody to follow us," he explained.

Besides, he added, "Problems are caused by people. People are born from women."

L. M.
Washington, D. C.

Nice guys?

In your April 23 issue, there was a news brief on the Greek government letting people out of prisons—appearing to make them look like nice guys. It said there were only 400 prisoners left in prison and 50 communists under house arrest in remote villages.

But the article didn't mention thousands of others being held prisoner without any charges against them. They are basically union leaders, members of Greek progressive and peace groups, opposition party members, and those with old police records.

Andrew Stergiou, Chairman
Astoria Youth for Democracy in
Greece
New York, N. Y.

Editor's reply—We are sorry if the "In Brief" item on the release of some Greek prisoners was open to misinterpretation. The purpose of the item was by no means to portray the Greek government as "good guys," but to do the opposite. The item noted that the Greek junta claimed to have released all political prisoners while admitting that it still held at least 400 persons, plus 50 under house arrest, for political "crimes."

No taxes for Reagan

California's Governor Ronald Reagan has long made a key point in his bag of political tricks the concept that state income taxes should "hurt." For this reason, he has opposed payroll withholding in this largest state in the U. S.

I've often wondered if Reagan hadn't inadvertently hit on something. Perhaps as Californians made out their tax forms and wrote out their checks, they might reflect on the ever-increasing cost of steadily degenerating state programs and be moved both to anger and determination to change this rotten system.

The other day, a reporter had the impertinence to ask Reagan, who brought us "Death Valley Days" and "G. E. Theater," whether he had paid any state income taxes last year. Funny thing—it seems that he paid not one cent of tax last year.

This same actor is currently co-starring with Richard Nixon in a comedy of terrors called Welfare Fol-

lies. Some of the exciting installments in this series have included the Eyeglass Caper, wherein welfare recipients are denied eyeglasses unless their vision is 20/200 corrected (legally blind), the Denture Dilemma, wherein a client ponders how to continue eating after Reagan's termination of providing false teeth under Medi-Cal. Coming soon will be the School Lunch Program, in which school children who receive free lunches will have their meagre AF-DC [Aid to Families with Dependent Children] checks cut accordingly, since free lunches are to be considered "income." Reagan has promised to save state taxpayers \$25-million through this "reform" alone.

Isn't this country's progressive income tax setup great?

Walter Lippmann
Los Angeles, Calif.

Jewish liberation

I would like to commend the coverage that your paper gives to Third World groups and women's liberation. However, your silence on Jewish liberation really depresses me. Like the other movements, it calls for the unity of the people and pride in themselves and their culture.

The Right insists that all Jews participate in a Communist Plot to take over the world. The Left insists that all Jews are in a racist, fascist Zionist plot to take over the Middle East. The truth is that most Jewish youth are as sickened by the plight of the Palestinian refugees as they are by the suffering of the Jews in the Soviet Union.

Jewish liberationists feel a great sense of unity with other Third World struggles. We have participated very actively in the antiwar movement, for example. Last year, the members of the University of Pennsylvania Hillel Foundation voted to make their building a draft sanctuary. Busloads of Jewish youth groups have marched on Washington every year.

I demand an end to *The Militant's* silence on Jewish liberation and the plight of Russian Jewry! Let my people speak!

Janet Heller
Madison, Wis.

Editor's reply—*The Militant* has spoken out against the oppression of Jews in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. (See, for instance, *The Militant*, Jan. 15, 1971.) We call for a political revolution in these countries to oust the bureaucratic castes, which maintain and foster the oppression of Jews and other nationalities. We are for a return to the norms of Leninism, which guarantee freedom of religion and full democratic rights to all nationalities and which call for the most energetic campaigns against anti-Semitism and all other forms of ideological backwardness and reaction.

The Militant does not think that "all Jews are in a racist, fascist, Zionist plot to take over the Middle East." At present, the majority of Jews do support the reactionary role of Israel in the Middle East, but this will change. We are confident that the majority of the Jewish people throughout the world, including those in Israel, can be convinced

The Great Society

to make a political break with Zionism, solidarize with the self-determination struggle of the Palestinian people, and support the goal of a democratic Palestine.

Increasing numbers of radical Jewish youth are coming to support this position, which is in the interests of both Jews and Arabs in the Middle East.

Prisoners denied rights

In a renewed effort to knock submission into prisoners, Warden Bobby Rhay has arbitrarily locked up five brothers in Maximum Security at the Walla Walla Penitentiary in Walla Walla, Washington. Demonstrating his complete contempt for the laws, he is charged with enforcing, Rhay is denying men in Maximum Security the most elemental rights.

Prisoners who are on appeal are being given a choice: either go to work (for 15 cents a day), or go into Maximum Security. According to law, however, prisoners on appeal cannot be forced to work. In addition, the men are being denied sufficient communication with legal counsel. They are not allowed to make phone calls, and mail sent to attorneys sometimes doesn't arrive. The right of prisoners to have material notarized is often arbitrarily denied. One man has been in Maximum Security under "investigation" for six months! The five brothers are allowed only one hour of visiting "privilege," compared to five hours for the general population.

Medical care is grievously inadequate. Prisoners with nervous and emotional disorders are deprived of vital medicine. What little medicine is prescribed is handled by uncensored prison hacks. Yet the administrators scratch their heads in complete puzzlement at the high attempted and successful suicide rates in Maximum Security!

Letters of protest should be sent to Warden Bobby Rhay, Box 522, Walla Walla, Washington 99362; and to Governor Dan Evans, Olympia, Washington.

Letters of support should be sent to Leon P. Tyacke, 125515, and Ken Phillips, 623144, Box 522, Walla Walla, Washington 99362.

Larry Works
Seattle, Wash.

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

The unregimented, free-enterprise style—Thomas Watson, chairman of IBM, issued a ukase that there will be no more striped shirts, bell-bottomed pants, or any other of that hippie stuff among his employees. The proper IBM image will be maintained not only by salespeople but by any employee "whom a potential customer might casually observe in a plant visit, at a headquarters location, or merely leaving an IBM building after work."

Careful now—The Food and Drug Administration says people shouldn't buy or eat "Candy Love Beads," because the novelty, imported from Hong Kong, contains toxic cadmium 2,000 times in excess of safety levels. The FDA has linked 15 cases of child poisoning to the beads. The Associated Press reported, "There was no immediate comment from the candy maker." Maybe he was too busy filling orders.

Death demands a hearing—The coffin-nail industry has demanded equal air time to present the "other side" of the health messages against smoking. Rumor has it that a similar demand is being made by the arsenic industry.

It's all done with mirrors—Architect Richard Fleishman, who specializes in modern church design, has one in Highland Heights, Mich., featuring a mirrored front wall. Worshippers seeing themselves reflected as they approach are supposed to be stimulated to ask, searchingly, "What am I doing here?"

Look out below—President Nixon says he wants to convert several million acres of U.S. land into wilderness.

Statistical data—A team of Michigan State University researchers are conducting a massive statistical study of previous wars. By reducing the

"variables" leading to the outbreak of wars to numbers and feeding them into a computer, they feel they will unearth clues to prevent future wars. If they find it difficult to reduce the causes of wars to numbers, they could simply try using \$\$\$\$.

Plain-talk dep't—Melville Morris was reelected president of the International Chain of Industrial and Technical Advertising Agencies. We don't know if it was his election platform, but Mr. Morris explained the function of the association in these simple words: "We're dedicated to helping each other make money."

Thought for the week—"It would seem that participants in co-marital sex have taken the spousal and familial 'togetherness' emphasized in the late 1950s a step further than anticipated or intended."—Statement on group sex to the American Psychological Association.

—HARRY RING

¡La Raza en Acción!

La Raza in Tucson, Ariz., is moving ahead with the formation of La Raza Unida Party there.

A statement issued by the party, entitled "Why La Raza Unida Party in Tucson?" reads in part: "The Democrats have been coming to our barrios for years, buying us beer and promising us the world. Look around the barrios—has anything changed? . . . Nothing has changed in terms of the conditions in which we live. . . . Yet how many Democratic politicians have come and gone over the years, leaving nothing and taking everything?"

"It is time for Chicanos to act together as a unified political force to elect people who will really represent them and work with and for their own people to alleviate the problems that plague the barrios. We should not be fooled any longer by flowery promises nor bought with cheap gringo beer. Chicanos and not rich gringos should decide what they want, when they want it, and everything else pertaining to our lives.

del Norte, were plans to have a Raza Contingent at the national antiwar demonstrations on April 24.

The Tucson Raza Unida Party is setting up a headquarters at the Centro Chicano, 706 North Melrose Ave., Barrio Hollywood, and more offices will be opened later in other barrios in Tucson.

La Conferencia de Mujeres por La Raza to be held at the Magnolia Park YWCA in Houston, Texas, on May 28-30 continues to build. With two weeks still remaining, over 200 women from all over the country have already registered.

According to Elma Barrera, one of the principal organizers of the conference, the response has been so great that the original May 1 deadline for registration had to be dropped to avoid having to turn anyone away.

The conference will have a busy schedule including workshops, panels, general sessions, and a presentation



Papel Chicano

Si puedes deshacer este nudo eres dueño de tu futuro. (If you can untie this knot—you can control your future.)

"La Raza Unida Party is a party by and for Chicanos which will work in the barrios 365 days a year, 24 hours a day for the betterment of our people. We will not come around only every fourth year to insult the intelligence of the barrio population."

One important development since the formation of the party was the Chicano Moratorium held in Tucson last March 24. The Moratorium had been called at a meeting of the Tucson LRUP in February.

"To protest the war in Vietnam and to fight those forces that exploit us here in our barrio, 400 Chicanos, Blacks and Anglos marched in Tucson's first Chicano Moratorium," reports the April 26 *El Grito del Norte*.

"Under banners reading 'Raza Si, Vietnam No!' and 'Bring our carnavales home now!' the demonstrators gathered in a park in el barrio" where a rally was held. They then marched to the local draft board and recruitment center, where they heard speakers from the Black and Chicano communities, including a Chicano ex-GI.

One concrete result of the action, according to *El Grito*

by Teatro Chicano.

The workshops will be led by a number of prominent Raza activists. Among these will be María Jiménez, a member of MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization) at the University of Houston and vice-president of the U of H Student Association.

Jiménez, who is 20 years old, was the first Chicano student ever elected to a position on the Student Association. Her campaign platform included the demand for a free day-care center, free contraceptives, a female gynecologist, and free abortion counseling on the campus.

For information on registration for the conference, write to: La Conferencia de Mujeres por La Raza, 7305 Navigation Blvd., Houston, Texas 77011.

La Raza en Acción (The Raza in Action) appears for the first time in this issue of *The Militant*, and we hope it will be a regular feature. Comments and suggestions are welcome, and readers are encouraged to send in material to be used in the column.

—MIRTA VIDAL

By LARRY SEIGLE

Now that the reports are in on April 24 and the subsequent antiwar actions throughout the country, those activists who organized and participated in the demonstrations can begin to fully appreciate the historic significance of the 1971 spring offensive against the war. The sum total of activities, with April 24 as the central action, is rivaled only by the May 1970 student explosion in response to Cambodia, Kent and Jackson and by the Oct. 15 and Nov. 15 demonstrations in 1969.

Like all major political events, April 24 will be the subject of much discussion and debate as the lessons of the action are absorbed. This discussion becomes particularly important as the antiwar movement begins the process of charting a course of action for the coming months. One of the key elements in this discussion must be an evaluation of the role play-

drawal from Southeast Asia, and making that movement nonexclusionary and governed by democratic decision-making. Each and every component of this perspective was challenged in the period leading up to April 24, and it is around these issues that the differences between the SWP and the YSA on the one hand and virtually every other radical tendency on the other, became clear.

Antiwar action

One of the major debates was whether the antiwar movement should have given up the antiwar perspective and adopted a reformist multi-issue program instead. The proponents of multi-issuism argued that the time for antiwar demonstrations as such was over. For example, Sid Peck, a leader of the People's Coalition, even went so far as to say, in December 1970, that he would never again march in a dem-

as a movement representing their interests.

More than in any recent mass action, the clear and unambiguous nature of the demands of the demonstration came through: "Bring the Troops Home Now!" and "End the Draft Now!" All objective reports on April 24 agree that there was a significant increase in the participation of forces beyond the student antiwar movement, especially the numbers of trade unionists and the numbers of Blacks and Chicanos joining the actions. This participation was facilitated by the organization of different contingents, uniting women, gays, unionists, etc., under their own banners as a part of the demonstration.

Thus, the concrete experience of April 24 proves that far from narrowing the antiwar movement it is precisely the focus on the question of the war that can broaden it most effec-

SWP and chief marshal for the April 24 demonstration in Washington.

To understand the significance of this response, it is important to note that a parallel incident prior to the Nov. 15, 1969, demonstration was handled in exactly the opposite way by the then leaders of the New Mobilization Committee, many of whom are currently directing the People's Coalition. On Oct. 14, 1969, a cable was received by the New Mobe from Pham Van Dong, prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The cable was similar to a letter which Agnew had demanded the peace movement disassociate itself from. The position of the SWP, which was then part of New Mobe, was that the cable should be cordially acknowledged, thus openly repudiating Agnew's smear. Although a motion was passed in the steering committee to answer the cable in that way and to release the answer to the press, the decision was subsequently reversed by some of the New Mobe leaders, and the cable was never answered. The reason stated was that it might complicate negotiations then underway with the liberals in the Vietnam Moratorium Committee.

Related to the question of red-baiting is the question of exclusion. There is a sharp contrast between the NPAC policy of always holding open conventions and public steering committee meetings and the policy that the People's Coalition and its predecessors have followed. The open, nonexclusive and democratic NPAC convention in December was attended by about 1,500 people, who voted overwhelmingly to call for the April 24 demonstrations. This was followed by a restricted convention of some 300 people held in January by the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression (forerunner of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice), at which proponents of April 24 had a difficult time even getting the floor. In addition to all of the other benefits of democracy, the leaders of the People's Coalition might do well to think about the fact that if they had held an open, democratic convention and followed it up with similarly structured steering committee meetings, they might have been in closer touch with the movement and avoided the unfortunate position of placing themselves in opposition to the April 24 actions until the end of February.

How April 24 was built



April 24 antiwar demonstration in San Francisco

Photo by John Gray

ed by the different sections of the antiwar movement—a question that has already been the subject of much comment in the radical and bourgeois press.

It is a historical fact that the revolutionary Marxists of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, who actively participate in the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee, shared major responsibility for the successful April 24 actions. While this is not a new development (members of the YSA and SWP have been among the best builders of the antiwar movement since its inception in 1965), the role of the YSA and SWP is thrown into sharp relief by the amazing fact that no other radical or socialist tendency in the United States consistently built and supported the April 24 demonstrations. Everyone else, including the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Progressive Labor Party, the *Guardian*, the pacifist organizations, and the ultraleft sectarians of groups like the Workers League, either abstained from the actions, opposed them outright, or decided to endorse them only in the final few weeks as the power of the actions had already become clear to all but the most blindly sectarian and short sighted. (In future articles, we will analyze why these groups made such a major error.)

April 24 proved in a powerful way the effectiveness of the perspective that has been maintained by the left wing of the antiwar movement over the past few years. This perspective is one of building a movement based on mass action around the central demand of immediate and unconditional with-

drawal that was "only" against the war! In the period leading up to April 24, the proponents of this liberal multi-issue approach used the patronizing argument that Black and Brown and poor people would not respond to the antiwar movement in general and to the demand for immediate withdrawal in particular if the antiwar movement didn't also raise "their" demands (such as the National Welfare Rights Organization's demand for \$6,500 guaranteed annual income).

This argument has two fundamental errors. First, it is based on the mistaken view that the demand for an immediate end to the war is a "white" or a "middle-class" demand, combined with the refusal to recognize that the war is a central political question for all oppressed sectors in this country, as well as the peoples of the entire world.

Second, this contention reveals the colossal arrogance of these "leaders" and their contempt for the masses of the American people. The overwhelming majority of the American people, including the oppressed nationalities, the welfare mothers, the unemployed, and others, understand very well why they should oppose this war and why it is necessary to unite in action against the war. Unlike the self-appointed representatives of the People's Coalition, who are in the habit of viewing politics as primarily a matter of political horse-trading, masses of Americans don't need to be "bargained with" or otherwise bribed to support the antiwar movement. April 24 proved beyond a doubt that millions of the most oppressed in this country view "Out Now!" as *their own demand* and see the antiwar forces

tively. At the same time, and this is too often overlooked by many activists, it was precisely this approach that also succeeded in bringing out in great numbers the antiwar students and youth.

Democratic movement

A second major question is maintaining a democratic antiwar movement, which involves the problem of red-baiting and the principle of democratic decision-making. Red-baiting is a tool used by the ruling class to try to divide the movement and frighten people away from mass action by making them think that some radical group is trying to "use" them for some evil objective. Red-baiting is also picked up and used by sections of the movement as a means of attacking actions or groups with which they disagree, or as an excuse to exclude from meetings and organizations individuals and groups with whom they disagree but would rather ban than debate.

The SWP and the YSA have consistently fought for the *principle* of non-exclusion. Agreeing with this perspective, NPAC has clearly and consistently defended nonexclusion.

Representative Ichord, head of the House Internal Security Committee, has repeatedly charged that NPAC was under the control of the SWP and the YSA. In response, Jerry Gordon, an NPAC national coordinator, publicly reaffirmed that NPAC welcomed antiwar activists from all political groups, including the Socialist Workers Party, and demonstrated this by introducing to a press conference, which had been called to answer Ichord, Fred Halstead, a leader of the

Immediate withdrawal

Then there is the question of the clear and unequivocal call of NPAC and the SMC for "Out Now!", for immediate and unconditional withdrawal, as opposed to the formula of calling for Nixon to "set the date" for withdrawal, which was put forward by the People's Coalition and the congressional doves. At an earlier stage of the antiwar movement, the liberals and reformists fought against the withdrawal demand, counterposing to it the call for "negotiations." They said immediate withdrawal was too radical. April 24 stands as clear repudiation of this old argument now raised in the form of "set the date."

It was precisely the clarity of NPAC's demand, counterposed to all of the politicians' mumbo-jumbo about ending the war "sometime" in 1971 or 1972, that struck the responsive chord in the masses who turned out on April 24.

Finally, there is the debate over the central question of a mass action perspective. How often have we heard that people are "tired of marching" and will never turn out for another mass march and rally! How often did the leaders of the People's Coalition repeat this same *totally false* argument as their reason for not endorsing April 24 when it was first called and being built! Doesn't April 24 prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that masses of people will respond with enthusiasm to a clear-cut call

Continued on page 22

The strategy of Malcolm X for Black liberation

By TONY THOMAS

"Malcolm's critique offered little in terms of strategy toward the day-to-day struggles of Black people. It was a simplistic solution, stressing separation as the major solution." This was the view expressed by Tony Monteiro in his April 9 attack on Black nationalism entitled, "Trotskyism: Racist Voice on the Left," given at the N. Y. Center for Marxist Education.

Monteiro, a spokesman for the Young Workers Liberation League and the Communist Party, shows by this statement that he is opposed to the path that the most militant segments of the Black liberation movement have taken, following the footsteps of Malcolm.

Malcolm's program

Contrary to Monteiro, Malcolm X's program said a great deal about the day-to-day problems of Black people. In fact, his strategy centered on them. This is what enabled Malcolm to be accepted and supported by masses of African-American people, and he continues to be accepted in a way that no other revolutionary Black leader has been in our time.

Malcolm saw the main problem facing Black people as the lack of control we have over the institutions of this society as a whole and of the Black community in particular. He defined Black nationalism as the need for our people to struggle to control these institutions by any means necessary. He placed primary attention on problems such as poor housing, police

orders from outside forces. We will organize and sweep out of office all Negro politicians who are puppets for the outside forces." (*Malcolm X Speaks*, pages 20-21)

Malcolm's strategy for Black liberation was most clearly outlined in his June 1964 Program for the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which is printed in the book *By Any Means Necessary* (Pathfinder Press).

In this program for the new organization he and his followers formed, he placed central emphasis on struggles for community control and support to the then ongoing mass movement for voting rights, desegregated public facilities and schools, and jobs for Blacks in the South.

Just by examining his attitude to three of the major areas of "day-to-day struggles of Black people" we can see how Malcolm related to the immediate and urgent concerns of our people.

Drug addiction

One of the problems Malcolm dealt with in his Program for the Organization of Afro-American Unity was drug addiction—a very pressing day-to-day problem facing African-Americans. He stressed that this problem like all others in the Black community flows from the fact that we are an oppressed people and do not control our own communities.

He said, "We must establish a clinic, whereby one can get aid and cure for drug addiction.

"When a person is a drug addict, he's not the criminal; he's the victim of the criminal. The criminal is the man downtown who brings this drug into the country. . . . It is not you who is responsible for bringing in drugs. You're just a little tool that is used by the man downtown. The man that controls the drug traffic sits in city hall or he sits in the state-house. Big shots who are respected, who function in high circles—those are the ones who control these things. And you and I will never strike at the root of it until we strike at the man downtown. . . ."

Vietnam war

Malcolm's approach to the problems of imperialist wars like U. S. aggression in Vietnam, was to see the mobilization of the Black community against these wars as part of the struggle around the "day-to-day" problems of our people.

First of all, he understood that Blacks, as an oppressed people, are on the same side as the victims of U. S. imperialism. He said, "our problem is the same as the problem of the people who are being oppressed in South Vietnam. . . ."

Second, he understood that wars like Vietnam directly affect the lives of Black people in this country. "What happens in South Vietnam can affect him (the Black) if he's living on St. Nicholas Avenue [in Harlem]. . . . The person who realizes the effect that things all over the world have right on his block, on his salary, on his reception, or lack of reception into society, immediately becomes interested in things international." (From *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*.)

This is part of the day-to-day problems faced by the Black community, where inflation, budget cutbacks, and unemployment bred by the racist war in Vietnam are lowering the already low living standards we are forced to suffer.

Finally, rather than Monteiro's reliance on lesser-evil politicians to stop the wars of U. S. imperialism, Malcolm relied on the organization and struggle of our people against them.

Applying this to the threat of U. S. intervention in Africa, he said: "You and I should be organized in such a way that the American government will think a long time before it takes

any steps towards dropping bombs on Africans who are our brothers and sisters. This is why we must organize. . . . We have to organize ourselves and then organize the city and then organize the state and then organize the country. Once you do this, the government is not going to intervene in Africa."

Again this is hardly separated from the day-to-day problems and strategy of the vast majority of Black people who oppose the Vietnam war and to the thousands of Blacks who demonstrated against the war in the April 2-6 and April 24 demonstrations.

Schools

Malcolm's program for solving the educational problems of our people was to call for community control of the schools.

In the speech introducing his Program for the Organization of Afro-American Unity, he said, "A first step in the program to end the existing system of racist education is to demand that the 10 percent of the [New York City] schools the Board of Education will not include in its plans be turned over to and run by the Afro-American community itself. . . ."

"What do we want? We want Afro-American principals to head these schools. We want Afro-American teachers in these schools. . . . We want textbooks written by Afro-Americans that are acceptable to our people before they can be used in these schools."

Again Malcolm's strategy has been confirmed across the country in hundreds of struggles for Black control of the schools, Black history courses, Black study courses, and for more Black administrators, teachers and students. These projections of Malcolm X are very close to the day-to-day lives of the hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of Black people who have been mobilized in or supported these struggles.

Political independence

Malcolm understood that the day-to-day oppression we face is rooted in the capitalist system itself and that these struggles around our immediate needs would lead to confrontations with the pillars of the capitalist system, especially the racist Republican and Democratic parties.

He explained how these parties stand in the way of the kind of mass struggles that can win many of the demands we are raising and eventual Black liberation. He saw how hopes centered on liberal and not-so-liberal candidates deflected energy from the mass struggle, especially as these hopes made many Black people think that the twin parties of racism and exploitation would provide a solution.

This is why Malcolm said, "We won't organize any Black man to be a Democrat or a Republican, because both of them have sold us out; both parties have sold us out."

Not only did he attack these imperialist political parties, but he urged Black people to organize an independent political movement to carry out his perspective for mass nationalist action, to run candidates nominated and controlled by our community.

The strategy of Malcolm X has been supported and expanded by the Socialist Workers Party in its *Transitional Program for Black Liberation*, adopted in 1969, and embodies the course that the new generation of Black rebels is following.

This course runs into sharp conflict with the road the YWLL, the CP, and all other reformist supporters of Democratic Party liberals want to take. Monteiro and reformists of his ilk slander Brother Malcolm X as having "little to offer" to our day-to-day struggles. This is because Malcolm had little to offer to their day-to-day struggles inside the racist, imperialist Democratic Party.



Malcolm X tried to relate his ideas to the concrete needs of Black people. In 1963, while he was still a minister of the Black Muslims in Harlem, he organized the above Times Square demonstration demanding free speech and assembly and the right to sell the Muslim newspaper.

brutality, drug addiction, inadequate and irrelevant education, and the criminal wars of U. S. imperialism.

While Malcolm's position on separation was in continuous evolution, he never saw the demand for separation as an excuse for giving up the day-to-day struggles for improving the conditions of Blacks now. In fact, one of the reasons he split from the Nation of Islam was that Elijah Muhammad attempted to dampen such struggles.

In 1964, after the split with Muhammad, he said, "Separation . . . is still a long-range program, and while it is yet to materialize, 22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education and jobs right now. . . ."

"The political philosophy of Black nationalism means: we must control the politics and politicians of our community. They must no longer take

San Antonio, San Juan, Tx., follow Crystal City lead



Photo by Howard Petrick

Election eve rally in Crystal City, April 2. Chicano struggle there set example being followed in other areas of the Southwest.

By MIRTA VIDAL

SAN JUAN, Texas— The struggle for Chicano control in south Texas and the Rio Grand Valley took a big step forward in the elections held this spring during the first week of April.

Movement toward independent political action on the part of the Chicano movement has been led by La Raza Unida Party in Crystal City, Texas, which in April won a majority in the school board and all the seats in the city council.

Chicanos in other cities are now using Crystal City as a model and learning to apply the same strategy for gaining control.

According to the April 8 *MAYO Newsletter* (Mexican American Youth Organization), Chicano candidates that MAYO supported and campaigned for ran in Crystal City, San Juan, Cotulla, Falfurrias, San Antonio, Mathis, Carrizo Springs and Asherton.

In San Antonio, the candidates ran under the Committee for Barrio Betterment. The CBB, which was formed in 1969, was so called because of a city ordinance that prevents candidates from running in local elections under a party name because local elections are officially nonpartisan in Texas.

During the 1969 elections, the CBB ran Mario Compean and other candidates. Compean came less than 300 votes short of a runoff with his opponent, who had been the city's mayor for eight years.

According to Compean, the CBB is a "local affiliate of La Raza Unida Party" and he himself, as well as the committee, has been clearly identified with the RUP.

Fifty two percent of San Antonio's population of 840,000 is Chicano. Although the election results came as a disappointment to the CBB candidates—while some of them polled an impressive one-third of the vote, they had hoped to win—the mood was one of anger, not of defeat. The *MAYO Newsletter* reports that Compean stated that the Good Government League—the organization of the gringo opposition—"would not have won without the help of the beggar Henry B (Democratic politician Henry B. Gonzales), who actively supported the gringos."

In an interview with *The Militant* shortly after the elections, Compean said that they have already begun making projections for the 1972 elections when they hope to legally run candidates under La Raza Unida Party banner in San Antonio.

Pro-Raza candidates did win several offices in other cities. In Asherton they

won some seats on the school board. In the Pharr-San Juan-Alamo school district two Raza candidates were elected, resulting in a total of five Chicano members out of the seven on the board.

Elections for mayor and two city commissioners were also held in San Juan on April 3, 1971. All three offices were won by Chicanos, giving them complete control of the city administration. Practically all the other candidates were Anglos.

The offices were filled by Lalo Arcaute, 34 years old, who is now mayor; Juan Maldonado, 25, and Antonio Garcia, 24, the new city commissioners. Garcia is the youngest city commissioner in the Rio Grande Valley.

San Juan has a population of 5,070, approximately 90 percent of which is Chicano. It is located in the county of Hidalgo, on the southern tip of Texas and is contiguous with the cities of Pharr and Alamo on either side.

Hidalgo

Hidalgo County, according to an article in the August 24, 1969, issue of the *Houston Chronicle*, is a home for more migrants than any other county in the country. Unemployment is so high that some 37,000 families leave the county each year to go work in the fields up north, reports the *Chronicle*. Although this happens to be one of the biggest citrus-growing areas in the country, one major health problem in the area is a high deficiency of vitamin C, for which citrus is a major source.

Doctors who have made studies of the area have compared the health conditions of this area with those of Guatemala. All three cases of polio that occurred in the U. S. last year, for example, occurred in neighboring Pharr. Most of the farm workers live in settlements outside the cities, known as "colonias." The tuberculosis rate in these "colonias," says the *Chronicle*, is three and a half times that of the U. S. as a whole.

San Juan itself is divided into two sections by a railroad track. Anglos live on the south side of the city. Chicanos live on the north side, where a large section still lacks drainage, paved streets and other essential facilities that the Anglo side has.

The drop-out rate, beginning at the grade school level, is anywhere between 50 and 80 percent. Most of the kids who drop out go to work in the fields.

The political awakening of Chicanos throughout the Rio Grande Valley has been largely due to the organization and mobilization of the Chicano

community. Several demonstrations against police brutality have been held in Pharr in the last few months. The largest originated in San Juan with 2,000 participants and grew to 5,000 toward the end of the march. The last of these demonstrations was organized solely by women.

MAYO has also played an important role in the valley. MAYO members were among the most active in mobilizing the community to vote during the last elections.

In the last few years, Chicano groups in the valley have begun organizing farm workers and carrying out voter registration drives. In November 1970, La Raza Unida Party ran candidates for the county commissioner elections in Hidalgo County and received one-third of the votes. This was the only county where the party was on the ballot since it was ruled off in the other three counties where RUP candidates ran.

This relative success prompted Chicano youth to attempt making the concept of community control a reality. One month later, a group called Citizens for a Better San Juan was formed by a handful of students with this purpose in mind. One of the principal organizers, both of the Hidalgo County RUP last year and the victorious election campaign this year in San Juan, is Jesús Ramirez. He is a 19-year-old student at Pan American University and editor of the group's newspaper, *El Portavoz*.

I visited San Juan shortly after the elections and was able to interview Ramirez, as well as the three persons now in office.

Organizing continues

Ramirez explained that Citizens for a Better San Juan was started by about twenty young people, mostly college students. The purpose of this group was to pressure city officials for such things as voting places, paved streets and stop lights on the Chicano side of town. But they soon came to the understanding that no significant change would take place unless Chicanos themselves had control of the institutions that affect their lives. "Some of us were pushing for Chicano control," said Ramirez. "The majority couldn't grasp it at the beginning, but as time went on somehow they liked the idea and they took it."

The desire to control their own lives, to elect their own people, has begun to spread so swiftly among Chicanos that it actually took a very short time to organize the Chicano community of San Juan.

"We started in December organizing young people—young college and high school students and young teachers," explained Ramirez. "I had studied the Crystal City plan by José Angel [Gutiérrez] and the candidates went over to see Crystal City in action and we thought we could do it that way. We registered the majority of Chicanos in the Chicano precinct and then we started looking for candidates."

The turnout for these elections was the largest in San Juan's history. Less than 50 percent of the registered voters normally vote; over 60 percent showed up at the polls this time.

Every afternoon for one week prior to the elections, the opposition went around with loudspeakers calling the Raza candidates "rabble-rousers, leaders of revolutions, rioters, marijuana users, almost communists." On this, Arcaute commented, "These are the same tactics they have been using all the time—intimidation, misinformation. But the Chicano community is more aware now. They know what is going on. They weren't about to be swung by this kind of political propaganda."

Ramirez considers that there is still a lack of understanding among some sectors of the Chicano movement of the significance of developments such as those in San Juan. "It's beautiful to be a romanticist and to be picketing and shouting and marching and wearing your berets and your green army pants and your boots," but Chicano control is more than that, he explained. "It's not all romantic to run a city government, because you do not put a Mexican flag on the city council and you do not put two romantic women with berets in front of the city council holding machine guns. Community control is controlling the schools, the government, controlling your clubs, controlling the economy, controlling the police, controlling society. It's hard work and it's not romantic at all."

One of the lessons drawn from the Crystal City experience by the San Juan organizers is the role that the community must play in consolidating electoral victories. "Some of us would like to see a mass Chicano group that would guarantee Chicanos control of the city council and the school board. We have to organize truckers, we have to organize farm workers, we have to organize a city employees union, we have to get people to go to school and we have to educate people on the war. We have to make people aware of not only local politics, but also of state, national and international politics," said Ramirez.

Another important concept he discussed was the role of the Democratic Party and the need to break with the two-party system. "I am against the present policy of the Democratic Party, against the candidates of the Democratic Party—state, county and national."

Projections for the county elections in '72 are to put La Raza Unida Party on the ballot in Hidalgo County, as in the other predominantly Raza counties in south Texas and the Rio Grande Valley.

One thing is clear from the developments in San Juan. The struggle for community control through the mobilization of La Raza, combined with the tool of electoral action, is the most effective strategy for the Chicano movement at this stage. Crystal City has proven that, and the impact of that experience is just beginning to be felt throughout Texas.



Photo by Ed Weaver

Paul McKnight, SWP candidate for Houston City Council, examines campaign headquarters after May 14 early morning attack.

Houston socialists hit by new attack

By PAUL McKNIGHT

HOUSTON—Night-riding terrorists struck out again against the campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and Pathfinder Bookstore here at about 4:15 a.m. on Friday, May 14. Twenty-two 30 caliber bullets were fired into the windows, causing \$230 additional damage to the premises. Last March, the building was bombed, causing nearly \$3,000 damage to the physical structure, books, and office equipment.

At a news conference the day of the May 14 attack, Alan Saltzstein, chairman of the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston and faculty member at the University of Houston, commented: "This act of barbarism is another in the endless series of vicious attacks against antiwar, liberal and socialist persons and organizations in Houston. It points out again that there are elements in this community that abhor true democratic rights. These acts have been repeated time and time again. Must we wait until someone is killed before the guilty are uncovered?"

The Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston is a broad-based community organization designed to bring massive public pressure against the city administration demanding that it apprehend those responsible for the bombing and shooting-up of the campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. A recently published issue of the committee's news bulletin states, "While a legitimate political party is being terrorized and attempts [are] being made to destroy its campaign for public office, all civil liberties of every citizen are threatened. One need not be a member or supporter of the Socialist Workers Party campaign to have a vested interest in the upholding of the rights of all candidates to be heard. The arrest and conviction of the right-wing terrorists

would be a victory for the right of free speech for every Houstonian who wants to participate in the electoral process or hear the views of all the candidates."

No arrest has been made in any case of actual terrorism.

While the police recently arrested two Black students for purchasing dynamite with "intent to make a bomb" and the court sentenced these young men to 25 years in prison, the police have been completely unable to find and arrest anyone in a long series of right-wing terrorist activity. The city administration took no action, even after Frank Converse, grand dragon of the United Klans of America, publicly admitted in the April 11 issue of the *Houston Chronicle* that he knew of members and former members of the Klan who carried out some of these acts of terrorism.

It is urgently necessary for everyone opposed to the right-wing terrorism in Houston and the inaction of the city administration to immediately send letters of protest to the Houston City Council demanding that there be a massive investigation into the right-wing bombing, shooting and arson, and that those responsible be arrested and convicted. The committee should be sent copies of all letters to the Houston City Council so that the public can be informed of the progress of the investigation and just exactly what the police and arson division are doing in their investigation. The committee is demanding that the city administration hold an open hearing on the terrorism and that the files on these investigations of the police and arson division be open to the public. To send statements of support and urgently needed contributions, write to the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, 4334 Leeland, Houston, Texas 77023.

Vietnamese launch major campaign against Cambodia

By DICK ROBERTS

After almost a month of relatively decreased combat in Southeast Asia, the Nixon administration is again stepping up the air war against Laos and North Vietnam. A major campaign of South Vietnamese forces is taking place in Cambodia.

Under the cover of what it calls "protective reactions," the Pentagon is launching an increased number of bombing strikes against North Vietnam. In all of 1970, such bombing attacks numbered seven. There had been 37 in 1971 as of May 16. Each attack includes 20-30 U.S. bombers.

Apparently comparable in numbers to the big U.S.-Saigon invasion of Laos earlier this year, the present South Vietnamese campaign in Cambodia, said to involve 20,000 Saigon troops, is massively supported by U.S. bombers and helicopter "gunships."

One definite similarity between the two attacks is the almost total press censorship. The present campaign is supposed to be closed to newsmen "by order of the Saigon government." In fact, a Saigon regime spokesman has even stated that, "There is no new operation in Cambodia now," according to the May 15 *New York Times*.

Meanwhile in Laos, the pro-U.S. government in Vientiane has announced that "North Vietnamese" forces have taken the last important military position on the Boloven Plateau. This area is to the south of the Laotian region that was invaded by the U.S.-Saigon forces in February.

It is also supposed to be an important connecting link in the "Ho Chi Minh Trail." The loss of Laotian government positions at the hands of "North Vietnamese" forces, 100 miles to the south of the link in the "Ho Chi Minh Trail" that was supposed to have been cut by the U.S.-Saigon invasion, all the more underlines how little the Laos invasion won for Washington and Saigon despite its vast expense in blood.

The Nixon administration's attempt to de-escalate the participation of U.S. forces in ground combat activity while escalating air warfare and support actions connected with Saigon troop movements has not stemmed the deteriorating morale of the GIs in South Vietnam.

Reports of heroin addiction among GIs in "epidemic proportions" are increasingly filling the press. Alvin M. Shuster, a *New York Times* correspondent in Saigon, said on May 16 that, "The figure on heroin users most often heard here is about 10-15 percent of the lower-ranking enlisted men. . . . Some officers working in the drug-suppression field, however, say that their estimates go as high as 25 percent, or more than 60,000 enlisted men, most of whom are draftees.

"They say that some field surveys have reported units with more than 50 percent of the men on heroin."

The situation is bad enough for GIs who become addicted to heroin in Vietnam. The U.S. Army hardly goes in for drug rehabilitation. According

to Shuster, its total rehabilitation projects can handle fewer than 300 (!) men.

But when addicts return to the U.S., where the recession has kept tens of thousands of veterans from finding jobs, where the cost of heroin is considerably greater than in Vietnam, and addicts are at the mercy of big-city police forces and gangsters—it is truly an appalling "reward" for the young men who were shipped to fight the dirty imperialist war in Indochina.

Responsiveness of the revolutionary forces to the deteriorating morale of U.S. enlisted men in South Vietnam was indicated by a declaration of the People's Liberation Armed Forces delivered in Paris April 26. According to the April 27 *New York Times*, the statement declared:

"In the present situation the commandant of the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces orders:

- "Not to attack those antiwar U.S. servicemen—individuals or groups—who demand repatriation, oppose orders of the U.S. commanders and abstain from hostile actions against the People's Liberation Armed Forces, from supporting or coming to the rescue of the Saigon army, encroaching on the freedom, property and lives of the South Vietnamese people, interfering in their internal affairs, hindering their struggle against the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique.

- "To give a proper treatment to those U.S. servicemen—individuals or groups—who in action refrain from opposing the People's Liberation Armed Forces and those who carry with them antiwar literature.

- "To stand ready to extend aid and protection to those antiwar U.S. servicemen who have to run away for their opposition to orders of operations, to harsh discipline and to the discriminatory policy in the army.

- "To welcome and give good treatment to those U.S. servicemen who cross over to the South Vietnam people and the People's Liberation Armed Forces; to stand ready to help them go home or seek asylum in another country if requested by them.

- "To welcome and to grant appropriate rewards to those U.S. servicemen—individuals or groups—who support the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam."

According to the *New York Times*, NLF spokesman Duong Dinh Thao in presenting the statement quoted above also said that, "There are a number of American soldiers fighting in the ranks of the liberation army."

A Reuters dispatch covering U.S. casualties in Southeast Asia up to and including the week of May 1 listed the infrequently released figure for "deaths from nonhostile causes" at 9,510.

Added to the figure of 45,121 combat deaths, this brings the total of American servicemen killed in Southeast Asia up to 54,631, a level now above U.S. deaths in the Korean War, which came to 54,246. The total number of U.S. wounded in Indochina reached 299,102.

A revolutionary strategy for the future



Washington, D. C., April 24

The following are major excerpts from the introduction by Gus Horowitz to *Towards An American Socialist Revolution: A Strategy for the 1970's* (Pathfinder Press, 207 pp., \$1.95 paperback, \$5.95 hardback). This book, to be released in early June, includes five speeches delivered at the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, August, 1970: *The Current Radicalization Compared With Those of the Past*, George Breiman; *The International Roots of the Current Radicalization*, Barry Sheppard; *The Combined Character of the Coming American Revolution*, Derrick Morrison; *Two Components of the Radicalization: The Student Movement and the Rebellion of Women*, Mary-Alice Waters; *The New Radicalization and the Revolutionary Party*, Jack Barnes. Also included in the book are the political resolution and report adopted at the 1969 Socialist Workers Party convention and the political report presented to the 1970 SWP National Committee meeting.

to the future with unshakable confidence.

The new radicalization

The magnitude of the remarkable changes that have occurred since then need hardly be described. The American ruling class, previously so self-assured, has been shaken by an unfavorable shift in world military and political alignments; by growing international economic competition and a recurring monetary crisis that threatens the post-World War II system of international trade and investment; and, most of all, by a worldwide revolutionary upsurge that has spread beyond the colonial revolution.

What is more, the new generation of revolutionaries throughout the world includes a sizable American contingent. We are today just at the beginning of what is already the most thoroughgoing radicalization in American history.

The Black liberation movement, the antiwar movement, the student movement, and the Chicano

few in this generation have yet conceived. It is already clear that no sector of the population and no section of the country has been unaffected. There is no form of oppression, no reactionary prejudice, no outmoded social institution that is too deep-rooted, too venerable or awesome, to be free from challenge. This challenge to all aspects of the existing social order is one of the best proofs of the thoroughgoing character of the current radicalization.

As a result, the prospect for revolutionary change in America is gaining greater and greater credence. It is talked about by political pundits of every variety. The catchwords of revolution have become part of the language of our age.

What kind of revolution?

But how can a real revolution—a social transformation that will truly overturn the established order, throw out the old ruling class, and institute a new social system based on, controlled by, and responsive to the human needs of the great majority of oppressed and exploited—actually occur in the United States? What kind of revolution must it be? Will it be a "classical" socialist revolution? These are questions of great concern to the current generation of radicals, and it is to them that this book is addressed.

The authors of this book are Marxists—revolutionary socialists active in the Socialist Workers Party. For them, a socialist revolution in the United States is a realizable goal. Moreover, they put forward the thesis that the current radicalization in the United States—even though it will suffer temporary setbacks—will not be decisively reversed before the possibility of socialist revolution is posed in practical terms.

Whether or not that possibility is realized will depend on the ability of a revolutionary-socialist party to provide leadership based on a political strategy adequate to such an immense undertaking. . . .

During the 1960s, many people in the radical movement made the error of considering Marxism a dogmatic schema foreign to the developing radicalization and even at odds with it. The various political currents loosely defined as the new left, and often incorrectly identified as the sole political representatives of the radicalization that began in the 1960s, rejected Marxism (as they understood it). . . .

Because Stalinism and social-democracy were the largest and best-known political tendencies in the radical movement during the preceding decades, and because they both professed to trace their origins to Marx and to the political struggles of the working class, the new left incorrectly accepted them as the authentic representatives of Marxism. This led to the negative side of the new left approach. The failures and inadequacies of these two "old left" currents were seen as proof both of the dogmatic character of Marxism, and of its inapplicability to American conditions.

So, along with the Stalinist and social-demo-



Seattle, April 17, 1971

Photo by Shelby Harris

By GUS HOROWITZ

Not too many years ago, the prospect of an American revolution seemed realistic to only the most farsighted politicians. To most people, it appeared as if the United States was entering an era of unchallenged supremacy abroad and social tranquility at home, invulnerable to challenge, whether by foreign military power, international economic competition, or social revolution.

However volatile political life might be elsewhere, the United States, at least, seemed to have achieved domestic stability: the crisis of the depression years had been surmounted and the economy was booming; the labor movement had been tamed; the radicalism of the 1930s had given way to the conservatism and complacency of the 1950s; and if the "silent generation" of American youth afforded a preview, this was to be the mass mood for years to come.

Sure of its international power and of its dominance at home, the American ruling class looked

movement, more and more, have all grown into massive independent movements of struggle. The women's liberation movement, now only in the initial stages of development, is beginning to grow rapidly and has already had a deep impact. The mood of militancy, protest and struggle is taking root among Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Asian-Americans. The radicalization is penetrating what would have seemed earlier the most unlikely areas. It has affected prisoners in the jails, GIs, welfare recipients, homosexuals. The churches, the professions, cultural, artistic and intellectual circles, have each contributed their share of protest.

These new movements are all growing. Each affects, interacts with, cushions the difficulties of, and spurs on the others. Furthermore, the widespread climate of protest and struggle insures that other movements will arise and take their part in the radicalization process too.

The massive organized labor movement will be transformed and will play a political role that

Primary socialist for the 1970s



Austin, April 17, 1971

cratic perversions of Marxism, the new left rejected Marxism itself. It rejected the value of all previous experience acquired by the revolutionary movement, preferring to test what seemed to be new ideas and new organizational methods.

This was the approach of the major new left organization, Students for a Democratic Society, and was to prove its undoing. Young as most of it was, SDS proved incapable of appreciating and embracing new developments in the radicalization that arose only a few years after it was founded.

SDS had been quickly raised high but was just as quickly pushed down by changing political winds that it was unable to understand. Ironically but predictably, in rejecting the value of historical experience SDS found itself unwittingly adopting many of the political policies and organizational methods that had been tried and found wanting in the earlier history of the radical movement—including policies and practices of the Stalinists and social democrats. This was not the least of the reasons for its rapid disintegration in the late 1960s.

Where CP goes wrong

The Communist Party, the dominant party claiming to represent socialism during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, and thus the chief symbol of the "old left," has likewise been ineffective in these years of rising radicalism, despite its initial advantage in numbers and resources relative to other forces in the radical movement. The Communist Party has failed to make significant gains, either in numerical growth or in political influence, over the current radicalization. There have been two basic reasons for this failure.

First and most important has been a fundamental error in its political policy. Since the 1930s, the Communist Party has consistently attempted to get the mass movement to center its activity around the election of liberal capitalist politicians, primarily those in the Democratic Party. The bankruptcy of this policy was shown by the experience of the New Deal, which did not advance the radicalization of the 1930s but retarded and blunted it. The then influential Communist Party, with its pro-Democratic Party line, was a factor in diverting the mass radicalization of the 1930s into support of New Deal liberalism, where it eventually expired. . . .

The corollary to the policy of tail-ending liberalism is the attempt to tone down the militancy and restrict the independence of the mass movement, a policy the Communist Party has long tried to implement. This conservative policy set it at odds with the militant and politically independent thrust of the new radicalization. . . .

A second reason for the Communist Party's failure to regain its powerful position on the left has been its inability to understand the new radicalization. It does indeed have a dogmatic and stereotyped view of Marxism and the radicalization process. The adherents of the Communist Party ex-

pected the new radicalization not only to be a repetition of the radicalization of the 1930s but also a repetition as *they* understood it.

To them, this meant a massive labor upsurge through the union movement as the dominant feature, with all other mass movements tied and subordinate to it, and with the labor movement itself tied and subordinate to the Democratic Party.

They have viewed the independent development of the women's, student and antiwar movements, for example, as incidental to the "real" struggle of the working class that will come later, and only through the trade unions. They expect these new independent movements to fade into the background when the trade unions radicalize.

In short, the preconceived notions of the Communist Party have been alien to the basic thrust of the new radicalization and its growing effect on the American workers. As a result, the Communist Party has been unwilling and unable to participate fully in the new movements that have arisen and to develop an effective strategy for them. The Socialist Party has been even less effective

liance, have been able to orient effectively to the new radicalization. . . .

There have been two main aspects to this revolutionary-socialist approach. First has been the insistence on adhering to the central principles of Marxism, which are invaluable acquisitions tested through many years of experience in revolutionary struggle.

Second has been the ability to *act* as revolutionists in the new situation. This has meant identifying with the new radicalization, participating in it, and applying the basic principles of revolutionary strategy within it. These were the prerequisites for learning from the new radicalization, refining and adding to the basic political strategy of the revolutionary-socialist movement, and affecting the radicalization through participation in it on the basis of this strategy.

The Socialist Workers Party began by rejecting the perspective of permanent stability and invincibility for American capitalism. It saw in the very expansion of American capitalism after World War



Albany, N.Y., March 27, 1971

in the current radicalization. Whereas the Communist Party's conservative brand of socialism flows ultimately from its subservience to the needs of the privileged bureaucratic layer in the Soviet Union, the social democrats follow the plodding footsteps of the privileged trade-union bureaucracy in the United States. Mired in cold-war ideology, deeply committed to the welfare of Democratic Party hacks, the position of the Socialist Party in practice has even been to the right of many liberals. The social democrats have bitterly opposed the new independent movements and have boycotted the radicalization. Not surprisingly, they have been completely rejected by the new radicals.

SWP and YSA view

The authors of this book show how the Socialist Workers Party and the youth group in political solidarity with it, the Young Socialist Al-

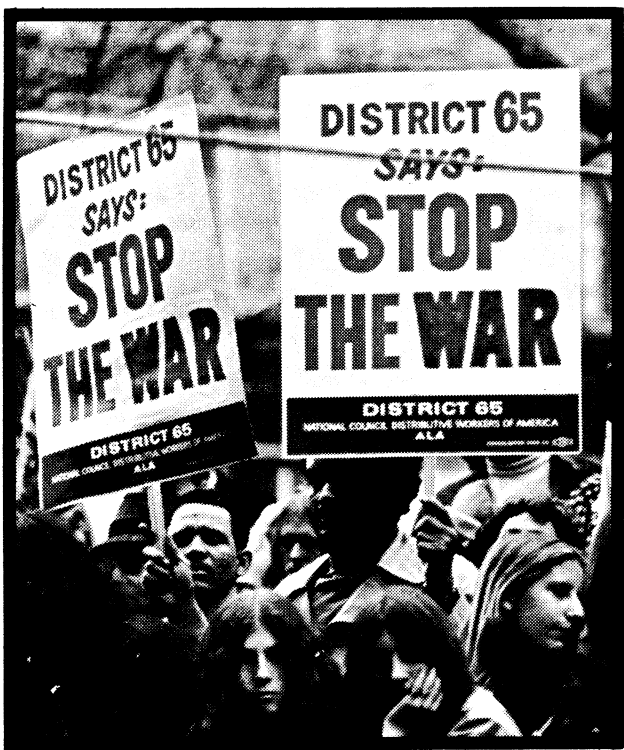


Photo by David Thorstad

Washington, D.C., April 24

If the creation of conditions that would lead to a new revolutionary upsurge.

This estimation reaffirmed Trotsky's farsighted analysis of 1928: ". . . it is precisely the international strength of the United States and her irresistible expansion arising from it that compels her to include the powder magazines of the whole world into the foundations of her structure, i.e., all the antagonisms between the East and the West, the class struggle in Old Europe, the uprisings of the colonial masses, and all wars and revolutions. On the one hand, this transforms North American capitalism into the basic counterrevolutionary force of the modern epoch, constantly more interested in the maintenance of 'order' in every corner of the terrestrial globe; and on the other hand, this prepares the ground for a gigantic revolutionary explosion in this already dominant and still expanding world imperialist



Washington, D. C., April 24

power." . . .

The understanding of these long-term trends in the evolution of capitalism and the class struggle enabled the Socialist Workers Party to see beyond the temporary conditions of reaction in the 1950s and prepared it for a new upsurge of radicalism in the United States. And when this occurred, the Socialist Workers Party was able to see it not as ephemeral but as a development growing out of the very structure of American capitalism. This is one of the key factors indicating that the projection of a revolutionary strategy for the 1970s is politically realistic.

The Socialist Workers Party also reaffirmed the Marxist conception of class struggle and the central importance of the working class—Black, Chicano and white, women and men, young and old, in uniform and out—in a socialist revolution. It pointed to the prospect of a resurgence and transformation of the labor movement.

But this analysis had nothing in common with crude economic determinism that can conceive of a radicalization developing only as the result of a 1929-type economic depression and taking organizational form solely through the trade unions. Prior to its development, it was impossible to predict the specific social, political and economic issues that would give rise to a new radicalization, the specific form it would take, and the tempo at which various sectors of the population, among them the labor movement, would be involved. Essential to its development would be the involvement of masses in struggle against the ruling class and organized independently of the bureaucratic formations in the workers movement and the capitalist political institutions.

In analyzing the development of the new radicalization, the authors of this book show how it has confirmed the central propositions of Marxism. What we are seeing in the United States is new but not inexplicable. We are seeing the development of new methods of struggle against the capitalist class, new ways in which the capitalist system is being challenged, new aspects and new forms of the class struggle. The process is still far from reaching its full development, but it is leading in the direction of deepening mass struggles of the oppressed and exploited and points toward a socialist alternative to the inhumanities of capitalism. . . .

Increasing numbers of people see the gap between what can potentially be achieved, given the present cultural and technological level in the United States, and what is actually being achieved under the present system of social organization. The mass movement against the Indochina war, an unprecedented development during a shooting war, is an illustration of this trend. There is questioning and rejection of the myriad social institutions and forms of ideological backwardness and prejudice serving to prop up an outmoded order. This is a feature, to one degree or another, of the women's liberation movement, the movements of oppressed nationalities, the student movement, the revolution in culture, and many other aspects of the current radicalization. More and more people are becoming aware of what their real interests are; they are beginning to demand the right to decide major questions of social policy on the basis of their own human needs; and they are relying on their own independent strength and that of their potential allies in struggling against the capitalist class. These struggles are part of, forms of, or potentially allied to the general class struggle of the working masses against the capitalist system. The ability to see this feature

of the current radicalization, to see it within the framework of basic Marxist concepts, and to orient to it on that basis demonstrates the richness and viability of the Marxist method. . . .

Combined revolution

With this in mind, we see that movements such as the women's liberation movement, the struggles of oppressed nationalities for self-determination, the gay liberation movement, and the revolution in culture are a part of the general struggle against the outmoded capitalist system. The authors of this book show how the national question is so interwoven with the class struggle in the United States that the American revolution will actually be a combined revolution: a revolution by the oppressed nationalities for their liberation and self-determination, combined with a revolution of the working class against the exploitation and alienation of capitalist relations. That is the only way in which capitalism can be overturned in the United States. That is the only way the door can be opened to the eradication of racism, sexism, exploitation, alienation and the warped human relationships bred by capitalist society.

Not peripheral

Thus, these new movements are not unimportant or peripheral to the socialist revolution but at the center of its advance. Furthermore, they have all developed independent of the ruling class institutions, and they are free from domination by the Communist Party and the trade-union bureaucracy. The political thrust of their demands is directed against the ruling class and in the interests of the great mass of American workers. Far from diminishing in importance as the labor movement itself radicalizes, these movements will grow and continue to be a key part of the general process leading to a socialist revolution. To think otherwise is to think that the radicalizing layers of the working class will be completely incapable of identifying with feminism, Black nationalism, gay liberation, and progressive standards of social morality. If that were the case, there would be no prospect of the working class identifying with the goals of a socialist revolution.

To the contrary, the radicalization already involves large numbers of workers—as women, as GIs, as Blacks, as Chicanos, as gays, as youth, as antiwar activists—who will play a key role in the radicalization of the labor movement. This makes it all the more apparent that the radicalization of labor will necessarily include support to the central demands of the sectors of the population already engaged in independent struggle.

The new movements, the new forms of independent struggle, the new issues that are being raised, all give a preview of what some of the new characteristics of the more general working-class radicalization will be. When large masses of workers radicalize, they not only will have to fight through the trade unions, and within the trade unions against the union bureaucracy, but also they will adopt new and different methods of struggle, including some learned from these other movements. In addition to struggling through the trade unions, the insurgent working class will also undoubtedly create organizational forms that are distinct from the official trade unions. It is pointless to try to predict exactly what will happen. What is essential is to realize that the existence of social forces already involved in independent struggle and the deepening of radical consciousness among large sectors of the population will have a major effect in impelling the working class as a whole onto the field of mass anticapitalist political action. When this occurs, the already powerful radicalization will take a giant step forward.

Revolutionary action

In addition to the creative application of the Marxist method in analyzing the new forms of anticapitalist struggle that have arisen, the authors of this book show how the Socialist Workers Party has been able to translate theoretical appreciation of the new radicalization into action. It is only the combination of previously acquired theory with current application in action that enables a revolutionary organization to fully understand new developments, participate in them effectively, and work out a political strategy that can lead to a socialist revolution. The basic strategy put forward in this book is embodied in what is called a transitional program.

This program is totally different in conception from the approach of reformists and ultralefts. Reformists look upon socialism as a far-distant goal, irrelevant to the practical struggles of the day—and thus justify limiting the scope and blunting the thrust of the mass movement. Ultralefts, substituting the actions and conceptions of a hand-

ful for the actions and aspirations of masses, reject all practical struggles aimed at bettering the immediate conditions of life. The strategy of the transitional program, by contrast, begins on the basis of the present objective conditions and the present needs of the oppressed and exploited. It raises a series of democratic and transitional demands aimed at winning the immediate support of the vast majority engaged in a given struggle, at their present level of consciousness. But the demands raised at any given moment are part of a unified program designed to lead in the direction of an anticapitalist revolution. Through the struggles waged around these demands, it is possible to make the transition to the mass realization of the necessity for and possibility of a socialist revolution. This book indicates some of the central demands raised as part of the transitional strategy that the Socialist Workers Party has applied in the current radicalization.

All groups tested

The growth of a new radicalization in the United States has offered great opportunities to all political tendencies and organizations on the left. But it has also been a great challenge to each of them. It has tested the validity of their political analyses and their ability to carry out their policies in action. As a result of the response to these challenges, a continuing process of shake-up and political realignment is occurring in the American left. The past political dominance of the Communist Party has been shattered. The social democrats have floundered. SDS has disintegrated, and other new left groupings remain fundamentally without political perspective. Assorted Maoist and other ultraleft sects remain small and isolated. In contrast, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have been able to grow significantly by identifying closely with the growing radicalization and deepening their ties to it, while retaining their theoretical heritage of Marxism and their grounding in revolutionary-socialist principles. As a result, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are beginning to pull ahead of their rivals in the radical movement. For the first time in American history, the revolutionary-socialist movement is in a position to become the most influential political force on the left. The successful continuation of this process will greatly advance the prospects for an American socialist revolution, for it will mean the creation of a mass revolutionary party with a cadre and program adequate to the task of overturning the American ruling class and inaugurating a new era in American history, and in world history as well.

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By DOUG JENNESS

Within the antiwar movement, there is considerable debate about the political character of the various actions that occurred this spring. The following dialogue between a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and two other antiwar activists (designated A, B and C respectively) is imaginary but may help clarify some of the questions that many people have.

A: I think that the April 24 antiwar actions in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco really expressed the depth of antiwar sentiment in this country and confronted the Nixon administration with a powerful political rebuff.

B: How can you say that? April 24 was a form of collaboration with sections of the capitalist government. The Mayday Tribe organized the only total confrontation against the government.

C: I think that's totally wrong.

B: There were Democratic and Republican members of Congress who officially endorsed the April 24 actions and a number of them even spoke at the rallies.

A: Why is that so bad?

B: These are spokespersons for the capitalist parties. They sit in the capitalist government. To ally with them is to form a coalition with a section of the capitalist class.

A: The key question, however, is who supported whom in this action. The National Peace Action Coalition didn't support the policies of either the Democratic or Republican parties or any of the "doves" in Congress. It doesn't endorse any of these politicians or support their election campaigns.

C: In addition, NPAC hasn't endorsed or organized any campaign for congressional legislation "to set a date for withdrawal," or any other phony scheme.

B: So, what difference does all this make?

A: It's crucial. If NPAC was watering down its program to get support from capitalist politicians, your charges and fears would be justified. But NPAC follows an entirely different course. It has an independent perspective to unite as many people as possible, regardless of political affiliations or views, in mass action against the Vietnam war. For their own reasons and in their own way some Democratic and Republican politicians supported NPAC in this effort.

C: In other words, they supported April 24 on NPAC's terms rather than vice versa?

A: That's right. There are disagreements among the capitalist politicians over the Vietnam war policy and a growing number of the "dove" politicians, for the sake of political expediency, will sometimes support mass actions against the war. Opposition to the war is so widespread they think they have to do this to get votes.

B: But what about you? You're a socialist—a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Isn't it unprincipled for a socialist organization to form a bloc with capitalist politicians?

A: When the YSA endorsed and helped build April 24, it didn't form a programmatic bloc with Democratic or Republican party politicians any more than it formed one with any of the other organizations that participated. We don't take responsibility for or support any of their policies. In fact, we continually attack those policies and expose the basis for them. Our "bloc," as you put it, was around one issue: building a mass demonstration against the U. S. government,

demanding immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Southeast Asia.

B: I'm still not convinced. By working with these liberals and members of Congress and letting them speak, we're simply handing the antiwar coalition to them and letting them use it for their own aims.

A: Of course they try to use the movement for their own aims. But we can't destroy their influence by abandoning an action we are building simply because they decide to endorse it. This would really be turning the movement over to them and would make them look as if they were the real builders of mass antiwar actions.

We say to the politicians and labor bureaucrats that we welcome their support for NPAC, on the basis of

B: Even if you are right on this, shouldn't there have been a better balance between liberal and radical speakers at the San Francisco and Washington rallies? The rallies seemed to be dominated by liberals and labor bureaucrats, none of whom did any work to build the actions.

C: I don't think that the speakers list was the greatest, but it was certainly closer to being representative of the antiwar movement than at any previous action I've attended. There were radical Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, feminist, veteran, GI, student, and gay speakers. April 24 was also the first national antiwar action where representatives of the Socialist Workers Party spoke as such, on both coasts. If you judged by the speakers list alone, you'd have to say April 24 was the

APRIL 24: class collaboration or independent struggle



Asian Contingent, San Francisco, April 24.

Photo by Ron Payne

NPAC's program—mass action in the streets, no red-baiting or exclusion, democratic decision-making at all stages of building an action, and immediate withdrawal. And we keep building the left wing of the coalition to make sure they can't take it over. In the process, we win the respect of the most serious antiwar youth, who can see clearly who is really concerned with building a mass antiwar movement. We get a chance to explain why we oppose liberal capitalist politicians.

B: But you don't have to let all those fakers speak and let them build themselves up at our expense, do you?

C: I think that it has been proved many times that the broader the spectrum of individuals and organizations that join together for a common action around a given demand, the greater will be the number of participants.

A: I agree. The people who are opposed to the war have many different levels of understanding and different reasons for their views. Most see no contradiction between mass actions and supporting capitalist politicians. The fact that some of these politicians endorsed April 24 and spoke at the rally did make it larger. Should we criticize some people who took part in the demonstration and reject their support just because their level of "consciousness" isn't "high enough"? That's the worst kind of elitism.

most "radical" action yet.

A: It's important to bear in mind, however, that the real character of the April 24 action was determined by its "Out Now" program and not by the speakers.

B: I'm still not convinced that April 24 wasn't a form of collaboration with the government, and I'm not the only one that thinks this. Even Max Frankel writing in the capitalist *New York Times* said that the marchers in Washington "drew not merely help, but praise, from the police. . . . They faced a government that tried to be hospitable as soon as it found no one really hostile. The two sides became accomplices of sorts. . . ." There must be something wrong with an action that's praised by the cops!

C: It's true that the government made many concessions to the April 24 action in Washington. They granted permits for the use of the streets and rally sites and were generally non-belligerent to the crowd, especially compared to their vicious treatment of the Mayday demonstrators.

But this wasn't due to "class collaboration." It was the result of the mass power of the antiwar movement and the April 24 action. The April 24 rally was held on the Capitol steps, where nearly two weeks later, non-violent Mayday demonstrators were arrested for refusing to disperse. The difference was that April 24 not only had hundreds of thousands more people out but it also had the support of

millions who weren't in Washington. And the government knew it! To follow your line of reasoning, if we win something from the government it must be a defeat!

C: They knew that if they started attacking or arresting demonstrators on April 24—when the whole country knew it was a legal, peaceful march—the angry repercussion in the country could make the massive student strike last May look like a Sunday school picnic.

But there's another point I want to raise. The "Out Now" demand of April 24—the heart of the action—was a direct political confrontation with the government. It directly opposed Nixon's phony "Vietnamization" and "phased withdrawal" demagoguery. In this sense, April 24 was much more of a confrontation with the government than the Mayday actions, which demanded "setting the date for withdrawal" as part of their program. The program, not the tactics, is the criterion to judge the "militancy" of these two actions.

A: That's right. Nixon and other government officials certainly didn't want the April 24 demonstrators in Washington. They would rather have the antiwar movement disappear so they could carry out their imperialist foreign policy without being limited and boxed in by a mass opposition movement.

However, the power of this movement is so strong that they had to accommodate the April 24 action—provide rally sites, streets, and even pay for the mess afterwards. And with millions of Americans watching their conduct, they were even forced to smile once in a while to show how "reasonable" they are. Is that a defeat for the antiwar movement?

B: To change the subject for a moment. I think it's wrong to build actions in which most of the participants have illusions about capitalism.

A: Well, if you excluded every person in this country with any illusions about the capitalist system, you'd never have a mass action! And massive demonstrations of the power of the American people are necessary to stop the war.

B: But more radical actions, even if smaller, are effective in showing the government how serious the antiwar opposition is.

C: The ruling class doesn't much care how serious we are—they care how powerful we are, and our power can only come from masses of people mobilized to demand the immediate withdrawal of all troops. That's what counts.

A: Unfortunately the overwhelming majority of persons who are opposed to the Vietnam war still have illusions about the capitalist system and support one or another of the capitalist parties. Despite these illusions, however, hundreds of thousands of them are willing to participate in mass actions against the war policy of the capitalist government. For socialists to help involve these people in actual struggle against the capitalist government is far more effective and revolutionary than organizing smaller, "purer" actions that are on a "higher level," or more "militant" in their tactics.

The most "militant" and "high level" thing we can do is build a movement that is actually capable of stopping this war. And it is precisely in the course of this actual struggle that millions can come to realize the necessity to eliminate capitalism altogether. And it is in the course of struggle that they will gain the confidence to do so.

B: Well, I'm not totally convinced, but I'll think about it. You may be right about some of that.

Montreal Black leaders given jail terms, fines

By TONY THOMAS

The Black leaders of the 1969 occupation of Sir George Williams University in Montreal were sentenced on April 30 by the racist Canadian courts for their role in that struggle. Rosie Douglas, Ann Cools, and Brenda Dash were all found guilty of "willfully obstructing the use of the computer center at Sir George Williams University in Montreal."

Douglas was sentenced to two years less one day imprisonment plus a \$5,000 fine; Cools is to be jailed for six months plus a \$1,500 fine; and Dash was fined \$2,000. Each will receive six months' extra sentence if they are unable to pay the fines within three months.

The trials stemmed from an occupation of the university protesting racist practices by white Canadian professors. African-Caribbean and African-Canadian students led the struggle, which also mobilized large numbers of white Canadian students. During that struggle, over \$1-million in damage was done to the computer center at Sir George Williams.

The struggle at Sir George Williams has played an important role in the awakening of Black consciousness in Canada and the Caribbean. The 1970 massive Black power movement that nearly overturned the Eric Williams' regime in Trinidad started through protests of the trials of Trinidad students involved in the Sir George Williams case. In Georgetown, Guyana, on April 29, mass demonstrations broke out protesting the trial, and demanding an inquiry into the case and the release of Douglas, Cools, and Dash.

Rosie Douglas is one of the main spokesmen for Pan-African nationalism in Canada and the Caribbean. He, Dash and Cools played important roles in the February Canadian National Black Conference in Toronto that drew over 1,000 Canadian and Caribbean Blacks to protest Canadian racism. Their conviction can be seen as an attempt to throttle the rising Black power movement in Canada and the West Indies.



Rosie Douglas



Brenda Dash

Judge Kenneth MacKay, far from playing the "impartial magistrate," maintained a prejudiced attitude throughout the trial. According to the May 3 issue of *Contrast*, a Black paper published in Canada, which gives an account of the trial, MacKay refused to dismiss a juror who openly stated that he was biased against the defendants. In his sentencing he branded Cools and Douglas as "ring-leaders" of a conspiracy and "foreign agitators."

The prosecution claimed that the student occupiers and their supporters had no right to be in the computer center. This was disproven by the fact that the University gave passes to leave and enter the computer center to students participating in the occupation and stationed a guard in the center who cooperated with the students. Glenda Edwards and Marilyn Medico, two defense witnesses, testified that at no time did the administration ask them to leave the premises.

Justice MacKay's address to the jury was so prejudiced that the prosecutor himself protested his misrepresentation and omission of the facts. For instance, MacKay attacked Rosie Douglas as an "off-campus agitator," because he was a non-student, covering over the fact that Douglas was a university employee and had a right to be on the campus. MacKay's final address on sentencing attempted to brand the defendants for their political beliefs and not criminal actions, making the paternalistic statement, "Compassion, not confrontation, should be used to fight racism."

Rosie Douglas responded by shouting "Long Live Black Power!" The Black community of Canada has called for an inquiry into the trials, and for the release of the three and others faced with charges in the case. Donations, statements of support, and requests for information can be sent to the Black Students Association, Bank of Montreal, 920 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal, Canada. (Checks should be made to February 11 Defense Fund.)



Ann Cools

Mexico forces student leaders into exile

From Intercontinental Press

MEXICO CITY—Less than six months after imposing savage prison sentences of eight to fifteen years in prison on the main leaders of the 1968 student movement, the government of President Luis Echeverría has sent them into enforced exile.

On April 27, the following were put on a plane and flown to Peru, where they were granted political asylum: Raúl Álvarez Garín, Luis Oscar González de Alba, Gilberto Ramón Guevara Niebla, Federico Emeri Ulloa, Saúl Álvarez, and Eduardo de la Vega de Avila.

This group was the core of the imprisoned leadership of the Consejo Nacional de Huelga [National Strike Council, the body that led the 1968 protests]. However, by its arbitrary action in selecting these prominent figures for release just months after completing a prolonged frame-up trial against them, the government only made more scandalous the fact that it continues to hold fifty political prisoners arrested this year, to say nothing of those jailed prior to 1968. (The latter group includes the journalists Adolfo Gilly, an Argentinian; and Victor Rico Galán, a Mexican.)

At present there are about eighty political prisoners in Lecumberri prison in Mexico City, including those recently arrested in the case of an alleged Kremlin-sponsored insurrectionary plot—the "guerrillas" of MAR [Movimiento de Acción Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Action Movement].*

When former president Diaz Ordaz complained about the release of this latest group of students, a government jokester is supposed to have said: "We are taking some out to make room in the cells for others."

At least the second part of this state-

ment, about jailing more students, is true.

Besides the groups arrested in March in the Federal District and in Sonora in connection with the MAR case, thirty students were jailed early this year in Guadalajara, the country's third most important city.

The question remains, however, why President Echeverría released the group of prominent student leaders, as well as another three political prisoners a few days afterward, who were also sent into exile. No doubt the main reason for these releases is the pressure built up by the student movement, together with broad sectors of public opinion here and internationally.

Echeverría faces severe problems, and it is possible that by this sleight of hand he hopes to divert public attention from the political prisoners.

The student movement, however, is determined to block the government's tactic and keep the pressure up for release of all persons jailed because of their political beliefs or activity.

On April 28, the day after the student leaders were sent into exile, the Comité Coordinador de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México [Coordinating Committee of the Autonomous National University of Mexico] held a mass meeting on campus to expose the president's maneuvers.

In order to maintain the pressure on the government, it is important that international protests continue and that they be increased, if possible.

Letters and telegrams demanding the release of all the political prisoners can be sent to President Luis Echeverría, Palacio Nacional, Mexico, D. F., Mexico.

U.S. drops case against Palestinian

By ABDEEN JABARA

DETROIT—The U.S. government has agreed to dismiss the case it brought against Sufian Hamdan Naura in November 1968. Naura was charged with having made verbal threats against then president-elect Richard Nixon. A 20-year-old Palestinian, Naura was forced to emigrate to the U.S. by the conditions on the West Bank of Jordan after the June 1967 Israeli occupation.

In November 1967, he and his mother, two sisters and a brother left their native land. After arriving in the U.S., Naura, who speaks practically no English, started working at the candy kitchen of the J. L. Hudson Co., Detroit's largest department store. He continued working there until he was arrested.

The charges against him, which could have resulted in five years in prison and a \$5,000 fine, stem from alleged statements by Naura to two co-workers that "I am going to kill Nixon," and "If someone gave me some money, I would kill Nixon."

Naura was indicted 16 months later. Defense attorneys asked that the charges be dropped because he was denied "speedy trial" and because his comments were political and thus protected by the Constitution's guarantee of freedom of speech.

Upon investigation it appeared that Naura's co-workers would tease him because he couldn't speak English and was not an American.

Naura, said co-workers, was easily excitable. On one occasion Naura and a Vietnam veteran got into an argument on the Middle East in which the veteran said something like "somebody should kill your king," to which Naura responded with something like, "I should kill Nixon," or "somebody should kill Nixon."

None of these statements were criminal threats since they express no specific intent and are protected as part of a political discussion under the First Amendment. It was felt that the government agreed to dismiss the case because they could not make it stand up in court.

At the same time Naura was arrested, in New York Ahmed Rageh Namer was accused with his two sons of "plotting to murder Nixon." A jury also found Namer and his sons innocent.

A great deal of anti-Arab hysteria was created by these two groundless charges. The newspapers, particularly in the Namer case, played up the fact that these were "Arabs."

When these cases were dismissed as frame-ups, there were no newspaper headlines or news broadcasts to exonerate the Namers and Naura as victims of anti-Arab racism. The fact that both of these cases proved to be groundless suggests that there was more to the government's initial decision to press these charges than merely a desire to "enforce the law."

Sadat purges gov't and party critics

By TONY THOMAS

MAY 18—On May 13, there were a series of resignations from the Egyptian cabinet and the Higher Executive Committee of the Nasserite Arab Socialist Union (ASU), Egypt's only political party. The resignations were followed by the imprisonment of these leaders and hundreds of their followers. Purged on the 13th were Lieut. Gen. Mohammed Fawzi, minister of war; and Sharaway Gomaa, minister of the interior; and from the ASU, Abdel Mohsen Abul Nur, secretary general of the ASU; Labib Shukair, speaker of the Egyptian National Assembly; and Diaddin Daoud, a member of the ASU Higher Executive Committee.

Egyptian President Sadat, who organized the purges, announced that the deposed leaders had planned a coup d'etat against him. He also used mass opposition to the censorship, wiretapping and police-state tactics that Gomaa, head of the secret police, was renowned for to justify his purges.

In a speech that sounded vaguely like the recent complaints by U.S. congressmen against Hoover's wiretapping, Sadat announced in a May 14 speech in Cairo, "I was stunned. I told myself, this is an attempted coup. What is really painful is that my own house has been bugged." (*Intercontinental Press*, May 24)

While the issues involved are not clear, the purges have been linked to the ouster earlier this month of Egyptian Vice-President Aly Sabry.

The May 24 *Intercontinental Press* reports that just before the firings on May 10, Sabry supporters distributed leaflets attacking Sadat in two Cairo suburbs and were arrested. "One of the leaflets reportedly accused Sadat of preparing to make concessions to Israel that would lead Egypt into a catastrophe similar to that of June 1967."

Sabry and the purged officials are reputedly critical of Sadat's foreign policy, especially as it has been outlined by Mohammed Hassanein Heykal, editor-in-chief of *Al Ahram*, a semi-official newspaper.

In the May 15 issue of *Le Monde*, Eric Rouleau described this policy:

"Heykal's main point can be summed up as follows: Israel will never agree on its own to give up the occupied territories, even in exchange for genuine peace. Resumption of hostilities is therefore inevitable. But Egypt risks being the loser because of its opponent's technical superiority and the passivity of the Arab countries.

"Everything would change . . . if the great powers decided to intervene to force Israel to comply with the Nov. 22, 1967, Security Council resolution. Since the U.S. was the only power capable of pressuring the Jewish state, the Cairo government should strive to 'neutralize' the Zionist lobby in America and persuade Washington if not to support the Arabs at least to adopt an 'objective' and 'impartial' attitude."

There is certainly no indication that



Sadat and Rogers during meeting in Cairo

Sadat's opponents counterposed to this class-collaborationist approach a revolutionary strategy. The May 17 *Christian Science Monitor* carried a dispatch from Beirut that claimed that the difference between the Sabry-Gomaa-Fawzi group and Sadat was over "the question of under whose auspices . . . and by whose methods should peace with Israel be brought about—by American diplomatic-cum-economic pressure on Israel, or by the military pressure of Russian-supplied arms. . . ."

Several bourgeois papers in the U.S. have claimed that the Sabry-Gomaa-Fawzi group was the nucleus of a pro-Soviet faction within the Arab Socialist Union, representing an attempt to reconstitute the Egyptian Communist Party, which was suppressed by Nasser in the 1950s.

Raymond H. Anderson, in a dispatch from Cairo published May 18 in the *New York Times*, claimed that associated with this group were as

"many as a third of Egypt's 24 provincial governors, a number of ambassadors, and a group of journalists and second-level officials [who] are expected to be removed from their posts soon."

How much of this is press-manufactured anticommunism stirred up to gain U.S. support for Sadat's moves and how much of this represents their true political positions remains to be seen. It is especially difficult to determine because of the strict political and press censorship of which Gomaa was the overseer.

Sadat's crackdown clearly represents a further step in his efforts to consolidate his position within the Nasserite bureaucracy, and give himself a freer hand to maneuver with Zionism and U.S. imperialism.

For 20 years, the Nasserite leaders of Egypt have successfully struggled to keep the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist Arab nationalism of the Egyptian and other Arab peoples confined within the walls of capitalism. The "anti-imperialist," "anti-Zionist," and pseudosocialist rhetoric has been well balanced with a campaign of political repression of opponents on the left and right. Now the Sadat regime is forced to show its true colors more clearly, through its publicly announced strategy of relying on imperialism and compromise with Zionism to achieve its ends.

The *New York Times* of May 15 quoted Sadat as saying in a speech in Cairo on May 14 "that he 'would cut to pieces' anyone who conspired to form an opposition to his leadership." This is indicative of the phoniness of Sadat's promises for free elections, made after the purges. Sadat also announced that these elections would ban any groups other than his own Arab Socialist Union. While he released a number of political prisoners, many of them were from the ultrarightist Muslim League.

Sadat's purges offer a clear example why the forces fighting against imperialism and Zionism in the Middle East have to maintain their independence from the Egyptian and other Arab capitalist regimes.

Peking greets repressive Ceylon regime

From *Intercontinental Press*

"Ceylon Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike today [April 18] received Chinese Ambassador to Ceylon Ma Tzu-ching.

"They had a cordial and friendly talk."

This brief note appeared in the April 26 issue of *Selected News Items*, weekly publication of the Peking news agency Hsinhua. The same issue printed a statement by the Bandaranaike government denying that China was smuggling arms to the young socialists of the JVP [Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna — People's Liberation Front] who since April 5-6 have been locked in combat with the army and police.

Hsinhua's comment was: "The Ceylon radio broadcast yesterday a communique issued by the Government of Ceylon refuting malicious rumors aimed at disrupting Ceylon-China relations."

As in every issue, the masthead of *Selected News Items* of April 26 bore "quotations from Chairman Mao":

"The just struggles of the people of all countries support each other"; "to defeat the reactionary rule of imperialism, it is essential to form a broad united front and unite with all forces that can be united with, excluding the enemy, and to carry on arduous

struggles."

The line of these quotations was not even carried into the interior of that same issue of *Selected News Items*. Instead, the Mao regime affirmed its willingness to "unite" with the repressors of the Ceylonese rebel youth.

The courageous resistance of the Ceylonese rebels to the armed repression of the Bandaranaike government has also posed a challenge to the socialist pretensions of the Kremlin:

"An eight-engined Soviet turboprop Antonov transport aircraft unloaded thousands of small arms here Wednesday in support of the Ceylon government's renewed drive against its Marxist opposition," said a dispatch from Colombo in the May 7 issue of the *Washington Post*.

Although the Colombo regime seems to have nothing but friends among the great powers of the world, it has still failed to liquidate the insurrection, according to correspondent Jacques Decornoy, writing in the May 13 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*.

"There are still a lot of them [the rebels] and they are regrouping in the mountains nearby," a naval officer turned infantryman told me. . . .

"Ceylon will never be the same again," a notable commented on his terrace overlooking the beautiful set-

ting of Kandy. "They [the rebels] say they have not seen the government's promises carried out . . ." an officer told me in the Kegalle district."

The insurgents were holding out despite having only homemade weapons, Decornoy wrote. "The fact is that the rebels in Ceylon could have held the land they originally occupied and perhaps changed the course of events if they had been equipped with a few hundred automatic weapons, like those the forces of order are using against them, along with tanks, cannon, mortars and helicopters."

The Western journalist could not help being impressed by the contrast between the revolutionary idealism of the Ceylonese youth and the cynical opportunism of a whole gamut of "socialist" forces:

"An administrator noted that in his region, where Sinhalese and a large minority of Tamils live, the insurgents have never exploited cultural or ethnic antagonisms. If this remark is true, a new page has been turned in the history of the island, where clashes between these communities have often been violent. In particular, this fact merits the attention of the coalition government, which includes personalities whose respective programs are represented as 'socialist,' 'Trotskyist' [the Lanka Sama Samaja party

leaders referred to here no longer call themselves Trotskyist], and 'Communist.' Likewise in Ceylon, imposing declarations of principle have not satisfied a section of the youth in face of the way they were practiced. They are dying because they wanted to fill the gap between theory and everyday life."

In an earlier development, the May 5 *New York Times* reported that a parliamentary representative, Vasudeva Nannayakara, a member of the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party, "had been taken into custody by the authorities at the height of the insurrection last month."

This fact would seem to indicate that there is some dissatisfaction in the ranks of the LSSP with the counter-revolutionary course of the coalition government, in which the party participates.

The inability of the United Front government to make good on its "socialist" campaign promises, which contributed to the rapid growth of the JVP, must also have raised questions among some of the LSSP rank and file. Now that the government has removed its mask, the party leadership will find it more difficult to justify its class collaboration as a step toward socialism.

Job losses threaten union conditions

By FRANK LOVELL

Growing unemployment casts a long shadow over current contract negotiations in most basic industries, but most union officials prefer not to talk about this at the bargaining table and all of them act as if they think it will pass over like a summer rain squall. Nonetheless, it poses a major threat to the union movement, a challenge to its defense of present living standards.

The drive of the employers everywhere is to increase the rate of productivity while reducing the work force, thus weakening the unions. Steel, auto, transportation, mining, printing, even the delivery of mail, all provide examples of mechanization and automation in industry, with resulting unemployment.

● The steel industry during the decade of the 1960s invested \$20-billion in plant and equipment, raising the output per man-hour to the highest in the world. According to latest statistics printed in the May 15 *Business Week*, U. S. millworkers "produce 84.9 tons of steel in 1,000 man-hours, while Japanese labor produces only 57.9 tons."

In 1965, an automated steel mill in Lorain, Ohio, "got 10 times the production it got before . . . with one-tenth the labor force," according to a report from Steelworkers Local 1104 in Lorain.

● The latest example of similar technological advances in the auto industry is the specially built General Motors plant at Lordstown, Ohio, where Chevrolet's new subcompact Vega, a car designed to compete with Volkswagen, is assembled. Here the production rate of 100 cars per hour is the goal, as compared with the normal 50 or 60 in older plants employing more workers.

● All branches of the transportation industry have been radically transformed since World War II. New equipment, new methods of packaging, storing and handling cargo, the technological integration of rail, truck and marine systems, have combined to greatly increase the efficiency of freight transportation and reduce man-hours per ton.

Thomas Gleason, president of the International Longshoremen's Association (AFL-CIO), says, "industry productivity is going up so fast they can't keep track of it, which means that with all the [union] guarantees and everything, it still costs up to 50 percent less today to load and unload a ton of cargo than it did five years ago."

● The coal mine industry is the classic example where mechanization, unchecked by union controls and safeguards, threatens to destroy the industry. The machine mining of coal has converted the pits to tinderboxes, where those miners not displaced by mechanization are often killed or maimed in accidents or face an early death from black lung.

Under these lethal conditions, productivity has increased. In 1945, a miner dug 5.8 tons of coal a day. He produced 19.4 tons a day in 1968. The United Mine Workers once had 600,000 members. It has fewer than 200,000 now, half of them retired.

● The printing industry is another that has undergone great technological changes, and is now threatened with new processes that will eliminate thousands of workers if not brought under union regulation.

International Typographical Union President John J. Pilch, writing in the union's *Journal* (Oct. 1970) about the possibilities of the cathode ray tube for the printing industry, commented:

"No clairvoyant powers are needed to foresee a reporter typing a story, obtaining a 'hard' typewritten copy and at the same time storing his key-boarding into a computer disc. An editor sitting at a CRT-T (cathode ray tube, similar to a small television set) pushes a button and the story appears on the screen for editing and correcting. On completion of his work, the push of a button produces corrected and proofread justified tape ready to operate a typesetting machine."

This means unemployment in the printing trades.

● Even the federal government's postal service is being automated. Machines for handling and sorting mail were installed several years ago with the introduction of the "zip code." Many of these machines, now obsolete, were never used because workers were not trained to operate them.

The new semi-independent corporation, U. S. Postal Service, seeks to accomplish what the old U. S. Post Office Department failed to do: mechanize the delivery of mail. As a first step, the director of the new setup, Postmaster General Winton M. Blount, announced on May 12 the merger of 15 postal regions into five and the creation of three special staffs in Washington.

This initial administrative move may eliminate as many as 3,500 management employees. None of the 640,000 workers in the postal service is immediately affected by the reorganization, but as an officer of the Letter Carriers union Branch 36 in New York says, postal workers know that the move to centralize and mechanize the system means more work and fewer jobs.

Technological advances open new industries and require new skills, bringing about shifts in the work force as machines replace workers in many industries. In periods of rapid industrial expansion, there is relatively "full employment" despite mechanization and drastic cutbacks of the work force in some sectors. But when the economy begins to slow down as a result of overproduction, then the layoffs become general and the rate of unemployment throughout all industry rises rapidly. This is what is happening now.

But unemployment is mutually regarded by employers and union officials alike as a broader social question over which corporate management and the unions in a particular industry can have little or no control.

In the auto industry, where a three-year contract was signed in 1970, officials of the United Auto Workers gave the corporations a free hand to reorganize production and lay off workers during the life of that contract.

In the transportation industry, those most severely affected are longshoremen and railroad workers. On the West Coast, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (independent) is demanding a guaranteed annual wage similar to that negotiated in 1968 by the AFL-CIO longshoremen for the Port of New York.

The West Coast union is stronger and has a more militant tradition. It is demanding pay for a guaranteed full 40-hour week averaged monthly, whether or not there is work.

The trouble with all such plans is that only a portion of those presently employed are covered by them, many who could benefit are forced into early retirement, younger workers entering the labor market are locked out of this industry, and the total number of employed longshoremen is gradually and systematically reduced in this way by the process of attrition. The result is that the overall problem of unemployment is aggravated.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers signed a contract on May 13 that reportedly waived all job protection of the 38,000 members of that union. The attempt by most of the railroad unions to retain present work rules is their way of forestalling layoffs, but union officials do not connect this with the overall problem of unemployment.

In the printing trades, the International Typographical Union attempts to distribute work among its members but has not yet found a successful way to force the publishers to share the advantages of new labor-saving printing processes with the workers. In some areas, the union has reduced the workweek to 35 hours. But mostly what printers get from the new processes is layoff slips.

Regardless of how or what wage scales are established, they are of little benefit to a worker who has been replaced by a machine.

The union movement, as represented by the AFL-CIO Executive Council and the hired lobbyists it retains in Washington, strongly supports a public works program expected to create approximately 150,000 jobs. Such a bill, authorizing nearly \$5-billion to be spent in the next four years beginning July 1, is not before the Congress. If passed it will provide some work for the unemployed but little pay, certainly far below union wages and probably less than \$2 an hour.

The basic solution to the problem of unemployment is in the industrial process, just as the basic solution to an adequate standard of living for the working class is in the process of production.

Unions fight for higher wages in order to maintain the socially necessary standard of living. Many unions now demand a sliding scale of wages geared to rising consumer prices as a measure of protection against inflation.

The same method can be used to ward off unemployment. A sliding scale of hours clause ought to be included in every union contract. When

the rate of unemployment rises, as it is now, the employers in every industry should be told by the unions, "No more layoffs." If production schedules require fewer man-hours, then the hours of work should be reduced accordingly with no reduction in take-home pay.

Under no circumstances should employers be allowed to reduce the work force. The constant expansion of social needs requires an expanding work force, not fewer workers and growing lines of unemployed.

There is no logical reason why some should be forced to work long hours tending machines while others are locked out of the plants and other places of work. Everyone able to work must have the right to employment. Wherever there is a threat of layoffs, the hours of work should be reduced to the level required for everyone to stay on the payroll.

This is a condition of employment that can be enforced by the unions. It has the advantage that the potentially unemployed are retained in the productive process, obviating the need to appeal to the government for huge outlays of federal funds, with the accompanying increases in taxes on those who remain at work.

The division between employed and unemployed is eliminated. The unions regulate the hours of work just as they now fight to regulate the rates of pay.

There is no indication that present union leaders have any intention of moving in this direction. There are only faint and scattered voices among them asking for amendments to the wages and hours law for the establishment of the 30-hour week.

If such a campaign were launched by any sector of the union movement, however, it would undoubtedly get support from the ranks of all unions, especially the young and the oppressed nationalities, who are being hardest hit by unemployment.

The movement for a shorter workday with no reduction in take-home pay will also embrace many among the millions now active in the antiwar movement, the student movement, the Black, Chicano and women's movement. And if it is to succeed, it must become just such a movement, a movement that marches, demonstrates, demands. Its slogans will be: End Unemployment Now! Shorter Hours! Jobs For All!

This is the only way any of the plans now being widely talked about for more jobs, for higher incomes, for public services, will ever be won. It may be the way the new radicalization will find expression within the structure of the established union movement.



Pile-up at the New York state unemployment office in Manhattan, Monday mornings.

National unemployment growing

By DICK ROBERTS

Industrial production was up slightly in April, but unemployment levels posted by the Labor Department for April also showed an increase of joblessness across the nation.

The average national unemployment rate was 6.1 percent in April, up from 6 percent in March. The unemployment rate for Black workers jumped from 9.4 percent to 10 percent from March to April.

Over five million Americans were out of work and looking for jobs. No figures were released this month for those who have given up looking for jobs. The number in that category was given as 800,000 on April 2.

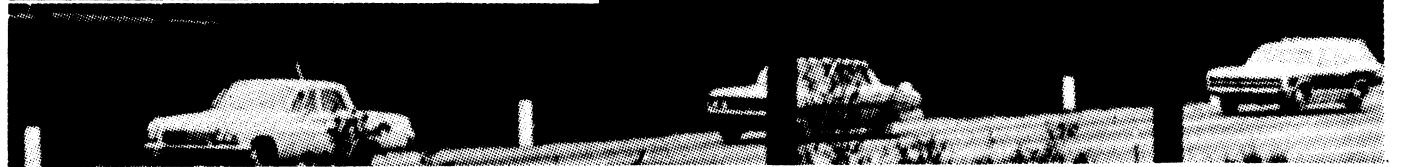
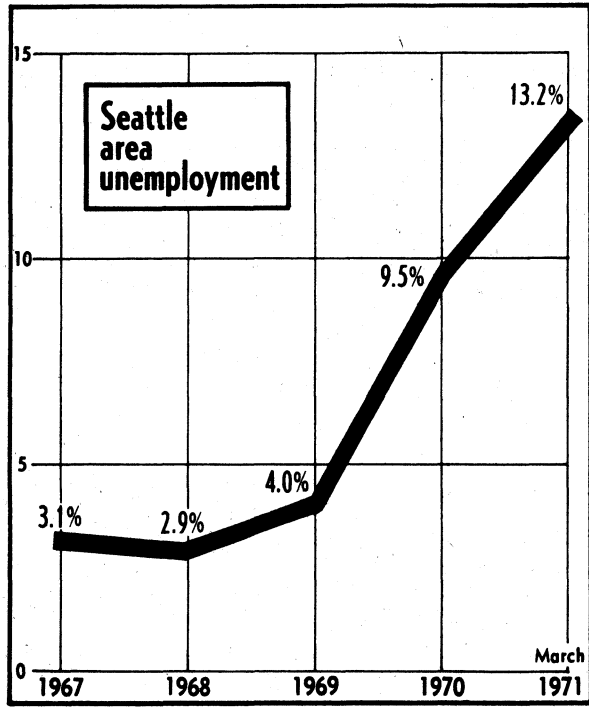
As these high unemployment rates continue, more and more workers are exhausting unemployment compensation and going onto welfare. In New York City alone, there were 1.2 million persons on the welfare rolls in March.

In Seattle, Wash., unemployment continued to remain at critical levels, the highest for any city in the country [see graph]. Unemployment in the state of California hit 7.4 percent, the highest since the 1958 recession. Unemployment stood at 7.7 percent in Los Angeles County and at 8 percent in Orange County. In the state of Michigan, unemployment reached 8.6 percent as of March 15.

The Labor Department statistics also showed an overall unemployment rate of 17.2 percent for teen-agers, and it is certain that this summer will be a rough one for young people looking for jobs.

Yet industrial production edged up slightly in April, corporate profit figures have been rising, and the stock market is booming. May marks the twelfth month of stock-price increases since the big decline of stock prices in 1969-70.

This unevenness, markedly symbolized by a booming stock exchange on one hand and growing welfare rolls on the other, can be explained by examining the effects of a recession on the composition of the labor force.



A whole layer of lesser skilled workers—and in this country this layer is disproportionately composed of Black workers—can only find employment at the peak of an economic upswing. They are the first to be fired when corporations gird themselves for economic slowdown.

In fact, this is one of the "purposes" of a recession from the standpoint of the employers. "Crusty bosses have long had a pet theory for improving worker efficiency," the *Wall Street Journal* cynically admitted in a front-page story last Aug. 6. "Give 'em a good hard recession and watch 'em work," they say. "If a man has to produce or get laid off, he'll produce."

Another *Wall Street Journal* article declared on Oct. 2, 1970, "When the long economic expansion of the 1960s finally ended last year . . . many companies had more employees than

they really needed. Consequently, when general business activity slowed late last year and in the early months of 1970, many employers found they were able to trim their work forces extra sharply."

The same article continued: "Clear evidence that employers are getting more work out of fewer people shows up in government figures that report the output per man-hour of employees in private nonfarm businesses. . . . Since the first quarter of this year . . . productivity has risen substantially. In the second quarter, output per man-hour rose at an annual rate of 3.2 percent. . . ."

Such productivity increases help to lay the basis for a new economic upturn. But this does not restore the marginally employed workers to their former jobs. On the contrary, the capitalists attempt to extract maximum

profits from the work force that has been "rationalized" by the recession, and postpone hiring new workers for as long as possible.

It is on the basis of such profit expectations that dollars begin to flow into the stock market months in advance of actual improvement in the economic situation.

Certain layers of service workers whose jobs depend primarily on "good times"—taxi drivers, restaurant, hotel and summer resort workers, etc.—are hit even harder by swings in the economic cycle. It takes a sustained upturn to find enough people with enough money to support these industries. And this is where teen-agers will come in for big problems finding jobs this summer.

"Summer job opportunities, say the experts, are more scarce than at any

Continued on page 22

The National Picket Line

The 104,000-member Chemical Workers union was accepted back into the AFL-CIO on May 12. This union had been expelled from the federation in October 1969 for joining forces with the independent United Auto Workers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA).

Walter Reuther for the UAW and Frank Fitzsimmons for the Teamsters launched the ALA in 1968 with the announced intention of organizing the unorganized, especially in the Deep South and the urban ghettos. They talked of organizing these poorly paid workers into a new kind of union based on community control, with ambitious plans for financing local housing, medical care and better education, as well as higher wages and better working conditions. At the founding convention, the two top leaders proposed to put enough money and organizers into the field to cure all existing social evils.

They chose, as their opening gambit, Atlanta, Ga., where both the UAW and the IBT had local unions. This is about the time that the Chemical Workers, which had organized the Scripto Pen company, joined the ALA.

The ALA campaign in Atlanta made a loud initial splash in October 1969—a splash heard almost to Atlanta's suburbs. Little or nothing has been heard of it since.

It was not that Atlanta workers did not want to be organized. It would appear more that the three union bureaucrats involved found that "organizing the unorganized" in the Deep South cost too much money for the per capita taxes they could expect to collect.

Now the Chemical Workers have pulled out of the ALA and gone back into Meany's AFL-CIO. "All it took was a letter," according to George Meany.

Meany is also reported to have made overtures to both the UAW and the IBT to return to the fold. He said the UAW would have even less trouble than did the Chemical Workers to get back in, and "with a twinkle in his eye," he added, "there are more of them."

Reuther, who opposed Meany's policies on several questions, is dead. James Hoffa, whom Meany and his executive board denounced as the main source of "gangsterism" in the IBT, is serving time in a federal prison. Apparently Fitzsimmons, the leading candidate for the presidency of the Teamsters in the forthcoming convention, is acceptable to the AFL-CIO hierarchy.

Especially hard hit by unemployment have been the returning Vietnam veterans. Most of these men, in their early 20s, have little or no job training.

William Pegg, the Labor Department's veterans employment representative for New York State, reported recently that his department had received 4,000 job applications from New York vets in March but was only able to find 1,400 jobs.

Mr. Pegg said the situation was the same in the rest of the country.

A few headlines tell their own story:

"Administration Opposes Big Raises in Steel Industry" (*New York Times*, April 14, 1971).

"U. S. Steel Sets Some Price Rises Averaging 6.25%" (*New York Times*, May 6).

A new Occupational Safety and Health Act became the law of the land on April 28.

The new act is supposed to be "so tough" it actually allows federal inspectors to enter plants and examine them for infringements on both health and safety. The federal inspector can be accompanied on his rounds by both an employer and an employee representative.

If an employer, having exhausted all legal loopholes, is found guilty of an infraction of the law, he can be fined up to \$1,000 a day until he complies. Criminal penalties are also possible if an employer is found guilty of willfully violating standards when such violations result in the death of a worker.

The last so-called Safety and Health Act was passed in 1952. But like all legislation ostensibly designed to help workers, it failed in its purpose—for the same reason the current bill will probably be ineffective.

There are an average of 15,000 men and women who lose their lives annually in industrial accidents. Another 2 million suffer disabling accidents, or fall ill from occupational diseases.

It will be interesting to watch the statistic for the next year. This new industrial Safety and Health act will probably be so tied up in court suits and injunctions that it will be just as useless in saving life and limb as has been the 1969 Coal Mine Health and Safety Act.

More miners died in coal mine accidents during the first year the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act was "effective" than died the previous year.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

In Review

Film

Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song. Written, composed, produced, directed and edited by Melvin Van Peebles. Cinemation Industries Release.

From the director who brought you *Watermelon Man* now comes *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song*. Both films are about decolonization, the national awakening of African-America. In *Watermelon Man*, the point of departure is a white-turned-Black insurance salesman. The subject of *Sweet Sweetback* is a pimp.

Unlike *Watermelon Man*, which was directed by Melvin Van Peebles, starred Godfrey Cambridge, and was produced by Columbia Pictures, *Sweet Sweetback* was directed, starred in, and produced by Van Peebles. It is a film that no North American motion picture corporation would touch, because it's too hot. *Sweet Sweetback* has no holds barred. It neither glorifies nor deprecates the colonized experience; it just deals with aspects of the reality of that condition.

The film is dedicated to "All the Brothers and Sisters who had enough of the Man." In addition to Van Peebles, it stars "The Black Community." The setting is Watts, Los Angeles.

As it opens, two cops have to bring in a murder suspect for the night in order to make themselves look good. So they stop by this brothel where the manager loans them Sweetback for the night. On the way to the police station, the two get a call over their radio to pick up a Black militant causing "trouble."

After apprehension, they handcuff him to Sweetback. In-



Cops assault victim during search for Sweetback.

stead of going directly to the station, the two cops drive to some desolate area where they inflict a beating on the militant. They brutalize the brother while he is still handcuffed to Sweetback. To facilitate the thumping, they disconnect him from the handcuffs and tell Sweetback to go stand by the car. But after a few moments of seeing the brother kicked senseless in the genitals and kidneys, and blood running all out of his mouth, Sweetback decides to act and act decisively.

He knocks the two cops unconscious, beating them until his hand and the cuffs on it are dripping wet with their blood.

From then on, Sweetback is running. His defiance is of such a nature that all of his friends consider him to be a "dead man." They offer him his "last supper." In so doing, they unwittingly pay homage to the myth that the white man is invincible and his retribution inescapable. However, Sweetback challenges that myth and lives to tell about it.

And in the course of his escape, the role of the police force as the repressive apparatus for the maintenance of the colonized condition comes clearly to the surface.

It should be noted that Van Peebles did not get his training as a film director in Hollywood. Like many Black artists, he had to leave this country—for Holland and France—to develop his talents. While in France, he joined the French Director's Guild and in 1968 was chosen as a French delegate to the San Francisco Film Festival for writing and directing the film *The Story of a Three-Day Pass*.

Talented Van Peebles has published four novels and released two albums—"Brer Soul" and "Ain't Supposed to Die A Natural Death."

—DERRICK MORRISON

Books

Marriage: Past and Present. A Debate between Robert Briffault and Bronislaw Malinowski. Introduction by Ashley Montagu. Porter Sargent Publisher. Boston, 1956. 90 pp. Cloth \$2.50. Paper \$1.50.

The nature of the family has been a central question for anthropologists since the beginnings of scientific examination of society. Two opposing points of view have emerged over the years. The first contends that the nuclear family, consisting of mother, father and offspring, is an instinctual, immutable social unit. The second view maintains that the nuclear family is an historical phenomenon which developed along with private property and class society, replacing earlier forms of social organization.

There is an additional distinction between proponents of the two views. In general, those who hold that the nuclear family is a product of historical development hold also that society has passed through various discernible stages, from the simpler to the more complex. This evolutionary analysis of society, developed in the nineteenth century by such thinkers as H. L. Morgan and Marx and Engels, proposed that the differences between contemporary societies—e.g., Native American societies in comparison with North European societies—reflected distinct social stages.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, a reaction to this evolutionary view set in among many anthropologists. This reaction reflected a conservative trend, away from materialism and the inevitable implications about capitalism which were being drawn from its evolutionary analysis of society. These anthropologists, however, explained their anti-theoretical approach by claiming that no conclusions could be drawn about society because not enough hard facts were available.

In 1931, Bronislaw Malinowski, representing the view that the nuclear family is a "natural" social institution, held a series of radio debates with Robert Briffault, whose work *The Mothers* presented an evolutionary analysis of the role of women, society and the family. The transcript of these debates was published in a little book called *Marriage: Past and Present*, with an extensive introduction by Ashley Montagu.

In the debates, Malinowski counters Briffault by attacking the concept of group marriage, or the consanguineous family. This idea, held by Morgan and Engels, proposes that the first bands of men, women and children (actually pre-hominids) bred indiscriminately within their group. Malinowski takes a moralistic, idealistic approach to the question, contending that love and individual parenthood are the bases of marriage throughout the world and history, and are instinctual. Marriage, he says, is not only for the benefit of men but for the protection of women and children.

Malinowski uses the Soviet Union's failure to provide alternatives to the nuclear family as proof that the institution of the family is immutable. Despite the dramatic social changes which seemed to threaten the family (especially the emancipation of women, which Malinowski takes to have been completed), the family had survived; therefore, it always would.

Briffault makes telling counterarguments to Malinowski, although he does not, as he did in *The Mothers*, explain his vital reevaluation of Engels' and Morgan's view of group marriage. In *The Mothers*, Briffault proposes that the earliest social groups were not consanguineous but exogamous (marriage occurs outside a specific group). Individuals mated only with members of other groups which were also exogamous. It was the growing social and economic bonds between these exogamous groups which gave rise to the endogamous pair of clans (marriage occurring within a specific group), a social form extant in many contemporary societies.

Instead, in this debate with Malinowski, Briffault concentrates on the economic function of marriage and its generally universal lack of relation to what we know as love. Marriage was developed to transmit private property. In subsistence societies, marriage, the family and women's role—especially women's relative independence—are in stark contrast to, for example, capitalist society.

There are many ways to approach an analysis of the nature of the family. It seems to be true, as Malinowski contends, that all societies recognize at least one mother and one father. But many societies recognize more than one mother, and sometimes the uncle, or mother's brother, is much more significant a figure than a biological father. Further, what is called marriage varies dramatically from culture to culture. Malinowski, Montagu and others (such as the well-known modern anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss) seize on the recognition of a mother and father as proof that the family is an instinctual social institution. They play down, or ignore, the differences in family organization from society to society. Especially, they ignore the changing role and status of women, which acts as an accurate indicator of the nature of the family in a given society.

Implicit in ignoring the changing status of women is the belief that women naturally belong in the role of wife and mother, submissive to and socially inferior to men. *Marriage: Past and Present* does not clearly present the complexities of the evolutionary analysis of society. However, it is a valuable book for exposing the reactionary attitude toward women which underpins the idea that the family is anything other than an oppressive social institution.

—STACEY JOSLIN

Cairo vigilantes in new attacks

By DERRICK MORRISON

In the aftermath of the April 20 election of white racist vigilantes to the City Commission of Cairo, Ill., the Black community there witnessed six nights of armed racist violence during the week of May 8-15.

White city police and vigilantes laid siege to the all-Black Pyramid Court housing project for five hours Saturday night, May 8, and over four hours the next night, May 9. Then, on the nights of May 11, 12, 14, and 15, according to Rev. Manker Harris, public relations director for the United Front of Cairo, the same armed whites drove around firing into Black homes and cars.

The new white vigilante police chief, James Dale, campaigned on the platform of using any means necessary against the "Black militant criminals of the United Front." Dale, along with two other city commissioners, is on the Board of Directors of the United Citizens for Community Action, the successor to the White Hats. The three are all merchants, which certainly contributes to their great zeal in persecuting the Front.

The week of violence brings to 158 the nights of vigilante assaults which began March 31, 1969. In response, the Black community led by the Front initiated an economic boycott. Because of closures and the downturn in business that resulted, the white merchants

have reached new levels of frenzy and violence.

No casualties were recorded in the latest attacks. This is in part due to the self-defense posture adopted by the Black community.

In other developments, a mistrial was declared May 12 in the case of four members of the Front charged with two counts each of aggravated battery. The case arose out of a white vigilante attack on Black pickets last Aug. 8. When the Blacks defended themselves, one of the white vigilantes filed charges.

The four are James "Switch" Wilson, Frank Washington, Herman Whitfield, and Wallace Whitfield (not Wayne as previously reported). A defense-subpoenaed white vigilante film of the incident destroyed the prosecution's case. But instead of acquittal, the jury of five whites and one Black deadlocked on a decision.

During the trial, Jim Brown, a defense witness from Chicago who formerly took pictures for the Front, was arrested on a charge of intimidation. This frame-up again arises out of a Black demonstration last August. A white woman who was standing around and was caught by Brown's camera at the time brought the charge. Bail was set at \$2,500.

This high bond is part of a continuing effort to drain the Front's trea-

sure. Several days after the mistrial, two Blacks were arrested for conspiracy to commit murder and attempted murder. The charges are pegged to the burning of the Veterans of Foreign Wars headquarters in Cairo last October. The VFW office was used as a sniping nest by white vigilantes. The two brothers framed are Alfred Martin, whose bond is \$10,000, and Jerry Henderson, whose bond is \$17,500.

The brothers remain in jail due to lack of funds.

The Front is in great need of contributions. A national survival day is being planned in Cairo for June 19. Students from around the country are being invited to participate in the Front's summer program.

All contributions can be sent to: United Front of Cairo, P. O. Box 544, Cairo, Ill. 62914.

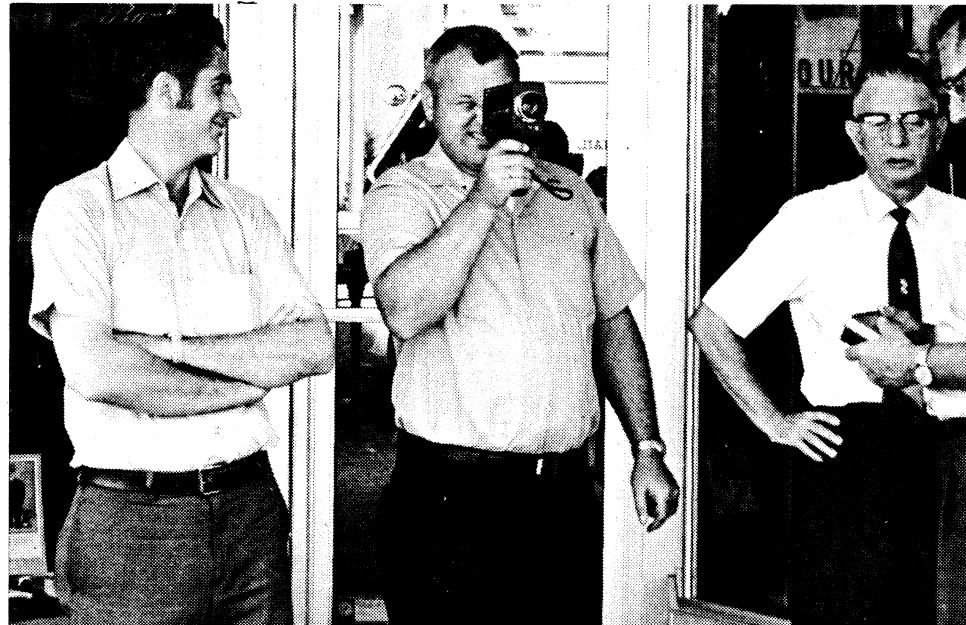


Photo by Carl Hampton/United Front

Vigilantes elected to Cairo City Commission April 20 on pledge to "keep Blacks in their place." From left: James Dale, police; Allen Moss, fire; J. B. Walder, streets.

Defense rests in Seale-Huggins trial

By TIM CRAINE

NEW HAVEN—On May 14, the defense rested its case in the trial of Black Panthers Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins, both charged with first degree murder, conspiracy to murder, conspiracy to kidnap, and kidnapping resulting in death. After summations by the prosecution and defense, the case will go before a jury of seven whites and five Blacks on May 19.

The prosecution had rested its case, largely based on the testimony of George Sams (see *Militant*, May 14), on April 28. The defense spent two weeks introducing its witnesses, primarily to discredit the testimony of Sams and a police inspector and to uphold the characters of Huggins and Seale.

The police inspector, Nicholas Pastore, had testified for the prosecution that he had seen Seale enter the Panther headquarters on the night of May 19, 1969, where the victim, Alex

Rackley, was being held. It was upon this visit to the apartment that Seale allegedly gave the order to kill Rackley. Two defense witnesses testified that given the arrangement of parked cars it would have been impossible for Pastore to view the door to the headquarters from the place where he said his car was parked. A defense motion to allow the jury to be taken to the scene was denied.

A number of witnesses described incidents that portrayed Sams as pathologically brutal and unstable: yelling at other members of the Panther Party, brandishing about his .45 revolver, lying constantly, and attempting to rape one of the Panther women. One woman who had known Sams in New York said that Sams had forced her at knifepoint to take heroin, although this testimony was later stricken from the record as irrelevant.

Several character witnesses were called to the stand to testify on be-

half of Seale and Huggins. They include two priests who had worked with Seale in the free breakfast program in Oakland, Calif., as well as relatives and friends of Huggins.

Finally, Ericka Huggins took the stand herself. She told about how she had moved from Los Angeles to New Haven with her month-old daughter to live with her husband's parents shortly after his murder, how she had become involved in organizing a chapter of the Black Panther Party in New Haven, how she first met George Sams on May 15, 1969, less than a week before the murder of Alex Rackley.

She found Sams' behavior confusing and frightening. Never before had she seen "discipline" in the party administered by beating and torture by boiling water as carried out by Sams. She said that she was ordered by Sams to make the tape recording which had been introduced as state

evidence, and that the thoughts she expressed about Rackley being a police agent, etc., were echoes of what she had heard Sams and Warren Kimbro say. She made the tape to please Sams, who was still waving a gun at the time, for she feared the harm to herself and others if she didn't do so.

Huggins testified that at no time did she "agree to, conspire [in], or abet" the murder or kidnapping of Alex Rackley, nor did she believe that he was an informer.

After Huggins' testimony, the defense declined to call Seale to the stand. The judge denied a motion by the prosecution to have Seale's testimony at the McLucas trial read into the record, which would have been a blatant violation of the Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination. Thus, the defense rested its case, apparently feeling that the prosecution's case as built around the testimony of Sams had been shattered.

Socialists hold educational conferences

Fourteen state and regional socialist educational conferences sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance on the three weekends following the April 24 demonstrations had a total attendance of 1,655 persons, according to initial reports.

Sixty-two persons signed up to join the YSA during the conferences.

These records testify to the widespread interest in socialist ideas among young people in every region of the country. One of the conferences, at Emory University in Atlanta, reported attendance from 12 cities and 18 colleges in the South, including 30 persons from Florida.

Besides Atlanta, the conferences were held in San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Houston, Denver, Minneapolis, Madison, Chicago, Cleveland, Ann Arbor, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.

There were a variety of presentations, panel discussions and lectures at the conferences.

Feminist panels and talks highlight-

ed many of them. In the Northern California regional conference at San Francisco State College, Nina Hamberg and Clare Miller of San Francisco Women's Liberation presented a slide show on the contemporary image of women.

At the Minneapolis conference the University of Minnesota Women's Liberation Group presented several feminist plays.

Another feature of the San Francisco conference was a discussion between Robert Allen, author of *Black Awakening in Capitalist America* and Paul Boutelle, SWP vice-presidential candidate in the 1968 elections.

The San Francisco conference, with attendance of over 300, set the record. No less significant, however, was the first socialist educational conference at the University of California, La Jolla, with an attendance of 35. This conference featured a talk by Olga Rodriguez on Chicano nationalism, and four persons asked to join the YSA.

Panels on gay liberation were held in Denver and New York. The Denver panel included members of the Daughters of Bilitis and Gay Liberation Front. In New York, the panel consisted of gay members of the Socialist Workers Party.

In Chicago, the highpoint was a talk by Betsey Stone, a leader of the SWP and author of many articles and pamphlets on feminism. Stone discussed the potential of women's liberation to become a significant force in the revolutionary movement.

Peter Camejo, candidate for U.S. senator from the state of Massachusetts in the 1970 elections, gave a talk on "Making the American Revolution" in Ann Arbor and Philadelphia. The Philadelphia conference also marked the opening of a new headquarters for the YSA and SWP.

At the University of Houston, Debbie Leonard, SWP candidate for mayor of Houston, who has been viciously slandered by the KKK for her Marxist activities and viewpoints,

talked on the "History of the American Left." The Houston conference also heard Antonio Camejo discuss "Is Socialism Relevant to the Nationalist Struggle?"

One sour point of the conferences was the refusal of Northeastern University in Boston to allow the conference there to take place on the campus. According to Northeastern, the YSA is an "outside" organization, not permitted to hold functions on the campus, despite the fact that it was the Northeastern YSA that asked to sponsor the meeting.

One session of the conference, however, was held on the Northeastern campus before the crackdown. This was a talk by Marxist philosopher George Novack on "The Meaning of Life—A Marxist View." Almost 200 persons attended Novack's talk, disregarding the witch-hunt atmosphere the administration tried to cook up.

The sales of revolutionary literature, which were tallied at 11 of the 14 conferences, came to more than \$700.

Calendar

AMHERST, MASS.

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

BOSTON

VOICES OF DISSENT. Tuesdays, 6-7 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1, Sundays, 7-8 p.m. on WRBB-FM, 91.7. Tues., May 25 and Sun., May 30: Peter Camejo Speaks on Revolution. Tues., June 1 and Sun., June 6: The Struggle for Independence of Bangla Desh.

CHICAGO

MILITANT LABOR FORUM. A weekly forum on topics of revolutionary interest, including the women's liberation, antiwar, labor and socialist movements. Fridays, 8 p.m. at 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Phone 641-9408 for details.

CLEVELAND

CRISIS IN OUR ENVIRONMENT. Speaker from the Ohio Public Interest Action Group. Fri., May 28, 8 p.m. at Debs Hall Forum, 4420 Superior. Donation: \$1; h.s. students 50c. Inexpensive pre-forum dinner at 6:30 p.m. For further information, call 391-5553.

DETROIT

WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND BLACK NATIONALISM. Speaker: Marsha Coleman. Fri., May 28, 8 p.m. at 3737 Woodward Ave. Admission: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

THE ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS—IS IT BEING SOLVED? Speakers: Frederick Warburton, associate professor of biology at Barnard; Elliot Beck, Environment! and Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., May 28, 8:30 p.m. at 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

THE ORIGINS OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. Discussion leaders: Woody Diaz and Irv Hall. Tues., June 1, 7:30 p.m., International Lounge (University Commons area), U of California at Riverside. Aisp. Revolutionary Socialist Forum. For further information, call 687-1129.

...April 24

Continued from page 8

for action in the streets against this war? What the leaders of the People's Coalition didn't see, and sad to say apparently haven't learned even since April 24, is that the antiwar majority has no better, no more powerful form of expression, of action and of organization, than periodic mass mobilizations in the streets of this country. And yet, we will no doubt hear the

same arguments again in the future: Let's get folks to ring doorbells on behalf of liberal politicians instead of organizing these ineffective mass actions. Let's "escalate" the struggle into smaller, more "radical" actions instead of staging a march that all people who are "only" against the war will come out for.

As we approach the July 2-4 convention of NPAC, the antiwar movement will be faced with the question: do we want another march like April 24?

Our answer is clear:

Exactly.

Only even bigger and broader.

...May 15

Continued from page 1

was organized by the Wasatch Peace Action Coalition.

Over 500 people attended a rally outside Ft. Dix, N.J., following a peaceful picket of the base by 250 persons May 15. The demands of the demonstration were immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Southeast Asia and Free Speech for GIs! The action was sponsored by the New York Peace Action Coalition, the Philadelphia PAC, the New York and Philadelphia SMCs, New York Veterans for Peace, and other groups.

One of the other sponsoring organizations, the Long Island Vietnam Veterans Against the War, is planning a day-long march with guerrilla theater on Long Island May 22. The march, patterned after Operation Raw, will end at Adelphi College around 9 p.m. with a short rally.

The following day, May 23, Long Island VVAW will hold war crimes hearings at the Garden City Hotel from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. Radio station WBAI will broadcast live the testimony of the Long Island vets about the war crimes they witnessed in Vietnam.

The Ft. Dix demonstration was also held down in size by large-scale restrictions of GIs to the base by the brass. The best received speaker of the day was the wife of an antiwar GI who had been placed on restriction to keep him from participating in the action.

On May 15 in Boston, around 500 activists took advantage of the open house at Ft. Devons to leaflet and talk to GIs there. A march and demonstration at Westover Air Force Base near Amherst sponsored by the Amherst SMC, Connecticut Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and Connecticut Peace Action Coalition attracted about 400 participants, many of whom were active-duty GIs. The size of the action was viewed by organizers as a victory because severe harassment by the brass had threatened to keep it from taking place.

Another May 15 action of 300 people, organized by the American Servicemen for Peace and Justice and the VVAW, was held in Portsmouth, N. H., where an air base, a Marine base and a Navy shipyard are located.

The Minnesota Peace Action Coalition and the Twin Cities Student Mobilization Committee held a news conference in Minneapolis May 15 to state that the cancellation of the traditional armed forces day parade at Ft. Snelling represented a victory for the antiwar movement and testified to the growth of GI antiwar sentiment.

An action sponsored by the Ohio Veterans Coalition drew more than 300 persons May 15 to listen to music and antiwar speeches in Central Park in Fairborn, Ohio, just outside Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. Prior to the rally, the group marched to the base gate for a brief memorial service.

About 100 persons attended a picnic-rally in San Francisco, organized by the Bay Area Concerned Military. The group heard speeches by Carole Seidman of the SMC and Jim Gotesky of NPAC, as well as by active-duty GIs.

On May 16, 500 people turned out in Ft. Steilacoom Park near Ft. Lewis, Wash., to hear antiwar speakers and rock bands. The previous day, planned guerrilla theater at the Bremerton Navy Yards Armed Forces Day celebration was canceled because of driving rain. About 30 veterans passed out antiwar leaflets at the affair.

More than 350 persons participated in a rally in Colorado Springs, Colo., near Ft. Carson. The action was sponsored by Home Front and built in Denver by the Colorado Peace Coalition. Speakers at the rally included

Mark Lane, Barbara Dane, who also sang, and Magdalena Avilla of the local lettuce boycott committee.

A march in Fayetteville, N. C., May 15, organized by GIs United Against the War at Ft. Bragg, began with about 200 people but swelled to 500 by the time it reached the rally site at Clark Park. There were speakers from GIs United, the United Electrical Workers, women's liberation, high school, and the United Farm Workers. Boston professor Howard Zinn also spoke.

On May 17 there was a smaller but not insignificant GI antiwar action. A tiny item in the May 18 *New York Times* reported that 31 GIs had been arrested while peacefully demonstrating in Seoul, South Korea, against the Vietnam war. "The soldiers, from military camps in and around Seoul," the *Times* reported, "were all clad in civilian clothes, many of them dressed like hippies. They wore black armbands," the report continued, "and chanted 'peace now, peace now.'"

...jobs

Continued from page 19

time in recent years," Hope Macleod wrote in the *New York Post* May 8.

"The problem is that not only the youngsters are seeking jobs. In many cases their parents might be seeking them also." Although the summer job openings are declining, they are increasingly important to a growing number of families. "Summer employment has become in many families a very important part of their total annual income," a New York youth employment official told the *New York Post*.

And the situation is even more exacerbated by the cutbacks in federal programs for youth employment.

In New York, "about 400,000 youngsters here meet the federal poverty income criteria in which, for example, the net income for a family of four would be \$3,800 a year.

"But we can only service 41,000. . . That's all the slots we got from the Dept. of Labor," another youth employment official stated.

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.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

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).

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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. 48107.

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.

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

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. Gilson, Room 511, Portland, Ore. 97209. Tel: (503) 223-4830.

PENNSYLVANIA: 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.

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. Tel: (713) 741-2577.

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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.

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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.

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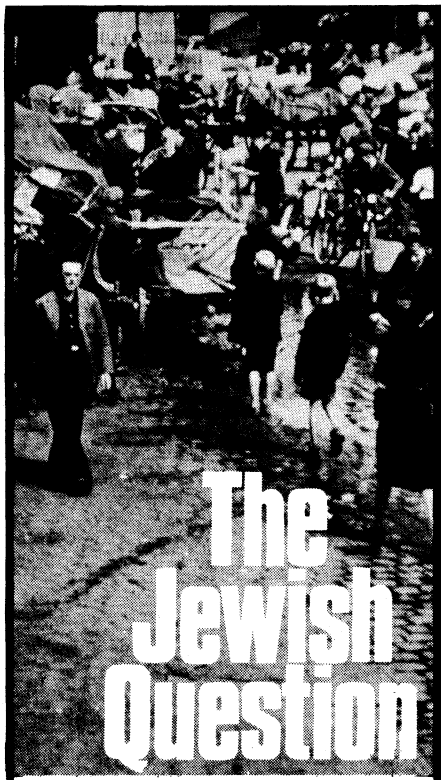
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Brooklyn ghetto in new eruption

By JAMES LEWIS

NEW YORK, May 19—Less than two weeks after the eruption in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn over state budget cutbacks, masses of Blacks and Puerto Ricans took to the streets in nearby Bedford-Stuyvesant to protest the police killing of Brother Rudy Simms on May 17.

According to the police story, at about 2 p.m. they tried to stop one knife-wielding man from chasing another. When the man with the knife turned on them, they shot him dead, bullets entering the back and chest. Later, the white patrolmen changed their story. Instead of the dead man attacking them, they claimed that they shot him as he was about to stab the other man, thus saving a life.

However, community residents maintained that the police were in a position to subdue the brother without firing a shot.

As he lay dead on the pavement, a crowd gathered and the eruption began. Merchants had their goods expropriated by angry youths. Several youths vented their rage on white motorists driving through the area. Others went into nearby Public School 262, smashing windows and overturning furniture. Yesterday, several hundred participated in a protest rally at the intersection where Simms was shot down.

The sharpening of tension in the Brooklyn ghettos began before the New York State Legislature cut welfare payments by 10 percent on May 1. The \$1 per person per day food grant to welfare recipients was cut to 90 cents, actually only worth 73 cents due to inflation. In addition, medicaid services for non-welfare recipients were reduced, along with a

\$30-million cut in antinarcotics programs. Thus, by way of these budget cuts, the cost of the Southeast Asian war is further extracted from the hides of the poor and disadvantaged.

In response to the pending cuts, the city-wide New York Black Coalition was formed April 23. Some of its affiliates were the Urban League, Congress of African People, National Welfare Rights Organization, Council of Black Elected Officials, Harlem Youth Federation, and others. The principal components were the Brownsville Community Council, an antipoverty organization, and a newly formed group called the Brownsville Residents. The Coalition called for demonstrations on May 5 in Brownsville.

The Brownsville section of Brooklyn is, second to the South Bronx, the most poverty stricken area of New York City. Of the 100,000 people in Brownsville, about 60 percent are African-American and 30 percent are Puerto Rican. Eighty percent of the people are on welfare. Because of the sordid housing conditions, some have described Brownsville as looking like a "bombed-out area." Almost 45 percent of the population is under 21 years of age.

These statistics point up the day-to-day violence of capitalist society, which the residents responded to May 5.

The Coalition and Council initiated several actions that day. They first brought 800 people to the United Nations. They staged an action at the Stock Exchange. They provided a couple of speakers at the Bryant Park antiwar rally.

Back in Brownsville, thousands assembled in a 12-block area to hear protest speeches. They ordered the

merchants to shut down for the day. An angry eruption involving hundreds of young brothers and sisters began that afternoon when a white off-duty cop tried to clear some residents from the streets. Statistics released from Mayor Lindsay's office revealed that there were 84 fires, 25 stores that had goods expropriated,

46 arrests, and 33 injuries before the explosion subsided. Bricks and bottles were angrily hurled at police and firemen.

The explosion was a clear indicator that Blacks are not going to sit by quietly while state and city governments make more and more cuts in vital services.

Chicago signalmen supported in strike

By GUY MILLINGTON

CHICAGO, May 18—The strike of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen was 95 percent effective here in the world's rail center. Representing only 2 percent of the work force in the rail industry, the signalmen received support from the other operating and shop craft unions.

The 300 Chicago signalmen are spread thin in maintaining picket lines. Just three pickets shut down the Chicago & Northwestern's divisional yard, the second largest freight terminal in the country. In most of the city's freight yards, the operating employees walked off the job at 6 a.m., May 17. This occurred for the most part with no preparation or direction from the officials of the different craft unions.

In the Minneapolis-St. Paul area,

The railroad workers who operate

the signalmen, who have not had a raise in 20 months. Chamberlain says the union membership is "hopping mad," but he is willing to "obey whatever law Congress may pass." The railroads are the nation's biggest haulers of freight. They handle over 60 percent of the shipments by manufacturers, exclusive of petroleum and coal products. Nearly 40 percent of Defense Department freight moves by rail, and it has been estimated that almost one-third of that traffic could not be transported any other way. Rails ship over 90 percent of the lumber and wood products from the Pacific states, 74 percent of the grain produced in the North Central states, and the bulk of the coal to the steel and other industries of the Northeastern cities.

The railroad workers who operate

The U.S. Congress moved swiftly Tuesday night, May 18, to pass special legislation against railroad workers, banning strike action by railway signalmen until Oct. 1 and granting them a 13.5 percent interim wage increase.

The Nixon administration reached agreement with congressional leaders to hold early hearings on a bill to impose compulsory arbitration in the transportation industry, superceding the 1926 Railway Labor Act and extending its worst antilabor features to marine and truck systems.

the strike was equally effective. Signalmen picketed only the main terminals there. Supervisory personnel at the Burlington Northern yards in St. Paul were reportedly switching cars but nothing was moving in or out.

The central issue is the \$3.78 basic wage for signalmen. According to an unofficial report here, the union has offered to settle for a raise of \$1.99 spread over three years ending June 30, 1973.

One signalman explained it this way: "I never thought the signalmen would go on strike, but we have. Maybe we should have done it 10 years ago. We're professionals and we should be paid a professional wage. If I should make a mistake in repairing signals, I could cause a derailment or a wreck. I suppose I'll get in trouble for saying this, but you know \$3.78 isn't that much in this day and age."

Even though the 13,000-member Signalmen's Union, headed by Charles J. Chamberlain, is free to strike under provisions of the 1926 Railway Labor Act, the Nixon administration and Congress are moving quickly to ban the strike, as was done last December when the Railway Clerks struck, and before that when the sheet-metal workers walked out in April 1970.

Certain of the reliability of their friends in Washington, the carriers have refused to bargain seriously with

the trains were quick in this strike, as they were last December, to respond to the pickets of a non-operating craft leading the way. Twice the operating crafts have shown their readiness to act in support of strike action by other crafts. They have yet to act in their own right.

In the case of the United Transportation Union, representing 180,000 operating employees and still negotiating with the carriers, a presidential emergency board has recommended a 43.6 percent wage increase over 42 months. A similar offer of 42 percent (\$1.65) over 42 months was made to the signalmen and rejected by them.

But even more important to UTU members who operate the trains are the work rules that protect their jobs and working conditions. These are under attack in current negotiations.

It is rumored here, where the union is headquartered, that the officials of the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen are angling for a settlement of this strike by congressional edict.

Regardless of what action Congress takes this time, further eruptions of this powerful section of workers can be expected as the carriers and the government continue their attempts to eliminate jobs, accelerate speedup, and worsen conditions of employment while inflation destroys modest wage gains.