

Allison Krause

19-year-old freshman from Pittsburgh, Pa.

Jeffrey Glenn Miller

20, of Plainview, N.Y. Antiwar activist at Mich. State University before transferring to Kent.

Sandra Lee Scheuer

20-year-old speech-therapy major of Youngstown, Ohio.

William K. Schroeder

19-year-old sophomore of Lorain, Ohio. Psychology major attending Kent on ROTC scholarship.

THE MILITANT

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**Honor the Kent martyrs
— build giant antiwar
demonstrations Memorial Day**

— see page 12 —

Eyewitness report of Kent massacre

By **MIKE YORK** and **FRED KIRSCH**
Special to The Militant

(The authors are both students at Kent State University. Mike York, 28, is a veteran, working on a federal grant studying transportation. He is married and a staff assistant. Fred Kirsch, 22, is a junior in psychology.)

KENT, Ohio, May 5—Four students were murdered at Kent State University yesterday, and several wounded when National Guardsmen opened fire without warning.

It was cold-blooded murder. We narrowly missed getting killed ourselves.

The students had been protesting President Nixon's escalation of the war into Cambodia and the bombing of North Vietnam.

The day of the massacre there had been an impromptu call for a student strike at Kent.

The statement from the National Guard that they started shooting in response to snip-

ing is untrue. It was a one-sided shootout.

We were caught with hundreds of other students near a parking lot when suddenly a line of Guardsmen turned toward us, knelt down, aimed—almost as if by an order.

Briefly, the events leading up to the bloodshed were this:

On Friday noon, May 1, there was a rally of about 2,000 to bury a copy of the Constitution. It was in response to Nixon's speech escalating the war. A serviceman with a silver star and a bronze star burned his discharge papers. Later the Black United Students held a rally.

That evening the Guard was brought in. Saturday night a crowd of several thousand burned down the ROTC building. When ROTC burned, the Guardsmen had orders to shoot anyone who cut firehoses.

On Monday, May 4, we both went down to the Commons, an open field, at noon. Someone climbed up on the base of a lib-

erty bell and said, "It's time to strike. It's time to strike."

An Army jeep pulled up. There were four men, three Guardsmen and one state trooper in it. The trooper had a bullhorn. He said, "Please leave the area. Please leave the area. This is an illegal gathering. Leave, before someone is hurt."

A few students—no more than a handful—were heaving rocks. Thousands of students were in the area.

A group of Guardsmen approached. Before we knew it, we saw tear gas cannisters in the midst of us. People started running.

"Walk, walk," people shouted. The students walked. It was an orderly retreat.

Several truckloads of Guardsmen pulled up, got out, formed a single line, fixed their bayonets, put on tear gas masks and started

(Continued on page 12)



Student holds head in anguish as she views body of one of slain Kent State Four

Palestinian prof speaks in Tallahassee

Exposes undemocratic nature of Zionist regime

Tallahassee, Fla.

On April 25, the Young Socialist Alliance sponsored a talk here on "The Palestinian Liberation Struggle." The speaker was Dr. Muhammad Hallaj, a Palestinian and member of the Jacksonville University faculty.

Dr. Hallaj outlined the history of Zionism to an audience of 100 people. He focused on Zionism as the direct cause of the need for the Palestinian liberation struggle and emphasized that religious or racial enmity had no part in this struggle. "A political solution must be reached which creates a Palestine in which all peoples live freely and without fear of persecution or harassment."

Dr. Hallaj pointed out the undemocratic nature of the Zionist government even toward elements of the Jewish population, citing the banning of the Arab-language *Matzpen*, the publication of the Israeli Socialist Organization.

After his talk, Dr. Hallaj talked with students who are organizing an Arab Students Association at Florida State U.

F. L.

Best possible news service

Houston, Texas

After careful review of a number of newspapers, we have reached the conclusion that your newspaper provides the best possible news and information service to our local community. We would like very much to see *The Militant* distributed to as many brothers and sisters as possible within the Black community of Houston.

J. J. S.

Wm. Buckley forgets profit motive

Chicago, Ill.

In the April 14 *Chicago Daily News*, William Buckley cries plaintively about the publication of Jerry Rubin's book, *Do It!* Not that he advocates censorship (we all know Buckley would never do a thing like that), but that a "reputable" firm like Simon and Schuster should lower itself to condone such "filth" by conceding to publish it is just beyond his endurance and comprehension.

Perhaps if someone explained to Mr. Buckley that in capitalist society production is for profit and the sole criterion used by any company in deciding whether or not to produce a given item is not its quality but whether or not it will sell, it may become more apparent to him why a "repu-

Letters from our readers

This 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. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

table" firm would not have to give so much as a second thought before agreeing to print "such filth."

Rick Feinberg



An exchange on women's liberation

New York, N. Y.

This letter is written in response to an article in the April 3 issue of *The Militant* which states, "Organizations like the Worker-Student Alliance (WSA) and the International Socialists (IS) seem to view independent women's organizations as competitors." This is just another example of the low-level, slanderous journalism that *The Militant* has sunk to in recent weeks.

The IS has taken a position and agitated for the independent organization of women since the inception of the women's liberation movement. In our "program in brief" which accompanies all our publications, we state, "We support the formation of independent women's organizations, in which women will work out the organizational and programmatic forms of their struggles." Furthermore, we have worked in and helped build independent women's organizations and have presented resolutions at movement conferences in support of women's organizations.

The IS has always supported the right of oppressed groups to orga-

nize to fight their oppression. It is an absolute necessity for women to have their own organizations since no oppressed group can depend upon other sections of society to fight its struggle for it. It is, therefore, vital for women to take the first step towards overcoming their oppression by self-organization. The next step is to find a strategy for fighting male chauvinism and a program for women's liberation.

Central to the strategy that we as socialists urge the women's liberation movement to adopt is an orientation towards working class women, because the working class, due to its strategic position in the economy is the only class that has the power to make any real changes. And because the special oppression of women is maintained by a society based upon exploitation of labor power, women must fight

that exploitation if they are to win their struggle against oppression.

We bring our socialist politics to the women's liberation movement and urge the movement to become explicitly socialist because we view workers' (both men and women) control of the means of production as a prerequisite for the liberation of all oppressed groups in society.

The fight for women's liberation is an integral part of the struggle for socialism. Women must build organizations now to destroy the ideology surrounding women's oppression; so that they can play an active role in a revolutionary transformation of society and thus assure that women's liberation becomes a reality when the material basis for that oppression is eliminated.

Joann Friedman
National Convenor,
IS Women's Caucus

[The April 3 article referred to was an excerpt from a report on the women's liberation movement given by me Feb. 28. My conclusion that IS seemed to view the independent women's movement as a competitor was based largely on the role played by IS in the women's liberation caucus at the Student Mobilization Committee conference earlier that month. Since it was a national conference and there were quite a few ISers there, I assumed that the position taken by them was representative of the organization.]

[At the conference, IS supported the idea that the SMC should vote on a program of women's liberation demands. They also argued that such a program must of necessity be socialist. The majority of women in the caucus took the opposite view. They said it was up to the women's liberation movement, not SMC, to formulate a program for women's liberation. Moreover, they pointed out that the antiwar and women's liberation movements had an important role to play regardless of whether they were explicitly socialist or not.]

[To insist on a socialist program and thus unnecessarily discourage non-socialists from participating in actions — such as those the SMC was planning or actions around specific wom-

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men's liberation demands — implies a lack of understanding of the radicalizing logic of the antiwar and independent women's struggles in themselves. It means treating those movements as if they were competing with the socialist movement, taking people away from it, rather than seeing such struggles as complementary to the socialist struggle and leading in the same direction — toward the socialist revolution.

[Joann Friedman's letter is still unclear as to IS's position on non-socialist women's groups. We think this is an important point because, unfortunately, most women who become interested in women's liberation are not as yet socialists. It is necessary to build organizations in which they also can become active, for it is only through the experience of struggle that they will be won over to a socialist perspective.]

[If the position of the ISers at the conference was not reflective of the IS, or if IS has changed or clarified its position since then, we are glad to hear it. We look forward to working with IS in helping to build a powerful independent women's liberation movement.]

— Mary-Alice Waters]

YSA enters elections at U of Wisconsin—Milwaukee

Milwaukee, Wis.

Elections for the University Student Government (USG) of the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee were held on April 15, 16, 17 and 20.

Young Socialist Alliance members Frank Seater, Kathy Hunt and Jackie Fendler ran for the offices of president, secretary and treasurer respectively.

Six students of the "Party X" slate and a Party-X-endorsed slate of three students ran for the student senate.

After the votes were counted six times, Seater officially lost by 14 votes. He is contesting the election through the Student Court on grounds of procedural irregularities.

All nine members of the slate running for the student senate won, among them YSAer Barbara Seater who picked up the senate seat representing the School of Social Welfare.

E. S.

JOIN THE YSA

IF YOU SUPPORT THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE BROWN LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT, THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, A SOCIALIST AMERICA, YOU BELONG IN THE YSA. . .

clip and mail

Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003

☐ I would like more information ☐ I want to join the YSA

Name _____

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A New Merit Pamphlet

IN DEFENSE OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Articles by:

Ruthann Miller, Mary-Alice Waters, Evelyn Reed

25¢

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Why did Nixon do it?

By JOSEPH HANSEN

Why did Nixon do it?

One answer may occur to countless persons throughout the world — the United States now has a psychopath in the White House.

Leaving aside the question of Nixon's mental balance, we must seek to understand the political and military reasons for his decision to escalate the war from Vietnam into all of Indochina.

Nixon is following the same basic policy that led Kennedy to intervene in Vietnam in the first place, and that led Johnson to widen it into a major colonial war.

What is this policy?

The gist is to keep the "third world" safe for investments. These areas are sources of exceptionally high profits, of important raw materials, of cheap labor.

But the peoples of the third world are not content to remain colonial

shattered or greatly weakened since the end of World War II.

The American ruling class has followed a two-sided policy toward these old empires. It has strengthened them in their home territory so as to maintain a strong capitalist front against world socialism. At the same time, on a global scale it has reduced them to junior partners and has even moved against them in the colonial areas, seeking to take over their holdings.

An almost perfect example of this is to be seen in the case of France and Indochina. Truman and later Eisenhower backed the French imperialist armies against the insurgent Vietnamese in their struggle for national freedom. When the French were defeated in 1954, the State Department began moving into position for a U.S. take-over.

This was done first by backing the reactionary South Vietnam government. Then came more direct intervention — military "advisers" under Eisenhower, some 15,000 troops under Kennedy.

Having thrown out the old colonial masters, the Vietnamese people were not inclined to bow to new ones. In face of the stiffening resistance, Johnson escalated U.S. intervention on the premise that if sufficient military power were brought to bear no people, however heroic, could withstand it.

He escalated the war in 1965 because his advisers in the Pentagon and State Department saw a "golden opportunity."

Peking and Moscow had become embroiled in a dispute so bitter that it was not likely they would close ranks even if one of their allies, North Vietnam, were attacked.

The political calculations of Johnson's advisers proved accurate on this. Step by step, Johnson escalated the war until half a million U.S. troops had become involved.

What Johnson did not foresee was the political side. He failed to correctly weigh the capacity of the Vietnamese people to resist. It never occurred to him that this small nation, subjected to bombings greater than those inflicted on Europe in World War II, would still continue to fight.

Johnson failed to foresee something else: the depth and vigor with which the American people would oppose the war.

An additional political miscalculation was his judgment of the effect among America's ruling families. As the war dragged on, a sector began to think that Johnson had made a tactical error. He had got in *too deep*. He had not succeeded in smashing Vietnamese resistance; the costs of the



war were much greater than anticipated; the opposition was becoming so massive as to threaten social and political stability inside the United States itself.

The result was Johnson's 1968 abdication and Nixon's campaign for the presidency on the assurance that he had a "plan to end the war."

But Nixon was committed to following the same basic policy. Had he ended the war in Vietnam and withdrawn the GIs as his first major act in office, this would have dealt that basic policy a staggering blow. It would have signified such a clear-cut victory for the valiant Vietnamese people that other small countries around the world would have taken fresh heart in their own struggles to shake off the grip of imperialism.

The nationalizations of U.S. companies that took place in Peru and Bolivia in the past year were indicators of what could be expected to happen on a much greater scale if Nixon were to carry out his campaign promise.

To gain time

Nixon had no intention of carrying out his campaign promise. It should be clear now to everyone what he sought to do. He tried, first of all, *to gain time*.

His first pitch was to wheedle for

the time needed to throw out the holdovers of the Johnson administration and bring in a new team. To further reduce the opposition to the war, Nixon displayed a "new" image—a president sage and thoughtful, a president in favor of reducing tensions, of bringing the country together, of a "low profile" in foreign policy, of—yes—withdrawing troops, but in a gradual, measured way.

This worked for a while. As the American people began to show impatience, and antiwar demonstrations mounted, Nixon countered with token withdrawals that seemed to imply that he was proceeding along the road of pulling out of Vietnam, even if in a leisurely way. This gained more time.

As to his famous "plan to end the war," he put off spelling this out as long as possible. When it could no longer be avoided, he announced "Vietnamization" of the war. This was such a palpable fraud as to raise fresh doubts about the sincerity of his campaign promise. Nevertheless, these ruses took in not a few people who ought to have known better.

Obviously the tactic of bidding for time could not be used indefinitely. Sooner or later, Nixon had to disclose his real aims, which were the same as Johnson's; that is, in face of the difficulty of winning an outright victory, to settle for an outcome comparable to the one at the end of the Korean war.

Time was running out on Nixon. His tricks and dodges were less and less effective.

To make matters worse, it became evident that it was not realistic to count on an outcome like Korea. Nixon may have reached this conclusion some time ago. Possibly that was why last November he withdrew Henry Cabot Lodge and in effect sank the Paris talks on Vietnam.

On top of this, impatience with the slowness of withdrawals and opposition in the United States to the war began to rise again as shown by various signs, including the ever deepening radicalization of the youth, and the mid-April demonstrations.

Cambodia

What precipitated matters was the coup d'etat in Cambodia that ousted Prince Sihanouk. This had all the earmarks of being at least approved by

(Continued on page 10)

Help sell the special issue!

Supporters are pitching in to give maximum distribution to this special antiwar-strike and memorial issue of *The Militant*. Our press run is 50,000. Leading distributors as of this writing are New York, which ordered 8,000 copies; San Francisco-Berkeley, 4,000; Chicago, 3,000; Detroit, 5,000; Boston, 4,000.

slaves. They want control over their own fate. They want to establish a better economic system and lift their countries out of abject poverty at the swift rate possible in the modern world.

They know it can be done. The examples of the Soviet Union, China, Yugoslavia, and above all Cuba have convinced them.

Among the key steps, they now understand, are the establishment of national independence and the expropriation of foreign holdings. If this means socialism or communism, they believe that is for them to decide.

This new vision is what animates the political struggles of hundreds of millions of human beings in the colonial world today. It is what sustains them in face of the most strenuous and savage efforts of the imperialist powers to beat them down.

Thus the old empires centered in Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Portugal have either been



U. S. planes plunge into Cambodia spewing defoliants

Chicano youth derail Nixon Texas scheme

HOUSTON—A plan by the Nixon administration to assist Republican hopefuls in Texas was skillfully derailed April 22 by the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO).

A one day conference had been called for that day—billed as a "Mexican-American Exchange of Ideas Conference" to keep the Nixon administration in "closer liason with the Spanish speaking communities throughout the nation."

Proclaiming to be nonpolitical, conference organizers hoped that in the course of "the exchange of ideas" Chicanos present would exchange their votes in the fall election for a few kind words from some Spanish-surnamed officials of the Nixon administration. An extremely vigorous attempt had been made by intermediaries to involve MAYO which would provide some left cover plus a few Chicano faces for the government officials to talk at.

As the conference opened at the University of Houston, it was clear that the "exchange of ideas" would take a different form than expected. Participants were greeted by a strong picket line manned by over one hundred MAYO supporters who filed into the auditorium just as the first session began.

Houston attorney Hector Azios allowed MAYO spokesmen to take the floor as they outnumbered the rest of the assembled group. MAYO spokesmen charged that the conference was in no way concerned with problems of the Chicano people, that it was held on a weekday so working people could not attend, that it was located at the University of Houston rather than in the Chicano community, and that attendance at the evening session cost \$7.50 which few could afford. MAYO members charged it was designed to aid the election campaign of George Bush, Republican senatorial hopeful. Bush had been referring to the conference in campaign speeches as an example of Nixon's concern for Chicanos.

The pitiful record of the Democrats and Republicans was laid bare and those present were called upon to join together to help build an independent Chicano party in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans.

Following a heated exchange with conference organizers, Yolanda Birdwell, head of Houston MAYO, led a

walkout which left the conference in shambles.

The evening session—also claiming to be nonpolitical and designed to involve the Chicano community—was held in the Emerald Room of the Shamrock Hilton Hotel in downtown Houston. Republican senator John Tower was there with a few words of praise for the banquet's honored guest, Martin G. Castillo, chairman of



the Presidential Cabinet Committee on Opportunity for the Spanish Speaking. Castillo had flown in from Washington, D. C., for the occasion.

Fifteen minutes after the \$7.50-a-plate banquet began, Yolanda Birdwell led seventy MAYO supporters through a hopelessly outnumbered police squad and into the Emerald Room of the Hilton. Addressing herself to the Spanish surnamed functionaries, she attacked the record of Nixon and previous administrations and stated, "Today is the day we are marking a line. We are going to deal with the enemy be he white, Black or Brown. Today we are here to tell you—don't ever push us anymore."

The *Houston Chronicle* reported, "During the occupation Mrs. Birdwell and her followers dined on tortillas, burritos, and other Mexican food while conference delegates nervously ate turkey." After making clear MAYO's attitude toward the conference and the administration it represented, the MAYO supporters exited from the hall.

Visibly shaken, Nixon's representative, Martin G. Castillo, stated to the press that similar conferences were to have been "implemented in many sections of the country, but that cannot happen now because word gets out that we were beaten."

In defense of printers (III)

Newspaper union ranks question the leadership

By JEAN TUSSEY

(The following is the third installment in a series of articles on the contract recently accepted by the Cleveland Typographical Union No. 53. The author has been an active socialist and trade unionist for 30 years and a member of the International Typographical Union for the past 13 years.)

The recent newspaper contract settlement in Cleveland made at least one thing clear to the union membership: Under present conditions the national officers made the decisions—not the working printers—on wages, hours and working conditions.

It was also demonstrated how the democratic, secret ballot rejection of the contract by the newspaper printers was overruled: By refusing strike sanction (and benefits), then mounting a campaign through the local satellites of the political machine controlled by the union's national officers to secure a referendum vote. This makes it possible to divide the ranks by mobilizing all of the elements who do not have to work under the contract (pensioners, job-shop men, foremen and others paid over union wage scale) to vote for it, and to demoralize many of those who had rejected the contract in the previous vote. Divide and conquer.

Who benefits from this kind of settlement? The newspaper publishers, of course—whose rate of profit is protected for another 39 months—but not the printers. They still work longer hours and for a lower hourly rate than printers in other major industrial cities, and without any protection (such as a cost-of-living clause or wage re-opener) against a steady deterioration of their relative position.

Now many rank-and-filers are asking *why* they were frustrated in their attempt to protect their standard of living.

No one can convince the Cleveland newspaper printers that the contract is a good one, or that anyone else knows better than they do what is good for them.

Why should they have to work at a lower hourly rate than New York, Chicago, San Francisco, St. Louis, etc.? Why should they settle for a second-class contract? Why should they

accept less than they need to maintain their standard of living?

Each working printer paid over \$500 in union dues last year and didn't object, since he felt it was to maintain a strong union that would back his struggle to improve his wages, job security and working conditions. Why is his own money in the ITU strike fund used as a club over his head to force him to accept a poor contract by the threat to withhold strike benefits?

Why is he told by the ITU representative that "there is no more money to be had" from his employer without a "long and costly strike in which we might lose more than we gain"?

The younger members particularly are rebelling against the conservative argument that Cleveland printers should have fought to improve their conditions ten years or twenty years ago and can't expect to make up this time for complacency of the membership in the past. Why should we be held down by the dead weight of the past, they ask? Or for mistakes of the past?

And thinking printers of all ages are beginning to see that they are not alone. The postal workers, the teamsters, teachers, and others are fighting to defend their standard of living in spite of the fact that they are getting the same arguments from their national officers.

The *Cleveland Press* on April 9 carried a three-and-a-half inch squib: "Printers okay 39-Month Pact with Press, PD [*Plain Dealer*]".

The same issue ran the first of a series of three articles by labor writer Norman Mlachak. Under the general heading "Ranks Are Restless" the three installments were entitled: "Union Members Challenge Decisions of Their Leaders"; "Young Union Activists Want the Whole Package—NOW"; and "Labor Says U.S. is Defiant Land."

Local printers who read the series grasped the general point that they were not alone, that other unions both here and throughout the country have problems similar to theirs. But a much more powerful illustration of that fact is the experience of the local teamsters.

The rank and file of that union, too, is struggling against an attempt to force an inadequate contract settlement down their throats.

The teamsters went out on strike, "unauthorized" but not in violation of law since their contract (like the printers') had expired. Despite all the pressure tactics of the national leaders, the drivers have refused to go back to work as of this writing (April 27) and the opposition is growing.

On April 16, hundreds of dissidents and their wives demonstrated outside the union hall then marched down Euclid Avenue to Public Square (the route of the antiwar demonstration the day before) in protest against a contract that fails to protect them against the high cost of living.

The teamsters have rejected all the arguments the printers faced as to why they should not fight for a better settlement. They refused to abide by "national patterns." They refused to accept the argument that "there is no more money to be had." They indignantly rejected the red-baiting slanders of national leaders who blamed their militancy on "outside influence," "SDS" or "communists." Now the teamsters, like the printers, are faced with a "referendum vote."

Printers are asking themselves, "If the teamsters can do it, why can't we? Is it true we don't have the guts? What's wrong with our union? What can we do to make it more responsive to our needs?"



Photo by Suzanne Camejo

El Teatro Popular de la Vida O Muerte, Denver Chicano Conference, March 25-29.

In
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In Brief

By RANDY FURST

RECORD HARVEST: Cuba has passed the half-way mark on its 1969-1970 objective of harvesting 10 million tons of sugar by July 26. The current harvest is already Cuba's second largest on record. As of April 23, some 6,368,799 tons had been cut. . . . **DOCTOR DRAWS SENTENCE:** A New London, Conn., physician was sentenced to one to three years in state prison April 27 for performing an abortion. The severe sentence was handed down in a Connecticut superior court against Dr. Morris Sulman. His attorney, William Hadden, argued that the state law prohibiting abortions "makes something a crime which is not a crime," and that the statute is unconstitutional. An appeal is planned.

HARRIS POLL: Results of a Louis Harris survey published May 4 indicate the extent of President Nixon's latest blunder in Southeast Asia. A cross-section of Americans were asked by pollsters: "If it appeared that the Communists were going to take over the government of Laos, would you favor sending in American troops to keep the Communists from taking over, continuing to send in military advisers and conduct bombings as we are now, or staying out of Laos altogether?" Some 59 percent favored staying out altogether; 20 percent endorsed a "continuation" of advisers and bombings; only 10 percent backed sending troops. Asked approximately the same question on Cambodia, 59 percent said stay out of Cambodia altogether; 23 percent favored sending advisers and conducting bombings; and only 7 percent supported sending in U.S. troops. Poll was conducted on eve of President Nixon's Cambodia speech April 30.

PANTHER DONATION: A microbiologist at Harvard University who was awarded a \$1,000 prize for isolating a pure gene, has announced that he was giving the money to the Black Panther Party. Dr. Jonathan R. Beckwith made the statement in Boston April 28. . . . **SEIZE THE TIME:** That's the name of Bobby Seale's new book, subtitled "The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey Newton."

MOTION FOR ACQUITTAL: Judge Julius J. Hoffman has taken under advisement a motion for acquittal filed by defense attorneys William Kunstler and Leonard I. Weinglass, representing the Conspiracy 7 who were framed earlier this year. The defense cites newspaper stories by one of the jurors, Kay S. Richards, 23, who described how the jury worked out a deal on the decision. Kunstler and Weinglass charge that the jury illegally "compromised" in reaching a verdict. . . . **CHICANOS PROTEST:** Several hundred Chicanos picketed an elementary school in Uvalde, Texas, where students' demands include bilingual education. One youth was arrested. . . . **WOMEN'S LIBERATION PARLEY SET:** A Conference to Unite Women is scheduled for the Los Angeles Trade-Technical College, 400 W. Washington Blvd. May 16-17. The two day gathering includes workshops and panel discussions. Sponsor is an ad hoc group of women representing several women's liberation organizations in Southern California. For more information, call the Women's Center, (213) 937-3964; in Orange County, (714) 497-1875.

CAMPUS REFERENDUM: College and univer-

sity students voted 44,236 to 27,252 in favor of immediate and total withdrawal in a campus referendum on the Vietnam war conducted April 13-18. The poll was initiated by the Student Mobilization Committee chapter and the Young Americans for Freedom at American University in Washington, D.C. Seventy-five colleges and universities from coast to coast participated. . . . **COME AND GET IT:** Each year you eat three pounds of nonfood additives in your food. . . . **NEW LOCALS:** The Young Socialist Alliance added two new locals, Fullerton, Calif., and Nashville, Tenn., this week. . . . **PLAINFIELD TRIAL:** Bobby Lee Williams, accused on a frame-up charge of assaulting a policeman with intent to kill during the 1967 eruption in Plainfield, N.J., went on trial in Elizabeth April 28. His attorneys include William Kunstler. . . . **HOLDING TIGHT:** The longer the strike, the better the odds of winning the demands, a study on "Student Protests 1969" by the Urban Research Corporation reveals. Researchers found that in protests where students struck for more than two weeks, administrators granted one or more demands in 70 percent of the cases.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION IN HIGH SCHOOL: A women's liberation meeting at Kenwood High School in Chicago drew some 50 people last month. The meeting, including panel discussion and films, was reportedly spirited with future organizing around high school issues projected. . . . **HIGH PROFILE:** Socialist Workers Party candidates in California have spoken more than 200 times since the campaign was launched last fall. Audiences have ranged from 15 to 3,000.

NIXON WINS ETHICAL VOTE: Richard Dunn, an administrative aide to Illinois State Senate Republican leaders, added his voice to the list of sterling characters endorsing Nixon's action on Cambodia. Said Dunn: "I favor the president's action because this whole thing of 'let's win' is kind of the American ethic or something." . . . **STOCK MEETINGS DISRUPTED:** Demonstrators disrupted the annual stockholders meeting of Honeywell, Inc., in Minneapolis April 28. In Pittsburgh, demonstrators held a protest at the annual meeting of the Gulf Oil Corporation. . . .

NIXON ASSAILS BUMS: ". . . you finally think of those kids out there," President Nixon observed during a conversation May 1. "You know, you see these bums—you know, blowing up the campuses. Listen, the boys on the college campuses today are the luckiest people in the world, going to the greatest universities, and here they are burning up the books. I mean, storming around about this issue. I mean you name it, get rid of the war, there'll be another one—and then, out there we got kids who are just doing their duty and I've seen them and they stand tall, and they're proud."

BLACK SOLDIER CHARGED: Pvt. Willie Williams of the 143rd Supply and Service Company at Fort Lewis, Wash., was charged Feb. 21 with "conduct discrediting the armed services." Specification one of the charge was "threatening the life of the President of the United States"—an accusation based on a poster Williams painted. Williams has been confined to the post stockade although no court-martial has been set. A vehement opponent of the war, Williams says of the charge, "The service is a discredit to itself." . . . **AN INSULT:** Interviewed by San Francisco's Good

Times, April 23, ex-Green Beret George Hooper told a reporter: "I consider my purple heart to be an insult . . . A symbol of stupidity." . . . **GI PETITION:** More than 600 signatures have been collected on a petition for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, currently being circulated by anti-war GIs on U.S. bases throughout the United States and around the globe. To obtain copies of the petition write: GI Press Service, 1029 Vermont Ave., N.W., Rm. 907, Washington, D.C. 20005 **SCHOOL DAYS:** A vivid description of life in reform school appears in the April 22 *Spectator* in Bloomington, Ind. Questioned by a *Spectator* reporter about food at the Indiana Boys School at Plainfield, an inmate said, "Like you never get enough, there are bugs in it, man, like you have milk and there's maggots swimming around in it and cockroaches in the soup and ants in the bread and pastry . . ."

PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL: A People's Tribunal is scheduled for Columbus, Georgia, outside Fort Benning May 16. The tribunal will put the U.S. government on trial for its role in Vietnam. Sponsors are the Columbus Patriots for Peace and RAP, the base underground newspaper. For more information, contact Wayne Draznin, Box 5421, Sta. E, Atlanta, Ga. (404) 522-2075 **THEYMAY BE STARVING BUT:** At least someone eats well. The Nixons have been entertaining guests at the rate of 45,000 a year, White House aides report. That figure eclipses the 26,000-guests-per-year record pace set by the Lyndon Johnsons. The total of 45,000 includes a group of wounded veterans that Tricia Nixon hosted on a yacht cruise down the Potomac. (Julie Eisenhower reportedly favors underprivileged children.)

NO KNOCK: The sheriff's department has volunteered to pay the damage on the door of the home of a Prince George County, Va., construction worker. It seems the police broke down John Molloy's door with a sledgehammer, tipped off that there were narcotics in the house. After breaking in without a warrant, they informed Molloy's wife, "This is a raid. Isn't this 7302 Forest Road?" "No," said Mrs. Molloy, "this is 7308." . . . **CLASS BY THEMSELVES:** A seven month strike by some 1,200 workers at the Iowa Beef Processors ended last month. The union, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, settled for a raise of 20 cents per hour. Says company president Roy Lee Jr., quoted in *Forbes* magazine May 1, "We don't feel that a man needs a union to be treated fairly here . . ."

VIETNAMIZATION: Spiro Agnew explained on NBC's Frank McGee Report May 3 that the U.S. invasion of Cambodia is part of President Nixon's Vietnamization program **ARRANGEMENT WITH NORTH VIETNAM?:** "It is not a new policy at all," Secretary Rogers commented, referring to the bombing of North Vietnam. He was quoted in the *New York Times* May 4. "We have before on previous occasions made these attacks when it was necessary to protect reconnaissance flights, part of the arrangement made with North Vietnam when we stopped the bombing."

(Contributors to this week's report include the Independent Servicemen's Movement, Tacoma, Wash.; Geoff Mirelowitz, and Kitty Cone, Chicago.)



"Dear President Nixon . . . what really tickled my funny bone was when you said you were sending troops to Cambodia to save lives. . . ."

Unprecedented protests sweep nation's campuses

By DAVID THORSTAD
MAY 5—When President Nixon, with unmatched cynicism, announced his decision to order the invasion of Cambodia, he unleashed a storm of antiwar opposition that will close down nearly every college and university in the United States, and has the potential for reaching millions more Americans not on the nation's campuses.

As the partial list on this page indicates, strikes have either been called or are already in process in hundreds of schools. And they are spreading. This phenomenal reaction to the es-

calation of the war in Indochina has been completely spontaneous. It is unprecedented in its scope. And both by its breadth and by its spontaneity it is qualitatively different from anything that has ever occurred before in the history of this country.

Of the close to 150 universities contacted by the Student Mobilization Committee as the strike movement was just getting underway at the beginning of the week, for instance, only one had no plans to call a strike.

The pace for the movement that is sweeping the country was set when 2-3,000 students and faculty at Prince-

ton University voted at a mass meeting last Friday to go on strike. The Princeton strike is estimated to be 99 percent effective.

One of the most striking indications of the enormous potential of this antiwar wave came in several mass meetings on Boston-area campuses where more than 15,000 students voted May 4 to strike and support a mass rally at the State House called by the Student Mobilization Committee to protest the invasion of Cambodia and the Kent massacre and to demand a statewide vote on the war. Scheduled speakers included legislators James Shea, sponsor of the bill exempting Massachusetts residents from serving in the Vietnam war, and Maurice Donahue, who has sponsored a bill providing for an antiwar referendum.

Typical of the current surge of protest was the size of these mass strike meetings: 5,000 at Harvard; 2,000 at Boston University; 1,000 at Tufts; 1,800 at Northeastern University; 2,000 at Brandeis; 2,500 at MIT; 1,100—two-thirds of the student body—at Clark University. They joined these other Massachusetts colleges in deciding to go on strike: Simmons, Holy Cross, Assumption, Worcester State, Springfield, and the University of Massachusetts in Amherst.

Three thousand students voted a strike at Brown University in Providence. All other campuses in Providence were reported on strike.

The strike at Yale University is expected to continue today despite pleas by President Kingman Brewster that it be ended. The strike began there two weeks ago in protest of the Black Panther trial scheduled to take place in New Haven. The invasion of Cambodia prompted a Panther defense rally last weekend to issue a call for a nationwide student strike demanding the immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia, freedom for political prisoners, and an end to campus complicity with the war.

Yesterday the Yale Law School, which until now had not been supporting the strike, voted 239-12 to strike for the remainder of the school year.

A rally of 1,000 voted yesterday



Tear ga

to strike at Southern Community State College in New Haven, a college with no previous reputation for student activism. Students are protesting the war and the fact that they were locked out of school by the administration last Wednesday in anticipation of the weekend Panther rallies only, as they later discovered, so the campus could be used to house the National Guard.

Several other colleges in Connecticut, including Trinity, Wesleyan, the University of Bridgeport, the University of Hartford, and the University of Connecticut, have followed suit.

A mass meeting yesterday evening at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland voted on a strike that will shut down all campuses in the state of Ohio. Following the meeting, 3,000 participated in a midnight memorial march for the four Kent State University students killed by Guardsmen earlier in the day.

More than 2,000 surged through downtown Seattle stopping traffic last Friday in a march rapidly organized by the SMC to protest the escalation of

A PARTIAL LIST...

The following is a partial listing of the schools that as of May 5 were either on strike or discussing strike plans:

Albany State
American University
Amherst
Barnard College
Beaver College
Berkeley, U. of California
Bloomington State
Boston College
Boston University
Bowling Green University
Bradford Junior College
Brandeis University
Bryn Mawr
Buchard
University of Buffalo
University of Chicago
Case Western Reserve University
Clark University
Colgate
University of Colorado
Colorado State
Colorado College
Columbia
Cornell
Carleton
CCNY
University of Connecticut
Dartmouth
University of Delaware
Dennison University
Drexel
Duke
East Baptist
Emerson
Emory
Fitchburg State
Fordham
Genesco
George Washington
Georgetown
Glasboro State
Goddard College
Goucher

Grinnell
University of Hartford
Harvard
Haverford
Hobart
Holy Cross
Hunter
U. of Indiana in South Bend
U. of Indiana in Bloomington
Jackson
Kansas State
Kent State
Knoxville College
LaSalle
Lawrence University
Lewis & Clark
Luther College
Lycoming
Manhattanville College
Marion College
University of Maryland
Merrimac College
University of Miami in Florida
MIT
U. of Massachusetts in Boston
Memphis State
University of Minnesota
Monmouth
Moore College of Arts
Moorhead State College
New Paltz State
New York University
University of North Carolina
North Carolina State
North Park College
Northeastern
Notre Dame
Oberlin
Ohio State
Oregon State
Oswego State
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia Academy
Philadelphia College
Philadelphia Community College
University of Pittsburgh
Portland State

Princeton
Providence College
Purdue
Queens College
Radcliffe
Regis College
University of Rochester
Rochester Institute of Technology
Rosary College
Rutgers
Santa Barbara, U. of California
St. Cloud State College
St. Norberts
St. Josephs
Sacramento State
Salva Regina
Skidmore
Simmons
Springfield College
Stanford
Stony Brook
Syracuse
SUNY Farmingdale
SUNY Oswego
Temple University
University of Tennessee
University of Texas, Austin
University of Texas, El Paso
Trinity College
Tufts
Vassar
University of Vermont
Villanova
University of Virginia
Wabash
Washington University, St. Louis
University of Washington
Wellesley
Wesland
Westchester State
Williams
Wilmington College
University of Wisconsin
College of Worcester
Wyoming
Ulster County College
Yale



Photo by Petrick

New York high school demonstrators, April 15.

The Militant's extra effort needs your financial support

This special antiwar issue is being published three days early with a press run triple the number published last week. A month ago we responded to the postal workers strike with a large-run postal special. The subsequent financial contributions from supporters enabled us to repay the loans required for that special effort.

Make it possible for us to continue to respond as the explosive escalation of the antiwar movement demands. Send in as generous a contribution as you can.

Do it today.

Use the coupon below.

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The staff

Enclosed is _____ as a contribution to help cover the cost of *The Militant's* special antiwar coverage.

Name _____

Street _____ Apt. _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____



disperses students at Kent State University, May 4

the war. Further actions are being planned.

The same story could be told for every region of the country. While the strike wave may have begun most vigorously in the East, it has spread to virtually every town with a college campus.

The millions of students who are participating in the actions today speak for millions of other Americans who in no way support Nixon's escalation. These actions represent the most dramatic manifestation thus far of the mobilizable mass antiwar sentiment that exists in the United States.

No more resounding rejection could be found for the advice of those who, rather than organize this mass antiwar sentiment, have preferred to proclaim the antiwar movement dead. One can think of no more telling proof of the fact that it is through mass actions that the broad layers of the American population will be reached and brought into motion against the imperialist war. For this massive expression of militant student opposition to the government's policies will not fail to make an unprecedented impact on every other sector of the American population—GI and civilian, young and old.

It has already helped to exacerbate the divisions within the ruling class on the question of the war. It is essential—and possible—for the antiwar movement to do everything it can to exploit these divisions by providing the necessary organization for the current spontaneous upsurge and by helping to spread it beyond its solid campus base into those sectors of society that have the raw power to force this government out of Indochina.

Series on Guardian to be continued

The Militant has been running a weekly series of articles on the political issues behind the recent split in the staff of the radical weekly newspaper, the Guardian. The third installment of that series, dealing with the Guardian's position on the antiwar movement in recent months, will appear in the next issue of The Militant.

SMC emergency appeal for world antiwar action

At a press conference in Washington on May 5 the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam issued an emergency appeal to antiwar forces around the world to join with the American antiwar movement in building mass actions for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia and in memory of the four martyred victims of the Kent massacre. The following is the text of a call released by Carol Lipman, national executive secretary of the SMC:

* * *

Events over the past week have dramatically exposed Nixon's promises to reduce conflicts in Southeast Asia and to de-escalate the war in Vietnam as yet another in the long line of blatant lies to issue from the White House.

Neither the American people nor those in other countries of the world will be deceived by words when the facts clearly show the real intentions of the United States. In the face of open escalation of the Vietnam war, the invasion of Cambodia by U.S. troops, the renewed bombing attacks on North Vietnam, and the martyring of the four student victims of the Kent massacre, we call on people throughout the world to speak out and to act.

In the United States, student strikes and mass demonstrations erupted immediately following the disclosures of the new escalation of the war. The latest moves have provoked an unprecedented outcry against the policies which the U.S. government follows abroad and at home.

More and more Americans know that there is no end to their government's adventurism, to its policies of brutal slaughter, and that it is time to act.

We call on people all over the world to join with us in massive demonstrations demanding the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia and paying tribute to the memory of the martyred students of the Kent massacre.

Mass antiwar strike meeting at Columbia U

Plans for New York regional action

By ROBERT LANGSTON

NEW YORK, May 5—Fifteen minutes before the meeting scheduled for nine o'clock last night, the auditorium of Columbia University's Wollman Hall was filled. By the time the chairman mounted the podium, an adjoining lounge and a lecture hall on the floor above were overflowing too, and the corridors were dense with people.

There had been mass meetings on the campus almost continuously since noon. By agreement between students, faculty and the administration, the university had effectively been closed for the day. Columbia's president Andrew Cordier had addressed a noon rally of some 3,000, but by evening it was evident that the one-day moratorium was going to become a genuine strike.

Everyone was tired, but it didn't make any difference. They were convinced they were just beginning, they were determined, and, aware that similar meetings were taking place simultaneously on campuses all over the country, they sensed their collective power.

Everyone present also knew by the time the meeting began that Ohio National Guardsmen had murdered four Kent State students only hours before.

Altogether there were perhaps 3,000 people—mainly students, but a good many faculty members too—present. And it was not just a Columbia affair; representatives from practically every campus in the New York area were there in the expectation that this meeting would initiate the organization of a strike to close down every college in the region.

In some ways the mood was like the early mass meetings of the spring '68 Columbia strike. And if, despite the fatigue, there was some expectancy and gaiety, there was also a general seriousness far surpassing that of '68. Sectarian crotchets and adventurist schemes received at most a reluctantly polite hearing.

The major test came early in the meeting. After the assembly had shouted its unanimous call for a strike to

protest the Nixon administration's escalated aggression in Indochina and to demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops, the release of all political prisoners, and an end to campus complicity with the war machine, it faced the task of implementing its decision, of establishing an organizational structure, of making the strike real.

A representative of the New University Conference moved that a strike steering committee be established with one representative from each group actively supporting the strike, which would make proposals to a mass meeting each morning and then carry out the decisions of those meetings.

The small minority of ultralefts present knew that with such a democratic structure they would have no chance of imposing their politics on the strike. So they resorted to a demagogic maneuver that has occasionally worked in the antiwar movement in the past: mobilizing the guilt feelings of white students. A fraction of the Third World Coalition proposed that Third World students be guaranteed a mechanical majority on the steering committee. The ultralefts hoped through that device to be able to impose their line on the strike in a rule or ruin fashion.

Their ploy did not work. A Third World spokesman for the Student Mobilization Committee had no difficulty exposing the demagoguery of the proposal and explaining the need for a democratic structure. The NUC motion passed by a ninety percent majority; not much was heard from the sectarians after that.

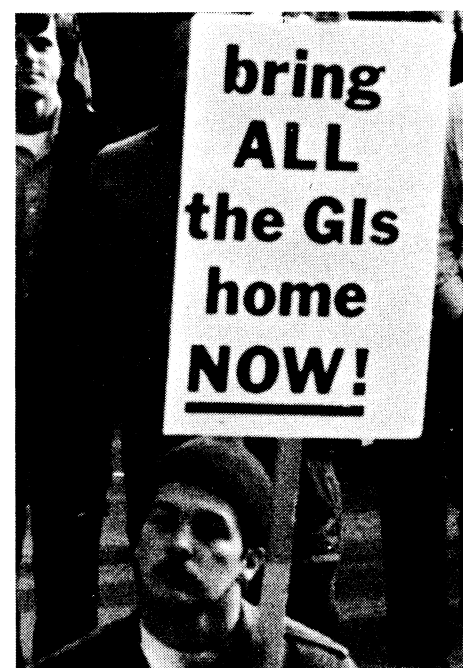
The general orientation outlined by speakers from the SMC clearly reflected the sentiment of the overwhelming majority of the students. The strike, SMC representatives stressed, is above all a strike against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Indochina, and the striking students have the opportunity and obligation to lead the antiwar movement to an altogether new level of breadth, militance and unity, to reach out to and help mobilize millions of

Americans who can force an end to the war.

The assembly unanimously voted for three proposals offered by Pat Grogan of the SMC: that a citywide antiwar strike rally be held on the Columbia campus May 6; that the steering committee mobilize maximum possible participation in the May 9 demonstration in Washington, D.C.; that a strike committee aim at making the May 30 national actions called by the SMC the mightiest expression of opposition to imperialist war in U.S. history.

The steering committee met immediately after the mass meeting. The same seriousness prevailed; the point was to build the strike. The committee established a strike headquarters, decided to issue a daily strike newspaper, and called a news conference for this morning. Working committees were established: a picket-line committee, a leaflet committee, a press-conference committee, and an editorial committee for the daily paper. Since representatives of most metropolitan-area campuses attended the steering committee meeting, coordination throughout the area was automatic.

The strike was on.



Boston PL and SDS in new physical assault

By DICK ROBERTS

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — At approximately 1:30 p.m., May 3, eight members of the Boston-area Progressive Labor Party and Students for a Democratic Society raided an educational conference of the Young Socialist Alliance at Harvard University, in order to carry out a physical assault on Robert Bresnahan, a leader of the antiwar movement here, YSA member and member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Six of the PL and SDS attackers were identified by witnesses. Bresnahan was not seriously hurt.

The raiding hoodlums fled as other conference attendees came to Bresnahan's help.

This attempt to regularize physical attacks on political opponents as a "legitimate" means of dissent in the antiwar and socialist movements was immediately denounced by the Boston YSA and SWP.

A campaign to expose and explain the real dangers to the movement inherent in such methods, and the necessity of categorically rejecting them by each and every movement organization, has been launched.

The Student Mobilization Committee, a major force in the Greater Boston antiwar coalition, has announced plans to publicize the PL and SDS attack, and to ask for movement repudiation of it.

Both the immediate circumstances of the May 3 raid and the background to it make it clear that this was a pre-planned attack directed against one individual.

The PL and SDS squad chose a lunch break of the educational conference to mount their attack. With about 150 in regular attendance during the weekend meetings, only about 20 persons were around Burr B hall of Harvard when the PL and SDS thugs showed up.

At about 1 p.m., a known SDS member named Norm Daniels had come to the conference hall, apparently, as it developed, to look the place over. The eight who subsequently showed up at 1:30 included, according to witnesses: Jamie Kilbreth, SDS regional office, PL; Jay Sargent, SDS regional office, PL; Larry Olafsky, SDS Boston State; Jim Cronin, SDS Brown University (R.I.), PL; Stu Soloway, SDS; Fran Windling, SDS Boston State; and two others, not yet identified.

After milling around for a few minutes, these eight located Bresnahan coming out of a men's room in a side hall. Three of them assaulted and momentarily pinned him down while the five others formed further down the hall.

"I had tried to break through them when I saw them coming," Bresnahan explained. "They got me down. They were holding me down while one was kicking me. I guess one of them kicked me in the head."

A bruise on Bresnahan's temple showed where this had happened.

Meanwhile, however, others at the conference had heard the commotion. They pushed aside the five in the "front line," pulled two of the attackers off Bresnahan while he dealt with the third. Shortly later the eight made for a back door and disappeared.

Immediate X-Ray examination showed that Bresnahan had not suffered a serious head injury. Four stitches were required.

What prompted this throwback to Hitler's brown shirt methods? Why Bresnahan? Such physical attacks on political opponents are not new to PL. They have been part and parcel of PL's method of operation since the formation of the organization. And PL learned its organizational lessons from its Stalinist parent, the Communist Party. However, such attacks have intensified in recent months, and Bresnahan, a six-foot-two YSAer, saw the attack on him as one more step in the frenzied reaction of PL and SDS to the collapse of national SDS last summer.

"It illustrates their frustration, their inability to deal with the SDS collapse in a political manner — and especially their sectarian politics and goon-squad methods in the antiwar movement."

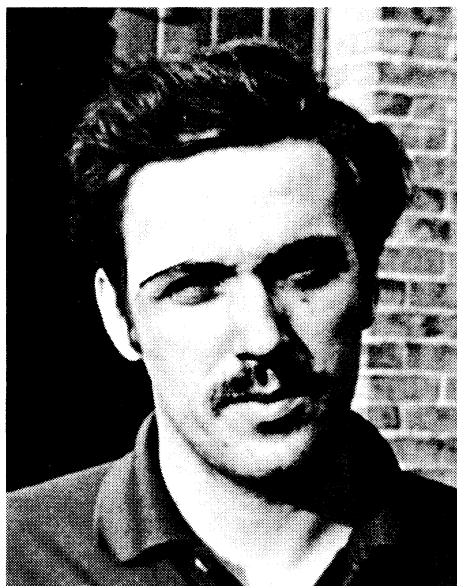


Photo by Dick Roberts

Robert Bresnahan

Bresnahan traced the evolution of this incident back to meetings held last August by a group presently called the November Action Coalition — The Day After [NAC-TDA]. At that time it belonged to SDS. But, PL-SDS had proclaimed that no one except themselves could call a meeting under the name of SDS without its being broken up physically.

Four instances followed in which members of the group now called NAC-TDA were assaulted by PL and SDS hooligans.

In one of these, Aug. 28, 70 SDS and PL members had descended in battle order upon a meeting of some 25 people at which Bresnahan and a few other YSAers were present. In scuf-

Third World liberation notes

On Monday, May 4, Judge James Macgill revoked the bail of SNCC militant H. Rap Brown and issued a warrant for his arrest.

The warrant was issued after a three-judge federal panel from the 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals denied a motion by Brown's lawyer, William M. Kunstler, to have the case moved to federal court. Kunstler made the move on the basis that Brown could not get a fair trial in the state courts. The SNCC leader is being tried on charges of arson and inciting to riot because of a speech he made on July 24, 1967, in Cambridge, Maryland.

It is obvious that Brown's life is in danger when you consider the fact that when the trial opened in Bel Air, Md., last March 9, two SNCC mili-

tants, Ralph Featherstone and William "Che" Payne, were blown to bits while driving from the city that night. And the next day, a white woman was seen leaving the scene after an explosion ripped apart the Cambridge courthouse, the original site of the trial.

* * *

In another racist action, the Justice Department overruled the State Department by denying a visa to Shirley Graham DuBois, wife of the late W.E.B. DuBois. According to John V. Wilson, a Justice Dept. spokesman, Mrs. DuBois was ineligible for a visa because of association with "numerous subversive organizations." He then said official procedure prevented him from revealing the organizations.

Mrs. DuBois, a native of the U.S.

fles during that attack, SDS and PL goons promised to "run Bresnahan out of town."

Their vendetta against Bresnahan gained momentum in the period leading up to and culminating with this spring's April 15 mass antiwar action, and other individuals were apparently added to the list in this period.

John McCann, an SWP member who is a coordinator of the Massachusetts antiwar referendum, found his apartment "under surveillance." John Barzman, a field spokesman for SMC and a YSAer, recently woke up to find several PL and SDS members sitting in a car outside his house.

Bresnahan was cochairman of the Boston antiwar coalition's arrangements committee. His central responsibility was to organize the marshalls for the April 15 action — and this seems to have particularly irked the PL and SDS thugs.

PL and SDS had adopted an ultra-left, sectarian and exclusionist line towards the April 15 Boston demonstration, at the end, virtually isolating themselves from the antiwar movement.

At first they claimed they would not participate in the demonstration because it would allow "imperialist speakers." So they left the coalition of some 35 antiwar organizations in the Boston area and attacked those who were organizing to fight Nixon's escalation.

Then, as April 15 approached, they adopted the opposite line. They insisted upon speaking on the platform

(Continued on page 10)



Photo by Michael Hardy

New Haven Panther support demonstration, May 1-3 — 15,000 came.

Maoism in the U.S.

A critical history of the Progressive Labor Party

by Mary-Alice Waters

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— DERRICK MORRISON

Interview with Arie Bober (I)

Inside Israel today

The following interview with Arie Bober of the Israeli Socialist Organization (ISO) was obtained by Les Evans of *Intercontinental Press* and Robert Langston of *The Militant* in New York April 6. Bober, who is 29 years old, was born in Haifa. He served three and a half years in the Israeli navy and is at present a research assistant in the Berwald School of Social Work of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

The interview originally appeared in the April 20 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. Extensive excerpts from it will appear in two installments.

* * *

Question. What is the status of the anti-Zionist left in Israel today? Would you describe the organizations it comprises, particularly the Israeli Socialist Organization.

Answer. The anti-Zionist left is comprised of only two organizations: the ISO and the Communist party led by Wilner, the group that most closely follows the traditional line of Moscow. There is no other organization in Israel today, left or otherwise, that is anti-Zionist. There are some organizations that pretend to be non-Zionist, but when probed on the basic questions like their stand on the Law of Return, or other basic assumptions of Zionism, they are very quickly shown to be Zionist.

There are two Communist parties. The one led by Moshe Sneh, which is called Maki—it split from Rakah, the Wilner group—has been not only implicitly but explicitly stating that it is "returning home," returning to Zionism. Maki defends the national right of the Jews, which is equated with Zionism. But, of course, it is more liberal than the Zionists. It is important to note that Sneh, its leader and its sole member of parliament, has never, since the June war, supported the demand for complete withdrawal of the Israeli armies from the occupied territories.

We can sum up the position of this Communist split—if you can still call

it Communist—by saying that on issues of world affairs it is thoroughly Stalinist, adheres to the policy of peaceful coexistence, and takes its line from the Soviet CP. But concerning the Israeli conflict it has a dispute with the stand taken by the Soviet Union on the Middle East.

The Rakah group is comprised mostly of Arabs and is much stronger than the Maki group. It won most of the votes of the younger radicalized Arabs in the last election. It has three members of parliament and has a very strong hold on the Arab sector in Israel.

It has a traditional pro-Moscow position. It so happens that the Soviet Union is for the November 22, 1967, United Nations resolution and they adhere to it.

The ISO certainly does not support the stand proclaimed by Maki. It does not support the Rakah position either, because we don't agree with their concept of world policies or their particular stand on the Middle Eastern question. Inherent in the November 22 resolution is the assumption, which is not stated explicitly but is a certain outcome of this solution, that all the guerrilla movements in the Middle East will be exterminated. Otherwise it would solve nothing.

This resolution takes as its starting point the status quo, the existing regimes, including a Zionist Israel. It regards the Palestinians and the Palestinian problem as a humanitarian problem that can be solved by letting the refugees return if they please or get reparations if they remain in the Arab states.

On this question we cannot agree and we are fighting this proposal, but because of the special conditions in Israel we work together with the Rakah CP as far as possible because the objective facts are that the Stalinist Rakah CP is fighting—and sometimes under heavy attack—for the rights of the Arab population in Israel.

We oppose and criticize them on all the international questions, such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and world revolution in general, and, of course, on the internal structure of the



Arie Bober

revolutionary party which for them is very Stalinistic and bureaucratic.

The ISO was established at the end of 1962. It has a Hebrew paper, *Matzpen* [Compass]. It has Arabs and Jews in its ranks, but it has no Arabic publication because under the Emergency Regulations we are forbidden to print an Arabic newspaper.

The ISO has grown very rapidly since the June war. It was the only organization with the exception of the most chauvinistic Zionists that was not broken up or confused by the war. Most of the groups such as Mapam, Avneri's group, different leftists, liberals, etc., saw the June war as either a miracle or a catastrophe—or both. For them Zionism was dead before the June war. Whenever we tried to argue with them and point out that Zionism was still a live ideology and policy they would laugh at us.

Suddenly it arose in front of their faces and it confused most of these organizations, including the Communist party.

The ISO is comprised of proportional parts, students and young intellectuals, a smaller part of workers, and a still smaller number of Arabs. There are many more Jews than Arabs. The reason is that our Arab members are much more heavily persecuted than Jewish members. An Arab member is much more easily accused of being with Fateh, a terrorist, or a spy—there have been such cases. As a matter of fact all our Arab members are either in prison, in exile, under house arrest, or under restriction of movement. We do not have one Arab member who is allowed to move freely in the country.

We have distributed propaganda to Arab students in Jerusalem and in Haifa. Any time an Arab comes more than once to our meetings he has a visit from the security forces advising him—very benevolently, like a good father—that for his own sake he should leave us alone, if he doesn't want to have trouble.

Sometimes people are arrested. The latest case was Nabil Sa'ad who was arrested during the last election campaign. He was held for six weeks. He was questioned for two and a half hours with the "question" consisting only of "For your own good, leave *Matzpen*." He was released two days after the election.

Some 800 activists of the Rakah Communist party were arrested or restricted to their homes during the election campaign, including members of their Politbureau, their Central Committee, etc.

The ISO is working on three levels. First is the student body, where our main propaganda emphasis is criticizing Zionist policy and fighting

against the persecution of Arab students or Arab citizens of Israel. And of course we are trying to expose the atrocities against Arabs in the occupied territories, like shooting, throwing grenades, torturing, blowing up houses, all those things.

The second level of our work is in the factories. We publish a special leaflet for workers, and the main point of our propaganda is trying to show that you cannot be a chauvinist and adhere to the "Greater Israel" and then demand higher wages or a rising standard of living or be astounded by the profits that people make while they demand from you that your wages should go down.

The third level of work is directed at the Jewish community, especially recent immigrants, mostly young people. A great part of them came as leftists, as radicals, as revolutionaries—but with a Jewish entity, which is very understandable. We have told them, if you accept a Zionist outlook then you cannot be a socialist, and if you are a socialist you cannot be a Zionist. This has been very embarrassing

Arie Bober is currently touring the United States on a speaking tour for the Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East. Anyone interested in information on Bober's tour should contact Berta Langston, secretary, Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East, 145 E. 16th St. Apt. 9C, New York, N. Y. 10003.

to the government. In their symposiums and in the Ulpan, the schools that teach the students Hebrew, etc., the main discussion, if there is a political discussion, is *Matzpen* versus the others.

These three fields of action are interwoven. One of the most important areas where we cannot work freely is in the Arab sector. Right after the war, when every Jew was going to the "liberated" territories and meeting with Arabs and buying up everything, we also joined the march and tried to meet various known radicals, some of whom had been members of the Jordanian Communist party, which was outlawed under Hussein, or other leftist groups.

While we were not harmed, the people we met were later either expelled or put into jail.

In the Arab villages it is the same. It is not illegal to go to an Arab village, but it is not legal either. When we go there we are promptly arrested and held for anywhere from a few hours to a couple of days. Our literature is confiscated and the people we meet are put in serious danger.

In this area we are very limited in our effort to build a base, to establish chapters in Arab villages. On one hand the government is very hard on us, and on the other hand the CP, which has a base there, works against us. Rakah needs us in the Jewish sector but is very afraid of us in the Arab sector.

(To be concluded.)



"An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth"

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM

By Doug Jenness 35c

GIs AND THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR

By Mary-Alice Waters 25c

IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL VS. NEGOTIATIONS

By Caroline Jenness 25c

PATHFINDER PRESS
(formerly Merit Publishers)
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♀ Women's liberation notes

One indication of the fantastic growth of the women's liberation movement has been its rapid spread throughout the South and Southwest. An activist in the movement in Austin just wrote us that there are groups in all the following Texas cities: Austin, Killeen, El Paso, San Antonio, Houston, Arlington and Dallas.

A conference on cooperative child care will be held in Bloomington, Indiana, May 15-16. For information, write Jan Wagner, 512 S. Washington, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

A number of significant articles written by radical feminists in the past

year have been collected together in a new magazine, *Notes From the Second Year: Women's Liberation*. Included in the collection are documents from the movement, popular articles such as "Politics of Housework" by Pat Mainardi, and some more controversial contributions such as Ti-Grace Atkinson's "Radical Feminism." The magazine can be ordered for \$1.50 from Radical Feminism, P. O. Box AA, Old Chelsea Station, N. Y., N. Y. 10011.

The White House is apparently uptight about the women's liberation movement. To counter what it refers to as "the danger of accelerating mili-

tancy," a report from the Presidential Task Force on Women's Rights has called for a special White House women's conference. Says the report, "Coupled with corrective legislation, it [the conference] would be a deterrent to the radical liberation movement's preaching revolution."

A newspaper ad for "Mothers' Day specials" at ASC stores carried the headline: "Great things to please any mother—the old-fashioned type or the head of her women's lib. group."

Congressman Bingham (Democrat, Bronx) has come up with what sounds like a good idea. On April 23, he told the Congress: "There are an increasing number of American women who do not wish to be identified as Miss or Mrs. I sympathize with the way they feel and I suggest that they should start using the abbreviation 'Ms.' pronounced 'Mis.'"

"This may seem to some like a frivolous suggestion, but it is not. I know from many conversations with women, including my wife and my daughter-in-law, that they resent being asked by strangers whether they are Miss or Mrs. They point out that men are called Mr. whether or not they are married. . . . I believe that a profound question involving the status of women is involved here."

Over 600 women attended the Second Congress to Unite Women in New York this past weekend. The next issue of *The Militant* will carry a full report on the conference.

Playboy editor Hugh Hefner reportedly circulated the following message in a memo to his staff concerning the recent *Playboy* article on women's liberation: "What I am interested in is the highly irrational, emotional, kookie trend that feminism has taken in the past couple of years. These chicks are our natural enemy! . . .



Photo by Michael Hardy

At New Haven Panther support demonstration

...Why Nixon escalated the war

(Continued from page 3)
the CIA if not directly masterminded by the U. S. spy agency.

But the response of the Cambodian people indicated that Lon Nol had little chance of surviving long. If the junta were to be toppled by a popular movement, this would give fresh inspiration to the National Liberation Front in Vietnam.

The Nixon administration went into a huddle. There was opposition to plunging in deeper. But the voices urging caution were drowned out.

Under the headline "Will 'Guam doctrine' survive? Pentagon prods Nixon on Cambodia," Joseph C. Harsch wrote in the *Christian Science Monitor* of April 25:

"Literally, the President is being told that:

"1. Recent events in Cambodia have provided a 'golden opportunity.'"

"2. If he will only move into Cambodia with American weapons and advisers he will be able to strangle enemy forces in South Vietnam and win a military victory there.

"3. It will take relatively little in the way of Americans because the Communist forces in the area are stretched thin at the end of a long supply line and are weary from years of war.

"4. But if he fails to act all of Cambodia will be taken over by the Communists within four to six weeks and lost forever to the West. . . .

"5. Chinese Communists will begin supplying enemy forces in South Vietnam through the southern ports of Cambodia. . . .

"6. Probably the Russians will join the Chinese. . . .

"7. Communism in Cambodia will infect Laos, and Thailand, and the infection might then spread farther to the south.

"This, literally, is what the President is being told from the military side of the table of his advisers. The men are not the same ones who advised Mr. Johnson, but the advice and its sources are."

In the May 4 issue of the same paper, after Nixon had made his fateful decision to invade Cambodia and bomb North Vietnam, Harsch indicated the latest thinking in Washington:

"Richard M. Nixon has begun a battle at a time and place of his choosing, and the military odds are in his favor. . . .

"If we can't pull this one off,' said one high administration official, 'we had better forget about Southeast Asia and just go home.' . . .

"If the Pnom Penh regime can hold out until the rainy season it might conceivably last a long time. In administration eyes this is worth a try. . . .

"So this is the kind of battle generals dream about. Everything combines to make it the best opportunity the American command has yet had in the entire Vietnam war to score at least a small tactical victory. And it could turn into a strategic success of substantial proportions.

"In this case the operation leads from every possible military advantage. And there is no effective pressure

from other countries or from inside the United States which can blunt the force of the attacks themselves. No matter what may be said in Congress, Mr. Nixon can see this one through at least until the rains come. Nothing Congress can do can force him to call this off within three weeks. And by that time it will have been a success, or a failure."

Or a failure! What then? Nixon has disregarded the political consequences of his move. He has engaged in a desperate gamble. He is betting on a military success of such proportions as to outweigh the political cost.

He leaves out the reaction in Hanoi. He leaves out the reaction in Peking and Moscow. He leaves out the effect on *all* the people of Indochina. He leaves out what the rest of the world may think or do.

Above all, he leaves out the consequences inside the United States, not only among the ordinary people but in the worried sectors of the ruling class.

These consequences will become apparent with such speed that even a "golden" military victory in Cambodia would not enable Nixon to recover politically.

Nixon, it seems, has not yet learned from history that people do not like war, especially a dirty war of imperialist conquest. He has succeeded, however, in putting himself into position to have that lesson administered even more forcefully than in the case of his predecessor, who was also a gambler.

The only subject on feminism that is worth doing is on this new militant phenomena and the proper *Playboy* approach is to devastate it." (For full background story on the *Playboy* article, see April 29 *Liberation News Service*.)

Source Book Press has decided to make some money off the rising interest in women's liberation. They have published 40 volumes of documentary material on the history of the women's movement, the entire collection which is available for \$850 (prepublication price). Although the reprints will help to provide libraries with many useful books on the struggle—such as Bebel's *Women and Socialism* and the famous *History of Women Suffrage* by Stanton, Anthony, Gage and Harper—the prices are outrageous. For example, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* by Mary Wollstonecraft is \$16.50. The same book sells in bookstores now for \$1.75.

Quote of the week—"Our confederacy was a democracy and a matriarchal society in which the woman had superior status to the man, unlike the white man's world. The hereditary chiefs were elected by the clan mothers, leaders of family groups within the tribes, and could be deposed by them. . . ."—Chief Joseph Logan of the Brantford, Ont., Six Nations Confederacy.

—ELIZABETH BARNES

...Boston

(Continued from page 8)

in order "to denounce the imperialists" and promised to attack the rally if they did not get their way.

The coalition unanimously rejected this flagrantly undemocratic ultimatum, insisting that the right to speak at an antiwar rally requires working to build that rally—not working against it.

The April 15 turnout was an important success, the largest antiwar demonstration in the country. It set the political groundwork for the important Massachusetts antiwar referendum now being planned.

And April 15, with 80,000 demonstrators at Boston Common and 300 at the PL and SDS rally, also showed what was the correct program for building mass antiwar actions. However, this did not deter the PL and SDS crowd from launching its attack.

Local and national TV viewers got to see the hysterical ultralefts, sticks and bottles in hand, trying to force their way onto the platform. Several young people were badly injured.

Fran Windling (one of the May 3 raiders) was allowed to speak in order to cool her and her supporters off. She did speak for about 15 minutes, and even that failed to turn the tide of mass sentiment in favor of PL- and SDS-brand hooliganism. The PL and SDS conclusion from this experience—"get Bob Bresnahan."

"The actual physical danger to young people from such attacks," Bresnahan declared, "should not be underestimated. For a moment I saw one girl, her front teeth seemed to be kicked out, in terrible agony. We were unable to get to her, to get her to a hospital. She disappeared after the rally, which broke up about a half hour later.

"But what is crucially important in addition for the movement to understand, is the way such gangster tactics weaken and mislead the entire movement.

"They obscure the fact that the main perpetrators of violence in capitalist society are the capitalist rulers, not the oppressed classes. This method of argument through violence is a method of the ruling class. It is a method of those whose ideas cannot stand up in free debate, and it is absolutely imperative that the entire movement unite to repudiate such methods and in defense of the democratic traditions of radicalism and socialism."

The Great Society

New breakthrough — After preliminary investigation which failed to persuade him, Dr. Arnold Schaefer pressed ahead with his studies and arrived at the definitive conclusion that, "The poorer you are, the more likely you are to suffer from serious malnutrition." The fearless doctor's findings were bared before the Senate Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs where it was expected to bolster a drive by crusading congressmen to give the hungriest of the hungry federal food stamps free.

Pure-minded — The Daughters of the American Revolution convention decried the antipollution movement as subversive. The chairman of the resolution committee warned: "Subversive elements plan to make American children live in an environment that is good for them." The resolution noted that "pollution of the mind" is most dangerous of all.

For services rendered — The New York Telephone Co., which according to a recent survey has the distinction of providing the worst service in the nation, recently asked for and received another rate hike. In Yiddish, they call it *chutzpah*.

Mystery Dep't — We're not certain of the social significance, but: "LAND'S END, England, April 27 (AP) — Police said today they are almost certain a body found on a Land's End cliff is that of James Leland Payne,

31-year-old writer and traveler from Chatanooga, Tenn. The mystery began March 7 when two British climbers discovered a skeleton in a blue pin-stripe suit sitting with an umbrella under its arm on a small ledge halfway down a sheer 250-foot cliff."

Tank the Lord! — "Shlomo Goren, chief rabbi of the Israeli army, issued special directives to soldiers on how to celebrate the Jewish festival of Passover . . . inside a tank. The rabbi said in Tel Aviv that a shortened version of the Passover service commemorating the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt could be recited inside the tanks in the dark through the earphones of an intercom." The April 20 *Boston Globe*.

How spartan can you get — In a new slash of federal expenditures, two presidential yachts — the Patricia and the Julie, named after the president's daughters — were decommissioned. This leaves the President of the Free World with a lone 99-foot cabin cruiser to float on.

Brass-tacks dept's — Senator George McGovern, the Vietnam dove from South Dakota, spoke in Wyoming in support of Senator McGhee, a Vietnam hawk. To critics of this, McGovern explained: "You have to make a judgment on these things that takes into account more than Vietnam. You have the whole question of who is going to control the Senate next year." — HARRY RING

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Pamela Starsky, P.O. Box 750, Tempe Arizona 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-9334.

Hayward: YSA, Marc Rich, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hilary St., Hayward, Calif. 94544. Tel. (415) 537-3656 or (415) 537-3657.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.

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

San Diego: Alan Standliff, 5058 E. Mt. View Dr., San Diego, Calif. 92116. Tel: 281-7991.

Turlock: Valley YSA, Michael Klein, c/o Associated Students, Stanislaus State College, 800 Monte Vista Ave., Turlock, Calif. 95380.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Lyle Fulks, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Col. 80302.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

Orlando: YSA, 762 Overspin St., Winter Park, Fla. 32789.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Jack Lieberman, 509 W. Jefferson, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

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, Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Ill. 60115.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Randy Green, 732 E. Atwater, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Ft. Wayne: YSA, c/o Bill Cullnane, 243 Paulette Pl., Ft. Wayne, Ind. 46805.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Fred Murphy, 1510 Kentucky, Apt. G. Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, 414 George St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. Tel: 462-4687.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981 (HQ), 547-8557.

Worcester: YSA, c/o Alan Einhorn, Box 1388, Clark U., Worcester, Mass. 01610.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

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

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 Paul Schmidlein, 4409 Virginia, K.C., Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 561-0872.

St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, 316 Laurel, #A9, St. Louis, Mo. 63112. Tel: (314) 725-3972.

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 Bill O'Kain, 665 Washington Ave., 2nd floor, Albany, N.Y. 12206.

Annapdale-on-Hudson: Red Hook (Bard College) YSA, c/o Lorenzo Black, P.O. Box 497 Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y. 12504.

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

New York City: SWP and YSA and bookstore, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-6051.

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill-Durham: YSA, c/o Brian Buxton, Rt. 2, Box 125, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, P.O. Box 899, Athens, Ohio 45701.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2921 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115. Tel: 861-3862.

Columbus: YSA, P.O. Box 3006, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 294-2047.

Kent: YSA, P.O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Oberlin: YSA, c/o Rick Bader, 29 College Pl., Oberlin, Ohio 44074. Tel: (216) 775-0462.

Oxford: YSA, c/o Pat Ducey, P.O. Box 321, Oxford, Ohio 45066.

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Duncan Williams, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Tonie Porter, 6770 S. W. Taylors Ferry Rd., Portland, Ore. 97223. Tel: (503) 246-9245.

PENNSYLVANIA: Mansfield: YSA, c/o George Dolph, Box 251, Mansfield, Pa. 16933.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, c/o Jeff Powers, 15 Creighton St., Providence, R.I. 02902.

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

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

HOUSTON: YSA, Campus Activities, University Center, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 1319 F. St. NW., Rm. 1010, Wash., D.C. Tel: (202) 638-0610 or 965-1943.

WASHINGTON: Cheney: E. Wash. State YSA, Sub Box 1040, EWSC, Cheney, Wash. 99004. Tel: 235-6749.

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

Tacoma: YSA, c/o John Naubert, P.O. Box 309, Tacoma, Wash. 98401.

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

Oshkosh: YSA, c/o Peter Kohlenbert, 2020 Evans #4, Oshkosh, Wis. 54901.

The ISR—a New Magazine of Theory, Strategy, and Tactics

By JOSEPH HANSEN

The May 1970 issue of the *International Socialist Review* turned out as advertised in *The Militant*: "A monthly magazine for the new radicalization." By combining their resources, the staffs of the two magazines — *The Young Socialist* and the *International Socialist Review* — have been able to produce something qualitatively superior to either of the former publications. The new monthly, while retaining the name of *International Socialist Review* to clearly indicate the revolutionary Marxist tradition it represents, is genuinely fresh both in appearance and content.

A key article in the May issue of the *ISR* "Ten Years of the New Left" by the editor Larry Seigle provides the essential background for appreciating the significance of the new monthly. The New Left, Seigle explains, for all its ambitious claims and promises, ended in demoralization and defeat; and this despite exceptionally favorable objective conditions. An analysis of the political errors committed by the New Left shows that these stemmed from inadequacies in theory. Instead of developing new theoretical concepts as hoped, the New Left was unable to break out of some very dated concepts. These were crucial in determining the attitude of the New Left toward the class struggle and toward the problem of building a revolutionary party. But a part of the New Left learned from the experience and began turning toward a more adequate theory. This is the source of the current recruitment to the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party; and this is the immediate audience to which the *ISR* is appealing.

George Novack further develops this theme in a more sweeping way in a contribution "The Science of Revolutions and the Art of Making Them." He considers the entire historical background, going back to Plato and Aristotle. He shows that the role of empiricism in making revolutions has declined since it reached its peak in the bourgeois democratic revolutions. With Marx and Engels it was displaced by a scientific outlook, and this means a preminent role for conscious planning. Novack provides illuminating examples of his points, and ends up with the concrete example of the theory and practice of the American Trotskyists in the antiwar movement in the United States, beginning in 1965 with the escalation of the war in Vietnam. An article by Ernest Mandel "The Marxist Theory of Alienation" considers a topic that has been much discussed in the New Left in many countries. Mandel's objective is to offer an easily understood explanation of a subject that has suffered not a little mystification. In passing he polemicalizes against some of the schools that

have misinterpreted Marx or considered his appreciation of alienation in a one-sided way. A short article by Leon Trotsky, published here in English for the first time, deals with a topic of considerable current interest among the radicalizing youth — ultraleftism. The article consists of comments by Trotsky on a speech by Lenin that was suppressed by the Stalinists. In an editorial note, Lee Smith puts Trotsky's article in context. "Nearly forty years after Trotsky prepared the article and nearly fifty years after Lenin delivered his speech," he comments, "the question of ultraleftism remains a burning issue in the contemporary struggles of the new generation of young radicals in the Third World liberation, women's liberation and antiwar movements."

Elizabeth Barnes in "Building a Mass Movement for Black Liberation" reviews a new book by Robert Allen *Black Awakening in Capitalist America*. Her comments are critical but she finds that the book is a valuable one on the whole. She is especially appreciative of Allen's recognition of the need to build a mass Black political party. The issue includes a play by Myrna Lamb "But What Have You Done for Me Lately?" This is a dramatic presentation that seeks to bring home to men the abortion problem as felt by women. By publishing the play, the editors indicate their intention of including in the field covered by the *ISR* at least a certain amount of literary material. It is to be hoped that they can succeed in meeting the standard set by Myrna Lamb.

Some of the liveliest and most interesting material in the issue appears in the various departments. These include editorials, book reviews, notes on other publications, and "Up Front," a column that talks about the magazine itself. A special note on the layout. It is in the latest style. We especially like the mini, midi, and maxi column lengths. For a copy of the May issue (56 pages!) send 50 cents to the *International Socialist Review*, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. For a year's subscription (11 issues) send \$5.

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... Kent eyewitness report

(Continued from page 1)

coming up the hill. Gas cannisters were lobbed. Students threw them back.

We retreated again. The scary thing about it was that the Guard was still coming, shooting tear gas.

The Guard came down toward the hill. Maybe as many as a thousand students had regrouped on a hill near a parking lot. The Guard came toward us. A few guys were throwing rocks—more like pebbles. They weren't big. One Guardsman brushed stones away with his hand.

Then the Guardsmen got to their knees. They aimed. There was no sniper fire. If the commanding general claims there was sniper fire coming from a building, why didn't they shoot up at the building? Why did they shoot at the crowd?

At first no one was sure what was happening. There was a steady, loud rattle, like machine guns.

Someone yelled, "Those are only blanks."

Then we heard bullets whistling past our heads. Dirt flew up in our faces, where bullets were hitting the ground, landing only a few feet from us.

Call issued for day of mourning

WASHINGTON, May 5—At a press conference here today plans were announced for a national day of mourning Friday, May 8, for the four Kent State University student victims. The announcement was made by Carol Lipman, national executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and Charles Palmer, president of the National Student Association.

Also participating in the press conference were Mike York and Fred Kirsch, students at Kent State whose harrowing story is told in this issue of *The Militant*.

Announcement was made at the conference that the slated action had been endorsed by the Washington Federation of Teachers.

The national day of mourning was backed this afternoon by a Boston rally of 25,000. Called by the Boston SMC, the rally at the State House was addressed by speakers from the entire antiwar coalition. Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts, was given a standing ovation when he called Nixon responsible for the murder of the four students at Kent State.

At one point the moderator called upon the governor, who was watching the rally from his office in the State House, to lower the American flag in front of the building to half-mast in honor of the four murdered students. A chant to this effect broke out. Within minutes it was lowered to half-mast, during which everyone stood in silence with fists raised.

There was a tree about 15 yards behind us. There were repeated sounds of thuds and splintering noise as bullets hit the tree. More bullets hit the cars in the lot, smashing the windshields, hitting the fenders and the sides of the cars.

One of us—Mike—dived behind a curb and lay flat. The other one—Fred—raced for a trash can and dived behind it. That's where we waited. Until the shooting stopped.

There was a steady rattling of bullets.

We saw one student run for the parked cars. He almost made it. Suddenly, he spun around, his legs crumpled underneath him, and fell, half behind the car. A student who had made it tried to drag the body behind the car but he wasn't able to.

A girl was screaming. "They're not using blanks. They're not using blanks."

Another student fell over, dead. A student collapsed to the ground, hit.

Suddenly, after about 30 seconds, the shooting stopped. We got up and looked around.

One girl was lying on the ground, holding her stomach. Her face was white.

There were others, lying on the ground. Some moved. Some didn't.

The whole area was one of panic. We heard a girl crying hysterically. "Get an ambulance, get an ambulance," others were shouting.

A guy picked up one girl and held her in his arms. The front of her was covered with blood. "She's dead," he was shouting. "She's dead. I know she's dead."

Some guys were leaning over another girl using jackets as makeshift compresses. Another was giving her mouth-to-mouth resuscitation.

Another guy was helped hobbling to a dorm. One leg had been shot.

One fellow lay in the parking lot. Just lay there.

There were sounds of ambulance sirens. The ambulances pulled up.

"Over here," some students were yelling. "Over here." Students were pointing down at the wounded lying on the ground. "Please hurry, please hurry."

The attendant lifted one fellow onto a stretcher. One side of his head was puffed way out and his face was blue.

People were crying and screaming, saying this thing was uncalled for.

We blame Nixon for this. He's the man responsible for these murders. He sent the troops to Vietnam and sent more to Cambodia. The students are outraged.

What is there to do now? The answer is immediate, total withdrawal of troops.

Kent is closed now. The university's president sent all the students home.

But we want the killers brought to trial.

Right now, we're still in sort of a state of shock. We can still see the National Guardsmen firing.

Each of us tried to go to sleep last night. But you can't. You put down your head, and you keep hearing shots.



Ohio Guardsmen fire tear gas at Kent students

Socialist candidates assail Kent murders

The following statement was issued May 5 by the national campaign committee of the Socialist Workers Party on behalf of the SWP candidates for Senate in the 1970 elections.

* * *

Allison Krause, Sandra Lee Scheuer, Jeffrey Glenn Miller and William E. Schroeder are dead—victims of the same capitalist government that has killed hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese and more than 50,000 American GIs.

With millions of Americans mourning their martyrdom, a decisive new chapter is being written in American history.

Who is responsible for their murder? The individual most directly responsible is Richard Nixon himself. When American students cried out against the violence capitalism is visiting upon the people of Indochina, Nixon publicly branded them as "bums"! Nixon and his cohorts have created the kind of atmosphere where a National Guard commander can order his men to fire into an unarmed assemblage—because "we were out of tear gas."

But while Nixon bears the central personal responsibility for the crime committed at Kent State University, his responsibility is not individual. He bears the burden of guilt as the principal political spokesman for American capitalism. The four Kent students fell victim to the same violence being directed against the people of Indochina.

The Nixon administration and the imperialist system it represents are determined to maintain their domination of Southeast Asia—no matter what the cost in lives of Vietnamese. And, if need be, they are entirely capable of attempting the same kind of cold-blooded violence against those in this country who raise their voices to say, "No! Stop it!"

Millions of Americans have been repelled by the American violence visited upon the Vietnamese. They were shocked by the horror of My Lai and sickened by the new slaughter in Cambodia. But it is a reality of human

existence that often a more limited but horrifying crime closer to home will have a more profound impact than a wholesale slaughter at a distance—a slaughter whose very magnitude sometimes defies genuine human comprehension.

The death of these four young American students drives home with a sudden clarity what is really happening to masses of people in Southeast Asia. And that the time has come to stop it.

The millions of American students now galvanized into action have both the historic responsibility and the equally historic opportunity of mobilizing additional, massive sectors of the American people to stay the hands of the warmakers and to deal serious blows to the social system responsible.

May 30, Memorial Day, must be a day of unprecedented giant street mobilizations. The students must reach out and bring into action as never before hundreds of thousands of working people—Black, Brown and white—GIs, high school students and every other strata of the population that can be reached. This will honor the memory of the four martyrs of the Kent State massacre.

The gunning down of the Kent State Four illustrates the harsh reality that the barbarism of capitalism is not localized to the ghetto or to the oppressed and is not solely for export. If not replaced by a rational, socialist order, capitalist barbarism will ultimately drown all of humanity.

Stop the war. Bring every single GI home. End all capitalist violence at home and abroad. Move toward a socialist society cleansed of barbarism—a society where for the first time freedom, justice and humanity will prevail.

Dianne Feeley, California; Naomi Allen, Illinois; Peter Camejo, Massachusetts; Paul Lodico, Michigan; Nancy Strebe, Minnesota; Kipp Dawson, New York; James Harris, Ohio; Robin Maisel, Pennsylvania; Marianne Hernandez, Texas; Bill Massey, Washington; and Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for governor of Georgia.