

# THE MILITANT

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

## The deepening abortion law struggle

—pages 4, 16



1,500 march in Lansing, Mich., on March 13 for free abortions on demand.

Photo by David Katz



Abe Feinglass, vice-president of Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, addressing March 13 Steering Committee meeting of the National Peace Action Coalition.

Photo by Harry Ring

## Labor support grows for April 24

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## THE MILITANT

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**2,000 DEMONSTRATE IN NEW HAVEN:** More than 2,000 demonstrators, chanting, "Free Bobby, Free Ericka, Stop the War on Black America!" marched through New Haven March 13 in support of the Black Panther defendants in the frame-up trial there. They came from many cities, including New York, where District 65 of the National Distributive Workers union and the Angela Davis defense committee organized buses for the action.

**PRISONERS' STRIKE ON McNEIL ISLAND:** Actress Jane Fonda spoke to a rally of 250 people early this month in Steilacoom, Wash. The rally was called to support the nearly 100 percent effective strike of McNeil Island inmates who are demanding: the federal minimum wage for prison work, changes in the parole system, lifting of mail restrictions, improved vocational programs, lifting of visiting restrictions, and the right to wear beards and long hair.

**STRAIGHT-GAY DIALOGUE FOR L.A. WOMEN:** An all-day program cosponsored by the Los Angeles Women's Center and Los Angeles Gay Women's Liberation last month drew over 100 women to discuss "Sexual Politics: A Dialogue between Gay and Straight Women." The women discussed lesbian-baiting of the feminist movement and the sexual sickness of what is considered "normal" by this society. A new group, the Lesbian Feminists, was formed at the conference. It projects a Southern California Lesbian Conference in April. For more information, contact the Lesbian Feminists, c/o Women's Center, 1027 South Crenshaw, L.A., Calif. 90019, or call (213) 937-3964.

**KENNEDY MOVES TO SUPPRESS MINORITY PARTIES:** All during the 1970 Massachusetts senatorial election, Sen. Edward Kennedy tried to display as a sense of generous fair play on his part what was really the result of his Socialist Workers Party opponent Peter Camejo's initiative—face-to-face confrontations before audiences across the state. The millionaire-Democrat's real stand on giving all candidates a fair hearing before the electorate is seen in the campaign bill he has introduced in the Senate, which includes a provision to repeal radio and television equal-time requirements for both the presidential and congressional elections in 1972.

**MEDIEVALISTS UPTIGHT ABOUT TI-GRACE ATKINSON:** The students at Catholic University had to take the school's administration to court in order to hear Ti-Grace Atkinson, a Catholic feminist, speak about women's liberation. Then, after the students won a favorable decision in U.S. District Court and Atkinson appeared, the feminist speaker was nearly assaulted by Patricia Buckley Bozell, who rushed the platform and swung at her. Bozell, managing editor of *Triumph*, a reactionary Catholic magazine, is also the sister of William Buckley and Sen. James Buckley. She was moved to attempt violence against Atkinson, she said, because of the feminist's observation that the Virgin Mary had been exploited in the "immaculate conception." After she was ejected from the meeting, Bozell joined fellow medievalists kneeling on the sidewalk and saying the rosary as a protest against Atkinson's appearance. 1,500 attended benediction at the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception to protest the feminist's speech, according to the March 11 *New York Post*, while slightly more than half that number, including students, priests and nuns, attended Atkinson's lecture.

**ABZUG BACKS FONDA TROUPE FOR TROOPS:** A petition containing the signatures of 1,770 GIs was presented to Congresswoman Bella Abzug March 9, protesting the Army's refusal to allow Jane Fonda's antiwar entertainment group to perform on base at Fort Bragg, N.C. Abzug said that if the base commander would not relent in his ban, she would appeal his action to the Secretary of the Army. Meanwhile, Fonda's group has been rehearsing a number of skits at the Westbeth Cabaret in Greenwich Village. One of the skits, acted by Donald Sutherland and Fonda, involves the following exchange between Defense Secretary Laird and a reporter: "How are we doing in Vietnam?" "We're winning." "What about all the Americans who are dying?" "They're losing."

**LETTER DESCRIBES BRUTALITY IN DETROIT HOUSE OF CORRECTION:** Jane Kennedy, one of the Beaver 55, a group of antiwar activists who raided Dow Chemical offices in 1969, is currently a prisoner in the Detroit House of Correction for her role in those actions. She has recently been denied parole because she refuses to say her action was wrong. She told the parole board at her hearing she might find it necessary to take similar actions in the future. Tom Fitzpatrick included a letter from Kennedy, smuggled out by friends, in his column in the March 10 *Chicago Sun-Times*. Kennedy's letter enumerates incidents of barbaric treatment of the women in the jail. One incident concerns a 17-year-old woman

named Sylvia, who, for screaming, was sent to "the dungeon." The dungeon "is a very small cell in the basement of the administration building. The floor is concrete. It may or may not have a mattress and the prisoner may or may not be given a blanket and may or may not be allowed clothing." Kennedy also writes of Shirley, held so far for three and one-half months in isolation for attempting escape—"Not long ago, (Shirley's) little girl, whom she hadn't seen in over a year, was brought to see her. The prison authorities would not allow the visit . . . the mother didn't even know the child had come until she received a note from the guardian."

**SUPPORT FOR THE DRAMA REVIEW:** A few issues back, *In Brief* reported on the New York University administration's plans to gut *The Drama Review (TDR)* of its radical content by firing editor Erika Munk and her staff. While our item erroneously forecast a protest ad in the Feb. 22 *New York Times*, what did appear in the *Times* was a letter to the editor in the Feb. 21 issue. The letter said, in part, "We are happy to learn that the editors and staff, who are being so high-handedly removed from their jobs, plan to form a new magazine, keeping the essential character of *TDR* alive, yet in a style and spirit that are not dependent upon the frightened actions of an insensitive, uninformed university administration." The letter was signed by Eric Bentley, Megan Terry, Susan Sontag, Elizabeth Hardwick, Joseph Papp, and 15 others.

**TWO PREVENTIVE DETENTION VICTIMS FREE ON BAIL:** Martin Wade and Rudolph Yelverton, the first two victims of the preventive detention provision of the D.C. Crime Act, obtained release March 4 at a hearing in which it was revealed that their detention had been illegal even under the new law. The judge had sentenced them to pretrial detention without a request from the prosecutor, while the law provides for such detention only in cases where the prosecutor makes a formal motion requesting it. Bond was set at \$1,000 for Wade and \$2,500 for Yelverton.

**GAY ACTIVISTS ALLIANCE SUPPORTS NYC FAIR EMPLOYMENT BILL:** Members of GAA demonstrated March 1 in front of several branch offices of the Household Finance Corporation (HFC) in support of a bill before the New York City Council banning unemployment discrimination on the basis of sexual preference. GAA president Jim Owles said HFC not only won't employ gay people, but refuses to loan gays money. The picketing followed similar demonstrations in recent weeks for job equality at the Board of Education offices and against snooping practices by Fidelifacts, Inc., a private agency that investigates prospective employees' sexual preferences.

**THE CURIOUS COURT (YELLOW):** Because an article written by William O. Douglas had been published by Grove Press, which distributes the film "I Am Curious (Yellow)," he had to abstain from the decision March 8 on a Maryland case banning the film for obscenity. The Maryland Board of Film Censors' ban of the Swedish movie had earlier been upheld by the Maryland Court of Appeals. Douglas' abstention left a four-to-four tie vote on the Supreme Court, leaving the Maryland court's decision intact. While the tie cannot be used as a precedent, it affirms the right of Maryland's film board to exercise prior censorship on all films to be shown in the state.

**LIBRARIANS VOTE FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS:** The following resolution was passed by the Midwinter Meeting of the American Library Association: "Whereas, equal opportunity for women is a growing social concern in American society, and Whereas, within librarianship where women represent the majority, the issue is particularly relevant, and Whereas, statistics show that women librarians typically earn lower salaries than men and are underrepresented in top-level positions in libraries, and Whereas, the underutilization of this talent and education wastes needed professional resources and assaults our sense of human dignity, Therefore, be it resolved that the American Library Association should take steps to equalize salaries and opportunities for employment and promotions."

**FLASHBACK ON JORDANIAN CRISIS:** Issue No. 4 of *Propergander*, a GI antiwar newspaper published by GIs in Germany, carries an interview it indicates was obtained in Heidelberg with a Black Sp/4 from the 130th Station Hospital. The GI says, "I was scared the whole 46 days I spent there. My brother was killed in Vietnam, stepped on a mine—and they shipped me to Jordan! We were in civilian clothes, they gave us red cross arm bands, but our officers had their .45s, and I suppose they'd have used them if the occasion had arisen."

— LEE SMITH



# Houston SWP office is bombed; attack draws broad protest

By DAVID BLISS

HOUSTON—The Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters here was bombed March 12, sometime between 2 a.m. and dawn. The campaign headquarters is located at the Pathfinder Bookstore, which sells socialist, Afro-American, feminist, and other radical literature.

The bombing evoked immediate and widespread protest, including condemnation by the mayor of Houston, the chairman of the Harris County Republican Party, and the *Houston Chronicle*, in a lead editorial.

The attack on the SWP headquarters conforms to a five-year pattern of unchecked right-wing attacks in Houston. The police and news media were called to the scene as soon as the attack was discovered.

Police investigators said that the bomb which was hurled through the window was a fragmentation bomb. Shrapnel from the explosion was found imbedded in the bookshelves and filing cabinets. This is the same type of bomb used in four similar attacks this year. An architecture studio, a motorcycle shop that sold Czechoslovakian motorcycles, the *Forward Times* (a Black newspaper), and the General Store (a local hippie store), have all been bombed since Jan. 1, 1971.

The Pacifica radio station in Houston has also been the target of terrorist attacks in the recent past. Fred Brode, one of the leaders of the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam, has had his house shot at numerous times in the last few years and set on fire once.

Debbie Leonard, SWP candidate for mayor of Houston, linked the bombing to the recent announcement of the socialist election campaign. "We have become very vocal recently on issues which involve changing the established order in Houston," Leonard said. "These attacks are an attempt to silence the movement for social change, but you can't stop our ideas with bombs."

Leonard and the other SWP candidates for city office issued a joint statement at a broadly sponsored news conference March 15. They called on all public officials, organizations



Houston SWP headquarters after bombing March 12.

Photo by Dave Bliss

and individuals to condemn the bombing and demand a full investigation.

Other statements read or presented at the conference came from a professor at Rice University; seven members of the University of Houston political science department; the American Civil Liberties Union; the University of Houston student government president; Houston Mayor Louie Welch; the chairman of the Harris County Republican Party; the Student Mobilization Committee; the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and its local affiliate, Houston PAC; the president of the University of Houston Young Democrats; Houston Area National Organization for Women; the University of Houston Women's Liberation Front; the Houston Young Socialist Alliance; the University of Houston Young Socialist Campaign-

ers; and the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

A lead editorial in the March 13 *Houston Chronicle* entitled "Enemies of Democracy," condemned the terrorist act, concluding, "When bombers damaged the national capitol earlier this month, we said it was the senseless action of a person or group of persons who are either irrational or woefully misguided. The same is true when the bombing is directed, not at the capitol, but, rather, at the headquarters of an insignificant and unpopular political cause."

The editorial pointed out that the SWP is running a full slate of candidates for the fall city elections, and said the bombing "undermines the noble ideas of our Bill of Rights and Constitution."

Mayor Welch's statement said in

part, "I deplore the bombing, and the police department is doing everything possible to put the people who did it out of business."

The SWP candidates disagreed with the mayor about the role of Houston's cops, whose friendly relations with the Ku Klux Klan have been reported by *The Militant* in the past. In their joint news conference statement, Leonard and city council candidates Jeanette Tracy, Mareen Jasin, and Paul McKnight said, "We condemn Police Chief Herman Short and the Houston police for their inadequate, sloppy and irresponsible handling of this and previous bombings. If the Houston police were nearly so dedicated to identifying the right-wing terrorists responsible for these acts of violence as they are to repressing the Black, Brown, and student communities in Houston, it is probable that our campaign headquarters would not have been bombed."

Dr. D. Bramaker, a professor at Rice University stated, "The bombing of the SWP headquarters is only one more proof of the climate of repression and violence fostered in Houston under the slogan of 'law and order.' These acts of terrorism will continue until our public officials enforce the law impartially, regardless of their personal preferences."

Feeling the pressure of public outrage, Chief Short told the *Chronicle* on March 15, "Although we have no direct jurisdiction in bombing cases, we are assisting the fire department arson squad, as we always have in the past. I don't care what this party thinks, we're not going to tell them what we're doing. They can read about it after we do it in the newspapers."

Also responding to the wide sentiment against the bombing, the "Grand Dragon" of the Texas Ku Klux Klan, Frank Converse, was very careful to attribute the attack to the act "of an insane person."

A public meeting is called for March 19 to discuss the organization of a community-wide campaign in response to these terrorist acts. In the meantime, statements of support and contributions to the rebuilding fund can be sent to the SWP, 3806 Wheeler, Houston, Texas 77004.

## Polls show deepening opposition to war

By DICK ROBERTS

MARCH 15—As the harsh realities of Nixon's war plans become clear to millions of Americans, there is an unprecedented turn of opinion against the war, according to the Louis Harris poll released March 6.

A majority of 51 percent of those interviewed declared they thought the war was "morally wrong"; 51 percent also responded that they thought Nixon had "not told people the real truth" about the war.

According to the Harris poll, 61 percent of the people questioned rated Nixon's "handling the war" as "only fair or poor." Only 34 percent rated it "good or excellent," a drop of 10 percent in this category since the invasion began. And only 33 percent rated Nixon as "frank and straightforward"; only 29 percent considered the war "morally right."

Never has there been such wide public sentiment against the war in Indochina.

The chart on this page shows the appalling bomb tonnage the U. S. has dropped on Indochina in the course of the war. Intensive bombing by U. S. "support" planes is the main underpinning of the present invasion of Laos. This was emphasized by *New*

*York Times* correspondent Alvin Shuster in an article written from Saigon March 14:

"Since the South Vietnamese crossed the border to strike at Communist supply lines Feb. 8, American fixed-wing warplanes have flown more than 3,000 sorties, giant eight-engine B-52 bombers have been dropping about 900 tons of bombs a day on the Ho Chi Minh Trail network, and American helicopters have flown nearly 30,000 sorties. (A sortie is one plane on one mission.)"

The headline on Alvin Shuster's article is: "Right Word for U. S. Role in Laos is 'Decisive.'"

Says Shuster, "... American air power is making up the difference between success and failure in Laos. And there is no doubt that the whole operation could not have occurred if it were not for the American warplanes overhead."

"The American planes fly the South Vietnamese troops into Laos, bring tons of cargo to the battlefield area, transport supplies and food to the fire bases, haul the heavy artillery in helicopter slings across the mountainous terrain, bring out the South Vietnamese wounded. . . ."

"Moreover, American C-130 planes are now dropping 15,000-pound

bombs that create instant landing zones which would take troops on the ground weeks to clear out of the jungle."

This reveals how much progress has been made in Nixon's scheme of "Vietnamizing" the war: *Massive U. S. air support in bombing and troop transport is crucial to Saigon Army operations.* "Virtually no Air Force men . . . were included in the latest withdrawal installment," Shuster writes.

The question remains, can this murderous air war tip the balance in Saigon's favor?

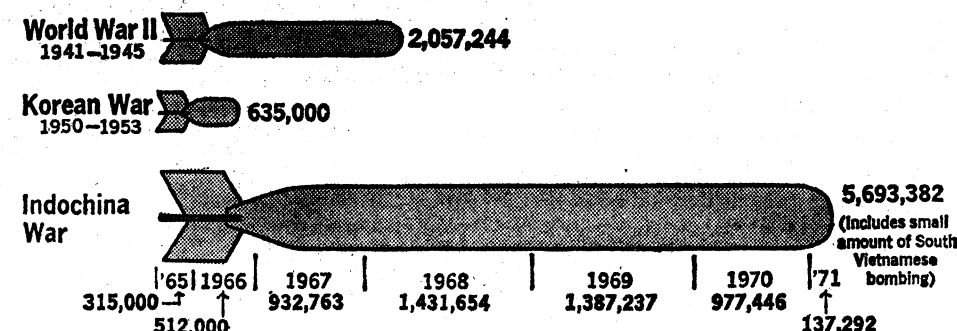
A glance at the chart shows that intensive bombardment of the Indochinese people is not new in this war. By early 1968, the U. S. had already dropped more bombs in Southeast Asia than in the entire Second World War.

Laos has been bombed the most intensively. The chilling story of the plight of Laotian refugees from years of U. S. bombing was described by Fred Branfman, in the *San Francisco Chronicle* March 1. Branfman interviewed refugees in Vientiane, the capital of Laos.

"The flow underscores a population movement in Laos involving an

*Continued on page 22*

### U.S. Bombing Tonnage in Three Wars



The New York Times, March 14

# Michigan march for abortion repeal



Statewide march for repeal of abortion laws in Lansing, Mich., March 13

Photo by David Katz

By HELEN SCHIFF

LANSING — Busloads of women rolled into the state capital March 13 bringing Michigan women together from all across the state in a united show of strength in support of the right to control our own bodies—for free abortion on demand and no forced sterilization.

Assembling in deep snow and near-freezing temperatures in Durant Park, the women—college and high school students, young housewives with their children, and older women—along with their male supporters marched six blocks to the state capitol, singing and chanting all the way. Women felt their powerlessness disappear as they marched with their sisters from the entire state peninsula and from over 20 college campuses and 30 cities. An estimated 1,500 people took part.

Sponsors of the march included such groups as NOW, Welfare Employees Union, Socialist Workers Party, Welfare Rights Organization, Westside Mothers, Young Socialist Alliance, Wayne State Association of Women Students, Zero Population Growth, Young Women Committed to Action, and women's liberation groups from Grand Rapids, Muskegon, Kalamazoo, Mount Pleasant, Ann Arbor, De-

troit, Lansing, East Lansing, Ypsilanti, and Rochester.

A Black women's contingent and a high school contingent marched in the demonstration, and at the rally a Girl Scout and a Brownie troop were present in uniform. A *Detroit Free Press* account reported the participation of a Roman Catholic nun.

Debby Deegan from Wayne Women's Liberation, the initiating organization and one of the central organizers of the demonstration, chaired the rally and explained the impact the demonstration had had before Saturday. "It is probably not a coincidence that two days before the demonstration, the [state] senate passed a reform abortion bill, which would extend the right of abortion to many Michigan women. However, the struggle has just begun, and we will not let up until every woman in this state can completely control her own body. To us this means free abortion on demand."

The reform bill includes a 90-day residency requirement, a requirement that either your parents or your husband must consent to the abortion, and a limit of 90 days of pregnancy, beyond which a woman cannot get an abortion.

"Women's rights are being violated in many ways," former state senator Lorraine Beebe told the crowd. "But none more blatant and primitive than our abortion laws. . . . A woman becomes state property once she becomes pregnant," said the woman who once shocked the senate when she told her fellow lawmakers that she had had a therapeutic abortion.

Speaking at the open mike, a Ferndale high school senior demanded that free abortion on demand be made available to high school students. "We have come here today having rejected the high school jealousy dating game, and have marched here today as women who have strength and pride in the beauty of our womanhood and fury at insults to that womanhood."

High school women, she declared, can particularly identify with the demonstration. "They don't provide us with birth control, and then they wonder why we get pregnant. And when we do, they kick us out of school."

A Black nurse from Detroit said: "I've seen women, especially poor, Black women come into the hospital bleeding from self-induced, home-remedy abortions. Most of them die because they wait too long to come to the hospital for proper medical care,

because if they come too soon the doctor may be able to save the fetus."

The demonstration received wide-scale media coverage. Roman Catholic speaker of the house, William Lyons, said regarding the demonstration that "a legislator cannot base his decision just on the number of people who show up in one place at one time." However, a counterdemonstration called by an antiabortion group from Monroe County failed to materialize.

Getting a permit to hold the march was itself a civil liberties victory for the movement. Initially, a permit for the march had been denied under a new city ordinance requiring 30 days' notice. When the women threatened to sue, the male-dominated Lansing City Council was forced to back down.

This demonstration has set the stage for the development of a mass women's liberation movement in Michigan.

There was much enthusiasm also for the April 24 Women's Contingent against the war in Southeast Asia.

Cold and tired, over 200 women met informally in the Lansing Community College cafeteria after the march and rally. The talk at many of the tables expressed a deep satisfaction with the day's activities and an eagerness to continue the struggle.

## Colo. rally: 'Abolish all abortion laws'

By KAREN KORDISCH

DENVER—On March 6, women here held their first united action to demand that Colorado abortion laws be abolished. Two hundred women and men gathered for a rally at the state capitol, in the freezing remains of the previous day's blizzard, to support the demands of Coloradans to Abolish All Abortion Laws (CAAAL): Women should have the right to control their own bodies; Make abortions available to all women; No forced sterilization.

The rally speakers refuted the idea that abortion should be a tool of population control, demanded that abortion be recognized as a woman's right, and stressed the limitations of abortion reform, particularly Colorado's

proposed senate bill. Women speaking included Pat Brown, Denver Women's Liberation; Muffie Page, Boulder Women's Coalition and Young Socialist Alliance; Myrnie Daut, University of Denver Women's Liberation; Carolyn Jasin, Socialist Workers Party and CAAAL; and Shirley Giellis, a member of National Organization for Women (NOW). Also on the program was a reading of "But What Have You Done For Me Lately?" by playwright Myrna Lamb, and a guerrilla theater skit.

Members of CAAAL were encouraged with the results of the first organized women's rally, including the wide news coverage it received.

A reform abortion bill was proposed in the Colorado legislature, which al-

lows abortion, through the sixteenth week of pregnancy, determined by a woman and her doctor. The present Colorado law requires women to declare mental or physical incompetency in front of a hospital board before the right to abortion is granted.

A major opponent of the abortion reform bill has been the Colorado Right to Life organization, which declares there is no such thing as an unwanted child. The Catholic Laymen of America, in conjunction with Right to Life, organized a march of 1,000 in late December, and over 200 members of the group packed the senate gallery during committee hearings where an unexpected motion was made and passed killing the bill.

The bill now being debated in the

senate is the third presented since January by Sen. H. Fowler. In that time, the bill was changed from being a population control measure with many provisions, including abortion reform, to purely an abortion bill. The length of pregnancy allowable before abortion was dropped from 24 to 16 weeks.

As the bill was changed and moved tenuously through committees, the Denver chapter of NOW withdrew from the CAAAL coalition stating that although it supports the reform abortion bill it felt a rally might harm its passage. Despite NOW's organizational withdrawal, many individual NOW members continued to work actively to build the rally.

## Boston women win center

By CHRIS HILDEBRAND

BOSTON — About 250 women who had been occupying a Harvard University building for 10 days left the building on March 15, 10 minutes before the Cambridge riot squad arrived to arrest them. The women had been occupying the rundown, two-story building since March 6 to dramatize the need for a women's center which would serve the women in the Boston area. They had painted it, fixed the plumbing, and set up child-care facilities, a gay women's center, self-defense training classes, film-showings, community drying facilities, and a health referral service.

Harvard's first move against the

women, on March 7, was to turn off the electricity and heat. The women were able to turn the electricity back on and place a padlock on the outside box to prevent future attempts to turn off the power. They were less successful with the heat and remained the entire 10 days in bitter cold accommodations, supplemented only with a few electric heaters which were very inadequate.

The most important aspect of the struggle was the accidental alliance which grew up with the Riverside community, a predominantly Black neighborhood surrounding the building. The Riverside community had been trying to negotiate with Harvard for

almost two years to get the same building and to force Harvard to build low-cost housing on its property in that area of Cambridge. Harvard and MIT are the two major landowners in Cambridge and are continually pushing out the residents through their expansion into the community.

The women, finding out about the needs of the Riverside community only after seizing the building, incorporated the demands of the community into their own and were thus able to win support from sections in the community. This support proved decisive in eventually forcing Harvard to grant their demands.

Harvard has offered 19 different

buildings for a possible women's center and an anonymous donor has put up \$5,000 to get the center started. The women are in the process of choosing the most appropriate site. Harvard has also promised to begin negotiations with the leadership of the Riverside community about their demands.

After threatening for about a week to send the police, Harvard apparently decided it had made its final offer and called out Cambridge's finest. The women wisely decided to leave the building in the face of Harvard's apparent concessions and to wait two weeks to see if Harvard has decided to act in good faith.



# Subscription drive nears goal

By DOUG JENNESS

A few days before the end of the drive to obtain 7,500 new subscriptions to *The Militant* 21 areas have either met or surpassed their quotas and many other areas are not too far behind. Reports to the *Militant* business office from subscription directors around the country indicate that there should be no trouble going over the goal of 7,500 when subscriptions already in the mail and those to be obtained in the next few days are received. The final scoreboard will appear next week.

During the past week, 1,883 new subscriptions were received, as an intensive effort throughout the country is being made to go over the top. In this final stretch of the campaign, the Minneapolis-St. Paul area raised its quota from 320 to 420 and has already gone over this new target.

The drive to obtain 1,250 new subscribers to the *International Socialist Review* now stands at 1,109.

## Subscription scoreboard

Area	Quota	New Subs
Santa Cruz, Calif.	40	92
Long Island, N.Y.	40	82
La Crosse, Wis.	30	47
Alamosa, Colo.	10	15
Amherst, Mass.	50	75
Tallahassee, Fla.	40	59
Burlington, Vt.	15	21
Phoenix, Ariz.	35	47

Boulder-Denver, Colo.	110	143
Binghamton, N.Y.	60	69
Worcester, Mass.	65	73
State College, Pa.	10	11
Madison, Wis.	120	131
Bloomington, Ind.	50	54
Newark, N.J.	30	32
Oxford, Ohio	25	26
Cleveland, Ohio	300	308
Twin Cities, Minn.	420	427
Los Angeles, Calif.	500	503
Durham, N.H.	20	20
Milwaukee, Wis.	50	50
San Jose, Calif.	5	5
New York, N.Y.	1,000	940
Providence, R.I.	75	70
Atlanta, Ga.	250	225
Cincinnati, Ohio	40	36
New London, Conn.	10	9
Washington, D.C.	150	134
San Diego, Calif.	100	87
Portland, Ore.	75	64
Houston, Texas	125	103
Chicago, Ill.	700	564
Baltimore, Md.	10	8
Geneseo, N.Y.	5	4
San Bernardino, Calif.	5	4
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	325	254
Philadelphia, Pa.	325	247
San Francisco, Calif.	400	301
East Lansing, Mich.	20	15
Highland Park, Ill.	12	9
Paterson, N.J.	20	15
Yellow Springs, Ohio	40	30
Riverside, Calif.	50	37
Pensacola, Fla.	10	7
Ann Arbor, Mich.	40	27
Seattle, Wash.	200	121
Hartford, Conn.	5	3
Modesto, Calif.	25	15
Nashville, Tenn.	25	15

Schenectady, N.Y.	5	3
Austin, Texas	175	98
Norman, Okla.	25	14
Oshkosh, Wis.	25	14
Kansas City, Mo.	50	27
DeKalb, Ill.	65	34
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	50	26
Detroit, Mich.	350	180
Pittsburgh, Kan.	10	5
Boston, Mass.	600	299
Cambridge	(150)	(82)
No. Boston	(150)	(60)
So. Boston	(150)	(43)
Logan, Utah	25	12
Albany, N.Y.	40	19
Portsmouth, N.H.	20	9
Pullman, Wash.	20	9
Gainesville, Fla.	50	22
Carlinville, Ill.	5	2
Newport, R.I.	15	6
Tampa, Fla.	50	19
Murfreesboro, Tenn.	25	9
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	9
New Britain, Conn.	20	7
Jacksonville, Fla.	6	2
Champaign, Ill.	25	8
New Haven, Conn.	25	8
Dallas-Ft. Worth, Texas	35	9
Edinboro, Pa.	10	2
El Paso, Texas	25	5
San Antonio, Texas	20	4
Wayne, N.J.	10	2
Tuscaloosa, Ala.	50	7
Columbus, Ohio	25	3
College Park, Md.	10	1
Farmington, Maine	10	1
St. Louis, Mo.	10	1
Colorado Springs, Colo.	25	2
Sacramento, Calif.	25	1
Waverly, Ohio	25	1
Red Hook, N.Y.	30	1

Pittsfield, Mass.	25	0
Clemson, S.C.	20	0
Indiana, Pa.	10	0
Newburgh, N.H.	10	0
New Orleans, La.	10	0
Wakefield, R.I.	10	0
Florence, Ala.	5	0
Kalamazoo, Mich.	5	0
Mission Viejo, Calif.	5	0
Webster, N.Y.	5	0
General	175	181
TOTAL TO DATE		6,696
GOAL		7,500

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# D.C. socialist campaign makes big impact

By CALVIN ZON

WASHINGTON, D.C. — On March 23, residents of the District of Columbia will elect their first congressional representative—a nonvoting delegate—since the end of reconstruction, when the Congress disenfranchised the people of Washington with respect to both local and national representation.

In response to demands for an end to Washington's unique status as "the last colony," Congress has granted a few sops to the city's 71 percent Black population: the right to vote in presidential primaries in 1960, the right to vote in presidential elections in 1964, and now for a nonvoting delegate. (Last week Congress voted by a two-to-one margin to deny the

district full congressional representation: two congressmen and two senators.)

"Congress has thrown us another meatless bone," points out Socialist Workers Party candidate James Harris. As the delegate race draws to a close, the Harris campaign is receiving increasing news coverage. On March 11, Harris appeared on a radio call-in show. On March 13 he appeared with the other candidates on Black News, a one-hour TV interview program. Harris will take part in four more TV debates and make a 15-minute TV presentation under the FCC equal-time requirement. The SWP campaign has received extensive write-ups in Washington's two major dailies, the *Washington Post* and the *Washington Star*.

There are six candidates on the ballot. The Board of Elections disqualified two independents on the grounds that their nominating petitions contained slightly less than the required 5,000 registered voters' signatures. (Democrats and Republicans need only 2,000 signatures.) Harris strongly protested the petition challenges made by the D.C. Democratic Central Committee.

A highlight of the campaign was a March 13 campaign forum sponsored by Federally Employed Women (FEW) in which the candidates' attitudes towards women's rights were brought into sharp focus. Harris stated, "Regardless of what my opponents say here today, Dr. Kameny [the homosexual rights candidate] and I are the only candidates who have consistently raised the issue of women's liberation during this campaign. The other candidates not only did

not mention the subject, but declined to defend our position from reactionary attacks from the floor."

On this score, Harris criticized the independents as well as the Democratic and Republican candidates. "The Rev. Douglas Moore (Black United Front), denying women's right to abortion, demagogically plays upon the backward tendencies among the population. Julius Hobson (Statehood Party), using the slogan 'A MAN for Congress,' reinforces male chauvinism and gives the impression that masculinity will be able to change things by scaring people on the House District Committee."

The *Washington Post* reported that Harris was the only candidate to have prepared a position paper on women's liberation. The Rev. Walter Fauntroy, the Democratic front-runner, was pressed during the question-and-answer period on his stand on abortion. "I am in a moral dilemma about that," Fauntroy replied, "because Black women haven't had access to proper avenues of getting abortions. I'm not a stickler for the traditional Catholic position" (Fauntroy is a Baptist). He added, "But on the other hand, I don't want to see the abuse of medical facilities to make abortions freely accessible." The mainly female audience responded angrily to Fauntroy's denial of the right of women to control their bodies.

Dr. Franklin Kameny, president of the Washington, D.C., Mattachine Society and the first avowed homosexual to run for public office, said that women must organize and fight for their rights, as must homosexuals. Dr. Kameny, an astronomer-physicist, is

trying to regain the security clearance he lost when he was fired in 1957 by the Army Map Service for being a homosexual. The Supreme Court has rejected his suit. Kameny is using his campaign to call attention to police harassment and oppression of homosexuals and "other nonconformists."

Kameny, a long-time civil rights activist who led Washington's gay contingent in the 1963 civil rights March on Washington, stresses that the fight for sexual freedom is closely linked to the struggle of women, Blacks and all minorities. He estimates that about 10 percent of Washington's population, or about 75,000 people in the city, are homosexuals. Campaigning in gay gathering places around the city, he hopes to raise the political consciousness of the gay community.



James Harris

# In Our Opinion

## Red-baiting the 24th

A recent article by syndicated columnists Evans and Novak attempts to smear the upcoming April 24 antiwar demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco as a plot of "far-left" groups in general, and of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in particular.

Such attacks are made every time there's a mass antiwar action. Once it becomes clear that the action is building momentum, the right-wing pundits of the news-feature circuit pipe up about the poor people who are being duped by a handful of "reds." Usually there is a flurry of such articles in the days preceding the action, which are written with the aim of keeping people away. That Evans and Novak made their odious contribution to the red-baiting campaign with more than six weeks to go before the demonstration is an indication of the power that the 24th has already developed.

Evans and Novak report that there have been differences among antiwar forces on perspectives for the movement. The SWP and YSA, along with many others, have been actively urging support for mass, legal and peaceful mobilizations as the most effective way of drawing new forces into the struggle, and the way to demonstrate the strongest showing for the demand of immediate withdrawal from Indochina. A minority of forces has favored civil disobedience as a tactic, even though it would admittedly mean fewer people would turn out.

"The winners in this intense sectarian battle were the Trotskyites," write Evans and Novak, "whose remarkable renaissance has been built through strong college campus ties and consistent nonviolence."

Their column then describes the series of conferences and meetings that have occurred over the past months in working out the April 24 action. What they characterize as a "heated backstage struggle among leftist groups for control of the peace movement" has actually been one of the most open, public and democratic discussions ever organized by antiwar forces. It began with a conference of more than 1,200 people in Chicago in December, sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition. The conference was open to all opponents of the war and was widely reported in the press. Representatives of groups favoring civil disobedience and alternative dates for the action were present and spoke for their views. This conference issued the call for April 24 after a full discussion.

Then, in February, more than 2,000 student activists and leaders at a national student antiwar conference sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee, the nation's largest student antiwar organization, voted overwhelmingly to endorse and build April 24. Here again a wide range of viewpoints, including those opposed to an April 24 action, were openly discussed.

These national conferences have been complemented by many regional and local gatherings, all likewise well publicized and open to the press.

The SWP and YSA have actively participated in these conferences, along with many other political organizations. They have been in the forefront of the fight for open and democratic conferences. Moreover, the YSA and SWP have consistently advocated, along with the great majority of antiwar activists, the policy of nonexclusion within the movement. The antiwar movement has consistently welcomed and successfully drawn into its ranks people of every political party and belief who want to unite in action against the war. This has been one of the strengths of the movement, making it resistant to attack from such quarters as Evans and Novak.

We suggest that rather than worrying about the "well-meaning students, housewives, and politicians pouring into Washington . . . at the mercy of backstage power struggles between minute leftist groups," Evans and Novak should direct their attention to the overwhelming majority of American people at the mercy of Richard Nixon. In every poll, referendum and election where there was a clear choice, the American people have expressed their desire to end this war. Yet Nixon refuses to abide by the will of the majority.

That is why there will be a massive turnout on April 24 despite the efforts of Evans and Novak and their counterparts everywhere to stop it.

If the ruling class ran this country with one-tenth as much democracy as the antiwar movement has conducted its affairs, Nixon and his war would have been dumped long ago.

# Letters

## Women in unions

Women in unions are attracting some attention now largely because of the women's liberation movement, but this is not generally recognized or admitted. Lucretia M. Dewey, an economist with the Bureau of Labor Statistics, recently made an analysis of women in unions. Some of the news stories that have appeared lately about how women are kept out of positions of leadership in the unions are based on her report.

In 1968, women were 37.1 percent of the civilian work force, yet only about one in nine belonged to a union. Today the employed civilian work force numbers 78.6 million. Approximately 40 percent—31.5 million—are women workers. Of these, not more than 3 million belong to unions.

Total union membership in the United States is less than 20 million. So, about one of every six union members is a woman. It is reasonable to think that the number of women belonging to unions would be reflected in the official positions held by women in the union movement. But this is not the case at all.

Only 38 women hold national union posts. No union has a woman president. Only a few have women vice-presidents. The Retail Workers, International Ladies' Garment Workers, United Auto Workers, and the Restaurant and Bartenders each have one woman international vice-president. The United Electrical Workers has four women on its 20-member executive board.

There are no women on the international executive boards of such unions with large women memberships as the Communications Workers, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Machinists, Bakery Workers, and the International Union of Electrical Workers, all AFL-CIO affiliates.

During the past year, the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission received 400 women's grievances, some referred by union members when the unions failed to defend their rights.

Clearly, here is an area for the women's liberation movement to investigate. If more women break into positions of union leadership, they can then bring the union to those millions of still unorganized women who badly need the higher wage standards and other benefits that only unions can establish and enforce.

M. S.  
New York, N. Y.

## Great computer rip-off

Techniques of robbery have always kept pace with the scientific achievements of the time. The stagecoach had its highwayman; the railroad, the train robber; the banks, the expert safecracker; the plane, the hijacker; and now, according to the Oakland, Calif., cops, we have the computer raider.

Information Systems Design Inc. (ISD) in Oakland, is a leasing service that sells computer time to firms that cannot afford their own computer. Its computer has a vast quantity of stored information available, tailored to the needs of its patrons. The customer has only to dial the computer by phone, give the code number, and make a request. The willing computer goes to work, delivering the necessary information

right over the phone. A special coding system supposedly prevents unauthorized use of this expensive equipment.

Recently the computer began acting up. ISD became aware that someone was dealing cards from the bottom of the deck and called the cops. The police fraud inspector, now turned computer sleuth, tracked the phone calls to the Palo Alto office of University Computers and further search narrowed the chase down to Hugh J. Ward, who was charged with grand theft. The sleuth claims that Ward had been removing the precious information since April 1970.

Information is now classified as property and crimes against property are not taken lightly under capitalism. Does it seem proper for an entrepreneur to sit greedily alongside such a beautiful and complex piece of apparatus, holding back information until he gets his cut—like the colonial turnstile-watcher who collected his fees from the poor toll-road users?

Under socialism, computers could be accessible to all who need them, helping to simplify their tasks and freeing them from drudgery. Computer training would be a part of everyday education, so that anyone who needed it merely had to dial the local computer service and put it to work. Another graphic example of why outmoded capitalism must be replaced.

Robert Chester  
San Francisco, Calif.

## The 'Montreal Five'

The trial now in process of the 17 persons charged with belonging to or aiding the Quebec Liberation Front just goes to prove what a tremendous influence politics play, even in the halls of justice. The inability of the authorities to produce any concrete evidence whatsoever on the original "Montreal Five" jailed [trade union leader Michel Chartrand, author Pierre Vallieres, teacher Charles Gagnon, lawyer Robert Lemieux, and ex-Canadian Broadcasting producer Jacques Larue Langlois — *Editor*] proved to be very embarrassing politically, especially after the War Measures Act was invoked.

Now the government needs scapegoats to justify such drastic action. But they have already been forced to grant bail to three of the "Montreal Five." The court's refusal to grant bail to Vallieres and Gagnon should be thoroughly denounced, as I am sure they cannot make the public believe two people alone can make a revolution.

Irene Rocchio  
Minneapolis, Minn.

## Knoxville women's program

Knoxville was recently the site of a week-long program on the women's movement. The week began on Feb. 13 with a "Conference on Women" at the University of Tennessee campus. Approximately 200 people participated in the day-long program, which included workshops on marriage and alternatives to it, child care, abortion and birth control, and how advertising prostitutes women.

Kipp Dawson of the New York Women's Strike Coalition and the Socialist Workers Party spoke the following afternoon to an audience of



# The Great Society

about 50 students on the subject of the alienation women feel in this society.

A four-lecture series on the theme "Women: Motherhood to Militancy" was held Feb. 15-18. Speakers included Betty Friedan on the history of women's liberation and its importance today, and Florynce Kennedy and Marlene Sanders on "Women's Liberation, the Black and White of It." Several thousand students attended the series.

Over 50 people attended a special session the following weekend for training pregnancy/abortion counselors. Several unions in Knoxville indicated interest in such a referral program, and a number of students will be working with them in setting it up.

Many students on campus have shown a great deal of interest in the women's movement. Activities around the women's struggle will certainly be a main focus for action in the spring.

*A reader  
Knoxville, Tenn.*

## Prof. Lipset's witch-hunt

The following are excerpts from a letter I sent to the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* in reply to the attempts by Professor Seymour Lipset to witch-hunt opponents of Zionism and the policies of the Israeli ruling class. It might be considered one of those points of view which the *New York Times* regards as unfit to print.

"Professor Lipset is guilty of a serious intellectual error. He assumes that because anti-Zionism is often deployed to advance anti-Semitism, it follows that one cannot be anti-Zionist without being anti-Semitic. . . .

"Does Professor Lipset believe that the state of Israel and its rulers are beyond criticism? Does he claim the right to smear any opponent of that state as anti-Semitic? If so, then he too is guilty of the crime he imputes to others. Those who identify the settler politics of the Zionist government with the Jews as a people are the real anti-Semites. . . .

"Professor Lipset does not attack the opponents of French colonialism in Algeria because some Algerians were anti-French per se. He does not attack the opponents of apartheid because some Africans are antiwhite per se. But he makes an exception where Zionism is concerned. He distorts and suppresses the cogent critique of Zionism which exposes it as a reactionary and oppressive force dependent upon the power of a vicious world capitalism."

Congratulations on [*The Militant's*] consistent excellence in analyzing the Palestinian revolution, a task of unique importance for the American revolutionary movement.

*Ralph Schoenman  
American Foundation for Social Justice  
Pennington, N. J.*

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

**Bet you never guessed**—"When you average it out," says Secretary of the Treasury John Connally, "food prices are about the best buy in the American economy today." Which could possibly lead some folk to wonder what's the worst buy.

**Fun City**—The March 7 *New York Times* advised: "'Urban crisis' has become one of the great cliches of our times and the words don't seem to have impact anymore. But what they mean to someone living in New York City is simply this: The average family here will pay something like \$600 more in taxes next year for worse schools, dirtier streets, more crimes—and more on welfare." And, they might have added, those on welfare will be getting less.

**Unsafe**—British peddlers of a "chastity belt" were turned down when they claimed tax exemption on the ground that it's a safety device. "Of course these belts are not safety devices," a tax office spokesman snorted. "They

don't save you from a broken neck, do they?"

**Free at last**—Dr. Robert R. J. Gallati, director of the New York State Identification and Intelligence System, says the Frankenstein-like computerized personal information systems are not only essential for law and order but "can be developed and operated so as to provide new dimensions of personal freedom. . . ." Like, for instance, making sure people are let out after they do their time?

**How egalitarian can you get?**—Under a new Vatican ruling, sacramental annointment may now be performed with any vegetable oil instead of the olive oil previously strictly required. Next thing they'll be using Manischewitz wine for communion.

**Rights fighters**—The International Conference of Police Associations assailed U.S. Attorney General John Mitchell for waging a witch-hunt against law enforcement officers after

Mitchell got a court order to root around in police files for evidence against six cops charged with civil-rights violations. We trust their concern for due process will inhibit these officers from any thoughts of offing the federal pigs.

**Estheticsville, USA**—"Practical paintings are introduced by a Los Angeles concern. Artcraft Studios turns out 36-inch-square wall paintings to appeal to apartment dwellers and others in cramped quarters. If need be, the pictures can be turned into card tables by attaching legs, which Artcraft includes." — *The Wall Street Journal*.

**A hard-core rumor**—We haven't seen the \$12.50 paperback version of the presidential committee's pornography report, with appropriate illustrations, for which the publishers were indicted for pornography. But we have it from reliable sources that the illustrations did not include a photo of the president delivering a speech on Vietnam.

— *HARRY RING*

# Third World Liberation Notes

**Pharr is a city at the tip of Texas.** Located in the valley of the Rio Grande, where Mexican-Americans serve as a supply of cheap labor for the tycoons of agribusiness, Anglo domination is barely disguised. The repressiveness of that domination became very evident in the police killing of Alfonso Loreda Flores, a 20-year-old Chicano construction worker.

He was shot in the head on the night of Feb. 7. As he lay on the ground, bleeding profusely, he still had his hands in his pockets, a posture of total innocence. Hours before Flores was killed, Chicanos, who constitute the majority of the population in Pharr, were picketing the police station. They were protesting the repeated beatings and head whippings meted out to any Chicano who is arrested and brought to the station.

Even though the police chief and the police are Mexican-American, they front for the Anglo mayor, R. S. Bowe. And Bowe is the front man for people like U.S. Senator Lloyd M. Bensten Jr.—the people who own the Valley. Bowe does not believe the citizens of Pharr have the right to demonstrate. According to the Feb. 26 *Texas Observer*, "For several years there has been a parade ordinance on the books which defines 'one or more persons' or 'one or more vehicles' moving down the street as a 'parade,' subject to the regulation of the mayor, who has the option of issuing a permit if he approves.

"Once federal judge Reynaldo Garza asked Chief (Alfredo) Ramirez, 'If two women from the League of Women Voters walked up and down in front of City Hall with signs saying 'Register to Vote,' would you arrest them?'

"'I would,' said the chief.

"'Well,' said Judge Garza, 'we public officials may not like picketing, but people have a right to do it. . . . If they want to walk up and down outside the federal building with signs saying 'Judge Garza Is Unfair,' I may not like it, but there isn't a thing I can do about it.' Not exactly an earthshaking statement from a federal judge, but Mayor Bowe, Chief Ramirez, and their lawyer looked stunned."

So the demonstration Feb. 7 constituted a grievous violation of Valley "law and order." But because of mounting discontent, Chicanos were allowed to picket the police station that day.

A crowd gathered, and along with the demonstrators, they put to chants their sentiments about the cops. The police got upset and called for the fire trucks. The chief then gave the order to "disperse," not in Spanish, which is the predominant language in Pharr, but in English.

After the fire hoses were turned on, the crowd moved to throw bricks at the station and police cars. Reinforcements were called in from other towns. "Bullets were being thrown around like confetti. . . ." the *Observer* reports. "As firing and tear gas filled the streets, the Saturday night crowd became reluctant to leave the bars. Soon tear gas was being fired into some of the establishments. An M. Rivas supermarket was cleared when it became filled with the choking fumes.

"'Pepe' Saldana and another man each had several shots fired into their pickups. Nightsticks got plenty of use. But hardly any windows were broken; no policemen were shot; none of the people were armed."

So Flores, a bystander, was shot to death by police. He was married, with one child. But Chicanos aren't considered human beings. The following morning the newspapers carried scandalous headlines like, "Full-Scale Rioting Sweeps Pharr Streets," "Massed Police Quell Youth Riot at Pharr," and "2 Policemen Hurt in Clash at Pharr."

Eight hundred Chicanos attended Flores' funeral. The struggle continues.

**The infant mortality rate** in all of New York City is 23.1 deaths for every 10,000 live births. In Harlem, it is 42.6 deaths.

**Because of economic depression** in the Philippines and an easing of the immigration laws here, over 25,000 Filipinos entered the U. S. in 1970. This figure was 2,500 in 1965. There are currently over 20,000 Filipinos in San Francisco and over 45,000 in Los Angeles.

**The U.S. Armed Forces** have instituted race relations classes to lessen "Racial friction and violence. . . ." reported in recent months from Vietnam, Okinawa and West Germany." But as Brother Malcolm said, "a chicken cannot produce a duck egg."

**The March 7 New York Times** reported, "Indian students from 12 universities and colleges in New Mexico, Utah, Colorado and Arizona have voted to form a national association for the establishment and development of Indian studies programs in higher education institutions in the Southwest. They represent eight different tribes and pueblos."

The association, known as the National American Studies Development Association, will have its headquarters at the University of New Mexico.

— *DERRICK MORRISON*

# NPAC meeting sees labor breakthrough

By HARRY RING

NEW YORK—Dramatic verification of the swiftly growing labor support for the April 24 antiwar demonstration was provided at a meeting of the Steering Committee of the National Peace Action Coalition here March 13. Held at the headquarters of the Drug and Hospital Workers Local 1199, the high point of the meeting was a panel discussion by 11 union officials from half a dozen international unions who addressed themselves to the question of mobilizing labor participation in the April 24 marches in Washington and San Francisco.

The 175 participants in the meeting realized that a major breakthrough has been made by the antiwar movement in its long efforts to involve labor, as the union officials discussed the need to actively involve their memberships in the movement against the war and, concretely, to turn them out in maximum numbers on April 24.

Al Evanoff of District 65 of the Distributive Workers told the meeting that he had just advised the New York Peace Action Coalition transportation coordinator to reserve an entire train for District 65's members. Henry Foner of the Hospital Workers indicated his union would do likewise.

In addition to Evanoff and Foner, other panel members included: Sam Pollock and Abe Feinglass of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters; Moe Foner, president of Drug and Hospital Workers 1199; Mae Massie of the International Union of Electrical Workers; Ed Block from the International office of the United Electrical Workers; Sam Meyers from Local 259 of the United Auto Workers; Al Lannon of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Sol Silverman of the Bedding, Curtain and Drapery Workers Union; and John T. Williams, Teamsters Local 208.

Numerous questions were directed to the unionists, and there was a very positive and serious exchange of views on how the antiwar movement could most effectively relate to and involve the ranks of labor. The unionists were outspoken in their condemnation of George Meany's prowar policies and in pointing to the need for labor to repudiate Meany's policy in action.

The meeting was opened by NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon and heard an impressive April 24 progress report by coordinator Jim Lafferty, who had just returned from a tour of the West Coast.

There was a special report on the steadily growing Third World Task Force by Charles Stevenson of Washington, D.C., and a report on the United Women's Contingent by Marcia Sweetenham.

There was a preliminary discussion on the speakers being invited to address the April 24 rally in Washington. A motion was introduced that invitations be issued only to speakers committed to immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. But the overwhelming majority of the meeting voted for a substitute motion to the effect that the program committee ensure that the preponderance of speakers be those favoring immediate withdrawal, but that other antiwar views not be excluded from the program.

A motion was adopted that a statement be issued condemning Nixon's offer to undercut union wage standards on federal construction. Another motion extended the condolences of the meeting to the Urban League on the death of Whitney Young. A motion was introduced by Bob Yanagida of the Asian Coalition in New York recommending that NPAC literature include material on the racist character of the war. This was also adopted.

A motion was introduced on behalf of the coordinating committee by Helen Gurewitz that a statement be issued responding to the recent smear attack on the antiwar movement in a syndicated column by Evans and Novak. The statement will repudiate the attempts to red-bait and violence-bait the antiwar movement. It will reaffirm that NPAC stands committed to the principle of nonexclusion. NPAC is and will remain open to all those supporting its aims and program, without regard to political belief or association.

The meeting heard a report by coordinator Ruth Gage-Colby on relations with the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. The People's Coalition had originally projected its own mass demonstration on May 2 but instead decided to cosponsor April 24. On the eve of the NPAC Steering Committee meeting, representatives of the two coalitions met for a preliminary exchange of views on the basis for developing collaboration in building April 24, and it was agreed that regular meetings would be held between the two groups with the next one slated within a week in Washington.

## Hartke supports April 24

The following is a letter from Senator Vance Hartke, dated March 10, to the National Peace Action Coalition:

Dear Friends,

*The highest priority on our national agenda is ending American participation in the Indochina war. Senate Resolution 66, which I had the honor to introduce March 4, 1971, calls for immediate—repeat, immediate—withdrawal of all our forces from Indochina and an end to all combat operations from whatever place launched.*

*But, that Resolution will be adopted—and, more importantly, the policy shift which it symbolizes will be effected—only with the massive support of the American people. Only the people can make it finally and unequivocally clear to their government that this slaughter of the innocent, this wastage of our treasure, this perversion of our ideals, has gone on too long and must stop.*

*That is what your April 24 rallies in Washington and San Francisco can show beyond any possibility of doubt or question. The American people, peacefully and massively assembled, can at last prove that the Peace Movement is truly national—and that the nation is truly determined to end the war now.*

*I wholeheartedly endorse your program for April 24 and I will do all I can to help it succeed.*

## April 24 countdown

The National Peace Action Coalition received a letter in the middle of March from the College Young Democrats of America, which said the group had "overwhelmingly endorsed the April 24 action sponsored by NPAC . . . we are working to send several busloads of people and intend to back up our endorsement with bodies."

Louise Bruyn, the tax-resister who is walking from Massachusetts to Washington, has been telling people along her way that if they can't undertake the kind of individual action she is, "then the most important thing for you to do is be in Washington on April 24."

Debby Sweet of Cincinnati, who when presented last December with a national high school citizenship award by President Nixon, protested against the Indochina war, has endorsed the April 24 action, according to the Peace Action Coalition in Cincinnati.

The NPAC antiwar ad for April 24, which first appeared in the New York Times on Feb. 14 and 17, has been reprinted in the Village Voice, the San Francisco Chronicle and San Francisco Examiner, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, and the Washington Post. New signers whose names did not appear on the first ad include Arthur Miller, Douglas Dowd, Susan Brownmiller, William Kunstler, Myrna Lamb, Joseph Papp, Robert Ryan, Nathan Hare, Edith Tiger, Congressman Philip Burton, Jose Angel Gutierrez, Corky Gonzales, Jessica Mitford, Carlton Goodlett, Carl Reiner, Paul Schrader, Rod Serling, and Dalton Trumbo.

A coupon from the Washington Post ad was returned to NPAC by a first lieutenant in the airborne cavalry serving in Vietnam. He placed a large order for buttons and posters, noting, "Maybe we can't demonstrate with you over here, but we can wear buttons and use your posters."

Buttons and posters for April 24 are available from NPAC for 10 cents each in orders of 100 or more; stickers are available at 300 for \$1.25; bumper stickers for 15 cents in orders of more than 100; and samples of the following leaflets for local reproduction are available free: general April 24 leaflet, women's leaflet, Third World leaflet, labor leaflet, and draft leaflet. These can be ordered from NPAC, 1029 Vermont Ave., N.W., Eighth floor, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Samples of the April 24 gay liberation contingent leaflet can be ordered from the SMC Gay Task Force, 135 West 14th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011. Alan Young of the New York City Gay Liberation Front and Gay Flames has endorsed the contingent, as has the Harpur College GLF.

Congresswoman Bella Abzug has sent a statement to NPAC which will be used as an ad in the New York Post. The statement says in part: "April 24 must be the day when the American people say 'NO' once and for all, to the war. I urge everyone who can crawl, walk, ride, drive or fly to Washington to be there."

The New York Peace Action Coalition has reserved 400 buses and two trains for April 24. NYPAC staffers estimate that the total number of buses reserved by other groups in the city is half again as large.

The polls have been telling the story of mounting opposition to Nixon's policy of aggression in Indochina. The first campus-wide poll ever taken at Michigan State University, including students, faculty and staff, showed that 72 percent were opposed to the invasion of Laos and felt it was unjustified. The early March Gallup poll revealed that 69 percent of Americans know Nixon is lying about the war. A statewide poll by the Minneapolis Tribune in late February showed that two out of three Minnesotans believed U.S. troops would be following South Vietnamese troops into Laos and Cambodia by the end of the year, and a majority opposed the policy of providing U.S. air power and materiel to the South Vietnamese for fighting in those two countries. These polls help indicate the prospect for a truly massive turnout on April 24.

Copies of a letter from 18 antiwar trade union leaders, addressed to other unionists and asking support for April 24 in the form of endorsement, participation, and financial contributions are available from NPAC to be sent to local unions by local coalitions. Order them from NPAC, 1029 Vermont Ave., N.W., Eighth floor, Washington, D.C. 20005.

The California Federation of Teachers, which endorsed April 24 at its 1970 convention and is implementing its endorsement through fund-raising and mobilizing participation, has produced a letter to "All AFT locals" calling for support to NPAC and April 24.



# West Coast unions back S.F. April action

By HOWARD WALLACE

SAN FRANCISCO—The April 24 mass demonstrations for immediate withdrawal from Indochina in Washington and San Francisco are receiving unprecedented support from the organized labor movement. Moreover, it is tangible support going far beyond the level of formal endorsement.

An example of labor's active opposition to the war is given in the latest issue of the UAW [United Auto Workers] newsletter for region 6, which comprises nine Western states. It reports:

"Delegates to the Western Region 6 Community Action Program (CAP) conference in Sacramento voted March 3 to support and participate in the April 24 Peace March and Rally to be held in San Francisco and Washington, D.C., and instructed CAP officers to help organize UAW membership support."

CAP is the political arm of the UAW, the equivalent of the AFL-CIO's COPE

[Committee on Political Education]. The newsletter goes on to say:

"UAW President Leonard Woodcock, in Sacramento for the CAP and Region 6 conferences, was in attendance at the session. Said Woodcock regarding support of the National Peace Action Coalition [NPAC] march: 'Amen!' Endorsement by Council delegates was unanimous."

It is not surprising that the most impressive opposition to the war is shown by unions outside the AFL-CIO, where president George Meany's tight grip and hawkish stance have kept many unions in line behind Nixon's policy. In addition to the UAW, support for April 24 is coming from Teamster rank-and-filers and other forces outside the AFL-CIO.

However, important new breaks in Meany's grip have occurred within the federation. For example, Amalgamated Clothing Workers local 42 in Oakland, California, unanimously passed a resolution in support of

April 24. Likewise, the entire State Federation of Teachers in California has elected a delegate to NPAC to work on building the march.

Painters local 4, which represents some 3,000-4,000 San Francisco Bay area painters, has endorsed the April 24 demonstration. Endorsement has also come from:

Tim Twomey, vice-president of the San Francisco Labor Council; Robert Lenihan, regional director, National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians; Art Carter, secretary-treasurer of the Contra Costa Labor Council; Jake Jacobs, president, Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers local 1-5, AFL-CIO; United Electrical Workers [UE] district councils 1 and 7; Paul Chown, international representative of UE in Berkeley; and Paul Schrade, western director, UAW.

Several area labor councils in California have requested NPAC speak-

ers. A San Francisco local of the International Association of Machinists is considering endorsement and is expected to support the demonstration.

NPAC also has speaking engagements before the Building and Construction Trades Council, the "hard hats."

Art professors who are members of the American Federation of Teachers are preparing posters directed at union members to be displayed in union and hiring halls. A San Francisco television station has expressed interest in showing these posters on the air and in filming a union meeting at which the members vote to support the demonstration.

NPAC representatives are holding meetings with UAW officials to coordinate plans on a regional basis. The officials assure NPAC coordinators that the demonstration will have a UAW contingent marching under its own banners.

# British workers battle antilabor bill

More than 135,000 British workers streamed into Trafalgar Square on Feb. 21 to the strains of "The Red Flag" and other working-class songs sung by the South Wales Bargoed choir. The demonstration, the largest such action ever organized in Britain, was a protest against the Tory government's proposed antilabor Industrial Relations Bill.

The Industrial Relations Bill embodies the basic features of the American Taft-Hartley Act and state right-to-work laws in the United States. The bill comes at a time of mounting unrest among organized labor's ranks in Britain. A strike by nearly a quarter million postal workers, which completely paralyzed the mails, telegraphs and telephones for 47 days, came to an end when the workers voted to return to work March 6. It was the longest strike in Britain since the 1926 coal miners strike. The workers voted to end the strike two days after their leadership agreed to binding arbitration.

Five days before the postal strike ended, more than a million workers took part in a one-day general strike against the union-busting Industrial Relations Bill. The cost of the one-day strike to British industry was estimated at \$25-million.

The March 1 general strike was carried out in the face of opposition from the Trade Union Congress (TUC) General Council, the official trade-union leadership in Britain. TUC leaders on the platform of the Feb. 24

demonstration refrained from calling for industrial action to oppose the bill, and later opposed the efforts of the Amalgamated Engineers Union to build the March 1 action. A second general strike has been called for March 18.

Actions such as these strikes will be illegal if the Industrial Relations Bill becomes law. The bill also provides for suits by employers against union officials and union treasuries for legitimate strike actions if a union is not registered. The bill would even give the bosses the ability to sue those found guilty of "inducing" any "illegal" strike action. This provision could be used against virtually anyone supporting a strike, including the press. The left-wing press would be especially vulnerable.

The fight of British labor against this reactionary legislative proposal is being waged over and against the official leadership of the TUC, whose submissive attitude amounts to an invitation to the government to move ahead with its union-busting plans. The battle is helping to isolate the conservative trade-union bureaucracy.

The postal strike settlement likewise helped generate rank-and-file opposition to the bureaucracy. Tom Jackson, leader of the postal workers union, caved in under the government's pressure for binding arbitration without extracting any guarantees from the postal authorities—this after the workers had stayed out a month and a half demanding a 13 percent wage increase against their employer's re-



**When Prime Minister Heath, whose government is backing antilabor Industrial Relations Bill, met with Henry Ford II in London March 15, representatives of Britain's 50,000 Ford workers, who have been on strike seven weeks, turned out.**

fusal to budge beyond 8 percent. The postal authorities did offer 9 percent if the union agreed to measures for "increased productivity" (bosses' language for speedup and layoffs). Under the terms of the arbitration, the workers are now not even guaranteed the 8 percent already offered by the post office!

Reuters reported the response of the workers to Jackson's capitulation March 4: "Mr. Jackson, until today the

hero of the 220,000 mailmen, was greeted by chants of 'Sell out, stay out!' as he addressed a meeting of London postmen, the most militant in the country."

This setback in the struggle may be offset when the three-member arbitration panel makes its proposals. To a large extent, this will depend on the strength of the mass mobilizations by the rest of labor. March 18 will be a crucial test of this strength.

# Black students under attack on Long Island

By HEDDA GARZA

FREEPORT, Long Island—A campaign is under way to mobilize the 9,000 Black residents of this suburban community of 40,000 in defense of Black students at Freeport High School who have been victims of escalating brutality by racist "fraternities" acting with police complicity.

For some time, gangs of these racist bullies have tried to provoke fights with Black students in situations where the Blacks are overwhelmingly outnumbered, insulting, slapping and pushing them.

On March 5, they finally succeeded in provoking a confrontation when a fight between two students broke out in the school cafeteria after the

"fraternity" boys had marched through the halls, shouting "We're gonna get those niggers!"

In response to the fight in the cafeteria, the administration and the cops took the white students all outside and locked the Black students in. Then the cops allowed a few Blacks to leave, quickly locking the doors again to prevent the others from coming to the aid of their brothers outside who were jumped and beaten by "fraternity" goons as they left the school.

The administration answered a Black school boycott, called to protest the incident and demand security, by telling the press the problem was just a handful of "troublemakers."

On March 9, all the students were

taken out of school because of a bomb scare, allegedly initiated by the "fraternities." The cops at first stood between the Black and white students, but eventually they moved aside as the students began filing back inside. When the Black students angrily demanded protection from the administration against the white students who were pelting them with rocks and bottles, the cops moved in and began to attack the Black students with nightsticks.

These events were described in an open letter to the principal written by 17 white students who demanded that the administration "force the fraternities to cease and desist from their plans to turn our school into a bat-

tleground."

A delegation of parents visited the FBI office in Mineola, L. I., on March 11, protesting the violation of their children's civil rights. Freeport Police Chief Anthony Elar said the protest was "ridiculous," claiming the city was spending \$180 an hour to keep the Black students safe. He was referring to the salaries of the racist cops who act in collusion with the racist "fraternities."

Joseph Austin, a Black man whose son was injured at Freeport High, described the strategy employed by Elar's cops: "to contain the Blacks and to make them a better target for whites. If the Blacks attempt to escape, the police attack them."

# Gays march for sex law reform

By LEE SMITH

ALBANY, New York — Shouted chants of "Justice! Justice! Justice!" echoed off the walls of the state capitol here March 14 as more than 1,500 gay men and women surged into a throng around the steps for the rally culminating the State March of the Gay Unveiling.

Kate Millett, author of *Sexual Politics* and feminist leader, told the rally, "To hear that chant for justice going up against all these crazy buildings—I used to hear it as a little voice deep in my guts for years and years—and it feels so good to say it out loud!" The crowd responded, "Justice! Justice!" with clenched fists stabbing the air each time the shout went up.

A spirit of militant unity among all sectors of the gay community dominated the entire weekend. Friday evening, March 12, Gay People at Columbia University hosted a Festival of Gay Unity in preparation for the march on Sunday.

About 300 people attended the Friday rally to hear speeches from different gay groups in New York City, see films of the July 4, 1966, homosexual picketing in Philadelphia sponsored by the Mattachine Society and Daughters of Bilitis, and of the June, 1970 Christopher Street march of between 5,000 and 10,000 in New York City.

Master of ceremonies Marty Robinson, Gay Activists Alliance (GAA), urged everyone to participate in the Albany march and in the gay liberation contingent of the April 24 anti-war march, calling attention to the Student Mobilization Committee Gay Task Force table in the rear of the hall. Other speakers included GAA president Jim Owles, Rev. Troy Perry of the Metropolitan Community Church in Los Angeles, Morty Manford of Gay People, Nath Rockhill of GAA, Pete Fisher, Bob Land of the New York City Gay Liberation Front (GLF), Frank Clark of Frank Kameny's campaign staff (Kameny is the gay liberation candidate for nonvoting congressional delegate in D.C.), and Breck Ardery of GAA.

The main group organizing transportation from New York City for the march was GAA, which chartered four buses in addition to organizing car pools. But the demonstration, initiated by the Gay Liberation Front of the Tri-Cities in Albany, had the support of virtually every gay libera-



Gay liberation demonstration in Albany, March 14

Photo by David Thorstad

tion group in the state.

The Tri-Cities GLF hosted a dance on Saturday night before the march which was attended by 500 people. The dance was interrupted for a brief meeting to discuss the city's refusal to issue a permit to march in the street. There was no time for a court challenge of the old ordinance under which the permit was denied (no parades on Sunday), but agreement was reached that the marchers would abide by the city's request to stay on the sidewalk unless the crowd was sufficiently large to take the street without a permit and without provoking a violent attack by the cops.

Hundreds of Albany residents lined the half-mile march route to watch the marchers move down the sidewalks arm-in-arm, well organized by their marshals, disciplined and angry, chanting: "Two! Four! Six! Eight! Gay is just as good as straight!" There was some, but not much, open hostility—glares and a few epithets. "Three! Five! Seven! Nine! Lesbians are mighty fine!" Most onlookers seemed to express a mixture of awe and embarrassment, laughing and grinning nervously.

Many people expressed their sympathy with the marchers, flashing V signs and clenched fists as they passed. Such signs of solidarity came primar-

ily from the young, but not exclusively—one very old man stood in a worn, brown overcoat and battered hat near the rally site, raising and lowering his clenched fist to each passing contingent, repeating, "I'm with you. Too old to march but I'm for you!"

The demonstrators were spirited and colorful, transvestites in brilliant costume making up a welcome part of the march together with every other sector of the gay community. About one-third were women, and there was a significant number of Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Troy Perry addressed himself to this unity. "Some people say this movement is ruining the homosexual's image. Well, I'm here to tell you we don't have an image. The straights don't see 'good' homosexuals and 'bad' homosexuals. To them, we're all queers," Perry told the rally. But we are learning that we don't have to live to please straights, Perry continued, "because gay is proud and there's nothing we can't do when we're united!"

Ernie Reaugh of the Tri-Cities GLF, who chaired the rally, read the demands: 1) Repeal of the laws against sodomy, 2) enactment of a fair housing law for gays, 3) enactment of a fair employment law for gays, 4) re-

peal of the solicitation laws, 5) repeal of the loitering laws, and 6) repeal of the impersonation laws.

Rally speakers besides Millett and Perry included Ray Rivera from the Street Transvestites Action Revolutionaries (STAR); Lynn Simon from KALOS, a Connecticut gay group; Mike Hamilton from Buffalo GLF; Barbara Love of the New York City GLF Women; Ann Sanchez of Third World Gay Revolutionaries; Lee Brewster from the Queens Liberation Front; Jim Owles of GAA; Morty Manford of Gay People; Bob Powers of the Amherst, Mass., GLF; and representatives of the Daughters of Bilitis, Buffalo Radical Lesbians, the Black River Valley Gay Blades in Watertown, N.Y., the Syracuse GLF, Mattachine Society of Rochester, the New York City Women's Strike Coalition, and Mattachine of the Niagara Frontier.

"We're not asking," Owles told the rally, "We're here *demanding* our rights!" The demonstration was about more than the New York laws, he continued, "and no one should think this will be the last time we march. We will do it again and again and again. And each time there will be more of us, and we're not going to stop—we're going to do whatever is necessary against this rotten society—until we get our rights!"

## More on Int'l Women's Day actions

Each year, International Women's Day is being commemorated on a wider and wider scale, as the growing women's liberation movement claims this day as a part of the heritage of women. Reports of International Women's Day activities in a total of 22 cities have come into *The Militant* office, and probably many more than that actually took place.

Last week, *The Militant* printed a roundup of March 8 activities in several areas, and the following is a continuation of the roundup. Contributors are: Kay Lydon, Sarabeth Carr, Cheryl Clark, Jean Savage, and Helen Schiff.

### Detroit

About 200 women attended a full day's activities in commemoration of International Women's Day at Wayne State University in Detroit. The high point of the day was testimonials by women on what they had to go through to get an abortion. The abortion testimonials helped build up support for a demonstration March 13 at the Michigan capitol in Lansing for repeal of abortion laws. Invita-

tions were sent to congressmen asking them to attend the testimonials to hear for themselves what abortion laws mean to women, but none showed up.

Other events included a karate demonstration, an interpretive dance on housework, and an all-women's party. A new magazine published by Wayne State Women's Liberation, called *Moving Out*, as well as a women's liberation chapbook were presented as part of the celebration.

### Worcester

In spite of snow flurries, about a hundred women attended a March 8 rally in Worcester, Mass. The rally and other activities were planned by women from Worcester Women's Liberation, Clark University Women's Liberation, the National Organization for Women, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Worcester Welfare Rights, and several women's collectives.

Speeches covered the history of International Women's Day, the relation of women's oppression to the war, the problems of poor women, and

the role of Third World women in the women's liberation movement. The rally was followed by a women's open house at the Friends Meeting House, which attracted over a hundred women.

### Philadelphia

The University of Pennsylvania Women's Liberation ended its month-long forum series with a discussion panel March 4 on women in different societies, and a conference on March 6 commemorating International Women's Day. The conference was attended by approximately sixty men and women. It focused around workshops which discussed abortion, child care, media, women and the university, women's liberation for men, and other current topics.

On the Temple University campus, the women's liberation group built an international women's day panel, with presentations on women in Cuba, Honduras, India, and the U.S. Plans were also laid for a city-wide women's liberation conference to be held at Temple University on April 3 as the next major project for the women's movement.

### Cincinnati

Cincinnati Women's Liberation celebrated International Women's Day with workshops at the YWCA and a march of about sixty women to the office of the mayor of Cincinnati. The mayor refused to see the women, who demanded equal pay and jobs, free abortion on demand, free, 24-hour child-care centers, and freedom for Angela Davis.

### Houston

Women workers for Pacifica Radio in Houston took over the station for 24 hours on March 8 and used the time to discuss women's liberation and International Women's Day.

At the University of Houston, fifty women participated in a teach-in sponsored by the Women's Liberation Front. The conference was addressed by Jo Freeman; Debbie Leonard from the Socialist Workers Party, the first woman to run for mayor of Houston; Maria Jimenez, a feminist from the University of Houston MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization); and Evelyn Sell, state-wide secretary of the Texas Abortion Coalition.



# THE ROOTS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The following are major excerpts from a speech given by Peter Camejo to the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, which met in New York City, Dec. 27-31, 1970. Camejo, a former national secretary of the YSA, is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in Massachusetts.

History is moving at an incredible pace today. In America, things even seem to be breaking down. Yet, in a historical sense, this is actually a rather recent development. To understand why, you have to place everything that's happening today in a historical framework.

If you go back in American history to the period between 1783 and 1865, the major issue in the United States was which section of the ruling class was going to dominate the country—the capitalists of the Northeast or the slave owners of the South. That was the major issue. Not whether the masses were going to get control.

The majority of the people—that is, white people—were small farmers. The working class was a small minority and Black people were slaves. So the two sections of the ruling class maneuvered for an alliance with the small farmer.

This issue of who was going to dominate the country was settled in the Civil War. The Northeastern capitalists, in an alliance with the small farmers, the Blacks and the small working class that already existed in the North, won by defeating the slavocracy and the small farmers, primarily in the South, who sided with it. The over-

whelming majority of the small farmers were in the West, and they sided with the North.

In the period from 1865 to 1914, American industrial capitalism consolidated its control of the United States. The farmers were beaten and the ruling class went back on all the promises it had made to them during the second American revolution. It also betrayed Black people by going back on the promises that had been made to get them to fight on the side of Northern capital during the second American revolution. As soon as it could consolidate power, the ruling class betrayed and sold out on everything and drove Black people down into a position somewhere between free labor and slavery.

By 1914 the United States had become an imperialist power and was entering the center of the stage of world capitalism.

Between the First World War and the Second World War, we can say that what dominated American history was the struggle between the United States and the other imperialist powers over who was going to occupy the center of the world stage.

In the past, it had been England. But the pace of England's technological advances had begun to slow down, and in the entire period from 1865 to 1914, the United States was moving to surpass England in production and to get into a stronger position. It was during this period that workers as a class first began to organize into trade unions. The American working class did not make up a majority social layer in this coun-

try until the first part of the twentieth century, and the industrial workers did not become organized into trade unions until between the First and Second World wars, mainly in the late 1930s with the rise of the CIO.

Now, with the end of the Second World War, we entered the period we're living in. This period is completely different from the preceding one because the United States *won* the Second World War. It came to the center of the world stage, entirely dominating world capitalism.

The United States had always seemed to be winning and getting ahead. Every time it got into a war it would win. Its economy just kept growing and growing, and every time it came into conflict with other capitalist countries it sooner or later beat them out economically. A great myth began to develop that if the United States could only come to the center of the world stage the world would be different; it would solve all problems; its greatness, its ingenuity, its democracy would spread throughout the world. This was the hope of endless numbers of people. Henry Luce, who was editor of *Time*, expressed this in an article in *Life* in 1941 with his famous concept of the "American Century," a sort of Pax Americana, during which the United States would dominate the world.

And now, for the American Century—biggest bust in world history.

The American Century opened with the biggest defeat any world imperialist power could have,



"All you have to do to see the physical and psychological degradation in the world today is walk around New York City. This is the center of the imperial power. This is what they're talking about when they talk about civilization. Just look at it."

Photo by Howard Petrick

and that was to "lose" the most populated country in the world—China.

In a sense, the loss of China was a turning point in world history. The Second World War was partly fought over China. All the major capitalist countries wanted China, but the United States wanted it more than anybody else. During the war, they used to be open about this. They used to run big ads in the papers saying, "Can you imagine what it will be like after the war—in China?" If every Chinese would just buy one Coca Cola per day, they'd say, we could have whole new industries in the United States.

When the Chinese took over China and the United States lost out, it came as a shock. Things were turning into the opposite of what had been anticipated. Instead of the United States opening up a new area of investment for capitalism to flourish in, there was a socialist revolution. This was the first indication on a massive scale that history was not necessarily going to change its course just because the United States had come to power over the other imperialist forces.

After the war, the United States experienced the biggest boom in the history of world capitalism. And the whole world, consciously or unconsciously, watched to see if the United States would solve the basic problems facing the world.

Now here we are, 25 years after the end of the Second World War. One-quarter of a century is only a moment in the history of the human species, but it is a sufficient amount of time to look at what the United States really is.

Today, throughout the entire world, the mythology and illusions about the United States have begun to melt away. People see the United States as a degenerate power that has not even solved the basic problems of hunger, of a lack of food. And it's clear that it's not going to. Instead of becoming the helper of the world, it has become the policeman of the world. Its so-called democracy has revealed itself to be nothing but hypocrisy.

The gap is growing between the potential for solving the problems of the world and the reality. Even in terms of hunger, things are getting worse in the world. You have more and more people going hungry. So along come these great theoreticians who conclude that we have to stop—people! People are to blame, you see. The reason there are people going hungry in the world is that they create other people. But a long time ago, when there weren't so many people, they were still going hungry. So it's not just a question of people.

It's a question of industrialization, mechanization of industry, growth of technology, and distribution of goods. The problem facing the human species as a whole is how to take over the technological means that we have already developed and use them to solve the problems of the world. That's the task.

## New awakening

It is in this context that the thinking of people within the United States itself is gradually becoming transformed.

Today, as young people grow up and leave high school they aren't patriotic anymore. Fifty or 100 years ago, it was much easier to be patriotic. But when you look at the world today and see what the United States is doing and see that it has the ability to solve problems yet does not, then you lose your enthusiasm.

During the First World War, they used to take the American troops and march them right down Fifth Avenue and off to war. And people would throw confetti and cheer and say they were off to fight for good things like "freedom."

During the Second World War, they still marched them off with people applauding enthusiastically. But it wasn't quite like the First World War.

In the Korean war, they sent them off, but without any parades.

Today, it would actually be *dangerous* for them to parade the troops down the street. If they announced that 20,000 troops on their way to Vietnam were going to parade down Fifth Avenue,

do you know what would happen? You *know* what would happen. Everybody would turn out, all right, but they wouldn't be there to cheer. They'd be trying to keep the troops from going. And the GIs wouldn't be very hostile to that. A very warm relationship would develop between the GIs and the people.

Think what it means for an imperialist power to say it's off to fight a war to save freedom, yet it can't even march its troops down its own streets on the way over there.

Things have really changed.

Young people in this society are beginning to develop all sorts of ideas as a result of this. And they aren't waiting around to put them into practice. Take the family, for instance. The economic basis for terminating the family system already exists, even though it can't be done under capitalism. But there are 500,000 teenagers who run away from home each year who are showing that they are not waiting for the socialist revolution to begin to destroy the family. Young people just do not accept things the way they used to be.

## Black nationalism

It isn't just young people who have begun to be affected by this whole trend, either. Probably the group within the United States most affected and most radicalized by what has happened since the Second World War is the Black nationality. You see, Black people in this country were defeated by industrial capitalism after the Reconstruction. They had made certain gains, but they were beaten back. In order to achieve this, industrial capitalism used its alliance with the small farmers, especially in the South. It created a mass movement against Black people. It ideologically whipped up the entire country against Black people and kept them in conditions which were qualitatively different from even the worst oppression white working people suffered.

But the Second World War created a labor shortage, so the capitalists not only let Black people enter industry in large numbers, but they mechanized Southern agriculture and drove Black people off the land and into the cities.

Then, as the Second World War ended and the colonial revolution began, a whole series of factors began to change the relationship between Black people and the ruling class.

During the Second World War, whites would go into the Black ghetto and terrorize Black people. That's what happened in Detroit in 1943. And that's what the "zoot-suit riot" was in Los Angeles the same year, only there it was against Chicanos. But how many white gangs go into the Black neighborhoods today? White people are more apt to be arming themselves out of a paranoia that Black people might go into *their* neighborhoods.

Having gotten the specific forms of repression that existed in the South off their backs, and being inspired by the colonial revolution and the difficulties it created for the oppressors of Black people in the United States, Black people began to become very much aware of themselves and to lose hope that this country would solve their problems.

This growing awareness is what we accurately call the nationalist consciousness of Black people, who know that they are a distinct oppressed nationality and that they have been oppressed simply because they are Black.

This awareness of themselves as an oppressed nationality is a revolutionary awareness that was always there underneath the surface. Always. If you look back into American history, certainly since the Civil War, you will see that all Black people have basically been Black nationalists. They did not usually express it openly because of the fantastic repression directed at them. But every time a social struggle broke out among Black people it tended to be nationalist in content.

Take Black people integrating a coffeehouse, for instance. Some people say that was not an example of nationalism. But stop and think about it. Their main concern was their own people. If getting to drink a cup of coffee in a store somewhere eased the pressure on their people, they were interested in fighting for it.

In fact, why did Black people volunteer to go into the military during the First and Second World wars at a much higher rate than whites? Because they wanted the United States to beat Japan? Because they wanted it to beat Germany? No. First of all, of course, they had the draft breathing down their necks. Then, as now, there were some advantages to volunteering. But many hoped that maybe if they went into the Army things would get better for Black people after the war. In everything Black people have undertaken, their motivation has been to liberate their own people. And what has interested the white rulers of the United States has never really been of concern to them.

Historians will tell you how Blacks fought in

George Washington's army during the war for independence, right? Well, the fact is that at first Blacks weren't allowed into the army. But when they started running out of white soldiers, they figured that *any* soldier would be better than no soldier, so they let a few hundred Black people in. But they tend to leave out the fact that 20,000 went over and joined the other side. In the North, they were joining one side and in the South they were joining the other side, depending on which one seemed better for Blacks. Black people have always been maneuvering within this society in whatever way they could to survive.

We should not underestimate the revolutionary power of Black nationalist consciousness, because it runs down into the deepest core of a people who have been oppressed. The same thing goes for Chicanos, the same thing goes for Puerto Ricans, and the same thing goes for Native Americans. The American flag has never had the same meaning for any of these nationalities that it has for other people.

Chicanos didn't start moving like Black people until very recently. They were actually way behind Black people in starting to struggle. One additional problem in the Chicano community was the influence of the Catholic Church. For a long time, Chicanos were busy worrying about whether they were going to get to heaven. And so were Puerto Ricans. And many Black people too. But today, if you go and ask those young people if they're going to go to heaven, they won't know what you're talking about. Minds are changing.

Add to all that another rebellion, the rebellion of women. All this is not just happening for no reason. It's happening as an indirect product of the whole situation the United States finds itself in. A new consciousness is beginning to penetrate into all social layers.

## The working class

But one thing some people ask is, "What about the working class? Where's the working class?"

If we take the social layers that are now in motion—the youth, Black people and women—these three layers make up about 60 percent of the working class. And that's not even including the Chicanos, because they're not included in the statistics. They say there are now around five million of them, yet when they took the census for 1970 they didn't ask people if they were Chicanos, Mexican-Americans, Latinos, or whatever. That category didn't exist. You could be a Black (the census calls them "Negroes"), you could be a Japanese, you could be a Chinese, you could be an Indian, but you couldn't be a Chicano.

Anyway, if you start adding the Chicanos it goes over 60 percent. And that doesn't mean that the rest of the working class isn't going to be on our side. I'm just pointing out that the social layers that have already begun to move potentially make up the majority of the working class.

The big problem, of course, is the organizational and political level of these social layers. But this problem will tend to diminish as these layers continue to move and more interact with one another.

Take the postal workers' strike, for instance. Now those workers were being led by Black workers, although the strikers themselves were not all Black. In many cities, we saw white workers in motion.

You know, the postal workers' strike was illegal. These people violated the law. And many were white. And many were over 30.

These people who are constantly talking about the working class and saying the women's movement doesn't count, and Black nationalism is reactionary, and La Raza Unida Party is no good—these people have one thing in mind: If there isn't a white male over 30 standing around, it's no good. If the women in a union set up a women's caucus to help the union, that's OK with them. If the Blacks set up a Black caucus to help the union, that's OK too. But if the Blacks say, "We'd like to step outside and talk things over among ourselves," that's divisive. If women want to step outside, that's divisive.

As every one of these struggles has broken out, the YSA and the SWP have completely supported them. Although we're human beings and we make mistakes, and although we can't foresee right now everything that is going to happen, one thing is certain: We're revolutionaries, and therefore when anybody starts fighting against the ruling class, we're on their side!

We couldn't predict that a phenomenon like Malcolm X would come about, but when Malcolm X started speaking out, we were the only political group in the entire country that was supporting him. And we didn't wait around until he broke with the Muslims. We supported him because he was a person who was taking on the ruling class and talking about his oppressed nationality and





A civil rights demonstration in Birmingham, Ala., is attacked with water hoses. "If you look back in American history, certainly since the Civil War, you will see that all Black people have basically been Black nationalists. Every time a social struggle broke out among Black people it tended to be nationalist in content."



American troops on Fifth Avenue, 1919. "During the First World War, they used to take the American troops and march them right down Fifth Avenue and off to war. Everybody would cheer. Today it would actually be dangerous for them to parade the troops down the street. Everybody would turn out, but not to cheer."

Parade welcoming People's Army into Shanghai in 1949. "The American Century opened up with the biggest defeat that any world imperialist power could have, and that was to 'lose' the most populated country in the world—China."



"Young people are beginning to develop all sorts of ideas as a result of the radicalization. Take the family. There are 500,000 teen-agers who run away from home each year who are showing that they are not waiting for the socialist revolution to begin to destroy the family."

how it ought to liberate itself.

And when the women's movement began to develop, we didn't stand around and say, "Well, now, how many of you are workers? What do you do? How do you stand on this and how do you stand on that? Are you divisive? Are you against males?" No. We say that if anybody hates those who oppress them, that's good, and if anybody loves the people who oppress them, that's sad.

When the student movement developed, what did the YSA do? We didn't ask the students who were beginning to fight American imperialism, "Do you understand what the Democratic Party is all about? Where do you stand on the Middle East? What do you think of this and what do you think of that?" No. We said, "OK You're starting to move, you're starting to do something. So we'll fight with you."

The YSA has been the only organization that goes and tries to work with the masses wherever there is political motion and struggle. At the same time, it helps to keep those movements independent of the ruling class and to build the revolutionary-socialist vanguard that can lead each of those individual movements beyond their immediate goals toward a final transformation of society.

Go back and look at what happened when Mar-

tin Luther King was assassinated. Black people all over this country responded with massive demonstrations. And think about the postal workers' strike, where workers went out on strike and took direct action even though it was against the law. And take the May upsurge of the students, which raised the struggle to a new level by shutting down hundreds of universities at once. Add to this the Aug. 26 demonstrations of 40,000 women in New York, which reflected just the bare beginnings of that movement. Add the Chicano Moratorium against the Vietnam war held in Los Angeles. Now, suppose these things all happened at once—wouldn't that be something? You've heard the expression, "Get it together."

Of course, that's not exactly the way things will happen. These struggles won't simply come together or happen all at the same time, although there is a tendency for the struggles to become more and more generalized as each separate movement becomes stronger and penetrates the other social layers more deeply.

The separateness of these movements does not present any obstacle to unity. It's precisely the building of these mass movements that will create the united actions we seek against the ruling class. Do you think that when there's a mass indepen-

dent Black party and a mass independent Chicano party, there isn't going to be motion in the trade unions and everywhere in this society or that these struggles will not tend more and more to interrelate?

### Revolutionary leadership

Building the YSA is the crucial question in this regard because it is only the YSA and the SWP that are fighting to orient these movements onto a path that is clearly independent of the ruling class. They are the *only* organizations in the United States that are doing this. That's a fact. There's no other organization that is doing this and that is participating in all of these different movements.

I want to briefly discuss an important problem we face. Revolutionaries are rare. What I mean by a revolutionary is someone who has come to recognize the necessity of overthrowing the existing social order and establishing a different social order, to move humanity forward. Someone who sees the necessity of building a revolutionary organization to assure the success of this struggle.

The social pressures against a person recognizing that necessity are enormous. Capitalism is always preaching that it is impossible to change what exists, that it is "human nature" for all these

problems to exist. So a lot of people don't even see the possibility that things could be different from the way they are.

The basic norm within our society is to imitate the ruling class. Did you ever go to a junior prom in high school? Did you ever stop to wonder, "What was *that*?" Everybody talked about it for weeks and everybody got dressed up like clowns and spent huge sums of money. If your parents didn't have the money, they had to scrape it up from somewhere and fake that they had it.

What were you trying to make believe you were by dressing up like that? What kind of clothes were those clothes anyway? They were simply clothes you can't work in, that's all. They're what the ruling class puts on so everybody knows they're the ruling class. And people go around imitating that. These are the kinds of images we are given of what our ideals should be.

When you go to school, they teach you all about the founding fathers, don't they? The forefathers, the great Americans. But they're all male, because there were no founding mothers, you see. If someone came up to you to talk about your foremother, you'd think they were trying to pick a fight.

Society tries to make people look up to the ideals of the ruling class, to look up to anybody with money, to look up to anybody who has gotten ahead of other people. It educates people in ruling class ideals through its radio, its television, its propaganda, its religion. And we're all by-products of this.

So this is the major problem that we face: helping people to overcome this conditioning and to become revolutionaries.

Go back to the abolitionist movement and you'll see that the same problem existed. How many people were abolitionists? How many people were revolutionaries in Russia before the revolution? Or in Cuba before the revolution?

When revolutionaries begin to come into existence, they are simply expressing the motion that is already there among the masses. You don't just suddenly have young Black people grow their hair and stop imitating whites. When that starts happening everywhere, it means that something is happening to all Black people. At first it's only a handful that begin to do it, but they represent the fact that there is something underneath pushing them to do it.

It's the same thing with revolutionaries. When the YSA begins to grow, we know that underneath there are thousands upon thousands of other possible recruits. That's what it means. It's impossible to grow if the objective conditions do not favor growth. You can't do it no matter how smart you are.

If you look at what the people who founded the Socialist Workers Party did, and what they've said throughout their history, and how they've stood up, you will see that those people are going to go down in history as one of the greatest revolutionary generations in the history of this nation. Because, although the objective conditions were not favorable to them, they fought against them all through those years.

Today the objective conditions are running in our favor. We have already shown that we could build an organization when the tide was running against us and that we could remain true to our ideals and not sell out to any privileged layer whatsoever—no to the ruling class, not to the bureaucracy in the labor movement, not to the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, nor to anybody else. Despite the difficulty and its small size, the cadre that built the Socialist Workers Party since 1938 stayed true to its ideals. And if they could do it under those conditions, imagine what we can do now that this mass movement has begun to develop!

Today, when the potential for solving the problems in this world exists and when the United States is proving clearly that it cannot solve them; today, when layer after layer of people are being forced to radicalize and when we already see thousands upon thousands of these people in motion within the imperialist center, not to mention the rest of the world; today, when we see ourselves beginning to grow, we should understand one thing: Whether the socialist revolution takes place

soon in the United States depends on how big we become. That will be the decisive factor—how big the YSA and SWP become. If we were larger, many other things would be coming down right now.

The antiwar movement in this country exists only because of what you have done. That's a fact. If we weren't around, the Communist Party would have taken that movement and flushed it down the toilet of the Democratic Party five years ago.

### "Independent thinkers"

Wherever you may be when you start talking to people about joining the YSA, you'll notice one hangup that is very common with a lot of people: deep cynicism. And it reflects the fears they have been taught by society. Did you ever hear the one where they say, "Well, I'm an independent thinker and I don't want to join an organization because it'll take away my individualism. I want to be able to see these things objectively. I don't join things. I'm not a joiner. I'm with you, oh yes. But I don't think that I want to join." Every time you run into these people who start telling you about how independent they want to be, let me suggest a few things you ought to tell them.

Those "independents" belong to many organizations that they don't even *know* they belong to. When you go to college you have to join an organization, you have to follow the rules. You have to do certain things. The only difference between that and the YSA is that in those other organizations they don't give you any say over it.

When you go to work somewhere, you join a corporation, you become a "member of the corporation." You have to do all kinds of things. You have to be there at eight in the morning, for instance. But you didn't decide that. They don't call you in and say, "What would you like General Motors to be this year?"

The most obvious organization that you belong to is the United States. When did you join? They check off the dues every week from your paycheck. When they decide that they're going to fight some war, they send you to fight it. Just try sending a letter to Nixon telling him you're an individual and that you want to resign.

The fact is that by being a member of this society, your individualism has been taken away from you. You're not allowed to be a human being in this society, because you are forced to play a part and be a part of something that is inhuman. You only begin to acquire your individualism and your own humanity when you join with other people who are in the same situation you're in to fight against it and create a humane world. Only then will you begin to get any individualism.

Now, you've seen a YSA convention. You've seen how decisions are made democratically. You see the concept we have of how to build an organization under capitalism that can fight to create a humane society, a society based on human values. We don't say that the YSA is that new, socialist society. We don't say the human beings inside the YSA are the future socialist species. No, we don't say that. We know that the social forces around us are affecting us too. But we also know that only within a revolutionary organization can you begin to have humanity, can you begin to become a person and not a thing.

Every mass movement, whether it's the women's liberation movement, the Black nationalist movement, the gay liberation movement, or whatever, gives you an element of that humanity because you're organizing with other people to fight. And the highest expression of this is the revolutionary organization that unites all these movements for a final overthrow of the social system.

The suffering that is going on in the world today is so great that it staggers the imagination. Not only the physical degradation, which is itself fantastic, but also the psychological degradation.

All you have to do is walk around New York City. This is the center of the imperial power, isn't it? This is what they're talking about when they talk about civilization. Just look at it. Here it is. This is it.

In contrast to the people who are responsible for this degradation, you have people like the young Vietnamese who at this very moment are giving their lives. And you have people like Hugo Blanco.

Let me tell you about Hugo Blanco. Twelve years ago Hugo Blanco went among the Quechua-speaking Indians in Peru, who in this day and age were still living as feudal serfs, working the landowners' land without pay. He organized them into mass strikes that forced through a land reform and improved the living conditions for a few hundred thousand people in one small area of the world.

For doing this, Hugo Blanco was imprisoned. This is what they did to a human being who went among the poorest of human beings in the entire Western Hemisphere—much poorer than anybody living in this country, whether they be Black, Chicano or even Native American—just to help make it possible for them to eat a little better. What did they do to this human being? They put him in a cage like an animal.

At first they put him in solitary confinement to try to break him. Then they brought him before a court, hoping that he would fall on his knees and plead for forgiveness. But Hugo Blanco didn't break in solitary confinement. And Hugo Blanco didn't break when he went before that trial. Instead, he told those judges where it was at.

So they sentenced him to 25 years in jail. They wanted to kill him, they wanted to murder him, but because of the pressure of support for him that mounted all over the world, they didn't. They feared the reaction of the masses.

Eight years he sat in a prison cell on the island of El Fronton and other prisons until he was released by the general amnesty of December 1970. In maneuver after maneuver, they tried and failed to break him. When prisoners were killed by the guards, he openly sent letters and had them published, naming the guards, knowing they could kill him at any moment. When other people like the Communist Party were crawling on their knees, calling for full support to the military dictatorship in Peru that was massacring peasants for simply demanding that their children be able to go elementary school, Hugo Blanco stood up almost alone against that government, continuing to write and oppose it from his prison cell.

At the end of eight years, this man was not broken one bit but was ready to give his life at any time.

And Hugo Blanco is not the only one. The same is true of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Liebknecht, Malcolm X, and Che Guevara. These people represent for us an ideal that is the exact opposite of the people who are now running the world. They are expressions of humanity. But they only represent what is happening to humanity as a whole. They simply express the mass movements that are developing. Hugo Blanco could never be Hugo Blanco if it were not for the hundreds of thousands of peasants who have begun to move. And every one of them is a Hugo Blanco.

We admire those people like Hugo Blanco and Malcolm X who want nothing more in their lives than to see the liberation of the masses of people and an end to oppression. When we look at the Malcolms and the Hugo Blancos and all the other revolutionaries struggling throughout the world, including within this country, and when we look at the suffering of people and the casualties that we are taking in this struggle, we should see the urgency of totally dedicating ourselves to the struggle.

There is no other meaningful life within this society except the one we have chosen—becoming human by struggling against it. And let me tell you that millions of young people throughout the world are waiting for us to succeed.

We, the masses of the working people throughout the world, we are the people who are going to run this world before long. Victory is not very far off for us. But it's not going to just be handed to us. We've got to reach those other thousands of people within our own country who are now beginning to listen to us.

There's no way to say how long it will take. And we can't say it's not going to be an uphill struggle. But we do know the general context in which we are working. We know the problems can be solved. And we know how to go about solving them: by building mass movements, by getting people into massive action, and by building a vanguard. If we do these things, we may very well see the revolution in our lifetime.

**"Every mass movement gives you an element of your humanity because you're organizing with other people to fight."**



# Socialist Campaign '71

## MAPA endorses Camejo

OAKLAND—The Oakland area chapter of the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA) has endorsed Antonio Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Berkeley. A special meeting Feb. 27 voted to endorse all the Raza Unida Party candidates and other candidates "sympathetic to the Brown cause." This marks the first time that any chapter of MAPA, a state-wide organization, has endorsed an SWP candidate.

The endorsement not only of Camejo but of the Raza Unida Party slate as well is a reflection of the pressure MAPA has been under by militants who want to break from the Democratic Party. MAPA has traditionally endorsed liberal Democrats, and even this time it endorsed several Black Democrats running in Oakland.

Raza Unida candidates endorsed were Tito Lucero, at-large Oakland City Council; Antonio Rodarte, 5th District, Oakland City Council; Florencio Medina, Oakland School Board; Trinidad Lopez, 7th District, Peralta Board of Trustees; Victor Acosta, Berkeley City Council; and Carmen Alegria, Berkeley Board of Education.

## Key issue is control of police

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

BERKELEY—More than 100 people filled the room at the University of California March 12 to hear Antonio Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Berkeley, debate the conservative editor of the *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, Mike Culbert, on the controversial "Community Control of Police" amendment to the city charter to be voted on April 6. The issue has emerged as a central one in the Berkeley elections.

The amendment would divide Berkeley into three separate police districts, roughly defined as Black, student, and the predominantly white suburban

community. It provides for the election by these districts of boards which would have the power to hire and fire police. Also, policemen would be required to be residents of the district in which they are employed.

Camejo is the only candidate for mayor currently supporting the charter amendment, and the youthful audience at the debate was mostly sympathetic to Camejo's position. Culbert represented the "One Berkeley Community," a coalition of conservative-to-moderate liberal forces backing candidates who oppose the amendment. Among the candidates endorsed by "One Berkeley Community" is Black city councilman Wilmont Sweeney, a major contender for the post of mayor.

In other campaign developments, radio station KMPX, in conjunction with the East Bay Socialist Campaign Committee, has taped a symposium on the community-control-of-police question, which will be played March 20. Participants included Antonio Camejo; Rick Brown, April Coalition-backed candidate for City Council; and Ceas Levinson of the National Committee to Combat Fascism, which had launched the petition campaign that put the issue on the ballot in Berkeley. The radio announcer, Vic Gavin, frequently referred to Camejo as the only candidate for mayor supporting the community control of police.

On March 28, Camejo is scheduled to appear on KGO-TV in a one-hour program featuring all the candidates for mayor of Berkeley.

On International Women's Day, March 8, Andrea Land, SWP candidate for Berkeley City Council, was interviewed for one hour on radio station KALX. On the same day, she addressed an audience of 50 students at Berkeley High School. After her talk, three women asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Anita Bennett, also a City Council candidate, was a speaker at a March 5 East Bay Socialist Forum commemorating International Women's Day. On March 3, she spoke at a rally at the University of California in support of the campus maids organized by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. The main issue in an impending strike of these workers is equal pay for equal work.

Within the past couple of weeks, both Peter Graumann, candidate for the Peralta Board of Trustees, and Mary Lou Montauk, candidate for Berkeley Board of Education, have had front-page interviews, with photographs, in the *Berkeley Daily Gazette*. The *Gazette* has given the campaign almost daily coverage of some sort. On Jan. 27, the editor, Mike Culbert, wrote: "The only slate methodically organized and off and running is, as usual, that of the we-do-it-our-own Trotskyist Communists, running under the perennial banners of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

"The mayor's race is an awful tug-of-war and a battle of statistics. The imponderables read like a lead-in to a radio soap opera from the 1940s: Will Tony Camejo's Trotskyist vote splurge detract enough from the presumed united radical slate to do Warren Widener in and elect Wilmont Sweeney mayor of Berkeley?"

Mary Lou Montauk has accepted invitations to address several PTAs.

Alan Wald, SWP candidate for Berkeley City Council, is currently on a speaking tour of campus fraternities (even they have not gone untouched by the radicalization). The *Daily Californian* recently carried an extensive interview with Wald.

Finally, supporters of the East Bay

Socialist Campaign have issued a small red booklet entitled "Quotations from Chairman John K. Debonis." Debonis is an eccentric right-wing Berkeley city councilman and a candidate for mayor. The pamphlet consists of quotations gleaned from the minutes of the City Council. Since it first appeared in early March, it has received considerable attention, including prominent mention in the March 5 column of the popular *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen.



Andrea Land

## 90 attend Chicago banquet

By STEVE CLARK

CHICAGO—Over ninety people attended a Socialist Workers Party campaign rally here on Saturday, Feb. 27. The featured speaker, Linda Shepard, SWP nominee for mayor in the April 6 election, based her remarks around an article Eugene V. Debs wrote in 1902 entitled "What's the Matter with Chicago." "In this municipal election period," she stated, "Chicago faces all the problems which Debs spoke about. You can't spend 24 hours here without recognizing that these problems have assumed crisis proportions. If you work, go to school, ride on the CTA [Chicago Transit] or highways, breathe the air, or have to pay rent, you can't fail to be aware of this fact, and you don't need so-called experts to tell you about it."

The program also included remarks by Chuck Collins, a local TV news broadcaster; Leland Rayson, an Illinois state representative; and Willie Petty, SWP candidate for city clerk.

A week before the banquet, the City Council elections were held, in which Cynthia Burke, SWP candidate for alderwoman in the Fifth Ward, received 390 votes—3.5 percent of the total.

In another development in the city elections, Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Operation Breadbasket project in Chicago, lost an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court to place him on the ballot for the mayoral election.

Jackson, who is challenging the high number of signatures for independent nominating petitions required by state

law for municipal elections and the short period of time permitted to collect them, lost in a three-judge federal court in January.

He appealed this case to the U.S. Supreme Court, asking the court for "immediate relief" pending a decision on the constitutionality of the Illinois laws.

The U.S. high court refused to order the city to put Jackson's name on the ballot and is now deciding whether it will even give his suit a hearing.

His fight against Illinois' restrictive election laws has received wide support from many Black community groups, such as the Urban League, as well as from Black aldermen, educators, and trade unionists. Even Republican mayoralty candidate Richard Friedman has given support to Jackson's right to be on the ballot.

The SWP candidates have also sharply attacked these laws and are giving Jackson's challenge their strong support.

## Feminist in school race

BOSTON—The Socialist Workers Party announced here March 11 the candidacy of Gloria Albee for Cambridge School Committee. Albee is the second SWP candidate to enter the race for School Committee.

Albee plans to run for the office using her maiden name, a procedure currently denied women. "Denying women the legal right to use the names they were given at birth, their so-called 'maiden' names," she stated, "is a flagrant attempt to put women in a subordinate position to their husbands. It is through means such as these that women are trained to believe that they must give up their own identity and find it through their husbands and families."

Albee is a cofounder of the Feminist Repertory Theatre and has been active in the women's liberation movement. "I have spent many years trapped in the family structure not only as a child but as a mother," she recently said. "As a socialist and feminist, I will wage a vigorous campaign to implement the demands of the women's liberation movement."



Gloria Albee

Photo by Lenny Goodman



Anita Bennett

By CAROLINE LUND

The *New York Times* recently began an article with the statement that "a dramatic liberalization of public attitudes and practices regarding abortions appears to be sweeping the country." The growing influence of the ideas of the women's liberation movement, as well as the obvious technical possibility for women to have complete control over their bodies, is leading more and more women to refuse to go along any longer with laws making abortion illegal.

This determined pressure from women and from the organized women's movement has resulted in a situation this year where bills to repeal or reform abortion laws have been proposed and are being discussed in just about every state in the country.

A host of court cases are also being fought by forces supporting the right of women to abortion. At the present time, 10 appeals of suits challenging the constitutionality of abortion laws are pending before the U. S. Supreme Court. These appeals concern the abortion laws of Washington, D. C., Missouri, Texas, Georgia, Louisiana, Minnesota, Illinois, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.

It is possible that the Supreme Court, in a decision on one of these cases, could rule that all abortion laws are unconstitutional because they infringe upon the woman's right to privacy and to control over her own body, thus invalidating abortion laws in all states.

In addition to legislative and court battles over abortion, other legal challenges are also taking place. For example, the state of Washington held a popular referendum last November over a law which would allow any woman to get an abortion by a doctor in a hospital if her husband (if she is married and living with her husband) or her parents (if she is under 18) approve. The referendum was approved by 55 percent, despite a campaign waged by the "Right to Life Committee," which spent an estimated \$300,000 trying to defeat the referendum.

Even in New York, which last year passed the most liberal abortion law in the country, the legislature is in the midst of a battle over whether to add further restrictions to the right of women to get an abortion or to remove all restrictions. Town meetings have been held in Huntington, Babylon and Niagara Falls, New York, with heated debates over whether to add restrictions on abortion to city health codes.

The debate, controversy and national attention focused on the issue of the right of women to abortion is long overdue.

The history of abortion laws in this country has been a history of complete hypocrisy and disregard for the needs of women. Before the early 1800s, abortion was either completely legal or tolerated both in England and in the United States. By 1860, however, and lasting until 1967, abortion was made illegal in almost all states except when it was necessary to save a woman's life.

Under these "therapeutic" abortion laws, only 8-10,000 legal abortions were performed each year, while more than one million illegal abortions took place, resulting in an estimated 8,000 maternal deaths each year.

### Reform laws

Since 1967, many states have adopted reform abortion laws, all based on a model penal code recommended by the American Law Institute. These laws permit abortions under certain conditions, such as if the physical or mental health of the woman is endangered, if the pregnancy resulted from rape, if there is a possible fetal deformity, and if the abortion is performed by a doctor in a hospital during the first 16-26 weeks of pregnancy.

Even the three most liberal laws now existing—in New York, Hawaii and Alaska—include one or more restrictions, such as that an abortion must be done in a hospital, or must be performed by a doctor, or that unmarried women under 18 must have their parents' consent, or they include a residency requirement or time limits beyond which an abortion is illegal.

The reform laws have posed a question of strategy for the women's movement: Should women fight for reform bills, which might make abortions more available to some women, or should the movement work uncompromisingly for repeal of antiabortion laws and free abortion on demand?

Most of the women's liberation movement, including new coalitions of women's groups that have been formed around the abortion issue, have come to the conclusion that the women's movement must speak out uncompromisingly for what is in the interests of all women—which means opposing any restrictions on the right of women to control their own bodies, and fighting for free abortion on demand so that women other than wealthy women can have this right.

It is true that reform laws make things a little

better for women. But experience has shown that the way to win any improvement—even a reform law, for that matter—is to put up the strongest fight around our full and just demands. This is the way we can win the broadest support from women, and also it is the best way to defeat the staunch antiabortion forces such as the Right to Life Committees, Friends of the Fetus, etc. And our struggle is not over until we have won our full rights. No one has a right to force motherhood on any woman.

### New York experience

The experience of the New York women's movement with the reform abortion law that took effect July 1, 1970, provides many lessons for the movement in other areas in demonstrating both the inadequacies of reform laws and also in demonstrating the power of the women's movement to force change.

First of all, the New York reform law (which says that a woman can get an abortion from a licensed physician if she is less than 24 weeks pregnant and after that if her life is in danger) was only passed under the pressure of a demonstration of 4,000 women in March 1970, calling for free abortion on demand, along with the pressure of a suit challenging the constitutionality of the state abortion law brought by several hundred women.

Since July 1, approximately 150,000 abortions have been performed in the state, with about one-half performed on women from out of state. Clearly, women should fight inclusion of residency requirements in abortion laws because until abortion is legalized all over the country, there will be thousands of women who will have to go to other states to get an abortion, and why should they be denied this right?

lature, a total of 19 different bills are being introduced that attempt to add further restrictions to the present reform law. Some of them would require the consent of the woman's husband, making abortion a matter between your doctor and your husband! Others would impose a 90-day or six-month residency requirement, or shorten the time limit beyond which you could not get an abortion to 12 weeks. Another would exclude poor women from getting medical assistance for abortions except to save the woman's life.

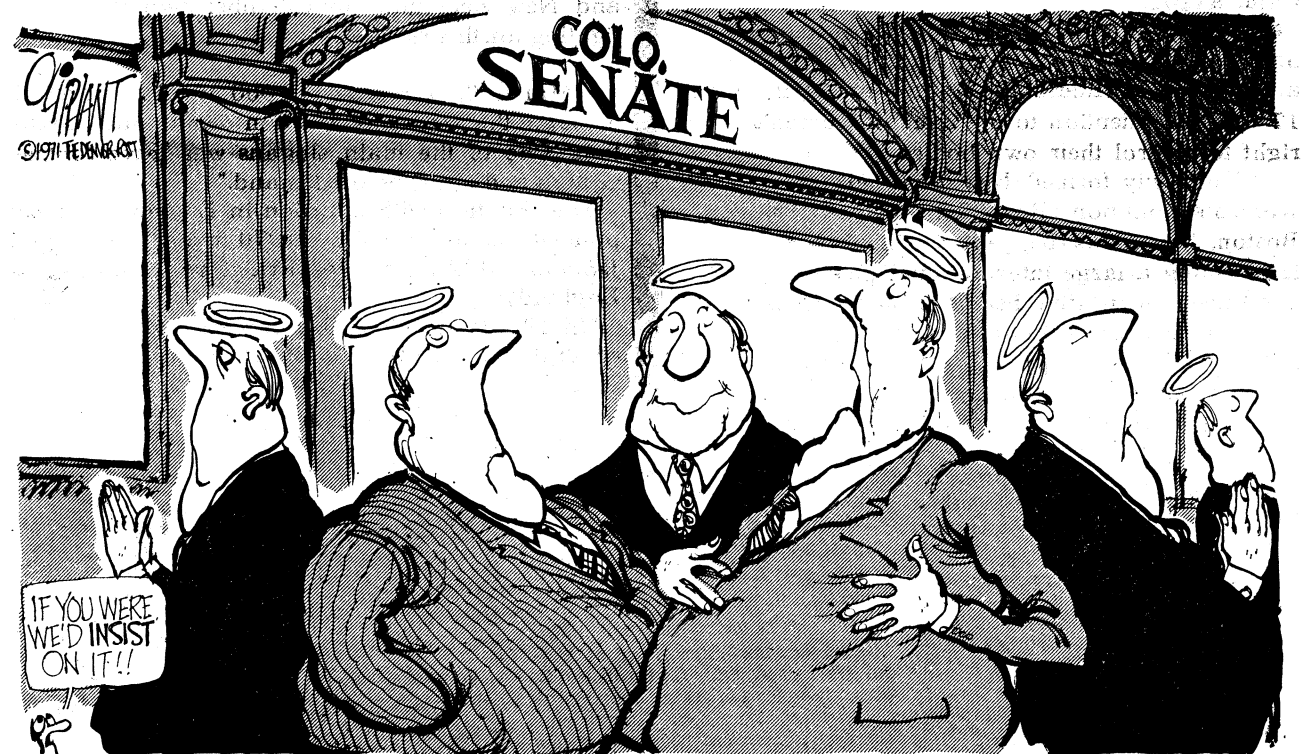
This attempted assault by New York legislators upon the gains made by women in the fight to control our own bodies is indicative of the difficult struggle before the women's movement in achieving this control.

### "Population control"

Another question of strategy which has come up in the abortion struggle is that of "population control." Population control contradicts the right of women to abortion as a step toward gaining control over our own bodies and lives. We want to be able to make *our own* decisions—not to be pressured or forced by anyone else either to have children or not to have them.

Population control measures, such as denying tax exemption for more than two children or pressuring women to be sterilized, are a denial of that right to control our own bodies, and are also usually racist. Any introduction of population control ideas into our struggle for the right to abortion will narrow the support we can win from women, especially welfare women, Black and Third World women, and Catholic women, who justifiably feel that population control is directed against their right to control their lives. This is why it is so important that the demand "No forced sterilization" always be linked with the demand for

# The abortion repeal movement



**'WELL, IF I WERE PREGNANT I CERTAINLY WOULDN'T HAVE AN ABORTION!'**

Another restriction often included in reform laws is that abortions may only be done in hospitals. In New York, this requirement—which is not part of the New York abortion law, but was added by the city Board of Health—has had the effect of restricting the right to abortion to the rich because of the outrageously high cost of hospital care in this country. New York City hospitals have had a policy of demanding payment in advance for all abortions on nonwelfare women.

The necessity of struggling for free abortion on demand has also been illustrated in New York by the growth of abortion referral into one of the most profitable new businesses in the city. Some agencies have reported making up to \$75,000 profit per week, by charging desperate women, especially from out of state, up to \$160 just for sending them to a hospital that will do the abortion. These women do not know about the free referral agencies that exist and have to pay hospital and doctor bills in addition to the agency fee.

In addition to referral agencies raking in profits from the desperation of women with unwanted pregnancies, doctors are also making a haul. A doctor can earn around \$4,000 a day performing abortions.

In the current session of the New York legis-

free abortion on demand.

The present ferment over abortion is raising before millions of people the question of a woman's right to control her own body. The women's liberation movement has the opportunity to reach many new women by entering this debate to the fullest extent we can.

As all antiabortion forces clearly understand, granting women the right to abortion has vast implications, challenging the whole fabric of patriarchal traditions and assumptions which underlie class society. The right of women to control over our bodies eliminates the vulnerability of women to pregnancy, which is used to justify discrimination against women throughout society. And it also undermines the theory that sexuality for women is evil and sinful unless it results in childbirth.

Victories in this struggle will have the effect of enlarging and inspiring the women's liberation movement by increasing women's confidence in our rights and eliminating the feelings of guilt and shame which have for so many years prevented women from fighting. The combined pressure of women from all over the country is sure to result in important gains for women, bringing our struggle for total liberation to an even higher level.



# Groups, coalitions, actions

Women all over the country are stepping up organizing efforts around the issue of the right to abortion, by forming new coalitions and planning actions which can forcefully articulate the demands of women for the right to control our bodies.

- The New York Women's Strike Coalition, (118 E. 28 St., Rm. 405, N. Y., N. Y. 10016) composed of around a hundred women's organizations, is presently organizing a massive march on the legislature in Albany for free abortion on demand, no forced sterilization, repeal of all abortion and contraception laws, and against any further restrictions on the existing law.

- Colorado women have formed a new coalition, Coloradans to Abolish All Abortion Laws (CAAAL, 1452 Pennsylvania Ave., Denver, Colo. 90203) around the demands: women should have the right to control their own bodies; make abortions available to all women; and no forced sterilization.

- In Connecticut, 1,000 women have come together as plaintiffs in a suit challenging the constitutionality of the Connecticut abortion law. Their address is: Women vs. Connecticut, Box 89, Yale Law School, New Haven, Ct. 06020. In New Jersey, 1,200 women have filed a similar suit against the New Jersey law. And in California, women are just beginning to sign up plaintiffs in a suit against the California law. Any woman who is a California resident interested in being a plaintiff should contact Rita Hersch, c/o Assoc. to Repeal Abortion Laws, P. O. Box 6083, San Francisco, Calif. 94101.

- Women in the Washington, D. C., area have formed a Metropolitan Abortion Alliance, which is building an action for April 17 to draw attention to the issue of women's right to control their own bodies.

- The newly formed New England Women's Coalition (Box 305, Kenmore Sta., Boston, Mass. 02215), centered in Boston, is planning a large informational picket line outside legislative hearings on a repeal bill that has been submitted to the legislature.

- Students at the University of Maine have set aside \$5,000 from student activity fees to provide interest-free loans to women students who want to go to New York City for an abortion. A bill establishing a student abortion loan fund has also been introduced into the student senate at the University of Rhode Island.

- A suit against the Missouri abortion law was filed last November by a group of physicians, clergymen and women, contending that a woman, in consultation with her doctor, has the right to decide whether to bear a child.

- The new Abortion Action Coalition in Minnesota and the March 13 Action Coalition in Michigan are both planning demonstrations at the state capitols for legal abortions on demand. In North Dakota, Minot Women's Liberation (P. O. Box 235, Minot, N. D. 58701) is planning "an assault on the state legislature for abortion repeal." There is also an Indiana Abortion Law Repeal Coalition with chapters in several cities, and in Illinois a broad coalition called Total Repeal of Illinois Abortion Laws (TRIAL).

- In Texas, 500-600 persons attended a Citizens' Hearing on Abortion Jan. 30 sponsored by the Texas Abortion Coalition (2102 South Blvd., Houston, Tx. 77006). After the hearings, a rally was held at the state capitol demanding the right of women to control our own bodies.

These are just some of the abortion struggles going on now. The depth and scope of the current activities underscore the potential power to be gained by working toward greater national coordination and communication and united nationwide action.



Ottawa demonstration for right to free abortion, Feb. 13.

Photo by White/Labor Challenge

## A struggle that is international

The struggle of women for the basic right to control our own bodies is an international struggle. In Canada, Europe, and as far away as Australia and New Zealand, women's liberation forces are fighting for this right.

On March 6, a reported 4,000 women marched through the streets of London demanding liberation. One of the main slogans was "Free contraception and abortion on demand."

The situation with abortion in England was explained in the July-Aug. 1970 issue of *Socialist Woman* (16 Ella Rd., West Bridgford, Nottingham, England):

"In 1968, before the Abortion Act, it was estimated that there were 100,000 abortions in Britain every year. In the first full year of the Abortion Act, April 1968-April 1969, there were 40,000 legal abortions in Britain. So there must be at least 60,000 illegal, i.e., back street abortions per year still in Britain. . . .

"Well over half the women in Britain who have abortions still go to a back street abortionist because they cannot get an abortion from the National Health Service [socialized medicine], and because they cannot afford to pay a private surgeon. So they risk acute pain, nervous shock and ill health because some members of the medical profession refuse to help them and because they are poor."

Hundreds of Canadian women marched Feb. 13 in a snowstorm through the streets of Ottawa, the capital of English Canada, demanding "Abortion is our right." The demonstration was part of a national campaign for the right to abortion. While women from 14 cities were marching in Ottawa, demonstrations of 200 in Vancouver, 100 in Saskatoon, and smaller actions in six other cities took place.

A press release issued Feb. 17 by the abortion committee of the Quebec Women's Liberation Front illustrates the special problems of our Quebec sisters with regard to abortion:

"In order to denounce the especially terrible situation that Quebec women are faced with concerning abortion, the abortion committee of the Quebec Women's Liberation Front is launching a campaign demanding free abortion for all women who desire it.

"The goal of this campaign is to denounce the whole system of hospital committees, composed mainly of men who decide that only an insane

woman can have an abortion, as well as to denounce the rigid opposition to abortion of the French-speaking hospitals, which only grant one abortion for every 180 granted by English hospitals. This campaign aims to draw together all women ready to struggle to win this fundamental right: the control of their own bodies.

"The first action will be held on March 8. By choosing March 8, the committee wants to restore a militant tradition to this date of International Women's Day. But the campaign will continue as long as our demands are not met."

Approximately one million women have abortions every year in France. The Women's Liberation Movement in France is also making a special campaign around the abortion issue. They cite the example of how the abortion campaign of the U. S. women's movement has increased the growth and influence of the movement there.

The French women's movement faces a formidable opponent in the powerful French Communist Party. The French CP holds the position that the French birth rate must be prevented from dropping so that the "French people" do not diminish. Thus the CP deputies in the French parliament did not oppose a law, recently projected, which would make abortion legal only to save the life of the woman or when the fetus will be born physically or mentally deformed. The CP deputies only proposed to extend legal abortions to cases of rape and to women who already have more than three children.

An article in the Feb. 17 *New York Post* began with the headline: Abortions Next For Italy? It says that since divorce has been legalized, abortion is becoming "the most critical social problem awaiting legal readjustment."

Some 20,000 Italian sisters die of botched, back street abortions each year, with between one and two million illegal abortions performed yearly.

In the slums of Rome, a woman doctor, Maria L. Demarchi talked with 558 women averaging 31 years of age, and found these women had had an average of two abortions for each two to three children they had.

As our movements for the right to abortion grow and win victories, women in various countries will strengthen and inspire each other in this struggle against centuries-old superstitions, ignorance, and enforced brutalization of millions of women around the world.

# Defendants muzzled in Prague trial

(From Intercontinental Press)

The trial of nineteen persons accused of "Trotskyist activities" resumed Friday March 5 in Prague. Hearings had been halted four days earlier when the principal defendant, Peter Uhl, challenged the impartiality of the court. In the name of all the defendants, accused of being members of the Revolutionary Youth Movement and the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Uhl demanded that judicial authorities answer four questions:

(1) Had the panel of judges trying this case participated in the purge trials of the 1950s? (2) Had the judges been in contact with other government bodies besides the judiciary, such as the police and military security? (3) Were the sitting judges members of the Czechoslovak Communist party and thus obliged to follow its directives? (4) Were the judges members of other organizations parallel to the party and did they exercise nonjudicial functions?

Only the chief justice of the Czechoslovak Supreme Court is competent by law to answer such a challenge to judicial impartiality. His reply was not reported.

As the hearings resumed the defendants continued to ask embarrassing questions. The Stalinist authorities also helped to expose themselves, becoming entrapped in the contradictions and outrages of their frame-up.

The first of the defendants to testify in the reopened hearings, Jan Frolik, demanded that the judges recognize the political character of the trial.

The charges listed in the indictment are that the defendants published and circulated "ultraleft" propaganda and participated in a demonstration in August 1969 against the Soviet military occupation. Despite this, the prosecution claims that the trial is not political because the accused are being tried for their acts and not for their beliefs.

"Our acts were dictated by our opinions and our opinions expressed in acts," Frolik said, according to *Le Monde* of March 7-8. "You cannot separate the one from the other. They form a whole."

Frolik, a twenty-three-year-old student, the Paris daily continued, openly declared that he had taken part in the political activities mentioned in the indictment. But he rejected the charge that the aim of this activity was to "undermine" socialism. "Never in our discussions," he said, "did we consider the possibility of a capitalist restoration. To the contrary, our sole objective was to advance socialism. Our criticisms were not directed against the socialist system but against certain actions and certain methods."

In the second session Monday, March 8, the judges refused to allow further testimony of this type.

As the testimony proceeded, it was revealed that the government's case rested primarily on the report of an agent provocateur, a certain Cechal.

Cechal joined the group in the fall of 1969, when the youths were beginning to prepare for a celebration of the first anniversary of Jan Palach's protest suicide, which occurred January 16, 1969.

The informer, defendant Pavel Lukacovic said, encouraged the rest of the group, mainly students, to involve workers in their demonstration. Since Cechal was a trade-union representative at the Kladno foundries, the others gave him two separate drafts of a proposed leaflet to be handed out at the demonstration for him to study. Neither draft had been approved. A few days later, copies of one of the drafts began appearing in Prague.

This development, Cechal told the group, indicated that there was a traitor in the organization. He proposed to find the guilty member and "physically liquidate him." The group rejected this suggestion. Cechal proposed that the organization turn to "conspiratorial work." This proposal was also rejected.

At its next meeting the organization decided to dissolve. Cechal opposed this decision, recommending that the group continue its activities. He had already sent his report to the secret

police. A few days later the arrests began.

During the hearings, Petruska Sustrova was questioned about her deposition relating to her fellow defendants. Sustrova, the twenty-three-year-old mother of a small baby, explained that the police promised that they would release her if she testified about the rest of the group. Next they promised her her freedom if she would persuade her fiancé Vavrinec Korcis to give himself up to the authorities. He turned himself in, but Sustrova was not released.

"Monday morning [March 8], several lawyers protested the presiding judge's refusal to admit the public," the March 10 issue of *Le Monde* reported. "The judge replied that if all those who held entry tickets were allowed in, 'the courtroom would overflow.' When this answer was relayed to the friends of the accused waiting in the corridor, it provoked general hilarity."

Apparently embarrassed, the "normalized" Stalinist regime in Prague seems to want to keep the trial as inconspicuous as possible. So far, the behavior of the Czechoslovak authorities suggests a new vulnerability to public opinion in the Stalinist apparatus. Widespread protests and publicity may force it to release its grip on its intended young victims.

# Protest demands release of Prague 19

(From Intercontinental Press)

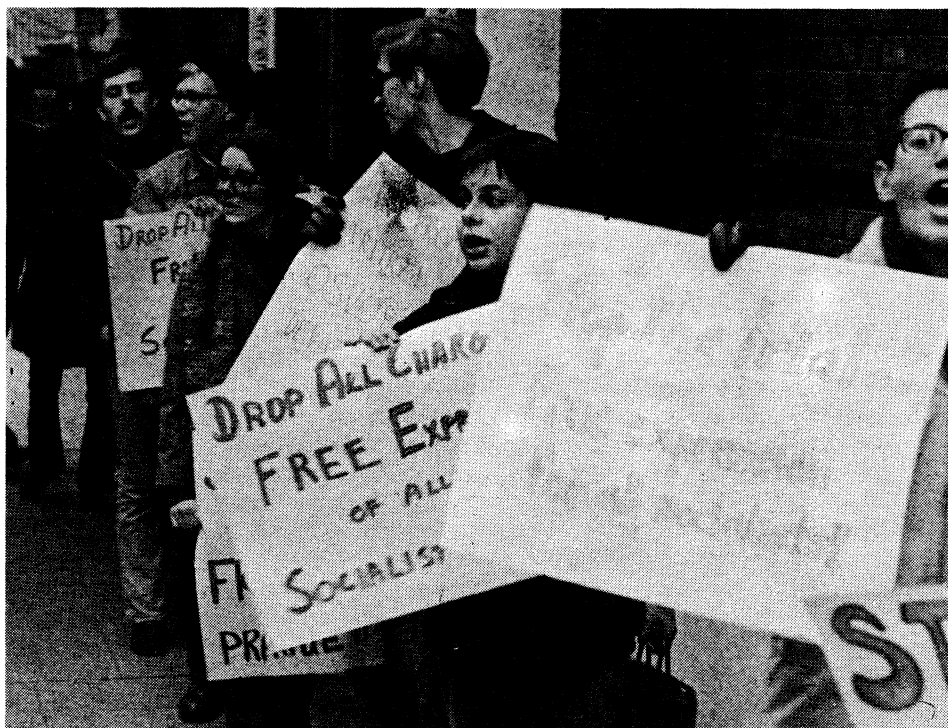
"Stop the trial now! Free the Prague nineteen!" was the message shouted by demonstrators in front of the Czechoslovak mission in New York City March 11. Some forty persons took part in the picket line demanding an end to the prosecution of nineteen "Trotskyites" being tried in Prague.

The pickets carried signs in English and Czech demanding "Free Expression for All Socialist Views," "Stop the Trial," "Bureaucracy, No! Socialism, Yes!" and "Free the Prague 19."

Leaflets distributed to passersby explained the purpose of the demonstration:

"We protest the political trial now going on in Czechoslovakia. Nineteen people, mostly students and young workers, have been charged by the Husak regime with the 'crime' of being 'Trotskyites.' 'Trotskyite' is used by the Czech government leaders as an epithet referring to anyone opposing the present regime."

The demonstration was organized by the Ad Hoc Committee to Free the Prague Nineteen. The committee's initial sponsors include a broad representation of well-known civil libertarian and left figures as well as leaders of the antiwar and other mass movements. Some of the sponsors are:



New York demonstrators picket Czech mission to U.N. March 11.

Photo by Brian Shannon

Irving Beinin of the New York weekly *Guardian*; Clara deMiha of the Jeanette Rankin Brigade; Ruth Gage-Colby, a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition; Isa Hanna of the New York University Organi-

zation of Arab Students; Mary Kochiyama of Asian Americans for Action; Nan Maglin of New University Conference; Donald R. Makuen, dean of Manhattan Community College; Raymond Markey, chairman of the

political action committee of AFSCME [American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees] local 1930; Dave McReynolds, cosecretary of the War Resisters League; Joanna Misnik of the Young Socialist Alliance; Marxist scholar George Novack of the Socialist Workers party; and Paul Sweezy, editor of the socialist journal *Monthly Review*.

The committee's leaflet outlined the charges against the Prague defendants and explained the significance of the case:

"This trial exemplifies the repressive atmosphere prevailing in Czechoslovakia since the 1968 Soviet invasion. If the Husak regime is successful in convicting and imprisoning the 19, it will continue to stage such trials against the other socialist opponents of the present Czech rulers."

Joanna Misnik attempted to deliver the committee's statement to the mission, but the bureaucrats inside were not answering their door that day. She reported earlier the mission's third secretary had invited her to lunch so that he could explain the trial of the young revolutionaries. The invitation was withdrawn when he was informed that it would not result in the picket being canceled.

# U of Minn. scabbing creates uproar

By RANDY FURST

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — The decision of the *Minnesota Daily*, the student newspaper at the University of Minnesota, to transfer its press work to a nonunion shop is causing an uproar here.

Officers of four unions denounced the move at a March 11 protest rally at the university called on short notice by student and faculty activists.

A full-page advertisement in the *Daily*, March 11, signed by prominent faculty and student leaders, gave complete support to the union and blasted the campus newspaper for its "antilabor move."

The *Daily* management had appar-

ently hoped to conclude its deal to shift its operation out of Midwest Printing Co. and into a scab printing plant in a quiet, behind-the-scenes fashion.

But it didn't work.

Two days after news of the shift leaked out, 5,000 leaflets were circulating on campus. "No scabbing at the university!" read the leaflet's headline.

At a hastily called news conference, attended by TV, radio and the press, Robert Koloski, president of Local 42 of the Minneapolis Typographical Union, told the protest rally that he wanted the *Daily's* printing facilities "kept in a union plant."

He was joined by John Carmichael,

executive secretary of the Twin Cities Newspaper Guild.

"I for one—in the labor movement — am interested in building bridges between students and workers," Carmichael told the rally.

Bob Curry, the organizer of Local 1164 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO) on campus, also offered the support of his union.

Unable to grapple with the charges leveled against it by this united opposition, some members of the *Daily* apparently sought to discredit by red-baiting one component of the pro-union group, the Young Socialist Alliance.

The *St. Paul Dispatch* ran a report of the protest developments in an account headlined "'Scab' Charge Fired at U Daily" on the morning of March 12. The report began:

"An apparent bid by activists to build a classic leftist 'student-worker alliance' resulted in charges Thursday that the University of Minnesota *Daily* was moving toward a nonunion shop and 'scab' production of its paper."

"The acting production manager of the *Daily* said he felt talks between the paper's management and representatives of local typographer and lithographer unions had been pro-

Continued on page 22



After the massive uprising that shook Trinidad in 1970, the West Indies will never be the same. A new vanguard of Black revolutionaries is emerging that can help mobilize the masses against the neocolonialist West Indian regimes and their imperialist rulers.

The Militant was able to interview Tim Hector, a representative of this new vanguard and an organizer of the Peasant League of Antigua, a small island 260 miles east of Puerto Rico. Hector was one of the featured speakers at the recent Canadian National Black Conference in Toronto, where this interview was obtained.

**Militant:** Could you give a brief picture of your organization?

**Hector:** I am a representative of the Antigua Peasant League, which is aiming to involve the peasants and make them aware of what structural change in the area can mean. Inherently it is the productive forces that shape society. The farmers and workers must have control over those forces if they are to control their lives.

We want to show the peasant that even the large estates under private ownership are outmoded. We want to have cooperative ownership and agrarian reform.

**Militant:** What are the conditions faced by the masses on Antigua?

**Hector:** We have a few large estates and several thousand peasant tracts of one acre or less. Most people work on these estates or in the tourist industry. The average house in a rural area is eight by 10 feet square for a family of between seven and 12. Education comes during the rare times children aren't needed on the land. Food and other necessities come out of an income of between 10 and 15 dollars (U.S.) per week. Prices are as high or higher than in the U.S. because everything must be imported from the U.S.

**Militant:** What do you see as the basic problems of the revolution in the West Indies?

**Hector:** The basic problem is that the West Indies is a unique society. It has been created by colonialism. It was colonized in the sense that Africa was colonized. The population was exported from Africa and India to the West Indies. The Africans and East Indians are the predominant group in the population, but they have been completely taken in by another civilization.

The society has not gone through any process of change. The plantation system began in the West Indies and it is still here. We have a very modern population trapped in a very outmoded economic system, the plantation system.

Having seen and endured political betrayal after political betrayal, the West Indian peasant has come to believe that it is the destiny of the West Indies to remain as they are. And this is the problem we are fighting.

**Militant:** What is the role played by the older leaders such as Dr. Eric Williams, prime minister of Trinidad; Bird, former prime minister of Antigua; and Hugh Shearer, prime minister of Jamaica?

**Hector:** The colonial struggle takes place in two phases: 1) the struggle against the external force, the colonial power; 2) the struggle against the internal foe, the capitalist economic structure devised and left by the colonial power.

It cannot be overcome by theorists sitting in a room writing learned theses on *From Columbus to Castro* (a recent book by Eric Williams), but getting the masses to deal with their problems through struggling to build

a new society, to overcome the internal enemy.

Williams and his friends have now taken over the position of being managers of the old colonial system. They can play no other role as long as they are unwilling to struggle against foreign capital. Williams, who started merely as a liberal aiming to alleviate some suffering, hardship, misery, and problems, ended up alleviating little misery and hardship and few problems.

The West Indies were created as an extension of the European economy. With Williams in Trinidad, it has become an extension of the American economy. He thought that by shifting from British to U.S. corporations, by dealing with the external enemy, that he would bring change. There has been no change.

**Militant:** What kind of social transformation do you think is needed?

**Hector:** We are now at the stage that what we have to do is restructure the society. Workers and farmers must

area, or as one that will spread to the whole Caribbean?

**Hector:** We see the eventual unity of all territories in the Caribbean; those formerly or currently held by the Spanish, Dutch, French, as well as the English. We must work towards a Caribbean nation in which Cuba will be an essential and vital part.

The struggle for liberation in the West Indies and in Latin America are interrelated. In much the way that Toussaint L'Ouverture led to Bolivar, San Martin, and Jose Marti, we can see the Cuban revolution setting off the revolutionary movements across the West Indies and Latin America.

**Militant:** What is your assessment of the 1970 struggles in Trinidad and its effect on the West Indian struggle as a whole?

**Hector:** It completely sensitized the entire area. Everyone followed it. We were able to collect several thousand dollars for defense of Sir George William University students who played

One either owns and controls the means of production and natural resources or one doesn't. Fifty-one percent doesn't mean ownership or control. The decisions are still going to be made in the headquarters of the international corporations.

The only people who are saying nothing about these "nationalizations" are the international corporations of the world. They apparently know what is going on.

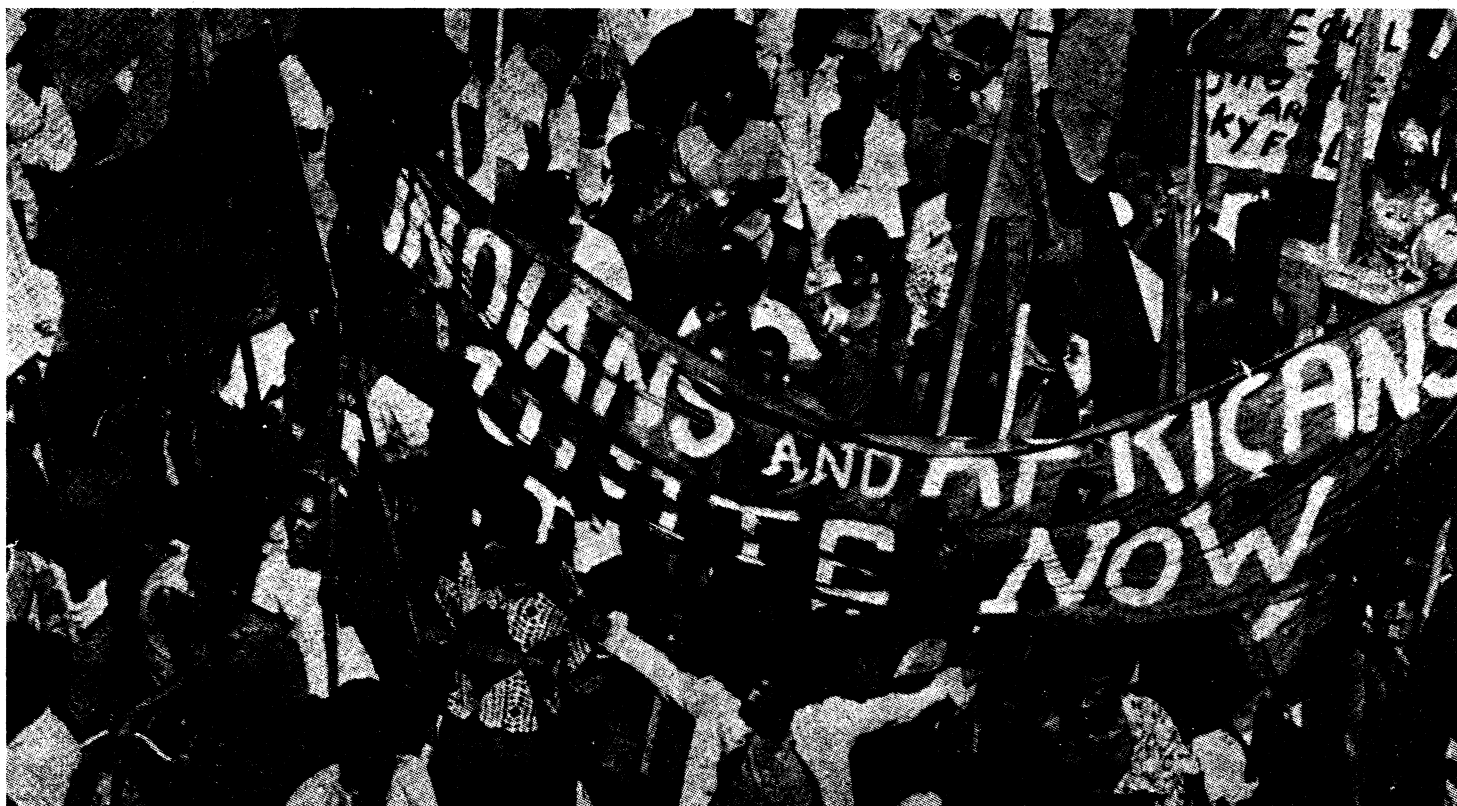
**Militant:** Do you see a new revolutionary leadership developing in the Caribbean?

**Hector:** A new leadership is developing throughout the Caribbean islands and there is not going to be any contradiction between the leadership and the masses.

I am not arguing that there is no need for a vanguard. The group that is trying to make people conscious is obviously a vanguard. What is needed is a vanguard that is thoroughly connected and integrated with the mass.

## A Militant Interview

# Black power struggle in the West Indies



Black power demonstration in Trinidad last March. Militant struggle there generated new political awareness throughout the Caribbean.

gain control of the process of decision-making at every level of society and production.

The West Indies is essentially an agricultural area and the a priori aim of every program must have at its center what Fidel Castro—who is the greatest figure in recent Caribbean history—had at the center of his program, agrarian reform. Naturally we must also learn from mistakes made by the Cuban revolution in this field, but land reform will be central to our revolution.

Socialism comes out of a developed economy. The people of the West Indies cannot realize this by themselves. However, by making our own revolution, we can quicken the pace by making the worker, racist as he may be in the advanced countries, conscious of the fact that he is living off the benefits of imperialism, and at the same time, that he is the cornerstone of a system that is based on his own exploitation.

**Militant:** Do you see the revolution in the Caribbean occurring in a single

a key role in setting off the struggle in Trinidad. The West Indian is an internationalist as well as a nationalist, because he sees the international exploitation of the West Indies.

In Trinidad, the struggle has expanded beyond the capacity of the leaders to develop a program. They had no basic program for the land. This would have enabled them to really solidify their base and alliances with the East Indian peasant and sugar worker.

This is not to attack the brothers in Trinidad, many of whom have come to these same conclusions. Just as the Russians learned from their 1905 revolution, the Trinidadians and other West Indians are learning from this struggle to go on to their 1917.

**Militant:** What do you think of the recent 51 percent nationalization of bauxite holdings by the Forbes Burnham regime in Guyana?

**Hector:** This is nothing new, it's already been tried in Mexico. Everybody knows that ultimately this is an antirevolutionary step.

**Militant:** How do you see the connection between the struggle in the West Indies and the struggle in the United States?

**Hector:** Ultimately America must come to grips with its own imperialist nature due to the struggle of Black people in the U.S. Ultimately the whites will become revolutionary.

The Black movement will be a forerunner, exposing the nature of American society, bringing the American working class on the scene. Racism will be there even after capitalism has been destroyed. It is the result of attitudes created by capitalists. However, it will not fall away immediately.

As Marx said, the history of humanity will only begin with the socialist revolution. People will no longer be objects—a source of labor power—but begin to control their destinies.

We understand that a restraining force on the U.S. is the potential solidarity of Blacks with our struggle. Especially after Vietnam, the U.S. will think twice before invading a Black country. If it does, it will be at great cost to U.S. capitalism.

# In Review

## Theater

**And Miss Reardon Drinks a Little** by Paul Zindel. Directed by Melvin Bernhardt. Morosco Theater, New York.

Paul Zindel's new play, *And Miss Reardon Drinks a Little*, seems to be making the statement that we are all crazy, some in one way, some in another. Or perhaps the play is asking how one survives in a highly technical society which brutalizes people.

The play concerns itself essentially with the three Reardon sisters—Anna, Catherine and Ceil. As it progresses, it is revealed that Anna, at first glance an uncontrollable eccentric who is played vigorously and deftly by Julie Harris, has "assaulted" a young male student in the high school where she teaches chemistry. Shortly before this incident, her mother, who has been an invalid for many years, and whom she and Catherine have cared for, has died.

Anna, all medical opinion to the contrary, believes she has contracted rabies from handling stray cats while on a vacation in Paris. She insists on taking debilitating rabies shots and, unable to return to school, is settling into the invalid role vacated by her mother. She has become morbidly preoccupied with death, refuses to eat the flesh of animals, and demands that she and Catherine, who now cares for her, maintain vegetarian diets.

Catherine, played by Estelle Parsons, is the sister who drinks a little. She also secretly eats chopped meat from a candy box. This box becomes a somewhat overworked joke, but finally serves a purpose when, toward the end of the play, the meat is slapped into Anna's face by a cruel and desperate Ceil.

Ceil, who is married to an obviously emasculated man who specializes in



The Reardon sisters

"quality control in oil," is now superintendent of schools, a "superwoman"—hard, cold, efficient, tight, and excellently played by Nancy Marchand. She is confronted by her two sisters as having never cared for them or their mother. But Zindel, who creates three-dimensional, believable characters, helps us to understand Ceil when she counters with the fact that much was expected of her, that she was made to carry the responsibility of the family, and that they all made her do it. Now Ceil is in terror that the sisters will disgrace her and that she will lose the prestigious position she has fought all her life to attain. And so she seeks to convince Catherine to commit Anna.

Miss Reardon, who drinks a little, is obviously caught between the two opposing forces of Ceil, who is unfeeling and brutal and thus able to survive, and Anna, who is sensitive and loving but not acceptable by society's standards. Estelle Parsons, who carries the weight of the play in dialogue, plays with surefooted insight the many half-comic, half-bitter situations. She is compassionate toward her suffering sister, and brusque and vigorously rejecting to Mr. Levine, a neighbor played by Bill Macy who offers the crude male solution: "All you need is a man, baby."

What is Anna condemned as "crazy" for doing? For making love to a young man. "He revealed himself to me as an astral form," she says. "He was like a star." And she is thought crazy because she does not sanction the killing of little animals who are bred and destroyed for ladies "to sit their fat asses upon." In the classroom, children taunt and torture her when she begins to lose control following the death of her mother. We certainly wonder if it is she who is really the crazy one.

Seemingly tasteless at first is the joke about "Lebanons fighting in the alley" made by a cleaning woman at the beginning and repeated at the first act curtain. (Catherine points out that she means to say "lesbians.") But the "joke" finally underscores the sister relationship between Catherine and Anna, who are the only persons who offer any hopeful solution to the problem of living in that they, essentially dropouts, have preserved some kind of humanity. Finding comfort and compassion with each other, they are "lesbian" in the broad sense—they prefer the company of women.

Catherine does not know who is the crazy one, Anna or Ceil, but she does know that she cares for Anna and despises Ceil. She decides at the end of the play to commit Anna as she simultaneously decides to order all kinds of meat for herself. But, "What kind of world are you waiting for?" asks Anna, as she retires to her bedroom. Catherine is once more thrown into doubt—and drinks a little.

Mrs. Stein, a teacher played by Rae Allen, fleshes out the theme of the play when she declares that because our advancement in science and technology now provides us with all the answers we once credited to God, perhaps what is now needed are new and "more brilliant gods."

Zindel has once again created pithy, vibrant women characters. Although the play suffers somewhat from a heavy-handed burlesque kind of comedy, it does ask us to ponder the difficulties of remaining human in our present, viciously competitive society.

— LUCILLE IVERSON

## Film

**Mexico—The Frozen Revolution.** A documentary film in color. Directed by Reymundo Gleyzer. 60 minutes. Distributed by American Documentary Films.

*Mexico—The Frozen Revolution* is a documentary film which analyzes the history of Mexico from 1910 to the present. It carefully demonstrates how the original revolutionary goals fought for by the Mexican people were betrayed.

The movie shows the inadequacy of bourgeois democratic revolution as a solution for the underdeveloped and overexploited nations in the twentieth century.

Using black-and-white film clips from the pre-sound-film era and color for the scenes of Mexico today, the movie skillfully examines the inadequacies of Mexico's land reform (which permits the old landowners to continue flourishing), the lack of democracy (fixed elections, coercively organized mass rallies), the brutality of the regime (the 1968 massacre of 400 students), and the capitalist class which forms the main base of support for the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party.

The movie, directed by Reymundo Gleyzer of Argentina, is done with subtlety, artistry and professional polish. It is in actuality a Marxist analysis of Mexican capitalism in film.

The most effective aspects of the movie are the interviews with Mexican peasants who explain quite cogently the exact nature of their oppression, although it is made clear that they have not drawn the needed revolutionary political conclusions. Not yet, anyway.

The film may be rented from American Documentary Films, 336 W. 84th St., New York, N. Y. 10024, or ADF, 379 Bay St., San Francisco, Calif. 94133.

— ARTHUR MAGLIN

## Books received

**The Kronstadt Uprising** by Ida Mett. Black Rose Books. 93 pp. \$1.45 Paper.

**The Soviet Union** by Dev Murarka. Walker and Co. 240 pp. \$7.50.

**See Parris and Die** by H. Paul Jeffers and Dick Levitan. Hawthorn. 242 pp. \$6.95.

**Prelude to Revolution: France in May 1968** by Daniel Singer. Hill and Wang. 434 pp. \$2.95 Paper.

**Natural Process: An Anthology of New Black Poetry.** Edited by Ted Wilentz and Tom Weatherly. Hill and Wang. 181 pp. \$1.95 Paper.

**Gov't Inspected Meat and Other Summer Fun Things** by Dotson Rader. David McKay Co. 242 pp. \$5.95.

**The Trial of the Catonsville Nine** by Daniel Berrigan. Beacon Press. 122 pp. \$5.95.

**Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson.** Bantam Books. 256 pp. \$1.50 Paper.

**White Niggers of America** by Pierre Vallieres. Monthly Review Press. 288 pp. \$7.50.

**Search for Peace in the Middle East.** Prepared for the American Friends Service Committee. Hill and Wang. 126 pp. \$4.50.

**The Art of Revolution: Castro's Cuba—1959-1970** by Dugald Stermer, introductory essay by Susan Sontag. McGraw-Hill. 96 pp. \$7.95 Paper.

**Living on the Earth** by Alice Bay Laurel. Random House. 193 pp. \$3.95 Paper.

**The Kingdom of this World** by Alejo Carpentier. Collier Books. 186 pp. \$1.50 Paper.

**The Radiance of the King** by Camara Laye. Collier Books. 253 pp. \$1.50 Paper.

**The Joint** by James Blake. Doubleday Paris Review Editions. 382 pp. \$7.95.

**Sexual Heretics: Male Homosexuality in English Literature from 1850-1900.** Edited by Brian Reade. Coward-McCann. 459 pp. \$12.50.

**The American Woman: Who Was She?** Edited by Anne Firor Scott. Prentice-Hall. 182 pp. \$2.45 Paper.

**Human Sexual Behavior.** Edited by Donald S. Marshall and Robert C. Suggs. Basic Books. 384 pp. \$10.

**Politics of Ecology** by James Ridgeway. E.P. Dutton. 222 pp. \$5.95.

**Protest: Student Activism in America.** Edited by Julian Foster and Durward Long. William Morrow and Co. 596 pp. \$2.95 Paper.

**Guerrillas in Power: The Course of the Cuban Revolution** by K.S. Karol. Hill and Wang. 624 pp. \$12.50.

**Pentagon Watchers: Student Report on the National Security State** by L.S. Rodberg and Derek Shearer. Doubleday. 416 pp. \$7.95.



# 25 million names in Pentagon files

By DAVID THORSTAD

MARCH 10—More than a year after the first congressional rumblings were heard about the need for investigations into mushrooming government surveillance, such an inquiry was finally undertaken when Sen. Sam Ervin's Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights opened public hearings in Washington, D.C., Feb. 23. The hearings, whose focus is the Pentagon's computerized data bank, are now in their third week.

Assistant Secretary of Defense Robert Froehlke admitted before the committee March 2 that the Pentagon alone keeps files on 25 million Americans. These include persons it considers a "threat to security and defense" as well as public figures like Illinois Sen. Adlai Stevenson III. The Pentagon's data bank, Froehlke testified, keeps files on 760,000 organizations and incidents, and processes an average of 12,000 "requests" per day.

The first witness, Professor Arthur Miller of the University of Michigan Law School, warned that the United States was "on the pathway toward a dossier dictatorship." He estimated that, on the average, there are 10 to 20 dossiers for every single person in the country. "Even now only the tip of the iceberg may be visible," he said.

Much of the content of these dossiers, according to witnesses, consists of inaccurate and derogatory information. Not only have people been refused jobs, insurance or loans as a result, but some have been blackmailed or defamed.

The list of government snoopers is not restricted to executive and military branches like the Defense and Justice Departments, the Secret Service, the FBI, and Army Intelligence. It also includes, among others, the Departments of Housing and Urban Development; Health, Education and Welfare; Social Security Administration; Internal Revenue Service; and the Census Bureau. Their computerized files contain the names of almost everyone in the U.S., and these agencies share their data on private individuals with each other without legal restriction.

Assistant Secretary of Defense Froehlke claimed the military was "reluctant" when the Johnson administration gave it the go-ahead to spy on civilians following the Detroit ghet-

to rebellion in 1967. This alleged reluctance swiftly turned into unabated zeal.

While the scramble to fill bottomless data banks with ever larger quantities of information resulted in a frightful case of military intelligence overkill, it also had its occasionally ridiculous aspects. Former agent Lawrence F. Lane testified that an antiwar protest of 119 persons in September 1969 outside Fort Carson, Colo., included 53 undercover agents or reporters. At least six helicopters whirled overhead taking pictures, but they made so much noise that the agents on the ground could not tape the speeches at the rally. The devotion to information gathering was so intense among military spooks, Lane said, that sometimes spies from one unit would even trail those of another.

The Ervin hearings sank any doubts politicians have succeeded in keeping

afloat that they were unaware of the growth of the military's spying on civilians. Froehlke, a top Pentagon official, placed the responsibility on former President Johnson himself. The "highest" officials of Johnson's administration, including cabinet officers and White House personnel, initiated the effort, he testified.

"I might also mention," Froehlke added, "that the committees of the Congress were made aware of the military's participation in the collection of civil disturbance information."

Rep. Ogden Reid (R-N.Y.) revealed Feb. 17 that knowledge of the Army's spying on civilians was so widespread in government from 1968 on that the Army's 1968 intelligence collection plan "was distributed to 319 individuals, including the adjutants general of all 50 states, and yet no one had the sense or the courage to question what they were doing."

It was in response to mounting public concern about the extent of military spying on civilians that Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird appointed a five-man civilian panel on Feb. 18 to keep tabs on military surveillance and to be responsible directly to him and not to the chiefs of staff. This Defense Investigative Review Council is being headed by Froehlke, who was himself actually the prime "coordinator" of Pentagon intelligence operations after August 1969. Its other members are the undersecretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Force and Defense Intelligence Agency Director Lieut. Gen. Donald Bennett.

Just how a "civilian" board composed of individuals subservient to the reactionary military bureaucracy is supposed to inspire confidence is hard to imagine. Froehlke, in testimony before the subcommittee, blamed the rapid growth of military spying not on the military or executive branches of government but on the "political climate" prevailing in the country at the time.

Neither the Pentagon nor the executive branch has any intention of eliminating the practice of spying on the American people. This has been going on for decades. The current fuss is in part due to the discovery by some in high places that, despite their tendency to go along with such practices in the past, they have now become the objects of such surveillance themselves.

Although several congressmen have introduced legislation to limit the ability to gather and store such data, the government plans to fight such moves. Assistant Attorney General William Rehnquist told Ervin's subcommittee March 9 that the Justice Department "will vigorously oppose" any such legislation. "Self-discipline on the part of the executive branch will provide an answer to virtually all of the legitimate complaints against excesses of information gathering," he pipusly stated.

Nothing more succinctly expresses the government's contempt for the American people than this statement by a spokesman whose department has been caught more than once violating both the law and the rights of individual citizens through its practice of eavesdropping and bugging. Self-discipline indeed!



"Right chief—if we go after everybody, we're bound to hit a criminal some time."

# The National Picket Line

The biggest union in the AFL-CIO, the 1.2 million United Steelworkers of America (USWA), is bargaining for higher wages, better working conditions, and a shorter workweek in four major industries—can, aluminum, copper, and steel.

Preparing for its 1971 battle with the industrial giants of this country, the union's 163-member International Wage Policy Committee met last November 18 and adopted a policy statement on inflation and unemployment. The union wants to "restore the purchasing power that has been lost" and raise the present living standard of the average steelworker "by restoring cost-of-living escalator provisions" which gear wages to rising prices. The statement also indicated that "It is now widely accepted that a shorter workweek without reduction in pay is the answer to many of the economic problems of our two nations"—here and Canada where USWA members live and work.

A statement by Steelworkers President I.W. Abel declared that the Steelworkers' demands reflect "their determination to achieve equity, and if necessary to engage in strike action to do so."

Contracts in the different industries expire in rapid succession. The contract with the can companies ran out Feb. 14. Aluminum is up May 31, copper on June 30, and steel on August 1.

The negotiations are proceeding slowly. A settlement was reached with the National Can Company when the old contract expired. But American Can, Continental Can, and Crown Cork & Seal came to terms with the union on March 12 only after a 26-day strike.

The settlement at National set the pattern, and the agreement finally reached in the can industry is far short of expectations. The union won a \$1-an-hour raise over the life of a three-year contract and got a partial escalator clause that becomes effective in 1972. But it failed to win a shorter workweek, when unemployment and plant closings in the industry are on the rise.

The average wage in container plants was \$3.60 an hour. Workers get a 50-cent raise the first year, 25 cents more in each of the second and third years of the new contract.

Bargaining with the "Big Four" copper companies—Kennecott, Anaconda,

American Smelting and Refining, and Phelps Dodge—will soon begin in earnest. An unnamed spokesman for the copper industry was quoted in the March 1 *Wall Street Journal* as speculating that a repetition of the 1967-68 strike of eight and one-half months would not be necessary this time. His reasons were that the USWA "has bigger fish to fry," meaning the union will be involved with the steel industry, and that "the workers may not be willing to sacrifice." This means that the copper trust hopes to break the spirit of the strikers before conceding to their demands.

Steelworkers are among those who have suffered most from rising prices. A survey of prices and wages by *U.S. News & World Report*, based on Department of Labor statistics, shows that the average weekly wage of steelworkers now, before taxes, is \$169.22. This includes overtime. It is a gain of \$1.17 from a year ago. However, the "real wages" (what the weekly take-home pay will buy after allowing for higher prices and taxes) is down \$4.38 from a year ago.

The United Steelworkers is a powerful organization, and its wage policy formulated last November is realistic. It could win its two basic demands: as escalator clause gearing wages to the rise in consumer prices, and a shorter workweek to compensate for layoffs and growing unemployment. But this would mean a fight in all the four major industries where the USWA has contracts. It could be won only if the leadership in this union would explain the scope of its present negotiations and appeals to the organized labor movement and the entire working class for support in a broad fight to change the basic wage-price policy and the standard workweek for all industry in this country.

What USWA is reaching for is a sliding scale of wages geared to rising consumer prices, and a sliding scale of hours adjusted to the rate of unemployment in each industry. But the leadership of this union is too timid to grasp such concepts. It is unprepared and unwilling to challenge any of the traditional "rights" of management—the "right" to negotiate fixed wages, fire, lay off, close plants, and otherwise do what they choose with workers.

—FRANK LOVELL

# Calendar

## AMHERST, MASS.

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

## ATLANTA

**WOMEN AND THE WAR:** A panel discussion. Fri., March 26, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 W. Peachtree (14th St.). Donation: \$1. A Militant Bookstore Forum. For further information, call 876-2230.

## BERKELEY-OAKLAND

**GRAND FINAL CAMPAIGN BANQUET.** Sat., April 3 5 p.m. at the Socialist Workers Party East Bay headquarters. 3536 Telegraph Ave. Tons of fine food, entertainment, etc. Donation: \$5. For tickets, call 654-9728.

## BOSTON

**VOICES OF DISSENT.** Tuesdays, 6-7 p.m. on **WTBS-FM, 88.1.** Sundays, 7-8 p.m. on **WRBB-FM, 91.7.** Tues., March 23 and Sun., March 28: **Antiwar Spring Offensive.** Guest: **Ruth Gage-Colby,** Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Tues., March 30 and Sun., April 4: **Why Feminism is Revolutionary.** Guest: **Linda Jenness,** 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia.

**CLASSES ON MARXIST THEORY.** Tufts University on Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m. at Eaton 201. Harvard University on Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. at Harvard 102. Classes will run through the end of April and will feature Marxist economics, the Cuban revolution, Black nationalism, Feminism, etc. For further information, call 536-6981.

## CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

**NEW ENGLAND CONGRESS TO UNITE WOMEN.** March 26-28 at Harvard University. Public Rally on Fri., March 26, Lowell Lecture Hall (Registration begins at 7 p.m. in Lowell basement.) Speakers: **Florence Luscomb,** former suffragist and lifetime activist in the women's, labor, civil liberties, and peace movements; **Margaret Benston,** author of *The Political Economy of Women's Liberation*; **Myrna Hill,** Third World Women's Caucus of N.Y. Women's Strike Coalition; a representative of the Gay Women's Movement. **Workshops** will be held Sat., March 27 (beginning at 10 a.m.) and Sun., March 28 (beginning at 10:30 a.m.) in **Seaver Hall.** A Sunday plenary session will hear reports and proposals from the workshops. Free housing and child care provided. Registration: \$2.50 for the weekend, \$1 for Friday night only. For further information, contact New England Women's Coalition, Box 303, Kenmore Square, Boston, Mass. 02215, or call (617) 491-1071.

## LOS ANGELES

**WHY GAY LIBERATION IS REVOLUTIONARY.** Fri., March 26, 8:30 p.m. Lecture Room 1, King Hall, Cal State L.A. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 269-4953.

The Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party will celebrate James P. Cannon's eighty-first birthday with a buffet supper Sat., March 27, at 8 p.m. 3341 Descanso Drive, L.A. \$3. For further information, call 269-4953.

## NEW YORK

**ANGELA DAVIS DEFENSE FORUM.** Speakers: **Jane Logan,** Black Women for the Freedom of Angela Davis; **Marlene Williams,** Third World Women's Caucus

of the Women's Strike Coalition and Young Socialist Alliance, **Paul Boutelle,** Socialist Workers Party; and others. Fri., March 26, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.). Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

**ART AUCTION TO BENEFIT SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND (SCEF).** Dali, Picasso, Levine, Soyer, Shahn, others—original graphics donated by collectors, artists, institutions and dealers. Sun., March 28, Viewing: 1:30-3:30 p.m. Auction: 3:30 p.m. Society For Ethical Culture Social Hall, 2 W. 64th St. Contribution: \$2—Catalogue, Champagne.

## PHILADELPHIA

**COME RAP AND LISTEN.** Tapes and discussion every Thursday, 7 p.m. at 1004 Filbert St. (open to Third World people only). Thurs., March 25: **The Struggle for Liberation in South Africa**—a tape by **I.B. Tabata.** Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance Tape Library. For further information, call Pam Newman at 236-6998.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM IN THE 1970s.** Speaker: **Linda Jenness,** 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia. Fri., March 26, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

## TWIN CITIES

**THE PLOT TO KEEP YOU UNINFORMED: A Radical Journalist Takes a Look at the Capitalist Press.** Speaker: **Randy Furst,** former staff writer for the *Guardian*, contributor to *The Militant.* Fri., March 26, 8 p.m. Carl Skoglund Hall, 1 University Ave., N.E. (at E. Hennepin). Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum. Donation: \$1, students 50c. For further information, call 332-7781.

## ...war

*Continued from page 3*

estimated 750,000 people since 1967. . . . The refugees say that from 1964 to 1967 bombing of villages was relatively sporadic, and conducted mostly by Lao and American prop aircraft.

"Beginning in 1968, however, regular bombing of villages began, largely by American jets, and most were evacuated. Raids increased considerably after November 1968, when jets were diverted into Laos after the bombing halt over North Vietnam.

"Refugees uniformly report that they 'cannot count' how often the planes came in 1969, that they might bomb as often as five or six times on a given day. As a 60-year-old man put it, 'the planes came like the birds, and the bombs fell like the rain.'

According to Brannman, this holocaust of bombs drove the Laotians to live for months on end in small bamboo shelters near caves, trenches dug into hills, or holes camouflaged by sticks and leaves.

"The bombing caused heavy casualties—often as high as 25 percent in villages surveyed. Most civilians were killed or wounded by antipersonnel bombs, though victims of 500 pound bombs, napalm, fragmentation bombs, and strafing have also been

recorded in refugee camps. . . . Older people and children were the main victims."

Eight years of bombing; five of these, years of intensive bombing; three of them, years of the most intensive bombing ever directed against any country in any war. But as of one month ago, the Pentagon still found it necessary to launch a massive new ground and air invasion against Laos. And it has halted withdrawals of U.S. Air Force troops in order to be able to continue bombing indefinitely.

David Halberstam, the *New York Times* war correspondent who received a Pulitzer Prize for earlier coverage of the Vietnam war, hit at the main fallacy of the Pentagon's murderous strategy in the Feb. 25 *Times*. Halberstam labeled this fallacy "the illusion of tangible structures."

"Trails, sanctuaries, main force units, depots, factories. Things to be seen, photographed, identified, and destroyed. This has always been a central problem. Do you see it as a war in which the tangible structures and the tangible force levels are given?

"Or do you see it as a war in which these structures are the minor temporary reflection of the other side—the real factor being his ideas, his determination? Twenty-five years of war have proven that the latter view is the dominant one. . . . Yet the instinct on the part of Westerners, particularly of Western military men, has always been to concentrate on structures and to overrate the results of temporary destruction of them."

To put it more bluntly: Politics is what counts. Massive, horrifying destruction year after year and the displacement of millions of refugees, if you count all of Indochina, has not succeeded in snuffing out the popular revolutionary forces.

Nixon's "game plan" in Southeast Asia, like Johnson's before him, is nothing more nor less than to seek a military victory through unrelieved terrorization of the population.

The invasion of Laos has begun to make this clear to millions and millions of Americans. It is a source of the new groundswell of opposition to Nixon's war policies that is mounting across the land. The opportunities of the antiwar movement to mobilize this sentiment against the war into massive demonstrations for immediate withdrawal in San Francisco and Washington, D.C., on April 24 have never been greater.

# ...Minn.

*Continued from page 18*

gressing smoothly until members of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Student Mobilization Committee entered the picture a week ago."

The *Daily's* charge was fraudulent on numerous counts.

Backing the pro-union position was a broad range of student groups that included Rick MacPherson, president of the student government, Peter Hames, president of the West Bank Union, Bill Peterson of the Student Mobilization Committee, David Keil of the YSA, Jodi Wetzel, who heads the Association of Student Teaching and Research Assistants, and numerous well-known professors.

Keil's response to accusations against the YSA were unequivocal. "The YSA is proud and ready to throw its support behind a union shop," he said. "But the *Daily* should understand that we are one group among many, with the unions being pivotal. Trying to smear the movement because a socialist is one of the participants smacks of the worst kind of McCarthyism."

Representatives of the *Daily* told students at the March 11 rally that a budget deficit had forced them to turn from union printers.

Tom Giles, secretary-treasurer of Local 42, charged that the *Daily* editorial staff consistently failed to get its copy in on time, thus forcing the printers to work overtime, consequently raising production costs.

"They don't meet their deadlines," Giles told the students. "This is why they ran over their budget."

The *Daily* representatives did not answer the charge.

More than 100 people, mostly students, attended the protest meeting and applauded loudly when Fred Ferguson, a rank-and-file member of Local 42, told them that he wanted to see a union-produced newspaper on the campus. "It's our money that supports this campus," said Ferguson. "It's our kids that are going here. We don't want a nonunion scab newspaper here."

As the University quarter drew to a close and students headed into finals, the *Daily*, its liberal image considerably tarnished, was under heavy pressure to pull back on its plans to shift to a nonunion operation.

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# THE MILITANT

## Angela Davis: pretrial hearings

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO, March 16—Pretrial hearings began today for Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee, both charged with the murder of Judge Alex Haley during a courtroom escape attempt last August 7. Magee faces the gas chamber for his role in the attempted escape. Davis, who supposedly purchased the guns used for the escape, has been indicted as a "knowing accomplice."

Today's hearings, delayed for several hours because of two bomb scares, is taking place at the sprawling Marin County, California, Civic Center where the original escape attempt was made. Attorneys for Angela Davis have asked that the location for the hearings be changed since only 44 seats are available for the general public to observe proceedings. As Angela Davis entered the tiny courtroom, she turned toward the spectators with a smile and a clenched-fist salute.

When the hearings resumed after the bomb scares, defense attorney Michael Tigar moved that the case against Angela Davis be dismissed because of insufficient evidence and because prejudicial publicity has prevented her getting a fair trial. At this point the prosecutor, Albert W. Harris, dramat-

ically ordered that a cardboard box containing several guns be unpacked. Harris gestured toward the guns and referred to the Aug. 7 incident, "which took place 50 feet from where I now stand." Attorneys for Davis pointed out that the guns had previously been sealed as evidence by court order and should not be opened. Judge John McMurray relented and directed that the court order sealing the guns should remain in effect until he reviews it.

Ruchell Magee is refusing to recognize the jurisdiction of the state court at Marin because he has a request pending to move the case to federal court. In addition, Magee is demanding his right to defend himself with or without lawyers of his own choosing. Heavily chained to his seat, Magee told the court that he has spent most of his life in prison because of court-appointed attorneys. However, Judge McMurray denied the motion of Magee's court-appointed attorneys, Robert Carrow and Robert Bell, that they withdraw from the case on Magee's request.

Court-appointed attorneys "will have your interests at heart," Judge McMurray soothed the defendant. When Magee refused to plead to the charges of kidnap-murder conspiracy, the

judge entered a plea for him of "not guilty." On his own request, Magee was then allowed to leave the courtroom—in heavy shackles.

Beyond a police cordon ringing the Civic Center, about 500 persons chanted "Free Angela, Free Ruchell, Free All Political Prisoners." Organizations expressing support for the defendants included, among others, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Socialist Workers Party, the Berkeley Gay Liberation Front, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Young Workers Liberation League, the Juan Farinas Defense Committee, the National Welfare Rights Organization, and Youth Against War and Fascism. Many feminists wearing women's liberation buttons indicated their solidarity and identification with Angela Davis.

Shirley Williams of the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis pointed out to the demonstrators that the case is labeled "The People of California vs. Angela Davis." But, she told them, "you are the people." Speakers from the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee, Los Siete de la Raza Defense Committee, and the Black Panther Party indicated they viewed the frame-up of Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee as an attack on the entire movement.



Angela Davis

## Negotiations reopened in Newark strike

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEWARK, March 17—Under the threat of a general strike, the city administration of Mayor Kenneth Gibson has prodded the Board of Education back into negotiations with the Newark Teachers Union.

The city-wide work stoppage was scheduled for today. It was to last three hours, from 7 a.m. to 10 a.m., with a giant workers' rally in front of City Hall at 8:30 a.m. The proposed action was sponsored by the United Labor Work Stoppage Committee, composed of the New Jersey State AFL-CIO, N.J. Council of Teamsters, United Auto Workers, N.J. Industrial Union Council, and the Essex County Building Trades. These unions together represent over one million workers. In addition, the International Longshoremen's Association had promised participation, which meant closing down Port Newark and Port Elizabeth.

But on Tuesday, March 16, Charles Marcian, president of the state AFL-CIO, held a press conference to call the whole effort off. He announced that since negotiations had begun the previous night, with the return of state mediator Jonas Silver, the work stoppage was being postponed.

Although the board and NTU began negotiations, the other key demand of the threatened general strike was not met. This was the release of NTU President Carole Graves, Executive President Frank Fiorito, and a vice-president, Donald Nicholas. They have been in Essex County Penitentiary since March 4 on charges of violating an antistrike injunction, and contempt of court. Despite an appeal of the conviction, the three were sentenced to six months.

To seek their release, Marcian submitted a petition in court last Friday asking freedom for the three in order

that negotiations might begin and the strike be ended. The petition was signed by Marcian; Charles G. Hall, president of the Greater Newark Chamber of Commerce; Louis M. Turco, president of the City Council; and Jesse L. Jacob, school board president. But Monday, Judge Samuel Allcorn turned it down with strictures about "law and order."

So the next day, Marcian conveniently forgot about the three in jail, and grabbed hold of the pretext of negotiations to call the strike off.

However, the threatened action did force Gibson to ease his strikebreaking posture, cultivated under the cloak of "neutrality." Gibson had maintained that the strike was a matter between the board and the union. In so doing, he thus sponsored the strikebreaking efforts of the board, which is part of the city administration he heads.

On Monday, Gibson and the City Council, who have been claiming all

along that they did not have any money, came up with over \$3-million to meet the wage demands of the union. The issues of binding arbitration (procedure of settling disputes between the board and the union) and what constitutes nonprofessional duties (cafeteria and playground duty, etc.) have yet to be settled.

Meanwhile, as the strike enters its eighth week, the NTU is conducting a strenuous picketing drive. They have been joined by other trade unionists. At the regular Sunday mass rally, Aberdeen David, vice-president of Local 1199 of the Hospital and Drug Workers union, announced that 500 of his members had been out on the picket line last week. He made a contribution of \$1,000 to the NTU's strike fund. Members from the Teamsters, UAW, and International Union of Electrical Workers have also been out on the picket line.

## Michigan Chicanos back lettuce boycott

By RICHARD ROPERS

MT. PLEASANT, Mich.—Central Michigan University is in the midst of a Chicano action in support of farm workers in the Southwest and California who are fighting for recognition of their union—the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. The UFWOC is currently engaged in building support for a national boycott of nonunion lettuce, and Chicano students at CMU have launched a struggle against scab lettuce in the school's cafeteria to support this action.

There are only 30 Chicano students at CMU—admitted on a "special" basis—out of a student population of 14,000. During the picking season 10,000 Chicano workers come to central Michigan; about 500 Chicano families live here permanently.

The Chicano student organization

at CMU, Chicanos Organizados para Progreso y Acción (COPA), after picketing local supermarkets, initiated a picket at the CMU cafeteria against nonunion lettuce. Students from the Young Socialist Alliance, Student Mobilization Committee, and other groups supported the picket.

The leaflet distributed by COPA at the picket stated in part:

"We Chicanos of CMU, former migrants, knowing the hardships of millions of our people and other people, including poor whites and Blacks, are asking your help in this long struggle for human rights. Like the grape boycott, which lasted for five years, we are now asking for your support in the lettuce boycott.

"... all farm workers have the right to form a union. You have probably heard of 'scab' lettuce, which is non-union lettuce. CMU and other stores

buy scab lettuce! This is not helping the farm worker—it's destroying the work of millions of migrants who are fighting for a union of their own."

The university has been buying scab lettuce, while simultaneously allowing a few Chicanos the "privilege" of special admission to CMU. COPA has presented the university with a manifesto demanding the immediate cessation of this hypocrisy—scabbing on the lettuce strike while trying to give the school a liberal image by admitting a few token Chicanos.

COPA has met with YSA, SMC and other student groups to gain broad support for the lettuce strike, and plans have been made for further pickets. Tentative plans have also been made for a mass picket and rally on Dow Chemical at Midland, Mich. Dow owns stock in the Bud Antle Co. in California's Salinas Valley, the

largest grower of scab lettuce.

The metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO has charged that the "Department of Defense is deliberately favoring the Bud Antle Co. . . . There is now clear indication that once more the Pentagon has aligned itself with lettuce growers who have fought the union. At the same time, they appear to be engaging in a counterboycott of shippers who have signed with United Farm Workers."

Although Defense Department spokesmen insist the government is "completely neutral" in the strike, it is a "neutrality" marked by a big increase in purchases from Bud Antle Co. In the three months ending Sept. 30, 1970, nearly 30 percent of the lettuce bought by the Pentagon came from Bud Antle. During the same period of 1969, the figure was 15.8 percent.