

THE MILITANT

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

APRIL 24 DEMANDS OUT NOW!

—page 10



Washington, D. C.

Photo by Mark Satinoff



San Francisco

Photo by Ron Payne

In Brief

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NEW EVIDENCE MAY REOPEN SOSTRE CASE: When Martin Sostre was convicted of the sale and possession of marijuana and sentenced to 26 years in jail, there was only one witness against him—Arto Williams. Williams recently went to Venice, Calif., where he entered a rehabilitation program for heroin addicts. Because of his rehabilitation, Williams said, he had to be honest with himself. As a result, he wrote to federal judge Constance Baker Motley, informing her that his testimony in the Sostre case was perjured. He had planted the marijuana supposedly purchased from Sostre on his own person, Williams confessed, at the request of the Buffalo, N.Y., police. Learning of the letter, the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC) immediately sent an attorney to Venice where he took a sworn deposition from Williams. On April 20, New York attorney Dorian Bowman of Rabinowitz, Boudin and Standard, acting on behalf of the NECLC, filed a motion for a new trial on the basis of the affidavit from Williams. Arguments on the motion were originally scheduled to be heard April 29, but have now been put off until May 7, Bowman told In Brief April 27.

SUTTON'S STOOGES HARASS WITNESS: As the trial date of Thomas Kevin Stewart approaches, Thomas Dengler, key witness for the prosecution, has received death threats from the Legion of Justice, the ultraright gang of thugs with which Stewart is associated, headed by racist attorney S. Thomas Sutton. Stewart's trial on felony charges for his role in the armed assault on Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party offices in Chicago in 1969 will come to court as soon as the state's attorney and judge who will hear the case finish another trial. The state's attorney has shrugged off the outrageous intimidation of Dengler as "empty threats." A spokesman for the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks sharply criticized this official indifference April 17: "Once again the activities of right-wing terrorists are being ignored by Chicago law enforcement organizations."

McLUCAS BAIL SET AT \$60,000: New Haven Panther Lonnie McLucas has won the right to appeal his conviction for "conspiracy to murder," but bail has been set at the impossible figure of \$60,000. The defense committee requests contributions be sent to: Lonnie McLucas Bail Fund, c/o Theodore Koskoff, 1241 Main St., Bridgeport, Conn.

BERRIGAN JURY SEEKS NEW INDICTMENTS: The Justice Department said April 20 it was calling additional witnesses in the case of the Harrisburg Six in order to "supersede" the present indictment against the Rev. Philip Berrigan and five others. The government "clarified" its calling of 20 to 30 additional witnesses after Harrisburg Six defense attorneys had filed a motion asking Judge R. Dixon Herman to withdraw the subpoenas and suppress illegally acquired evidence leading to the subpoenas. Defense statements criticizing the subpoenaing of additional witnesses had assumed the government was illegally trying to beef up the flimsy indictments already brought against the defendants, charged with "plotting" to kidnap Henry Kissinger and blow up Washington, D.C., heating tunnels. The government's "clarification" does not alter the substance of defense charges. Judge Herman's acceptance of the Justice Department's claim merely provides a loophole for Washington to replace a frame-up too hastily pieced together with a more carefully tailored product. So far, two of the additional witnesses have been charged with contempt. Ann Elizabeth Walsh was charged April 26 with civil contempt; Paul Couming had been charged several days earlier with criminal contempt. Both individuals were cited for refusing to answer the grand jury's questions.

BOSTON COPS BRUTALIZE MILITANT SALESPERSON: Bob Gebert, a graduate student at M.I.T., was harassed by a heckler while selling The Militant April 22. When he turned his back on the individual, he was tackled from behind. In attempting to run from his assailant, Gebert was seized by a cop, roughed up, arrested, handcuffed and taken to the station in a van. On the way to the station, Gebert was seriously beaten. This criminal behavior was vigorously protested by Sarah Ulman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cambridge City Council.

NEW YORK PANTHER CASE TO GO TO JURY: Both the state and the defense rested April 14 with all evidence presented in the "bombing conspiracy" frame-up trial of 13 Black Panthers in New York. The defense began summing up its case April 20, and the jury will soon begin its deliberations. Indicative of the kind of case the state is trying to press is the fact that the judge, John Murtagh, said April 19 he would submit only 18 of the 30

counts charged against the Panthers to the jury. Sanford Katz, the first defense attorney to begin the summary, reviewed the facts concerning the cops' beating of Joan Bird after her arrest Jan. 17, 1969, and called attention to such absurdities in the prosecution's case as the charging of 22 defendants (the original number) with possession of a single weapon.

JAYCEES TELL IT LIKE IT IS: Before the April 24 turnout helped lay to rest the notion that students have abandoned politics, the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce debunked such wishful thinking. In reporting the results of a 14-campus survey April 19, Jaycee president Gordon B. Thomas said colleges and universities, "Despite a deceptive calm," are "seething with unrest and can explode at any moment. . . ."

KOREANS MARK ANNIVERSARY: On April 19, 11 years ago, student demonstrations in South Korea helped bring down the regime of dictator Syngman Rhee. This year on April 19, 8,000 students demonstrated in Seoul, demanding an end to the draft and military training and an end to press censorship.

GAYS KICKED OFF CAMPUS: The Gay Liberation Forum, formed with 20 members as a class in the experimental college of the University of Southern California last October, was denied recognition as a campus group by the Board of Trustees last month. USC President John Hubbard said the trustees had a "moral and legal" obligation to deny recognition. The Gay Liberation Forum promised to take legal action on the basis of its members' First Amendment rights.

NEW GAY CENTERS IN NEW YORK AND CHICAGO: New York City Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) will be hosting a dance May 1 and every Saturday in May at the group's new center, the Firehouse, 93 Worcester St. in Greenwich Village. The official opening will not be held until Gay Pride Week, June 20-27, when the entire building has been all fixed up. To help on the fixing or for more information, call (212) 260-1370. The Chicago Gay Alliance opens its new community center May 1 with an open house from noon Saturday until 6 a.m. Sunday. The center is located at 171 W. Elm, or call (312) 664-4708 or 944-8393.

YOUTH CONFERENCE KNOCKS SODOMY LAWS: In addition to coming out in favor of the right to abortion and withdrawal of all troops from Indochina by the end of the year, Nixon's carefully screened youth conference in Estes Park, Colo., last month passed the following recommendation: "Any sexual behavior between consenting, responsible individuals must be recognized and tolerated by society as an acceptable life-style."

POSTSCRIPT ON MARY VECCHIO: In the April 9 In Brief, we related Washington Post writer Haynes Johnson's March 21 account of Mary Vecchio's ordeal upon returning to Opa Locka, Fla., after her parents had recognized her in the widely circulated photo of a slain Kent student. (Vecchio is the woman kneeling by the body and crying out.) The hate mail and ostracism she received at home had led to her being placed in a juvenile home. The April 21 Post carries a follow-up by Johnson, quoting some of the hundreds of letters sent by civilized Americans to Vecchio via Johnson since his first article appeared. We quote just one, from a 13-year-old in Teaneck, N.J.: "Dear Mary, I read the article and felt sick to my stomach because anyone who shows even the slightest feeling for someone who gets senselessly shot down is not . . . the disgusting names they called you. I just want you to know that I myself and my parents and sister and thousands of other people . . . sympathize with you a great deal. . . ."

DALEY'S JUDGE GETS HEAVY: Joseph A. Power, a former law partner of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley and now the chief criminal court judge in the windy city, slapped some stiff fines on the special investigator probing the 1969 police slayings of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark April 26. The fines for "contempt of court" were levied in reaction to the investigator's charges that the judge had interfered with the grand jury's probing of the Panthers' deaths. A front-page story in the April 27 New York Times stated "there had been widespread reports here that the grand jury had voted indictments against Cook County State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan and other law enforcement officials in connection with the raid." Together with fining investigator Barnabas F. Sears, Judge Power agreed to hear a motion brought by a police sergeant alleging that the jury was "tainted" by the rumors and should be dissolved.

— LEE SMITH

Open letter to Cleveland Black community

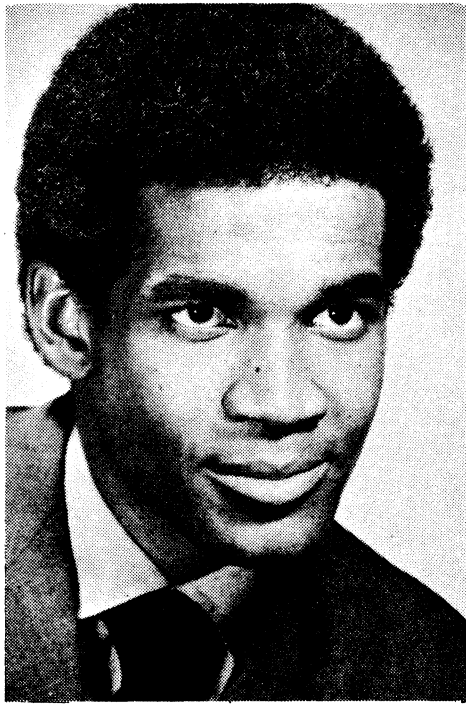
On April 17, Carl Stokes, Black Democratic mayor of Cleveland, announced he is not seeking a third term. Speaking to a liberal audience in Oakland, Calif., the same day he made his announcement, Stokes said he was convinced that "if the two major parties don't become more responsive to people's needs, this country will face an armed revolution." Stokes indicated he plans to work for the nomination of a "responsive" presidential candidate in the 1972 elections. John Hawkins, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, prepared the following open letter for mailing to a broad range of Black organizations in Cleveland.

Dear Sisters and Brothers,
The announcement by Mayor Stokes that he will not seek a third term in office took many by surprise. For several days after Stokes declared his intentions, the media were filled with speculation as to whom he would endorse for mayor and with reactions of various people to his decision not to run. Yet nowhere did any account seek out the fundamental reasons behind his decision.

Stokes' refusal to run for reelection represents the logical outcome of his career as mayor. Since Stokes took office, mainly through the votes of Black people, all public institutions in the Black community, except the police, who managed to steadily increase their numbers, salaries and equipment, have fallen victim to Cleveland's financial crisis.

Schools in the Black community continue in a state of physical disrepair. The hiring of new teachers to meet the expanding needs of our community has come to a near standstill. Buildings long vacant and dilapidated when Stokes took office have yet to be demolished, posing a daily threat of fire, disease and injury to all who live near them. Unemployment continues to mount in our community, spurred on by the recent layoffs of city workers. And the harassment of political activists who, like Ahmed Evans, seek to alter this situation, proceeds unabated.

During his four years as mayor, Stokes has done little to alleviate these



John Hawkins

conditions, despite his declared intentions. His refusal to run again stems from his own recognition that he could not have done much more toward alleviating these conditions, even if his term as mayor were extended for another two years. And his own Democratic Party let it be known long ago that they were totally opposed to such an extension.

For four years, Stokes has played the role of mediator between the needs of Black people here in Cleveland and the Democratic-controlled City Council, which has no intention of meeting those needs. Stokes' reliance upon legislative maneuvering and compromise in the council doomed his efforts at reform to failure. His unswerving faith in the viability of "the system" and his unwillingness to chart a political course wholly independent of the Democratic Party, locally and nationally, has resulted in his adoption of a compromise, a halfway measure, the formation of a catchall for every stripe of Democratic and Republican liberal in the county, the twenty-first district Democratic Caucus.

While Stokes proclaims that the Democratic and Republican parties are not sacrosanct, he announces his intentions to show Blacks, Chicanos



Carl Stokes

and other oppressed nations across the country how to go about "making it" in the system—and that system has been, and still is, the Democratic and Republican parties. Stokes did, and still does, place his party and the two-party system first. They, on the other hand, continue to place his people last.

Fortunately, the road Stokes took is not the only road. A whole generation of Black youth have lived through the experiences of the 1960s, have educated themselves with the works of Malcolm X and have armed themselves with a different conception of how to achieve the liberation of our people, and of what Black leaders, including Black mayors, should be and do in order to further the struggle for liberation. To their minds, the road to liberation lies in the organization of the Black community—on the campuses, in the high schools, in the shops, in the factories, wherever Black people are—by any means necessary to take control of the institutions that affect our lives out of the hands of the Democratic and Republican party politicians and place it in the hands of the Black community.

To the minds of the new generation, there can be no compromise with these

politicians, for they recognize that the Democratic and Republican parties represent no one but the tiny minority of white, wealthy bankers and businessmen.

The perspective of growing numbers of Black youth today is not one of legislative maneuvering and compromise, but one of resolute struggle for Black Studies departments on the campuses, for an end to the police occupation of their high schools, for a decent job upon graduation and an end to the racist hiring practices, for decent housing, hospitals and medical care in our communities, for Black community control of the police, and for an end to the slaughter of Black men in a war that is in no way in our interest.

And what they will recognize as a real leader of the Black community, as a real Black mayor, is totally dependent upon that perspective. For them, a Black leader would not only voice the interests of the Black community, but would be actively involved in the struggles for control over the institutions in the community. He or she would take the lead in organizing and mobilizing the community in militant, mass demonstrations, boycotts and strikes in order to obtain our goals. And if elected mayor of Cleveland or any other city, she or he would turn the mayor's office into an organizing center for the struggle, would expose the two-faced Democrats and Republicans, would organize community councils, democratically elected, to administer the institutions in our community and would begin the organization of our own independent political party.

I and the Socialist Workers Party agree with the perspective of this new generation of militant, uncompromising Black youth. Throughout my campaign for mayor, I will be taking this perspective to sisters and brothers in the entire Cleveland area. I urge you to support my campaign as the only campaign that voices and supports both the true thrust of our struggle for liberation—Black control of the Black community—and the road we must take to achieve it—the organization of an independent, mass Black political party.

Newark teachers union wins contract

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEWARK—The union-busting Board of Education finally signed a two-year contract with the Newark Teachers Union here on April 18.

The strike, which lasted 11 weeks, making it the longest work stoppage in history by U.S. teachers, saw the New Jersey AFL-CIO threaten a city-wide general strike and witnessed a sharpening of the polarization between the Black and white communities.

Had the state labor bureaucrats had enough spine to go through with a proposed general strike last March

17, a settlement more favorable to the NTU would probably have been reached—and much sooner. But as it turned out, it was the racial polarization—not the strength of the NTU or the labor movement—that prompted the worried administration of Mayor Kenneth A. Gibson to finally reach a settlement.

The peak of that polarization occurred when Imam Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) and other community leaders demanded the resignation of John L. Redden, the white police chief appointed by Gibson. This was over

police brutality against Blacks at an April 7 school board meeting. The April 8 news conference held by Baraka and others registered for the first time a big breach between Gibson, the first Black mayor of a major Eastern city, and Black and Puerto Rican community leaders who had supported and organized his election.

This threatened confrontation between the Black and Puerto Rican communities and the government forced Gibson and the board to shelve their plans for busting the union.

On April 14, three NTU leaders who had been jailed since March 4 for violating an antistrike injunction were released. They were: Carole Graves, NTU president; Frank Fiorito, executive vice-president; and Donald Nicholas, a vice-president. The aim of their release was to have them participate in round-the-clock bargaining with the board.

After much debate and a compromise proposal presented by Gibson on television April 16, the board voted 6 to 3 for settlement. The four Blacks and one Puerto Rican on the board had voted against a previous contract proposal. It was a switch of one Black and the Puerto Rican that passed a settlement.

At the same meeting, the board rescinded the suspension of 347 strik-

ing teachers.

According to Clara Dasher, an African-American who is a vice-president of the NTU, the contract signed includes no wage increase for the first year, but a \$500 cost-of-living increase the second year. On binding arbitration, which the board heatedly objected to, the agreement provides for a three-person panel in place of a single arbitrator from the American Arbitration Association. This panel, the highest body for settling disputes between the board and the union, will consist of one representative each from the board and union, and an agreed-upon person from the National Academy of Arbitrators.

Dasher said that the NTU had compromised on the issue of nonprofessional chores. The union had wanted these chores to be handled by teacher aides rather than by teachers. The new contract stipulates that in the secondary schools, teachers will be on hall duty between classes, and in the elementary schools, teachers will escort students from the building entrances to the classroom.

Items not in the old contract but present now, according to Dasher, are tests for sickle-cell anemia, draft counseling in the high schools, and special psychological testing for early primary

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Memorial meeting set for Ruth Shiminsky

Ruth Shiminsky, an activist in the revolutionary-socialist movement since the mid-thirties, and a longtime member of the Socialist Workers Party in Newark, died on April 27 after an extended illness. A funeral service was held the morning of April 29, at which Harry Ring, former editor of *The Militant*, spoke about her life and many contributions to the socialist movement.

A memorial meeting for friends and comrades will be held Tuesday, May 4, 9 p.m., at 706 Broadway, 8th floor, New York.

U.S., China warm up over Ping-Pong

Peking's April 6 invitation to an American table-tennis team to visit China came at a very convenient time for the White House.

Nixon's escalation of the war into Laos had resulted in a disastrous rout for the American-backed Saigon troops. The March 29 court-martial conviction of Lt. William Calley for war crimes in Vietnam had drawn worldwide attention to the even greater guilt of U.S. war planners in the White House and the Pentagon. The April 24 antiwar marches were scheduled to take place in a few weeks.

After months of hostile coverage, even from the major media, the administration was able to point to a conspicuous diplomatic victory in Asia.

"To the State Department," Harrison Salisbury wrote in the April 11 *New York Times*, "the invitation was a major breakthrough, proof positive that, despite all the rhetoric and propaganda, there exists on the Chinese side, as on the American, a genuine and persistent desire to break the long diplomatic deadlock that has endured almost since the inception of the regime of Mao Tse-tung on Oct. 1, 1949."

Washington was quick to reciprocate. A State Department official said on April 9 that American oil companies had been told exploration of deposits in the East China Sea was "inadvisable."

The next day, the Chinese government, for the first time in 22 years, admitted three U. S. reporters to cover the ping-pong team's visit, and following that, granted *New York Times* correspondent Tillman Durdin a month-long visa. Premier Chou En-lai said that "batches" of reporters would be allowed in the future.

In his April 14 remarks to the ping-pong players, Chou hinted at even bigger things, telling them he had never visited the United States. His speech to the players, reported by Associated Press, contained a clear message to Nixon:

"In the past, exchanges between the peoples of China and the United States have been very numerous. They have been cut off for a long time. Now, with your acceptance of our invitation, you have opened a new page in the relations of the Chinese and American people. I am confident that this beginning again of our friendship will certainly meet with the majority support of out two peoples."

Quick to acknowledge the sudden friendliness emanating from Peking, Nixon announced on the same day, April 14, a relaxation of the trade embargo on "nonstrategic goods," an easing of currency restrictions that prohibit the sending of dollars to China, and several related economic

measures. Nixon's concessions were small in comparison with what he had already received from the Chinese leaders.

Mao's overtures to Nixon are nothing new. He made a broad hint even before the latter's inauguration. On Nov. 26, 1968, Peking made its first bid by calling for resumption of diplomatic contacts with the U. S. in Warsaw.

At that time the move appeared to be an opening bid against Moscow's game of wheeling and dealing with Washington in atomic power politics at the expense of China. Nixon was alert to the possibilities of playing the two giant workers states off against each other.

The government of the People's Republic of China has, of course, every right to seek normalization of diplomatic and trade relations with the imperialist countries of the West, including the United States. But it is the timing of Mao's current move that has special political significance.

The Chinese regime made these latest moves only two months after issuing militant-sounding warnings against escalation in Indochina and the invasion of Laos. This tended to undermine those warnings, and at the same time bolstered Nixon's efforts to counter the effects of the defeat in Laos and the Calley scandal.

The fact that Peking's concession

also came on the eve of the massive April 24 demonstrations was not lost on the *New York Times'* editorial writers, who said on April 15:

"The Chinese have been most obliging in their timing, since Premier Chou's words . . . come just as the spring push has begun for marches on Washington by critics of Mr. Nixon's Vietnam policy. Premier Chou has done Mr. Nixon a good turn."

The Pentagon took advantage of this "good turn" to begin using seven-and-one-half-ton antipersonnel bombs on the Vietnamese.

The timing of Mao's wooing of Nixon is significant in another regard. The view that Peking is, in fact, seeking a "peaceful coexistence" arrangement with Washington, paralleling that of the Soviet Union, is given additional substance by Mao's backing of Yahya Khan's attempt to drown in blood the struggle of East Bengal. Washington and Peking are in a common front, supporting the West Pakistani dictatorship's efforts to crush the Bengali people's fight for freedom. This joint stand against Bengali nationalism shows how the narrow bureaucratic interests of the Mao regime can coincide, at least temporarily, with those of American imperialism.

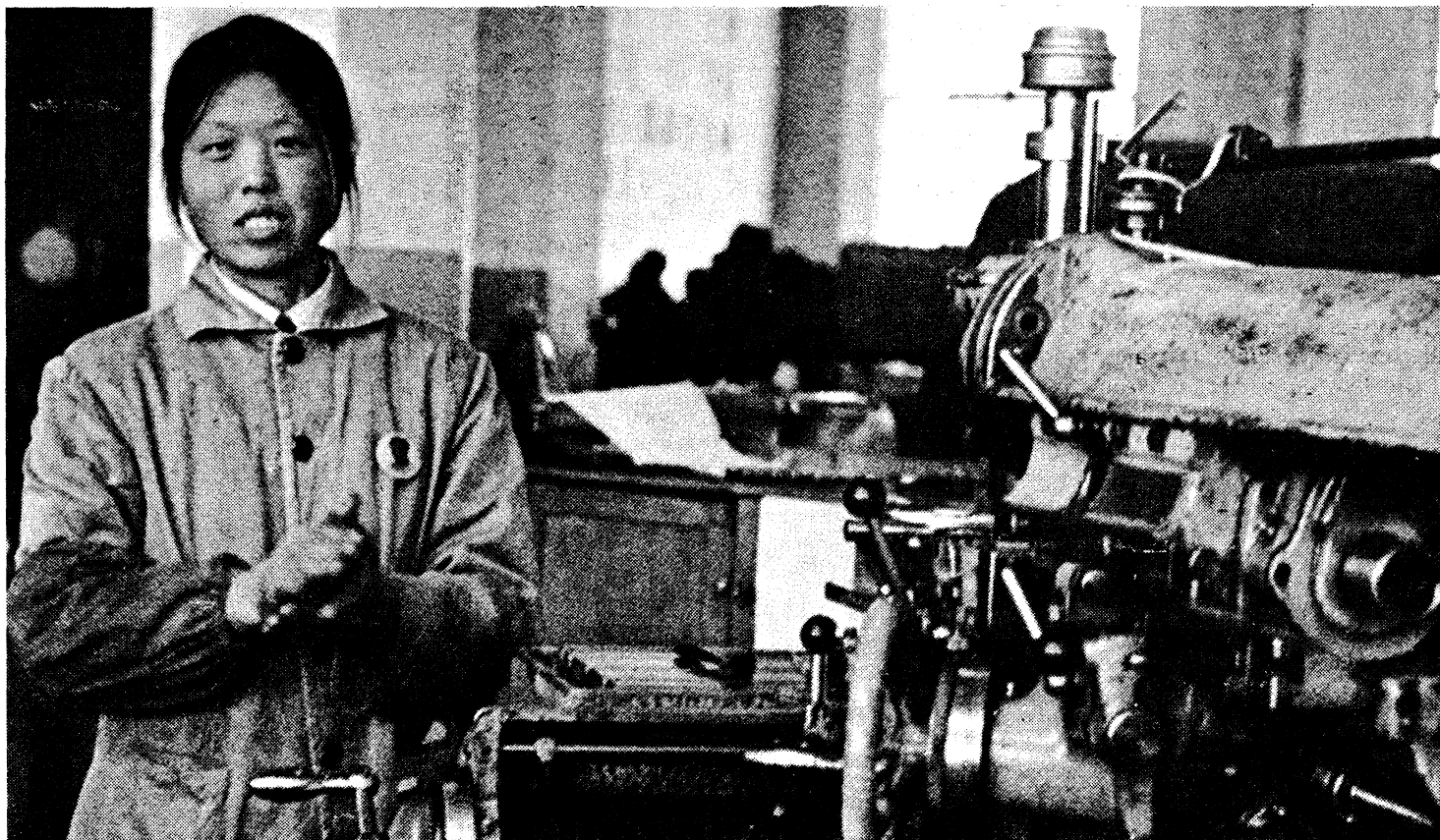
From the imperialist point of view, there could not be a more opportune moment to search for areas of further cooperation, something else noted by

the *New York Times* editors. On April 16, they wrote:

"One area of special interest to the United States would be Peking's readiness to help speed a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war. . . ."

Nixon undoubtedly remembers that in 1954 the Maoists joined Moscow in pressuring the Vietnamese to accept the settlement cooked up by U. S. and French imperialism—the Geneva Agreements—which led to the division of Vietnam and laid the basis for U. S. intervention. And in 1954, there were not even any U. S. ping-pong teams in China.

Out of courtesy, the Chinese team did not beat the Americans too badly. But despite the ping-pong losses, the end result promises to open up a new and more profitable game for U. S. imperialism. Whether or not Mao is willing to do a repeat performance of 1954, it is clear that Nixon understands Peking's approach as an assurance that the Chinese will make no serious move to block another escalation of the Indochina war. Only 11 days after the invitation to the ping-pong team, on April 17, Gen. Creighton Abrams, the American commander in Vietnam, hinted publicly at another U. S.-Saigon invasion of Laos.



This photo of a student lathe worker at Tsinghua University was taken during recent trip by U.S. Ping-Pong team to China. Gaining entry to China for the first time in 20 years, American reporters were generally impressed with what they saw.

Ceylon regime resorts to terror

The Bandaranaike regime in Ceylon has turned to the wholesale use of terror—including the torture and execution of youthful rebel prisoners—after weeks of fighting have failed to restore the government's authority over large areas of the country.

On April 18, the Associated Press reported that army officers were executing captured prisoners if they were believed to belong to the outlawed Janatha Vimukhti Peramuna (JVP), or People's Liberation Front, called "Che Guevarists" by the press.

The government's special committee to "reestablish civil authority" issued a hasty denial on April 19. This seven-member body is heavily weighted with representatives of Bandaranaike's "left-wing" coalition partners—including Housing Minister Pieter Keuneman, the head of the pro-Mos-

cow Communist Party; and two leaders of the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party, Colvin R. de Silva and Bernard Soysa. The government claims this group is working to "ensure the rehabilitation of the captives and detainees." This was revealed as a lie by *New York Times* correspondent James P. Sterba in an April 24 dispatch, sent from Singapore to bypass the Ceylon government's censorship.

"Ceylon's outnumbered and unprepared police force and army have resorted to mass arrests, torture, executions, and other terror tactics in attempting to put down young, well-organized armed insurgents who attacked more than 100 police posts three weeks ago and continue to hold dozens of villages and sizable portions of the countryside.

"Bodies of young men presumably killed by policemen and soldiers have been seen floating down rivers in groups of twos and threes toward the sea near Colombo for the last week," Sterba wrote. "Some of them were decapitated and others were riddled with bullets, their wrists bound behind their backs."

At least 1,200 young insurgents have been slain, reported the *New York Times* April 25, and widespread arrests continue. According to Sterba, "More than 3,000 young suspects have been arrested so far, and informants close to the police say a decision has been made not to release those believed to be innocent for the time being, because if they had been subjected to harsh treatment by the police they might spread word of it and create more sympathy for the rebels."

Many of the rebels have been shot in cold blood after being captured. "Once we are convinced prisoners are insurgents, we take them to the cemetery and dispose of them," Lt. Col. Cyril Ranatunga said, according to an AP dispatch reported in the April 20 *Washington Post*.

While the government claims that a nationwide coordinated insurrection was planned, the first reported act of violence was an isolated incident—the March 6 "attack" on the U. S. embassy in Colombo—which could only have served to warn the authorities if there had been a real conspiracy.

This "attack," which the government attributed to a non-existent group called the "Mao Youth Front," is generally believed to have been an act

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Houston mayor attacks SWP

By TRAVIS BURGESSON

HOUSTON—Houston Mayor Louie Welch officially launched a witch-hunt attack against the Socialist Workers Party April 22 at a City Council meeting where representatives of the SWP were present to protest police methods in investigating the March 12 bombing of the Pathfinder Bookstore and SWP Campaign headquarters.

Welch resorted to the anticommunist, red-baiting tactics of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover by reading portions from that agency's report on radical organizations, presented before the House Internal Security Committee (HISC). It said the electoral campaigns conducted by the SWP were only "covers" for their "un-American" designs.

Debbie Leonard, SWP candidate for mayor of Houston, had appeared before the Houston City Council to demand that they censure Lt. Singleton of the Houston Police Criminal Intelligence Department (CID) for his attempts to prejudice the news media and, consequently, the public, against Leonard and the SWP.

On Tuesday, April 20, Leonard was informed by a reporter for Pacifica Radio KPFT that he had received a report from Lt. Singleton, during an interview, which was extremely prejudicial to herself and to Paul McKnight, SWP candidate for City Council. The report is on a letterhead which reads: "City of Houston Police Department Intelligence Report." It is dated March 24, 1971.

The specific points under the report are as follows: 1) "Debbie Leonard complained about police making calls. Call received at 8:54. Dispatch 8:58." 2) "In her conversation with news media at the scene, her statement appeared to have been prepared in advance. Newsmen commented on this." 3) "None of their office machines were damaged." 4) "She came to Houston in November, 1970, from Seattle, Wash., where, during the time she was there, Seattle had many, many bombings." 5) "Two of her closest friends were charged with attempting to bomb ROTC building. They were released on, and jumped, \$50,000 bond." 6) "Since she left Seattle, it had only two minor bombings." 7) "She and her husband ran for office in Seattle. He ran for mayor and she ran for Senate." 8) "She refused to take lie detector test. So did Paul McKnight." 9) "Paul McKnight went to Cuba in February of 1969 for three or four weeks; 13 others went, two of which are in Houston now—Mareen Jasin and either a Joel or Jon Britton." 10) "In Seattle, the favored bomb of the white revolution was a pipe bomb, filled with black powder."

In her statement to the City Council, Leonard said, "The only point left out here is point 11—'Therefore, they bombed their own campaign headquarters.'" The report is dated March 24 and has been in circulation since that date.

In a statement to Houston media, following the City Council meeting, Singleton acknowledged responsibility for the report which bore his initials. When asked where he had obtained this information, Singleton replied, "This came strictly out of my head..." and represented his "10 doubts" about the bombing of the SWP headquarters. The report, or substance of it, has been in use by some reporters in the Houston media for

the past several weeks, as indicated by some of the questions directed at candidates. When Paul McKnight was asked if it were true that he had been in Cuba, he said, "Of course. This is a matter of public record. Our campaign literature records this fact, and I have given numerous public speeches concerning my trip to Cuba."

Debbie Leonard explained to the City Council that Lt. Singleton "seemed hardly concerned with his '10 doubts' during the course of his investigation, since, during interviews with the CID, I was never questioned by them on most of the points enumerated in the report."

Leonard further pointed out that the report continued to be circulated, even after numerous incidents of Klan harassment, visits by Klansmen to the SWP headquarters, and acknowledgement of right-wing responsibility for terrorism in Houston by Klan Grand Dragon Frank Converse had been reported to the police.

She charged, "The Houston Police Department seems unable or unwilling to come up with the real criminals in this bombing and previous right-wing terrorist attacks. We demand an end to CID's circulation of rumors, distortions and falsehoods regarding myself and other members and supporters of the SWP and our campaign. Mayor Welch has often stated that he feels that opening the police and arson division records on these acts of terrorism and holding an open, public hearing would result in a 'witch-hunt.' I would like to ask the honorable mayor what he considers Lt. Singleton's method of operation, if not a witch-hunt."

"We demand that the Houston Police Department stop using its supposedly objective position for political purposes, and tend to the business of halting the wave of right-wing terrorism which threatens the civil liberties of every Houstonian."

"It has recently come to light that the Army and the FBI have been violating the rights of numerous political figures and other citizens through their extensive surveillance methods. The public outcry against these activities have made it clear that the American people condemn such police-state methods. Now we find in Houston that the Police Department, by such procedures as circulating this report, is part of an effort to intimidate a legitimate political party running candidates for public office."

Following Leonard's statement to the council, Mayor Welch proceeded to read from the HISC report of Dec. 14, 1970, quoting from SWP literature, the report stated the SWP is "an avowedly Trotskyist-Communist group which stands for 'a new radicalization of the working class leading to a revolution that will end the alien rule of the government of money and establish a new government of the people.'" Welch stated his opinion that this report justified the police surveillance of the SWP.

In an interview with the *Houston Chronicle* following the council meeting, Leonard said, "We make no effort to conceal our socialist program. We're much more open about where we stand than Mayor Welch is." She charged that Welch's attack "plays into the hands of right-wing terrorists who would relish a witch-hunt against the political left."

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Wouldn't you like to see all these type styles every week in the MILITANT?

THEY ARE ONLY A FEW OF THE 100 STYLES THAT WILL BE IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE TO US WHEN WE PURCHASE OUR NEW PHOTO TYPOSITOR. HELP MAKE THE MILITANT LOOK EVEN BETTER THAN IT NOW DOES BY GIVING TO THE MILITANT IMPROVEMENT FUND.

The response from our readers has been very good since we launched our \$5,000 fund appeal three weeks ago. We need this sum in order to purchase two labor- and time-saving machines that will help us meet the increasing opportunities to expand our circulation and improve our coverage and appearance: a photo typositor and a Cheshire labeling machine. The labeling machine will automate the present outmoded process of individually stamping each subscriber's name and address onto *The Militant* by hand.

By April 26, we had received \$1,584.25. Of this, \$584.25 was donated by 73 readers in amounts ranging from 25 cents to \$50. Special thanks, however, go to Don Upton of Detroit for his generous contribution of \$1,000. "I was thinking of investing it in other ways," he explained, "but I decided this would be the best investment."

We are sure more of our readers will feel this way and will be inspired to follow this example. If you are not able to contribute \$1,000, don't let that deter you from sending in whatever you can. Any contribution, no matter how small, will be greatly appreciated. We have set the goal of raising the remainder of the \$5,000 within the next three weeks. We still have more than halfway to go. Please be as generous as possible. Send in your contribution today.

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

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In Our Opinion

April 24

The massive outpouring on April 24 in San Francisco and Washington, D.C., was a magnificent display of unity against the Vietnam war and expressed the growing confidence of the antiwar forces that we genuinely represent the sentiments of the vast majority of Americans.

Dozens of contingents in both cities--women, Black, Chicano, veterans, GLs, unions, Asian-Americans, Palestinians, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Iranians, religious organizations, gay people, professional groups, and political parties--came from all over the country. Many of them organized their own buses, carried their own banners, and wore their own buttons representing their own special interests and concerns.

In both cities, the number of workers mobilized by unions, marching under union banners, was far greater than ever before.

In San Francisco, the Chicano, women's and gay contingents were the largest Northern California demonstrations of these groups under their own banners ever.

In Washington, tens of thousands of women wore the United Women's Contingent buttons and there was greater Black participation than ever before.

All of these diverse forces, while asserting their special identities, were able to mobilize and join together around the common demand addressed to the Nixon administration--Out Now! The April 24 actions showed that this issue deeply affects all strata of American society--that it is clearly the central question of world and American politics today.

The enthusiasm with which the demonstrators saluted the antiwar veterans and GLs reflected the growing response of the American people to the demonstrations, news reports, and TV panels in which Vietnam veterans are speaking out sharply and honestly against the war. These veterans are awakening the American people to the realization that they genuinely speak for the majority of GLs.

The knowledge of having won this powerful ally inspired the demonstrators to cheer the GLs and veterans and contributed to the sense of self-confidence expressed at both demonstrations.

Now, when there is growing revulsion against the horrendous war crimes of Calley and his superiors up to the White House, the Vietnam veterans and GLs opposed to the war embody the higher morality that millions of Americans are beginning to identify with. There is not only outrage at the immorality of taking American youth and attempting to turn them into numb murderers, but also an increasing horror at the slaughter of countless Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians. There are now millions of Americans who are no longer willing to be desensitized by the racist rationale that the mass killing of Southeast Asians by bombings and artillery is somehow not so bad because they are only "gooks" or "slants."

When the National Peace Action Coalition, supported by the Student Mobilization Committee, issued the call for the April 24 action last December--before the Laos rout and the outrage surrounding the Calley trial--they stood virtually alone.

The farsightedness of NPAC and the SMC was shown by the fact that their view of the character of the action accurately corresponded to and was decisive in bringing about April 24.

They advocated a nonexclusive action where every individual and group ready to march in the streets against this imperialist war was welcome regardless of political views and affiliations. This was symbolized in the breadth of the speakers list. For the first time at major national actions on both coasts, publically known revolutionary socialists spoke as such.

NPAC and SMC also built the action on the basis of demanding immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces. As proven by the response at the rallies, this clearly reflected the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of demonstrators.

NPAC and SMC from the start counterposed "Out Now" to the phony "phased withdrawal" demagoguery behind which the Nixon administration and the ruling class have been hiding their continuing daily carnage in Southeast Asia.

NPAC and SMC believed that the largest, broadest, most effective action could be organized by focusing on the question of the Vietnam war itself; and April 24 proved that growing numbers of American working people--Black, white and Chicano, male and female, in uniform and out--could be mobilized on this basis.

From April 24, we must go forward to expand and broaden the Out Now! movement. Next time, the contingents of labor, women, Chicanos, Blacks, and others will be even larger.

Wide participation representative of the forces who marched on April 24 should be organized to attend the NPAC Steering Committee meeting in Washington, D.C., on May 8 to discuss plans for the July 4 weekend national antiwar convention.

We can continue mobilizing massive opposition to the war by building the May 5 moratorium called by the SMC, Association of Student Governments, and the National Student Association to commemorate the murders of the Kent State and Jackson State students one year ago.

And we can deepen the impact made by the actions of the Vietnam veterans and GLs by helping to build the May 15 GL actions on Armed Forces Day.

Letters

Christopher St. Day

I wish to tell you how much I appreciate the excellent coverage you have given to the gay liberation movement in recent issues. Perhaps after the April 24 demonstration you would consider doing an article on the upcoming June 27 mass demonstration of the gay community, which may be the largest all-gay demonstration ever, with parades in New York, Los Angeles and Chicago and celebrations in other locales. To get information about the mobilizations, contact: Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee, 247 West 10th St., Apt. 2F, New York, N.Y. 10014.

R. S. S.
Los Angeles, Calif.

Lettuce boycott

I am afraid you seriously, if unintentionally, misled people with your statement that the lettuce boycott was over ("In Brief," April 9). This is the same kind of rash statement the capitalist press has been making since the confusion over the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee-Teamster pact began.

The pact is nothing more than a jurisdictional agreement between the Teamsters and UFWOC, under which the Teamsters agree to release farm workers from sweetheart contracts now held with lettuce growers and generally to withdraw themselves from the affairs of UFWOC. If they do not accomplish this within a 30-day period ending May 1--and there is little hope that they will--boycotting of Teamster-label lettuce will resume. Boycotting of non-Teamster scab lettuce has never been halted.

Even if the Teamsters do succeed in fulfilling all the terms of the pact, there will still be a long and strenuous battle ahead for the *huelgistas* before they win the right of contracts through their own union. The boycott is far from over.

Niki Goncharoff
Seattle, Wash.

Nat'l health insurance

The whole idea of national health insurance is already becoming a political football for the 1972 elections.

On March 6 it was announced in the *New York Times* that discussion on the National Health Insurance Partnership Act of 1971, a bill introduced in committees simultaneously in both the House and Senate, would be postponed "at least a week." It was to have been ready for full House and Senate debate within two weeks.

As outlined at that time, the Nixon plan would provide limited health insurance for most working people. Sixty-five percent of the premiums paid for insurance bought from private corporations or Blue Cross or Blue Shield would be paid by the employer, 35 percent by the employee.

This would have meant that thousands of nonunionized small businesses that do not pay health and welfare benefits to their workers would have been forced to insure their employees. These cockroach outfits have now put their own lobbying organizations to work against any health legislation, and the result is beginning to show.

Committee members engaged in the actual wording of the health insurance legislation have proposed that small companies and individuals--those who have one maid or secretary, for instance--be exempt from the terms of the bill.

The Nixon administration is afraid that if the coverage provided by the

proposed bill is cut, the Democrats would be given a political issue for the 1972 elections.

An additional factor holding up the legislation is cost. Medical costs are rising at an annual average rate of 15 percent. Since no health bill so far proposed would become effective until July 1973, the whole medical-cost factor could be radically changed upward before any insurance plan became law.

The health industry is getting ready to assure itself a bonanza, just as it did before Medicare and Medicaid went into effect in 1966. The health of the nation, unless it provides a high rate of profit for the medical industry, is considered unimportant.

M. S.
New York, N. Y.

GE insults women

The following is from a letter sent to all female employees at General Electric: "This is National Secretaries Week and today, Wednesday, April 21, has been designated as Secretaries Day! On behalf of all the officers and managers here in headquarters, we salute each female on this day. . . .

"The flower which accompanies this letter is a token of our appreciation for the excellent support each of you gives to the continuing success of our business."

The general assumption of the letter was, of course, that all females employed by GE were secretaries. I sent them the following reply:

"In the light of recent struggles by women to view themselves as intelligent human beings capable of achieving more than just a secretary or housewife status, I consider your letter and 'token' gift of appreciation an insult to any woman employed at General Electric. . . .

"We are not children and are tired of being addressed in such a manner. We are tired of tokenism--token jobs and token gestures. To equate National Secretaries Week with a general recognition of all women only underscores the peripheral place and debased image women have and are struggling so hard to overcome. This is the epitome of the lack of understanding of the progressive movement for the liberation of women and is demonstrative of the continuing repression of women's right to participate equally and fully in the decision-making roles of our society."

Linda Lush
New York, N. Y.

Pollution

With the much-touted announcement of a major environmental speech by Wisconsin Governor Patrick J. Lucey coinciding with Earth Week, there were many hopes of a fundamental attack on pollution and polluters by the liberal governor. Instead, the citizens of Wisconsin received nothing more than the promise of an increase in pollution fines to a maximum of \$10,000. Even the measure that this liberal capitalist politician had to concede to the population's growing disgust and anger over the destruction of our environment was provided with adequate loopholes.

Under Lucey's plan, provisions are made to ensure that the economic impact from pollution fines will not be too harsh for the polluters! The state and the polluting industry are to jointly go over the business' books to determine the economic impact of the fine, with the added protection that the financial records will be "kept confidential to protect the industry."

The Great Society

However, it is not the industry but the public that needs protection from polluting profiteers. Records kept confidential should be opened to the public to expose how much profit the industries have been able to reap by systematically destroying the world we live in. Allowing industries to set their own fines only allows for the continuation of the present state of affairs.

The only way to end this destruction of life and resources is to stop production for profit and begin production for human needs. It is crystal clear that those who exploit the earth's resources for profit are not interested in ending a practice—pollution—that adds to their money grubbing. We can only rely on those whose interest lays in stopping this mad practice—the working class. We have already seen strikes by toll-booth collectors and steelworkers because of the unbearable environmental conditions under which they work. As an unlivable atmosphere becomes generalized, we can expect to see more of such industrial action.

Mark Lobato
Madison, Wis.

Calley trial

In the wake of the Calley trial, some unexpected sources have starkly brought to light the depth of antiwar sentiment in the traditionally conservative rural Deep South. A South Georgia sheriff called the *Atlanta Journal* to announce that he would be willing to harbor any AWOL soldier in his county. The entire draft boards of Athens and Bainbridge, Ga., submitted their resignations. And four rural Georgia congressmen voted against another two-year extension of the draft law.

However, not all of the pillars of Dixie political life are in flight from their hawkish positions. Some, like Governor George Wallace of Alabama and Lt. Governor Lester Maddox of Georgia, have attempted to parley the hullabaloo about Calley into a right-wing movement, but they haven't met with much success.

Making a grandstand play for sympathy with Calley, Georgia Governor Jimmie Carter declared a statewide day of "contemplation" and turning on of car headlights. If this action was supposed to mobilize prowar sentiment, it certainly backfired. People did contemplate. They contemplated, "If Calley's not guilty, then who is?"

In numerous television and newspaper interviews with Georgians from every walk of life, the guilt was usually placed squarely where it belongs—with the Pentagon brass and their commander-in-chief.

Joel Aber
Atlanta, Ga.

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.

Presidential value judgment—Advising people on welfare not to be so choosy about accepting crummy jobs, President Nixon stated: "Scrubbing floors or emptying bedpans—my mother used to do that—is not enjoyable work, but a lot of people do it, and there is as much dignity in that as there is in any other work to be done in this country, including my own." Or, to put it another way, if you feel your situation is degrading, just think about what he's doing for a living.

Immediate, unilateral withdrawal—Without prior negotiations, the U.S. and British governments have withdrawn from the United Nations special committee on colonialism. The U.S. gave no reason for the departure, but it's believed that there was some unhappiness because the committee on colonialism adopted some resolutions that were critical of imperialism.

Tip for apartment hunters—The Vir-

ginian hunt retreat built by the late President Kennedy is available for \$350,000. It includes five bedrooms and four baths, a bomb shelter beneath the stables and a secret getaway passage leading from the closet in the master bedroom. The price may seem a bit steep since there is no swimming pool, but the present owner notes that the sunset, seen from the terrace, "probably would be worth \$100,000 to some people."

Of piety and pornography—The outdoor bulletin board of the First Presbyterian Church of Cedar Bluffs, Neb., will soon carry a notice, "Our sermons are X-rated." The enterprising pastor explains that "X" means Christ, adding: "People flock to theaters when an X-rating is given to a movie; I'll see if we can get a crowd with it."

Sorry salesman—Carl Brinnel, executive director of Junior Achievement of Western Massachusetts, is discouraged by what he sees as widespread public animosity toward capitalism.

"One thing we don't put across," the junior achiever complains, "is that the rise to the top of a corporation is challenging and exciting." Almost as much as clawing your way to the top of a dung heap.

Strikers meet stiff employer resistance—The Mortuary Employees Union struck San Francisco's 24 largest funeral parlors in a wage dispute and the rest of the mortuaries promptly shut down. "A strike against one is a strike against all," explained an industry spokesman.

Getting it all together—When Upton Sinclair wrote his classic study of the capitalist press, he entitled it *The Brass Check*, explaining that whorehouses used to issue patrons such checks as confirmation of payment. For some inexplicable reason we were reminded of this on learning that the Maryland legislature is considering using some of the space in its press room for an on-site chapel.

—HARRY RING

♀ The Insurgent Majority

The debate on abortion was taken up by the Supreme Court April 21, but their decision to uphold the antiabortion law in the District of Columbia was not a conclusive one. The case involved the appeal of an indictment against Dr. Milan Vuitch of D.C. for allegedly performing abortions in his office for any women who desired one. Dr. Vuitch's challenge of the D.C. abortion law was based on the charge that it was unconstitutionally vague. The Supreme Court ruled that the law was not unconstitutionally vague, but it did not rule on the question of whether abortion laws are unconstitutional because they violate the right of women to privacy and control of their own bodies. The court also ruled in the Vuitch case that abortion could be performed to protect the woman's mental health as well as her physical health, and that in any future abortion prosecutions, the burden of proof must be on the government to show that the pregnant woman's health was not in danger. Almost a dozen more cases challenging the unconstitutionality of abortion laws of various states are pending before the Supreme Court, some of which challenge the laws on the grounds of a woman's right to control her own body.

In another development, the 1,000 young people attending the White House Conference on Youth voted April 21 to recommend to the administration that antiabortion laws should be eliminated and abortion should be left to the woman and her doctor.

The rapid growth of the movement of women against the war in Southeast Asia was noted in a long article in the April 4 *Detroit Free Press*. The article concentrated on describing two organizations—Another Mother for Peace (AMP) and the United Women's Contingent for the April 24 demonstrations.

AMP says it now has 225,000 members. One member, Jean Hynes, who is a housewife with five children, explained why she joined the movement:

"I have four sons, and they are close to the age where I could be sending one off every year. I joined because it doesn't make sense to send them off to fight old men's wars. I figured that with enough women, we could say, 'that's it.' Things should be settled another way than with children's lives."

She also remarked on the new confidence in her own worth and abilities that came from her participation in the antiwar movement: "I used to think all I could do is take care of baby diapers. I really thought I didn't know enough to do anything else. Now I'm beginning to think there are not too many smart people in Washington."

The article also interviewed Linda Dorosh, who had

dropped out of Wayne State University to work for the United Women's Contingent. "Why support peace as a woman?" she asked. "Because the resources we waste in Vietnam should be allocated to higher priorities like better education, medical facilities, child care."

On April 12 the first hearing was held in the class action suit by 1,000 Connecticut women who are challenging the constitutionality of that state's antiabortion law. Women vs. Connecticut, the group of 1,000 women, spoke out for abortion law repeal at hearings on abortion held by the Connecticut legislature, but two weeks later the legislature voted overwhelmingly against reforming the current law, which permits abortions only when "necessary to preserve the life of the woman." A spokeswoman for Women vs. Connecticut commented on this move: "Before the action of the legislature, wherever we spoke, people would ask us why we were bringing a court suit instead of seeking reform in the legislature. Now the answer is clear—the State of Connecticut, its governor and its legislature refuse to recognize our rights under the United States Constitution to privacy and personal freedom in deciding whether or not to bear children." She said Women vs. Connecticut had brought suit challenging the constitutionality of the antiabortion law because, "It infringes on every woman's dignity, liberty and right to self-determination."

Members of the High School Women's Coalition in New York City appeared before the budget hearing of the New York Board of Education on April 20 to demand that birth control, abortion counseling and referral services be provided for all high school women in the city. The young women presented a petition with several thousand signatures supporting their demands.

A successful united press conference was held recently by a wide spectrum of feminist organizations in Boston. The well-attended news conference, which lasted for over two hours, began with an announcement by Florynce Kennedy and Diane Schurder of their new book *Abortion Rap*, and an announcement by Jeanne Lafferty, a founder of Boston Female Liberation, of her candidacy for mayor of Boston on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Other women used the occasion to make statements on the oppression of Black women and gay women, on new publications and films the Boston women's movement has produced, and plans of the New England Women's Coalition for future actions.

—CAROLINE LUND

New move against Prague 19

From Intercontinental Press

The prosecutor in the case of nineteen Czechoslovak youths accused of "Trotskyist" activities has decided to appeal for heavier sentences, according to a report from Prague in the *London Times*.

The trial ended on March 19 with the conviction of 16 defendants and the acquittal of one. Trial for two others was postponed because of illness.

The appeal, reported in the March 24 *Times*, was not mentioned by other papers. The *London daily* quoted "informed sources" as saying the prosecutor had asked stiffer penalties for "at least 13 of the 16" defendants convicted. He also reportedly asked a reversal of the acquittal of Matylda Brozovska. The article continued:

"Unofficial sources said the prosecutor, Dr. Frantisek Stilip, had asked the Czech Supreme Court to increase the four-year prison sentence on Professor Petr Uhl, aged 29, for whom he had demanded a maximum five-year sentence.

"Twelve other persons, for whom Dr. Stilip had demanded sentences of three to five years, received prison terms ranging from a 15-month suspended sentence to 30 months. He has appealed for increases in the prison terms for these persons also."

This new move against the "Prague Nineteen" was followed by other signs of the determination of the Husak government to suppress all opposition before the opening of the Communist party congress, now less than two months away.

On March 26, Vaclav Prchlik was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The former general was chief of the armed forces political section during the spring of 1968. Pressure from the Soviet bureaucrats forced his removal even prior to the August invasion. Prchlik had aroused the wrath of the Kremlin by advocating less Soviet domination of the Warsaw Pact and by criticizing a delay in the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia after scheduled military maneuvers.

According to the West German weekly *Der Spiegel*, Prchlik was convicted of "endangering the functioning of a state organ."

The trial of the Prague Nineteen was widely seen as preparation for the prosecution of officials of the Dubcek government. The trial and sentencing of Prchlik confirm this view.

"General Prchlik," Eric Bourne noted in the April 1 *Christian Science Monitor*, "... as head of the Army's political department, was an extremely



Petr Uhl

well-known officer. He is thus the first high-ranking figure of the reform period to be arraigned—and the first indicted for activities prior to the August, 1968, invasion."

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has sponsored a commission of prominent socialists and radicals concerned about socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia. According to the April 1 issue of the British daily *Guardian*, the commission plans to visit Czechoslovakia and speak with present and former government leaders. Its members are Prof. Christopher Hill, Prof. Maurice Dobb, Dr. Eric Hobsbaum, Raymond Williams, Lawrence Daly, and Prof. Noam Chomsky.

Irish women protest

Singing "We shall not, we shall not conceive," about 14 young women with their children held a demonstration the first week of April outside the Leinster House, the Irish parliament building. They demanded to be let into the building so that they could speak with senators about a bill introduced by Senator Mary Robinson to legalize the sale of contraceptives. According to the April 10 *Irish-American Review*, the doors were locked against them and three of the women had to climb in through the window of the parliament men's room in order to force the officials to let them in.

On April 9, about a dozen Irish women protested another aspect of women's oppression in Ireland: the fact that Irish women cannot be called for jury service. The only women who can serve are women who own buildings and who go through a special application process.

The women were members of the Women's Liberation Group. A leaflet they handed out noted that women jurors were practically unknown in Ireland, since women property-owners who apply are often dismissed because judges and lawyers suspect they have an ulterior motive for wanting to serve. The women protested the fact that women therefore cannot be tried by a jury of their peers, and this is unconstitutional. They opposed the property-owner clause on the grounds that it was discriminatory not only on the basis of sex but also of class.

Blanco held for 24 hours

Less than four months after his release from El Fronton prison, where he served almost eight years for his activities in organizing the peasant unions in La Convencion, Peruvian revolutionary leader Hugo Blanco was rearrested March 9 by the political police. Held for 24 hours in the offices of the Investigative Police of Peru (Policia de Investigaciones del Peru), Blanco was interrogated about his support for workers' struggles taking place in the country and the campaign for the release of the remaining political prisoners.

"For the government, Comrade Blanco's accepting an invitation from his mine-worker brothers to discuss trade-union affairs, his explaining the need for carrying out a unified struggle and informing the people of the subhuman conditions to which the miners have been subjected by the imperialist exploiters of the Cerro de

Pasco Corporation, represents conspiracy and subversion," *Revolucion Peruana* wrote in its March issue.

"For the government, demanding the release of Comrade Eduardo Creus, of the eight Cuzco peasant leaders still in prison, and of the publisher of the magazine *Libertad* means that Hugo Blanco is ungrateful for the freedom granted him."

Blanco's arrest, the Trotskyist publication surmised, was the result of government maneuvering in response to sharpening contradictions in the country: "It is evident that in taking this step, along with others, the junta was making a concession to the right wing, trying, or appearing to suppress the voice of a revolutionist devoted to the people and the revolution. The increasingly virulent reaction of the right and the thrust of the mass movement have put the junta under conflicting pressures, forcing it to balance between classes and different social strata in order to channel their energies behind its program of bourgeois development."

The magazine stated: "Comrade Hugo Blanco clarified some aspects about the matters he was questioned on. He made it clear that he had broken no law and was operating within the framework of the rights granted by the bourgeois laws themselves."



Hugo Blanco

Israeli Panthers organize

The existence of the Black Panthers of Jerusalem first came to international attention when members of the group were arrested by Israeli police for attempting to organize a demonstration March 3 against housing and job discrimination.

The group—consisting predominantly of Sephardic Jews, that is, Jews originally from North Africa and the Arab East—demands that the government spend more money on improving the lives of the Sephardis than on attracting new, largely European, immigrants.

At the time of the arrests, the government minimized the importance of the Panthers, stating that they had very few members and that they were an artificial creation of the anti-Zionist Israeli Socialist Organization (ISO). Recent developments have shown, however, that the government estimate was inaccurate.

Walter Schwarz, in an article published in the March 21 *Observer* of London, reports that the Panthers are now conducting a national recruiting drive, and that government representatives admit to considerable apprehension about the impact of the new Sephardic movement.

"Mrs. Meir is worried about the Panthers," Schwarz wrote. "She is especially incensed at the name they have chosen, because the American Panthers are thought of here as anti-Semitic. But she is even more concerned about the emerging statistical evidence of how far Israel has moved away from the egalitarian image it still holds of itself."

During the past 20 years the Sephardis have been the targets of right-wing propaganda seeking to direct them against the even more exploited Arab community in Israel, rather than against the almost wholly European government.

Although the Black Panthers of Jerusalem are not anti-Zionist, and have even declared that they have no connection with the ISO or any other "antistate" (i.e., anti-Zionist) group, the development of a movement hostile to the current government among this formerly reliable sector of the population has grave implications for the Zionist regime.

Schwarz was told by Elie Eliachar, leader of the Council of Sephardic Jews, "Now, if we get peace [with the Arabs], we shall have civil war at home."

The Panthers have distributed 5,000 membership applications in their current recruiting campaign. They report that 3,000 have already been returned.

Schwarz said that he had seen 900 completed applications at the home of one Panther member, and that the Panthers now are "working with embryonic Panthers in Tel Aviv and other cities, as well as rural settlements."

Arrests mount in Spain

From Intercontinental Press

The Franco regime in Spain has initiated a new drive aimed at wiping out the revolutionary nationalist Basque movement. The *Manchester Guardian* of March 15 reported that some twenty persons, arrested in raids which began in late February, are presently being held without trial.

Under the terms of a decree issued by Franco last December 14, the prisoners may be held until June without being tried.

Spanish police fired several shots in a busy street in Bilbao while pursuing a young man who had been accused by a priest of stealing a copying machine to be used to produce nationalist material prohibited by the regime.

At least seven others were arrested in a raid on a house in Bilbao. The raid was conducted without a warrant.

The *Guardian* wrote that in addition to the arrests in Bilbao, some twenty-three persons have been jailed in Madrid since January on charges of belonging to the outlawed trade-union organization known as the Workers Commission.

The Spanish press has made no announcement of the most recent arrests, and the total number held by police remains a secret.

The *London Times* of March 15 reported that sources in Barcelona say daily political roundups are taking place there.

Despite the difficult circumstances existing under the totalitarian regime, protest against the witch-hunt is mounting throughout Spain.

A petition signed by 4,000 workers, students, and intellectuals, denouncing political trials and demanding that the government lift all special police powers, was delivered to the office of Vice-President Rear Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco on March 26, according to the *London Times* of March 30.

By PATTI IYAMA

TORONTO—At a conference of North American and Indochinese women held here April 7-12, I had the opportunity to hear first-hand reports from the Indochinese women on their struggle for national liberation.

The powerful message that was conveyed by these women to their North American sisters was their firm determination to continue the fight for self-determination until they win. As Phan Minh Hien, a 31-year-old teacher from the Women's Union for the Liberation of South Vietnam, stated, "We would rather sacrifice everything than live as slaves."

The South Vietnamese delegation indicated that there are 5,000 political prisoners in South Vietnam now. Dinh Thi Huong, who is a member of the Women's Union, described some of her experiences in the six years she was held in prison. Although she belonged to no organizations at the time, she was held from 1955 to 1961 without trial on "the suspicion that she belonged to an anti-American organization."

She was in eight different prisons, including the infamous "tiger cages" at Con Son, where she was tortured many times. She suffered from pins being stuck in her fingertips and then moved around. On other occasions, she was strapped down and water mixed with salt was forced into her mouth until her stomach was full. Then her jailers walked on her stomach until all the water was forced out. Other times her hands were tied behind her back and she was hung from the ceiling. She was paralyzed for six months the last time this method of torture was used on her. She also had electrodes applied to her ears, nipples and genitals. Huong emphasized the fact that these tortures were common occurrences and are still continuing today.

After she was released, she decided to participate in the struggle and joined the national liberation forces. This too, she stated, was not an uncommon reaction to the atrocities perpetrated against the people.

Although the United States was not yet formally involved in Vietnam at the time of her imprisonment, Huong revealed, "American advisors frequently came to the prisons and gave instructions to my torturers."

Khemphet Pholsena, a 29-year-old school teacher from Laos, dated American military intervention in her country from as early as 1955. "The CIA took part in different U.S. organizations such as the U.S. Aid Mission and the Military Assistance Advisory Group, which were set up supposedly to give economic aid, but in reality gave military aid and trained special forces."

Laotian women

Pholsena also explained the role of women in the struggle in Laos. "If women want to be liberated, they have to take part in the national liberation struggle by the whole people," she said. "Therefore, women from every social class have participated in the liberation struggle more and more. Laotian women play an important role in the Patriotic Front."

"The women are the equal of men in every field, and the Pathet Lao Association of Women is aiding women to overcome their feelings of inferiority. In the family, the husbands help take care of the children and do the housework to allow the women time to learn production skills."

"Before, a man could have many wives, but this is not allowed in the liberated zone, although the men who already have many wives are not forced to divorce them."

The South Vietnamese women revealed that over 50 percent of the women in South Vietnam are involved in the war effort. "The GIs call the Vietnamese women 'the long-hair army,'" stated Phan Minh Hien. "Women, irrespective of their age, have participated in the struggle to fight the enemy wherever they meet them with all weapons available."

In the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, women also play an essential role in the struggle. Many women are commanders in the People's Militia and fight side by side with the men.

Women's Union

Vo Thi The from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam spoke about the Women's Union. "The main task of the Women's Union is to educate and mobilize the women to accomplish national liberation and build socialism. To do this, we work closely with the government to make sure that the rights of women are protected. For instance, the Union checks to make sure that child-care centers are set up at factories, that women

the United States, Phan Minh Hien from the Women's Union for the Liberation of South Vietnam answered, "We have followed your struggle against repression as Third World people. We realize that the urgent thing for you is to fight for survival, but we think that the war has affected you closely and that therefore there is a close link between the antiwar movement and the right of Third World people to self-determination. Our interests are closely interrelated in this struggle. We think that the antiwar struggle is also your struggle."

Women at the conference were very anxious to find out what the antiwar movement in the U.S. and Canada could do to help end the war as quickly as possible. When asked about the People's Peace Treaty, Vo Thi The replied, "We agree with the intent of the Peace Treaty to broaden the antiwar movement. We want, however, to stress the demand for total and unconditional and immediate withdrawal. We think that is the most important point of the Peace Treaty."

Vo Thi The indicated that the Indochinese women had several minor disagreements with the way some of the points of the treaty are formulated.

Indochinese women discuss struggle



North Vietnamese women workers rebuilding a road after it was bombed by planes.

receive equal pay for equal work and two months maternity leave with pay, and that compensatory programs are pushed to train women."

She also explained that after the war is won, the women will not be ordered back into their former role of housewife. "Women will be needed to participate in the big task of rebuilding our country. We have organized our women to fight for independence. We will organize our women after the war to reconstruct the country and fight for the better position of women."

Struggle in the U.S.

When questioned by Third World women from

The women from Indochina all saw mass demonstrations as aiding their struggle and wished their American brothers and sisters success in the spring offensive. Vo Thi The added, "Your demonstration on April 24 is a clear manifestation of your determination to win the immediate withdrawal of troops from Indochina."

"The spring offensive will have a big impact on the antiwar movement. We hope that the different organizations in the United States will unite in this demonstration in order to bring success and bigger success in solidarity with our struggle."

"United, we will win."

Indochinese, N. American women meet

TORONTO—A two-part conference of North American and Indochinese women was held here April 7-12. The first part of the conference, from April 7-9, was sponsored by Women Strike for Peace, Voice of Women (La Voix des Femmes), and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. This part was an open conference attended by around 350 women active in the U.S. and Canadian antiwar movements.

The second part of the conference, open to official delegates only, was projected as a meeting of women from the North American women's liberation movement, but because of the exclusionary, undemocratic way it was organized, it was not representative of the women's liberation movement, nor did it focus on women's

liberation issues. This created much dissatisfaction and confusion at the conference.

Six delegates from Indochina attended the conference—two women from the Women's Union of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, two from the Women's Union for the Liberation of South Vietnam and two from Laos. The first conference consisted mainly of a series of plenary sessions and workshops where the Indochinese women made presentations on their personal experiences in the war.

The organizers of this first conference did not focus on building any specific actions.

The second part of the conference, supposedly for women's liberation activists, was open only to 500 selected delegates—200 from the women's lib-

eration movement in the U.S., 200 Third World women from the U.S., 60 Canadian women in the women's liberation movement and 40 Canadian Third World women. The Third World women met separately throughout the conference.

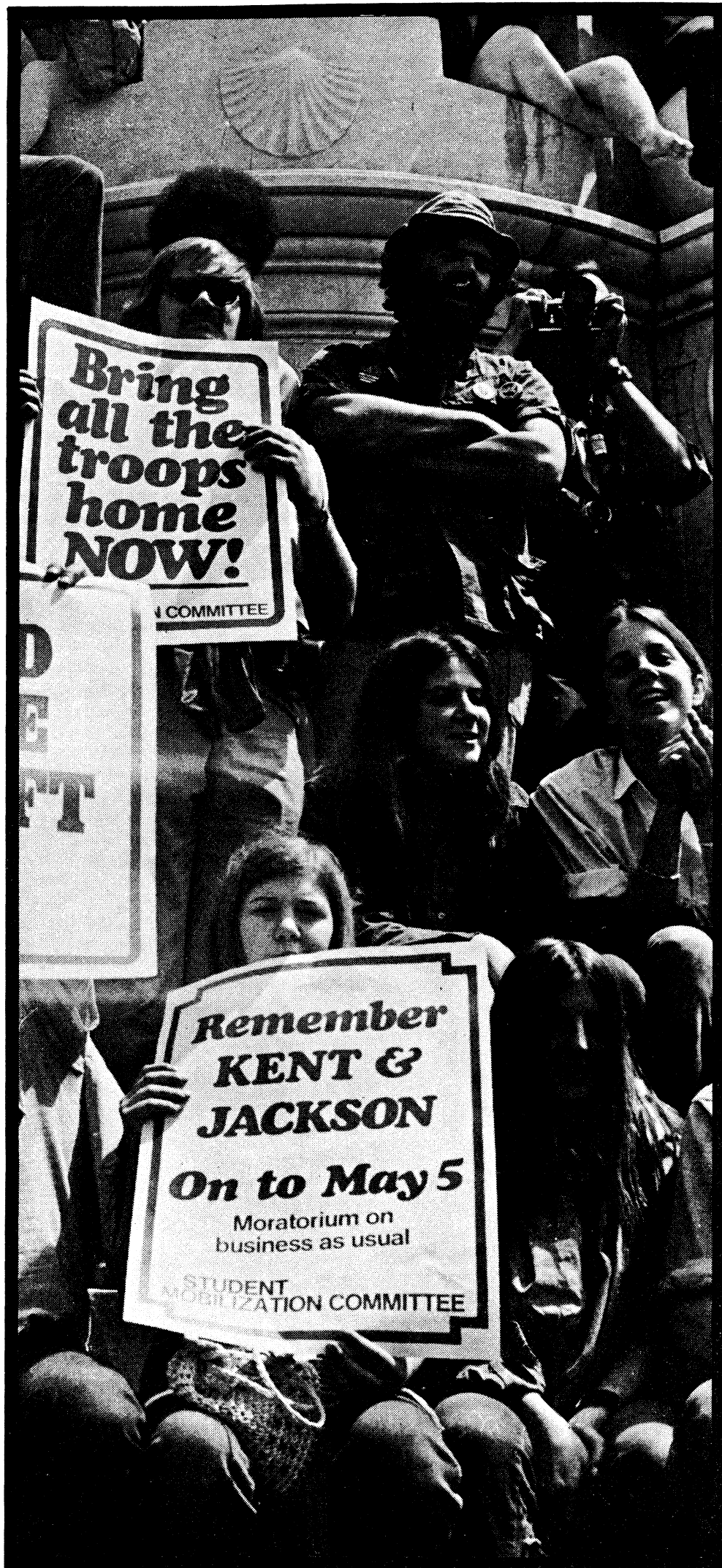
From the beginning, it was not clear precisely who organized the conference. Regional committees were set up around the United States in order to select delegates. These committees supposedly reflected the women's liberation movement, but since no public planning meetings were called for the diverse groups comprising that movement, and since many groups were not even aware of the conference or were not encouraged to participate, it appears that the organizers were self-selected.

According to one of the members of the committee running the conference, a national decision was also made to try to exclude members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The second conference also consisted mainly of plenary sessions and workshops where the Indochinese women gave reports. It began with about 450 women, but dwindled down to about 100 on the final day. This rapid disintegration was basically caused by widespread dissatisfaction and anger at several aspects of the conference, such as its exclusionary nature and bureaucratic and manipulative leadership.

The "Service Committee" decided on agenda and structure, but most women only knew one or two of the wom-

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Washington

Photo by Harry Ring

April 24 demands: Get Out Now!

Washington D.C.—more than half a million people

By CAROLINE LUND

WASHINGTON, D.C.—On April 24, more than half a million Americans from every sector of the population marched here in the streets of the capital to answer Nixon's hollow promises about an "honorable" disengagement from Vietnam. "OUT NOW!" was the clear and powerful message that roared from the crowd again and again throughout the afternoon.

One handwritten sign carried by a marcher seemed to typify the disgust of the demonstrators with all the cynical lies and maneuvering of politicians who claim to oppose the war. It read: "I want every soldier out by — When's the election again?"

Reports of the size of the march varied from the final police figure of 200,000 to the estimate of the National Peace Action Coalition that over a half a million took part. The size of the action was certainly of the same order as the historic November 1969 action, in which close to three-quarters of a million participated, but whether it was larger or smaller was difficult to determine.

According to the April 26 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Bill Jepson, a civilian police information official in Washington, said, "I would say from my knowledge there were more here than ever before. We had liaison men out and they said it just dwarfed anything they'd seen."

It was impossible for NPAC to get a count of the number of buses that came for the demonstration. At 1 p.m., police reports were that 840 buses had entered the city. At 2 p.m., NPAC was informed by the mayor's office that buses were backed up for 20 miles, all the way to Greenbelt, Md. Uncountable numbers of cars and buses did not make it into Washington until the march and rally were over. Additional vast numbers would have participated in the Washington demonstration were it not for the transportation difficulties.

The Student Mobilization Committee organized transportation into Washington from such isolated college towns as Edinboro, Pa., which sent four busloads from the state college there, and Lubbock, Texas. The April 25 *Washington Post* said Greyhound reported 83 charter buses from places like Columbia, Mo., Austin, Texas, and Portland, Maine.

Fred Mitchell, terminal manager for Trailways buses in Washington, said he observed "a heck of a lot of people in the terminal since noon Friday, more people than May [1970] or November 1969."

Estimates of the size of the march by police and city officials early in the day went up to 500,000, but as usual the figure was reduced as the day wore on.

The march was not only huge, but it reflected the views of a great many Americans who could not make it to Washington. In several days, the New York Peace Action Coalition easily collected 10,000 postcards to Nixon signed by people saying they supported the aims of the demonstration but couldn't be there. The *Washington Post* conducted interviews with tourists in Washington on April 24 and reported, "You could not find a single one, in this random sampling, who was for the war or against the demonstrators."

To a much greater degree than ever before, the demonstration reflected the American population as a whole. Participation by trade unions, GIs and veterans, middle-aged people, Black people, Puerto Ricans, and Asian-Americans was greater than ever be-

fore. A poll of 500 demonstrators conducted by the *Washington Post* indicated that more than one-third of the marchers were participating in their first demonstration.

According to this poll, students and youth were still the backbone of the demonstration, however, with 84 percent of the sample under 30, and a little less than half of them college or high school students. This strong turnout of student youth decisively refuted the widespread predictions that students were no longer interested in participating in mass antiwar protests.

A new mood

The representative nature of the demonstration created a new mood among the protesters, which was noted in the various press accounts of the action. The marchers felt a new confidence. A confidence that—as Debby Bustin of the Student Mobilization Committee put it—"We are the majority!"

Max Frankel noted this new mood in the April 25 *New York Times*: "The effect of any single outpouring like today's cannot be measured, but the cumulative effect of the popular protests here over the years is abundantly clear. The marching minority now feels itself becoming a national majority. It is remarkable above all for the almost total abandon, good cheer, certainty of purpose, and lack of self-consciousness." He noted that "The marchers no longer brandish American flags to disassociate themselves from those carrying Vietcong banners. . . . They bumped unperturbed against Blacks, Latins and Palestinians, all promoting their own causes. And they pushed baby carriages beside those shouting obscenities and parading the freedoms of homosexuality."

The most significant increase in participation came from the ranks of labor—in many cases in open defiance of union officials like the leadership of the AFL-CIO and Leonard Woodcock of the UAW. Trade unions and organizations of trade unionists represented by banners or placards on the march included the Furriers union, the Teamsters, the United Auto Workers from Cleveland, Ironworkers for Peace, Newspaper Guild Workers for Peace, Madison (Wis.) Hospital Workers for Peace, Teachers for Peace in Vietnam, Federal Employees for Peace, Engineers for Peace, United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, United Electrical Workers Local 506 from Erie, Pa., New York Library Guild Local 1930, American Federation of Teachers Local 189, Youville Hospital Workers in Cambridge, Mass., Bakers Union Local 3, AFL-CIO from Queens, N.Y., Washington Labor for Peace, District 65 of the Distributive Workers union, Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers union, Cleaners and Dyers union, and the Furniture Workers union.

The massive popular support for the demonstration was also manifested by the unprecedented number of Democratic and Republican party politicians who decided it was to their political advantage to support the demonstration. Endorsements came from 18 members of the U.S. House of Representatives and 8 members of the U.S. Senate, as well as numerous state legislators.

Wisconsin Governor Patrick Lucey endorsed the demonstration, as well as New York Mayor John Lindsay. The Minnesota state legislature voted to officially declare April 24 Peace Action Day. The Detroit Common

Council endorsed the demonstration and voted to allow all city employees who were veterans to skip work on the 23rd in order to travel to Washington and take part in the demonstration.

The mayor of Orange, N.J., Joel Shain, himself a Vietnam veteran, led the delegation of 120 marchers from his city. The Orange City Council also endorsed April 24 unanimously. Mayor Walter E. Washington of Washington, D.C., stood on the edge of the march welcoming the protesters to the city.

Numerous separate contingents were organized to participate in the demonstration, including the United Women's Contingent, the Gay Contingent, the Third World Contingent, and the Labor Contingent. The march was led by several hundred active-duty GIs, and the poll taken by the *Washington Post* found that 5 percent of march participants were Vietnam veterans.

What happened in Washington could be seen as a significant deepening of the trend expressed most clearly at the Des Moines demonstration March 1 against President Nixon. In that demonstration, antiwar students and construction workers protesting Nixon's attack on their wages joined in a common action, comfortably marching side by side against their common enemy. The correctness of building a mass movement for immediate withdrawal, firmly based on the principal of nonexclusion, could not have been more sharply confirmed.

Third World contingent

The Third World Contingent included Black people, Asian-Americans, Palestinians, and Iranians. Many Third World people didn't get into the city in time to march with the contingent because of traffic jams. Four buses of Black and Puerto Rican students from Manhattan Community College in New York, for instance, did not arrive until 2 p.m., as did one bus organized by the Third World Task Force in Philadelphia.

The Third World Contingent formed separately for a rally in Malcolm X Park and then marched through the D.C. Black community to join the main march. The Contingent received a warm response from the community, with many Black youth, including Black veterans, joining the march for at least several blocks, as the size of the contingent swelled.

Numerous observers confirmed that more Black people participated in the April 24 demonstration than ever before.

A Palestinian contingent marched for the first time in a national antiwar action.

The United Women's Contingent demonstrated to the chant of "Sisterhood is Powerful—End the War Now!" Banners and signs were carried saying, "Child care, not warfare," and identifying groups such as George Washington University Women's Liberation, Female Liberation, Cleveland State University Women's Contingent, and Wyandotte County, Kansas, Women for Peace. One sign read: "Kensington [Pa.] women and Vietnamese women are sisters."

A banner reading "Gays Against the War" led off the sizable contingent of gay people. Signs were carried by Columbus, Ohio, Gay Liberation, Northwestern University Gay Liberation, Gay Feminists Against the War, Gay Liberation Front of the Tri-Cities (Albany, Troy and Schenectady, N.Y.), and the Student Mobilization Committee Gay Task Force, among many others.

The marchers could feel their power as a massive, united force and they were there to demonstrate that power. Efforts—made by some of the small groups on the left who opposed the April 24 action—to draw people into counter-demonstrations were singularly unsuccessful. And the cops were

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In San Francisco—more than 300,000

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

SAN FRANCISCO—By all accounts it was the largest demonstration in the history of the West Coast.

Depending on your source, the exact estimate of the size varies. The San Francisco Police Department itself, according to the April 25 *San Francisco Examiner*, gave out three different figures, the highest being 174,900. Other major estimates from the news media ranged from 150,000 to 350,000.

The organizers of the demonstration, the National Peace Action Coalition, estimate that well over 300,000 demonstrators marched through the streets of San Francisco in a massive display of sentiment for ending the war and getting the troops home now.

People poured into the city from throughout the western states. Reports indicate that all means of public transportation from the major West Coast cities to San Francisco were jam-packed.

They started assembling before 8 a.m. on the plaza at the Embarcadero, the port area on the northeastern shore of San Francisco. This was the designated assembly area for GIs, students, and members of the general population who wanted to go the entire distance of the march. The air was crisp and the march proceeded at a brisk pace through the concrete, steel and glass canyons of San Francisco's financial district. As the march filed through the narrow streets, a mood was established that dominated the day's proceedings.

It was a serious, determined, but at the same time spirited, mood. It was the stance of a movement that viewed itself not as an isolated minority, but representative of the vast majority of the American people. They were out to tell Nixon and the rest of the rulers in Washington that the people of this country have had enough of the seemingly endless war in Indochina.

The march was led by well over 1,000 active-duty GIs, officers and veterans, including wounded veterans of the war in Southeast Asia. The contingent was organized by the Concerned Officers Movement.

Hours later, the last of the marchers poured into the polo field at Golden Gate Park some seven miles away. At one point, the line of march stretched across the entire city from the polo field to the Embarcadero area, and at times the march was so dense that it was forced to slow to a standstill.

Along the route, the march grew and grew, picking up demonstrators from assembly points and a number of separate contingents, some having their own premarch rallies. These contingents, expressions of both the independence and antiwar sentiment of other movements, represented significant actions themselves.

Gays

One of the first contingents to enter the line of march was the gay contingent, which marched from the Civic Center with 300 people. By the time it had covered its six-mile route to the polo field, it had swelled to 2,000, making it the largest demonstration of gays ever held in the West. Activists came from gay liberation organizations in Phoenix, Denver, San Jose, Seattle and Los Angeles, where the gay liberation fronts had been the main organizers of the contingent. Several huge banners made the contingent quite visible, and it was among the most vocal and spirited.

The composition of the action reflected the breadth of the antiwar movement. Business Executives Move for Peace had a contingent of 500.

The American Psychological Association, which was holding its annual convention in San Francisco at the time, voted to adjourn and join the march. A row of yellow school buses with Berkeley PTA banners on their sides pulled up by the march, and the students, parents, and teachers emptied out to join the procession. It was obvious that a lot of people had heard about the march, and spontaneously organized groups of friends to come to the demonstration.

Raza

The Raza Contingent began assembling at 8 a.m. in San Francisco's Latino community at Mission Dolores Park, the scene of two previous Raza Moratoriums, which had attracted up to 2,000 people. Joining the contingent was a group of Native Americans who marched behind a banner: "Native Americans Against the War." There were Chicanos from East Los Angeles, including students from City College of Los Angeles, and various MECHA chapters. Brown Berets were also present and helped out with the monitoring.

La Raza Unida Party from Hayward, Union City and Oakland-Berkeley carried banners. A large banner reading "Bring Our Carnales Home Now—Raza Si, Guerra No!" was carried at the head of the march, along with the Native American banner.

Numerous picket signs saying "Raza Si, Guerra No" were prepared by the Third World Task Force of NPAC.

When the march left the park, there were about 2,000 people. By the time the contingent had reached the main

line of march at Kimbel Field, it had grown to about 4,000, making it the largest Raza antiwar action held in Northern California thus far, either as an independent Raza Unida Moratorium or as part of a united antiwar march.

The contingent was one of the most spirited in the demonstration, resounding with continuous chants of "Raza Si, Guerra No!", "One, two, three, four, we don't want this racist war!" and cries of "Chicano Power!", "Latino Power!", "Indian Power!" and "Peace Now!"

Labor

At 10 a.m., the NPAC Labor Support Committee began its rally at Kimbel Field, located about midway along the route of march. The rally lasted an hour and a half, and was addressed by some 25 speakers representing 20 different unions. Among the speakers were Timothy Twomey, vice-president of the San Francisco Labor Council; Raul Teilh, state president of the California Federation of Teachers; and Walter Stack, president of the Hard Hat Hod Carriers.

Jeff Mackler, chairman of the NPAC Labor Support Committee and California Federation of Teachers representative to NPAC, told the crowd that four out of five Central Labor Councils in the Bay Area had endorsed the march. The proposal had failed by only two votes in the fifth labor council. In the San Francisco Central Labor Council, it had passed by a two-to-one margin, overturning the recommendation of the Executive Board and the secretary-treasurer. Every local in the Bay Area that had been asked to endorse did so except one.

At 11:30, the labor contingent moved into the main line of march. There were banners and signs from the UAW, several AFT locals, the Pile Drivers, Hod Carriers, Hospital

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San Francisco

Photos by Ron Payne





Washington

Photo by Stuart Kiehl



Washington

Photo by David Thorstad



San Francisco

Photo by Ron Payne



San Francisco

Photo by John Gray



Washington

Photo by David Thorstad

Andrew Pulley: 'We have power when we unite in mass action'

Following is the text of the speech given in Washington, D.C., April 24 by Andrew Pulley, representing the Socialist Workers Party. Pulley was one of the original organizers of GIs United Against the War at Fort Jackson, S.C., in 1969, and one of the "Fort Jackson Eight" thrown in the stockade by the brass for organizing against the war and against racism in the Army. He and the seven other GIs were released when the Army dropped charges against them rather than face a possible legal defeat in the court-martial.

Because of demonstrations like this today, this country will never be the same. The contingents here today—Black people, Chicanos, women, gay people, GIs, students, labor and for the first time a Palestinian contingent—all those struggling against oppression, have united in action against the Vietnam war. This is the central issue facing all of us. And in the same way that we have mobilized against the war, we can also mobilize mass actions against racial oppression, oppression of women, and the rotten capitalist system.

We're not only becoming better fighters against oppression. We are also learning that we have power when we unite in mass actions.

There are two important contingents that couldn't be here—two key contingents of fighters against oppression, the GIs and the prisoners in this country's jails. I've been a part of both contingents and would like to salute them today!

Thousands of GIs, home and abroad, particularly those on the battlefields of Vietnam, and those who have been placed on alert for the demonstration today, would be here if they could. And you can be sure that this is doubly true of Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican GIs. They have had enough of vicious racism in the Army. They have had enough of being forced to kill our brothers and sisters in Southeast Asia.

Not only would Angela Davis and the Berrigans be here today if they could, but also the thousands of potential Malcolm X's in prisons and stockades. The fight of these brothers and sisters is our fight. Every victim of class, racist and sexist so-called justice is a political prisoner.

We have built this movement ourselves. We have built mass demonstrations in the streets. We have involved anybody who is against the war.

Our potential power is unlimited because we are organized in mass action! We can end this war, and we will end this war. But we must become bigger. Next time we will have larger contingents of workers—Black, Chicano and white; male and female; in and out of uniform.

We must go from this rally and organize all these forces into our movement.

The warmakers know that the majority agree with us on the war. They know that millions think the way we do, and they fear what can happen when millions are mobilized in the streets.

I remember two years ago during his campaign Nixon promised us peace, and before that Johnson pledged he would never send American "boys to die in an Asian war." We remember all those promises. The Democratic and Republican politicians always promised us peace in order to get our votes. But what have they produced? Nothing but continued war, deaths and massacres year after year from Kennedy to Johnson and now Nixon.

The Democratic and Republican administrations knew all along what they were doing! They knew about the My Lai!

They knew that napalm was being dropped!

They knew whole villages were destroyed and millions killed. They knew it and were responsible for it!

In order to crush the Vietnamese struggle to control their own country, they have to use this savagery.

But now we know what is happening! Millions of us know what they are doing in Southeast Asia, and we are going to put an end to it all!

So long as our movement stays in the streets, we'll be able to grow more powerful and end this barbaric war.

We have built this movement on the demand of immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

Our demand is clear!

It is the demand of the majority of the American people! The will of the majority is not being implemented!

It is only a minority—the class that profits from oppression and exploitation at home and abroad—that's interested in continuing the Southeast Asian war! When did we vote for this war? What kind of democracy is this?

Nixon knows what we want! We want the U.S. out of Southeast Asia now! That is our date!

Some politicians want Nixon to set a date for withdrawal. We already have a date!

Blacks, Chicanos, women, students, GIs, and unionists have a date! The Vietnamese people have a date!

We've had a date for a long time!

Our date is now! We want out now! And Nixon knows it! Bring the troops home now is our date for withdrawal!

Linda Jenness: 'We're having a showdown with the warmakers'

Following is the text of the speech Linda Jenness made to the April 24 antiwar rally in San Francisco. Jenness was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta in 1969 and the SWP candidate for governor of Georgia in 1970. For the last three months she has been on an extensive women's liberation speaking tour across the country.

Everyone here is part of the most important battle in this country today. We are having a showdown with the warmakers—and the warmakers are scared!

We have come here united in our demand to end the war in Southeast Asia by bringing all the troops home now! Many of us here today are women. We have marched as Women United Against the War under our own banners and in our own contingent.

Some people here today are Black Americans, Chicanos, Asian-Americans, and Native Americans, struggling against this racist war and against their oppression here at home.

Others here today are high school and college students. Some are gay people, others are veterans, others are GIs.

Some of us have come here today as part of the labor movement. The United Auto Workers Western Region Six is here. The Central Labor Councils of San Francisco, Santa Clara, Contra Costa, and San Mateo are here. The United Transit Workers Local 1741 is here. The San Francisco City Employees Union Local 400 is here.

Some people said that labor would never enter the antiwar movement. They were wrong! Labor is here—as women, as Blacks, as ex-GIs, as ex-students, and as trade unionists—we are here. And those sections of the organized labor movement that are not here today *will* be here next time if we organize and bring them in after we leave here today.

From many organizations and movements, we have united together because the war deeply affects all of us. We are mobilized today against the war, and we are going to mobilize again!

The power of this mass movement has already made changes in this country. The antiwar movement has awakened millions to the crimes and injustices of this system. The antiwar movement has taught millions that we, the people here today, are the force that can change this society.

We know we cannot rely on Nixon to change it, we know we cannot rely on Congress to change it, we know we cannot rely on Republican and Democratic party politicians to change it.

We asked them for peace. They gave us escalation.

We demanded immediate withdrawal. They gave us a date in the far future.

We asked them for justice. They arrested Angela Davis and Father Berigan.

We asked them for honesty. They gave us lie after lie after lie.

No! We cannot rely on any of *them*. We can only rely on *ourselves*. We and millions of others like us are going to end this war and we are going to change society. We are better fighters today because of the antiwar movement and we know better who our enemies are.

The women here today have something to say to President Nixon.

President Nixon! Two weeks ago, you came out against abortions. You said you had a deep belief in the "sanctity of life." We say you are a total hypocrite! Last week you dropped seven-and-a-half-ton bombs on thousands of people. You have created nearly seven million homeless refugees and murdered countless Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian people.

Your government has committed despicable atrocities in Vietnam. Lt. Calley was convicted of war crimes—but we all know that there are bigger fish to fry!

When the women in this country struggle to gain control over our own bodies, you talk about the "sanctity of life." But when the Vietnamese struggle to control their own country, you drop bombs on them.

All of us here today have something to say to Nixon. President Nixon! You say you must maintain troops in Vietnam in order to guarantee the safety of the prisoners of war and to protect the remaining troops. We say your logic is absurd!

We say the only way to prevent more deaths of American GIs and Southeast Asian people is to withdraw all U.S. troops now! We want absolutely no residual troops left behind—not one troop, not one adviser, not one helicopter, not one bomb!

We want them all out now!

Last week, Marshal Ky stated that it would take 15 or 20 years before Vietnamization would be effective. We say to you, Mr. Nixon—No more Vietnamizations!

President Nixon! You say that if the American government suffers a defeat in Vietnam, a wave of right-wing reaction will sweep this country. We say quite the opposite! We say that if the Vietnamese people win the struggle to determine their own affairs, renewed hope will blow through all the movements in this country struggling for control of our own lives.

We have come here today to demand that all the U.S. troops be withdrawn immediately. The American GIs have a date for withdrawal; that date is now!

The Vietnamese people have a date for withdrawal; that date is *now*!

Black Americans and Chicanos have a date for withdrawal; that date is *now*!

Women have a date for withdrawal; that date is *now*!

The American people have a date for withdrawal; that date is *now*!

Those of us here have a date for withdrawal; that date is *now*!

Jerry Gordon: 'There cannot be any letup in our effort'

Following are excerpts from the speech Jerry Gordon made to the April 24 antiwar rally in Washington, D.C. Gordon, an Ohio civil liberties attorney, has played a key leadership role in the formation and building of the National Peace Action Coalition and is one of the national coordinators of NPAC.

This demonstration and the majority sentiment it represents gives the peace movement a powerful new momentum. We will build on that momentum and we will stay in the streets as long as this war goes on. Richard Nixon will get no peace from us so long as the killing in Indochina goes on.

Nixon no longer dares claim he has

the support of the "silent majority." Everyone recognizes that it is the advocates of peace who are the majority.

We are equally determined that this bloody war be over before Nixon's term of office expires. Some people suggest that the way to end the war is for the president to set a date for withdrawal, such as the end of 1971 or the end of 1972. We of the National Peace Action Coalition ask: What's wrong with OUT NOW?

How can anyone justify the carnage for even one day longer, much less for eight months or twenty months more? Nor is it a matter of seeking a "reasonable" solution. The Nixon administration has made it all too plain that they are not open to reason on this question. Everything they have done makes it all too clear that they are determined to hang on in Vietnam—determined to continue in their insane pursuit of military victory. And they *will* hang on there until they are compelled to get out. That means we must mount the most intense pressure on them to get out now.

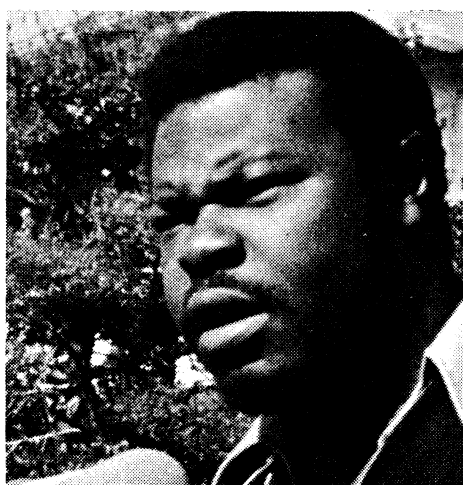
Nixon is using a time-tested advertising formula: Promise them anything, but keep the war going. He even assures us that he too has a date—only it's a secret.

But, some will argue—if Congress sets the date, then it will be different. We say that any kind of agreement to delay ending the war—whether so intended or not—only gives Mr. Nixon breathing space. It gives him added time to find the pretexts to keep the war going. For him, dates are meant to be broken, not kept.

If we are to win immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, we must recognize that there cannot be any letup in our effort. Today's massive, historic demonstration must be regarded as the springboard for even more massive actions to come. We must stay in the streets until we win not more promises to end this dirty war but the reality of an end to the war.

On November 15, 1969, nearly a million people massed here in Washington and in San Francisco demanding an end to the war. But afterward—we must say this frankly—the peace movement made a serious and costly

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Andrew Pulley

Photo by Brian Shannon



Washington

Photo by David Thorstad



Linda Jenness

Photo by John Gray



Jerry Gordon

Photo by Jon Britton



Washington

Photo by Mark Satinoff

YSA center was big success

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Young Socialist Movement Center, set up by the Young Socialist Alliance in a suite of rooms just off DuPont Circle April 21-27, was a beehive of activity during the entire week. The center acted as an organizing center for Young Socialists participating in the April 24 antiwar activities, as well as a place where others could find out more about revolutionary politics through speeches, panels, informal discussions, and literature.

More than \$300 worth of socialist books and pamphlets were sold here in seven days. Speakers or panels discussed "The Second Wave of Feminism: Can It Achieve Liberation?", "How to Make a Revolution in the U.S.," "Gay Liberation," "The Road to Black Liberation," "The Politics of the Antiwar Movement," and "The Arab Revolution."

A score of women attended the discussion of women's liberation April 22 by Terry Hardy and Myrna Hill.

More than 250 people showed up to hear Peter Camejo give the revolutionary-socialist answer to the question, "How will the revolution be made in this country?", on the evening of April 24 after the march of more than half a million people on the capitol.

The day after the big march, 40 people came to hear a panel of gay activists discuss different aspects of the growing gay liberation movement. The gay speakers were Frank Kameny of Washington, D.C., Mattachine Society; John Lauritsen of the Red Butterfly; Terry Hillman, a National Committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance; Tina Mandel of New York City Daughters of Bilitis; and David Thorstad, writer for *The Militant* and a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

A lively discussion followed the panel on gay liberation, lasting a full hour after the speakers had made their initial presentations. Much of the discussion focused on the relationship between women's liberation and gay liberation.

Later the same day, 40 people heard Andrew Pulley of the Socialist Workers Party, a former antiwar GI organizer, discuss the role of mass mobilizations in the construction of a mass, independent Black political party to fight for the self-determination of African-Americans.

On Monday evening, April 26, Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party, who acted as chief marshal for April 24 in Washington and has served in the same capacity for previous national antiwar actions, discussed the politics behind different strategies advocated for the antiwar movement.

On Tuesday evening, April 27, Jon Rothschild spoke on the Arab revolution and Zionism, describing the vanguard role of the Palestinian masses in that part of the world.

Hundreds of antiwar youth who were meeting the YSA for the first time passed through the Young Socialist Movement Center, either to attend one of the programs or to just talk to the YSAers staffing the center. Many of them signed lists indicating that they wanted to join the YSA, or that they were interested in more information.

On the fringes of the march

An array of groups claiming to be Marxist or radical participated in the Washington April 24 demonstration while denouncing it as liberal, reactionary, or even counterrevolutionary. Their inability to recognize the revolutionary significance of more than half a million Americans taking to the streets in a political action against their government and the ludicrous ineffectiveness of their counter-activities were striking confirmation of their political sterility.

One small group called the Workers League marched together in the main march carrying red flags and then left the demonstration to march in a circle and hold their own rally of 150 people several blocks away from the demonstration. One of their banners carried a picture of Lenin and Trotsky, and other signs read: "Smash Imperialism, Build a Labor Party, for a Socialist America," "Victory to the Viet Cong," and "Down with Muskie, McGovern and My Lai—Build a Labor Party."

For an organization that devotes much attention to the daily betrayals of the labor bureaucracy, the Workers League found itself in the strange company of Woodcock, Meany and others of this ilk who refused to back the April 24 action. When the San Francisco City Employees Union Local 400 voted nearly unanimously to endorse April 24 about a week and a half before the action, members of the Workers League cast the few dissenting votes in opposition to supporting the antiwar demonstration.

In the April 19 issue of their newspaper, the *Bulletin*, the Workers League labeled the largest political demonstration in history against the policies of the U.S. ruling class as "counterrevolutionary."

The Maoist Progressive Labor Party and Students for a Democratic Society stood on the fringes of the main march with a bullhorn, attempting to persuade demonstrators to leave the march and join an SDS rally at the Washington Unemployment Securities Office a block away. The demands of their rally were: "U.S. Out of S.E. Asia, No Negotiations, Smash Racist Unemployment." They met with little success. Most of those who stopped to listen to the SDS rally were either on their way to the main rally or leaving it and heading for their cars or buses.

SDS addressed their main leaflet to those who "are tired of businessmen for peace, movie stars for peace, union hacks for peace, and liberal politicians for peace." They also wrote: "SMC [Student Mobilization Committee] will counter SDS worker-student alliance by saying that there are 'representatives of labor here'... But these union leaders, like the SMC, oppose all militant rank-and-file actions." SDS obviously cannot imagine that rank-and-file workers would demonstrate against the war, as thousands of them did April 24, even against the dictates of many prowar union leaders.

The International Socialists, while not staging any counter-actions, downplay the significance of the massive antiwar demonstrations that have occurred since 1965. In the April 24 supplement to their newspaper *Workers Power*, mass antiwar demonstrations are dismissed as part of a strategy of "a semiannual peace march, largely confined to students and middle-class people, and posing no challenge to the existing status quo."



Photo by Harry Ring

Read the Militant! Above is one of the 500 salespeople who sold 8,000 copies of the socialist news-weekly to Washington antiwar marchers; 2,400 were sold in San Francisco. The monthly magazine *International Socialist Review* sold 1,000 copies in Washington and 400 in San Francisco. Revolutionary-socialist books and pamphlets were also popular with marchers in both cities, who bought over \$700 worth at literature tables.

...D.C.

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unable to find any excuse for a violent attack on the protesters.

Veterans' action

The determined and serious tone of the demonstration was set during the five days previous to April 24, when 1,200 Vietnam veterans descended on the capital to testify to the horrors and injustice of the war. One hundred and fifty of them attended Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on "how to end the war." With their jeers and interjections against the prowar speakers, they brought an entirely new note into the discussions among these congressional hypocrites.

The veterans' protest climaxed on April 23 with two events. In the afternoon, about 1,000 veterans assembled to throw their military medals and ribbons over a fence surrounding a statue on the side of the capitol, describing them as "symbols of shame and dishumanity." "Here's my merit badge for murder," yelled one vet as he flung over his medals. Two mothers with gold stars also threw away their dead sons' medals. A total of 600 vets returned their medals, including a 20-year-old former infantryman, William Wyman, who lost both legs in Vietnam.

That same evening, about 400 active-duty GIs in uniform, along with 2,000 others, packed into the Washington National Cathedral for a memorial service for the war dead, sponsored by the Concerned Officers Movement. The GIs attended in defiance of a Pentagon prohibition—on the grounds that the service was a "political demonstration"—of GI participation. Spec/5 Charles Balent told the service, "We are the ones who have listened to our brothers rolling bleeding on the ground and cursing those who sent them there to die."

Two perspectives

The four-hour rally culminating the march was more reflective than previous mass antiwar rallies of all the various forces that built the demonstration. Included among the speakers was Juan Mari Bras, representing the Puerto Rican independence movement; Black nationalist speakers; a Chicano speaker; representatives of the student movement; a high school student; two gay liberation speakers and a women's liberation speaker; and for the first time, a representative of the revolutionary-socialist movement, Andrew Pulley of the Socialist Workers Party.

The viewpoints expressed at the rally reflected two major alternatives for the antiwar movement. One perspective—the one around which the demonstration had been built and which was the main thrust and spirit of the march—was embodied in the slogan "Out Now!" and the view that the masses of Americans organized independently and fighting for their demands are the power that can end the war.

This perspective was expressed by Jerry Gordon, national coordinator of NPAC, who urged the marchers to return to their home towns committed to becoming even more active in building NPAC and in building larger and more powerful actions for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

The "Out Now" perspective was expressed by Armando Treviño, from the Mexican-American Youth organization, when he said, "We want out of Vietnam—not tomorrow, but yesterday!" Charles Stephenson from the Third World Task Force urged all Third World people to return to their cities and set up Third World task forces "to mobilize our people against the war. We must continue until all our brothers can come home and join us in the fight for our rights right here, and until our Southeast Asian brothers and sisters have their self-determination."

Joan Gibbs, a high school student from the Third World Student Coalition, also expressed this orientation of continuing to build an independent antiwar movement. She noted that high school students have from the beginning been in the forefront of building the mass antiwar demonstrations, and "we'll continue to be until all the troops are brought home." She pointed to the power that high school students had built up through their participation in the antiwar movement: "It's a new time, a new day. Nixon cannot afford to ignore high school students any more."

The opposite perspective, perhaps expressed most clearly by Congresswoman Bella Abzug, was that the Congress, rather than the masses of American people, is the force that can end the war; that the antiwar movement should concentrate on lobbying congressional representatives instead of building its own independent power through mass demonstrations; and that the antiwar movement should press for Congress to "set the date" for withdrawal from Southeast Asia, rather than demanding immediate and unconditional withdrawal.

Abzug told the demonstrators directly that their presence in Washington would be much more useful if they would come back next week to lobby the senators. Rather than immediate withdrawal, Abzug suggested the war should be ended by 1972.

David Dellinger also downplayed the significance of the demonstration, calling on marchers to join a "people's lobby" of congressmen. Similarly, Dr. George Wiley of the National Welfare Rights Organization told the rally, "If you really want to end the war, you'll be here Monday to lobby against antiwelfare bills in Congress." Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference expressed basically the same viewpoint.

Coretta King and Abernathy raised the demand that all U. S. troops be withdrawn by Aug. 28, 1971 — the eighth anniversary of the civil rights march on Washington in 1963. The issue of the *Daily World* — the newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party — passed out on the march also pushed the demand, "Set the date for withdrawal from Indochina."

This "set the date for withdrawal" theme was exposed for the cruel hypocrisy it is by the testimony of the Vietnam veterans in Washington. They pointed out that every day and week troops remain in Vietnam means more slaughter of GIs and Vietnamese. "How do you ask a man to be the last to die in Vietnam for a mistake?" asked veteran John Kerry at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Taking a more radical position than some of the speakers professing to be radicals was Senator Vance Hartke, who called unequivocally for "Out Now!"

NPAC and SMC, the main organizers of the April 24 march, projected a continuation of the spring antiwar offensive with no letup. Marchers were asked to build the May 5 student moratorium, the May 15 day of solidarity with antiwar GIs, and the July 2-4 national conference of NPAC to decide on future actions.

The *Washington Post* asked Debby Bustin, SMC national coordinator, why the marchers keep returning to Washington to demonstrate. She answered: "We haven't yet gotten the majority of the American people, who in fact oppose the war, to get out in the streets and take massive, peaceful action against it." That is the task before the antiwar movement.

...S.F.

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Workers, AFSCME, ILWU, United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, and the United Electrical Workers. The Building Trades for Peace carried banners reading: "Construction: Yes/ Destruction: No."

The attendance at the rally had been over 500. The UAW chartered 10 buses, which let out workers all along the route and at the Polo Grounds. Many unionists marched with other contingents or in the general march. When at one point during the main rally at the Polo Grounds, Paul Schrade, western regional director of the UAW, asked all trade unionists to stand, thousands of demonstrators, scattered evenly throughout the crowd, rose to their feet.

Women

Almost 2,000 women assembled at Rossi Park for the 10:00 a.m. rally organized by Women United for April 24. The women sat on the grass in the bright sun, listening intently to the speakers, including Eleanor Mobley of AFSCME at the University of California at Berkeley, and the main spokeswoman of the maids in their recent struggle for equal pay for equal work. A report of her discussions with Indochinese women at the recent Vancouver conference was given by Anita Bennett of Female Liberation in Berkeley. The rally also heard from a gay high school feminist from Los Angeles, and the Women's Street Theater presented a play on the invasion of Laos.

The contingent chanted, sang and danced along its three-mile march to the Polo Grounds. The predominantly young women combined a strong feeling of sisterhood with militant opposition to the war in Vietnam. As with the Raza and gay contingents, it was one of the largest demonstrations ever held by the women's liberation movement in the West.

By noon, the huge oval-shaped Polo Grounds were nearly half-filled, and the march was flowing in rapidly. By the time the last marchers had arrived, the polo fields were overflowing. There

were more middle-aged and older people than in recent demonstrations, and more very young children brought by their parents. But the marchers as a whole were overwhelmingly young, high school students, college students, and working people in their 20s. And there was variety, including a genuine marching jazz band. "Make Wine, Not War" read the banner of the Napa Valley Committee for Peace. A huge "Jesuits for Peace" banner was carried by a contingent of young seminarians from the Jesuit School of Theology.

Among the first demonstrators to arrive were those in the "Anti-imperialist Contingent." They were carrying huge NLF flags and banners, and had secured the area immediately before the speakers' platform.

Rally

At the opening of the rally, NPAC West Coast Coordinator Dan Rosen shine announced that the group in front was trying to break through the monitors and get on the stage. He asked those in the crowd to vote on whether or not they were in favor of this happening. The result of this vote was a tremendous "NO!" Following this, the struggle in front of the stage subsided.

The first speaker, a Vietnamese student, expressed the solidarity of her sisters and brothers in Vietnam, and called for the immediate withdrawal of troops from her country.

Don Gurewitz of the Student Mobilization Committee warned against the antiwar movement's adopting as its central demand "Set the Date!" If the antiwar movement, Gurewitz said, "with its meager resources can bring this many people to San Francisco

of the day was Dick Gregory, who presented a humorous attack on Nixon and Agnew and announced that he was going on a solid food fast until the war is over.

Abe Tapia, a scheduled speaker from the Mexican-American Political Association, took the mike and announced that he wasn't going to speak until "all the Chicanos, Native Americans, and Asians are able to get up on the platform with me."

Some Brown Berets and other ultra-lefts forced their way up to the speakers' platform. Tapia, using ultra-left rhetoric which was conspicuously absent when he ran in the Democratic primaries last fall (for the 35th Assembly District) attacked the antiwar movement. His remarks clearly did not reflect the sentiments of the thousands of Raza who participated in the march as a show of unity with all those who oppose this imperialist and racist war. His use of nationalist rhetoric to attack the antiwar movement angered many Chicano nationalists, including some Brown Berets and other veterans of the Aug. 29, 1970, Chicano Moratorium, who were aware of Tapia's red-baiting role in the aftermath of the police attack and his traditional support of liberal Anglo Democrats.

Tapia then proceeded to introduce a number of speakers who had not been invited by the coalition, which issued invitations on the basis of a democratic decision. These included David Sanchez of the Brown Berets, who charged that the antiwar movement was "a conspiracy to squash the revolution." It was over a half hour before the planned speakers' list was resumed.



Palestinians carry banner reading "Vietnam Palestine Solidarity" in Washington Third World contingent.

Photo by David Thorstad

and the number it has to Washington today, then Nixon certainly has the power to get the troops out of Vietnam in a matter of days."

Eleven-year-old Adam Feerst of the Diamond Heights Elementary School SMC passionately asked the crowd, "Are we too young to question the war?" and back came the answer: "NO!"

Delia Alvarez, sister of the first prisoner of war, captured back in 1964 and today the longest-held POW in any American war, charged Nixon with using the prisoner issue as an excuse to continue the war. "Nixon would have us think that all prisoner-of-war families support the war, but this is not true. My brother is a victim of our government's inhumane policies, not those of Vietnam."

Paul Schrade, western regional director of the UAW, read a telegram of support for the rally from Einar Mohn, international vice-president of the Teamsters. Schrade explained how workers were affected by the war and why they are opposed to it. He called on all candidates for the presidential nomination to devote their energies to convening a special session of Congress that would not adjourn until all the troops were withdrawn.

One of the most popular speakers

Most people at the rally did not know anything out of the ordinary had happened until they picked up their *San Francisco Examiner* the next morning, which featured this incident in an attempt to overshadow the overall impact of the day's action.

In contrast to Tapia, Phillip Vera Cruz from the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee brought greetings from Cesar Chavez and praised the work of the antiwar movement and "many of those here who have helped the work of the farm workers."

Other speakers included Warren Widener, new mayor of Berkeley; John T. Williams, an NPAC coordinator and a Teamster organizer from Los Angeles; and Aileen Hernandez, president of the National Organization for Women.

The final speaker was Linda Jenness from the Socialist Workers Party, who urged the marchers not to rely on Nixon, Congress, the Democratic or Republican parties, but to rely only on themselves to end the war.

Following Jenness' talk, the chairman announced that the rally was over. It was 4 p.m., the scheduled time for the rally to conclude. Several planned speakers had not spoken, including James Lafferty of NPAC, gay liberation speaker Morris Knight of

Los Angeles Gay Liberation Front, pacifist David Harris, and Congressman Paul McCloskey. Some Brown Berets and other ultra-lefts had broken through the monitors and were attempting to return to the platform, and the organizers thought it was wise to terminate the rally rather than risk an incident.

The demonstration had made it clear to the Nixon administration that the American people are not deluded by his attempts to buy off antiwar sentiment. It reaffirmed the position of those in the antiwar movement who have maintained that the war remains a central issue in American politics. April 24 more than ever before was a confirmation of mass action for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops as the central organizing tool of the antiwar movement. Each mass action is a new beginning, as was April 24.

...Gordon

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mistake: It failed to provide a perspective and program for continuing action. We of the National Peace Action Coalition do not intend to repeat that mistake.

On May 5, the peace movement, the student movement and the Black movement will join in commemoration of the first anniversary of the criminal invasion of Cambodia and the murder of students at Jackson State College and Kent State University. The National Peace Action Coalition will play a key role in making the May 5 Moratorium an added powerful blow against the war in Indochina and the forces of repression at home. There are 11 days between now and May 5. We call on everyone opposed to the war to organize massive demonstrations in their communities and on their campuses May 5 to press the demand for immediate withdrawal.

Then, on May 15, NPAC and other antiwar forces will join in building demonstrations initiated by GIs and veterans to change the character of Armed Services Day. Citizens are urged to go to military bases in their areas that day to join in legal, peaceful demonstrations in solidarity with the constantly growing number of antiwar GIs.

Throughout these activities, we must build pressure to end the draft. The draft law expires June 30. Abolition will be a blow to the war. Our opposition to continuation of the draft must be so massive that any member of Congress who votes for its renewal will be committing political suicide.

In addition to these actions already scheduled, we of the National Peace Action Coalition deem it imperative that we reach out to and organize the millions of Americans who now oppose the war. To achieve this, NPAC is launching a major drive to build local peace action coalitions across the country. Fifty such local coalitions have been built in the past nine months. Now we can and must establish many more. We need volunteers this summer to organize for peace. If you can help in carrying this out, please contact the National Peace Action Coalition national office here in Washington. The address is 1029 Vermont Ave. N. W.

Our last convention, held in Chicago last December, initiated the plans for April 24. Today's giant outpouring is the result of the decisions of that convention. The next one, on the July 4th weekend, will be equally important. Everyone is welcome and everyone attending will have a voice and vote.

Be with us to assure the unity, growth and continuing activity of the antiwar movement. We cannot rest. We must escalate our efforts until we stop this war and open the way for a future world of peace, progress and plenty for all people.

Stop the war! OUT NOW!

By TONY THOMAS

In 1933, Leon Trotsky commented, "Today, the white workers in relation to the Negroes are the oppressors, scoundrels, who persecute the Black and the yellow, hold them in contempt and lynch them. . . .

"99.9 percent of the American workers are chauvinists, in relation to the Negroes they are hangmen, and they are so also toward the Chinese. It is necessary to teach the American beasts. It is necessary to make them understand that the American state is not their state and that they do not have to be the guardians of this state. Those American workers who say, 'The Negroes should separate when they desire and we will defend them against our American police'—those are revolutionists, I have confidence in them." (*Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*, Pathfinder Press. pp. 14-17.)

Is this denunciation of racism within the white working class "anti-working-class," "reactionary" or "divisive"? Tony Monteiro of the Young Workers Liberation League and the Communist Party thinks so.

Monteiro, in an April 9 speech given in New York, "Trotskyism, Racist Voice on the Left," commented about these and similar statements by Trotsky and other supporters of Black nationalism: "This approach is not only incorrect, it is dangerous. Its most obvious conclusions would be that the unity of the working class and proletarian internationalism would mean the collaboration between the oppressor and the oppressed. It is a position that clearly militates against socialism and the victory of the working class and the liberation of oppressed nations and nationalities."

Denouncing Trotsky's condemnation of the racism of white workers, Monteiro contended that white workers really don't oppress Blacks, and that such an attack on the racism of white workers is a diversion from fighting the ruling class, the principal source of racism in this country.

Monteiro is dead wrong. Just as all U.S. workers have economic and social privileges that result from the exploitation of the colonial world by U.S. imperialism, white workers have privileges that result from the oppression of all Blacks. As a norm, white workers and their families have better jobs, housing, education, and health facilities.

Not in workers' interests

Monteiro attempted to bolster his attacks on Trotsky and others who condemn racism within the working class by quoting Lenin, who said: ". . . if a Ukrainian Marxist allows himself to be swayed by his . . . hatred of the Great Russian oppressor, to such a degree that he transfers even a particle of his hatred . . . to the proletarian culture, proletarian cause of the Great Russian workers, then such a Marxist gets bogged down in bourgeois nationalism."

Contrary to Monteiro's opinion, attacks on the privileges and racism of white workers are hardly attacks on the "proletarian culture and proletarian cause" of the workers in this country, either Black or white. Racist privileges are totally contrary to the interests of the working-class cause and struggle against capitalist rule.

The few extra privileges permitted by American imperialism to white workers cannot, in the long run, overcome the effects of their class exploitation as workers. They cannot indefinitely block the deepening of class consciousness. Racist illusions and privileges cannot obliterate the effects of unemployment, wars, inflation, union busting, and other consequences of capitalism that all workers face. In fact, failure to combat oppression of Blacks helps keep the wages of all workers down by creating a large

pool of mainly Black and Brown workers who are either unemployed or paid very low wages.

Thus, white workers have the same principal enemy as Black workers—the capitalist ruling class—and they must unite in a common struggle if this enemy is to be defeated.

Unity based on struggle

Monteiro believes that Black nationalism will divide the working class. He also claims that comments like Trotsky's reference to racist white workers as "beasts" are "anti-Leninist" since "Lenin held that proletarian unity was an imperative for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

must necessarily be laid on their advocating freedom for the oppressed countries to secede and their fighting for it. . . . It is our right and duty to treat every Social-Democrat [i.e. revolutionist] of an oppressor nation who fails to conduct such propaganda as a *scoundrel* and an *imperialist*." (*Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism*, p. 171. Emphasis added.)

Does Monteiro think that Lenin's scathing denunciation of the chauvinism of the workers of the oppressor nation, like Trotsky's, was "divisive," "anti-working-class," and "anti-Leninist"?

By refusing to support the demands

whole working class against every form of oppression—national, class, or sexist—that will lead to effective unity against the capitalists. Mere anti-racist platitudes are not enough.

For example, in recent years there have been massive struggles by Blacks against the all-white hiring practices in some industries such as the skilled construction trades.

Not only have employers mobilized against Black demands, but the all-white construction workers' job trusts have also fought demands that more Blacks be hired. In some cases, Blacks have won employment concessions from the bosses but have been refused entry into unions and apprentice programs controlled by privileged, racist white workers. Would Monteiro deny that the maintenance of these white job trusts is the work of "beasts" and "scoundrels"?

It is only in fighting *against* such practices, supported by the bosses and the union bureaucrats, that any unity in struggle for working-class interests can be achieved. The burden is on the white workers, not the Black, and abstract statements will not be sufficient.

The long teachers' strike in Newark ended a couple of weeks ago with a weakened union because the Newark Teachers Union bureaucrats refused to support and fight for the just demands of the Black community to control its own schools. Because the teachers were unable to mobilize wide support for their strike, the Board of Education was able to grind them down and force them back to work—substantially on the board's conditions.

There will probably be more such setbacks for the working class due to the racist refusal of union bureaucrats to support and take up the fight for the demands of the Black community. But through these conflicts, white workers will learn that victory depends on unity, and that unity can only be achieved on the basis of supporting the struggle for Black self-determination.

Vanguard role

Monteiro also cannot understand Trotsky's statement that African-Americans, as the most oppressed section of the working class, with nothing to lose and everything to gain, might play the vanguard role in the struggle against capitalist domination.

Monteiro quoted Trotsky: "It is then possible that the Negroes will become the most advanced section [of the working class] . . . the Negroes also through self-determination will proceed to the proletarian dictatorship in a couple of gigantic strides, ahead of the great bloc of the white workers."

Monteiro selectively quoted only this sentence, hoping to mislead people into thinking that revolutionary socialists see the radicalization of Blacks as something unrelated to the radicalization of whites.

However, if Monteiro had read Trotsky further, he would have learned that Blacks ". . . will furnish the vanguard. I am absolutely sure that they will in any case fight better than the white workers. That, however, can happen only provided that the Communist Party carries on an uncompromising merciless struggle not only against the supposed national prepossessions of the Negroes but against the colossal prejudices of the white workers and gives it no concession whatever."

Monteiro, unable to understand the elementary strategic concept that the most oppressed fight the hardest, found this statement a "ridiculous," "anti-working-class" attack on white workers. Such mawkish and paternalistic romanticization of white workers only leads Monteiro to reject the nationalist awakening now taking place and to deny the key role it is already playing in leading the way to a mass working-class radicalization.

WHITE WORKERS AND BLACK NATIONALISM



To realize its full strength in unity, the entire working class must struggle for the demands of the most oppressed workers. In Seattle, on Sept. 11, 1970, white workers walked off their jobs in support of demands by the Black United Construction Workers Association, forcing a federal judge to rule the same day that 90 Blacks must be hired by Oct. 1.

Unlike Monteiro, however, Lenin was for unity in struggle *against* special privileges such as those most white American workers have. Like Trotsky, Lenin understood that if the workers of an oppressor nation are to forge unity with those of the oppressed nation, it is absolutely necessary to attack the chauvinism of the workers of the oppressor nation. Terms similar to Trotsky's "beasts," "scoundrels," and "hangmen" were far from alien to Lenin.

Lenin said in 1916: "In the internationalist education of the workers of the oppressor countries, emphasis

of Black workers and the Black community, racist white workers and organizations that reflect their views or prejudices prevent the unity of the working class in a struggle against the racist oppressors of Black people and working people. Black nationalism, by refusing to subordinate the demands of Black people to racism from any quarter, prevents one form of destructive "working-class unity"—unity of the workers around a program of adaptation to racism.

Support Black struggles

It is the deepening struggle of the

Black students back Cairo

By MARSHA COLEMAN

CAIRO, ILL.—The Second Anniversary Cairo Survival Conference held in Carbondale and Cairo, Illinois, April 16-17 was attended by some 1,000 Black students from all over the country. There was a nationwide Black student representation from places as far apart as Los Angeles, Detroit and Washington, D. C.

The conference began at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale on the morning of April 16. The first speaker was James Charif, chief of staff of the United Front of Cairo, who stressed the need for strict discipline amongst Black people in our struggle for liberation.

He was followed by the Rev. Charles Koen, executive director of the Cairo United Front. Koen discussed the basis on which the Front has been built and went on to say, "If we are forced to build a nation, then we will fight for it. We as Black folk must liberate the world, or we will die in a corrupt system."

Students were urged to come to Cairo for the summer to work on the land and to help the economic boycott. Koen stressed the need for books, medical supplies, clothing, and money for bail and other purposes to help the people of Cairo in their struggle. Members of Friends of Cairo support groups across the country will organize the summer program.

The rest of the session centered on discussions of the experiences of the struggle in Cairo. The mass organization of armed self-defense, the economic boycotts, and the United Front election campaign were seen as very relevant to the nationwide struggle of Black people.

Brother Imari, from the Republic of New Africa, and representatives of

the League of Revolutionary Black Workers of Detroit, the Young Socialist Alliance, and Black Student Unions across the country entered this discussion. One of the highlights of this portion of the conference was a speech by Bill Hampton, brother of slain Illinois Black Panther Party Chairman Fred Hampton.

On the second day, the conference moved to Cairo. Charlene Williams, one of the leaders of the National Solidarity Party—a Cairo community group—described the recent international women's conferences held in Canada and the need to relate to the suffering of the Vietnamese people, especially the Vietnamese women.

The conference formed a demonstra-

tion that marched through Pyramid Courts—the Black housing project that has been one of the focal points of the Cairo struggle—to the Cairo police station. Slogans like "Black Power" and "Soul Power" dominated the march, while state police and FBI agents attempted to intimidate the marchers by taking their pictures.

There will be a "National Leadership in Struggle People's Solidarity Day" in Cairo on June 19. All supporters of the Cairo struggle are invited.

For information, write the Cairo United Front, P. O. Box 544, Cairo, Ill. 62914. Money for bail and other costs of the continuing struggle in Cairo is needed.

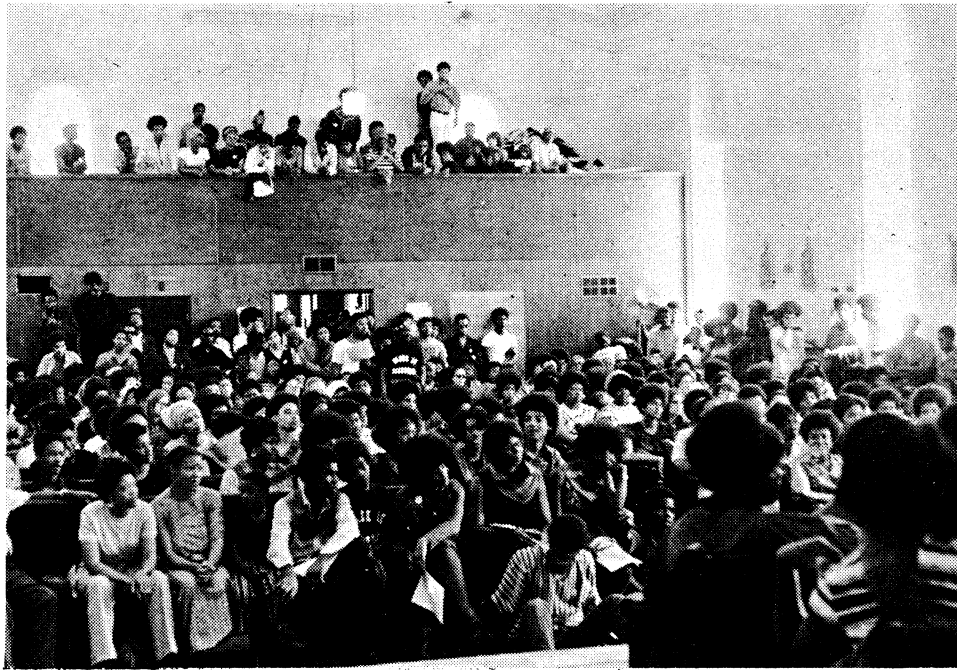


Photo by Carl Hampton/United Front

Participants in national survival conference pack hall in Cairo, Ill., April 17. National student conference was called by Cairo United Front.

1,500 women rally in Boston

By CHRIS HILDEBRAND

BOSTON—About 1,500 women participated in Women's Liberation Day activities here April 17. The day was organized by the New England Women's Coalition (NEWCO), a coalition of 28 groups throughout the region.

About 15 women carrying a 30-foot banner saying, "Women of the world, unite," led a spirited march of 1,000 women through the streets of downtown Boston to the bandstand on the Common.

The rally was chaired by Nancy Williamson, from Female Liberation, who elaborated on the five demands of the demonstration: Free abortion on demand, no forced sterilization; free, 24-hour, community-controlled child-care centers; equal work and equal pay; equal educational opportunities; and an end to all laws regulating private sexual behavior.

Speakers at the rally included Florence Luscomb, an 84-year-old feminist who spoke of her 79 years of activity in the women's movement, and Florynce Kennedy, a Black feminist lawyer from New York City who spoke of a suit she is initiating challenging the tax-exempt status of the Catholic Church because of its lobbying activities against abortion repeal. She also encouraged women to involve themselves politically, pointing out as an example the campaign of Jeanne Lafferty from the Socialist Workers Party for mayor of Boston.

Maryanne Weathers, of the Black and Third World Women's Alliance and Female Liberation, spoke at length about the myth that feminism is opposed to nationalism. She said that Black nationalist feminists have to break down the lies about the Black matriarchy and that the right to abortion is genocide. She pointed out the necessity for community control of abortion clinics. "How can it be genocide if it's controlled by the Black community?" she asked.

Other speakers were Sam Mondykowski from the YWCA; Davida Carven from the Working Women's Workshop, a group that came out of the New England Congress to Unite Women; and representatives from gay liberation.

Booths were set up by various women's organizations and task forces of NEWCO. Two of the future activities projected were a class action court challenge of the Massachusetts abortion laws and a referendum in Cambridge to get free, 24-hour, community-controlled child care.

Women from the Northshore Feminists had a booth on the Salem witch trial. Female Liberation had a booth with a dart gun to shoot prominent sexists, such as Nixon, Tom Jones, Andy Warhol, and Agnew. And for a penny, women could vote for the worst sexist of their choice. David Susskind won.

N.Y. women discuss rape

By TERRY HARDY

NEW YORK—Some 250 women attended a conference on rape April 17 organized by the New York Radical Feminists.

The opening plenary session was addressed by Mary Molenski, a New York State district attorney; Florence Rush, a social worker for the Cooperative College of the State University of New York; Dr. Phyllis Chesler, member of the Association for Women Psychiatrists; and others.

The plenary was followed by a series of workshops on such topics as the "cultural climate" of hostility to women, "rape as social policy," incest and child molestation, immediate demands, self-defense, marriage, and prostitution. Following the workshops, reports from each were given to the general body.

The main theme that ran through the conference discussion was how the sexist society in which we live is responsible for perpetuating the degradation and dehumanization of women as sexual objects. This process of dehumanization makes it easier for a man to excuse his unfeeling and often violent relations with women. Our culture reinforces this form of oppression of women through the advertising and communications media, spoken and visual arts, literature, songs and ballads.

Speakers pointed out that to the emotionally and mentally unstable male in our society, these constant reinforcements of his already warped perception of women prod him to strike out at women in the most brutal way he knows. Undoubtedly, rape is one of the most common ways to humiliate and violate the dignity of women as human beings.

In the opening sessions, Mary Molenski informed those at the conference that New York has one of the strictest rape corroboration statutes in the country. Every single element of a rape has to be corroborated by someone other than the woman who is the victim. Since most rapes

aren't committed in public or with witnesses, our legal system ends up condoning this criminal act.

It was also pointed out that in 1960, 8 percent of all identified rapists were convicted, but by 1967 this had fallen to 2.5 percent.

The majority of rapes go unreported. When the woman knows her assailant, she is often afraid of reprisals—physical, economic or social. She may feel that the rape known may give her a bad name or cause her to lose her job.

A badly shaken woman who has been raped cannot look for sympathy from the police if she wishes to make a report. Women told how the uniform reaction is one of callousness and disbelief, as if the assault had been provoked by the woman rather than being seen as an attack against her. There is a common belief that every woman really wants to be raped. This condemns her as inherently a sexual seducer, as does the assertion—without medical validity—that a healthy adult woman cannot be raped against her will.

The women discussed how the aim of these and other misconceptions about rape is to hide the social and political nature of rape and make it a personal problem with personal responsibility—an attempt by society to make the victim the criminal and the criminal the victim.

The workshop reports indicated that lively discussions took place in all the workshops and one thing that pervaded all reports was the need for self-defense for women.

Some women felt that a way to begin solving the problem of rape was to hire more policewomen and have them handle rape cases. Other women countered that to ask this system to increase its campaign of law and order was not the solution.

Most workshops planned to continue meeting, as the women felt that much more political discussion was needed around this "taboo" issue.

...Ceylon

Continued from page 4

of provocation staged by the government itself as a pretext for cracking down on the JVP.

The bourgeois coalition regime, which came to power in May 1970 in a landslide victory and which is led by Bandaranaike's bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party, is on the verge of bankruptcy and has been moving sharply to the right in an effort to reassure potential investors. The current emergency shows that its course has been dictated not only by a desire to impress its imperialist bankers with its respectability, but also by a growing awareness of the rapid erosion of its own electoral and social base.

This is apparently why it decided to move against the JVP. The JVP has been developing since 1966. A section of its leadership came from the pro-Moscow Communist Party. After spending a short time in the pro-Peking Communist Party, they left it also and formed their own organization. The JVP supported the coalition parties during the May 1970 elections but rapidly became alienated from them.

In August 1970, the JVP began a series of mass public meetings to explain its position. The first, on Aug. 10, was attended by 10,000 people. Attendance at subsequent meetings was as high as 20,000. Faced with a campaign of police harassment and government-inspired intimidation, the JVP began looking for allies. It has since been collaborating politically in building its mass rallies and defending itself with other groups, including the Ceylon Mercantile Union, plantation workers, and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary), the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.

Faced with mass arrests on frame-up charges, the young and relatively inexperienced radicals of the JVP apparently chose to use arms to defend themselves from the government repression. The armed resistance did not begin until April 5, almost three weeks after a state of emergency was declared March 16, and after many prominent leaders of the JVP were already in jail.

"Students of seesaw politics of Ceylon," writes the *Christian Science Monitor* April 15, "who foresaw as long ago as four or five months the declaration of an emergency and the crackdown on the extreme left, view the current crisis as a *calculated effort* by Mrs. Bandaranaike and the nationalist partisans in her coalition government to show the world as well as her own Trotskyite allies that her government will not be dragged or pushed any further leftward than her democratic socialist image demands." (Emphasis added.)

As for Bandaranaike's "Trotskyite" allies, these renegades from Marxism, who were expelled from the world Trotskyist movement in 1964 when they first allied themselves with the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, have been among the most vociferous defenders of the army's slaughter of radical youth. Leslie Goonewardene, minister of communications and a long-time leader of the reformist LSSP, on March 18 called on the army to "wipe out" the rebel youth.

These ex-Trotskyists, together with the pro-Moscow Communist Party, must bear responsibility for the slaughter that is now sweeping Ceylon. The Stalinist leader Keuneman, in a speech reported in the April 15 weekly

Ceylon News, accused the young rebels of being agents of imperialism: "In the JVP we are confronted with a potentially fascist and terroristic movement, which serves the interests of sinister forces who have not yet declared their hand. . . ."

Yet it was precisely to the "sinister forces" of imperialism that Bandaranaike and her Stalinist and ex-Trotskyist allies appealed for military aid to crush the burgeoning revolution. The imperialists were quick to respond. The main suppliers thus far have been Britain and the United States. An April 13 AP dispatch from Colombo reported: "A U.S. Air Force plane landed in the capital of this strife-torn nation today with vitally needed spare parts for Ceylon's air force, which has stepped up attacks against a youthful rebel force. . . ."

"Six U.S.-built helicopters were being readied by Britain for immediate shipment to Ceylon to give government forces more mobility in fighting the hit-and-run guerrillas. . . ."

"British small arms and ammunition were being airlifted to Colombo from Singapore."

The Soviet Union has also decided to aid the Pentagon in crushing the Ceylonese revolution. The commander of Ceylon's army, Major General Sepala Attiygalle, confirmed on April 21 that the Soviet government was providing six MIG-17 jet fighters, with complete flight and ground crews, to help liquidate the threat to capitalist rule in Ceylon.

Other countries that have shipped arms or aircraft to Colombo include India, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic, and Yugoslavia.

The young rebels, according to an AP dispatch from Colombo April 12, are estimated to number about 80,000. Government forces are believed to total no more than 25,000. The rebels have met with widespread sympathy, especially in the rural areas, where most of the Ceylonese people live. Sterba's report in the April 25 *New York Times* challenges the government's repeated assertion that the youthful insurgents have been reduced to scattered "pockets" of resistance:

"In at least nine areas of the country, covering hundreds of square miles, the rebels maintain control uncontested by government forces. In some of these areas, they have taken over government and village offices, trucks and other equipment, and the population has not fled."

The government has adopted dictatorial methods in all areas of public life in its efforts to smash the growing opposition. In addition to the military operations, press censorship, and curfew, there is a ban on public meetings. Unconfirmed reports say that 28 members of parliament have been jailed for expressing sympathy with the rebels.

A measure of the seriousness of the present crisis for the regime is that Bandaranaike is said to be openly discussing expanding her "leftist" coalition to include the far right United National Party. UNP leader Junius Jayewardene is quoted in the April 25 *New York Times* as advocating a capitalist dictatorship as a solution to the radical unrest: "Democracy is finished in this country. You have to have peace and stability to have democracy, and Ceylon has neither."

"Some observers speculate that Mrs. Bandaranaike may try to form a coalition of all the political groups in the country to preserve what stability remains," Sterba reports. "But by doing this, she might tempt the left-wing parties to throw support to the insurgents and in a series of nationwide strikes topple the government and seize power."

The National Picket Line

The 1969 Coal Mine Health and Safety Act is now under attack from mine owners on the outlandish charge that it is "killing miners." Behind this pious expression of concern for the men who dig coal lurks the real reason for the attack. Charges that the 1969 law is forcing small owners out of business have been made by a spokesman for the Coal Operators and Associates (COA)—a 400-member organization of small mine operators.

The organization plans to go to court for an injunction against the Bureau of Mines on the grounds that penalties have been levied under improper procedures. It also plans to begin lobbying activity in Washington to get the Safety Act changed.

COA President Robert Holcomb says that a year ago he had six mines working. Now he has only three, employing about 50 men. He claims that the first "serious" accident in his mines since 1955 occurred only recently and that the Safety Act caused the accident—a collision between a vehicle and a group of miners. He contends it was due to the curtains now hung between the shafts to control the flow of air for purposes of health and safety.

He also claims that the new paper work under the act kept his foremen too busy to supervise the men—implying that the foremen usually look out for the workers' safety rather than pressing them to dig more coal.

A Bureau of Mines district supervisor, Joseph Malesky, who attended a recent COA meeting, said he had tried to explain the enforcement policy to the operators but had "met with a lot of hostility." Malesky expressed concern lest the enforcement of the act would drive many small operators out of the coal mining field. "Take a man who has \$100,000 worth of equipment, his whole life's investment. Now the Act comes along and tells him he can't use this equipment any more. . . . He comes to you with tears in his eyes and asks how he can continue to make his livelihood. It's not pleasant when you know these people."

Profits are holy—but humans are expendable.

Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York City Taxi Drivers union (and also president of the city's Central Labor Council) has agreed to hold a new election for union officers. Three dissident members of the taxi union, all of them candidates in the last election, filed charges against Van Arsdale and the union executive committee with the Labor Department. The complaint charged that the union bureaucracy had denied the membership a reasonable opportunity to nominate candidates and had also denied some members the right to vote.

The Labor Department found that there was "probable cause to believe that violations of the Landrum-Griffin Act had occurred in the union's last election."

Van Arsdale said he was not fighting the Labor Department ruling because he wanted to avoid a costly court battle.

Could it be that the anger and frustration expressed by a recent large meeting of the Taxi Drivers union had something to do with Mr. Van Arsdale's compliance?

After a strike last month, cab fares in Fun City went up 45 percent—the cab drivers supposedly getting 49 percent of each fare, with the first 10 cents on the meter to be paid into their pension fund. Since the strike was settled, the drivers have continued to get only 41 percent of each fare and they are wondering what is happening to the 10 cents per fare pension fund payments. They wondered at the meeting to the point where a general fight broke out and somebody threw a steel chair at Van Arsdale's head. He ducked but still had to be escorted through the back door by a police guard (conveniently at hand).

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has presented proposals for "substantial" wage increases for its 125,000 members in the new national contract now under negotiations.

The Clothing Manufacturers Ass'n immediately replied that it "would be in the best interests of all parties concerned that there be no wage increase in the first year of our new national contract."

Union sources said that wage increases so far won in the industry are way below the national average—from \$2.41 per hour to \$3.51, with the average \$2.91.

Most of the workers in the garment industry are women, a majority of them Black or Puerto Rican, most of them family heads. Their wages are so low that some of them work full time yet require supplemental welfare payments to feed their families.

The bosses' organization claims that they are unable to pay any wage increases because "the recession has had. . . an adverse impact on consumer spending for tailored clothing" and because of a "mounting and uncontrolled flood of clothing imports which have been deluging our country."

"A wage increase during the coming year," said Richard Adler, chairman of the Clothing Manufacturers, "would create further unemployment and reduced earnings among members of the union. . . and encourage further penetration of off-shore competition and nonunion manufacturers in the U.S."

In other words, the garment workers are being asked to keep on working at almost starvation wages just so they can keep on working.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

Rosa Luxemburg on the meaning of May Day



The following article by Rosa Luxemburg was originally published in English translation without any indication of the date it was written, or where it first appeared. Luxemburg refers, however, to the upcoming celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first May Day. It was in 1886 that American workers first designated May 1 as the day for a general work stoppage and 200,000 stayed off the job to demand an eight-hour day. The twenty-fifth anniversary of this date would be 1911.

Luxemburg also emphasizes the need for mass working-class actions to postpone the "threatening world conflagration" of the impending First World War. The article thus had to be written before the outbreak of the war in 1914.

The Exception Law that Luxemburg mentions was an antisocialist law adopted in 1878 at Bismarck's behest. The law, which forced the German social-democratic party into semi-clandestinity, was repealed in 1890.

Luxemburg also speaks of the "excellent proposal of the Frenchman Lavigne" at the first international labor congress in Paris in 1889. Lavigne was a delegate of the French trade unions from Bordeaux. When the congress resolved to fight for the eight-hour day, Lavigne proposed that this demand be backed up by a universal workers' holiday in all countries. The convention designated May 1, 1890, as the date for the first international demonstration of this kind.

This article first appeared in the May 1935 issue of *Young Spartacus*, published by the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacus Youth League was affiliated to the Workers Party of the United States, which was a predecessor of the Socialist Workers Party.

When May Day demonstrations were held for the first time, the vanguard of the (Second) International, the German working class, was just at the point of breaking the chains of a disgraceful Exception Law and of entering upon the path of a free, legal development. The period of prolonged depression in the world market, since the crash of the seventies, had been overcome and capitalist economy had entered directly upon an era of resplendent development that was to last almost a decade.

Likewise the world had recovered, after twenty years of uninterrupted peace, from recollections of that war period in which the modern European state system had received its bloody christening. The path appeared free for a quiet cultural development.

Illusions, hopes for a peaceful settlement between capital and labor, sprouted forth luxuriantly among the ranks of the socialists. Proposals to hold out "the open hand to good will" marked the beginning of the nineties; promises of an imperceptible, "gradual evolution" into socialism marked their end. Crises, wars and revolutions were considered outworn theories, mere swaddling clothes of modern society; parliamentarism and trade unionism, *democracy in the state and democracy in industry* were to open the gates to a new and better order.

The actual course of events played frightful havoc with all these illusions. In place of the promised mild social-reformist development of culture, since the end of the nineties a period of the most violent, extreme sharpening of capitalist conflicts has set in, a period of storm and stress, of crashes and turmoil, of tottering and trembling in the very foundations of society. . . .

After two decades of world peace, there followed in the final decade of the last century six bloody wars and in the first decade of the new century four bloody revolutions. Instead of social reforms—sedition bills, imprisonment bills and jailings; instead of industrial democracy—the powerful concentration of capital in cartels and employers' associations and the international practice of giant lock-outs.

And instead of the new upward development of democracy in the state, a miserable collapse of the last remnants of bourgeois liberalism and bourgeois democracy. . . . Everywhere the revolutionary working class today sees itself alone confronted by the compact, hostile reaction of the ruling classes and by their energetic attacks, which are aimed at them alone.

The era of imperialism

The "sign" under which this whole development on the economic and political field has been carried out, the formula according to which its results may be traced back is: IMPERIALISM. This is not a new element, not an unexpected veering in the general historical course of capitalist society. Military preparations and war, international conflicts and colonial policies, have accompanied the history of capital from its cradle. It is the extreme augmentation of these elements, the concentration and gigantic outburst of these conflicts, which have resulted in a new epoch in the development of present-day society.

In dialectic reciprocal action—at the same time result and cause of the powerful accumulation of capital and of the consequent sharpening and intensifying of the contradiction between capital and labor within and between the capitalist states without—has imperialism entered upon its final phase, the violent division of the world by the assault of capital. A chain of continual, unprecedented competitive military preparations on land and sea in all capitalist countries, a chain of bloody wars, which have spread from Africa to Europe and which any moment may fan the glowing sparks to a world conflagration; in addition, for years the phantom of the high cost of living, of mass hunger throughout the whole capitalist world, which can no longer be banished—these are the "signs" under which labor's world holiday will soon celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of its existence. And each of these "signs" is a flaming testimonial to the living truth and power of the ideas of the May Day celebration.

The brilliant main idea of the May Day celebration is the independent action of the proletarian masses, is the political mass action of the millions of workers, who otherwise can give expression to their own will only through petty parliamentary action, separated by state boundaries and consisting for the most part only in voting for representatives.

The excellent proposal of the Frenchman Lavigne at the International Congress in Paris [1889] combined this indirect parliamentary manifestation of the will of the proletariat with a direct international mass manifestation, the laying down of tools as a demonstration and fighting tactic for the eight-hour day, world peace and socialism.

No wonder the whole development, the aggregate tendency of imperialism in the last decade, has been to bring ever plainer and more tangibly before the eyes of the international working class the realization that only the independent action of the broadest masses, their own political action, mass demonstrations, mass strikes—which must sooner or later break forth into a period of revolutionary struggles for state power—can give the correct answer of the proletariat to imperialist politics.

At this moment of frenzied military preparations and of war orgies, it is only the resolute fighting stand of the working masses, their ability and readiness for powerful mass action, which still maintains world peace, which can still postpone the threatening world conflagration. And the more the May Day idea, the idea of resolute mass action as demonstrations of international solidarity and as a fighting tactic for peace and for socialism, strikes root, the greater guarantee we shall have that from the world war—which will inevitably take place sooner or later—there will result an ultimately victorious settlement between the world of capital and that of labor.

Negotiations with postal union stalled

By FRANK LOVELL

The Board of Governors of the new semi-independent U.S. Postal Service has decided to complete the transition from the old postal system to the new by July 1. They have also decided to spend more than \$1.5-billion for 56 new postal facilities and machinery; to use the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers as construction agent for their expansion and automation program; to fill 5,714 postmaster vacancies, to raise postal rates "about the middle of May," and "to establish a new wage schedule (through collective bargaining with the unions holding national exclusive recognition rights) reducing to not more than eight years the time required for bargaining unit employees to reach the top pay step in grade."

This last decision commands attention because it is the one about which most is known. If the others are progressing at the same rate as this one, not much has been done. Progress has been made for sure on spending the first \$1.5-billion in public funds, and the decision to raise postal rates

will undoubtedly be carried out on time and in full. But bargaining for postal workers' pay raises is at a standstill.

This bargaining began more than three months ago, on Jan. 20. Most of the seven "recognized" unions are AFL-CIO affiliates. Two of the largest postal unions, the National Postal Union and the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, are independent and excluded from the bargaining table.

Barnard Cushman, a Washington attorney who was hired by the AFL-CIO unions as their chief negotiator, says he "never witnessed anything like it." He was quoted by the April 25 *Washington Star* as saying, "I have never seen a situation where management refused to make even a token offer on wages and fringe benefits." The union's negotiator is reportedly asking for wage raises of about 40 percent over a two year period, more sick leave, better health and life insurance benefits, and a 35-hour work week.

The negotiator for the Postal Service is James P. Blaisdell, an old hand. He is under no pressure to submit an offer to the unions because the scheduled course of negotiations is outlined in advance.

The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service is now undertaking "fact-finding," after which the negotiators will return to the bargaining table for another 45 days. If no agreement is reached by July 20, the issues in dispute will go to an arbitrator whose decision will be binding on both union and management.

Even James Rademacher, president of the Letter Carriers union, who opposed the 1970 strike of postal workers, is now talking about the need to petition Congress for the right of postal workers to strike.

Others have different ideas. Letter Carriers Branch 36, the New York affiliate of Rademacher's union, was one of the first to walk out last March. It has since elected more militant officers.

The other union that helped start

the first postal strike in history was the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union, affiliated with the independent National Postal Union. The NPU has been considering merger with other unions and AFL-CIO affiliation. The Manhattan-Bronx branch, for instance, has established a close working relationship with the militant Letter Carriers Branch 36. These are the two key organizations that have demonstrated that they know how to use the right to strike when necessary, and neither is likely to petition for a right they know is already theirs.

The other large independent union, the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, has a long history dating back to 1913, when it was organized to represent Black postal workers denied membership in other organizations.

The fight in the post offices now occurs over the new system of speedup and layoffs. These can become strike issues if the negotiations are dragged out through the summer months. This time the postal workers are better prepared.

In Review

Books

Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson by George Jackson. Bantam Books paperback. New York, 1970. 256 pp. \$1.50

George Jackson is a Black man who, though not yet 30, has spent a third of his life in prison, and most of that in solitary confinement. The letters were written to his family (including his brother Jonathan), lawyer Fay Stender, Angela Davis, and others.

Jonathan Jackson was killed Aug. 7, 1970, while attempting to free several Black prisoners standing trial in San Rafael, Calif. Besides Jackson, a judge who had been taken hostage and two prisoners were killed in a shoot-out outside the courthouse. It is on charges arising from this shoot-out that Angela Davis is awaiting trial with Ruchell Magee.

George Jackson and the two other "Soledad Brothers," Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette, are being framed up for the death of a white guard at Soledad Prison after three Black inmates had been shot to death by guards during a fight with white prisoners.

Soledad Brother has broader significance, however, than its relation to the frame-up trial of Davis and Magee. The California prison system has in the past year seen a number of mass actions by convicts, primarily Black: sit-down strikes, work stoppages, and refusal to leave cells. Jackson is in the prison vanguard of the nationalist radicalization among Afro-Americans. That is why he is being framed up.

The radicalization has made Black prisoners intensely aware of the nature of their oppression. They find themselves in prison in disproportionate numbers, channeled there as a result of the social and economic inequalities inflicted upon Black people by U. S. capitalism.

That Black prisoners understand why they are in jail has been shown graphically by the demands they have raised in the California prison protests: rehabilitation under the control of the Black community, including Black pris-



FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

Logo for Soledad Brothers Defense Committee

oners; payment of a minimum wage; Black studies, also under their control; and the right to read what they choose. Those demands point toward liberation, not just better prison conditions.

In several cases, too, the prisoners have tried to establish ties with the Black community outside. These are steps in the right direction, and will help to insure that when the Black community develops the organizational form through which it can effectively fight for its liberation—a mass, Black political party—Black prisoners will be an integral part of that party's struggle and will continue to furnish some of the most militant fighters for Black liberation.

Besides Black nationalism, Jackson has been profoundly influenced by other nationalist struggles, particularly those of the Cubans and the Vietnamese ("I haven't felt so good since the Tet Offensive," he writes). He has not, like Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver, been influenced by the Nation of Islam. Throughout the book, there is a strong feeling of internationalism, of revolutionary commitment coupled with a cold, clear-headed rage at the oppression of his people, as well as personal strength in the face of acute physical and intellectual isolation.

While Jackson's political development is intriguing ("I met Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Engels, and Mao when I entered prison and they redeemed me," he says), the letters leave little basis for any real appraisal of it other than to note that they reflect the Black Panthers' preoccupation with picking up the gun. *Soledad Brother* should not be read in expectation of seeing Jackson unfold the path to Black liberation, but rather as an indication of the revolutionary potential of the political consciousness of Black prisoners.

The book has a serious shortcoming. There is simply not enough information in it to get a feel for what has been happening to Jackson as a prisoner, either in solitary or as one of the framed-up Soledad Brothers. The letters are arranged in chronological order, but they do not appear to be all that Jackson wrote, and his relations with his correspondents often remain unclear. Major personal and political events are unmentioned or only alluded to. At the very least, the important points in the chronology deserve introductory notes. As it is, the reader cannot get a clear picture from the book alone of why Jackson is being framed. It thus misses an opportunity for the defense of the Soledad Brothers.

Still, *Soledad Brother* will join other Black prison literature, like Malcolm X's *Autobiography*, Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice*, and Etheridge Knight's *Black Voices From Prison*, in revealing the depth of the nationalist consciousness among this key sector of the African-American population.

— GEORGE JOHNSON

Theater

Hedda Gabler by Henrik Ibsen. Directed by Patrick Garland. Playhouse Theatre, New York.

This production of *Hedda Gabler* is flawless. Each character is well-drawn, but Claire Bloom's portrayal of the complex Hedda is magnificent.

By society's standards, Hedda should be deliriously happy. In the prime of her life, she has married Tesman (Roy Shuman), soon to be appointed to an important professorship. This ineffectual but likable family man adores her but is no match for her proud beauty. He has purchased the home he thought she desired, and has gone out on a financial limb by lavishly furnishing it and by taking an extended honeymoon. Yet Hedda, confronted with a pregnancy she will not admit, and trapped in a small-town existence, sees a life of desperate bleakness ahead of her.

Hedda is offered the possibility of a discreet affair on the side by an intimate friend of the family, Judge Brack (Robert Geringer). In these scenes between Hedda and Brack, one clearly senses the distorted morality at work in the society. The judge is delighted from his male vantage-point to offer some behind-the-scenes fun-and-games. One senses too that he really is a family friend—this affair is not in conflict with the family but could actually serve as a kind of safety valve for it. Understanding that this loveless, businesslike offer is just one more trap, Hedda rejects it.

Caught within the double standard, Hedda is fascinated with the sexual underworld. Ellert Lovborg (Donald Madden), the only man capable of winning her love, reappears. She rejects the possibility of an affair with him but is nonetheless anxious to learn the details of his visits to the town prostitute. Revolted by her own impending motherhood, and shrinking from even her husband's touch, she rejects the roles she is socially destined to play—but without any awareness of possible alternatives.

She does not even seek her own freedom. Having always been an object, she does not expect to control her own destiny, but to dominate someone else's.

The events that move the play along happen out in the real world, off-stage, where men have their bachelor parties, where decisions are made. Hedda is constantly reacting to these events, always scrambling to exercise her influence.

Hedda still believes in Prince Charming—that Lovborg will read his poetry with "vine leaves in his hair." But when a drunken binge destroys Prince Charming's career as a writer, she offers him one of her pistols and suggests that he extricate himself from the dilemma of life. He does not die beautifully. After leaving her, he goes instead to the town prostitute, the gun goes off accidentally and he is shot in the groin. Hardly heroic, he dies as ineffectually as Tesman lives.

With evidence he can use to blackmail her, Brack once again proposes a discreet affair. Hedda, rather than having made an impact on human destiny, finds herself under the control of another. She chooses suicide as a way out.

It is fitting that the judge, who thinks of himself as urbane and sophisticated, should have the last incredulous line of the play. His comment on her death reflects not only his own personal shock; it is also a social observation that all who knew her must have made: Who would ever dream that Hedda would do anything of the sort?

While Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler* was written in 1890, it is a remarkably contemporary portrait of a woman's oppression within the family. Better than *A Doll's House*, it still presents Hedda with no alternatives. A woman "cannot be herself in modern society," Ibsen wrote in "Notes for a Modern Tragedy." "It is an exclusively male society, with laws made by men and with prosecutors and judges who assess female conduct from a male standpoint."

— DIANNE FEELEY

What auto workers want

The following article is reprinted in full from the April 15 issue of the United National Caucus, published in Detroit by an opposition group in the United Auto Workers union. It reflects a new awakening in the union movement, examining the current re-evaluation of past practices and established union procedures. It raises some of the most important demands of young workers today, including the demand for more jobs and shorter hours. We disagree that this particular demand should be contingent upon the ability of the employer to make a profit. The demand of "No layoff for the contract period" is completely valid and justified and should be pressed by all unions as unemployment continues to mount. The author is a UAW shop committeeman at the GM Technical Center, Warren, Mich., GM-UAW Local 160.

By **RODGER McFADDEN**

As committeeman, I have been asked by my fellow workers about the United National Caucus—what it's all about and what it's trying to accomplish. I would like to try and answer those questions.

We do not agree with management's philosophy of the carrot in front of the donkey routine for workers. Their philosophy is work hard, save your money and one day you will be rich and able to quit work. I am sure that after a few years in the plant a worker quickly realizes that this philosophy will not work. You may ask why.

Our union negotiates contracts which give little or no protection to workers. The contract is more like an operational manual for the corporation than a guarantee of any rights for the workers. It gives protection to the corporate rights, perpetuates the leadership of the international union, while denying workers even their constitutional rights in the plants.

Any worker who believes they have a three-year contract with the corporations just has to ask our brothers and sisters who are currently on layoff and on the street and will quickly realize that these unfortunates haven't got anything. If we sign a contract to work for the corporations for three years, do they not also have an ob-

ligation to supply work for three years?

Tell the production worker who just had his production raised after the contract was signed that he has a contract for the life of the agreement. He will tell you, "You are crazy! The corporation has the right to do what it wants to!"

A fine example of what a contract is: sign an agreement to buy one of their cars, miss a couple of payments, and they will quickly invoke that contract and separate the car from you. If we have a three-year contract with the corporations, then we should not be laid off during that period. If production standards are set prior to signing the agreement, then those standards should not change through the life of the agreement. **SO WE SAY IT'S NOT A CONTRACT. IT'S A CORPORATION OPERATIONAL MANUAL.**

We want a **REAL CONTRACT**. No layoff for the contract period as long as the corporation makes a **PROFIT**. We do not want production standards to change in the middle of the agreement.

The shop committees are getting damned tired of being whipping boys for the corporation and international bureaucracy. Shop committees must be given the power to carry out the responsibilities they were elected to. I have worked in shops and conditions where shop committees commanded great respect and could accomplish a great deal. The boss listened when the committeeman spoke. We must put that power back into the committees.

Furthermore, we are denied our constitutional rights within those plants. We think the Constitution of the United States applies to its citizens when they are at work; these plants are not islands of dictatorships. We think all workers should have rights at the work place such as:

- 1) Every worker is entitled to a job at a **LIVING WAGE**.
- 2) Clean air to breathe and safety in the shop.
- 3) Clean toilets and rest rooms.
- 4) Clean cafeterias to eat lunch with reasonably priced menus.
- 5) Tolerable noise limits.

We also object to our life and liberty being at the mercy of some half-wit relative who has been kept out

of sight until one day you find out that they have made him boss of the factory. We demand supervisors who have at least the minimum knowledge of our citizen rights. We spend most of our waking hours at the work place. Surely we have the right to demand that place be a livable place. We hear a lot about freedom, justice, and law and order. As workers, we want them to function inside the factories as well as outside.

We want to change the grievance machinery—the corporation and the international union have it bogged down in paper work. Little can be accomplished. Management fights it every step of the way by adding more and more secretaries and personnel directors and foremen for harassment purposes.

This so-called retirement business is really a death plan. You're supposed to stay in the shop until you have saved enough money to bury yourself and have taught your kid how to go into the plant and play the whole business over again as his father did. Changes must be made in this area. Just how much fun and frolic can you have at 65? It's an illusion in someone's head. There is something better.

The United National Caucus advocates: Every five years you get six months off with pay.

Don't get excited about this being a far-fetched idea or some radical departure. Right now we have 10 percent of the work force laid off and some are on 95 percent of their take-home pay. It can be done. It is only a matter of what it is called, a vacation or a layoff. Besides, we have people, hard-core people who cannot get jobs. This also will create opportunity for them. Every person in the United States who wants to work should be guaranteed a right to work and a job if we seriously are interested in lowering our taxes and raising our standard of living.

Last but by no means least, we must end all forms of discrimination in the work place—discrimination against race, creed, color, age, sex or national origin. We must have child care and liberal maternity leaves, issues seriously neglected in our contracts. In short, we want a **CONTRACT—NOT AN OPERATIONAL MANUAL**.

Phila. transport workers return to work

By **ROBIN MAISEL**

PHILADELPHIA—A meeting here April 21 of shop stewards and the leadership of Local 234 of the Transport Workers Union decided to urge the ranks to end their strike against the city division of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) and return to work for one week without a contract. Reluctantly, and under mounting pressure from the city and state, the union agreed, thus ending—temporarily at least—the 10-day strike against SEPTA, which operates the decaying system of bus, trolley and subway lines in Philadelphia.

Subpoenas on contempt citations have been brought against more than 30 strikers. The hearings on these citations, originally scheduled for April 20, have been postponed and are still hanging over the heads of the ranks.

The strike began April 12 when the union membership, after working for almost a month without a contract, rejected a SEPTA offer of 75 cents over three years. The workers are demanding \$1 an hour immediately and a cost-of-living escalator clause to help meet the spiraling inflation.

The strike remained 100 percent effective throughout despite an injunction issued April 14 by Common Pleas Judge D. Donald Jamison. Jamison fined the union (which has no strike benefits) \$100,000 a day, to be dou-

bled every day of the strike, fined the Executive Board members \$250 a day—also to be doubled each day—and imposed six-month jail terms on local President Dominic DiClerico and Secretary-Treasurer Joseph Donato.

On April 15, the union Executive Board met and decided to bow to the power of the court, the mayor and the governor and ask the ranks to return to work. DiClerico and Donato were released from jail and the fines' daily doubling provision was set aside.

While the 300 members of Local 1594 of the sister Red Arrow lines of SEPTA ended their three-day walk-out, the 5,200 men and women of the city division rejected the pleas of their leadership to return to work. The leaders were met with a resounding "No" at each of the 12 SEPTA garages throughout the city. "No Contract, No Work" was chanted in unison while a ring of cars was placed around the garages, across the trolley tracks, and in front of the bus entrances. A television and radio appeal by International Transport Workers Union President Matthew Guinan and DiClerico for the membership to go back to work was booed at the barns April 16.

In addition to the wage demands, the rank and file want to see all the provisions of the contract before they vote on it. They are particularly con-

cerned about the safety of the equipment. The newest trolley car was purchased in 1953 and the subway cars on the Broad Street subway line are older than most of the union's membership.

In 1963, the union went out on strike for 19 days only to get 2 cents more than the company offer. The atmosphere then was one of demoralization. This time it has been quite different, with strikers comparing themselves to campus rebels and flashing V signs, fist salutes and "right ons" to one another.

Part of this change since 1963 is the result of the new infusion of young workers, who have been affected by the campus revolt, the Black struggle and the antiwar movement. The average age of the membership is now in the mid-twenties, as compared to the late thirties or early forties just nine years ago.

The strikers were very effective in television interviews in countering the charge that they were striking against the public. They pointed out that public transportation is state subsidized in Pittsburgh and demanded the same subsidy for Philadelphia.

The only candidates for mayor and City Council in Philadelphia to support the strike were the Socialist Workers Party candidates. Jean Savage, SWP candidate for mayor, issued a statement in support of the strikers.

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.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

MAKING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Michigan Socialist Educational Conference. May 7-8, Ann Arbor Angell Auditorium A. Sponsored by the Michigan Young Socialist Alliance. Registration: Fri., May 7, 7 p.m. Fri., 8 p.m.: Ruthann Miller speaking on Feminism and the Coming American Revolution. Sat., May 8, 10 a.m.: Tony Thomas on The Revolutionary Dynamic of Black Nationalism. 7:30 p.m.: Peter Camejo on Making the American Revolution. 9:30 p.m.: Party, refreshments provided. Registration: \$2 for entire conference, \$1 for single session. For further information, call (313) 831-6135 or write 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201.

ATLANTA

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, MAY 8-9. Emory University, Theology Building, Room 205. Sat., May 8, 9 a.m.: Registration: \$3 for entire conference or \$1 for single sessions. 10 a.m.: Feminism and Black Nationalism. Speaker: Myrna Hill, Third World Caucus of New York Women's Strike Coalition. 1 p.m.: Vietnam—Thirty Years of Revolution. Speaker: Cliff Conner, Atlanta Peace Action Council and Socialist Workers Party. 3 p.m.: The Meaning of Life: A Marxist View. Speaker: George Novack, noted Marxist author and scholar. Sun., May 9, 11 a.m.: The Current Stage of the Arab Revolution. Speaker: Joel Aber, former staff writer for The Militant and well-known speaker and writer on the Palestine revolution. 2 p.m.: Young Socialist Alliance organizational meeting. Free child care will be provided at all sessions. Ausp. Emory University Young Socialist Alliance. For further information, call 876-2230.

BOSTON

THE CRISIS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. Speakers: Donald McCaughan of the Committee for Justice in Northern Ireland; Paul McNulty from the Friends of Irish Freedom; and Walter O'Reagan of the Irish Republican Aid Committee. Fri., May 7, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 536-6981.

CHICAGO

MIDWEST SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND, MAY 7-8. 180 N. Wacker Drive, Room 310. Fri., May 7, 8 p.m.: Is There a Ruling Class in the U.S.? Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for The Militant. Sat., May 8, 10:30 a.m.: The Antiwar Movement and the Coming American Revolution. Speaker: Fred Halstead, chief marshal for the Washington, D.C., April 24 demonstration and 1968 Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. 2 p.m.: World Revolution Today. Panel discussion with Norman Oliver, national organizational secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance; Fred Lov-

gren, YSA National Committee; Lane Satterblom, Chicago SWP. 6 p.m.: Banquet. 8 p.m.: The Revolutionary Potential of Feminism. Speaker: Caroline Lund, staff writer for The Militant. Sun., May 9, 11 p.m.: YSA regional meeting. Registration: \$3.50 for entire conference, \$1 for single session. Banquet tickets \$4. For banquet reservations and further information, call (312) 263-5838. Ausp. Midwest Young Socialist Alliance.

NEW YORK

MAY DAY BANQUET, SAT., MAY 8. Celebration of opening of Socialist Workers Party branches in Brooklyn and Upper Manhattan. Social hour at 5:45 p.m. Beef Bourguignon dinner served at 7 p.m. Program: multimedia play of highlights of class struggle from the origins of May Day to today. Talk by Harry Ring, former editor of The Militant, before departure to start Southwest bureau of The Militant. Tickets: \$3.50. For reservations and tickets, call 982-6051. SWP, 706 Broadway (4th St.), 8th Floor.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, MAY 7-8. Fri., May 7, 8:30 p.m.: Black Nationalism and the Coming American Revolution. Speaker: Tony Thomas, staff writer for The Militant. 706 Broadway (4th St.), 8th Floor. Admission: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sat., May 8: All Saturday sessions at Eisner Lubin Auditorium, Loeb Student Center, New York University. 10:30 a.m.: Feminist View of the Coming American Revolution. Speaker: Jeanne Lafferty, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Boston. 1 p.m.: Why Marxists Support Gay Liberation. Panel discussion. 3 p.m.: The New Radicalization and the Role of the Revolutionary Party. Speaker: Bobby Washington, New York Young Socialist Alliance. Registration for NYU sessions: \$2 for all three or \$1 for single sessions. Ausp. New York City Young Socialist Alliance. For further information, call 982-8214.

PHILADELPHIA

COME RAP AND LISTEN. Tapes and Discussion every Thursday, 7 p.m. at 1004 Filbert St. (Open to Third World people only.) Thurs., May 6: Rebellion in the Dominican Republic—a tape by Dick Garza. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance Tape Library. For further information, call Pam Newman at WA5-4316.

RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

WOMEN UNDER SOCIALISM. Discussion leaders: Cleotis George, Mickie Haslam, Madelyn Reel. Tues., May 11, 7:30 p.m. International Lounge (University Commons area) U of California at Riverside. Ausp. Revolutionary Socialist Forum.

...Newark

Continued from page 3

students. Also, a city-wide Curriculum Revision Committee will be constituted. It will be composed of 50 teachers and 50 administrators, community people, and students.

The NTU now has to fight six-month jail sentences against six of its leaders—including Dasher—and nine other members. These sentences,

now on appeal, were handed down on the charge of violating a court antistrike injunction. In addition, the union bears the burden of paying over \$262,000 in court fines.

The NTU was seriously weakened in its struggle against the board because it failed to take up the demands of the Black community for control over its own schools. This gave the predominantly Black and Puerto Rican board of education powerful ammunition to use against the union and prevented the teachers from mobilizing community support for the strike. As a result, the union suffered heavy blows.

Now that the strike is over, the NTU, which is 30 percent Black, will still have to deal with the demands for community control of schools being put forward by the Black community. The fact that the NTU accepted support from organized white racists in Newark during the strike has only served to increase distrust for the union in the Black and Puerto Rican communities. Already, since the strike's end, over 100 teachers have been barred by Black parents from entering elementary schools.

...women

Continued from page 9

en on the Service Committee. Last minute changes in the agenda were often not made democratically but were announced as decisions by this undefined Service Committee.

Also, dissatisfaction arose from the organization of the conference around the categories "Third World women" and "women's liberation women," suggesting that Third World women are not part of the women's liberation movement. The organization of the conference on the basis of these categories and the limiting of the number of women who could participate tended to pit various sectors of women against each other, each attempting to prove they were more oppressed than the others in order to get into the conference and to have a voice in what happened.

Some women thought that it was to be a women's liberation conference, but discovered when they arrived that it revolved around the abstract notion of "anti-imperialism." No concrete organization or actions were discussed.

This conference, unfortunately, did not help to build either the women's liberation movement or the antiwar movement. Instead, the Indochinese women got a distorted view of the perspectives of both movements, and no attempt was made to unite activist women from both movements to build demonstrations in support of the Indochinese people's right to self-determination.

—PATTI IYAMA

The previous weekend, April 1-4, a similar two-part conference of Indochinese and North American women took place in Vancouver, Canada. Three to four hundred attended the first two days of the conference, which were designed for women from the antiwar movement. About 450 attended the second two days, designed for women's liberation activists and Third World women. The Third World women met separately with the Indochinese women.

This conference also dwindled to around 100 participants by the beginning of the last session and was marked by great dissatisfaction with the exclusionary and bureaucratic way it was organized.

A motion was made and passed that the plenary sessions be open to all women who came for the conference. However, a motion that the workshops also be open to all women was defeated by a vote of 66 to 65.

Throughout the conference there were red-baiting and Trotskyist-baiting attacks on anyone who challenged the bureaucratic organization of the conference. This red-baiting even went so far as physical attacks on women from a guerrilla theater group who were accused—incorrectly—of being "Trots." Although there were no more than a dozen Trotskyists present at the conference, the "Trots" were constantly blamed for the failures of the conference, which ended in chaos and confusion.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: University: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Greg Nickel, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 267-8264.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tel: (216) 672-4956.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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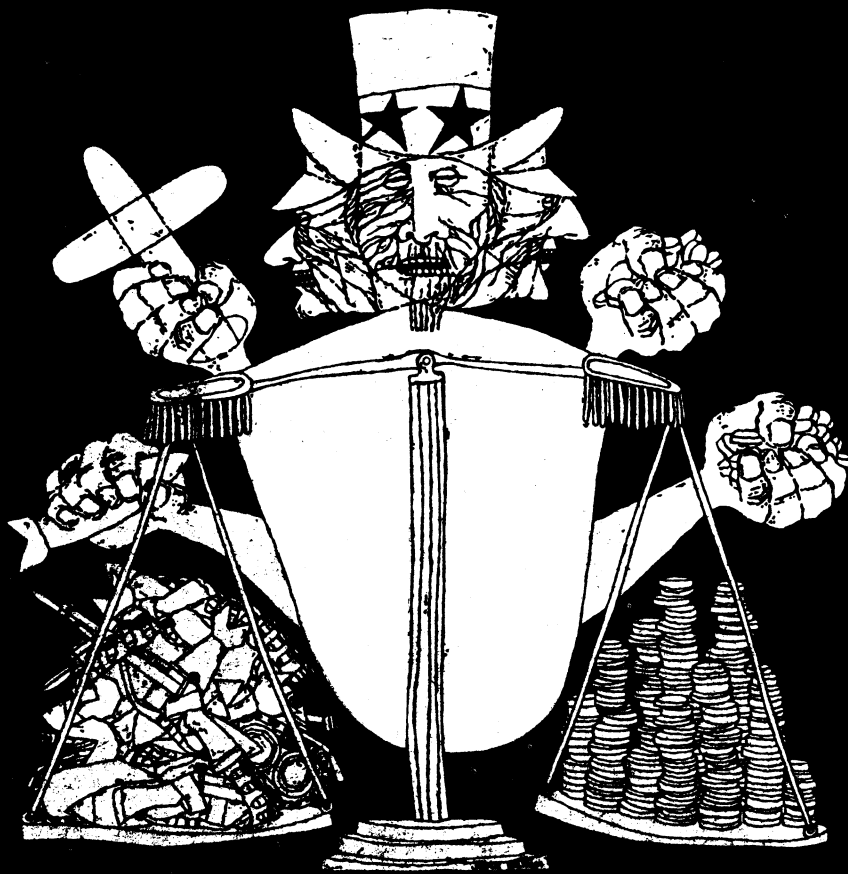
by Etheridge Knight

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THE MILITANT

Students fight cutbacks

By JOSEPH HARRIS

APRIL 26—In the face of layoffs, threatened cutbacks, suspensions and arrests, students at Manhattan Community College have responded with a boycott, rallies, pickets, and other mass actions.

The protests were set off in early March when it was discovered that Work-Study (a program through which students work to pay for tuition) was about to be cut by the Lindsay administration, laying off at least 250 students. Although the cuts had been known to the president of MCC since early December, several times during struggles at MCC earlier this year he flatly denied they would take place.

When the students learned of these cutbacks, they set up a Work-Study Committee to organize actions.

During rallies and mass meetings against the cutbacks on March 25, three students—Richard Hoyen, president of the student government and a member of the Young Workers Liberation League; Denise Manns, chairwoman of the Work-Study Committee; and Peter Mutzokas, a member of Progressive Labor Party—were suspended for "illegally entering an office." No action was taken against 75 other students who joined them in the action.

On March 29, Ralph Hudgins of the Society of Golden Drums (the MCC Black student group) and myself, a member of the Golden Drums and the Young Socialist Alliance, were suspended while waiting in an administration office to receive funds for an anti-war rally. We were suspended for "refusing to obey a lawful order" to leave a waiting room.

The administration held the suspension hearings two-and-a-half weeks later, although it is illegal to postpone them more than seven days.

At the hearing, April 16, the Disciplinary Board, which was supposed to be elected, was handpicked by the president. It was composed of four administrators and three students. The Work-Study Committee built a large student turnout to attend the meeting—100 students jammed the small hearing room while 50 others waited outside.

The committee then decided to hold the meeting in the school auditorium, where the crowd swelled to 200.

However, before the proceedings were reconvened in the auditorium, the administrators ordered the hearing back into the smaller room. The student members of the board refused to go and fire alarms were pulled by the administration to clear the building of students.

Then, on April 20, eight students were arrested when they refused to leave the president's waiting room before presenting him with 21 demands. These demands included ending the cutbacks, dropping legal charges against all students, cops off the campus, Black and Puerto Rican studies programs, and student power.

Five hundred students rallied in support of the arrested students and called for a boycott of school and a march to the nearest police station to demand

release of the students. Peter Mutzokas and myself were arrested at this rally and charged with "criminal trespass" for leafleting at the school after being suspended.

A boycott in support of our demands lasted from April 20 to April 23. The mass action of the students succeeded in forcing the administration to lift the suspension of the first five charged. A second hearing for Hoyen, Mutzokas and Manns exposed the charges against them as a frame-up though no decision has been handed down. All legal charges have been dropped at this time. The effects of the suspensions for all still formally suspended will be nullified until further hearings.

This big response to the cutbacks is the first part of what will be a long series of struggles of Black, Puerto Rican, Asian-American, and white students against major cutbacks in school appropriations by the Lindsay administration. On April 19, Lindsay announced that the College Discovery and SEEK programs—each including 3,000 students largely from the Black and Puerto Rican communities—and the work-study program might be canceled next fall. Lindsay also stated that there might not be enough funds to admit a freshman class to the City University system next fall.

Lindsay's efforts to make the students pay for the war-bred inflation will be fought by all who oppose the Vietnam war and support the struggles of Black and Puerto Rican students.



Juan Mari Bras

FUPI leaders arrested

By MIRTA VIDAL

NEW YORK—As a step in countering the current campaign to intimidate and terrorize the Puerto Rican independence forces, Juan Mari Bras, secretary-general of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI), and Manuel de Jota Gonzales, MPI's secretary of finances, held a press conference here April 23 to publicize the efforts of the *independentistas* to fight back.

During the last few months, hundreds of Puerto Rican nationalists have been arrested on frame-up charges.

"The latest such fabricated cases," Juan Mari Bras reported, "were filed last week against the two principal leaders of the Federation of University Students for Independence (FUPI), Ruben Soto Falcón, presi-

dent, and Gervacio Morales, organization secretary.

"They were charged with alleged violations of the laws against possession and use of explosives in relation with the bombing of several stores owned by North American capital last Sunday night (April 18)."

Juan Mari Bras pointed out that the bombing took place at 8 p.m. when the two FUPI leaders were attending a meeting of FUPI's Executive Committee. The two student leaders are being held in jail on \$75,000 bail each.

José Irrizari, chairman of MPI's New York chapter, announced that defense activities will be carried out in North America.

At the press conference, the MPI leaders accused the colonial government party and its police of actively cooperating with the terrorist bands that "have burned homes and other properties of known *independentistas*, assaulted and wounded several patriots, and have publicly managed to carry on a terrorist campaign against all the independence forces."

Supplementing this, the police have themselves "brutally clubbed, assaulted and raped several other young Puerto Ricans."

Juan Mari Bras denounced U.S. Navy Intelligence and the CIA as being "directly involved in the planning, organization and execution" of the terror campaign. The MPI leaders indicated that the campaign of terror has failed to intimidate the independence forces and has only served to increase their militancy.

Cops raid Madison clinic

By MARTHA PHILLIPS

MADISON, Wis.—On Monday, April 19, Madison District Attorney Gerald Nichols instituted a raid on the Midwest Medical Center, the only legal abortion clinic in the state. Police confiscated all equipment and records, and charges on two counts of criminal abortion were brought against Dr. Kennan and "aiding and abetting" charges brought against his four women assistants.

The next morning, as news of the raid hit Madison papers, close to 300 women stormed outside Nichols' office to angrily condemn this flagrant denial of women's basic right to control their own bodies. The incident has served as a catalyst, resulting in the formation of a new and vital statewide organization, the Wisconsin Coalition for the Repeal of all Contraceptive and Abortion Laws.

The Coalition called a demonstration for April 27 to demand that all antiabortion and anticontraception laws be repealed, that the Madison clinic be reopened, that all equipment and records be returned, and that all charges against the defendants be dropped.

The April 20 demonstration came as a result of a spontaneous telephone chain from the Madison Women's Center and a morning newspaper article. District Attorney Nichols obviously underestimated the anger and militancy of the women of this state when he decided to close down the only abortion clinic.

New York May Day banquet

By STEVE BEREN

NEW YORK—In celebration of the opening of the new Brooklyn and Upper Manhattan branches of the Socialist Workers Party and in commemoration of the traditional international holiday, a May Day banquet will be held here May 8.

Harry Ring, former editor of *The Militant*, will be the featured speaker for the evening. Ring, who is on his way to Los Angeles to open up the paper's new Southwest bureau, will highlight the history and growth of the Trotskyist movement in New York and the prospects for the American revolution.

Entertainment will include a program entitled "We Shall Be Free!"—a dramatic tribute to the American working-class movement with songs, skits, readings, and a slide show. A social hour begins at 5:45 p.m. and



Harry Ring

will be followed by a gourmet dinner at 7 p.m. The banquet will be held at 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), 8th floor, where tickets are now available for \$3.50. For reservations, call 982-6051.

Coinciding with the May Day banquet that weekend will be a Socialist Educational Conference sponsored by the New York Young Socialist Alliance. The first session of the conference will be held on Fri., May 7, beginning at 8:30 p.m. at 706 Broadway. Tony Thomas, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, will speak on "Black Nationalism and the Coming American Revolution." His talk will be an answer to a recent Young Workers Liberation League forum.

The remaining three sessions will be held on Sat., May 8, at Eisner Lubin Auditorium, Loeb Student Center, New York University. At 10:30 a.m., a panel discussion on "Why Marxists Support Gay Liberation" will be presented. At 1 p.m., Jeanne Lafferty, well-known feminist activist from Boston, will discuss "A Feminist's View of the Coming American Revolution." The final session will be at 3 p.m. with B. R. Washington, Black activist and member of the National Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, who will be speaking on "The New Radicalization and the Role of the Revolutionary Party." For information on the conference, contact the YSA at (212) 982-8214.