

# THE MILITANT

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



Photo by Harry Ring

## Sharp rise in Vietnam war opposition

By LEE SMITH

The results of the latest Harris Poll, published May 3, confirm that there has been a decisive increase in opposition to the Vietnam war in recent months. The rout of the Laos invasion, the Calley conviction, and preparations for the massive April 24 antiwar mobilizations undoubtedly were all important factors. The success of those mobilizations itself revealed the growth of antiwar opposition indicated by the latest poll results, which record 60 percent of all Americans favoring withdrawal "even if the government of South Vietnam collapsed."

The emptiness of Nixon's claim to re-

porters April 29 that his policy will be unaffected by the mass actions and the popular sentiment they express is further underscored by the figures in the Harris survey.

For the first time in such a survey, a majority of Americans (58 percent) said they believe it is "morally wrong" for the U.S. to be fighting in Vietnam. At the same time, 57 percent also believe a communist "takeover" would result if the U.S. pulled out. Prior to the Laos debacle, most Americans, 46 to 27 percent, believed the Saigon regime could defend itself. By mid-April, when the latest poll was taken, only 24 percent thought the

Saigon government capable of "holding its own."

The poll also indicated a growing number of Americans reaching the logical conclusion of their belief that the war is wrong and their indifference to a communist victory: 45 percent said withdrawals are proceeding too slowly.

Despite the Nixon administration's propaganda offensive on the "gains" made by the Laos invasion, 45 percent of those polled also considered the Laos invasion a failure and only 24 percent said it was a success.

In his own comments on the survey,

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## 10,000 ANTIWAR PROTESTERS ARRESTED IN D.C. DRAGNET

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## THE MILITANT

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Technical Editor: JON BRITTON  
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**SHAKUR OUT ON BAIL:** As the week-long summations of the seven defense attorneys for 13 New York Black Panthers drew to a close May 3, Judge John M. Murtagh granted bail for Afeni Shakur, one of the defendants who is approaching her final month of pregnancy. The trial of Shakur and the other Panthers, charged with conspiracy to bomb police stations and department stores, began last Sept. 8. Three months ago, Murtagh revoked bail for four defendants when two of them fled to Algeria, and the restitution of bail for Shakur came as a surprise move. The prosecution's flimsy case hinges on the testimony of three police agents. The jury, which includes six Blacks and one Puerto Rican, will soon begin its deliberations.

**NIU YOUNG SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN:** Chuck Oakwood, Young Socialist Alliance candidate for student government president at Northern Illinois University, polled 20 percent of the campus vote April 28-29. Oakwood, who ran as part of a Young Socialist slate stressing the antiwar and women's liberation university in its platform, received 1,000 of the 5,000 votes cast. He was endorsed by the campus newspaper, *The Northern Star*, which said in its April 26 editorial, "Oakwood's Young Socialist platform is based on the fact that students should have the ultimate control over their own destinies. No other SA presidential candidate can make that claim. Oakwood can, and deserves to be elected."

**KEY WORK OF TROTSKY'S BACK IN PRINT:** The book Trotsky wrote in the heat of the struggle between the Left Opposition and the developing Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, *The Third International After Lenin*, has been brought out in a new edition by Pathfinder Press. This edition (costing \$7.95 or \$2.95 in paperback) includes a new introduction by Gus Horowitz, relating the issues in Trotsky's debate with Stalin to the revolutionary movement of today.

**"LEGITIMATE NEED":** There was disagreement with New York Mayor John Lindsay from other city officials about sacrificing for the city's austerity program. While Lindsay is suffering by having himself chauffeured around in a Cadillac limousine two years old with more than 60,000 miles on it, the borough presidents of Manhattan, the Bronx, and Staten Island all received spanking new Cadillacs this year. Said Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams' office, "He considers his car a traveling office. He conducts official business in the car and feels he has an absolutely legitimate need for it."

**WOMEN MARCH FOR WOMEN:** Chicago women will march down State St. May 15, demanding: free abortion on demand/no forced sterilization; free 24-hour child-care centers, controlled by those who use them; equal pay for equal work; and equal job and educational opportunities for women. The action is being organized by the Women's Day Coalition, which sponsored the Chicago International Women's Day celebration March 8. Marchers will assemble at 11 a.m. at Sate and Wacker and march to the Civic Center for a rally where veteran suffragist Florence Luscomb will be the featured speaker. **WASHINGTON, D. C. RALLY:** The Metropolitan Abortion Alliance in the nation's capital will hold a rally May 15 for free abortion. Speakers at the rally, which will be in Lafayette Square, include attorney Florynce Kennedy, Ti-Grace Atkinson, Tina Hobson of Federally Employed Women, Jeanne Walton of the D. C. teachers union and Angela Davis Defense Committee, Lizz Kleimier of High School Women's Liberation, and attorneys Diane Schuder and Mary-Helen Mautner. For more information, contact MAA, Rm. 437, George Washington University Student Center.

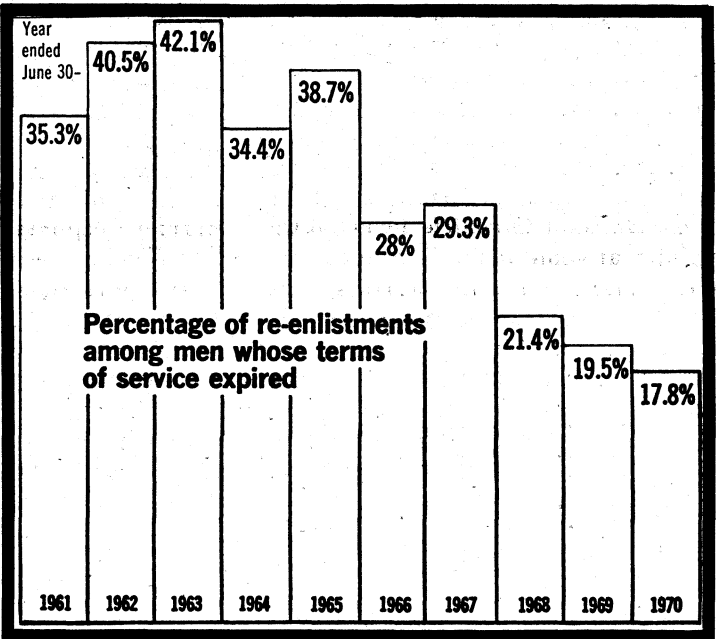
**OLD MACDONALD RAKES IT IN:** In 1970, 23 big farmers received more than \$500,000 each in government subsidies—nine of these received \$1-million or more, such as Griffen, Inc. of Huron, Calif., which took in \$4,095,114 of government handouts last year. (*New York Times*, April 9)

**MAN'S "ADVENTURE":** If you have ever known a person who kept her veins shot full of scag—to numb her body against the brutal treatment men paid to give it—you will be especially struck by the loftiness of the "profit motive" revealed in this ad—"FOR ADVENTUROUS INVESTORS ONLY! . . . How To Invest In A European Brothel! For the jaded investor—silent partner in a continental whorehouse. Why not? . . . Continental cat houses have style. . . ." The ad is from *The Capitalist Reporter*.

**DO IT!** Republican Senator George D. Aiken of Vermont proposed April 20 that the Constitution be amended to allow 18-year-olds to be members of Congress. While we can see no reason to draw the line against 17-year-olds, 16-year-olds and so on, the change would be an improvement over the present requirements that senators be 30 and representatives be 25. The age requirements for president and vice-president should be similarly revised.

**RUTGERS GAY CONFERENCE:** The Student Homophile League at Rutgers University hosted a gay liberation conference April 30-May 2 that drew more than 100 participants. The conference program consisted of workshops and panels on gay identity, gays and the mass media, gays and religion, gay liberation and political action, and gay liberation organizations.

**UNION RESPONDS TO ATTACK ON SOCIALISTS:** After the Los Angeles headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party was vandalized on April 17, the anniversary of the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Social Services Union Local 535 nearly unanimously adopted the following statement, introduced by the state president: "We denounce the political vandalism at the Los Angeles Election Headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. An attack on the rights of any organization to freely express its political views is an attack on the democratic rights of all Americans. The Socialist Workers Party has been one of the most active supporters of the April 24 march in San Francisco, which our Union has endorsed, to bring the troops home now from Indochina. Thus, the attack is aimed at reducing support to the peace march. The best way to defeat the aims of the vandals is to build a massively successful march in San Francisco on April 24."



Reprinted from U. S. News & World Report

**NO MORE FILLMORE:** Assuring people that he had never been in it for the money, rock promoter Bill Graham announced on April 30 that the Fillmore West would be closed immediately and the Fillmore East would be closed down June 27—as soon as current performing contracts have been fulfilled.

**LUTHERAN NEANDERTHALS:** The ghost-worshipping administrators at Gustavus Adolphus College in St. Peter, Minn., evidently bored by the dearth of devils at whom they can throw inkwells, have forbidden all members of the Lutheran college faculty to write letters or sign petitions protesting the Vietnam war. The ban grew out of restrictions initially imposed on philosophy professor George Jones Jr. Jones' colleagues in the faculty senate responded to the ban on Jones' letter-writing by passing a statement asserting that none of his rights had been violated. Now none of their rights have been violated as well. Jones distributed a leaflet on campus in response to the latest move by the administration, saying, "It would be ridiculous to petition President (Frank R.) Barth to relent and withdraw what he never had the authority to impose in the first place," and urging open defiance of the ban.

**NEW YORK ATTORNEYS ACT AGAINST WAR:** A noon march and rally organized by the Lawyers Committee to End the War drew over 2,000 New York attorneys to hear speakers in Foley Square April 30 call on the crowd to make May 1, officially "Law Day," a day to speak and act against the war.

—LEE SMITH



# Houston Klan leader talks to Newsweek

By PAUL McKNIGHT

HOUSTON—"I mean, if you kill a man overseas for being a communist, you should kill him over here. I don't see any difference," proclaimed Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon Frank Converse in an interview in the May 3 *Newsweek*. Converse's statements come at a time when right-wing terrorist activity has reached a new high in Houston.

In the past several years, hundreds of terrorist activities have been carried out against antiwar, liberal and socialist organizations and individuals by right-wing organizations. The most recent bombing was on March 12, when the Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters was attacked.

There has not been one arrest in any of the right-wing terrorist cases.

Lt. M. L. Singleton, head of the Intelligence Unit of the Houston Police Department, told *Newsweek* recently, "We know of hundreds of incidents of tire-slashing, of gunfire, cross-burning, and arson, but we have not been able to gather evidence against anyone that would stand up in court." (Added to these incidents are shootings and bombings, which apparently slipped his mind.)

Singleton vouches for the Klan, saying, "I have talked with leaders of the Minutemen and the KKK who told me that their groups as a whole do not condone such acts."

Only two weeks ago, Grand Dragon Frank Converse admitted that he knew of Klan members who committed some of the terrorist acts, but that he was withholding this information. In an interview published April 11 in the *Houston Chronicle*, he acknowledged that some of the Klan members and other right-wing terrorists he knows are extremely dangerous. He noted that these men "would just as soon take your life as slash your tires."

In spite of the Klan official's public announcement that he is withholding information that could lead to enough legal evidence to bring about a conviction in some of these cases, the city administration has refused to use its legal authority to force Converse to give the city this information. The city administration has consistently refused to hold an open, public hearing on the series of right-wing terrorist activities and to open the files of the police and arson divisions on the terrorist activities.

"The refusal of the city administration to act against the right-wing terrorist groups in Houston isn't from lack of knowledge of these groups. When two Klan members visited the

Pathfinder bookstore and this was reported to the police, Singleton identified them before Debby Leonard [SWP candidate for mayor of Houston] mentioned their names. The Klan claims to have several members in the Police Department and 'friends' in the city administration. We think immunity of right-wingers from arrest is due more to this factor than to claimed lack of knowledge of the incidents," said Mike Maggi, secretary of the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston.

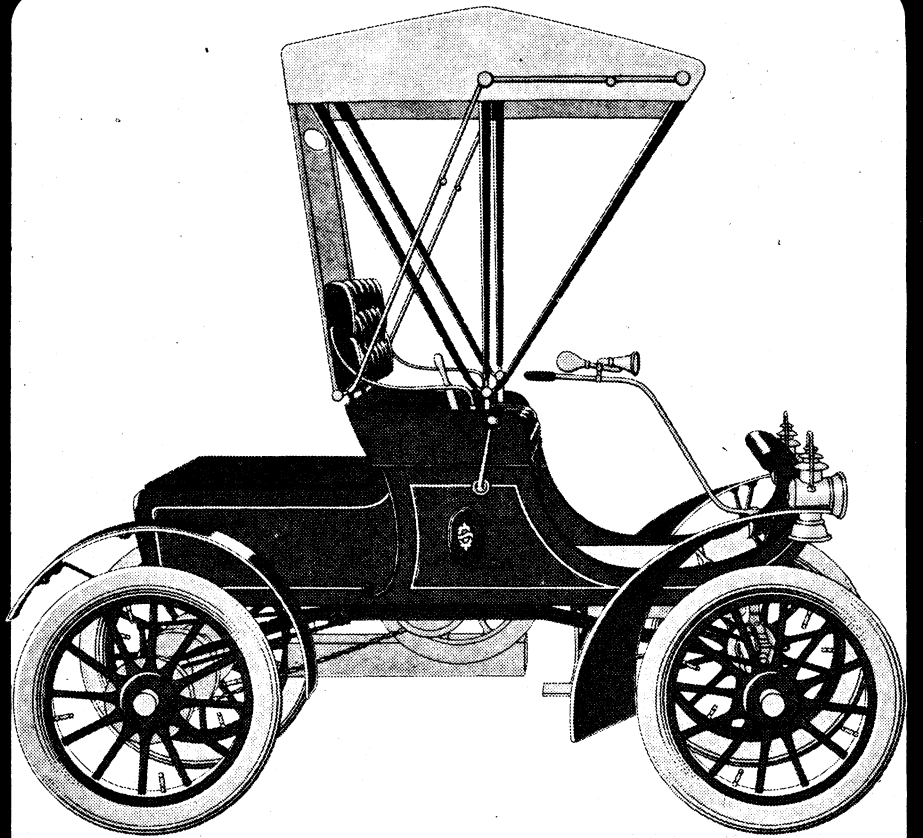
The committee has been endorsed by the Student Senate at the University of Houston, a score of faculty members there, the student body president and vice-president, and leaders of student organizations such as the Young Democrats, Students for the New Party, Earthworks, MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization), Women's Liberation, Gay Liberation, the Vietnam Action Project, and the Student Mobilization Committee. Other endorsers include a Black minister, former state legislator, and the Houston coordinator of the Texas Peace Action Coalition. Over 70 groups and individuals have endorsed the committee to date.

The committee has addressed appeals for support in its attempts to bring pressure against the city administration to apprehend the persons responsible for the bombing of the SWP campaign headquarters and to fully investigate the other acts of right-wing terrorism that have occurred recently. The committee sent an appeal to the conference of Southern Legal Assistance, which will publish an article on the terrorism and the community response against it in their widely read newsletter.

An appeal has been sent to the newly elected City Councils in Crystal City, Texas, and Berkeley, California, asking them to protest to the Houston City Council and demand that action be taken against the terrorists.

The relationship between the right-wing terrorist acts in Houston and the war in Southeast Asia pointed out by the Klan Grand Dragon underlines the urgency for national antiwar, liberal and radical organizations to endorse the committee and demand that the Houston city administration arrest and convict those responsible for these terrorist activities.

For copies of the committee's news bulletin and more information about the community response against the terrorist attacks and to make urgently needed contributions, write to: Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, 4334 Leeland, Houston, Texas 77023, or phone (713) 921-3293.



## DID YOU KNOW THAT ONE MACHINE CAN BE TURNED INTO ANOTHER?

**TURN YOUR CAR INTO CASH AND GIVE IT TO THE MILITANT IMPROVEMENT FUND. WE'LL TURN IT INTO THE MACHINES WE NEED.**

One of our readers has done just that. Inspired by the \$1,000 gift that we announced last week, she has donated the proceeds from the sale of her Volkswagen--\$750--to the Militant Improvement Fund!

We have set the goal of raising \$5,000 within the next couple of weeks so we can purchase two necessary time- and labor-saving machines: A Cheshire labeling machine, which will automate the present method of individually stamping each subscriber's name and address onto *The Militant* by hand; and a photo typesetter, which will enable us to further enhance the appearance of the paper by placing at our fingertips virtually any style of headline type available.

The response to our appeal has been good. In the past week, 31 readers contributed \$287, in addition to the \$750. This brings to a total of \$2,621.25 the amount contributed to date. This is more than half-way, but it means that we still have quite a ways to go. We hope to cover that distance in the next two weeks.

Please do whatever you can to help us meet this goal. Any contribution, no matter how small, will be greatly appreciated. Use the coupon below--today.

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

Enclosed is my contribution of (circle):

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

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**Militant Improvement Fund**

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

# Oakland Raza candidates win impressive vote

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

OAKLAND, Calif. — Candidates of La Raza Unida Party (LRUP), made a good showing in their first race here in Oakland. The results of the April 20 voting gave Florencio Medina, LRUP candidate for school director no. 2, 26,644 votes (33 percent) against the incumbent Mel J. Caughell. Trinidad Lopez, LRUP candidate for Peralta Board of Trustees No. 7, received 25,061 votes (25.6 percent) against Booker T. Jackson Jr., a Black running on the conservative "Five for Peralta" ticket. Socialist Workers Party candidate Peter Graumann for Peralta Board of Trustees

No. 4 polled 4,189 (4.1 percent) in a field of five candidates.

In the City Council race, Tito A. Lucero, LRUP candidate for the at-large seat, received 1,087 (1.3 percent) in a field of nine other candidates.

One of the Raza Unida Party candidates for City Council, Antonio Rodarte, from the Fifth District, was dropped from the LRUP slate in a special meeting just 10 days before the election. The almost unanimous vote to remove Rodarte from the party slate came as a result of several factors.

As the campaign developed, Rodarte,

in consultation with members of the [Democratic] Oakland Coalition, began feeling that he had a chance of winning if only he did not so closely associate himself with the Raza Unida Party. He began putting out his own campaign literature, which was indistinguishable from that of the establishment candidates. Nowhere in this material did Rodarte mention that he was running on the slate of the Raza Unida Party or that his campaign was independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. His program was not that voted upon by the LRUP. Finally, Rodarte endorsed Jesse Gutierrez, a liberal Democrat running

for school director no. 3.

At the special LRUP meeting, Rodarte was confronted with the facts of how he was running his campaign. He was asked to issue a statement withdrawing his support for Gutierrez and stating the Raza Unida Party decision not to give support to the Democratic Party. It was also requested that he submit all his campaign material for approval by the LRUP campaign committee and that his campaign brochure be rewritten to reflect the views of the Raza Unida Party. After refusing on both counts, the vote to withdraw endorsement was

*Continued on page 22*

# 10,000 arrested in D.C. dragnet

By CALVIN ZON

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 5—Since the activities sponsored by the Mayday Tribe began here on Saturday May 1, nearly 10,000 persons have been arrested and two Mayday leaders, Rennie Davis and John Froines, have been framed-up on conspiracy charges. Both Davis and Froines are also defendants in the Conspiracy Seven case, which grew out of the demonstrations at the Chicago Democratic Party convention in 1968.

The biggest action was a rock festival near the Lincoln Memorial on May 1 attended by about 50,000 young people. A large number of them, who apparently had come to Washington just for the festival, left when it was over.

On May 2 at 6 a.m., thousands of demonstrators camped in West Potomac Park were ordered by police to move out by noon or be arrested. The excuse used to revoke their permit was that they had smoked pot and parked on the grass in the park.

Caught off balance by this surprise move, and not wanting to jeopardize their plans for Monday, all but a few campers dispersed rather than face arrest. Most demonstrators found makeshift quarters at area universities and churches.

On Sunday afternoon, the authorities refused to permit the holding of a scheduled "soul rally" on the Washington Monument grounds. However, on the same afternoon, a pro-Nixon rally at the capitol was allowed at which 125 people demonstrated against "appeasement" in Vietnam.

On Monday, May 3, plans to supposedly "stop the government" were put into effect by attempting to block

intersections and bridges during the morning rush hours. About 12,000 demonstrators were involved.

The government, of course, was ready and waiting: Washington's 5,100-man police force was supplemented by 2,000 National Guardsmen and 8,000 soldiers and marines. Most of the demonstrators were unable to reach the heavily guarded points from which their civil disobedience and "rapping with motorists" was to be launched.

Thus frustrated, many resorted to "mobile tactics," which included placing objects like trash cans and small cars in the streets to block traffic. Despite sporadic blockages of up to 10 minutes, the major commuter arteries were kept open by liberal use of tear gas, mace and nightsticks by the police.

Over 7,000 people were rounded up in dragnet-type arrests in which whole sections of the city, especially around university campuses, were blocked off. Many innocent bystanders were seized in the wholesale sweep. Among those known to have been arrested were an army lieutenant, an off-duty policeman, a law professor, a *Washington Star* reporter, several businessmen, and a couple on the way to get married.

Overflowing the jails, the detainees were herded into the Washington Redskins football field and the Washington Coliseum. Most went without food or sanitary facilities for over eight hours. Apparently at Justice Department instruction, blankets were not issued to those being held overnight until the early morning hours.

The National Peace Action Coalition issued a statement condemning

"the near wholesale suspension of civil liberties in the city of Washington." The statement added, "While NPAC did not endorse or necessarily agree with the character of the post-April 24 activities in Washington, it sees no excuse for the hysterical reaction of the Nixon administration. . . . The war, not Rennie Davis and the thousands of others arrested, is the source of Nixon's problems, and those problems will not abate until the GIs are brought home."

The D. C. Human Relations Commission and the American Civil Liberties Union protested the illegality of the "planned preventive detention." The cops failed to follow even the minimum arrest procedures called for in the regulations drawn up after the April 1968 uprising following Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination.

Most of those arrested were not told what they were charged with at the time of arrest, nor were they permitted to place a phone call or to see a lawyer.

On Monday evening, a superior court judge ruled that prisoners would have to be released by 8 p.m. Tuesday unless the police could show "true cause" for each arrest.

At this point, the cops agreed to release their captives if they posted collateral (\$10 in most cases) on a charge of "disorderly conduct." Most were released by Tuesday morning.

There were eyewitness instances of police brutality both during and after the arrests. Hospitals treated about 200 people for injuries, many of them for effects of tear gas. White-coated medics told of police arresting them, raiding and confiscating their medical trucks, and destroying their supplies. Both the White House and the Justice Department, which had taken direct charge of the initial attacks on Mayday, expressed approval of the way the cops operated.

That same afternoon, Rennie Davis was arrested by FBI agents on the charge of conspiracy to violate the civil rights of citizens and intimidate federal workers. When arrested, Davis had just finished a press conference where he said: "Our biggest problem was not appreciating the extent to which the government would go to put people on the skids." Davis said that this was just the beginning, and called for similar actions for Tuesday.

About 700 arrests took place Tuesday morning, and there were no traffic stoppages. Instead, about 3,000 demonstrators gathered in Franklin Square for the noon rally which was to precede the march to the Justice Department.

Spokespeople demanded that the authorities, who had granted no permit for the action, respect the right to assemble and march. The press was berated for giving more coverage to "a burnt Volkswagon" than to the demands of the Mayday action.

march were met with a few epithets like "Bullshit!" Since Mayday activities began, there has been an uneasy truce between those in the majority committed to nonviolence, at least as a tactic, and the few who would prefer to "trash" and fight the police.

The march to the offices of Attorney General Mitchell and top G-man Hoover was spirited and orderly, drawing some Black people and other passersby along the way. About 4,000 people, many of them government workers on their lunch break, swelled the street adjoining the department. A rally was held for about an hour, until the first arrest was made. John Froines, a Chicago conspiracy defendant who had been named with Davis in the current conspiracy indictment, was spirited out of the crowd by plainclothes FBI agents. A few minutes later, police ordered the gathering to disperse or face arrest. Twenty-seven hundred refused to disperse and were arrested by riot police (many of whom had removed their badges), who used their clubs off and on.

Davis and Foines were released on \$25,000 and \$10,000 bond, respectively, the same day.

Protesters attended an 800-strong rally on Tuesday evening, at which Davis called for a "nationwide strike" beginning May 5, "not for one day, but on and on and on." Hosea Williams of SCLC spoke of going to the capitol on Wednesday at noon and staying there until Congress ratifies the People's Peace Treaty.

Impatience and dissension among the assembled activists grew stronger and stronger as a result of the vague "scenario" presented by Williams and Davis for Wednesday. "People are asking themselves whether or not it's worth it to stay in Washington," one said. "If we just stay here and keep getting arrested, what good will it do?" asked another.

There were complaints from the floor about a lack of leadership and direction. Some protested that no structure existed to coordinate the actions of the various regions and smaller "affinity groups" with the body as a whole. The chair retorted that everyone should feel free to do his or her thing.

The leading lights were accused of hogging the microphone. There were complaints that no sisters had spoken that evening. Many people walked out with an open display of disgust. What remained of the meeting broke up into small groups contending over how best to organize.

About half of the Mayday protesters were college or high school students. They came from all parts of the country, mainly from the northeast, wanting to end the war. Many of these young people are now in the process of seriously trying to evaluate what happened to them and why their actions didn't "stop the government" or the war.



Many of those arrested during Mayday actions were herded into improvised detention centers like this.

## ...Harris Poll

Continued from page 1

Louis Harris attached great significance to the fact that, for the first time, more Americans favor than oppose a coalition Saigon government including communists. The real significance of this figure—42 percent in favor and 39 percent opposed—can only be assessed by considering it together with the 60 percent favoring continued withdrawal whatever the results, and the 57 percent who believe the outcome of withdrawal will be a communist government.

What these figures really show is that the growing majority does not care what happens in Vietnam as long as the U. S. troops get out. Even many who would oppose a communist victory are willing to accept it if it will mean the end of the war. Put another way, this sentiment is an expression of growing willingness to accept the right of the Vietnamese to determine their own future: communist government or not.

It is one thing for Nixon to continue stating that this kind of opposi-

tion to the war does not affect his policy decisions. The reality is quite something else. With more and more millions of Americans seeing the falsehoods in the president's claims to be seeking peace, as their commitment to ending the war intensifies, Nixon must recognize clearly that the old lies will not work for him much longer. More and more, the military options open to him in maintaining an imperialist hold on Southeast Asia are reduced.

The way to keep the administration

in this bind and make it even tighter is for the organized antiwar movement to continue mounting ever larger independent mass actions for immediate withdrawal, including each time more students, more GIs, more members of national minorities, and more working people.



## Letter to The Militant

I have had a subscription to **The Militant** for about a year and have even helped in the subscription drive, but I am extremely upset with some of your more recent positions. The most upsetting is your denunciation of the Mayday activities and your strict adherence to mass mobilization. Your position on these may cost you a supporter.

First, I am greatly disappointed with the backbiting that presently is in vogue within the movement. You, yourself, admit that unity is of great value, but you then turn around and condemn those of us who see civil disobedience as a viable tactic for ending the war.

I will be the first to admit that this squabbling comes from both directions, but it is worth noting that the Mayday Tribe and the PCPJ (People's Coalition for Peace and Justice) did include the April 24th Mass March on all their literature, and in most publications didn't condemn it. On the other hand, NPAC (National Peace Action Coalition) and even **The Militant** wouldn't even mention the upcoming Mayday activities. The position of the Susquehanna University antiwar movement (of which I am a part) is that both mass actions and smaller, civilly disobedient actions are of value to the movement and we thus gave our support to April 24th and Mayday.

I disagree that Mayday is mere confrontation politics, which you seem to suggest. Plans are to have the May actions nonviolent in nature, at least on the part of the demonstrators. The fact that we are willing to expose ourselves to the possible violence of the authorities is, in my opinion, the greatest asset to Mayday. It should thus dramatize the deep and sincere objection to the war that we feel—deep enough to risk the authorities' wrath to prove our point. I don't feel, if carried out properly, that it will cost us the support of more moderate antiwar forces. I do feel that Chicago '68 was of benefit to the movement, although I hope that Mayday isn't as confrontational in nature. Violence on our part would be disastrous and it hopefully will not occur.

Lastly, it seems interesting that you take no stronger position yourself. If the tactics of Gandhi and Martin Luther King are too strong for you, how can you justify the name 'militant'? Are you satisfied to wait months longer to build more mass actions before we can end the war?

We at Susquehanna believe that while these mass marches are beneficial, they are agonizingly slow. If people are dying every minute in Indochina, our speed in ending the war is of utmost importance, even when it involves using civil disobedience with all its accompanying risks.

If **The Militant** does not agree with this position, fine, I will respect, though I disagree with, your position. All of us in the movement have at least one thing in common, the end of the war, so why don't we learn to tolerate each other's differences and try to work, where we can, together. We've had enough backbiting!

Stephen R. Snell  
Selinsgrove, Pa.

# The May Day Tribe: Where it goes wrong

By DOUG JENNESS

MAY 1—In his letter to *The Militant* printed on this page, Stephen Snell raises some criticisms of our opposition to the Mayday Tribe's actions in Washington, D.C., (see *Militant*, April 30) which deserve an answer.

It is unfortunate that he feels that our explanation of why we don't support the Mayday Tribe's activities is "backbiting." "Backbiting" implies corridor attacks and behind-the-scenes slander, which was not the form of our criticisms. We attempted to present a *political* explanation of why the proposed Mayday activities are ineffective.

He also suggests that we are hypocritical for denouncing the policies of other groups in the antiwar movement while at the same time advocating unity.

It is true that we strongly support unity as we did on April 24 when we joined hundreds of thousands of other demonstrators in San Francisco and Washington around the demand Out Now. But this does not mean that we support unity with these same people on all questions or that we intend to suppress our political criticisms of other groups that participated.

We unite with other organizations and individuals in action around demands on which we have *political* agreement. The reason why we strongly oppose the Mayday Tribe's actions is that its political goals are at best unclear and its tactics ineffective.

We also disagreed with the Mayday Tribe about the political significance of the April 24 actions. We viewed them as a powerful and effective opposition to Nixon's war policies whereas the leaders of the Mayday Tribe attacked April 24 from the first day it was called.

## Peace treaty

This apocalyptic demand is accompanied with other bits of pure rhetoric. From a flyer entitled *Mayflowers*, we learn that "The Mayday actions are rooted in two simple conceptions. One may be called a People's Diplomacy, the act of publicly declaring our own peace with the people of Vietnam. People's diplomacy is bringing the peace treaty that has been signed by the Vietnamese into millions of homes and communities in the United States. The second idea is a People's Peace, the joining of all the disparate strands of our movement to provide leadership to implement the treaty in a country that is overwhelmingly against the war."

It is ludicrous to think that the relatively small number of people that the Mayday Tribe is going to bring to Washington can implement a peace treaty with the Vietnamese. This assumes that they will take the governing power into their hands.

Even if they clearly indicated that it was meant only to be a symbolic gesture, the Peace Treaty that has been signed by some American and Vietnamese students calls for two contradictory demands: "immediate and total withdrawal from Vietnam" and the liberal demand "to set the date by which all U.S. military forces will be removed." The treaty also makes certain demands on the Vietnamese, thus in effect giving credence to imperialist claims of their right to be in Vietnam.

There is even further confusion as to whether the Mayday actions are primarily in opposition to the war. In one statement, they say they are coming to Washington



Washington, D.C., April 24

Photo by Harry Ring

It is not true as Snell asserts that the Mayday Tribe included the April 24 action in all their literature. Only a few pieces even mentioned it. One was a mimeographed leaflet entitled "An Emergent Event—A Communiversity," which in its sole reference to the massive April 24 actions referred to them as "the Antiwar Memorial to Leon Trotsky on April 24." This attempt to disparage the April 24 antiwar actions scarcely deterred 800,000 Americans from participating—they understood the importance and significance of April 24 better than the organizers of Mayday. However, it did provide ammunition for red-baiters like Rep. Ichord of the House Internal Security Committee and the syndicated columnists Evans and Novak who tried to smear the April 24 action for being "controlled" by the Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

It should be noted that in none of their literature has the Mayday Tribe attempted to explain *politically* why it opposed April 24. Slander has been its watchword. Its failure to support the April 24 antiwar actions is now part of its heritage and will not soon be forgotten.

## Ultimatum

The only political aim for the Mayday actions that Snell mentions is that they will "dramatize the deep and sincere objection to the war we feel." This modest goal, however, is not what the organizers of Mayday have stated as their primary aims. Their central demand is an ultimatum: "If the government won't stop the war, the people will stop the government." If the massive antiwar movement has so far been unable to change government policy enough to end the war, it is very difficult to see how the Mayday Tribe expects to achieve the even more difficult task of closing down the government.

in May to end repression, demand the freeing of all political prisoners, and to guarantee annual incomes for all Americans. "We will come to Washington in May," the statement adds, "to focus in on the war, poverty, racism, and sexism that is the natural outgrowth of maintaining American capitalism and imperialism."

Is this a program to "dramatize the deep and sincere objection to the war?" Many who are deeply and sincerely opposed to the war may participate, but this "focus" is little more than a hodgepodge against all that is evil and for all that is good. It doesn't increase but decreases the number of people who will participate in their action, because few people will agree with all that this statement says. This is of vital importance because it is *only* the mobilization of millions of Americans that can pose any real challenge to the government's war policies.

The April 24 actions demonstrated that the broadest number of people from many movements and organizations can be mobilized against the imperialist war in Southeast Asia by focusing the action on this central issue of American and world politics and around the clear demand of "Out Now." To attempt today to build an action around an abstract statement for "changing the system" means that masses will not be involved but simply become spectators watching a few radicals perform.

## Civil disobedience

Snell states that he disagrees the Mayday Tribe's activities are "mere confrontation politics," that the plans are to have the actions nonviolent in nature. It's true that the more recent literature for the action has emphasized the nonviolent character of the actions, but there

Continued on page 18

## In Our Opinion

### On death row

One of the most barbaric decisions made by the U.S. Supreme Court in recent months was its May 3 ruling that juries have the power to impose a sentence of death in the 38 states where the death penalty is still on the books. The court also upheld the common practice by which juries decide guilt and then immediately determine whether the death penalty will be imposed, without hearing further evidence.

The court, however, has yet to rule on the challenge to capital punishment as a violation of the Constitution's Eighth Amendment prohibiting "cruel and unusual punishment."

Since 1967, officials have been awaiting the Supreme Court ruling on these issues and no executions have taken place in any state. As a result, there are now 648 men and women on death row, the largest number at one time in the history of the country.

It is not certain what will happen to these prisoners in light of the high court's ruling, but indications are that there will be further appeals, and most states will probably await a decision of the Eighth Amendment cases.

Why did the high court of capitalist "justice" make such a barbaric ruling? Why, in fact, do 38 states still have the death penalty?

The answer can be found in the statistics of who is sentenced to die.

Most notable is the disproportionate number of Black Americans who are executed. Of the 3,827 men and 32 women executed since 1930, 53 percent were Black. Of the 648 persons now on death row, 52 percent are Black. Almost without exception, those given capital punishment are poor—men and women from the working class. Of 18 death row prisoners interviewed by the *Washington Post* in Maryland's prisons in March 1971, none of them had attended college, many of them had not attended high school, and all of them were from the working class.

It can almost be laid down as a law of American capitalist society that rich people are not sentenced to death. In a Jan. 11, 1971, *Newsweek* article, Boston University President Dr. John Silber is quoted as saying, "I don't think you can find a single person who was represented by counsel and who had plenty of money to develop his defense who received the death penalty."

There are two standards of justice in this country. One for the rich and one for the working class and oppressed nationalities. This holds true, not only for the application of the death penalty, but for all forms of "social punishment" in the United States.

The apologists for capital punishment contend that it is a deterrent to crime. But the statistics alone belie this claim. For example, since 1930, Georgia has executed more prisoners than any other state in the country. It has also had the highest number of murders.

When these apologists argue that it is a "deterrent," what they actually mean is that they hope it will serve as a means of terrorizing and intimidating the most oppressed sectors of society to respect capitalist property rights and capitalist "law and order."

The thousands of working men and women—Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, and white—who fill America's jails are the victims of this rotten capitalist system. This society—through all forms of class and racial oppression—pushes people down into poverty and insecurity, forces them into degrading and dehumanizing social relations, and brutalizes them through many kinds of harassment and inequity.

The tiny ruling class, with the blood of countless Southeast Asians on its hands, says: "It is unlawful to kill." From the working majority, they steal billions of dollars in profits, taxes and graft and then say: "It is unlawful to steal."

The biggest criminals go free while the prisons and death chambers are reserved for the victims of capitalist society.

The death penalty must be abolished!

#### Unpardonable crime

I was shocked to read your condemnation of the Mayday demonstration in your April 30 issue. You have committed the unpardonable crime of provoking disunity in the radical movement. The disunity of our movement is the biggest obstacle we face. It seems that every radical organization expects every radical to conform to their ideology or they are written off as a foe.

The comparative success of our enemy—the capitalist establishment, is due to their ability to unite all reactionary elements, i.e., the Republican and Democratic parties, in opposition to us.

I especially found your condemnation of the Mayday demonstration strange, because, of the two demonstrations, if either is prosocialist it is the Mayday one. How can you be blind to the fact that the April 24 demonstration is largely composed of politicians and that most of the participants still have faith in capitalism.

John Roedel  
University of Delaware

Editor—See page 8 for reply.

#### Evans and Novak

I suggest that you repudiate the McCarthyist slander in the recent Rowland Evans and Robert Novak column in the *Washington Post* entitled "Muskie and the Trotskyites."

These columnists have slandered the antiwar movement previously, by stating that decision-making in the movement was a war between different evil factions. By saying the antiwar movement is controlled by the victorious "Trot" "Faction" and thus declaring the movement undemocratic, they damn the movement. These writers are as bad as Nixon.

Although I have disagreements with the Socialist Workers Party on many points, it is clear to me that your leadership in the National Peace Action Coalition is due to your dedication and organization, not "infiltration" or any other ulterior motives.

Lawrence Harris  
Rockville, Md.

#### Postal workers

The National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees here in Berkeley is growing stronger as layoffs and speedup hit postal workers. The threat of unemployment dictates caution and is used to intimidate some workers. But the Alliance is growing anyway, maybe because of it.

Another reason the Alliance is growing is because our union has explained what the new postal "reforms" mean: less jobs and more work. Workers in the Berkeley Post Office are fully aware of what this is all about and we are taking measures to fight it.

Our union is not isolated from what is happening in other areas of the broad movement for social justice and change. I am sure readers of *The Militant* are aware of the endorsement by the Alliance of the April 24 antiwar actions.

The national office of our union sent out letters to all local Alliance chapters telling us to go ahead and demonstrate as postal workers. That letter included the resolution of our national convention against the war, plus the Coretta Scott King letter to the National Peace Action Coalition.

Our Alliance chapter here organized car pools to join the march in San Francisco.

The war, of course, and the willingness of the Alliance to deal with the feminism of many of the women workers (free child care during union meetings), and the nationalist thrust of this union—all these things serve to separate the Alliance from the AFL-CIO craft unions and to draw the younger workers to it.

This puts us in a good position to collaborate constructively with any and all other unions who are preparing to fight for shorter hours, more jobs, better working conditions, and higher pay. This is what all postal workers need now.

Michael Lux  
Berkeley, Calif.

#### Gay Liberation

*The Militant* is to be commended for its coverage of the struggle for gay liberation. Its honest reporting and analysis stand in contrast to the other radical newspapers, whose policy seems one of mainly omissions and misunderstanding of the revolutionary nature of the fight for sexual freedom.

More and more people are finally recognizing that the over 800 lesbian or gay organizations across the country are effecting a change for a radical transformation of society. The breadth of this change is felt by all layers of society and will bring an end to the oppressiveness of sexual repression, distorted female-male roles, and the outdated nuclear family.

Such a movement demands the attention of all activists. And it necessitates its continued coverage by *The Militant*.

Dave Saperstan  
Los Angeles, Calif.

#### Oregon march

Here in Corvallis, Ore., we held an antiwar march on April 17 which was a great success! Despite a downpour, over 3,000 marched, about half of which were nonstudents. Five or six local physicians marched as a group. The march was twice as large as the largest previous Corvallis peace march. (In May 1970, 1,500 marched against the killings at Kent, mainly students.)

The march was organized by the Corvallis Peace Action Coalition, which has over 50 members, including housewives, wage laborers, professional people, professors, students, and ministers.

Speakers at the rally following the march included a doctor, a Vietnam veteran, a local participant in the Vancouver, B.C., Indochinese Women's Conference, a Chicano spokesman, and the local chairwoman of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

An amusing incident occurred when two university professors who were acting as parade marshals attempted to convince a radical collective group (with ultraleft tendencies) not to carry their NLF and Pathet Lao flags. The two professors argued that it would ruin the march by alienating "people over 40."

Several younger marshals defended the group's right to carry the flags. The dispute was resolved when a woman, who had been standing nearby said: "I'm over 40—in fact, I'm 60 years old, and that flag doesn't offend me. I'll even carry one!" She then grabbed an



# The Great Society

NLF flag, as the two dumb-founded professors retracted their arguments and retreated from the area.

Corvallis PAC is now working on getting a referendum on the city ballot that calls for total withdrawal of all U. S. military forces from Indochina by Dec. 31, 1971.

David Worthington  
Corvallis, Ore.

## Pollution solution

Between 1946 and 1971, pollution in the U. S. has increased 200 to 1,000 percent. The cause of pollution cannot simply be an increase in population, as is frequently maintained, for the population has increased only 43 percent in that period.

Nor is it due to any increase in "affluence" or prosperity. Per capita consumption of food, shelter and clothing has remained constant. In fact, consumption of some of the most important food items has actually decreased. Protein consumption declined 5 percent. Eggs went down 15 percent. Milk and cream, 34 percent. The use of fruit, a reliable index of prosperity, also declined.

The cause of pollution is the replacement of easily available natural products by synthetic substitutes which entail great expenditures of power and pollution for their production or use, thus degrading the environment while giving no benefit to the consumer.

Substitution of plastic for wood, detergent for soap, pesticides for biological controls, and chemical fertilizer for manure benefits no one but the owners of the factories that make them.

The only solution to pollution is a rational, planned (socialist) economic system which will institute only those new technologies which truly benefit the people (and their environment) rather than encourage waste which gives huge profits to a few and leaves the rest of us to do the cleaning up.

The figures I cited are from "The Causes of Pollution," by Barry Commoner, in the April 1971 *Environment*.

Bonnie Camo  
Philadelphia, Pa.

**Situation improving**—We reported recently that the British government had agreed to up the Queen's million-dollar-plus annual allowance to compensate for rising prices. Which may explain the failure of the royal family to respond to an invitation from the Victoria, Canada, Low Income Group to attend a poor people's banquet of franks and beans.

**You'll swim in it**—The government is peddling 700,000 surplus steel drums designed to stock water in government-organized fallout shelters. The decision to dump the drums came after a study showed that there will be plenty of water in most of the shelters.

**Burying the hatchet**—A Minneapolis judge was slated to issue a ruling last week on whether an Indian peace pipe with the head shaped like a hatchet was really a pipe or a weapon. The pipe was taken by police from the car of Clyde Bellecourt, director of the American Indian Movement, long harassed by local cops. A defense witness testified that the particular pipe originated in the concept of combining "burying the hatchet" and smoking the pipe of peace. Another witness noted that the pipe was a religious object, adding "you wouldn't club someone with a bible."

**It figures**—Robert Sherman, a right-winger, was accused of plotting the

assassination of a Los Angeles judge who issued an antisegregation school decision. Sherman was given five years probation.

**And you think you've got problems**—A Dear Abby letter says: "The lot adjoining ours was sold and we find that the people who bought it are putting up a house identical to ours! We are extremely unhappy about it because ours is an extremely expensive home. . . . Any major revision in our home would be out of the question and so is moving. Can you offer some advice to ease our heartache?"

**Adding insult to injury**—A bill was introduced in the New York legislature to hike the state tax on coffin nails from 12 cents a pack to 18 cents.

**Things are tough all over**—A Maryland society note reveals that, "The fox hunt season runs between September and November and there is a scarcity of red foxes. Emphasis is put on dressage and cross-country riding more so than hunting."

**Sick-in**—Three members of the Vancouver, Canada, canine police patrol are reportedly so ill that the department has issued an urgent call for new recruits.

**On which side?**—The DAR says it checked out President Nixon's family tree and found that one of his ancestors was a spy during the war for independence.

—HARRY RING



"J. EDGAR? SOME OF US BOYS DOWN IN CONGRESS WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS YOUR POSSIBLE . . . ER . . . RETIREMENT . . ."

## ♀ The Insurgent Majority

A confrontation between proabortion and antiabortion forces occurred at the New York state capitol in Albany April 27. About 500 people had gathered at the capitol denouncing abortion as "Nazism," and calling for "Fetus Power," when a crowd of demonstrators arrived at the capitol to protest cuts in state aid and job layoffs in New York City. These demonstrators threw apples at Senator James Donovan, who was speaking against abortion, and one woman shouted at him: "How can I have babies if I don't have a job?"

Anthropologist Margaret Mead, speaking at a conference on women and the church April 24, attacked the women's liberation movement as only trying to irritate people. She said the role of women in the church should be as important as that of men, but should be a different role, complementary to men's role. A Catholic theologian in the audience answered her by saying: "I have wanted to be a priest not because of what I am able to give as a woman, but because I am . . . an individual human being. I have nothing to give that's unique to my sex."

The Army is trying to make the armed services more attractive so that it can keep enough men to carry out its aggressive policies around the world. To please the men, the Army is hiring army wives to do "KP" duty, because the men hate it so much.

After a nationwide survey of 5,000 women, the Labor Department has found that a majority of employed women would continue their jobs even if they had enough money to live comfortably without working, rather than stay at home.

The New York Women's Strike Coalition plans to publish a new biweekly newsletter called *Majority Report*. It will contain useful statistics on discrimination against women, articles on where the abortion fight is at and on child care. It will also include pictures, photos and poetry, all by women. Contributions, articles and general help would be greatly appreciated by the Women's Strike Coalition, 118 E. 28 St., Rm. 405, New York, N. Y. 10016. Phone: (212) 685-4106.

Lorena Weeks, of Savannah, Ga., who has been fighting

since 1966 for her right to have a job as a "switchman" for Southern Bell Telephone, finally won nearly \$31,000 in back pay plus the job as switchman. She successfully challenged this discrimination against her through Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The company originally denied her the job on the grounds that it involved lifting over 30 pounds, which, according to Georgia law, cannot be required of women.

The following is quoted from the second "International Bulletin" put out by Rodstromper (Redstockings) in Denmark on the successes their movement is having: "Ekstra-bladet, the paper with the largest circulation in Denmark, is a pseudoliberal paper, proclaiming sexual freedom (for the men), printing naked women with beautiful breasts on most pages. It also takes up social scandals. This paper offered to let us write a column every week, uncensored. For introduction, a woman journalist is to write five articles on the women's movement in Denmark, made as interviews with different groups, no names, no photos. We were pretty ambivalent about this project because whatever we would write would get into a context of anti-feminism and liberalistic pluralism. But the paper reaches so many women, so we decided to do it after all. We know that they are using us, but we hope that we shall be able to use them, too."

Rodstromper's address is c/o Gunna Hojgaard, Sundevadsgade 20A I, DK-1751, Copenhagen V, Denmark.

Feminists on Children's Media is a collective of women concerned about the stereotyped female image presented by children's books. They have a program of slides, tapes and readings demonstrating the influence of sexism in children's literature, which they have given successfully before PTAs, women's liberation groups, librarians' organizations, teachers' groups, and church women. They are now working on a project called "Little Miss Muffett Fights Back," which is a bibliography of nonsexist books about girls. You can get this bibliography, or contact these feminists, by writing: Feminists on Children's Media, Box 4315, Grand Central Station, New York, N. Y. 10017. Send 50 cents and a stamped (12 cents), self-addressed envelope for the bibliography.

—CAROLINE LUND

# Black feminist discusses student campaign



Marsha Coleman

Photo by Jon Britton

By CAROLINE LUND

Marsha Coleman was the first Black woman as well as the first woman to run for president of the student body at Central Michigan University in Mt. Pleasant, Mich., this year. She ran on a slate called the Student Activists Alliance, which campaigned for Black control of the Black studies program, a Brown studies program, free education, an end to university complicity with the Southeast Asian war, abolition of ROTC, student-faculty control over the school, an antiwar university, and a women's university.

Before joining the Young Socialist Alliance last year, Marsha Coleman, 18, was a member of the Black Panther Party for two years and an activist in the Black Student Union at Mumford High School in Detroit.

Coleman's running mate, for vice-president, was John McKay from the Student Mobilization Committee.

Coleman told *The Militant* that one of the ways she tried to use her campaign was to build toward the April 24 antiwar demonstrations. "We had a rally in memory of Martin Luther King at our school, which a lot of Black students attended. I was the moderator of the rally, and the Veterans Against the War spoke, a person from the women's liberation group spoke, students spoke about how they felt about ROTC, and all the speakers, including myself as moderator, used our speeches to ask people to come to April 24."

Marsha Coleman's campaign began drawing support from students from the very beginning. "The YSA began holding meetings with different sectors of the student body to discuss my campaign, like with SMC, women's liberation, and the Black students. The type of response we got was really fantastic.

"For instance, the Black students and the director of Afro-American Studies at Central Michigan let me use the Afro-American Cultural Center as my campaign headquarters. I was allowed to use all the facilities, including paper, the mimeograph machine, and posterboard.

"Also, the Black sororities and fraternities at Central gave me a party where I gave a campaign speech. It was a big dance, and it helped get the Black students enthusiastic about the campaign.

"Many individual Black students gave donations to the campaign, and also my teachers supported me both financially and by letting me come to their classes and speak on Black nationalism and Black feminism.

"Chicano students held a dinner for my campaign, and we spoke about my program, about Chicano studies and about Chicano students being sent to Vietnam and the relationship of this to the April 24 demonstration."

I asked Marsha Coleman what she felt was the response to her running as a Black woman and she replied that she felt even more oppressed as a woman running for office than as a Black person. "Because the nationalist movement is so strong, people are really hesitant about asking questions like, 'Do you feel as a Black student that you are qualified to be student body president of a predominantly white school?'"

"No one would dare ask me a question like that, because of the power of the nationalist movement. But in terms of the women's movement, it's completely different. Like they would ask me, 'How do you feel as a woman that you can represent the students at Central Michigan?'—even though the majority of students are women! Or they asked me questions like do I get temperamental on certain days of the month—it was really fantastic!"

"I had to get a certain number of signatures

for my name to appear on the ballot, so I went door to door through my whole dorm and I got some really crazy questions that no one would dare ask me about being Black. One person asked whether a woman could be efficient enough to be student body president."

The campus women's liberation group held women's parties at which Coleman discussed her campaign and her demands concerning women and the university, such as women's studies, free abortion on demand, free contraception at the health center, a female gynecologist, and a child-care center.

"Through my campaign," she added, "Black students really came to respect the YSA, because in my campaign I spoke for Black nationalism and didn't modify my views at all. Usually when Black students run for office in a predominantly white school, even if they are nationalists, they will modify their views in order to bend to the backwardness of the white students. So because my campaign was nationalist and I didn't compromise, it interested a lot of Black students in the YSA and in investigating socialism further."

Coleman told me that the elections were actually never held, for a combination of reasons, so now Central Michigan has no student body officers. One reason was a mixup concerning the date the elections were supposed to be held according to the constitution. And at the same time the Mayday Collective tried to mobilize student support for canceling the elections and eliminating the student body government altogether because they said they were meaningless.

"So the administration took advantage of this proposal to cancel the elections, and now there will be no student body government. The administration now has complete power to do whatever they want with the money the students used to get."

Recently Marsha Coleman went on a two-week speaking tour in Illinois and Kansas, sponsored by the YSA. She spoke on Black nationalism and Black feminism, mainly on college campuses and before Black high school classes. She related one of her most interesting experiences on the tour:

"I spoke to the high school class of one Black teacher who was completely against women's liberation," she said. "In fact, he used the first 15 minutes of the class period to attack me, accusing me of everything from being an assimilated white woman to being a lesbian. But when I started talking, the students really started relating to what I was talking about, even the brothers. I spoke about how I felt as a Black woman when I was a high school student, about the discriminatory treatment we got, and about what I called the 'dating-game syndrome' that women have to go through. I spoke about how Black high school women often get pregnant because of the lack of information on contraception and how that often leads to having to spend your whole life dependent on the welfare system.

"The teacher spoke against abortion, saying it was genocide against the Black nation, but after a while I didn't have to speak at all because the high school women took over and began answering their teacher. The brothers were mostly quiet, but they were interested when they saw all the sisters standing up and attacking the teacher.

"After the class, the teacher told me I was trying to divide and destroy the Black nation—as if what he was doing was not dividing the Black nation by trying to keep Black women down."

Coleman said she didn't find any Black women on her tour who opposed abortion and contraception as genocide. "Some of them had some questions about genocide," she said, "but most of them were pretty sure that they wanted control over their bodies and lives."

## 'I could never explain this to Mrs. Gomez'

The April 22 *New York Post* reported on an outrageous experiment that was done by a San Antonio birth-control research center in which poor Chicana women were used as guinea pigs without their knowledge.

The purpose of the experiment itself reflected the contempt with which many doctors view women. Dr. Joseph Goldzieher of the Southwest Foundation for Research and Education conducted the experiment to try to find out if the side-effects associated with birth-control pills—such as nervousness, nausea, depression, headaches and breast tenderness—really stem from the hormones in the pills, or are just psychological—whether women just imagine them because they have heard rumors about bad effects from the pill.

Goldzieher said: "This kind of trial had to be done. Too many women shy away from the pill out of fear of these effects." His assumption: I obviously

know what's best for women much better than they do.

This racist, antiwoman doctor gave phony pills, called "placebos" in research terminology, to 76 poor women, mainly Chicanas. All of these women already had at least three children and had come to the birth-control center to get birth-control pills. They were not told the pills they were given were not birth-control pills, and were not consulted as to whether they wanted to be part of an experiment.

By giving these women phony pills, the doctors wanted to see whether they would develop the side-effects of real birth-control pills anyway, thus demonstrating that women's distrust of the pill is purely psychological and irrational.

As a result of this conscious deception, 10 of the women were forced to bear unwanted children. Because Texas law forbids abortion, they were

unable to legally terminate their pregnancies.

This criminal doctor attempted to justify his using poor Chicanas as guinea pigs by saying, "If you think you can explain a placebo test to women like these you never met Mrs. Gomez from the West Side."

This concept of women—especially Black, Puerto Rican, Chicana, and Native American women—as stupid cattle to be manipulated and controlled by men who think they know what's best for them is exactly what the women's liberation movement is fighting. The thinking that justifies using women as guinea pigs is the same thinking that justifies denying women the right to control our own bodies, through laws against abortion and contraception. Women are human beings, not guinea pigs, and must have the right to control their own bodies.

— CAROLINE LUND



# Socialist Campaign '71

## Worcester

On April 28, Brent Farrand announced his candidacy for Worcester, Mass., School Committee on the ticket of the Socialist Workers Party. Farrand, who is a leader of the Student Mobilization Committee at Clark University, told newspeople, "There is absolutely no excuse for the fact that out of 66 school buildings in Worcester, 43 are over 40 years old, that every school is overcrowded, and that the entire system is in such disrepair that in two years Worcester could lose the accreditation of its secondary schools." He called for a crash program to build modern schools and demanded that the businessmen and industrialists be taxed in proportion to their profits in order to pay for the upkeep of the Worcester educational system.

Farrand, like Eric Poulos, the previously announced SWP candidate for City Council, has been told that he cannot vote or qualify as a candidate in the city elections because his par-

ents live outside the city. Both candidates are students at Clark University. Poulos is appealing the city Board of Registrars' ruling of April 12, which held that he cannot vote in the elections. If he is unsuccessful with the registrars, the American Civil Liberties Union may take his case to federal court. The candidates are also waiting for a ruling from Massachusetts Attorney General Robert H. Quinn on where students can register to vote. Poulos' registration was not challenged until he announced that he was a candidate for the Nov. 2 election.

The SWP candidates are receiving considerable publicity and are winning respect because of their stand against this discriminatory move to bar them from the ballot. Gus Bauman, a student who says he does not agree with the eventual aims of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance, writes in the *Clark U. Scarlet*: "Eric has been getting excellent coverage in the local press. Reporters love someone different, especially when he has something

to say and is willing to shake up the Establishment to make his point. And this is exactly what Eric wants, because his campaign is essentially an educational one, designed to reach as many people as possible. He might just win in the primary."

Later Bauman adds: "... Clark YSA is certainly an overt, respectable, principled group. The sincerity and remarkable diligence of its members never cease to be impressive. They are constantly educating and propagandizing even when student response is constantly passive." He concludes by urging Clark students to attend a film showing to raise funds for the SWP campaign.

## Philadelphia

The Socialist Workers Party municipal election campaign was officially launched in Philadelphia with a banquet on April 30. Over 150 persons were present for the occasion, which also celebrated the opening of spacious new SWP headquarters.

Keynote speaker at the banquet was Peter Camejo, 1970 SWP candidate for senator in Massachusetts. Camejo spoke on *Socialism in the 70s—How We Can Win*. Jean Savage, SWP candidate for mayor of Philadelphia, also addressed the gathering.

The banquet kicked off a three-day Socialist Educational Weekend sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

## Los Angeles

The Socialist Workers Party candidates for public office in the April 6 municipal elections in Los Angeles received the following votes: Baxter Smith, Board of Education Office No. 5 (11,499—3.21 percent of the vote); Barbara Peterson, Community College Board of Trustees Office No. 1 (7,014—1.89 percent); and James Little, Community College Board of Trustees Office No. 5 (15,209—4.09 percent).

# Shah's police execute political opponents

From Intercontinental Press

On April 4, the Iranian political police (SAVAK) revealed, somewhat tardily, that fifty new arrests had been made in a "subversive network" first reported last March 17. On that date, a brief communique issued by the Teheran government announced that thirteen political prisoners had been executed at dawn by a firing squad. Neither the names nor the ages of the prisoners, who had been tried by a secret military court, were given. The thirteen were said to have taken part in a guerrilla attack on a police station February 8 at the village of Siahkal in Gilan province on the shore of the Caspian Sea.

This was the first time since 1966 that the Iranian regime has announced executions for political crimes. Official figures list forty-eight persons as having been put to death for political reasons between 1955 and 1966, although many more have undoubtedly died under torture.

The April 17 London *Economist* estimated the number of guerrillas at 150 or 175. SAVAK claims that, of these, fifty were killed and sixty arrested. The thirteen executed in March were selected from among those captured by the police.

The SAVAK official accused all shades of opposition to the shah's dictatorship of being part of a "network" directed by foreign conspirators. "The members of this network came from different classes of society. Some were graduates of the Polytechnic Institute

of Teheran who were employed in the government or private institutions. Some had lower education and some were university students."

The SAVAK agent singled out the students for special attack. The Teheran daily *Ettelaat* of April 4 reported him as saying: "As you remember, there was a strike at the University of Teheran in December. Members of this network, among whom were some students, decided to spread the strike and cause incidents and disorder."

According to *Le Monde* of April 7, the anonymous official of the political police "promised that from now on his ministry would give the public ample details on the 'subversive networks' that had been uncovered." In the past, *Le Monde* continued, "information relating to 'opponents of the regime' was made known only by brief references in the local press."

Even before the shah's political police made public the four-month-old "news" of the fifty arrests, the French Committee for the Defense of Iranian Political Prisoners issued the following statement, signed by a group of prominent intellectuals:

"Thirteen young Iranian patriots, accused of having attacked a police post in the province of Gilan, have been executed. This butchery is the prelude to ceremonial preparations the Iranian government is making to celebrate the twenty-fifth centennial of the Empire. . . .

"The Defense Committee indignantly

denounces this situation. It calls on democratic organizations to demand application of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man and the immediate release of hundreds of political detainees, and to alert international public opinion in order to prevent the new crimes now being prepared in Iran." The signers included such well-known figures as Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, and Laurent Schwartz.

A March 19 statement of the International Confederation of Iranian Students, which has been instrumental in calling world attention to the secret arrests, trials and executions in Iran,

declared:

"The experience of the Confederation in defense of the rights of the political prisoners has shown that we can force the regime to retreat and stop its murderous activities. According to recent news, at present twelve members of this group [the group to which the executed thirteen were said to belong] are being tried. Let us stand up with all our strength and use all possibilities at our command to apprise world public opinion of the murders committed by the bloodthirsty regime. Let us not allow it to spill the blood of the best sons and daughters of our people."



Iranian students in Washington April 24 march.

Photo by David Thorstad

# Gay dances harassed by cops

By MYRNA HILL

NEW YORK—Two of the city's largest gay liberation organizations were the victims of harassment by city cops at their separate headquarters May 1.

The New York City chapter of Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) and the New York City Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) were both holding fund-raising dances May 1. The DOB dance was held at its center and the GAA dance at that group's brand new community center, the Firehouse.

A police sergeant entered the DOB hall at about 8:30 p.m., crossed the dance floor and attempted to enter the DOB offices. DOB vice-president Ellen Povill and newsletter editor Eileen Webb blocked the cop's path, insisting he had no right to arbitrarily

explore the premises. After the two women refused to be intimidated by the cop's verbal abuse, threats of arrest, and threatening gestures, including the gripping of his revolver, he backed down.

The cop then produced an unofficial form and demanded that Povill fill it out, and that she show him the DOB charter. Povill replied that she would do neither until she had a chance to consult with DOB president Ruth Simpson and DOB's attorney, Florynce Kennedy.

Kennedy advised Simpson that the cop had no right to swagger around demanding to examine the group's records.

Stymied by the refusal of the DOB women to obliquely obey his com-

mands and by the fact that he had no legal leg to stand on, the sergeant resorted to escalating his verbal abuse of the women and then stalked out, darkly threatening to return with reinforcements to close down the dance and make mass arrests.

Two hours later, this reporter was a witness when the sergeant did return, accompanied by two other cops. The trio was denied entry this time by Simpson. They produced three court summonses and served them on Simpson.

Meanwhile, similar harassment was going on at the GAA dance. About a half hour after Simpson was served with summonses, the same sergeant—accompanied by six patrol cars of

uniformed cops—visited the GAA Firehouse.

Telling them the dance was illegal, the cops asserted that if they wanted to, they would be legally able to use their clubs to break up the dance. If any resistance was offered to such action, the cops gloated, "We could start shooting." After perhaps half an hour of this kind of intimidation, the cops produced three summonses, served them and left.

No arrests were made, possibly because Simpson, acting on Florynce Kennedy's advice, had called the Fourth Precinct to tell the cop in charge that DOB would publicly fight any charges and give the press full details of the cops' behavior.

Continued on page 22

# Speeches by Bustin and Stephenson at April 24 Washington rally

## Charles Stephenson

Following is the text of the April 24 speech made at the Washington, D. C., antiwar rally by Charles Stephenson, a national organizer of the Third World Task Force of the National Peace Action Coalition.

More than 23,000 nonwhite brothers have been killed in Indochina, that means 55 percent of all American casualties are nonwhite. More than one million total deaths in Vietnam are nonwhite, this includes Black, Brown, Red and Yellow, Americans, Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian deaths—I say racism. Tell me, how can any person of color in this country say the war is not their problem?

The number of deaths in Vietnam are disproportionate to the nonwhite population here, and the domestic problems Blacks and other nonwhite people face because of this war are increasing. We can take this city—the nation's capital—where the entire education budget for next year will be about \$155-million. Nixon and Company spend \$125-million a day in Southeast Asia. What Nixon is saying is that it is more important to kill youth than to educate them.

The \$80-billion a year used by the Department of War could be used instead to end the present degrading welfare system and to provide decent jobs for all people. The cost of medical care and housing are reaching phenomenal heights. Unemployment among nonwhite youth, always twice that of white youth, now approaches 40 percent in urban areas. In New York City, Mayor Lindsay threatened a layoff of 90,000 city employees. We know that Blacks and Puerto Ricans will be the first to be fired. Brothers and sisters like Angela Davis, Bobby Seale, Corky Gonzales and others are being held prisoners because they recognized their constitutional right of free speech. Now they are political prisoners of the same country that indiscriminately endorses the killing of innocent women, men and babies.

I would like to quote Brother Malcolm:

"What America is doing in South Vietnam is criminal. We see where the problem of Vietnam is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. Our action will be one of unity and in the unity of oppressed people is actually the strength, and best strength of the oppressed people."

What's next? The Middle East, Africa, where will the next target of this insane war machine be? I must take time to formally express solidarity with my Arab and Palestinian sisters and brothers who recognize that their country could very well be the next Vietnam. All people of color regardless of what corner of the world they may be from understand this racist regime makes its prey on those colored nations that are moving to decide their own destiny.

We must begin to implement a program of community control, which means control of police, education, health facilities, all institutions, and the right of the community to have a voice in whether or not they will allow the youth of their communities to be ripped off and sent 10,000 miles away to help deny the Vietnamese people the right of self-determination.

If U. S. democracy is so good then why must we go around the world shoving it down people's throats? I maintain if it is so good people would steal it.



Photo by Ron Payne

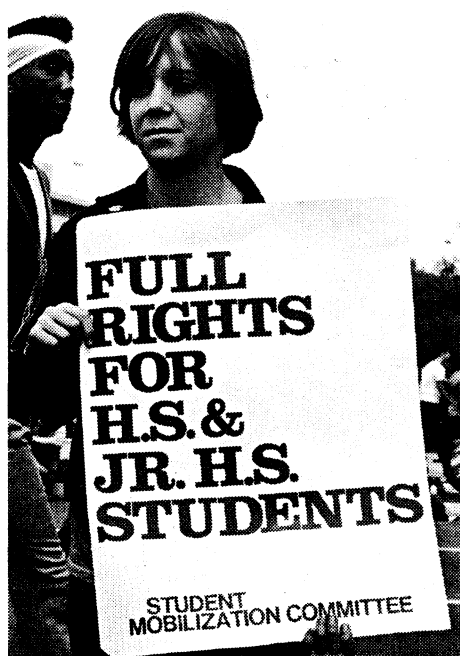


Photo by Mark Satinoff

**Two participants in significant Third World and student contingents that marched in both San Francisco and Washington antiwar demonstrations.**

I am urging all Black, Brown, Yellow, and Red people to set up task forces in their communities, schools, and churches to organize and mobilize our people against this racist war and other social ills that exist in our communities.

The organization of the feeder march by the Third World Task Force here in Washington, D. C., is just the beginning. We must continue to build and mobilize until all of our brothers are back home where they can join us in struggle against this racist government, and the Vietnamese, Laotians and Cambodians have the right to control their own destinies. We must understand and act in a manner which proves that we understand that our struggle for self-determination is the same struggle the Vietnamese people are now waging.

We demand the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from S. E. Asia!

We demand an end to the racist draft!

We demand an end to the racist war in Cairo, Illinois.

## Debby Bustin

Following is the text of the speech Deborah Bustin made to the antiwar rally on the Capitol steps in Washington, D. C., April 24. Bustin is the national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The SMC is the largest student antiwar group in the country, with a membership in the thousands. It has been organizing massive, peaceful demonstrations since 1966, and it played a key role in building April 24.

We of the Student Mobilization Committee are proud to be part of this historic demonstration. We have fought against this dirty war from the beginning and we see the uniting of powerful new forces here today as a truly historic occasion.

Last May, in the wake of the Cambodian invasion and the murders at Kent and Jackson State, we really began to understand the great power we have as students. We demonstrated the kind of power that has the potential to force Nixon out of Indochina. We rocked this country to its foundations last May. Millions of us.

Far more effective than simply shutting down our schools, or trashing them, we took the university offices, telephones, printing facilities, the campus newspapers and radio stations, and used them as antiwar organizing tools to reach out to the rest of the community. The power we did mount forced Nixon to pull back from Cambodia. The memory of that social upheaval kept Nixon from sending desperately needed U. S. ground troops into Laos to bail out the Saigon forces.

A new unity began to build last May and you can see it here today. Look around you—at the union banners, the women's and Black and Chicano contingents, at the banners from the armed forces, at the gay liberation contingent, and think of the tremendous power represented here beyond the student movement. The antiwar movement is at a qualitatively new level. We are the majority!

Imagine what the next explosion will be like if Nixon dares to provoke the American people the way he did last May. Since Nixon visited Iowa and Rhode Island in March and ran into demonstrations of hard-hats and students united against him, he really can't be sure that only the students will go out on strike against him next time. And you can bet he has nightmares about it.

Another nightmare for Nixon is the draft. There's only one reason why Nixon won't abolish the draft. He needs that draft to keep on fighting this war. Drafted youth in Vietnam, and many of the enlisted men, have literally stopped fighting this dirty war. We must make something very clear to Nixon. You keep drafting us and you're going to draft tens of thousands of young people who hate your filthy war. You keep drafting us, and you aren't going to get a bunch of soldiers, you're going to lose an army. You keep using the American Army against revolutionary struggles of people seeking self-determination, and the GIs will take the Army away from you.

The American youth rebellion is just one part of something that is spreading throughout the world. Young people are saying NO to the murderous war against Vietnam, saying no to oppression and exploitation—in East Bengal, in France and England, in Mexico and Canada. And the millions

of dedicated young people in this country are a part of this profound process. We will not sit by while the U. S. Army is used to deny oppressed people the right to self-determination anywhere in the world—in Vietnam, in Palestine, or anywhere else, including right here in the U. S. A.

The government is scared of our movement, not because of the few among us who threaten trash-ins. That doesn't scare them. The government is scared of our movement because we have helped build a massive opposition to this war.

The government's answer to this movement is to bring out old Hoover and Mitchell to crank up their anti-communist hysteria machine. But that won't work anymore. In the antiwar movement, we don't check out your political affiliation. You can be a socialist, Democrat, Republican, communist, independent, or whatever. We do not care what Nixon or Agnew or Hoover calls you or us. If you want immediate, total, unconditional withdrawal from Southeast Asia, we want you.

The government would be happier if we got ourselves into the bag of trying to set some kind of date for ending the war in Vietnam. But setting a date sometime in the future means getting a promise from Nixon which he can break when the time comes. Setting a date sometime in the future is condemning several thousand people to die. Setting a date is like saying that the U. S. had some business there in the first place. The American antiwar movement must not let the people of the world think that we give our government any right to be in that country for even one more day. We're not satisfied with an end to the war on Dec. 31, 1971. We demand an end now! Today!!

We urge you to continue, with us, to build this movement. The May 5 Moratorium on business as usual, can take the power of April 24 back to every town and city in the country. For the first time in history, the three largest student groups—the Association of Student Governments, the National Student Association, and the Student Mobilization Committee—have united in organizing a nationwide action. Students everywhere are going to turn the campuses into bases for massive community antiwar activity. The student moratorium will join with the off-campus community in late afternoon and early evening rallies and meetings. We will have a meaningful commemoration of the invasion of Cambodia and the killings at Jackson and Kent. We will give added new power to the movement to stop the killings in Indochina and at home!

We are told that the "enemy" is the people of Indochina, a people who want only to rid themselves of a hated dictatorship and to stop a genocidal invasion by the most powerful country in the world. The war in Vietnam is a war of aggression against a movement of national liberation. The government in Washington which is waging that war is the same government that uses its power to perpetuate a system of racism and social injustice at home. By staying in the streets to force them out of Vietnam, we are making an enormous contribution toward the giant task of changing the face of this country, toward building a new society where freedom, justice and equality will be a reality, not a myth. United, we can win and we will win!



# S.F.: Tapia's actions were not 'militant'

The following article by Antonio CAMEJO of the Socialist Workers Party is reprinted from the April 29 *Daily Californian*, student newspaper at the University of California in Berkeley. It was written in response to a previous article in the *Daily Californian* which approved the disruption of the militant April 24 antiwar rally in San Francisco. The disruption began when 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 Chicanos, Native Americans, and Asians are able to get up on the platform with me." The platform was then taken over by a small group of ultra-lefts who prevented the appearance of a number of other scheduled speakers. The speakers lists in San Francisco and Washington were the most representative ever for a national antiwar action, including revolutionary socialists, Black and Chicano nationalists, feminists, and other spokespersons for the left-wing of the antiwar movement.

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

Some white radicals, along with the reactionary Hearst Press, were happy about the disruptive action caused by Abe Tapia and some members of the Brown Berets, at Saturday's antiwar rally. The Hearst press used Tapia's attack on the antiwar movement to discredit the march as a great outpouring of "people's hatreds." Some white radicals, including the *Daily Cal*, saw the disruption as "the militants" taking over a "conservative" rally.

In the April 26 *Daily Cal*, Steve Brint states: "Tapia was obviously enraged by the nonmilitant tone of the rally. . . ." The only thing that is obvious is that Steve Brint doesn't know who Abe Tapia is. Tapia is president of the Mexican-American Political Association (they're not even "militant" enough to change their name to *Chicano*). MAPA is one of the most conservative organizations in the Chicano movement. It has a long record of supporting every liberal white Democratic politician that has come along, including even some Republicans.

Tapia himself has had a career as a "Mexican-American" ward heeler within the Chicano community. In 1970, he ran in the Democratic Party primaries for state assemblyman. That same year, MAPA endorsed the moderate Democrat O'Brien (a gringo) for

attorney general of California. Because MAPA has come more and more under the fire of the real militants in the Chicano movement, such as the Raza Unida Party, Tapia has attempted to talk out of the left side of his mouth on occasions to fool the naive and unaware, and yes, the paternalistic white liberals.

But Tapia has played an even more dangerous role than that. In the aftermath of the Chicano Moratorium last summer, Mayor Yorty, L. A. Police Chief Davis, and Sheriff Pitchess opened a vicious red-baiting campaign against the leadership and activists of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee (NCMC) and especially against "white radicals and long hairs" whom they claimed were responsible for all the violence.

The white, racist ruling class of L. A. singled out the Progressive Labor Party, which they described as "a predominantly white organization" as the "instigators" of the violent confrontation, thus attempting to confuse people (especially the Chicano community) as to where the violence really came from, namely the police. These racist Democratic Party politicians hoped to isolate and disorient the NCMC and intimidate the entire Raza community into silence through this "red-scare." Abe Tapia's role in L. A. was to take this anticommunist crusade directly into the movement, stating at various community meetings that we had to be wary of "communists" and outside agitators. Tapia also organized a goon squad to physically break up a PL demonstration, thereby proving to Police Chief Davis that he, at least, was anticommunist. The police stood by and laughed while Democratic Party opportunist Tapia did their dirty work.

Just as Tapia used "pseudonationalist" rhetoric for reactionary purposes in East Los Angeles, he again pulled the same maneuver last Saturday. Unfortunately, he succeeded in fooling some people. Tapia's attack on the rally was from the right, not the left! He claimed that he was tired of "whites asking poor people for money." First of all, that money collection was voluntary, and for the purpose of helping the antiwar movement continue its efforts to bring the GIs home, which includes thousands of Chicanos and Latinos. Secondly, how many times has Tapia gone into the Chicano community raising money and campaign-

ing for the worst sell-out white Democratic politicians? That wasn't militancy. It was hypocrisy.

The takeover which Tapia instigated under the cover of being "militant" had another effect. It resulted in preventing Jesus Ramirez, a scheduled speaker and an organizer of the Raza Unida Party from Southwest Texas from speaking. The Raza Unida Party in Texas has been leading a militant struggle for Chicano control of Southwest Texas, which is majority Chicano. And it is precisely *vendidos* (sell-outs) and opportunists like Tapia that they have had to fight against.

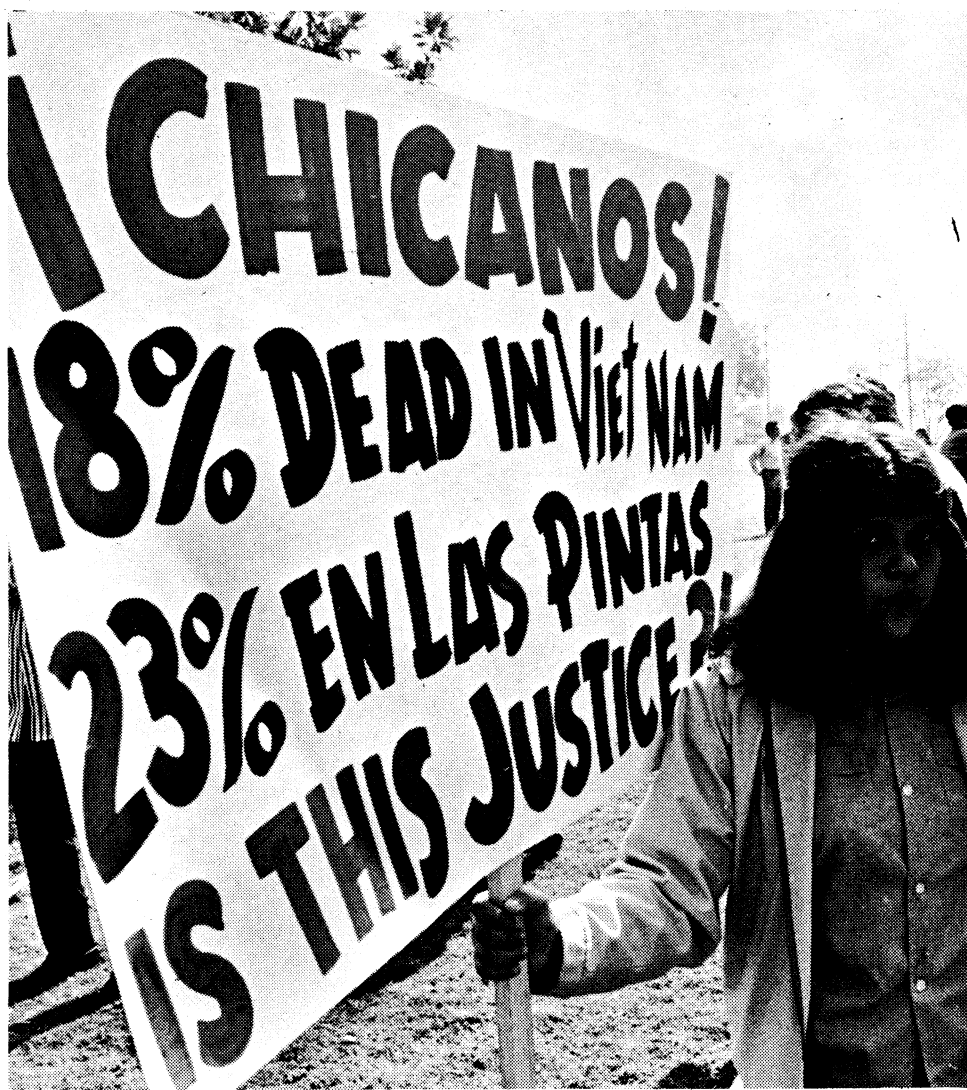
The over 4,000 Raza that marched as part of a united antiwar demonstration did not come to show their "machismo" and put on an act for white liberals. They marched together with Blacks, Native Americans, Asians, and whites because we are serious about ending this racist, imperialist war and serious about ending

the slaughter of Raza youth. The Raza contingent was the largest Raza antiwar action yet to be organized in Northern California.

The potential clearly exists for mobilizing millions of our Raza into militant protest against the war. There are also growing numbers of Raza youth who want to go beyond ultraleft rhetoric and reach out to our people.

Although Tapia berates them, the hundreds of thousands of whites who marched in Washington and San Francisco were doing more to help our Raza GIs in Vietnam than he has ever done. We Third World people who suffer most from this racist war have also the most to gain by injecting ourselves into the antiwar movement. That time is long overdue.

It is unfortunate that those who did nothing at all to mobilize our people in a concrete protest decided to utilize the efforts of others for their own sectarian purposes.



## Prosecution rests in New Haven trial

By TIM CRAINE

NEW HAVEN, May 3 — The state has rested its case in the trial of Black Panthers Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins. When the trial resumes tomorrow, the defense may move that the charges be dropped on the grounds that the state's case, which hinges on the rather contradictory testimony of key witness George Sams, is insufficient.

Through the testimony of Sams, the prosecution has attempted to prove that Alex Rackley was murdered by members of the New Haven chapter of the Panther Party on orders from National Chairman Bobby Seale. He visited New Haven May 19-20, 1969, to give a speech at Yale University. The defense contends that the initiative for the murder came from Sams himself, who as a "national representative" had assumed a leadership role in the New Haven chapter and intimidated other members into following his plan.

Before Sams testified, the defense unsuccessfully moved to declare his in-

competence to testify. Two psychiatrists called to the stand seem to feel that Sams is mentally sick, though still "competent" to testify under the narrow legal definition of the term. Sams' personal history shows testing at IQ levels of 64 and 75 (on the order of retardation), institutionalization on three occasions, and according to one doctor, "strong impulses of a violent nature." The defense was barred from directly questioning the doctors as to his mental competence.

The most critical part of Sams' testimony implicates Seale. Sams claims that after Seale's speech at Yale, he visited the apartment of Warren Kimbro, a prosecution witness, where Rackley was being held. Also present in the same room, according to Sams, were Landon Williams and Rory Hithe (two defendants recently extradited from Colorado) and Kimbro.

Kimbro's testimony, however, indicated that he had not seen Seale at his apartment but had been told that Seale, having spent the night else-

where, did visit his apartment early in the morning of May 20. It is during this questionable meeting that Sams says Seale gave orders to kill Rackley. Seale allegedly stated, "What do you do with a pig? A pig is a pig. Off the motherfucker."

Under cross-examination by Seale's defense counsel, Charles Garry, Sams burst into a 10-minute tirade denouncing Seale for being drunk "all the time" on "Cutty Sauce" (sic). He claims that Garry was on the Central Committee of the Panther Party and implied that John Huggins, Ericka's husband, had been killed by the party and not by Ron Karenga's US organization in Los Angeles.

Sams regained his composure for the next session, at which he was cross-examined by Catherine Roraback, defense counsel for Huggins. Roraback caught Sams in a series of contradictions between his testimony at this trial and his previous testimony at the trial of Lonnie McClucas. At the latter trial, he testified that McClucas carried

hot water to the basement of Kimbro's apartment to use in torturing Rackley, whereas in this trial he claims that Ericka Huggins was the one who did it. "Are you saying that your memory is better now than in 1969 or 1970?", Roraback asked Sams. "Yes," Sams replied.

Another apparent contradiction in testimony between the Seale-Huggins and McClucas trials was revealed in that of Nicholas Pastore, a prosecution witness. Pastore, a deputy inspector for the New Haven Police Department in May of 1969, testified he saw Seale on six separate occasions during his visit to New Haven, one of which he did not mention at the McClucas trial.

Garry's cross-examination brought out the fact that Pastore is currently employed by the prosecutor, State's Attorney Arnold Markle, in a job that is not a civil service position. Pastore said he did not feel his job was dependent upon Markle's "goodwill" toward him.

# Uncovering the truth about Chicano history

Froben Lozada, chairman of the Chicano Studies Department at Merritt College in Oakland, Calif., and 1970 candidate for attorney general on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, spoke at the Chicano Mobile Institute held recently at Adams State College in Alamosa, Colo. Major excerpts from his talk, "Education and the Rural Chicano," are reprinted below.

The Mobile Institute at Alamosa, fourth and last of a series held in Colorado, had an attendance of 450, nearly double the size of the others. This was surprising in view of the relative isolation of Alamosa, which is high in the Rockies and far from any major city. Leaders of the Institute attributed the heavy attendance to the broad range of radical speakers invited to address the conference. In addition to Lozada, major addresses were given by Josepha Sanchez of Los Angeles and Enriqueta Vasquez, an associate editor of *El Grito del Norte*.

A literature table set up by the Young Socialist Alliance at the conference sold over \$100 in books and pamphlets from the Aztlán and Militant bookstores in Denver.

The subject around which this conference revolves is rural education. I'm sure, however, as evidenced by today's workshops, that there are a good number of persons here who are qualified to address themselves to that specific question. So it occurs to me that it is necessary to broaden the subject from rural education, urban education, higher education, to education in general. Because whether it be rural or urban, we Chicanos know what it hasn't been and to a large degree, we know what it has been—we should question both.

Instead of education, we have for years and years been getting miseducation, gross quantities of miseducation under the cover or screen of "education." Therefore, it seems to me that under the present setup, a person having a Ph D is only a person that has a few more years of miseducation than a person with a Master's degree. A person with a Master's degree, in turn, has two more years of miseducation than one with a BA.

Another thing that we all must understand is that education doesn't begin when you're six years old, nor does it end when you're 25 years old. It's a continuing process, and more often than not the best education comes from outside these halls.

My education, for instance, began the moment I was born a bastard out of the womb of a 12-year-old mother in the barrios of South Texas. Kindergarten for me was going into a Weslaco, Texas, drugstore at the age of five for an ice cream cone and finding two 20-year-old gringos sitting there at the counter, looking at me. Finally, as I waited for my cone, one of them reached over, patted me on the head, and said, "My, what a nice Mexican boy." He then proceeded to pour a glass of ice cold water on my head while everybody laughed. My education has continued along those very lines to this day.

## 'Dark chapter in history'

I remember that in school, that is, in the so-called schools of formal education, when I would ask the teacher about the period of slavery, she would always answer me with the line that it was a "dark chapter in the history of our country." That's what she would say—"our country."

I read later that when Robert F. Kennedy was in Indonesia, the students there asked him about the United States' war with Mexico, between 1846 and 1848, which ended when President Polk ripped off half of Mexico. Kennedy told them, "That was a dark chapter in our history."

In college, when I would ask the history professor about the genocide against the Native Americans, he would quickly say, "That was a dark chapter in the history of our country."

As I continued reading, I found out about the United States in the Philippines and Cuba around the turn of the century, and I read about the U.S. sending troops into Mexico around 1912 to chase Pancho Villa. I learned about the Marines invading Nicaragua in 1926. Then came the Dominican Republic, where the U.S. went in to protect American lives from 30 "communists." And there was Cuba, and the Bay of Pigs, which was explained away as a mistake.

Now it's Vietnam and Cambodia, and Mylai. Ask your teachers and you will be told that it's

a "mistake," an "isolated incident," or again, a "dark chapter in the history of our country."

As you thumb through the pages of U. S. history, you'll find out that it doesn't matter what page you turn to—it's dark.

## Not individuals, but the system

This is the way you and I have been educated. The question is, why are we given this pap, why have we been told this was an "isolated incident" or that was a "mistake"? It should be very obvious to us all. It's done to confuse us, to mislead us into thinking that these so-called isolated incidents were accidental, and that they shouldn't have happened, instead of admitting that in reality these were not mistakes, but the deliberate and planned policy of our so-called leaders. This was deliberately planned violence against the peoples of the Third World.

There is another reason, even more significant, and that is that we are supposed to think and to accept the erroneous idea that one man can make

Here it is important to point out that we Chicanos have an important role to play. That role is to be part of the vanguard that will put a stop sign on this road—and if not a stop sign right now, at least a detour until later.

## Education—for whom?

It's all right to talk about rural education, urban education, and higher education. I'm all for it, but the question is, "What kind of an education?" The 30,000 rich millionaires I mentioned—these truly sinister forces—defy reform of the educational system. Those of you who believe that the system can be reformed have to ask yourselves a few questions. Reform it for whom? For those who already rule this country, thereby making it easier for them to continue to fool La Raza, easier for them to oppress others, and easier to get even richer?

Do you think these millionaires are going to let us elect a revolution? Impossible! We can use elections as a tactic—yes, a tactic—to truly educate

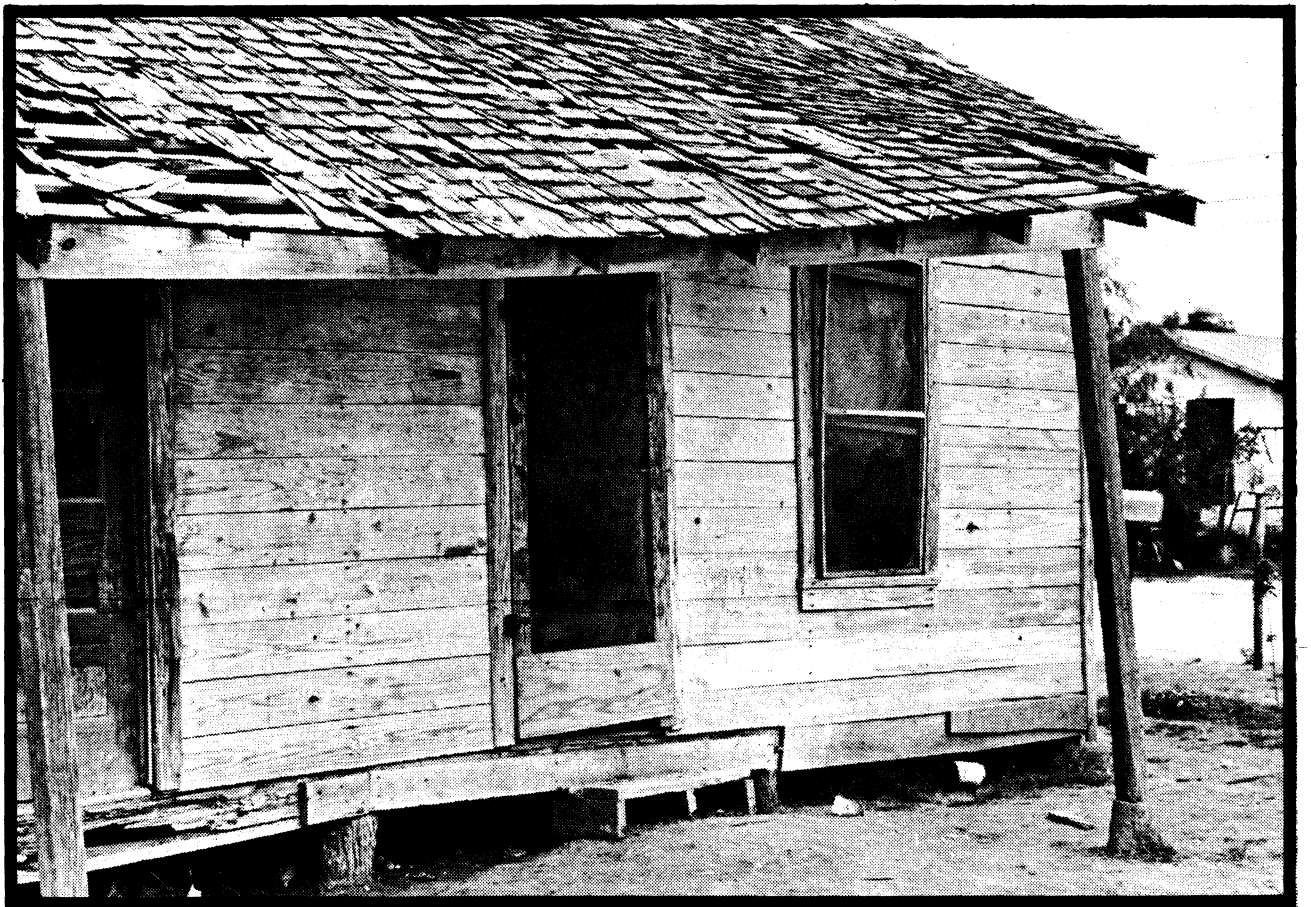


Photo by Antonio Camejo

"It's useless to educate if in the end Chicanos are going to end up as wage slaves. Look at the potential Einsteins working for years and years in farms, working in dehumanizing conditions." Above, an example of housing for Chicanos in Crystal City, Texas.

a difference in the policy of the American government. We are supposed to buy the false notion that it is the individual that counts, not the party.

Time and time again we are told this. They want us to believe that if so-and-so had not been U. S. president, Mexico wouldn't have lost Aztlán, or that if so-and-so were in office today, he would have ended the war in Vietnam.

Once you are miseducated into believing that, you don't question the system any further, but instead look forward to another election, and hope that the right, honest and charismatic candidate will step forward. Once you accept that, you no longer look for the decisive determining factor that causes any president of the United States to take forceful actions. Behind the president, no matter who he is under the present system, are tremendous social and economic forces that determine for the president what he should do. The most significant and powerful force is those 30,000 rich and super-rich people who own and rule the country. No matter how strong a president this country has, he has to respond and bend to these powerful multimillionaires.

So you see, one man doesn't make the difference. He couldn't even if he wanted to—assuming that he would want to in the first place. After all, he was elected to office only because those powerful economic and social forces knew that he would defend *their* interests—not the interests of the Chicanos, the Blacks, the Native Americans, and the Asian-Americans. These forces can push their president down any road they wish.

La Raza. But the candidates must be running outside of the two parties of our oppressors. Good examples are the Raza Unida parties in Texas and Colorado, and those beginning to form in California. This is an excellent tactic, because we must utilize every tool we can get our hands on.

But let's get back to the subject of education. We are living in a society in which teachers are victimized if they take up the struggle of the oppressed and those who are rewarded are not rewarded for their ability to teach but for their ability to distort.

Historians, political scientists and economists are among the worst apologists for the system. Publish or perish, they are told. What does this mean? It means that they must provide the ruling class with justifications, rationalizations, excuses and distortions so that it can continue to oppress the farm workers here and the Vietnamese there. Throughout the world, the U. S. develops economic underdevelopment and in the schools we find the development of mental underdevelopment!

Education, whether it's rural or urban, must be controlled by La Raza if it's to be for La Raza and teach the true history of the Chicano. We know our true history has been deliberately ignored and distorted. And Blacks know that their history has been left out of the history books or distorted. The same holds true for the history of the Native Americans and the Asian-Americans. In fact, not only has Chicano history been ignored, not only has Black history been distorted, not only has Native American history been left out, but the



entire history of the United States and the world has been distorted.

They don't want us to know what went on in the past and they don't want us to know what is going on now.

Let me give you an example of the education that comes out of the hallowed halls of universities. Some time ago, I was sitting in the Last Chance Bar in Oakland, Calif., talking about the government's lack of concern for the problems of Chicanos and of people in general. I was coming down hard on the system when all of a sudden a man sitting behind me piped up and said, "This country doesn't owe you anything!" This eavesdropper really irritated me and I turned to him and said, angrily, "What this country owes La Raza it has not yet begun to pay. This country will never be able to pay La Raza for the thousands of Chicanos who have died on foreign soil fighting rich men's wars. But why should I argue with you anyway because you don't even have the power to oppress me?"

I was furious driving home, thinking about this racist intruding into our conversation. The more I thought about it, the more I knew I had heard this before. It had meant the same thing when I had heard it before, but it was worded differently, it came in a different package. I knew I had heard it somewhere coming in a neatly decorated package with red, white and blue ribbons tied around it. Not only that, that time the statement came from a man dressed in a \$200 suit whose image on TV came on in great fashion and with charisma. That man once told us the very same thing but made it more palatable, disguised it better. In fact, people were supposed to applaud. And they did. No, this man did not say, "This country doesn't owe you a damn thing." He was smarter than that. He could deceive people better. That's why he told us the same thing, but in this manner: "Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country."

You see, its worded differently, but it means the same thing. However, there's a big difference between the racist at the bar and John F. Kennedy. The difference lies in the power to oppress. To the latter, what you can do for your country is go die 10,000 miles away, but still this country doesn't owe you anything.

#### Chicano control of education

So, we have to look at education with a broad perspective. And community control of our education is a very important step. It is really the obligation of every Chicano and Chicana to struggle to force the American government to finance the education of every member of La Raza whether



Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles Sept. 16, 1970.

he or she be four years old or 90 years old. It is the duty of every Chicano to point out the contradictions of a government that is willing to spend \$14-million on the storage of wheat alone but only pennies for the education of migrants. In California alone, only one migrant child out of eight has been helped by the migrant school program.

It is the duty of every one of us here to educate the workers on the land question. But remember one thing: unions organize on an economic level, but a political education goes beyond the question of wages per hour. It's useless to educate if in the end Chicanos are going to end up as wage slaves. Look at the potential Einsteins working for years and years in farms, working in dehumanizing conditions. What good is it for me to stand here as the chairman of Chicano Studies at Merritt College and as Scholar-in-residence at San José State College while thousands of Chicanos continue to be slaves? What about the hundreds of infants, *bebidos*, these potential artists and potential Zapatas whose potential will never be tapped because they died at birth?

We must work for a better future—a world without concrete jungles and where workers will not need to be crowded into *barrios* so that cheap labor can live closer to the factories; a world in which everybody, including college professors, will take a turn picking the lettuce and the beets, and where the university becomes the entire country, with a

university education being a right for all and not a privilege for the few.

This is not unrealistic. Some, especially liberals, say that it's unrealistic, or that it's not the time yet. Ninety miles south of Florida, some people used to say that, but the masses did not agree. Those few who used to say it are now in Miami getting more benefits and better programs than La Raza ever did. These are the *gusanos*—"maggot" is the best translation of this word for counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles. Illiteracy in that little country down there is down to 3 percent. You can compare that to the Golden State of California where 14.6 percent of all Chicanos have had no schooling whatsoever!

In Cuba, they became a part of that great humanity *que ha dicho Basta!* [that has said "Enough!"] The only Raza on the entire continent that does not have to bow down to *gringos* in any way is that Raza living 90 miles south of Florida. They are the only ones who have ousted *gringo* ideology from their soil.

In this country, we can start by having La Raza control rural and urban education, thereby untangling all the distortions of our history. It is the duty of every Chicano and Chicana here to bring to light all these so-called "dark" chapters of history. And if in order to bring light it is necessary to arrive at the "hour of the furnaces"—*la hora de los hornos*—then let it be! *Viva la Raza!*

## Chicanas prepare for national conference

Publicity and interest are building up around the Conferencia de Mujeres por La Raza (Conference of Chicana Women) to be held in Houston May 28-30. The April 1 issue of *Papel Chicano*, a newspaper published in the Houston barrio, carried an article about the views of one of the leaders of the conference, Grace Gil Olivares.

Grace Gil Olivares, who is the first woman to graduate from Notre Dame University and has a law degree, will be leading one of the many workshops planned during the conference.

Olivares addressed a meeting of about 40 Chicanas, Latinas and Black women in Houston where, according to the article by Kris Vasquez, she "told us the facts about this male chauvinist world and to wake up!"

Olivares told the meeting her opinion that one of the biggest oppressors of women is the media, ranging from newspapers to television. "On the television series, we are portrayed as dumb broads; for example, the Debbie Reynolds Show, the Doris Day Show, the Flying Nun, and the Lucy Show, which all portray scatterbrained females and their kooky adventures through each trying day. . . . According to television commercials all *mujeres* should have tinted long hair, a special make-up kit to blend with her complexion, an 18-hour girdle, a cross-your-heart bra, and a

FEMININE spray because she sure does stink (What about the men?). In other words, they are telling us we don't have a brain so we better have a body."

The article goes on to quote Olivares on the subject of contraception and abortion: "One of my pet peeves is contraceptives and poor people—Chicanos, whites, Puerto Ricans and Blacks—who have been the guinea pigs testing the pill and died in the process. How many *men* have you heard of dying using the pill? The IUD, which is inserted inside the woman's womb, has caused hemorrhaging and cramps and caused some women to become sterile. A man is considered *muy MACHO y muy HOMBRE* [strong and manly] if he gets a woman pregnant; this woman cannot get pregnant again until approximately 10 and one-half months later, but this same man can get another woman and another and another pregnant during this time.

"What happens to this woman if she is unwed? She has to face the disgrace that this double-standard society places on her for being caught having a child out of wedlock or risk her life at the hands of a quack or butcher obtaining an abortion.

"How many *men* have you heard of dying from an abortion? The safest method of birth control is a vasectomy, which can be performed on a man in a matter of 45 minutes and in



Los Angeles Chicano Moratorium, Jan. 31, 1971.

Photo by John Gray

a doctor's office. . . . When is this society going to wake up and start putting some of the burden and responsibility of birth control on men?"

*Papel Chicano* urges all Chicanas and Spanish-speaking women to at-

tend the conference if they are interested in any of these topics. For more information about details of the conference, contact: Elma Barrera, c/o Magnolia YWCA, 7305 Navigation Blvd., Houston, Texas 77011.

# A tribute to Ruth Shiminsky

By HARRY RING

Ruth Shiminsky, a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party, died in Newark, N.J., April 27, at the age of 51. She had suffered from cancer for the past several years. She is survived by her husband, Al, and three children, Joe, Steve and Eloise.

A revolutionary activist for 35 years, Ruth's death leaves a void for many of her comrades, particularly those of her generation whose respect and love for her deepened over the years.

Ruth's devotion to the Socialist Workers Party and the revolutionary cause it represents was absolute. She remained steadfast in her socialist convictions throughout the years despite the hardships of her personal life and the difficulties suffered by the movement during the long years of cold-war isolation.

Ruth was a revolutionary worker



Ruth Shiminsky during her 1965 SWP campaign for governor of New Jersey.

whose opposition to capitalism permeated the very marrow of her being. She was passionate in her hatred for every manifestation of social injustice and identified in the deepest sense with every victim of oppression, with a particular kinship for all those who stood up and fought against it.

Ruth became active in the socialist movement during the depression year of 1936. Her father was then an unemployed shoe worker, her mother an unemployed garment worker.

She joined the Brooklyn Young People's Socialist League, youth section of the Socialist Party, and soon joined the Trotskyist caucus within it. The expulsion of that caucus from the Socialist Party led to the founding in 1938 of the Socialist Workers Party.

Ruth was an activist in the New York SWP until the end of 1945 when she moved to Newark. The Newark SWP was particularly hard hit during the McCarthy era and Ruth was among the handful there who resisted the pressures and sought to hold the movement together.

Ruth was in many ways a unique personality. She was an extremely outspoken person and this sometimes proved a handicap in her personal relations. But her lack of tact was, at the same time, an expression of what was her greatest strength. She was a political person with a sound grasp of Marxism. But even more, she was a thoroughgoing rebel—as much so as anyone I've known. And it was that rebelliousness that made it possible for her to survive and develop during the difficult years. It was

utterly incomprehensible to Ruth that anyone could make peace with this rotten, degrading social system.

Yet her hatred of all that was rotten in capitalist society did not prevent her from enjoying to the full whatever there was of a worthwhile nature.

Despite her lack of formal education, and while a full-time movement activist, she developed herself as a genuinely cultured person. I've known few people without special training whose artistic tastes were as varied or discerning.

Ruth had a special love for music and enjoyed it in all its forms—classical, traditional jazz, modern, rock.

Similarly with art. She appreciated modern abstractions along with the classics and was as capable of enjoying the work of a talented unknown as that of an established name.

And while she developed a cultivated taste in the arts, she continued to enjoy nothing more than relaxation with friends and comrades. Some drinks, dancing, and a good meal with people she liked was her greatest treat.

Ruth's love of companionship was not at all unrelated to her revolutionary outlook. She was the kind of socialist of whom it could really be said that nothing human was alien to her. She identified in the deepest sense with the victims of every kind of oppression. From the outset, she was an enthusiastic partisan of the Black liberation movement and welcomed the women's liberation and gay liberation movement with equal satisfaction.

It was sad that Ruth's illness coincided with the present rise of radicalism, and that she was deprived of the opportunity of participating actively in movements that she had so long awaited. This is particularly true of the women's liberation movement. Ruth was a feminist long before the word gained its current status.

In recalling all these virtues that were Ruth's, I don't intend in any way to suggest an unflawed personality. As an individual human being, she was far from perfect, and her faults could be said to be of the same magnitude as her virtues, even though they weighed far less in the balance and diminished as she gained maturity.

In material terms, Ruth's life was a hard one throughout. Emerging from the depression, she never had the opportunity to acquire a skill or a trade and invariably wound up with hard, low-paying factory jobs, or slinging hash. For the 20 years of her marriage, she shared the responsibility of maintaining a home and raising three children on a factory worker's wages. In the last years, she suffered the physical pain of her illness and the even greater pain of increased confinement.

James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, once observed—and perhaps he was paraphrasing someone else—that youth is the age of genuine wisdom. Young people cannot grasp such concepts as modifying or compromising one's principles for the sake of some alleged practicality. The mark of a person's life, Cannon observed, is the capacity to march to the music of their youth—the capacity to remain true to the ideals and the vision of their youth.

Measured by that standard, Ruth Shiminsky's life was a genuine triumph.



San Francisco, April 24

Photo by John Gray

## Third World Liberation Notes

The Brooklyn Black Political Convention (BPC) held a preconvention conference here in New York April 3. Tentative plans were laid for a convention at Mt. Addis Ababa in Parkville, N. Y., July 3-5, to establish a Black political party.

Slightly more than 100 people attended the conference, held in The East, a cultural and educational center in Brooklyn for people of African descent. The BPC was formed at a meeting last Nov. 7. Over 300 people attended the founding meeting, and a 30-member steering committee was selected to carry on the work.

Discussion at the conference was geared mainly toward structure rather than program or action. For those wanting more information, write to: Black Solidarity Political Party, c/o The East, 10 Claver Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11238. Telephone: (212) 636-9400. Mt. Addis Ababa, the site for the convention, is a piece of land owned by Black people.

The United Citizens Party (UCP) of South Carolina ran their own candidates in the special April 27 election for the congressional seat left vacant by the recent death of Rep. L. Mendel Rivers. The candidate was Victoria DeLee, longtime Black activist. The UCP is a Black-oriented party formed in late 1969.

DeLee received 7,965 votes. The winner, Mendel J. Davis, received 38,012. Davis, a 28-year-old white racist and Democrat, was River's godson and was on his congressional staff.

DeLee has long been active in the fight for the rights of Black people. During the campaign, she spoke out against the war in Vietnam and pointed to the widespread poverty and malnutrition existing among South Carolina Blacks.

The UCP was initiated by Blacks, some of whom tried to work in the Democratic Party but became frustrated.

According to the United States Women's Bureau, 1.5 million people were employed in private-household work in 1970. This was a decline of 100,000 from 1969. Of this 1.5 million, 97 percent were women and 64 percent were Black. The average weekly wage of domestic workers was \$66.

Through clouds of rhetoric like, "I want to be a voice from the outside on the inside," Rev. Leon H. Sullivan, the modern-day Booker T. Washington, ascended to a position on the almighty Board of Directors of the General Motors Corporation.

This lone token is the head of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America—a job training program heavily financed by big business and the government, which belies its so-called self-help philosophy.

He has a three-year plan for GM. It includes the training of 5,000 Black mechanics, hiring of 1,000 Black executives, and increasing the number of Black GM dealerships—there are only 10 out of 13,000. But the most publicized remarks of Rev. Sullivan are those directed at GM's relation to South Africa. The lone token says, "The South African government should be told that apartheid must come to an end . . . or else, office by office, plant by plant, business by business, we should get out." It is said that at the annual board meeting May 21, he plans to support the Episcopal Church resolution calling for an end to GM business there. The Episcopal Church owns stock in GM.

The stakes are high. GM has about 6,000 workers in South Africa, over half of whom are Black. The superexploitation of these workers brings in superprofits.

In fact, GM's move to put Rev. Sullivan on the board was an attempt to squelch the rising opposition to its operations in South Africa. According to the April 10 *Business Week* magazine, "First, it (Rev. Sullivan's appointment) reinforces GM's determination to take a new approach on the social-issue front . . . Second, such action strengthens GM's hand in its tough new stance toward its most searching critics, such as Ralph Nader and the Nader-flavored Project for Corporate Responsibility in Washington that runs Campaign-GM. In recent speeches, (James) Roche (GM chairman of the board), probably looking toward next month's annual meeting, lashed out against people who 'seek less to correct a wrong than to condemn a system . . . (who) crusade for radical changes in our system of corporate ownership, changes so drastic that they would all but destroy free enterprise as we know it.'"

In the April 28 *New York Times*, it was disclosed that television, a revolutionary means of mass communication, has now been approved by the South African government.

It won't be operational for four years. But when it is, there will be separate (!) channels for whites and nonwhites. According to the *Times*, Prime Minister John Vorster's "chief radical right-wing adversary is a former minister of posts and telegraphs, Dr. Albert Hertzog, who rejected television as a symbol of 'Western degeneracy' and declared that it would lead to the demoralization of South African civilization and the destruction of apartheid, or separation of the races."

—DERRICK MORRISON



# Vets' protests have dramatic impact

By LEE SMITH

One of the most emotionally powerful and politically significant features of the spring antiwar offensive has been the role of Vietnam veterans. The activities of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Concerned Officers Movement in the week leading up to the April 24 march in Washington undoubtedly helped to mobilize many thousands of demonstrators who decided to participate in the final days before the action. These outspoken veterans helped convince many Americans that they speak for the majority of GIs.

In a completely unprecedented ceremony, which may have had the biggest emotional and political impact of all the veterans' actions, between 500 and 1,000 vets filed past the capitol steps the day before the Saturday march and, one by one, flung back at the government hundreds of medals and decorations they had been awarded for fighting in Vietnam. Calling out the names of their buddies who had been killed, many of the men broke down and wept after hurling onto the steps purple hearts, distinguished service crosses, bronze stars, silver stars, and other medals.

A Gold Star mother from Trenton,

"We are not going in there at one in the morning and pick up some wounded veteran and throw him in the street," Lt. William R. Kinsey of the park police told the *Washington Post* Wednesday night.

"Vets Overrule Supreme Court," blared the headlines of the April 21 *Washington Star*, and the following evening, Thursday, April 22, Justice Department attorneys went before Federal District Judge George L. Hart Jr. to say they had changed their minds. Hart reversed the unenforced ban on the mall encampment, and in doing so, he angrily charged that the administration had "improperly used" his court and "degraded" the judiciary.

The dramatic demonstration of the antiwar movement's power to defy the nation's highest court, the testimony of Vietnam veterans before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the silent march past the White House, led by legless veterans, filled the pages of newspapers across the country and national TV news broadcasts.

The stories the veterans told of their experiences in Vietnam seared into the minds of millions of readers and viewers, spreading, deepening and intensifying the majority opposition to the

Muller: "... I don't know. But I'll tell you one thing. We are not there for the benefit of the South Vietnamese people. If anything, we're putting them in a worse bind now, and have ever since we started going over there. ... Because what we're doing now is telling them, 'You will be dead before you will be red, period.'"

The vets talked about the hatred of the Vietnamese for Americans.

When Susskind asked why the Vietnamese hate Americans, Muller answered that it was the racism of the war and described bayonet practice when "you're hitting Luke the Gook and Link the Chink every time you stick your bayonet in" and how GIs are trained to think of all Vietnamese as the enemy. Then Susskind got the following answers to his question—from Muller, Britt, Stephen McDonough, Jerry Coner, and Knight:

Muller: "They have got their farms. ... When you take them out of that and when you blow up and destroy their crops, relocate them, and destroy their towns, do you think they want you? Do you think they like you? You've got to be the most naive person in the world to think that the South Vietnamese want us there after what we've done to that country. ...

to get hurt. I mean this kind of a bomb strike is not going to leave, you know, anything living. So not only are the NVA getting killed, but anybody that happened to be walking down the road that night, there's going to be nothing left of them. ... Now there's an atrocity in itself."

But McDonough argued that Calley should not have been tried, saying he was trained and conditioned to do what he did. Muller responded: "You was talking about him being the product of the Army, the whole infantry, and all that garbage. There is no unit that brainwashes people like the Marine Corps that I went through. I was an infantry officer in Vietnam and I'll tell you that Calley is the most pitiful guy that I have ever come across. He committed cold-blooded murder. ... He shot in cold blood old men, women and children. ...

"Now if you want to bring in this question of how far [it should] be carried up the chain of command, I'll go with you on that, but don't take Calley, who admitted that he wasted these people, and exonerate him, make him a hero, when he's a cold-blooded, pitiful, lousy human being that is guilty of murder."



Photo by David Thorstad

Washington, D.C., April 24

N.J., threw back a bagful of her dead son's decorations.

That evening many of the veterans joined active-duty GIs (several hundred of them in uniform), Gold Star mothers, and other civilian supporters in a memorial church service at the National Cathedral for all who have fallen in the Indochina war. Organized by the Concerned Officers Movement, the service drew a crowd that overflowed the capacity of one of the country's largest churches.

The casting down of their medals, in the words of a former Marine, "as symbols of dishonor, shame and inhumanity," and the memorial service for the war dead climaxed five days of veteran antiwar activity in the capital city, setting the stage for the massive antiwar march the following day. Unprecedented numbers of veterans and active-duty GIs led the hundreds of thousands who demonstrated.

Three days earlier, after the Supreme Court had upheld the Justice Department's ban on their capitol mall encampment, the vets voted, despite a driving rain, to maintain the camp-in.

Conscious that the eyes of millions of antiwar Americans, sympathetic to the veterans, were focused on what the government would do, knowing that hundreds of thousands of those same Americans would be mobilized in action on the 24th, and realizing that the effect of acting on the court's order would be to swell the size of the mobilization even larger, the administration made its decision: the court's order would not be enforced.

slaughter in Southeast Asia and the sentiment for getting out now.

## Susskind show

On Sunday, April 25, six veterans appeared with David Susskind on WNEW-TV in New York. One of the six, Robert Muller, is paralyzed from the waist down; another, Bradford Britt, lost both legs in the war. For two hours, the six men poured out rage and bitterness against the government and against the war.

Twenty-one-year-old Charles Knight began the program saying that he had enlisted after dropping out of high school, hoping to learn a skill. "And I was trained in a completely different thing that couldn't help me now," Knight said, "unless I had a job with the Mafia."

Asked by Susskind how he felt about his experiences in Vietnam, Muller said: "Had like a pawn. ... I'm not bitter because I got shot through the chest. ... I went over there, and it was all my doing. ... But what got me bugged, and why I'm bitter, is the fact that I did put, naively, so much faith in my government. To find out that I was betrayed by my government."

Susskind: "How?"

Muller: "How? By telling me that I'm going over to Vietnam to help fight for these people ... who want their right to self-determination, and all this malarkey. That we're going there to repel a massive Communist invasion. Malarkey! That's not why we're there."

Susskind: "Why are we there?"

Knight said, "We are the instrument — when I say 'we' I am saying the military men—we are the instrument that brings about this annihilation of their structure, their cultural structure. They don't see us as fellows, like you know we got a home too. We have families and a wife. And many of them ask us this when they become friendly with you. 'Are you married?' 'Do you have a child?' And in comparing notes here, these people are trying to think whether we are truly demons that sprang out of the ocean, just down on them, just tearing their country up. We defoliated the jungles. Vietnam is a beautiful country. ..."

Britt: "Right, it's a beautiful country."

Knight: "We are taking away the beauty of these people."

Britt: "If there wasn't a war going on there, it would be a beautiful country."

Jerry Coner added, "Now it gets to [look like] the moon, the surface of the moon. If you're up in a chopper, all you see is craters."

Susskind asked them about atrocities and the Calley trial and verdict. Stephen McDonough said, "For one second let me mention something that people don't seem to realize. Let me talk about the B-52 strike. ... they would fly over a target and they would drop their bomb load, and their bomb load was enough to destroy all life larger than a field mouse in the area of 400 football fields. ... That would be one plane. ...

"Now, obviously somebody is going

On Monday, April 26, there was more talk of atrocities. Testifying in Washington before a Citizens' Commission of Inquiry, sponsored by 11 members of congress, six witnesses, five of them West Point alumni, described incidents of torture and murder of prisoners, massacre of civilians and the shelling of a hospital.

Ron Bartek, a former captain in the Army who served under Gen. Ellis Williamson while in Vietnam, charged that Williamson had ordered the artillery bombardment of an "enemy" hospital because "it was the only stable thing we could find. Their units moved and their headquarters moved."

The commission's hearing continued on April 27, 28, and 29. At the hearing on the 28th, former staff sergeant Danny S. Notley described the My Lai-style massacre of 30 civilians in the village of Troungkhanh on April 19, 1969.

Other testimony confirmed the pattern of racist carnage, which all the veteran witnesses insisted is typical of the war.

The veterans' accounts of war crimes have convinced millions of Americans who previously doubted that the atrocities reported by the antiwar movement really took place. Today the understanding is becoming widespread that My Lai was far from an aberration in the Vietnam war. This realization is helping to convince the antiwar majority of the population that the only way to end this criminal war of aggression is to bring all the troops home now.

# Against violence in the radical movement

By MARY-ALICE WATERS

On April 9, a serious incident occurred in New York between supporters of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPI—Movement for Puerto Rican Independence) and supporters of the Workers League.

According to a press release issued by the Workers League, a fight broke out when MPI supporters jumped Workers League member Juan Farinas, who was selling the *Bulletin* in front of the MPI headquarters on 14th Street. Fifteen supporters of the Workers League "were stationed in the area to defend those selling the *Bulletin* if any attacks were forthcoming from MPI." MPI supporters had previously told *Bulletin* salespersons they were not welcome to sell their newspaper at MPI functions.

According to the press release, when an attempt was made to drag Farinas into the hallway of the MPI office, "Workers League comrades came running up the block. . . and MPI supporters began pouring down the stairs, armed with lead pipes and knives." A fight ensued. The Workers League reported that after the melee three of its members required hospital treatment for injuries. Bob Kukiell received a concussion. Ernie McIntyre was stabbed in the hand and required seven stitches. John Holmes suffered a slash that cut his wrist to the bone, severing four tendons. According to the Workers League, he may not recover full use of his hand.

The fight ended when police sirens were heard approaching.

Supporters of the MPI have issued no written statements concerning the incident. However, José Antonio Iri-zarry, chairman of the New York section of MPI, told a representative of *The Militant* that the fight on April 9 erupted after *Bulletin* sales people had jostled an MPI member, Carmen Baerga, and the sellers were asked, for the second time that evening, to leave.

Whatever the actual sequence of events, several things seem clear from the reports of both sides. First, there had been growing political animosity between at least some supporters of the MPI and the Workers League in recent months. These MPI supporters had not previously been aware of the Workers League's opposition to Puerto Rican nationalism and its condemnation of the leadership of the Cuban revolution. Beginning in early March, the Workers League had been stepping up propaganda attacks on the MPI because of its support for Puerto Rican nationalism and because of its amicable relations with the Puerto Rican and American Communist parties.

Secondly, for whatever reason, MPI chose not to answer the *Bulletin's* propaganda with a political reply. Instead, at a public meeting held following the fight on the night of April 9, an MPI spokeswoman indicated that the MPI considers the Workers League supporters to be "pigs" and would treat them accordingly.

In a May 3 telephone interview with a representative of *The Militant*, Iri-

zarry indicated that the MPI wanted nothing to do with the Workers League, either politically or physically, but MPI leaders could not be held responsible for what other members of MPI might do to *Bulletin* salespersons.

From the two accounts, it is possible, we think, for the radical movement to come to a judgment on this incident, particularly since the leaders of the MPI do not deny that members of the Workers League were attacked.

Before expressing our own views, however, we would like to include as an essential part of the background, the stand taken by the Workers League in a comparable incident.

On Nov. 17, 1966, members of the Socialist Labour League, the British counterpart to the Workers League, attacked and severely beat Ernest Tate for selling literature, with which they disagreed, on the street in front of an SLL meeting place. The attack took place in the presence of SLL General Secretary Gerry Healy. Tate was a Trotskyist active in the British Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and in the work of the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal and was the manager of Pioneer Book Service, a major supplier of Trotskyist literature in England. The literature he was distributing was a pamphlet exposing the organizational practices and political character of the Healyite leadership. Tate had to be hospitalized following the attack but recovered without suffering lasting injuries.

For three months the *Bulletin* said nothing about the Tate incident, and then came out with both barrels blasting, not against Healy, but in his defense! The *Bulletin* took the position that "Tate and his political allies represent political scabs of the worst sort." The *Bulletin* justified the use of "working-class" (in this case used as a synonym for the SLL) violence against "scabs" and "servants of the class

**ON WORKERS DEMOCRACY** by Ernest Mandel. Why Marxists insist that violence within the working-class movement only serves the interests of the enemies of the movement. Why there must be a free, open and democratic exchange of political views among all radical tendencies. Order from the Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Single copies 5 cents. Bulk orders up to 200 copies, 3 cents each.

enemy." The *Bulletin* even said that "war" was involved.

Thus there is a very hollow ring to the appeal issued by the Workers League today to the Socialist Workers Party and other radical organizations to "denounce all physical attacks on other tendencies in the working-class movement."

By supporting the Tate beating and trying to convince others in the radical

Continued on page 22

## The National Picket Line

Some facts about the construction industry from a 1970 report by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics are useful reminders that building trades workers are not the stereotypes portrayed by the news media.

"Journeyman, accounting for 62 percent of total construction employment, work at many different crafts. Nevertheless, seven crafts—each with at least 100,000 journeymen workers—predominate. About 70 percent of all journeymen craft workers are employed as brickmasons; carpenters; electricians; excavating, grading, and road machinery operators; painters; plumbers; and truck and tractor drivers.

"Carpenters are numerically the most important group of journeymen in the industry (about 25 percent). The number of journeymen in the three next largest groups (painters, plumbers, and truck and tractor drivers) combined constitute about 24 percent of all journeymen," the report says.

How do they become journeymen?

"Apprentices, who constitute only about 1 percent of the industry's total work force, are employed in the industry in a ratio of about 1 apprentice to every 75 journeymen.

"In the carpentering trades, for example, there are almost six times as many carpenters' helpers as apprentices for a combined ratio of about 1 apprentice or helper to every 14 journeymen. Possibly only very few carpenters' helpers will ever become journeymen. Nonetheless, this is another avenue toward fully qualified journeymen status that some workers can take—particularly those who cannot gain entry into the formal apprenticeship programs."

How many Black workers are employed?

Most are laborers, few are allowed to break into the skilled trades.

"The proportion that Negroes are of all the major earners in construction, however, is about the same as the proportion of Negroes in the total population (11-12 percent).

"Negroes generally have less opportunity to work a full-year in construction than do other workers and considerably fewer Negro than white major earners work in the industry for more than one-half year."

How much money do construction workers get?

The 1967 statistics are the latest in the report on annual earnings. That year, 70 percent of all journeymen earned less than \$8,000, before tax deductions. Their take-home pay was closer to \$6,000. More than a third (38.6 percent) earned less than \$5,000. And 16.3 percent earned less than \$2,500. These are the highly paid skilled workers, said by some to be the cause of inflation.

Unskilled workers in the construction industry in 1967 were worse off. Seventy-five percent of them earned less than \$5,000 that year, and more than a third (38.3 percent) got less than \$2,000. Over a quarter (26.7 percent) earned less than \$1,000.

How do they live on so little?

"More than one-fourth of the industry's total work force earn most of their annual income in some other industry. In addition, many of the workers who earn all or the major part of their annual earnings in contract construction employment are only marginally attached to the labor force (e.g., students)."

The multimillion-dollar welfare and retirement fund of the United Mine Workers of America and the union-owned National Bank of Washington were held jointly responsible by a federal district judge in Washington, D.C., on April 28, for defrauding coal miners and miners' widows of millions.

This is the first and so far the only major case of this kind that has been prosecuted. There are others.

About 17,000 such plans are on file with the U.S. Department of Labor, covering more than 20 million workers. These pension plans are funded with monies that otherwise would go into workers' paychecks and are known to hold more than \$100-billion in assets.

Most of the workers covered will never collect a dime from any of them.

Congressional committees have been "investigating" the plans for more than a year but these capitalist politicians did nothing until the rank-and-file miners acted and the opportunity came to trap some unscrupulous union bureaucrats and in this way try to scandalize the union movement.

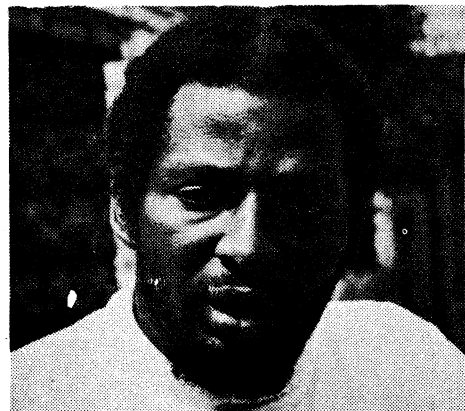
The steel industry is complaining again about "high costs," part of their propaganda campaign against the steel union and the wage demands of the steelworkers. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.'s chairman William J. Stephens told stockholders last month that the cost of producing a ton of steel is up \$31 in two years and prices have only been raised \$21. So of course the steel companies are losing money every day and crying their eyeballs out over the "unfairness" of it all. J & L only made a profit of \$10.7-million the first quarter this year.

But according to a report in the April 30 Wall Street Journal, "Stephens read a detailed list of cost increases incurred over the past 24 months, citing boosts of as much as 54 percent in the price of coal, 50 percent for scrap, 19 percent in freight, and 16 percent in natural gas."

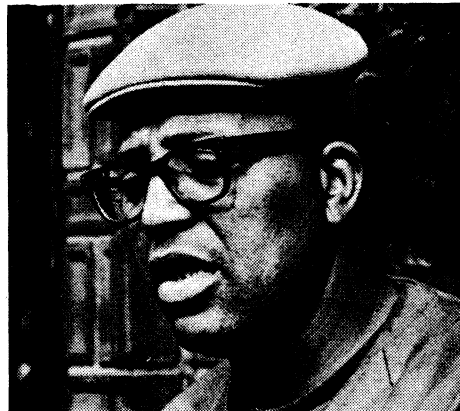
There has been no wage increase of 54 percent for coal miners during the past two years, so it is hard to attribute this increase in production costs to big wage boosts.

But when the steelworkers win higher wages to meet the sharp rise in the prices of consumer goods, the steel companies will come back with another big boost in steel prices to off-set "rising production costs," which they will then blame upon the workers who produce everything and manage nothing.

— FRANK LOVELL



**Roland Hayes:** "I graduated from high school with my machinist's certificate. I could operate a lathe, everything. None of the unions would let me in."



**Carl Morris:** "I used to be a hod carrier but I just couldn't get any higher. You can't get into the union without pull."



# Interview with a Quebec labor leader



Michel Chartrand

Photo by McInnis/Labor Challenge

The following are excerpts from an interview with the popular Quebec labor leader Michel Chartrand. The interview, obtained March 28 in Toronto, appeared in the April 26 issue of Labor Challenge, a Canadian revolutionary-socialist newspaper.

Chartrand is one of the best-known of the defendants in the Quebec political trials that the government has staged in the wake of last fall's political crisis. He recently completed an extensive cross-Canada speaking tour on behalf of the political prisoners.

On May 3, he and co-defendants Robert Lemieux, Pierre Vallieres, Charles Gagnon and Jacques Larue-Langlois—the "Montreal Five"—were scheduled to go on trial for alleged membership in the outlawed Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ). The trumped-up charge was made by the Quebec government under Prime Minister Trudeau's repressive Public Order Act. This trial is particularly absurd in light of the fact that the Public Order Act expired on April 30, which means that the FLQ is now a legal organization!

The Montreal Five have already successfully contested a charge of "seditious conspiracy," dropped in mid-February.

Michel Chartrand is president of the Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU).

**Labor Challenge:** The Montreal CNTU endorsed the Parti Quebecois in last year's election. Do you think the PQ is a viable alternative for the working people? What do you think of Rene Levesque's (head of the PQ) brand of "independence"?

Chartrand: I don't understand their position. We (the Montreal CNTU) made a declaration during the election that we don't go along with the PQ's economic program. I was in northwestern Quebec for a weekend seminar and some friends took me to a meeting of the PQ, and Parizeau, the PQ economist, was speaking there. He was saying there shouldn't be a monopoly among financiers in St. James St., there should be competition. I said (laughing), "What the hell will we get from competition between financiers?"

And as far as Mr. Levesque's position is concerned, that the PQ should not scare some American investment and some Ontario investment away, etc.—I don't understand that. I'm not smart enough and subtle enough to understand that. If you have a third party, you want it to be a radical party; at least it seems like that to me. Besides, if you want full power, it's to run the economy, not to have private enterprise run it. And either you run it or they will run it, so why not make up your mind?

I don't think you can have independence within the capitalist system. Mr. Trudeau himself wrote once that there is no national liberation within the capitalist system. There's no such thing as national capitalism; capitalism has no nationality.

**L. C.:** Do you think socialism involves public ownership of the foreign monopolies in Quebec?

Chartrand: Socialism to me is that the government, representatives of the people, are running the show. You have to have a planned economy. . . . I don't know what the margin for private enterprise will be; it is a secondary question. There is no reforming capitalism. Either you get rid of capitalism, which means you get rid of having private interests having a big stake in the state, or you don't get rid of it. . . .

**L. C.:** What do you think of the perspective for independent labor political action in Quebec?

Chartrand: Well, there are the political action committees of the CNTU. This is a very important thing because from there the workers will make up their minds whether they'll go into the provincial field, or stay in the municipal field. They have already elected aldermen and people on school boards outside of Montreal. Then if they have the feeling that they should build a workers political party, they'll do it.

It's no use to build it for them and ask them to join; they won't join, or even if they do join, they won't work if they don't have the feeling that they can change something: this is the problem.

**L. C.:** We have the impression that the FLQ is not any kind of continuing organization over the years, but that various groups of young people who want to take some kind of spectacular action have picked up the name and used it on several occasions. What exactly, in your opinion, is the FLQ?

Chartrand: Well, you have about the right idea about that.

. . . There are millions of people who are for the (FLQ) manifesto, thousands who are in sympathy with them, and some others who are willing to kill and kidnap, etc., but only 200 or 300 will do the kidnapping and the killing. But the way you put it before is right.

The Quebec courts have not been able to convict

one member of the FLQ, or one fellow being a member of the FLQ yet, except those who said that they were, and there were very few of them. Besides that, there was no organization for a revolution or an armed revolution.

For instance you have two or three boys from Manitoba, they met two others in a tavern and they decided that there would be a cell, maybe (laughing). And those from Manitoba, they didn't even know the names of the ministers in Quebec! So they put the names on a piece of paper. Then the police found the paper. They said, "Here, here they are! Here are the boys, they are serious boys."

**L. C.:** So there was no conspiracy?

Chartrand: (Laughing) Well if there was any, the Quebec and mounted police haven't found any yet.

**L. C.:** What do you think is the source of violence in Quebec?

Chartrand: I don't care what the source of the violence is; it's not my problem. It's not my problem either if some young people believe that we can't achieve social, economic or constitutional change through the democratic process. It is their right to believe so; and I have no authority and I have no intention of saying if they're right or if they're wrong.

I have my opinion, I've been advocating it. I think that people should be politically conscious before you can have an armed revolution. But if some others think differently, it's their own business. So I don't have to blame them and of course I won't blame them; this is what the Liberal Party would like us to do.

So those who have convictions and who act according to their convictions are respectable people to me. I sent a postcard to Paul Rose (convicted of taking part in the slaying of Quebec Labor Minister Pierre LaPorte last October) after his conviction and said to him: "Your conscience is your sole judge; the others, they don't even abide by their own laws."

**L. C.:** What do you think the effect of the mass protests has been on the trials, in particular, in the quashing of the charge against yourself and others?

Chartrand: I think the protests in English Canada have had a lot of influence in Ottawa. Because the Trudeau cabinet knew they would have the support of English Canadians. They thought that those protesting would not be very numerous, but they had a bad surprise when there were so many people protesting all over the country, and from so many different political tendencies.

. . . I think the demonstrations had a certain influence since these were really political trials.

**L. C.:** What's your impression of the tour you've just gone through? How does it compare with your previous contacts with English-Canadian students and radicals?

Chartrand: Wherever I went, the students there seemed very open-minded. They seemed to agree with what we have to say. They seemed to agree that there is no democracy in this country, because this country isn't run by representatives of the people but by private interests. As in Quebec, the youth of English Canada are looking for a new civilization. And I hope that they will have that new civilization.

**L. C.:** What is your opinion of the suggestion that you subordinate your struggle for Quebec independence in favor of some kind of alliance with English Canadians?

Chartrand: I have said very often that there are more and more good socialists in English Canada and more and better democrats, but just the same I don't think we can wait for a socialist government in English Canada. We should build our own independence, our own socialism and then, if there is a socialist government in Ottawa, we will be able to deal with it very easily. Otherwise we will just be waiting like the rest of Canada and I don't think we can do that. I don't think the people want to do that. Do you want to ask them to wait until English Canada becomes socialist? It doesn't make sense.

**L. C.:** How do you think English Canadian radicals can best help Quebec?

Chartrand: Get a socialist government in Ottawa.

# Protest at Detroit tank plant

By STEPHEN WILLIAMS

DETROIT—On April 30, more than 2,500 antiwar protesters demonstrated in Warren, Mich., demanding immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Southeast Asia and an end to all war production. The scene of the demonstration was particularly significant because Warren, a white suburb of Detroit, had been generally uninvolved in the antiwar movement, and in addition, the focus of the demonstration was the Warren tank plant, which produces over 80 percent of the tanks used in the Indochina war.

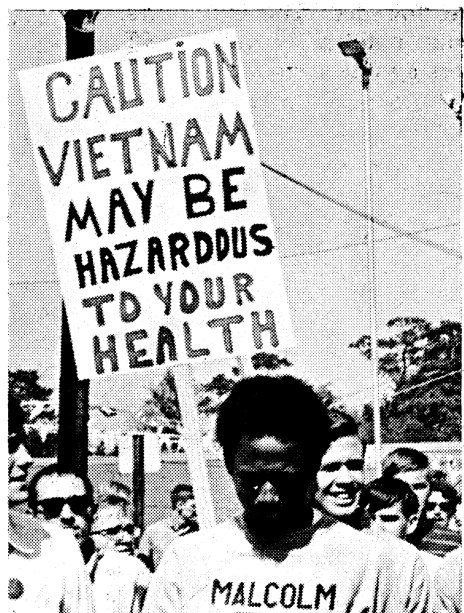
The action began with a demonstration at Macomb County Community College where about 1,500 mostly youthful antiwar protesters listened to Pete Kelly, vice-president of UAW Local 160 and chairperson of the United National Caucus, call for an immediate end to the war. Kelly also told the protesters that mass demonstrations are the key to involving rank-and-file trade unionists in the antiwar movement.

Other speakers were Luke Tripp of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Tom Wucetich of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and Angeline Terry of the Macomb National Welfare Rights Organization.

Most of the participants were young people who had not been able to go to Washington on April 24 and wanted to express their antiwar sentiment.

The march was led by 20 Vietnam veterans and escorted by some 30 motorcyclists. Hundreds of slogan-chanting young people followed them. At the tank plant itself, 30 right-wingers, led by Breakthrough, a fascist-style group of thugs, tried, unsuccessfully, to disrupt the demonstration. It is worthy of note that the right wing, which in the past has been able to mobilize hundreds of people in Warren to listen to demagogic, racist speeches, was only able to mobilize 30 counterdemonstrators. In spite of Breakthrough's attempts to tear down NLF flags, the demonstration itself remained peaceful. This apparently surprised the Warren police, who had organized more than a score of deputies and called for helicopter support to "maintain law and order."

The sponsors of the demonstration, which was organized by the Mayday Coalition, included the Macomb Liberation Front, Detroit Coalition to End the War Now, League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, East Side Mothers for Peace, UAW Local 160, and the newly formed Warren Citizens for Peace.



# Florida YSAer wins a victory for campus rights

By JOHN VOTAVA

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—Florida State University students won a victory in the fight for the right of free speech and assembly on campus April 19 when the Florida Senate Committee on Universities and Community Colleges withdrew a subpoena that had been issued to force Young Socialist Alliance leader Jack Lieberman to testify before them under oath.

The committee's decision followed a march of 300 FSU students to the capitol, cosponsored by a broad spectrum of groups including the American Civil Liberties Union, Black Students Union, Student Mobilization Committee, Tau Kappa Epsilon fraternity, Young Socialist Alliance, Vets for Peace, Center for Participant Education (CPE), Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, and Ray Gross, student government president.

Lieberman has been the target of continuing attacks by members of the Florida state legislature in recent weeks because of his role as instructor of a CPE noncredit course entitled "How to Make a Revolution in the U.S." The legislators have demanded that the course, which is funded by students' activity fees, should be banned from the campus and that Lieberman should be expelled for "advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence." They had made the demand even though Lieberman and students attending the class have repeatedly stated the course does not advocate violence.

In response to this refutation of their charges, the legislators have attempted to cloud the issue with red-baiting attacks and personal slanders of Lieberman. Their accusations have gone from calling the YSA leader a "bad-check passer" to "an S. O. B. card-carrying Communist." However, these attacks have failed as Lieberman has received increasing support for his right to teach the course. Both FSU President Stanley Marshall and the state Board of Regents have felt compelled to oppose the committee's demand that they ban the course, even though they have banned the YSA from Florida's campuses.

Lieberman had previously appeared before the committee voluntarily on April 12. When he had tried to read a statement protesting the committee's continuing attacks, he had been shouted down by the senators and served with a subpoena to appear April 19.

Three Florida mass-circulation dailies, the *St. Petersburg Times*, the *Miami News*, and the *Miami Herald* editorially denounced the high-handed conduct of the committee and supported Lieberman's right to teach the course.

In one day of petitioning on the FSU campus, Lieberman's supporters collected 1,100 signatures to present to the committee.

Because of the viciousness and blatantly undemocratic nature of the committee's attacks, a broad coalition was formed to mobilize support for Lieberman when he appeared April 19 to testify. New forces not previously involved in the fight for freedom of speech were mobilized in the march to the capitol. The building had a police-state atmosphere with cops blocking every entrance, allowing only a handful of students to enter and not allowing any of them to return to the building if they left.

Only eight students were permitted seats in the hearing room, which seats 75 people. The rest of the chairs were occupied by various officials, aides and lobbyists. It was during the hearing that for the first time the real political issue was articulated by the witch-hunters. The committee's opening statement declared that the senators had decided to investigate the course because it uses a text written by a "known founder of the American Communist Party" (James P. Cannon, *Socialism on Trial*).

The first and only witness called to testify that day was FSU President Stanley Marshall. During his testimony, Marshall said he agreed with the policy of banning the YSA, Gay Liberation Front, and Students for a Democratic Society from the FSU campus, but that he thought Lieberman had a right to teach his course as long as he wasn't violating the law. The inconsistency of his position became apparent when the committee's attorney, Dexter Douglas, brought out that Lieberman belonged to the YSA and that if YSA's activities were barred from the campus, why shouldn't Lieberman's class be banned.

Marshall replied that although YSA, GLF and SDS were all barred from the campus, their members were not. It is this contradictory position—that some individuals may have constitutional rights just so long as they don't exercise them to form political organizations—which has left the door open for the state legislature's witch-hunt. After Marshall was grilled for an hour, the subpoena was lifted from Lieberman and the hearing was

ended with Lieberman still a student and the course still being taught.

Besides exposing the fact that Marshall and the regents were really not fighting for full civil liberties on campus, the hearing showed the real purpose of the legislature's attack: to remove the YSA from Florida's campuses.

The fight for Lieberman's right to teach spelled a defeat for that cause and a victory for the YSA's fight for recognition as a campus organization. It also showed students the kind of power they have to bring the facts and issues before the public, and turn the tables against authoritarian officials.

Lieberman has received letters of support from around the country, including an invitation to speak before the Pensacola Lions' Club. Another letter came from a group of prisoners at San Quentin, Calif., who read about the controversy and wanted the course's syllabus and class notes to study. They said they had previously studied the class notes of Angela Davis when she was under fire from the California regents.

## ...Mayday

Continued from page 5

appear to be different views among the Mayday organizers as to what this means.

The call for the May Day action adopted in February at the Ann Arbor Student and Youth Conference on a People's Peace asserts that "the demonstration will not be Gandhi-like. People can and should defend themselves from attack." Other material, however, emphasizes that demonstrators will be nonviolent even when attacked, and shows pictures of pacifists like Gandhi and Martin Luther King.

Even if this confusion didn't exist, in our opinion small civil disobedience actions—whether in the Gandhi-King tradition or in the vein of violent confrontation—are not effective forms of action.

Snell refers to these tactics as "militant" and chides our opposition to them as taking positions no stronger than "liberal politicians." While we do not question the commitment and courage of those who employ such tactics, we feel that they are not oriented toward winning and mobilizing a mass movement. Small civil disobedience actions are easily dispersed, represent very little political power, and do not offer an avenue of expression and action for the masses of American people who oppose the war or may be convinced to oppose the war.

At this time, masses of people will defend antiwar fighters who are arrested or beaten for participating in legal, peaceful actions, but very few will identify with or support deliberate violations of the law by individuals or relatively small groups of individuals. When people state that they are purposely and illegally attempting to disrupt the government, as the Mayday Tribe has done, they isolate themselves from the masses of American people.

Snell fails to understand that the militancy of an action is not determined by whether people are willing to be arrested but rather by the effectiveness and the political goals of the action. By these criteria, the Mayday actions are nowhere near as militant as the massive April 24 "Out Now" demonstrations.

Snell, while supporting mass marches, believes they are "agonizingly slow" and should be supplemented by smaller civil disobedience actions. It's true that mass marches have not yet ended the war; but they are certainly the principal power that has forced Nixon into the position where he cannot escalate the war further or even send in more U.S. troops without risking a massive explosion of protest. He is retreating and we must keep mass pressure on him.

The frustration that some people feel is a reflection of their lack of confidence that many more Americans can yet be mobilized in action against the war. But desperate acts of moral outrage are not an effective substitute for building a powerful mass movement, even if it takes longer, seems less "dramatic," and means more work.

Contrary to Snell's assertion, we do not have "to wait months longer to build more mass marches." Immediately following the April 24 actions, there was an opportunity to build the May 5th antiwar moratoriums on campuses to commemorate the murders of Kent and Jackson State students one year ago.

We can help build the GI actions at military installations on May 15 and we can begin mobilizing people for the July 4 weekend antiwar conference called by NPAC.

And in nearly every area in the country, there are dozens of opportunities in the coming months for marches, rallies, conferences, referenda, and other activities aimed at building an effective and even more powerful mass antiwar movement.



# New York workers protest budget cutbacks

By RACHEL TOWNE

ALBANY—Over 15,000 New York City public employees demonstrated April 27 in front of the state capitol, demanding restoration of recent state cuts and more state money to New York City, where Mayor Lindsay has ordered the immediate elimination of 2,800 city jobs.

After a brief rally in front of New York City Hall earlier in the morning, workers from virtually every city department boarded over 300 buses for Albany. There they were joined by public workers from other areas in the state.

The vast majority of workers present belonged to District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in New York City. There were also workers from AFSCME District Councils 50, 63 and 82; several busloads of sanitation workers; a large contingent from Local 306 of the film projectionists union; at least one teacher from each New York City school, representing the UFT; a delegation of 300 members of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Union at Fordham Hospital, and 150 delegates from 1199 throughout the city. Several community groups also sent delegations.

The mood of the demonstration was one of militancy and confidence, with frequent chants of "We want jobs!" and "Where's Rockefeller?" (He never appeared.) Picket signs read: "Fun city needs funds"; "We want our jobs, not welfare"; and "One day's war spending would solve the city's problems."

At least half of the people present were Black or Spanish speaking, and a high percentage were women. Most were clerical workers, hospital workers, nonprofessional school board workers, and caseworkers, though many other work areas were represented.

A rally was held on the capitol steps with speakers from several of the unions in the Municipal Labor Committee (sponsor of the demonstration) as well as community leaders and politicians.

On April 2, the New York State Legislature voted to eliminate 8,000



Photo by Rachel Towne

Part of demonstration by New York City employees protesting the new "austerity budget," which spells layoffs for thousands of city workers. Action took place in Albany April 27.

jobs, cut welfare spending 10 percent, cut thousands of people off Medicaid, and eliminate many state programs. In a similar move on April 19th, Lindsay ordered the cutting of 2,800 city jobs. Two thousand of these jobs have been temporarily maintained by a court order but the others have been eliminated. Lindsay has made serious threats of the elimination of up to 90,000 jobs in the immediate future if more money is not forthcoming from Albany and Washington. In December, 500 city workers were permanently "laid off."

New York city and state workers are especially worried by layoffs now, as it is almost impossible due to the recession to find a job and none of them are covered by unemployment compensation. Undoubtedly, many will go onto the welfare rolls if they are "laid off."

Although the Albany rally was significant because of its size and composition and the demands raised by the workers participating, it was not without serious weaknesses. Among the endorsers of the rally were a number of police associations which are not unions but do belong to the sponsoring Municipal Labor Committee. These groups, representing the enforcers of capitalist law and order, have no place in a labor coalition. None of these groups brought members to the rally although at least one had a speaker.

Victor Gotbaum, chairman of the Municipal Labor Committee and executive director of District Council 37, also used his speech at the rally to back Lindsay's tax program as a solution to the city's financial crisis. Lindsay calls for additional heavy taxes on working people to pay for city workers and services. No men-

tion was made of taxing big business, corporations or the rich—those with the money.

Behind all the moves and counter-moves is the game being played (but a serious game) between Lindsay, Rockefeller and Nixon to see who is going to come up with money to alleviate New York City's financial plight. This game is being played with city residents and employees as pawns.

In spite of these weaknesses, the tone of the rally was set by the demands of the workers: no layoffs, no cuts in welfare, money to the cities—not the war. As the city's financial crisis deepens, and efforts to make New York City's workers pay for it are intensified, the struggle around such demands can have a dynamic which goes beyond the games of the labor bureaucrats and the capitalist politicians.

# Rail workers victims of new rail system

By FRANK LOVELL

The National Railroad Passenger Corporation (Amtrak), a semipublic corporation financed by government funds, formally took over operation of all rail passenger service on May 1.

The takeover by Amtrak, previously called Railpax, came only after unemployed free-lance corporation director, Roger Lewis, a man with no experience in rail transportation, was found to serve as president. He was first executive vice-president of Pan American World Airways, and more recently, president of General Dynamics, which has specialized in the defense contract shakedown of the public treasury.

Amtrak, after surviving last-minute challenges in Congress and the U. S. Court of Appeals, has not actually taken over management of passenger trains yet. Its responsibility for this service is still only formal.

Since Congress enacted the Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970, signed by Nixon last Oct. 30, the suspicion has been strengthened that this law is a device to relieve railroads of their responsibility to operate passenger service under Interstate Commerce Commission regulations.

One month after the new law was passed, Transportation Secretary

John A. Volpe announced that the new government-sponsored corporation would cut the number of passenger trains from 365 to 184.

Senator Lee Metcalf of Montana noted in the March 30 *Congressional Record* that, "For an initial \$40-million investment, the taxpayers seem to have bought a lesson in warped logic and a great leap backward in rail passenger transportation."

Among those who will be the most adversely affected by Amtrak are an estimated 25,000 railroad workers.

Unions representing rail workers about to lose their jobs were unable to negotiate any protective agreement with the railroad companies. Finally, on April 15, Labor Secretary James D. Hodgson suggested a plan to pay any laid-off workers token compensation.

Some union leaders now claim that as many as 15,000 workers may be laid off, most of them young workers who have little seniority and who will be bumped by older workers.

Hodgson's plan was immediately pegged as a way to lay off thousands with little or no compensation. One union spokesman for the Railway and Airline Clerks union, who said about 6,000 members of his union would probably lose their jobs, was quoted

in the April 15 *Wall Street Journal* as saying, "We've negotiated better agreements than that in cases where workers have been displaced by railroad mergers."

The union with the largest number of members threatened by Amtrak layoffs is the United Transportation Union.

Charles A. Luna, UTU president, was appointed by Nixon to be one of the original incorporators of Amtrak. This has led to the charge that Luna has a conflict of interest. Michael Herr, a conductor on the Penn Central Buffalo-Syracuse run and also chairman of the Committee of Adjustment for UTU Local 1393, told the April 4 *Buffalo Courier-Express*, "It is UTU members that man the 16 trains to be removed from Buffalo under Railpax and it is our firm belief that Luna should be fighting to keep his men at work while still holding the office of UTU president."

The UTU president appears to be more interested in securing a job for himself than protecting the jobs of railroad workers who belong to the UTU. Herr charges, "Luna now is receiving \$300 for each Railpax meeting, plus expenses, and a salary of \$38,000 annually, plus \$5,000 expenses, from UTU."

"It would appear," Herr said, "that Railpax has carried out in a matter of a few months what the Association of American Railroads has been trying to do for at least 15 years."

Herr has announced that he is a candidate for a top office at the union's convention in Miami next August. His charges against Luna are well-founded. The UTU president has done nothing to protect UTU members against layoffs.

Railroad workers, who are the first victims of the conspiracy to eliminate passenger service, are the ones most able to restore it, if they organize for this purpose.

There is no justification for railroad workers getting laid off at this time when the government is pouring money into the industry and says it wants to develop a national rapid-transit system. Railroad workers ought to be retained and more hired to rebuild this necessary public service. They are the most qualified to do it. They will find thousands in their ranks who know more about the needs of the traveling public and the ills of the railroad system than Charles Luna, James Hodgson, John Volpe, or the newly appointed chairman of Amtrak, Roger Lewis, can ever know.

# In Review

## Books

**The British in Vietnam—How the twenty-five-year war began** by George Rosie. Panther Books Limited. London, 1970. 144 pp. Canada \$1.25. Includes photographs.

While it is now the rulers of the United States who are providing the military hardware and deploying the forces that are attempting to crush the fighters for Vietnamese independence and self-rule, they are only carrying on where the French, the Japanese, and the British before them were forced to leave off. The people of what we now know as Vietnam have been in one continual struggle against imperialist intervention for more than 100 years. This small paperback sketches the British chapter in that horrifying tale of infamy.

Few are even aware that Britain has played any direct role in Vietnam at all; but, as Rosie shows, British forces played an absolutely crucial role. Had it not been for British intervention in the critical period between September 1945—when the French had been routed and the Japanese forces were preparing to withdraw, following the dropping of atomic bombs on Japan—and March 1946, when once again French rule was reconstituted, the Vietnamese would have firmly established the power that was already in their hands.

Britain moved in when no other imperialist power was able to, smashed the Vietminh government in Saigon, released the pro-Vichy French murder squads from prison, and, instead of clearing out the "enemy" Japanese forces—ostensibly Britain's reason for being there—enlisted them in a murderous assault on the Vietnamese people that re-established the French in power.

The author can scarcely believe his own findings. In his concluding chapter, Rosie raises a whole series of questions, among them:

Why were Churchill and Eden so anxious to restore Indochina to the French after the war? Was the decision taken by the big powers at Potsdam to incorporate half of Vietnam into a British command a purely military one or were the motives of the British Joint Chiefs of Staff covertly political? Why did Mountbatten, head of the South-east Asia Command, not have more influence over events in South Vietnam? Was he double-crossed by the French and, by association, the British general in command of South Vietnam, Douglas D. Gracey? Did General Gracey exceed his orders when upon arrival he suppressed the Vietnamese press and declared martial law? Was the decision to carry out the coup that smashed the Vietminh government of Saigon his own or was he pressured into it by the French? Was his use of Japanese troops in subsequent fighting wise or ethical, etc., etc.?

But facts are stubborn things and Rosie has searched them out and authenticated them from the Ministry of Defence Library, the library of the Royal Institute of Strategic Studies, and from the journals and records of the regiments employed, largely Indian and Gurkha forces from the Burma campaign.

Among the photographs he culled from the Imperial War Museum is one showing a Japanese trooper, with whom Gracey's forces had just been locked in a life-and-death battle, actually posting the British declaration of martial law in the streets of Saigon on Sept. 19, 1945.

In my opinion, the facts themselves as presented by Rosie answer his questions.

Rosie relates how, with the collapse of Japan, the Vietnamese nationalist forces moved out to establish their power in Saigon. The Vietminh, which had a heroic record of opposition to the Japanese, established its leadership with the agreement of other nationalist forces who feared that otherwise the British and French would dismiss the movement out of hand as a creature of Japanese intrigue. The People's Committee for the South was established in Saigon Town Hall under the chairmanship of Tran Van Giau, leader of the Cochinese Communist Party. Ho Chi Minh was head of the CP of Tonkin, which with the northern part of Annam constitutes North Vietnam. The Saigon committee consisted of nine members—six of them members of the Communist Party.

Rosie shows how the Vietminh bent over backwards to curry favor with the British and French

military. The extremely conciliatory policy of the Vietminh toward Cédille, the French commissioner-designate for Cochinese China who had been flown in Aug. 22 by the Royal Air Force, caused all the other nationalist forces, including the Trotskyists, to express fears of a sellout to the French.

Following Sept. 2, the day of the Declaration of Independence, during which there were some revolutionary outbursts, the Vietminh took a series of actions to assuage the fears of the British, who were on the point of arriving. Among the measures: Tran Van Giau himself stepped out of office; the committee was reconstituted, the size being increased from nine to 13, with only four being included from the Communist Party; leaders of the Trotskyist movement were arrested, including the popular Ta Tu Thau.

The Vietminh welcomed the British with open arms. But, says Rosie, "the extremists among the



**British Gen. Gracey welcoming French Gen. Leclerc to Saigon Airport, Oct. 5, 1945.**

nationalists had succeeded, to the dismay of the Vietminh, in stirring up some feelings against the British by spreading the rumor that General Gracey had come simply to reinstall the French."

Despite all their supplications, Gracey would have nothing to do with the Vietminh. On Sept. 21, the British declared martial law, rearmed many of the Saigon colons, took over the jails, rearmed the French prisoners of war. Then on Sept. 23, Cédille, with these forces and British permission, seized the Vietminh headquarters in Town Hall and arrested all the committee members he could find.

Ho Chi Minh wired his protest from Hanoi: "The release of French prisoners of war . . . the arrests of members of the People's Committee . . . a nonfulfilment of the mission placed on the commander British forces in South Indochina by the United Nations . . . and nonobservation of neutrality by the British disarmament forces. . . ."

In vain. With the coup, which Rosie thinks was "a tragic blunder," the terror was on. ". . . the forebodings and warnings of the more extreme nationalists seemed to have been justified. As a consequence, the moderately inclined Vietminh were pushed into the same camp as such hardliners as the Trotskyists. . . ."

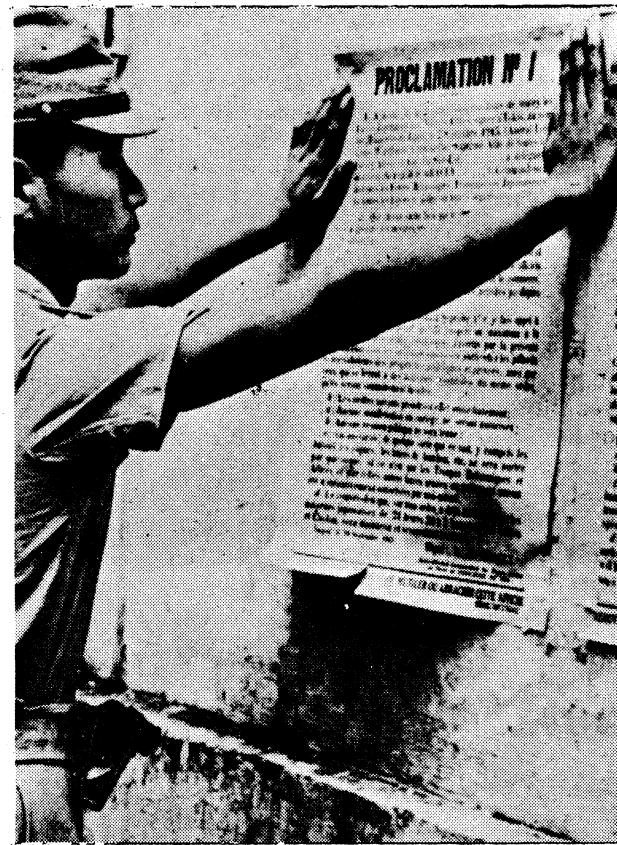
The Vietminh, having disarmed the movement, was now, under much less favorable circumstances, compelled to fight. Rosie, apparently unable to credit the unfolding evidence, again remonstrates: "While the Vietminh probably did their best to ensure that it [the truce] was kept, their hold on the nationalist forces had loosened ever since the

coup of 23 September. It was the extremists, not the Vietminh, who had been proved right about the intentions of the British, the Vietminh policy of moderation resulting only in the restoration of French rule in Saigon."

From then, mid-October 1945, until early 1946 when the British withdrew their forces, the bulk of them to Indonesia to do there for the Dutch what they had done for the French in Vietnam, Rosie notes, "the war became a smaller version of the kind that the United States is still fighting."

The British, with Japanese and French help, fought the same kind of war against the people of Vietnam in 1945-46 as the U.S. is waging in Vietnam in 1971. The British units were directed not to be "too scrupulous" in attempting to distinguish between harmless civilians and Vietnamese combatants, Rosie observes.

"It is therefore perfectly legitimate," a British commander directed, "to look upon *all* locals anywhere near where a shot has been fired as enemies,



**Japanese trooper posting British declaration of martial law in Saigon, Sept. 19, 1945.**

and treacherous ones at that, and treat them accordingly."

The British intervention in Vietnam took place at the end of the Second World War and the beginning of a wave of struggles by the peoples of the colonial world that has continued, despite periodic setbacks, to sweep forward. Besides opening up a little-known chapter in the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese people, this carefully documented paperback inadvertently throws some light on the nature of World War II.

It is apparent from the evidence presented by Rosie, although that is not his aim, that the prime object of the Allied capitalist powers was to preserve and, if possible, extend their imperialist holdings—in this they had the agreement of Stalin at the head of the Soviet bureaucracy.

It is also apparent that while the capitalist powers of both sides were prepared to pit entire peoples against one another in horrendous combat and to devastate whole continents, when confronted by an uprising of a colonial people they were prepared to bury all differences in order to crush it.

Rosie's slim volume reveals that Churchill's primary consideration, for all his finespun verbiage, was the supremacy of British capital and the security of the Empire. Somewhat confused by Roosevelt's talk about a UN trusteeship system for the colonies, Rosie nonetheless brings our attention to a wry observation made by Anthony Eden: "Roosevelt's dislike of colonialism," while "it was a principle with him, was not the less cherished for its possible advantages."

— ROSS DOWSON



# 'Power vacuum' in Haiti disturbs U.S.

From *Intercontinental Press*

"Our Doc, who art in the National Palace for life, Hallowed be Thy name by present and future generations. Thy will be done at Port-au-Prince and in the provinces. Give us this day our new Haiti and never forgive the trespasses of the anti-patriots who spit every day on our country; let them succumb to temptation, and under the weight of their venom, deliver them not from any evil. . ."

The term of Dr. François Duvalier, "president for life" of the Haitian republic, expired April 12, when the ex-country doctor, who had a long history of coronary trouble, died of a heart attack.

Already in 1959, Duvalier, a promoter of the voodoo cult in his own country, was barely saved from death by heart failure with the best treatment modern science could offer. "The United States, which counted on him strongly as an anti-Communist ally, flew in teams of specialists from Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, and from Washington to treat him," Albin Krebs wrote in the April 23 *New York Times* in his obituary of the dead dictator.

The combined use of science and superstition that marked Duvalier's rule was symbolized by the bible and pistol which he kept side by side near his desk when he received visitors.

The mixture of Catholicism and West African polytheism in the Haitian voodoo tradition may have helped inspire Duvalier to build up the religious-political cult around his personality, which was expressed in his own version of "The Lord's Prayer" quoted above.

Such use of modern techniques to buttress and exploit superstition for political purposes is by no means limited to Haiti, as the highly colored accounts of Duvalier's reign in the capitalist press suggest. To one degree or

another, such methods are used in all states that defend minority rule. The relatively simple technology of the Haitian ruling class only makes the grotesqueness of this procedure more obvious.

Lacking a modern public-relations apparatus to build his "image," Duvalier simply had his parliament declare him Incorruptible Leader of the Great Majority of the Haitian People, Renovator of the Republic, Chief of the Revolution, and Spiritual Father of the Nation. The image the Haitian dictator tried to project, however, had certain similarities with the propaganda line followed by "The Voice of the Silent Majority" in a technologically much more advanced country from which the Port-au-Prince regime drew its inspiration and support.

The voodoo-like cult of Duvalier's personality was supported not only by back-country witch doctors but by the representatives of a powerful material reality. "He [Duvalier] nurtured the image of 'Papa Doc,' the kindly patriarch administering to the needs of his 'children,'" an editorial in the April 23 issue of the *New York Times* noted, "an image fostered by the unfortunate photograph of a smiling Governor Rockefeller and a delighted Duvalier waving to the crowd from a balcony of the presidential palace during the Governor's visit to Haiti in 1969."

The same guardians seem to be keeping watch over the late dictator's son and successor as "president for life," nineteen-year-old Jean-Claude Duvalier, who according to all accounts is a nonentity and, like many heirs to absolute power before him, known primarily as a playboy.

"The United States increased its military surveillance of Haiti today following the death of President François Duvalier," *New York Times* corres-

pondent Benjamin Welles reported April 22 from Washington.

In fact, the most astute organ of the American ruling class, the *New York Times*, in an editorial April 23 indicated its concern that Washington might overdo its protective role:

"In the power vacuum now opened it would be a miracle if his [Duvalier's] inexperienced 19-year-old son, who has assumed his father's title, 'President for Life,' could for long hold things together.

"That vacuum, in a country only 46 miles from Cuba at the nearest point, naturally concerns Haiti's Caribbean neighbors including the United States, which has increased its military surveillance of the area. But Washington must proceed with great caution. This country is still trying to repair the damage to the inter-American system inflicted by the unilateral intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965. In addition, the meager residue of the effort in Haiti during nineteen years (1915-34) of occupation by United States marines puts the dimensions and complexities of the problem in perspective."

Washington's fears seemed to be increased by the difficulty of predicting the political reactions of the Haitian people. Duvalier's despotism eliminated all visible political life in the country, as well as hopelessly undermining all institutions of constitutional rule. Even the repressive forces were demoralized by terror, as well as by their traditional gangsterism.

"Papa Doc Duvalier had his own macabre way of cutting the Haitian army down to size," the London daily *Guardian* noted April 20. "Just before midnight on June 8, 1967, the President summoned 19 senior officers, including the Chief of Staff, to the National Palace. They were loaded into a truck and driven to the notorious

Fort Dimanche." When they arrived, they found nineteen of their fellow officers bound to stakes on the rifle range. Each was given a rifle with one bullet and ordered to shoot the chosen victims. The order was carried out in the presence of Duvalier, and not a single bullet was wasted.

"The executions were designed to undermine the confidence of younger officers in their leaders," the *Guardian* continued.

Moreover, like similar despotic regimes, the Duvalier government fell prey to the superstitions on which it based its rule. A good example was the feud between Duvalier and his former chief aide Clément Barbot, known as the "muffler" for his role in suppressing political opposition to the regime. When Barbot made an abortive attempt to carry out a palace revolution, Duvalier responded with frenzied measures.

"In the relentless search for Mr. Barbot in the weeks that followed, Tontons Macoutes [Duvalier's private army] surrounded the house that hid his [Barbot's] cache of arms and ammunition," Krebs wrote in the April 23 *New York Times*. "They sprayed it with machine-gun bullets. Finally, an old black dog came howling out. Reacting to the superstitious belief of many peasants that the shadowy Barbot could change himself into a black dog, Duvalier, it was said, ordered all black dogs shot."

Nor, apparently, was the Duvalier government the only one deceived by the illusions it fostered. "Diplomatic observers were surprised by the lack of emotion manifested by the people either at the death of the 64-year-old Duvalier, who had long been ill with diabetes and heart disease, or at the new regime," *New York Times* correspondent Homer Bigart reported April 22 from Port-au-Prince.

## GIs dispute hoax in 'Stars & Stripes'

WASHINGTON, D. C.—An antiwar ad for the April 24 marches appeared in the April 11 and the April 14 *New York Times*. A few days later, a United Press International story, sent out on the wires from Saigon, attempted to create the impression that the ad was a hoax.

One of the papers that carried the UPI story was the armed forces newspaper, *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, which ran it under the headline, "Antiwar Ad Unread by 49 GIs," in its April 19 issue. The UPI item extensively quoted an unnamed "military spokesman" who laid emphasis on the fact that the 49 GIs had "neither paid for, nor read the ad," and used language such as "the ad apparently grew out of a letter, written by one of the squadron's members to the National Peace Action Coalition. . . ."

In fact, each of the 49 signers understood that his name was to be used in a full-page ad for the April 24 actions, as well as that the exact copy for the ad would be developed by an agency and that the ad would be paid for by contributions.

The National Peace Action Coalition released on April 25 the text of a letter from one of the signers, written

to NPAC press secretary Cathy Perkus and dated April 19. It reads as follows:

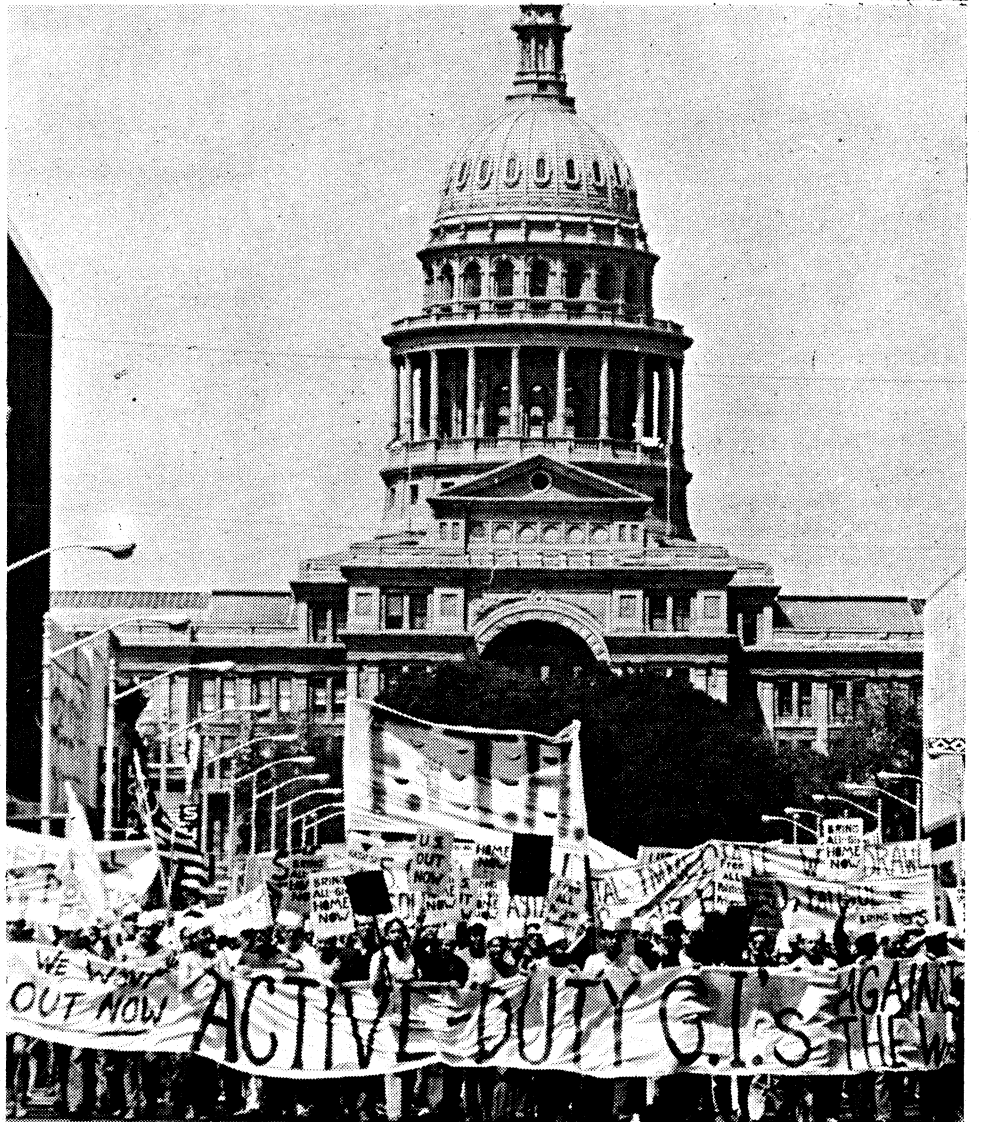
"Dear Cathy,

"I think you will remember me as being one of the people who sent you in names of some of us who were in support of the April 24 March on Washington and San Francisco to end the war and 'Bring the Troops Home Now.'"

"We have seen an article saying that we who signed didn't know what we were doing. Some of us are deeply concerned having higher-ranking personnel making statements like that. If you could, make it known that we did know what we were doing. All of us have been very pleased to hear that our signatures have helped, and are disappointed to see some of the news media turning the signatures into somewhat of a folly. In my own mind, I can't see any reason for them trying to make us seem ignorant of our actions. If this reaches you after the march, I hope and pray it was a success. Thank you and all the people who came in support for trying to end this war and bring us home. Thank you."

(signed)

Sp/4 Charlie Whithers



Some of the more than 600 GIs who led antiwar march in Austin, Texas, April 18.

# 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.

## BERKELEY-OAKLAND

**DEBATE: SHOULD WOMEN SUPPORT THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT?** Speakers: Joan Jordan, Independent Campus Women; Mary Henderson, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 14, 8 p.m. at 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Contrib. \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. East Bay Socialist Forum. For further information, call 654-9728.

## BOSTON

**VOICES OF DISSENT:** Tuesdays, 6-7 p.m. on **WTBS-FM, 88.1**. Sundays, 7-8 p.m. on **WRBB-FM, 91.7**. Tues., May 11 and Sun., May 16: **Vietnam Veterans Speak Out Against the War**. Tues., May 18 and Sun., May 23: **The Struggle for Independence in East Pakistan**.

**VIETNAM ATROCITIES: WHO ARE THE REAL CRIMINALS?** Film showing, Interviews with Mylai Veterans, an oscar-winning documentary. Also hear a representative from Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Fri., May 14, 8 p.m. at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. Donation at the door. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 536-6981.

## CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

**BERKELEY: CAN IT HAPPEN HERE?** Speaker: Peter Camelo, 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Thurs., May 13, 8 p.m. in Harvard Hall—104, Harvard University. Ausp. Harvard-Radcliffe Young Socialist Alliance.

## CHICAGO

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

## CLEVELAND

**THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN EAST BENGAL.** Speaker: Malik Miah, Bengali student and member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., May 14, 8 p.m. at Debs Hall Forum, 4420 Superior. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For further information, call 391-5553.

## MADISON, WIS.

**WISCONSIN REGION SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.** May 14-15 at the University of Wisconsin Memorial Union. Fri., May 14, 7:30 p.m.: **The Permanent Revolution Today.** Speaker: Fred Halstead, chief marshal for the Washington, D.C., April 24 antiwar demonstration. Sat., May 15, 11 a.m.: **The Revolutionary Dynamics of Labor Struggles: the Rail Unions Today.** Speaker: Charlie Scheer, *Why a Vanguard Party*. Speaker: Hedda Garza, 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for Nassau County (Long Island) executive. Workshops on women's liberation, the Young Socialist Alliance and Marxist economics. Ausp. Wisconsin Young Socialist Alliance. For further information, call (608) 256-0857.

## NEW YORK

**POWER POLITICS AND THE COLD WAR.** Speaker:

James Aronson, editor of *Bill of Rights Journal*, former editor of the *Guardian*. Fri., May 14, 8:30 p.m. at 706 Broadway (4th St.), 8th Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

## 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 13: **The Rise of the Puerto Rican Liberation Movement**—a tape by Dick Garza. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance Tape Library. For further information, call Pam Newman at WA5-4316.

## RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

**CHILE AND ISRAEL: ARE THEY SOCIALIST?** Discussion leaders: Irv Hall, Bruce Henderson, and Dick Speed. Tues., May 18, 7:30 p.m. International Lounge (University Commons area) U of California at Riverside. Ausp. Revolutionary Socialist Forum.

# ...Oakland ...violence

*Continued from page 3*

taken and it was further voted to issue a news release explaining why the Raza Unida Party had taken this action. The LRUP statement read in part: "Rodarte's unwillingness to publicly withdraw his support of Gutierrez, together with his growing and general disassociation from the party, the party name, and its expressed ideals and purposes, left no alternative but to withdraw his candidacy from the banner of La Raza Unida Party."

The action by the Oakland Raza Unida Party was a test of its seriousness and commitment to organizing our people independently of the capitalist class and its twin political parties. The attempt of liberal Democrats to co-opt LRUP through the candidacy of Rodarte did not succeed and will stand as an example of how to respond to such attempts. As the news release stated, in reference to the Democratic Party, "We of La Raza Unida Party have seen through this hypocrisy and have set out to expose it, while organizing ourselves into an effective and totally independent force to deal, in elections and otherwise, with the daily problems confronting us. . . . We can no longer lend credence to the two-party system which oppresses and frustrates us, nor can we afford to sponsor 'maverick' candidates who are not fully devoted to this ideal; for if we did, we would fail to present a new and different alternative to our people as well as to others, and there would be no sense in even forming a separate party. We could simply go on glorifying and

electing token Raza Democrats, who would be gobbled up and rendered almost totally impotent early in the process."

Unlike the Berkeley elections on April 6, the candidates of the Black Caucus and the Oakland Coalition were defeated in the school board and City Council races. The conservative "Five for Peralta" Board of Trustees slate, which advocated a "get tough" line against students and faculty fighting for community control of Merritt College, won election.

*Continued from page 16*

movement that it was correct and justified, the Workers League comes with an unclean record in appealing for a judgment on the incident that occurred April 9.

The position of *The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party on the use of violence to settle political disagreements—or more correctly, to avoid political discussions—within the radical movement is unequivocal. We condemn it no matter who is to blame for initiating it. To resort to violence only obscures differences rather than clarifying them. It gives a handle to the enemies of the working-class movement to attack the movement, slander it, and take advantage of the physical assaults to set their own stool pigeons and agents provocateurs to work.

When terms like counterrevolutionary, "scabs," "pig," "CIA agent," and "servants of the class enemy" become routine accusations, they have a logic of their own that leads almost inexorably to the use of violence. If one wants a current example of the destructiveness of such a course, it can be found in the Black Panther Party.

Incorrect political positions can only be exposed and discredited in open debate, discussion and action. This includes the right to distribute political literature in public places. Only in such an atmosphere can ideas be tested and eventually proven correct or incorrect by the test of events. Only in such a way can the superiority of certain positions over others be demonstrated to masses of people who must be convinced politically and by their own experience. Violence as a

method of settling political disputes among those contending for leadership of the mass movement is a very practical issue: only if it is rejected, only if it is prevented from occurring, can a mass movement capable of leading revolutionary action be built.

# ...gay

*Continued from page 9*

The two groups are charged with violations against the department of licenses for not having public assembly permits, not having an occupancy sign, and with excessive noise. All of these charges fall in the category of laws selectively employed for harassment purposes. They are never enforced, for example, against churches, functions of the Democratic or Republican parties, or similar organizations. They are used as a means of hassling nationalist, radical and gay organizations.

One of the cops involved paid a return visit to the GAA Firehouse the following day, May 2, which helps to shed some light on the cops' motives. Behaving in a friendly manner contrasting with his tone the previous evening, the cop talked extensively about how much money must have been netted by the dance. He said the profits must surely have exceeded the potential fines arising from the summonses and implied that perhaps GAA's activities were somehow linked to "the Mafia." Whatever his motives, what is provoking a rising anger in New York's gay community is the situation that makes cops feel able to harass gays with impunity.

On May 4, representatives of both GAA and DOB were scheduled to meet with an adviser of Mayor John Lindsay to demand of the police commissioner and the mayor that such harassment stop. The delegation also planned to raise the issue of the cops' winking at gangs of hoodlums that have been physically attacking gays in Greenwich Village during the last couple of weeks.

The cases of the licensing and excessive noise violations come to court for both groups on May 18 at 52 Chambers St. For more information on the demonstration of support being planned for that day, people can contact Simpson at 475-9870 or GAA president Jim Owles at 260-1370.

# Socialist Directory

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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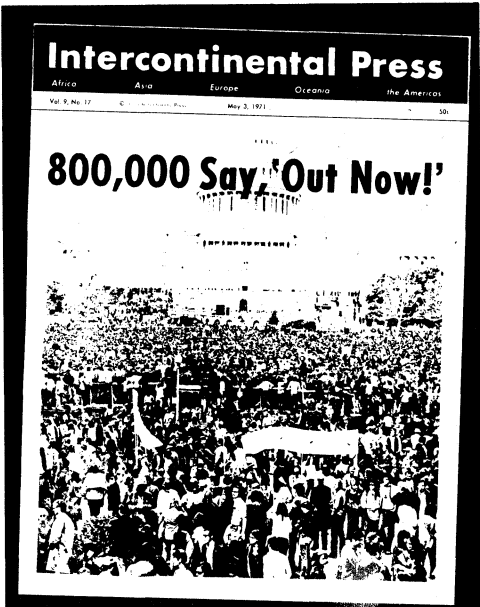
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# THE MILITANT



Photo by Howard Petrick

**MAY 5 MORATORIUM.** Antiwar rally of 10,000 near Times Square in New York City. Sponsored by New York Peace Action Coalition, Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, and Student Mobilization Committee, the rally climaxed a day of campus and high school actions commemorating the Cambodian invasion and slayings at Kent and Jackson State. Similar actions occurred in cities from coast to coast.

## Cairo vigilantes win in elections

By DERRICK MORRISON

Seven days after three leaders of a white vigilante group were swept onto the four-person City Commission (council) of Cairo, Ill., state police found enough explosives "to blow away the complete west end" of Pyramid Court, a Black housing project.

Rev. Manker R. Harris, public relations director for the Cairo United Front, described the elected officials in a *Militant* telephone interview as "three of the most extreme persons in town, extreme racists." The three, James H. Dale Jr., James S. Walder, and Allen E. Moss, are on the Board of Directors of the United Citizens for Community Action, a group that was formerly called the White Hats. The UCCA has connections with the American Nazi Party, the Ku Klux Klan, and the White Citizens Council. The publicly displayed emblem of the UCCA is the Confederate flag.

All three of the elected are merchants and therefore have a direct stake in breaking the two-year-old Black economic boycott.

According to Rev. Harris, Dale, who has now become police chief, "campaigns on using the strongest methods possible to keep Blacks 'in their place.'"

As police chief, Dale has sent heavier patrols into the Black community, including the much-touted armored car. Previously, the armored car, sent in by Illinois Governor Richard B. Ogilvie, just sat at the police station. There are two of these cars in Cairo.

The Front ran Al Farmer for mayor

and another member for City Commission. Farmer got 356 votes to 2,062 for incumbent Mayor A.B. "Pete" Thomas. However, the whole election was a fraud. Rev. Harris said there were "only 2,600 people registered, according to city officials, but 3,800 people voted!"

As an indication of the situation, one Illinois state senator called for a purge of the registration lists in Alexander County, where Cairo is located, because 108 percent of the eligible population is registered to vote.

On April 27, state police discovered 50 sticks of dynamite, three pipe bombs loaded with black powder and finishing nails, tear gas bombs, other homemade bombs, detonators, close to 1,000 rounds of 45 caliber and 30.06 caliber ammunition, and other items. All were found near Pyramid Court, where about 1,000 Blacks live.

According to a Front press release, "Speculation in the Black community is that white vigilantes, who have already fired into the housing project on 150 nights (and many of the shots fired have come into Pyramid Court from the direction of the building in which the explosives were discovered), meant to use these against Blacks living in the housing project."

Three members of the Front, James "Switch" Wilson, Herman Whitfield, and Wayne Whitfield, are presently on trial for aggravated assault. The frame-up charges grow out of a Black demonstration in downtown Cairo last Aug. 8. There, white racists, among them Dale, Moss and Walder, attacked a peaceful Black picket line. When the Blacks resorted to self-defense, the two Whitfields and Wilson were arrested. Such is justice in Cairo.

Rev. Harris related that the Front will file suit against the city and state police for the illegal raids conducted on Pyramid Court Jan. 21 and Feb. 12. Two months ago, a county court declared illegal the search warrants used to justify the raids.

The Front is badly in need of money. Bail bonds and other legal ex-

penses are draining the treasury, taking away funds for needed economic projects. All contributions should be sent to: United Front of Cairo, P.O. Box 544, Cairo, Ill. 62914.

A benefit is being planned by the New York Cairo United Front office. It will feature a performance of the "Freedom Now Suite" by Max Roach, an African-American musician; the Institutional of God and Church Choir; and Rev. Charles Koen, spokesman and executive director of the Cairo Front. It is to be held at the Renaissance Ballroom, 150 W. 138th St., near 7th Ave., May 20, 8 p.m.-1 a.m. Contribution for the affair is \$5.

The Front office is headquartered with the National Committee of Black Churchmen, 110 E. 125th St., Rm. 503, New York, N.Y. 10035; tel.: 427-2216.

## Ft. Hood GIs build May 15

by JIM BURFEIND

AUSTIN, Texas—An antiwar committee of active-duty GIs at Ft. Hood, the GI Spring Offensive Committee, which mobilized 400 GIs from their base for the April 18 antiwar march in Austin, is now building for an even larger turnout of GIs for a May 15 "Armed Forces Day" antiwar rally in Killeen, Texas, the town right outside Ft. Hood.

The GI antiwar committee was formed in early February to work on organizing the participation of GIs in the April 18 action and in the April 24 Washington march. The initial meetings of the group were small, but by the time April 18 approached, be-

tween 30 and 40 GIs attended each meeting.

The 400 Ft. Hood GIs and 200 GIs from other Texas bases led the antiwar march in Austin. Holding a 37-foot banner in front of them (See photo, page 21), the GIs chanted nearly as loudly as the 2,000 civilians who marched behind them.

Seven GIs from Ft. Hood were able to travel to Washington for the April 24 march. In the capital, they carried a banner 12 feet high and 20 feet wide, attracting the attention of TV camera crews and other photographers, as well as reporters from all the major media, who interviewed them.

The GIs who had marched in Washington returned to base bursting with enthusiasm from leading the largest antiwar demonstration ever held. They immediately pitched in with the rest of the members of the Ft. Hood GI Spring Offensive Committee to implement an ambitious program of publicizing and building the May 15 march and rally in Killeen. The 20,000 leaflets and 5,000 copies of *Fatigue Press* the GIs are distributing have been grabbed up by their fellow soldiers.

The committee has already obtained a permit for the march route, and this fact is prominently announced on the leaflet: "This is a legal march. We have a permit from the Killeen City Council. Don't let the brass scare you. GIs can't get busted for marching off duty, off post and out of uniform (AR-600-20)." The GIs are still negotiating with the city on the rally site.

In addition to antiwar speeches, the rally will feature entertainment by folk singer Pete Seeger.

The march is being organized around four demands: 1) Immediate Withdrawal of All United States Forces from Southeast Asia, 2) Constitutional Rights for GIs, 3) Free All Political Prisoners, and 4) End the Use of GIs as "Riot" Police, Consumers of Scab Products, and Strikebreakers.