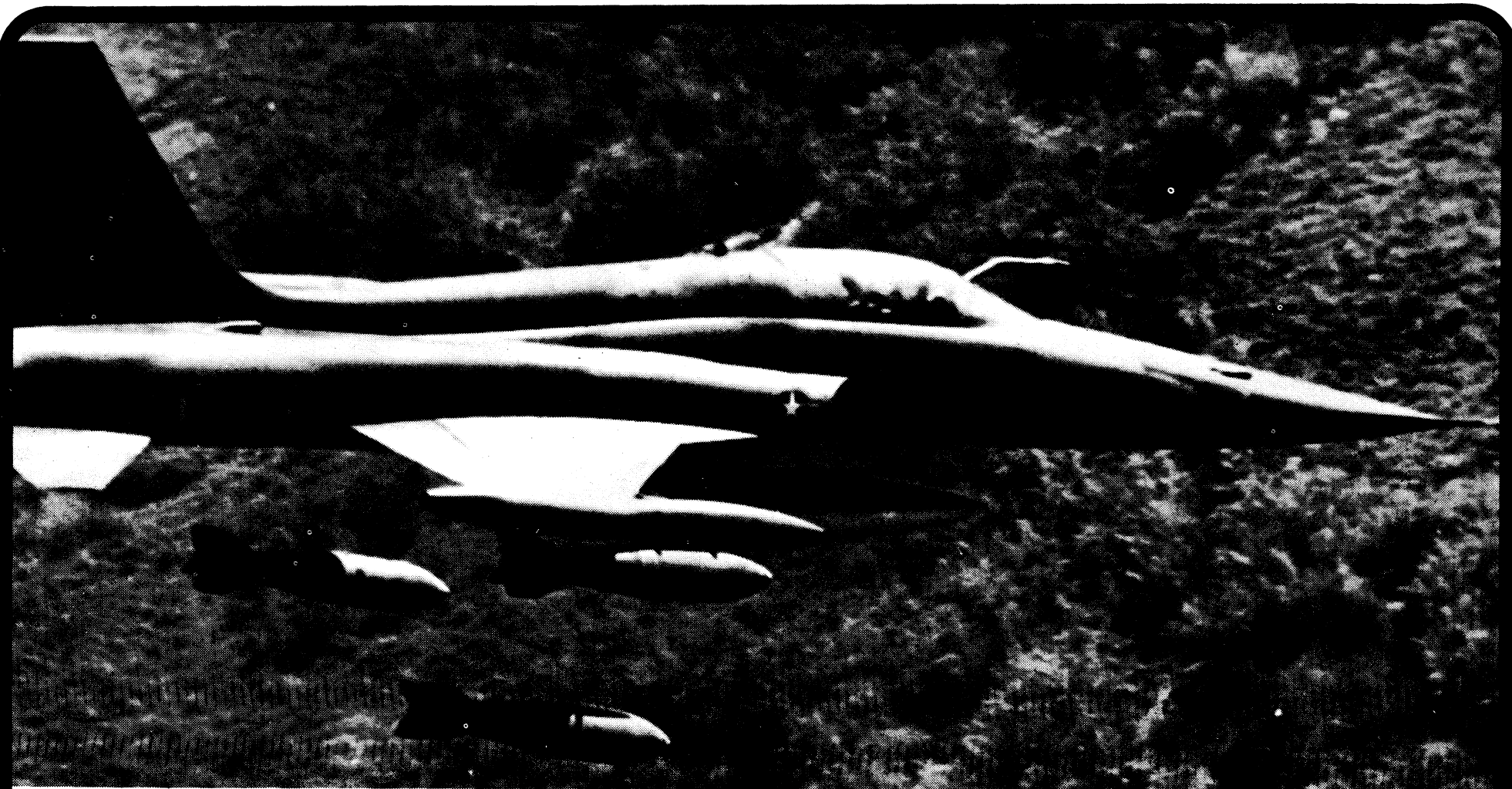


THE MILITANT

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

Out now, no conditions!



Nixon's 'peace plan' a fraud

The following statement was issued by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, on Jan. 27:

President Nixon's televised speech Jan. 25 did not present a "peace plan" but a formula for continued war. He reaffirmed Washington's war aim of preserving U.S. domination of South Vietnam through a subservient capitalist-landlord regime. The speech also contained an ominous warning and threat of military escalation of the war by the U.S. if the Vietnamese insurgents do not accept Nixon's conditions.

Nixon says his proposal is an "honorable" way for the U.S. to end the war. I say there is only one honorable step the U.S. can take—the only just one for the Indochinese, the American GIs,

and the prisoners of war. This step is the immediate and unilateral withdrawal of every soldier, weapon, plane, warship, CIA agent, and any other method of intervention by the U.S. in the affairs of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

The U.S. government has no right to enforce any "settlement" in Indochina, no right whatsoever to "settle" anything regarding the political future of Southeast Asia. The people of Indochina alone have the right to settle the affairs of their countries.

Nixon's proposal includes the following key points: 1) a cease-fire throughout Indochina, to be "internationally supervised;" 2) a presidential election in South Vietnam under "international supervision," in which the South

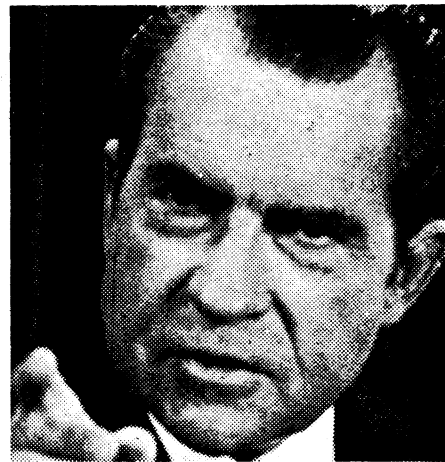
Vietnamese National Liberation Front can ostensibly participate; 3) the resignation of the president and vice-president of South Vietnam one month prior to the election, leaving administration of the government to the chairman of the South Vietnamese Senate; 4) withdrawal of all U.S. forces from South Vietnam within six months of an agreement; 5) release of prisoners of war during the six-month period.

What would this mean for the Vietnamese?

First, a cease-fire would mean that the revolutionary forces would give up fighting. It would amount to a military victory for the reactionary Indochinese regimes. As the "established" governments, they could move their troops and police into all con-

tested areas of the countryside, supporting the landlords against the peasants, and imprisoning those who did not support the government. Any armed resistance to this consolidation of control would be outlawed by the cease-fire.

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BANGLADESH DAY: An exhibition and teach-in on Bangladesh were held at the University of Calif. at Berkeley on Jan. 13. The all-day program drew large crowds and wide media coverage. It opened with a news conference where M. Muhit, a member of the Bangladesh ambassadorial delegation to the U.S., and Dr. F. R. Kahn, president of the Bangladesh Emergency Welfare Appeal, appeared. The exhibition featured displays on the political events of the liberation movement as well as on the literature, art, and music of Bangladesh.

A display of *The Militant* showing our consistent coverage and championing of the Bangladesh liberation struggle was also part of the exhibition. A teach-in was held on the political issues of the struggle. A panel discussion, attended by more than 250 people, featured Muhit, Malik Miah from the national office of the Young Socialist Alliance, and professors Radzloff and Kleindorfer of UC Berkeley. Bangladesh Day was sponsored by the American League for Bangla Desh, the Associated Students speakers bureau, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

AEROSPACE WORKERS DEMONSTRATE: Twelve hundred aerospace workers assembled in front of the federal building in San Francisco on Jan. 12 to protest the decision of the Pay Board rescinding their previously won 12 percent wage increase. Ken Benda, president of the International Association of Machinists district lodge in Sunnyvale, said the demonstration was to show that the union was an organization that could stand up and fight.

SMC BLASTS NIXON'S 'PATENT FRAUD': The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia released the following statement Jan. 25: "American students, who have marched by the hundreds of thousands against the war, reject the patent fraud of President Nixon's eight-point 'peace' plan. It is the American government that is the foreign aggressor in Indochina. The only solution that can end the war and bring the POWs home is the total, unconditional, immediate withdrawal of all American GIs, bombers, and ships from Southeast Asia. . . ."

"It is Nixon's phony peace plan that continues the saturation bombing of all of Indochina. On the same day that Nixon goes before the American people to talk about 'peace,' the *New York Times* reported a new 'protective reaction' bombing raid over North Vietnam."

"In addition to a pledge of more of the same, an ominous new danger was raised of a major escalation of the war. The implied threat throughout his whole speech was that if the PRG and the North Vietnamese do not accept his so-called 'eight-point peace plan' he will fully 'meet his responsibilities as commander in chief.' From the man who invaded Cambodia and Laos and renewed the bombing of North Vietnam, it can only mean more killing, more bombing and more POWs. . . ."

NPAC SAYS 'OUT NOW': The National Peace Action Coalition responded to Nixon's Jan. 25 speech with a firm reiteration of its demand that the U.S. immediately get out of Southeast Asia. Their statement said in part: "What the American people want is not Nixon's eight-point program, but a one-point program for the U.S. to withdraw from Southeast Asia, lock, stock and barrel. . . . Under Nixon's proposal U.S. bombing will continue and the U.S. will keep providing bombers, helicopters, chemical defoliants, and millions of dollars to the Saigon dictatorship. The Nixon proposal is simply a formula for continued war, for it puts conditions on the Vietnamese and ties U.S. involvement to the maintenance of the Saigon regime. . . ."

"The only way to respect the principle of self-determination is for the United States to get out and let the Vietnamese determine their destiny for themselves. NPAC will organize national demonstrations on April 22 in New York City and Los Angeles to demand 'U.S. Out of Southeast Asia Now!' We also stand ready to oppose any further escalation that Nixon may be planning, no matter when it may occur."

AGNEW VISIT TO HOUSTON PROTESTED: One hundred antiwar protesters picketed while Vice-President Spiro Agnew spoke to the National Association of Homebuilders in Houston on Jan. 24. The action was built on two days' notice by the Houston Peace Action Coalition.

FEDAYEEN SUPPORT APRIL 22 ACTIONS: Al Hadaf, a newspaper published by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, has printed the National Peace Action Coalition's call for demonstrations against the Vietnam war. The paper called for such actions in Lebanon on April 22 to coincide with the actions to be held in New York and Los Angeles.

CIVIL LIBERTIES VICTORY IN CAMBRIDGE: On Jan. 11 the First Circuit Federal Court of Appeals ruled that newspapers can be freely sold in Cambridge, Mass., with-

out a vendor's license. The decision struck down a city ordinance requiring such licenses.

The court in *Thomas O'Kelly and the Socialist Workers Party v. the City of Cambridge* said in part: "In absence of an important governmental interest that would be served by forced identification with the consequent fear of reprisals that such identification may well entail, we hold the Cambridge ordinance may not stand."

John E. Powers Jr., Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, said, "This is an important decision protecting the civil liberties of all Cambridge residents. It is an especially important victory for the radical movement. The vendor's license law had been used as an excuse to harass newspaper salespeople selling papers the police didn't like. Now, all such harassment is illegal."

SOCIALISTS INTERVIEWED FOR JAPANESE TV: The following report was sent to us from Washington, D.C. "Four representatives of the Socialist Workers Party—Sharon Naiman, Rich Robohm, Pam Burchett and Cappy Kidd—were recently interviewed for a Japanese television network that is doing a documentary on the increasing sales of U.S. weapons to Japan. The director plans to contrast the opinions of business and military representatives with those of the American left."

"The interview took place in front of the White House, where we sold *The Militant* and distributed Jenness and Pulley campaign material. At one point we were interrupted by the Executive Protective Service and asked if we were selling the paper. Federal statutes, presently being challenged in court, forbid soliciting in front of the White House. The police retreated, however, when they were asked by the Japanese commentator whether or not there was freedom of speech in this country. Apparently the police felt reluctant to interfere with us in front of millions of Japanese viewers. The interviews and sales were completed without further incident."

PATHFINDER LITERATURE POPULAR AT RAZA CONFERENCE: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party election campaign literature tables set up at *Mi Raza Primero* Conference in Muskegon, Mich., Jan. 22-23 were well received. Pathfinder pamphlets on the Chicano struggle were especially popular, and 194 copies were sold. The most popular pamphlet was a new one entitled *Chicanas Speak Out—Women: New Voice of La Raza* by Mirta Vidal. Sixty-two copies of it were sold. It is available for 35 cents from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

CoDEL RECEIVES RAZA ENDORSERS: *Mi Raza Primero* conference endorsed the efforts of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) to fight restrictive and unconstitutional election laws, and "in particular, CoDEL's fight to get bilingual ballots in New York, Texas, Colorado, California, and anywhere else possible." In addition, 20 individuals endorsed CoDEL. Among the endorsers are Bert Corona, *Hermanidad General de Trabajadores* (General Brotherhood of Workers); Elisea Gonzales, Mid-West Council of La Raza; Jane Gonzales, council woman in Norton Shores, Mich.; Ricardo Parra, Institute for Urban Studies at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana, Olga Villa, Indiana United Mexican-Americans; and Luis Sanchez, League of United Latin Americans (LULAC) in Detroit. Those interested in CoDEL's legal efforts should write: CoDEL, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

ALA TO BE DISSOLVED: Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers, told the *New York Times* on Jan. 24 that he and Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, had met and decided to dissolve the Alliance for Labor Action. The reason given was the current financial difficulties of the UAW. The ALA was set up in 1969, following the UAW's split from the AFL-CIO. Walter Reuther, then president of the UAW, pointed out that the AFL-CIO and its president George Meany had become complacent, affluent, and undemocratic. The ALA was to have been part of an effort to rejuvenate the labor movement by organizing the unorganized and dealing with the social problems of poor housing, education, health, and the environment.

NEW ISR: The February *International Socialist Review* is now available. It features "Chile: Reformism in Crisis" by Peter Camejo and Les Evans; "Women and the '72 Elections" by Betsey Stone; "Was Stalin's Pact with Hitler Justified?" by Milton Alvin; and "The New Antiwar Army" by Fred Halstead. Also, printed for the first time in English is a chapter from Leon Trotsky's history of the 1905 revolution in Russia.

Send 50 cents for this issue or \$1 for a three-issue subscription to: ISR, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

—JOEL BRITTON

Militant supporters organize visits to new subscribers

By MIKE LUX

Several areas have sent in reports on *The Militant* renewal campaign launched at the Young Socialist Alliance convention in Houston last December. All have commented on the favorable reception they have gotten, but many areas have had the problem of new readers not being at home when teams visited them.

This problem underscores the difference between the current renewal, or call-back, campaign and previous "blitz" sub drives where the aim was not to visit specific people. Different areas are experimenting with various ways of coping with this problem. Some are attempting to make individual appointments with new readers by calling them in advance. Others have set up meetings in dormitories where there are large numbers of subscribers, and others are investigating the best times for visiting people.

The renewal campaign director in Minneapolis writes: "The goal in the Twin Cities is to reach the 1,268 new readers of *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review* in the Upper Midwest region. We've started by sending teams to the campuses in the region several times a week. Our experiences have shown that there is a real interest. We've come across cut-outs of *The Militant* on the walls of

once, and we have a limited amount of time when we are there. In these cases, we're planning to send out a regional traveler along with sending information to people letting them know when we will be at their school."

A Boston team has the best record so far, at least on a percentage basis. Out of five people they found at home, all renewed their subscriptions, one endorsed the SWP campaign, and one asked to come to a meeting of the Young Socialist Alliance.

One hundred forty-two *Militant* renewals have been received in the campaign so far. Some of them have come in from readers who have followed *The Militant's* coverage for some time. One reader wrote, "Enclosed is a check for a two-year renewal of my sub. . . . In the two and a half years I have subscribed to the paper, there have been a lot of changes—all of them good. Keep up the good work." Another subscriber renewed for a year and wrote, "Lee Smith's kind words for I. F. Stone lent a nice touch to the paper. In fact, the whole quality of *The Militant* has gotten consistently better since I started reading two years ago. Keep it up."

Other renewals have come from our new readers. One wrote: "I am a member of the U. S. Air Force and have



Photo by Richard Gambrell

Fall 1971 subscription table—renewal campaign is aimed at reaching the 32,580 *Militant* subscribers gained last fall.

dorm rooms, people coming up and saying they want to get a sub to that paper because right now they are reading a friend's, people wanting to know how they can get SWP and YSA speakers on their campus."

The 1972 socialist campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley is one area of coverage that ranks high with new readers. One Minneapolis salesman came across a dorm door covered with *Militant* clippings of Andrew Pulley's tour in Northern Ireland and Germany. He reported, "Besides discussing *The Militant*, we're using this opportunity to discuss the Jenness-Pulley campaign and the 1972 elections. Most of the people we've talked to are looking for an alternative. We're bringing literature with us to give them on the campaign and asking them to endorse the SWP's ticket. We also distribute the literature in the dorm lounges and student centers for others to pick up. By getting renewals, these people will be able to follow the campaign until the elections."

The Minneapolis area got off to a quick start with 10 percent of the subscribers they have visited so far renewing and 13 percent endorsing the SWP campaign.

They write: "The main problem we've met is finding the people we want to talk to. Also, since some of the schools are as far away as 100 miles or more, we may only get there

recently joined *The Militant* with a 10-week subscription. I was very surprised and happy to know that someone has the guts in this capitalist country to print the damn truth. I hope you will continue to do the same. As for myself, I regret not being introduced to *The Militant* sooner. But I am trying to pass on to my fellow GIs the benefit of the paper. . . ."

Many people are still trying out the introductory 10-week subscription for \$1. One hundred twenty-three new subscriptions came in last week alone, 30 of them from people who attended the *Mi Raza Primero* (My People First) conference in Muskegon, Mich. One person from Los Angeles who sent in for the special offer wrote, "I got your paper from a shopmate several weeks ago and liked it very much."

In addition to *The Militant* renewals, 64 people have renewed their subscriptions to the *International Socialist Review* so far. In general, people who like *The Militant* are also interested in a Marxist theoretical magazine that speaks to today's issues in depth, and the renewal campaign has encouraged many *Militant* readers to try the *ISR*.

Each area should be sure to send in weekly reports so that we can keep everyone informed of the progress of the renewal campaign.

When George McGovern writes to Linda Jenness...

Senator George McGovern, 410 First Street, So

January 14, 1972

Dear Ms. Jenness:

At some of the meetings I have held on of your party, the Socialist Workers Pa number of questions. Recently I have l singled me out as a special target and

support... we our country... the burden of... sgra le the real problems facing us. But we on of such policies, if we resort to irr entativeness. That course serves neithe ntry nor of our people.

Sincerely yours,

George McGovern

... you read about it first in *The Militant*

The Militant is the newspaper that goes where the socialist campaign goes. Whether it is a debate between Jenness and McCloskey, on tour with Pulley in Germany and Northern Ireland, with the candidates visiting prisoners, GIs, or addressing a mass demonstration in Washington--*The Militant* is your best source of information on the socialist election campaign in 1972.

Renew now \$6/1 year

Free book offer

With a one year renewal to *The Militant* you can choose any one of the following books at no extra cost:

- () 1. **BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY** by Malcolm X.
- () 2. **PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION** by Evelyn Reed.
- () 3. **TWO PAMPHLETS ON THE LABOR MOVEMENT: The Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class** by Ernest Mandel and George Novack; and **Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions.**
- () 4. **GIs SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE WAR** by Fred Halstead.
- () 5. **INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY** by Ernest Mandel.
- () 6. **THREE PAMPHLETS ON THE CHICANO STRUGGLE: Chicano Liberation and Revolutionary Youth; La Raza Unida Party in Texas; and La Raza! Why a Chicano Party? Why Chicano Studies?**
- () 7. **THEIR MORALS AND OURS** by Leon Trotsky, John Dewey, and George Novack.

() Enclosed is \$6 for a one-year subscription.

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The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, N. Y., N. Y. 10014.

Over 500 at Mich. Raza conference

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

MUSKEGON, Mich. — More than 500 people attended the *Mi Raza Primero* (My People First) Conference held here Jan. 22-23. The conference was sponsored by the Mid-West Council of La Raza.

The discussion in the workshops reflected the two opposing groupings at the conference—those who are committed to working within the Democratic Party and those who are partisans of independent electoral action and La Raza Unida Party.

In the political strategies workshop, a Democrat put a motion on the floor that the conference "support every Latino running for office in 1972." Supporters of La Raza Unida Party countered with a motion that "only Raza Unida Party candidates" should be supported. Although the first motion passed in the workshop, it was later rejected by the plenary session that heard the various resolutions. A motion calling for no support "to either the Democratic or Republican parties and anyone who runs under those parties," was also narrowly defeated in the plenary. After this standoff, a motion was made to support the Raza Unida Party and "urge people to organize chapters in their areas." This motion passed unanimously. It was obviously considered vague enough by the reformists to warrant their vote, especially since it did not preclude their continued support to the Democratic Party.

One workshop, the "Mid-West and National Coalition," was devoted to building support to the National Spanish-speaking Coalition (NSSC). Paul Sedillo, co-chairman of the NSSC Task Force, which organized the first coalition conference in Washington, D. C., last October, candidly explained, "We don't want to have a repeat of last October." At that conference, the expected 150 invited participants swelled to 1,500, blocking the plans of the *vendido* (sell-out) Chicano and Puerto Rican Democrats to establish a vehicle for mobilizing the Raza vote behind their party in 1972. The Task Force is projecting a "national con-

vention" of 53 delegates for April 29-30 in Washinton, D. C., instead of another open conference that might attract militant youth and again block their plans.

The student caucus discussed how to establish Chicano studies departments around the country.

A red-baiting attack in the caucus against the presence of socialist literature at the conference found little support. Several workshop participants explained that all points of view should be heard at the conference without censorship. When the question was put to a vote, the red-baiters lost 100 to 3. Later in the conference, another red-baiting attempt by Chicago Brown Berets likewise found little sympathy. One Beret spokesman explained that the cross on their berets was to "show that we are not communists or socialists." Another attacked the Young Socialist Alliance and the fact that there was "all kinds of literature floating around."

Corona and Gutiérrez

The keynote speakers included Bert Corona, a founder and former president of MAPA (Mexican-American Political Association) and a supporter of the Los Angeles Raza Unida Party; and Texas Raza Unida Party founder and organizer José Angel Gutiérrez.

Corona analyzed how the two parties are controlled by the same capitalist interests that run the United States. He maintained that the very history of the labor movement in this country showed the futility of working within or trying to take over the Democratic Party. Referring to the contemplated congressional action to outlaw the West Coast longshoremen's strike, Corona stated, "This is the final result of the politics of collaboration within one party which is controlled by the same group which controls the other party, and which is going to result in a great defeat for the workers movement in its totality." Corona stated that perhaps at one time someone could defend such a policy but that now it had become

clearly ridiculous. "And this is what they want to sell us in 1972. No less than 20 Chicano representatives of Muskie, of Kennedy, of all of them, have come to California. And they all come with the same tune—which doesn't go beyond three notes—'It's to our advantage. It's to our advantage because this time it will be different.' How is it going to be any different, if the only difference is the puppets they have up front? Behind the curtain are Morgan, Rockefeller, Carnegie, Vanderbilt . . . the Chase National Bank, the Bank of America, the First National Bank of New York, the Boston Group. . . ."

Gutiérrez criticized those who advocate working within the Democratic Party. Referring to a *Militant* article that quoted the positions of three Raza congressmen on the question of independent political action, Gutiérrez said, "One of them from California [Roy-

bal] was saying that he registered as a Democrat when he was 21, that he was still a Democrat, and was pretty damn sure he was going to be a Democrat tomorrow. Well, at least we know that when he sold out, he *really* sold out."

Later in his speech, however, he criticized people who ask, "How come sometimes you sponsor this guy who's a Democrat even though he's a Chicano? You're not being independent, man! You're not standing up there saying, 'Only the Raza Unida Party.'" Gutiérrez then added an analogy to try to explain his position. "I take them [tortillas] as they come out, nice and hot. But I eat them however I can, with or without butter. And that's all we have to do with this politics business."

He was apparently referring to statements by Texas Raza Unida Party

Continued on page 22



From La Raza

"And this is what they want to sell us in 1972 . . . How is it going to be any different, if the only difference is the puppets they have up front?" — Bert Corona.

¡La Raza en Acción!

124th ANNIVERSARY OF THE TREATY OF GUADALUPE-HIDALGO: The main issue in the presidential campaign of 1844 was the annexation of Texas, with the Democratic Party running James K. Polk in favor, and the Whigs running Henry Clay in moderate opposition to annexation. The victory of the Democrats, who represented the Southern planters, guaranteed annexation.

But the plans and desires of the slavocracy went beyond Texas. President Polk was intent on provoking Mexico into a war that would end in the conquest of all of Mexico. The Democratic Party national convention held in New York State in 1844 resolved: "That the title of the Mexican government is a title by conquest from those who held it by conquest. If we took it and held it by the same title, they could not complain. Their title is legal; and our title would also be legal." The chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations stated in 1848 that the Mexican people could be removed to reservations in the same manner the United States had dealt with the native North Americans.

The Northern capitalists opposed adding Texas as another slave state and feared the enhanced political weight of a strengthened slavocracy expanding south into Mexico. But they favored provoking a war with Mexico to gain the commercially valuable harbors of California. The commander of the United States exploring expedition to the Pacific prior to 1845 praised the commercial possibilities of the West Coast, stating that it could easily fall into the hands of "the Anglo-Norman race . . . having none to enter into rivalry with it but the indolent inhabitants of warm climates. . . ."

The ideological justification for this expansionism was "Manifest Destiny." President Polk expressed the desires of the U. S. ruling class in

the following terms: "Our union is a federation of independent states whose policy is peace with each other and all the world. To enlarge its limits is to extend the dominions of peace over additional territories and increasing millions." But the expression of this expansionism was not merely limited to a particular view of the American nation. The racist ideology of the ruling class, both North and South, was perhaps best expressed by a northern capitalist, Commodore Stockton, who commanded the U. S. assault in California during the war with Mexico. "I will not attempt to impeach or defend what I believe to be the inevitable destiny of my country and of my race . . . I am unwilling to say to my countrymen that you shall go no farther east or west or north or south. I am unwilling that the Anglo-American race shall perpetually recoil from any given boundary and that any portion of this continent not now in their possession shall forever be impenetrable to their civilization, enterprise and industry." (Emphasis added.)

The war began in 1846, and during its course the United States defeated Mexico's armies and occupied Mexico City. The Democratic administration favored taking all of Mexico, but was stopped short by opposition in Congress. The government negotiator completed the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo on Feb. 2, 1848, against the orders of Polk. The treaty was subsequently ratified by the Senate. It gave the United States one half of Mexico's national territory, an area larger than France and Germany combined. In addition to Texas, the newly won U. S. territory encompassed what are now the states of California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, part of Wyoming, and the western part of Colorado.

Mexico attempted to include a provision pro-

hibiting slavery in the ceded area, but this was rejected by the United States. Mexico was paid \$15,000,000 for the entire area. The Mesilla Valley (Gadsden Purchase) was added in 1853.

Besides formalizing the military conquest, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo also guaranteed certain rights to the conquered Mexican inhabitants. Article VIII stated:

"In the name of Almighty God:

"Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories. . . . In the said territories, property of every kind, now belonging to Mexicans not established there, shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy with respect to it guarantees equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States." (Emphasis added.)

Article IX guaranteed to those who became citizens (automatic one year from the date of the treaty unless an individual specifically chose to remain a Mexican citizen) "enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the Constitution," and also "the free enjoyment of their liberty and property," and the "free exercise of their religion without restriction."

As in the case of every treaty signed with the Native American Indians, these guarantees have been systematically violated.

— ANTONIO CAMEJO

Washington expands air war in Laos

By DICK ROBERTS

"American participation in the Laos war continues to expand despite congressional bans on spending and other limitations imposed by the State Department and the Pentagon," according to a report in the Jan. 19 *Los Angeles Times* from Jack Foisie in Pakse, Laos.

"... the basic rule that no organized American ground combat units can get involved in Laos continues to be observed," Foisie stated. "But everything short of putting in American infantry is being done to help the reeling Royal Lao Army."

Foisie was one of 14 correspondents allowed to visit the CIA's former top-secret base in Laos at Long Tieng, Jan. 19. Coming in the wake of serious setbacks to the U.S.-Laotian forces in the past several weeks, Washington's move to allow journalists to visit Long Tieng is undoubtedly a preparation for escalated U.S. involvement in Laos.

Last Oct. 4, the U.S. Senate imposed a \$350-million limit on U.S. financing of the ground warfare in Laos (see *The Militant*, Oct. 22). In the Senate debate on the bill, Senator J.W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) declared that it could be used like the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin vote as a blank check to the administration to continue escalating the war in Laos.

For over 10 years, tighter press censorship has been imposed on U.S. military activities in Laos than in any other region of Indochina. Laos has been one of the most heavily bombed nations in history.

New York Times correspondent Craig R. Whitney was another of the group permitted to fly into the decimated Long Tieng base. It "is badly damaged and has been put out of effective action by the Communists even though the Laotians have reoccupied most of a high ridge that commands it," Whitney reported.

"High-ranking American officials, who acceded to requests for the visit to the base on condition that they

not be identified, said the Laotians suffered at least 600 killed, wounded or missing in the continuing conflict around the base," said Whitney.

Whitney revealed U.S. direction of the Laotian air war and the huge extent of it: "At the... headquarters on a hill overlooking the south side of the Long Tieng complex, a handful of young Americans in civilian clothes were planning B-52 raids on the Communist positions around the base.... The skies were filled with American planes—cargo aircraft dropping arms and food by parachute, and helicopters—all operated for the CIA and the Laotians by the charter line Air America—plus occasional United States Air Force jet bombers from Thailand."

In an article written from Vientiane, Laos, Jan. 20, Whitney stated that Washington "has lifted much of the secrecy it maintained over its efforts here and is saying that, far from doing too much, the Americans are doing too little and the administration may ask for more money."

According to Whitney, U.S. military forces in Laos now number "about 300 men of the Central Intelligence Agency and the more than 100 Army and Air Force attachés."

Meanwhile, a revealing commentary on the U.S. war in South Vietnam appeared in the Jan. 16 *Washington Post*, written by Peter A. Jay upon completion of 18-month assignment as chief of the *Post's* Indochina bureau.

Jay points out that whatever success Washington may have had in building up the military forces of the Saigon regime, it has failed to stabilize the military regime's control of the countryside. Says Jay, "It has long been a basic American tenet that until broader support for the South Vietnamese government can be developed, the regime will remain unviable—propped up only by U.S. military and economic aid."

"But there is no indication—not only to this fairly short-term observer but

to others who have been here much longer—that the government is doing anything to develop that sort of popular support or even wants to." (Emphasis added.)

Jay singles out the example of the village of Vinhkim, a Delta district

for years have made the Saigon government anathema to most of the people of this country, encouraged young men to join the other side, and in a very real sense helped to prolong the war. They are also the reason why so many of the best Americans

Los Angeles is site for antiwar action

LOS ANGELES—The National Peace Action Coalition announced here Jan. 24 that Los Angeles, along with New York, will be the site of the April 22 national demonstration against the Vietnam war. The decision to hold the western portion of the demonstration here was made at a Jan. 22 NPAC meeting of 60 leading Western-area antiwar activists held at California State College at Los Angeles.

The unanimous vote in favor of Los Angeles was announced at a news conference called by the Western Regional Office of NPAC. Speakers at the press conference were NPAC national coordinators Stephanie Coontz and John T. Williams, and Northern California NPAC coordinator Bertha Dertz.

capital near Mytho. "The district chief—Saigon's representative—is an army major named Vo Van Dai. Extensive interviews in the community... showed the major to be widely hated and feared. Not only was he believed to be corrupt (a universal allegation), but he had alienated the local notables—elected village leaders and respected elders—without whose support he could never achieve any rapport with the community....

"Vinhkim is proud of its history as a town 'rich in heroes and famous men' who struggled against foreign domination for generations. Dai, addressing the villagers soon after he arrived, declared contemptuously that 'I see no heroes and famous men. I see nothing but a pack of mangy dogs.' The major's shortcomings have been brought to the attention of officials at the provincial capital and in Saigon time and again, but he is well connected at the presidential palace and has not been removed....

"It is the Major Dais of South Vietnam—venal, arrogant, self-serving men in important public offices—who

who serve here, especially the younger ones, go from belief and commitment to disgust and deep bitterness over the course of their stay."

Jay knows that, for the same reasons, Washington has no intention of withdrawing its military backing to the corrupt clique in Saigon. He concludes his article, "After more than 25 years of fighting, the Vietnamese might be forgiven for wondering if they will ever emerge from the war at all."

An Agence France-Presse dispatch from Hanoi Jan. 21 bears noting: "Defense preparations against a possible American attack were reported under way today throughout North Vietnam. The North Vietnamese apparently think the attack may come shortly or that it may be made between President Nixon's forthcoming visits to Peking next month and Moscow in May. Its aim, North Vietnamese sources say, would be to convince North Vietnam's main allies that continued fighting would be in vain and that they should persuade Hanoi to accept a compromise."

N.Y. SMC holds broad meeting

NEW YORK—Despite campuses being closed for intersession, and final examinations in New York high schools, 180 activists turned out for the first city-wide Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) meeting since the national antiwar conference last December. Nineteen college campuses and 20 high schools were represented at the meeting, which laid plans for building the national student antiwar conference to be held at Washington Irving High School in New York City Feb. 25-27.

By the time of the meeting 35,000 leaflets and 30,000 copies of the *High School Student Mobilizer* publicizing the approaching antiwar conference and the activities of the SMC had already been distributed. Another 7,000 copies of the SMC's high school newspaper were taken for distribution at the meeting, and the SMC estimates that it will get out between 100,000 and 200,000 leaflets by the time of the antiwar conference. Many of the high school students present pointed out the value holding the conference in New York would have for high school organizing in the city.

The meeting also discussed the implementation of an endorser drive aimed at obtaining sponsorship for, and broadening participation in, the February conference. It was reported that free full-page ads had already been pledged by four campus newspapers, and that a few responses from student government representatives had been received, even though campuses have been closed.

In view of Nixon's "Vietnamization" hoax, one particularly important SMC activity is its teach-in campaign. It was reported that the SMCs at Baldwin School and Fieldston High School have

been successful in scheduling two-hour assemblies of the entire student body to hear speakers opposed to the Vietnam war on Feb. 2. Columbia University SMC is planning a teach-in for Feb. 16 and 11 other schools, including one junior high school, also hope to have teach-ins or antiwar assemblies prior to the student antiwar conference in February.

A Connecticut conference of the SMC was reported to have already taken place in New Haven, and both Binghamton and Long Island, N.Y. are planning such conferences for February. The meeting elected Sara Johnston and Sam Manuel as New York coordinators of the SMC and set Feb. 6 as the date of the next city-wide meeting.

Gage-Colby honored at N.Y. dinner

By DAVE FRANKEL

NEW YORK—More than 400 people attended a dinner here Jan. 20 in honor of Ruth Gage-Colby and her work on behalf of peace over the last 57 years, beginning with her activities in high school in 1915. The dinner was organized by the National Peace Action Coalition, of which Ruth Gage-Colby is a national coordinator.

Daniel Ellsberg, under indictment for releasing the Pentagon papers to the *New York Times*, addressed the meeting. He pointed out that "Nixon's winding down the war like he's winding down my indictment."

Professor Arthur Galston, a professor of biology at Yale University, also spoke at the meeting. He detailed some of the ways in which science

has been perverted for use in warfare. In concluding his speech he said, "We're going to be out there on April 22 and any other day that demonstrations are held...." He urged the antiwar movement to "Keep up the pressure—we need it and the Vietnamese need it."

Other speakers at the dinner included John Kerry of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War; Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.); Katherine Camp of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Stephanie Coontz and Jerry Gordon, national coordinators of NPAC; and Abe Feinglass of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters.

In accepting a plaque honoring her work, Ruth Gage-Colby vowed to continue her activity and branded the United States the main threat to world peace.

Messages were read by actress Ruby Dee and NPAC coordinator James Lafferty from U Thant, the Japan Congress Against A- and H-Bombs (Gen-suikin), and Coretta Scott King, among others.

Several thousand dollars was raised for NPAC from a collection speech by Robert Abrams, the Bronx borough president, and Don Gurewitz, a former coordinator of NPAC.



Ruth Gage-Colby

Photo by Mark Satinoff

In Our Opinion

...Indochina

Continued from page 1

For the liberation forces, a cease-fire would mean simply giving up a popularly supported struggle that has recently made significant advances.

We know from history that Nixon's proposal for a "free and democratic election" in South Vietnam is a fraud. According to the 1954 Geneva Accords, elections were supposed to be held in 1956. The U.S. government opposed those elections and they never took place, even though the U.S. had agreed to abide by the Accords.

As far as "international supervision" is concerned, we have the tragic example of the Congo in 1960. A United Nations so-called "peace keeping force" presided over the bloody overthrow of the elected Lumumba government and its replacement by a pro-imperialist puppet regime headed by Moise Tshombe.

In Vietnam, the election would be organized under the aegis of the Thieu government apparatus. Whether Thieu resigns for a month wouldn't make a bit of difference. Thieu's cops, soldiers and administrators would still be in control.

Even if the Vietnamese were to accept Nixon's proposal, American troops would remain in Vietnam for at least another six months, when they have no right to be there for even another day. Moreover, Nixon does not propose withdrawing all U.S. armed forces from Laos, Cambodia and Thailand. He does not propose ending the substantial CIA and other intelligence operations in Southeast Asia.

So the upshot of Nixon's proposal is that the NLF should surrender in return for elections held while the country is under the control of the cops and army of the Saigon regime. Thus Nixon's basic objectives remain the same as those that led the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations to prosecute the war: to maintain regimes in Southeast Asia that are subservient to U.S. imperialism and to prevent a socialist revolution from taking Southeast Asia out of the orbit of imperialist exploitation. This is the meaning of Nixon's statement that the U.S. would not "surrender," and would "support our allies."

Since Nixon knew the Vietnamese would not accept these conditions, why did he take free prime TV time to present them?

First of all, because the Southeast Asian liberation fighters are making military gains. The U.S. puppet forces are taking great losses in Laos and Cambodia, and military experts are predicting an NLF offensive in South Vietnam for the Lunar New Year in mid-February. The U.S. has been forced, under pressure of the antiwar movement, to withdraw thousands of troops from Southeast Asia.

For these reasons Nixon apparently hopes to put himself in the best possible position to escalate the war if that becomes feasible. He hopes to pressure the bureaucratic rulers of China and the Soviet Union to use their influence to urge the Vietnamese to give up. He wants to confuse and defuse the antiwar movement. And he seeks to undercut the criticisms of the "dove" members of Congress by taking a position similar to theirs.

Nixon's speech was a crude election ploy, designed to fool the American people again into thinking that his administration is seeking an end to the war. He is right when he admitted in his speech, "Some of our citizens have become accustomed to thinking that whatever our government says must be false; and whatever our enemies say must be true, as far as this war is concerned." The American people don't want any more lies or secret conferences—they want "Out Now!"

Nixon has appealed to the American people for unity behind his proposal for a "settlement" rather than a "surrender." At the same time, on the very day of his speech, the U.S. was raining bombs on North Vietnam and stepping up the air war in Laos.

The majority of Americans, who are opposed to the war, must demonstrate again that there is no unity in this country for brutal military intervention in the affairs of other countries. No, President Nixon, the American people are not being "used" by the so-called "enemy," as you so arrogantly charge in your speech. The Vietnamese are not the enemy of the American people. It is you who are trying to use us with your lies. And the antiwar movement will answer you on April 22, the next date scheduled for major demonstrations against the war. It will answer you by demanding the only just solution to the war: immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces and materiel from Southeast Asia.

Letters

Tenants unions

The housing of Killeen, Texas, which is a military town near Fort Hood, is very poor. Some of the people from the Fort Hood United Front have taken action to try to improve these conditions.

We are writing to see if you can furnish us with some information on Tenants Unions. Sources for this kind of information are limited in Killeen.

Community Control!

Connie Bevacqua

Fort Hood United Front

P. O. Box 1265

Killeen, Texas

A correction

In my article reporting on actions that had taken place in response to the government's murderous five-day bombing assault on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, "Indochina war escalation spurs protests" (*Militant*, Jan. 14, 1972), the figure given for the New Year's Day White House picket was inaccurate. I have been informed by the National Peace Action Coalition that demonstrators at this action numbered 100 at the most, whereas my article gave the figure 1,000.

Lee Smith

New York, N. Y.

Amnesty issue

I wish to alert your readers, especially those who are draft resisters or deserters from American foreign policy, of the special issue of *Amex-Canada* magazine now available, which deals with the questions of amnesty and repatriation in depth. No editorial position will be taken, and the effort has been made to present information with a minimum of rhetoric so that those affected and any others interested in the question can make educated decisions or judgments.

Reading the informational special issue on the questions will afford anyone who cares to do so the unusual opportunity of participating in an intensive international discussion, formulation of policy, and plan for action.

This discussion will take place in print in the subsequent issue of *Amex*, the main purpose of it being to give as large a number of draft dodgers, deserters, other exiles from American militarism, and any others interested a chance to reclaim the definition of these issues from the likes of Senators Taft and McGovern, Congressman Koch or President Nixon.

Dee Knight, general editor

Amex-Canada (published by Americans exiled in Canada)

P. O. Box 187, Station D

Toronto 165, Ontario

Canada

Income distribution

On page 1 of the *Christian Science Monitor* of Jan. 4, 1972, was an article about income distribution in the U.S. based on new figures by the conservative Brookings Institution, I believe. Even they and the *Monitor* found them shocking and much worse than had previously been believed.

For instance, the lowest 20 percent of the population gets 3.2 percent of the national income, while the top 20 percent gets more than 45 percent. This despite weaknesses in the surveying techniques. They used old (1966) income tax forms, which I believe don't have to show nontaxable income like state and municipal bonds—not to speak of the other hanky-panky that the rich indulge in when tax time comes around.

The reason people were shocked, no doubt, is because it verifies the Marxist thesis of the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer under capitalism. And it knocks in a cocked hat all the liberal bleating about how reformist tinkering with the system has changed all that.

John R. Glenn

Venice, Calif.

From Attica

Comrades, I am a member of the Young Lords Party, although I am serving four to 12 years at one of the U.S. concentration camps. I am a veteran of the concentration camp rebellions at Auburn in 1970 and Attica in 1971.

We believe that the people should know the true nature of Amerikkkan propaganda. And wherever injustice, inequality, and discrimination exist I will, as any other revolutionary will, voice the inhuman conditions and let the truth reach the people's ears! Maybe we are incarcerated in a concentration camp (physically), but our minds are liberated and will continue to be liberated.

Forward with the struggle; SWP-YSA, you're doing a tremendous job of organizing. My future hopes are that men should look at women as our equal—revolutionary within every rank and not as sex symbols or oppressively; and that we (all organizations) establish a solidarity coalition together and with the people.

Brother Dalou

Young Lords Party, Attica Chapter
Attica, N. Y.

Women as merchandise

Our dearly beloved attorney general, John Mitchell, has quite a negative view of us. According to *Time* magazine, Mr. Mitchell, as he leered at a group of models, said, "I don't know about the dresses, but the rest of the merchandise is great."

I am heartily sick of being regarded as a bit of merchandise by the same people who wish to deny me an abortion.

In 1964 I was jailed for dispensing birth-control information and cans of contraceptive foam in Mississippi. Many of these women were Black. Perhaps the pig morality that jailed me did so not out of an archaic sense of morality but because a can of contraceptive foam means one less Black person to kick around, just as an aborted female fetus to them means one less woman to kick around.

Lynda Sabara

Carteret, N. J.

Suggestions

Congratulations on your victorious subscription drive! I would like to suggest two things that I think will enhance the value of *The Militant*. First, an annual index that could serve as a research guide for future reference.

Secondly, articles dealing with the hardships a divorced mother often faces, the inhumane juvenile deten-

The Great Society

tion system, and youth liberation from repressive home, job and educational institutions. The oppression of young people and the abuse of the divorced mother by the courts are indeed worth investigating and exposing by a revolutionary-socialist paper.

Greta Schiller
Ann Arbor, Mich.

In reply—The Militant will be publishing an index for 1971 that will be available to all readers, and hopes to continue this practice in the future.

How would it work?

As a new subscriber, I can say your journal is a bargain, as is the *International Socialist Review*, to which I also subscribe.

The Militant is doing an excellent job for minority groups, but is short on plans detailing how nationalized industries and utilities could be set up and operated.

Gil Davis
Cotati, Calif.

Conservative school

I have read several issues of *The Militant* and feel that I would like to receive it for personal and professional use. I teach political science, psychology, and U.S. history at the high school level in an ultraconservative school. I am not radical in nature but feel that these students should have the opportunity to know what is going on in the world around them.

Enclosed is the \$6 for a one-year subscription. This six came from students, and I am writing in their behalf as well.

C. H.
Severna Park, Md.

Rahway rebellion

I heard with alarm that leaders of the Rahway prison rebellion in New Jersey were taken to Trenton State Psychiatric hospital. I later read in the back pages of the *New York Times* that prisoners' attorneys have filed suit against the state of New Jersey, charging that the prisoner leaders transferred to the psychiatric facility were forcibly drugged.

I think we have to realize the implications of this issue. The possibility itself of such treatment is a realistic enough threat to the prisoner to inhibit his or her relationship to legal counsel. Also, the treatment itself may disorient the prisoner, hindering his or her perception of past events, which may be of importance in cases pending against him or her.

Let us bring this issue into the light of day.

Edward Connelly
Ithaca, N. Y.

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

Italian shoe workers move left—According to *Atlas* magazine, the owner of an Italian shoe factory who balked at a union request for a wage increase was surprised when the workers responded not with a strike but with increased production. The catch, he learned, was that they were producing left shoes only. The increase was granted.

Math whiz—Patricia Nixon says the president "has faith in women. He always said this would only be half the nation it is without women."

Bars outside competition—Peter Lazaros, an allegedly well-heeled Detroit mobster, was booked on a vagrancy charge in Houston and ordered to leave town. "I told him we got enough of our own hoods around here," explained Lt. Joe Singleton of the criminal intelligence division. Besides, Singleton added, "He's a con man. . . . You give him a chance and he'll sell you this police station." Probably wouldn't pay a commission either.

The Wild West—Sam Yorty, mayor of Los Angeles and aspirant to the presidency, says we have to increase our nuclear stockpile in case of a sneak attack by the "Rooshans." "If they hit

us first," he explained, "we want enough left to destroy them."

The even hand of the law—An indigent New York narcotics addict, 23, was convicted of selling less than three grams of heroin to an undercover police agent. The judge gave him 30 years. Meanwhile, in another New York court, a member of the police department assigned to the Harlem narcotics squad pleaded guilty to swapping some heroin for 11 bottles of liquor. He got 18 months.

That'll learn him—President Nixon moved firmly against Eugene Worley, the chief judge of the U.S. Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, who reportedly sat on the bench 17 days in nearly three years. The judge, who has been knocking down \$42,500 per annum, was ordered retired, at full pay.

Destalinization pressures?—Bulgarian bureaucrats have never shown concern for the rights of the individual, but they have taken one step some people might feel goes in the right direction. Smoking is prohibited in any workplace where there is one or more nonsmoking employee.

All in the family—Members of the Los

Angeles City Council clashed sharply, briefly, and inconclusively over charges that Sylvia Cunliffe, a city hall executive, had influenced the appointment of three sisters and a half-brother to poverty agency jobs. Her husband and mother also work for the city. "These are the things," one council member observed, "that make people dissatisfied with their government."

More wild charges—The Soviet Union, which apparently believes that the U.S. is capable of treating animals like people, charged that the American military plans to use skunks, gulls, dolphins and bats as war weapons. In a formal denial, the U.S. Navy declared it has not, does not, and will not "train any animal to injure itself in any way in connection with any alleged military mission or tactic."

Divine insight—Dr. Carl F.H. Henry, a leading Christian theologian, says the deficiency of the counterculture is that it represents a "revolt against reason."

Alliterative alloor—According to a radio poll conducted by Dr. Joyce Brothers, Spiro Agnew aced out Paul Newman as the nation's Most Sex-Appealing Man.

— HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

BLACK WOMEN AND ABORTION—The San Francisco *Sun Reporter*, a weekly Black newspaper, has had good coverage of the abortion law repeal struggle. In its Nov. 20 issue, reporter Gwendolyn Evans wrote an article urging Black women to participate in the San Francisco Nov. 20 demonstration for repeal of abortion laws.

The Dec. 4 issue carried an interview with a Black woman, Jody Scott, entitled "Abortion: A Woman's Right." This article, also by Gwendolyn Evans, begins: "Jody Scott ran down the steps of her apartment building to join the women marchers. 'This was the first I knew of an abortion march,' she said breathlessly. 'I just hadn't heard about it anywhere! If more Black women knew about it, they'd be out here, too.' As we headed towards Civic Center Plaza (for the Nov. 20 demonstration) Jody related experiences similar to all Black women.

"I joined the march because I've seen a lot of people have children and not want them. Women should have the right to an abortion if they don't want to be pregnant. . . .

"When we were young, my aunt, who is the same age as I, got pregnant and didn't want the baby. She jumped down stairs to cause a miscarriage, but the hospital still wouldn't give her an abortion. She eventually had a miscarriage. . . . I've had many friends who didn't want to have a baby and put themselves through the same kinds of changes—hurting their bodies.

"Everybody knows somebody who didn't want to have a baby,' Jody observed. 'And you look around and see how some kids are being mistreated. Unwanted. That's how a lot of them end up in adoption centers and juvenile homes!'"

WOMEN'S ACTION ALLIANCE FORMED—A national organization called the Women's Action Alliance has been formed to support local projects on women's issues, through providing resource people, a directory of women's groups, referrals for funding and a national newsletter. According to Gloria Steinem, one of the founders, the Alliance "is devoted to filling in the gaps between existing organizations, not to duplicating them. . . . the alliance will . . . be able to help local women who are not yet ready to join any organization but who want to work together to solve a specific local problem." An investigation of continuing education programs for women and sexist discrimination in city government employment has already been initiated by the organization. The Alliance also plans to work on such issues as child-care, birth control, abortion counseling, and women's legal rights.

Members of the Alliance Board of Directors include Steinem; Representatives Bella Abzug (D.-N.Y.) and Shirley Chisholm (D.-N.Y.); Lucy Benson, president of the League of Women Voters; John Kenneth Galbraith, economist; and Nat Hentoff, writer.



After a two-year legal fight, Bernice Gera has won the right to be hired as a baseball umpire. On Jan. 13 the New York State Court of Appeals ruled that the refusal of minor league groups to give her a job was discrimination against her on the basis of her sex.

PROSTITUTION—"The 'White Slave' Trade in the East Village" is the title of a chilling article by David Black in the Jan. 13 *Village Voice*. Black writes about prostitutes on New York City's Lower East Side, describing how many of them are 13-, 14-, and 15-year-old women who have run away from home, have no job or place to stay, and are "befriended" by a pimp. He interviewed a woman named Cheryl who was kidnapped by a prostitution ring when she unknowingly accepted a pimps offer of a temporary place to live. Cheryl was locked in an apartment and forced to work as a prostitute. Her captors told her that if she asked any of the male customers for help, her face would be cut up, disfiguring her permanently. Nevertheless, Cheryl begged the men who came to her to help her escape. Two of these men were the pimp's agents. She was cut up and thrown out on the street.

A social worker Black talked to described the dehumanizing lives these women lead:

"If the girl's lucky, she'll run into someone nice. But usually she'll end up with someone who'll beat her and use her. . . . After they've been on the street for a while, it's hard for them to leave. They're so used to being brutalized that they can't manage real relationships. By the time they're 16 their life is over."

— CINDY JAQUITH

Columbia women fight sex bias

By STACEY JOSLIN

NEW YORK—The U. S. government has threatened to suspend all federal contracts with Columbia University unless Columbia can prepare a program to end sex discrimination in university hiring, promotion, and salary standards. Two plans already submitted by the university administration have been rejected as inadequate by the U. S. Department of Health Education and Welfare (HEW).

The threat to cut Columbia off from federal contracts was announced Nov. 3, following an HEW investigation that exposed discrimination against women at the university. Since then, about \$688,000 in funds have been delayed. Columbia stands to lose up to \$70-million in federal funds this year.

Action against job discrimination at the university was first taken in 1970 when Columbia Women's Liberation, working with the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL), submitted a report to HEW on research that revealed widespread inequities in teaching, administrative, and supporting staff positions. Columbia Women's Liberation initiated a campus group in the fall of 1971, the Women's Affirmative Action Coalition (WAAC), to pressure the administration to submit a comprehensive plan of action written by Columbia women.

WAAC has involved hundreds of women on the campus in its fight to end sex discrimination. Women representing the faculty, administration, and supporting and custodial staff have attended two mass meetings on

the campus and endorsed an affirmative action plan that will be submitted to HEW. WAAC hopes to convince HEW to accept this plan because the university administration has so far failed to outline any more changes it is prepared to make in response to the HEW suit.

WAAC feels that it cannot rely on the good faith of a federal government department such as HEW to force Columbia to stop discriminating against women. The group believes that only the independent organization of women on the campus can demonstrate to the university the urgency of the demand.

In a related development, a WAAC meeting voted Jan. 12 to support 30 custodial staff women (classified as "maids") who have been given notice that their jobs will end Jan. 28. University spokesmen claim the women, the majority of whom are Black and Latino, are being fired because of budgetary cutbacks, although more janitors were recently hired. Janitors and maids perform basically the same duties, but the maids are paid \$18 a week less.

More than 125 people, including maids, members of Transport Workers Union Local 241, and WAAC members, turned out for a Jan. 18 picket in front of Columbia's Low Library. The demonstrators protested the firing of the maids and demanded equal pay for maids and janitors. The action drew widespread support, including endorsement by the Latin American Students Organization (LASO), the Barnard Organization of

Soul Sisters (BOSS), and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The struggle by Columbia women is one of the many actions being taken by women at universities around the country to end sex discrimination. Since January 1970, according to the Dec. 13, 1971, *U.S. News & World Report*, more than 350 colleges have been charged with discrimination against women in violation of a 1965 federal executive order prohibiting sex and race discrimination by federal contractors. About 40 schools have reportedly had contracts delayed as a result of the charges.

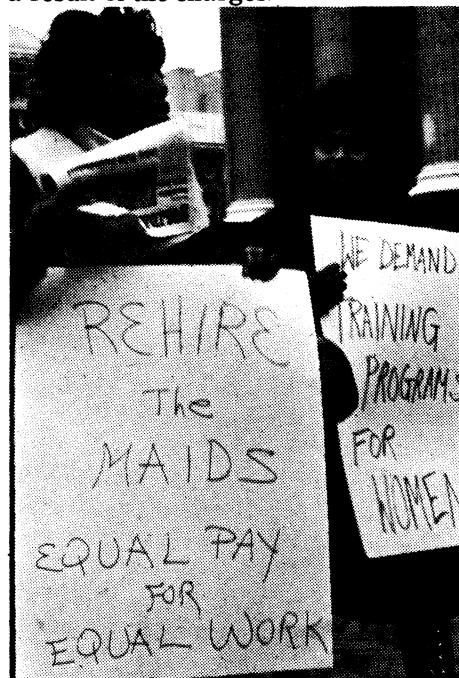


Photo by Julie Simon

Pickets in Jan. 18 protest of Columbia plan to fire 30 maids

U of Minn. victory won by women

By BETSY FARLEY

MINNEAPOLIS—University of Minnesota Women's Liberation announced at a Jan. 13 press conference that one of their demands for female health care has been met by the university. Pap smears are now available to university women at no extra charge above the \$21-per-quarter student health service fee. The test for cervical cancer previously cost \$4.

Members of U of Minn. Women's Liberation consider this achievement a partial victory in their fight to make the campus health center responsive to the needs of women students.

Last October the group initiated a campaign for pap smears, pregnancy tests, and postabortion and miscarriage care for all women students at no extra charge. The women also demanded abortion referral and an end to the "moralizing" attitude of health service staff and administration members towards women requesting these services. Although pap smears are now free, pregnancy tests still cost \$5. Also, the university still has a policy of refusing to provide maternity-related care for students.

U of Minn. Women's Liberation is protesting the fact that student fees finance free sperm counts and free overseas inoculations but are not allocated to meet some of the most basic health needs of women.

On Jan. 14, despite 62-degree-below-zero windchill temperature, the group held a spirited rally on the steps of the administration building, where the Board of Regents was meeting. About 40 supporters turned out to hear speeches by Mary Garrett, a women's liberation activist, and Jack Baker, president of the Minnesota Students Association.

The health service campaign has now received broad support, including the endorsement of the University YWCA; Matthew Stark, president of the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union and a member of the Student Activities Bureau, a branch of the Dean of Students' office; FREE, a gay liberation organization; Sue Perry, staff member of the *Minnesota Daily*, the school newspaper; Mary Hillary, state coordinator of the Minnesota Women's Abortion Action Coalition and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate; Jane Van Deusen, coordinator of Minneapolis Female Liberation; Paula Giese, associate professor of humanities; Carolyn Rose, professor of sociology; Wayne Barstad, Twin Cities coordinator of Vietnam Veterans Against the War; and Tom Brenemann, a member of the U of Minn. football team.

U of Minn. Women's Liberation plans to hold an open hearing on the campus health service soon. The hearing will help build Twin Cities participation in the Feb. 11-13 Women's National Abortion Action Conference in Boston. The group sees a close correlation between their fight for decent health care and the struggle to repeal all anti-abortion laws.

Red-baiting frenzy at N.Y. forum

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

NEW YORK—"SWP/YSA Out Now" was the title of a forum held here Jan. 19. The meeting, attended by 60 women, was cosponsored by Gay Women's Liberation Front (GWLFF) and the Feminist Organization for Communication, Action and Service (FOCAS).

The format of the forum was that of personal testimony delivered by eight women claiming to have had experience with the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance in the feminist and gay movements.

The testimonies abounded with phrases such as "undercover co-optation," "infiltration" and talk of the YSA-SWP "machine." The outcome of the evening was a decision to launch a nationwide campaign to "force the SWP and YSA out of these movements by any means necessary."

The panelists included Martha Shelley, writer of tracts such as "Subversion in the Woman's Movement: What Is To Be Done?"; Chris Pattee of New Haven Women's Liberation; Rose Jordan of Daughters of Bilitis; Carol Robinson of the Women's Health and Abortion Project; Deni Covello of Women for the Inclusion of Sexual Expression and GWLFF; Lucinda Cisler of New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal and N. Y. NOW; the Reverend Magora Kennedy; and Lois Chaffee of Women United for Needless Trotskyist Rhetoric Action Coalition (WUNTRAC).

Although involved with different groups, all the panelists have recently leveled slanderous attacks against the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), which the SWP, along with many other women and organizations, actively supports. Many of the panelists caucused with others at the founding convention of WONAAC last July and urged that WONAAC adopt "freedom of sexual expression" as one of its key demands, along with the repeal of all anti-

abortion laws, no forced sterilization, and repeal of laws against contraception.

The majority of women at the conference felt that the most effective campaign would be one centered on the demand for abortion law repeal and the two related demands for the right of women to control their reproductive lives. When the proposal to adopt the additional demand of freedom of sexual expression was overwhelmingly defeated by the conference participants, these women staged a walkout. Since that time, they have issued a number of press statements and leaflets, charging WONAAC with being "SWP-dominated" and "anti-gay," and urging women to boycott all WONAAC-sponsored actions, particularly the Nov. 20 marches for abortion law repeal.

The presentations were varied. One panelist used her time to attack WONAAC and the SWP because the WONAAC Third World Task Force used a photograph taken of her at an abortion rally last year on one of their leaflets. "I just felt so used," she said.

Another participant, Lucinda Cisler, expressed basic differences with the mass-action strategy advanced by the SWP and with the action perspective of WONAAC. Claiming that legislative work rather than mass actions will win the repeal of anti-abortion laws, Cisler especially attacked the SWP for helping to organize week-end demonstrations in Albany and Washington, D. C., "when everyone knows the legislators leave on Wednesday."

In general, certain refrains could be found in each presentation. The SWP was attacked as "male-dominated." Lesbians in the SWP were charged, in a leaflet put out by the forum organizers, with being "dyke-impersonators," presumably untouched by the oppression gays face in this society. Women who work in groups in which the SWP also participates were told

they are being "led like lambs to the slaughter." The steps SWP women supposedly follow to "take over" groups were described. Magora Kennedy warned those present: "They won't identify themselves until their backs are up against the wall. For everyone who says, 'Yes, I am one,' there are two more who keep on going."

The paranoid tone of the meeting reached a climax in the final presentation, given by Reverend Kennedy. She recently moved from Boston, she told the audience, because the SWP allegedly deluged her with bomb threats, ransacked her house, trailed her constantly, and told her to "keep quiet or be killed." She recounted a series of totally fabricated stories about other women across the country who, "as soon as they spoke out against the SWP," were mysteriously pushed out of cars or lost their eyes!

"Every woman's survival," Kennedy concluded, "depends on getting them out of the movement. Let's stop talking and do something to off the Trots."

This forum was held in a period when serious attacks are being leveled by reactionary organizations and individuals against even the limited right to abortion granted by the liberalized New York abortion law. At a time when it is crucial for women to unite to defend and extend the rights we have won, this panel made it clear that some women in the movement have another priority—that of attacking the YSA, SWP and WONAAC, which are attempting to build a united national movement to win repeal of abortion laws.

The viciousness underlying the forum was illustrated by the cheering Lois Chaffee received when she said: "I was quite happy to hear Nov. 20 was a dud." This is just one example of the extent to which their preoccupation with the SWP has caused these women to turn away from defending the real needs of the masses of women.

Lee Otis Johnson wins right to retrial

By DEBBY LEONARD

HOUSTON—On Jan. 20, U.S. District Judge Carl O. Bue Jr. ruled that Lee Otis Johnson must be retried within 90 days or given his freedom. Bue's ruling was based on the conclusion that the climate in Houston was "inherently suspect for trying Johnson in Harris County on this charge or any other" at the time of his trial in August 1968.

Johnson, a former leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), is now serving 30 years on the frame-up charge of giving one marijuana cigarette to a Black police undercover agent.



Lee Otis Johnson

LNS photo

Judge Bue listed a number of trial errors that contributed to possible prejudice against Johnson, including the denial of motions for continuance and change of venue, and the methods used in jury selection. Judge Bue further noted that the unusually long sentence indicated that factors other than the evidence presented at the trial had influenced the jury.

In the face of the federal judge's ruling, Harris County District Attorney Carol Vance stated that he will either prosecute Johnson again or appeal Judge Bue's ruling. Vance reaffirmed his position that the 30-year sentence was not unduly long, and that on this conviction Johnson could have received from five years to life imprisonment.

Judge Bue's ruling is an important victory in the long legal battle to free Lee Otis Johnson. It also establishes a significant precedent in defense of the right to a fair trial and deals a blow at the racist system of "justice" so prevalent in Texas.

However, after three and one-half years in prison, Johnson is still not free. The police, the city administration, and the district attorney, all of whom have been involved in Johnson's prosecution, still have 90 days to plan their counterattack.

San Quentin Six end hunger strike

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER and NORTON SANDLER

SAN FRANCISCO—"Our strike has ended, but not our struggle." Before a packed hearing for the San Quentin Six on Jan. 24, prisoner Willie Tate referred to a hunger strike in which prisoners had been gassed and beaten

in the Adjustment Center of San Quentin. Tate had announced the beginning of the hunger strike at a similar hearing one week earlier.

He said that the purpose of the strike had been "to express our discontent with our daily harassment... our strike was in the form of a peaceful protest. We are not violently prone as the prison administration projects us to be. We are not asking for privileges from the state apparatus, but basic human rights."

For five days the mass media blacked out all mention of the prisoners' strike. Reporters from *The Militant* tried throughout the week to obtain information on the physical condition of the prisoners from San Quentin officials but received a constant "no comment." Both the capitalist press and the prison officials have been trying to conceal the continuous struggle going on in the Adjustment Center since Aug. 21, when George Jackson was murdered.

The demands of the strikers protested the inadequate meals, which are combined with dirt, matchsticks, hair, and feces; the complete denial of any exercise time or commissary privileges; "inhuman" medical care; prohibition of all reading matter more stimulating than seventh grade public school textbooks; and the lack of special literature on "Black and Brown culture." Close to a week after the strike began, San Quentin press officer James O'Brien finally released a statement that rejected the demands on the grounds that the men "are too dangerous."

Despite official suppression of news pertaining to the brutal retaliation against the prisoners, one of the strikers, Jesse Phillips, was able to get word to his lawyer that he and at least six other men had been branded key "agitators" and thrown into solitary confinement in "strip cells." In such cells they are held in 24-hour darkness with no shoes, soap, mattress, or heat.

Prisoners in the Adjustment Center itself are exposed to the rain and cold since windows, which guards smashed Aug. 21, have never been repaired. "Well," said O'Brien, acknowledging

the brutality, "if you are going to use tear gas, you've got to open the windows." This statement was reported over KPSA, a local Pacifica radio station.

The prisoners refer to themselves as the Adjustment Center 26, which was the number of men incarcerated in the A.C. at the time of George Jackson's death. However, only 21 prisoners (all Black and Brown) remain on the tier. Others have been transferred to "B" section (reportedly more decrepit than the Adjustment Center), which joined the hunger strike in support of the demands.

Kenny Divans, a striker who is a co-plaintiff in a suit exposing Adjustment Center conditions, reported to his lawyer that an official threatened the prisoners with the statement, "We know how to take care of agitators. You are not going to live very long."

These "agitators" the officials refer to have been among the leaders of the growing movement within the California prison system. The strikers included Ruchell Magee, the Soledad Brothers, five of the San Quentin Six (who are charged with inciting the Aug. 21 incident), some of the Soledad Seven (prisoners who were framed and then had charges dropped of killing a guard in 1970), Earl Justice and Larry Gibson (recently framed for the murder of a guard), and witnesses to the execution of Fred Billingslea by San Quentin guards (Billingslea was murdered in 1970 and the witnesses include Magee and a couple of the members of the San Quentin Six).

Prison authorities are attempting to create another Aug. 21, which might result in a massacre of their key opponents among the prisoners. They are also seeking to establish the climate of hysteria necessary to convict many of these men in their political trials.

Despite their harassment by the guards and their vilification in the mass media, the unity, humanity, and determination of the Adjustment Center 26 demonstrate that the resistance among prisoners continues to grow stronger.

By Any Means Necessary

BROTHER ROSIE DOUGLAS WAS ARRESTED and held for six days in December by the Canadian Department of Immigration in preparation for deportation. The Black student militant was free on \$14,000 bond raised by the Black community and appealing a two-year-less-one-day jail sentence at the time. "Never, never, never in my experience has the Crown ordered a deportation until after the appeal. Never," was the response of his lawyer, Clayton Ruby, to the unprecedented event.

Douglas' release after six days resulted from demonstrations of support in the Canadian Black community, a strong letter of protest sent to the government by the National Black Coalition (a sort of Canadian NAACP), and the fact that the matter was raised in parliament by the New Democratic Party, the Canadian labor party.

While the decision to deport Douglas has been postponed, he has to report to immigration authorities in Toronto once a month.

Repercussions from the original case against Douglas have been felt throughout the Western Hemisphere, and at one point ticked off a chain of events that almost toppled the Trinidadian government.

Douglas, a Black Dominican who has resided in Canada for five years, was arrested along with close to a hundred other Black students in January 1969 after they occupied the computer center at Sir George Williams University in Montreal. They were demanding that the university discharge a racist professor.

In the course of their arrest by hundreds of police, the computer was damaged.

The defense of the students, who were from all parts of the West Indies, became the focal point of the growing Black nationalist movement in

Canada and served as the spark for the Trinidadian events in the spring of 1970.

In the wake of these events, some students were let off on lesser charges and others were acquitted. The government then leveled the brunt of its case against Douglas and two sisters, Ann Cools and Brenda Dash. They were all convicted last April on the charge of obstructing the use of the computer center and are appealing the decision.

INTERESTING STATISTIC. According to the Jan. 5 *Christian Science Monitor*, 50 percent of the hourly paid work force in Chrysler's Detroit plants are Black. Nationally the figure was 25.8 at the beginning of 1971, up from 14.4 percent in 1961. Chrysler is the third largest automaker in the U.S.

MORE THAN 200 BLACK WOMEN ATTENDED A CONFERENCE in Chicago over the weekend of Jan. 9. According to Charlayne Hunter in the Jan. 10 *New York Times*, the conference "covered a variety of topics, including domestic workers and welfare recipients as well as prison movements and personal issues such as the relationship of Negro women to Negro men and that of Negro women of divergent backgrounds and opinions."

"We felt there was much need for black women to talk to each other without fear and without being under pressure to be something other than what they are," she quotes Jean Fairfax, the president of the Black Women's Community Development Foundation, the organization sponsoring the conference.

Hunter reports that the "attitudes of the women... were divided between those who felt that the

issue was Negro men and Negro women fighting together for black liberation and a smaller but more vocal element that felt that black men had often been impediments in the struggle for liberation."

The foundation was established in 1968 and is financed on a grant from the Irwin Sweeney Miller Foundation.

THE SOUL PATROL. Along with the mounting proclivity of Black people to create their own independent organs of struggle to correct their plight, there is an increasing attempt to utilize the organs and institutions of the white capitalist oppressor for the same purpose. Such is the case in the Black ghetto of Boston called Roxbury.

There, according to the Jan. 3 *Newsweek*, community leaders were successful six weeks ago in getting the police department to create a special unit to patrol the streets of Roxbury, where 105,000 Blacks reside. The unit, made up of 34 Black policemen, was quickly dubbed the "Soul Patrol." It operated during the purported high-crime hours, from 6 p.m. to 2:30 a.m.

But what this meant was that white cops would no longer be allowed on the streets of Roxbury during those hours. And so *Newsweek* reports, "if the patrol is getting rave reviews from the city's blacks, its reception among many white police is frosty, indeed. And the Police Patrolman's Association, fearing the patrol might lead eventually to community control of the police, is challenging the unit on the ground that an all-black force violates the 1964 Civil Rights Act."

White cops don't want to live in the ghetto but they surely want to preserve the right to patrol it.

— DERRICK MORRISON

Angela Davis bail denied

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO—U. S. District Court Judge William K. Sweigert on Jan. 14 upheld the decision of the California state courts denying Angela Davis her right to bail. Sweigert's ruling, which blatantly ignored the arguments of Davis and her defense attorneys, puts the authority of the federal court system behind the attempt to brand Davis a "criminal."

This ruling implies that Davis is a criminal twice over, since her year-long incarceration and fight for a fair trial was portrayed by the state as a tactic designed to embarrass the state court system.

Judge Sweigert is also principally responsible for refusing the plea of Davis' codefendant Ruchell Magee that his case be heard in the federal courts.

Anthony Amsterdam, a specialist in constitutional law, had argued that denial of bail violated the due process and equal protection guarantees of the U. S. Constitution. Amsterdam pointed out that although bail is mandatory in California in all capital cases except those in which "proof is evident or the presumption of guilt is great," not one incident has been cited in which Davis acted in a way that could be taken as unequivocally incriminating. Most of the "evidence" against Davis concerns her political association and her work in defense of the Soledad Brothers.

Davis took the stand before Judge Sweigert on Jan. 12 and in a quiet, defiant voice explained that punitive jail conditions, such as lack of privacy and limited visiting hours, make it very difficult for her to act as co-counsel in her defense and thus compromise her right to a fair trial.

"My conclusion," said Davis, "is that denial of bail is a political gesture to erode the presumption of innocence. I believe that the issue of bail transcends my own case. It is supposed to be one of the keystones of American democracy, but Black and poor persons in this country have not been able to avail themselves of bail."

Judge Sweigert disregarded the submission by the defense of nearly 400,000 signatures, gathered in this country and abroad, demanding bail. Sweigert said that although it was apparent many people supported bail for Davis, their concern might be mitigated if the trial were speeded up. Defense counsel Doris Walker then arose and indignantly responded, "This delay hasn't been the fault of the defense. We have had to go before the court several times to insist that the judge force the prosecution to comply with court orders. It has taken up the better part of a year to look at the so-called evidence."

On Jan. 14 it was announced that a motion had been filed in Superior Court in San Jose asking that the state be ordered to pay for defense costs. Franklin Alexander, national coordinator of the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis, said somewhat less than \$100,000 had been raised during the past year from donations and royalties from books and posters, but that expenses are running between \$5,000 and \$15,000 a month. Chief counsel for the defense Howard Moore Jr. noted that the state has assigned three full-time prosecutors to the case and demanded that it finance the defense in order to "equalize the opportunity."

Hanrahan candidacy challenge to Chicago's Black community

The following is the first of two articles.

By NORMAN OLIVER

CHICAGO—In a predawn raid more than two years ago, two members of the Black Panther Party, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, were brutally murdered by Chicago cops. The raid was carried out by a task force selected by Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, who proceeded to charge the seven Panther survivors with attempting to murder the attacking cops.

In total disregard for the anger these murders generated in the Black community, the Cook County Democratic Party reslated Hanrahan in early December to run in the March 21 Democratic primary for another term. After receiving loud protests from many quarters, Chicago Mayor Richard "Boss" Daley pulled the necessary strings and dumped Hanrahan on Dec. 20, the final day for submitting nominating petitions. Traffic court judge and former FBI agent Raymond Berg was substituted.

Hanrahan decided to remain a candidate saying, "If I don't seek reelection . . . that would be the Black Panthers' biggest propaganda victory. I don't intend to give them that victory. . . ."

This bizarre episode in American politics deserves serious analysis by those interested in advancing the Black liberation struggle.

We should examine the events leading up to Hanrahan's nomination.

The outrage in the Black community in the wake of the police murders of Hampton and Clark and the attempt to whitewash the murderers by indicting the surviving

lash vote for Hanrahan."

Just before the nomination, Reverend Jackson had paid a visit to Mayor Daley in an attempt to persuade him not to slate Hanrahan, because it would be "a millstone around the neck of the Democratic Party." But Daley was so unimpressed by Jackson's plea that he didn't bother to mention it during the slate-making meeting.

One of the Black members of the committee, ardent Daley-machine supporter Alderman Claude W. B. Holman, from the Fourth Ward, stated that only "dissident and troublemaking" Blacks would oppose Hanrahan. At another time Holman said, "If Hanrahan is defeated, it won't be by the Black vote. The Blacks are not going against Hanrahan."

In other words, Holman and other Black Democrats who voted for the slate, such as U. S. Representative and Congressional Black Caucus member Ralph Metcalfe, felt they had done an excellent job in helping to maintain the Democratic Party's hold on the Black community.

However, despite these presumptions and the lack of an organized response from the Black community, the community's anger expressed itself forcefully enough that a second slate-making committee meeting dumped Hanrahan and nominated Berg.

During the week that Hanrahan was on the slate, it became apparent to the Daley machine that he would indeed be a "millstone around the neck of the Democratic Party." Democratic Party hacks across the state made it clear that having "a man under indictment" on the slate would endanger the Daley machine's grip on Illinois. The possibility of going into the March 21 primary with such a handicap was enhanced when the Illinois Supreme Court, on Dec. 17, dismissed Hanrahan's challenges to the grand jury indictment.

Roman C. Pucinski, Democratic congressman and candidate for U. S. Senate, who had previously backed Hanrahan's slating, said, "We found that everywhere we went, people just wanted to ask questions about the Hanrahan affair." No doubt these were questions they had great difficulty answering.

Berg was slated by the Daley machine only five hours before the filing deadline for nominating petitions. Parties that have been on the ballot before—that is, the Democratic and Republican parties—must file 6,000 signatures with the petitions. For so-called minority parties, such as the Socialist Workers Party, the required number of signatures is 5 percent of the total vote in the last election, some 100,000 signatures.

One per second

On Dec. 20 Mayor Daley announced that Berg would be the new Democratic Party candidate for state's attorney. Later that afternoon, petitions bearing the names of 20,000 people (presumably gathered at the rate of one per second) were filed in support of Berg's nomination.

The next day the Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI) filed suit challenging the Berg petition and charging "massive forgery."

The truth of the IVI's charge was widely recognized. The major Chicago papers interviewed people whose names appeared on nominating petitions for Berg (and for other Democrats and Republicans, including Hanrahan) but who hadn't signed their names. Many of the precinct captains who supposedly circulated the petitions have admitted to reporters that the names were forged.

On Jan. 5, the Cook County election board dismissed all charges of forgery and other irregularities on the Berg petitions. The IVI, which filed the charges, was unable to follow through due to what the group's lawyer termed "insufficient time." The board threw out the case on the basis of "insufficient evidence," thereby virtually assuring Berg a place on the ballot.

Although the Daley machine, which runs the Democratic party in Illinois, may be especially crude in their finagling, they are not unrepresentative of the Democratic Party elsewhere. In fact, Daley is a highly respected power-broker in the inner circles of the national Democratic Party.

This entire scandal should make it all the more apparent, especially to Black people in Chicago, that the Democratic Party does not represent or in any way serve the interests of the masses of the oppressed and exploited. It once again underlines the necessity for Black people to form their own political party—like Chicanos in some areas have done by forming La Raza Unida parties—independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

To be continued



"Hold it . . . State's Attorney's raid! . . . What's this about forged nominating petitions?"

victims resulted in charges against the seven Panthers being dropped. This victory encouraged further demands.

Scores of civil rights, legal, religious, and educational organizations demanded an investigation of the police raid "for possible violations under the Illinois criminal code." Many Black leaders demanded that Hanrahan be charged with murder.

As a result, Hanrahan and the 13 cops who conducted the raid were indicted last August by a special county grand jury. The charges involved only Hanrahan's falsification and concealment of evidence during an investigation of the raid, not the raid itself. Crude but unsuccessful attempts were made by the Daley machine to quash the indictments.

Despite warnings from Black Democrats and others, the Democratic Party decided to reslate Hanrahan; they decided to flaunt this symbol of white racist repression before Chicago's Black community of more than one million. This lack of gratitude for the overwhelming support given the Democrats by Black Chicagoans was exceeded only by their cynical motives. They reslated Hanrahan in order to go after the white racist vote, confident they had the Black vote sewn up.

As columnist Michael Kilian, a member of the *Chicago Tribune's* editorial board, put it, "Fears of a Black revolt were exaggerated. Most of the noise was being made by the Reverend Jesse Jackson, who had proved himself an abysmal failure at practical politics. . . . Besides, a Black challenge would draw out even more the back-

'YOU HAVE CHOSEN TO BE FIGHTERS FOR HUMANITY'

LINDA JENNESS SPEAKS TO NATIONAL CONVENTION OF YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The following speech was given by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, at a national campaign rally in Houston, Texas, on Dec. 30.

The Socialist Workers Party's 1972 election campaign is being endorsed around the country by many individuals and organizations, but there is no endorsement as important to our campaign as that of the Young Socialist Alliance.

When I was campaigning in Wisconsin, a young reporter asked me why I insisted on running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket and on seeking the endorsement of the Young Socialist Alliance. He pointed out that if I were to run in the Democratic Party, I could get ballot status more easily, get many more supporters, and much more money.

I told that reporter I wouldn't trade the endorsement of the Young Socialist Alliance for ballot status in all 50 states or for \$20-million! Your support is worth more to the Socialist Workers Party campaign than all the resources of the Democratic and Republican parties combined.

The Young Socialist Alliance has become a recognized force in the student struggle. No one can walk around the YSA today, and few are foolish enough to try to ignore you.

It is a well-known fact that you are the uncompromising core of the antiwar movement. You are the spearhead of the fight against the archaic abortion laws, and you are respected defenders of all who are attacked by capitalist injustice.

And now, all of that energy, all of that organizing skill, all of that leadership ability, is going into building the socialist election campaign—and that kind of support does not have a price tag!

At this convention you have been discussing the prospects for socialists in 1972. You have also had a frank discussion of the problems confronting us. We must always do both. We look around us and see more American people willing to listen to and accept our ideas than have existed for one quarter of a century—and that inspires our revolutionary optimism. But at the same time, we always keep before us a realistic appraisal of the problems that we face. After all, we are revolutionary optimists, but we are not grinning idiots!

An election year in the United States brings both problems and opportunities. On the side of the difficulties is the well-known fact that the overwhelming majority of the American people still believe that the capitalist parties can solve the problems they face. Or at least they think that they

have no choice but to vote for twiddle-dee over twiddledum, even if it turns their stomach.

For instance, in 1968, in spite of the heightening of nationalist consciousness of Black Americans, in spite of the ghetto uprisings in 1967 and 1968, and in spite of the fact that the living conditions in the Black community had become progressively worse—90 percent of the Black people who voted, voted Democratic.

Nixon attacks workers

The American workers this year have been directly and dramatically attacked by President Nixon's "new economic policies." This attack has angered many workers. Many of them took note of the fact that every single senator and congressman, Democrat and Republican alike, supported the freezing of their wages. A change in their thinking is beginning to take place, but in their overwhelming majority they are unfortunately still going to vote Democratic. In fact, the labor bureaucrats are going to try to make sure that they do and are already out scratching backs and licking boots for the Democratic Party.

Many, many young people will get caught up in the campaign of some liberal Democratic Party peace candidate. The pressures are enormous to "dump Nixon" and replace him with a "good guy" from the Democratic Party.

Many of these people are the same ones who in the past have helped organize actions against the war in Southeast Asia, or against the reactionary abortion laws. The energy of thousands of people will be withdrawn from the active struggles and mischanneled into licking envelopes, ringing doorbells, and hustling votes for the Democratic Party. And so we can expect the mass demonstrations against the war to be smaller than they were in 1971. We can expect it to be more difficult to raise money and build coalitions around abortion actions.

Pseudo-independence

And then there are the reformist and liberal leaders who recognize the power and independence of the new movements. They are trying to develop organizational forms that are an adaptation to this independence. There is a Black Political Caucus, a Women's Political Caucus, a Youth Caucus—they even attempted to set up a Spanish-speaking Caucus. These caucuses try to appear independent—but in reality they are simply phony attempts to keep people in the fold of the Democratic Party.

These problems are not new—they

happen every four years. That, after all, is exactly what the capitalist elections are all about. The capitalists run elections to try to strengthen the illusions of the American people that this is a democratic country and that people have a choice.

What is new in 1972 is that they are having a harder time strengthening those illusions than ever before. The Women's, Youth, and Black Political caucuses are testimony that it is getting harder for them. These caucuses are testimony that there is a very real sentiment for independent political action—and that's where our campaign comes into American politics.

Just look at what is new since 1968. The antiwar movement has encompassed more and more people from many different walks of life—and the student antiwar movement proved its strength in May of 1970. The feminist movement, encompassing thousands of women looking for answers, has not only been reborn but has flourished. We have seen the real emergence of the GI movement. I have spoken to prisoners in Massachusetts, in Pennsylvania, in Chicago—highly organized and very political prisoners who are asking not only how to reform these prisons but how to build a society in which they would not exist.

Gay people are raising new challenges to the oppression they face and raising new questions about the decadent standards of capitalist morality. La Raza Unida parties have been formed and are winning a few elections and seriously challenging others.

All of these things are new. And what they mean for our campaign is that there are more young people right now who are interested in socialist ideas than ever before in the history of the Young Socialist Alliance. Those are the people who are ready and waiting for our campaign. We have the answers to their questions. We know the solutions they are grappling for. And the Young Socialist Alliance has the energy and the will to take this campaign to them and to recruit them. This can be an unparalleled year of growth for the YSA.

We have already done a lot of campaigning and have had an enormous impact. The national campaign staff estimates that with the newspaper coverage and meetings that Andrew and I have had so far, we have reached in some way or another over 20 million people, not counting radio and TV time. And before this campaign is over it will be tens and tens of millions.

As a matter of fact, I run into some of the people we have reached almost

every time I leave the house. Last week I was going from New York City to Washington, D.C., for a few days and had made a reservation on the Metroliner train. I stepped up to the booth and said, "I have a reservation on the 8:30 train. My name is Jenness, J-E-N-N-E-S-S." The young man standing right behind me said, "Are you Linda Jenness? Wow, I never thought I'd meet you in a train station!"

He then went on to explain that he was doing a research paper for John D. Rockefeller III on "changing attitudes of America's youth." He goes to the National Student Association conferences, the Student Mobilization Committee conferences—all the youth conferences—and he told me that everywhere he goes our posters and campaign literature are all over the place. We parted with him saying, "Wait till I tell Mr. Rockefeller that I met you. You are the one phenomenon that we can't explain!"

Our campaign meetings have already been larger than most of them were in 1968. For instance, when I spoke at the University of Rhode Island, 300 people attended the meeting, and 84 of them endorsed the campaign.

George McGovern and Edmund Muskie have been so badgered with questions by Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley wherever they speak that even the capitalist press has taken note of it. I have an article here from *Chicago Today* of Dec. 1, reporting on McGovern's tour in Chicago. It says:

"In his effort to shed his one-time 'radical' tag, McGovern gets a helping hand from the Socialist Workers Party at virtually every campus meeting.

"Why don't you debate Linda Jen-

Continued on page 14

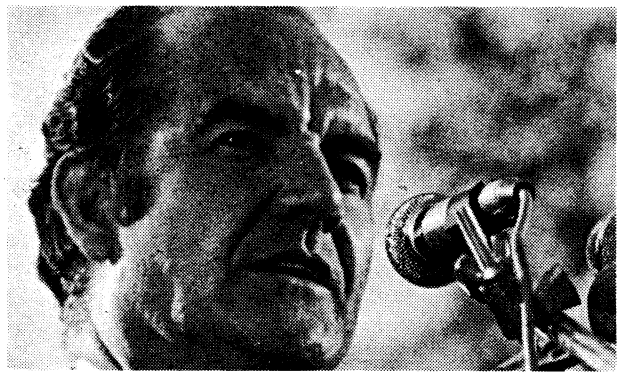


Linda Jenness

Photo by Ed Weaver

GEORGE MCGOVERN SOCIALIST WORKER

MC GOVERN LETTER



The following exchange of letters between Senator George McGovern and Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, was made public by Jenness at a news conference in Los Angeles on Jan. 28. McGovern's letter was dated Jan. 14 and Jenness' Jan. 24.

Dear Ms. Jenness:

At some of the meetings I have held on college campuses, members of your party, the Socialist Workers Party, have asked me a number of questions. Recently I have learned that the party has singled me out as a special target and has distributed a questionnaire to its members so that they can take part in question periods.

Your supporters allege that my representatives arranged for a debate between us in Madison, Wisconsin, last October. No such debate was contemplated, because I am a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination while you are the candidate of your party for the presidency. In short, we are not competing for the same office at the moment. In addition, I have offered to debate other candidates for the Democratic nomination. May I ask how many competitors you debated and how many primary campaigns you entered on the path to your party's nomination?

I have long opposed American military involvement in Vietnam. I have sponsored the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment, which for the first time gave either house of Congress a chance to vote on the war. It was the forerunner of the Mansfield Amendment.

The McGovern-Hatfield approach provides that in return for setting a date for the complete withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam and a cessation of bombing of Indochina, we should be assured of a safe and orderly withdrawal of our forces and the return of all American prisoners held by the other side. Our government cannot expose our withdrawing forces to unnecessary danger nor can it abandon our prisoners. It is not a question of whether or not we have the right to ask for such terms. Our government has the responsibility to ask for such terms, and the other side seems fully willing to meet them.

My vote for the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution was a mistake based on reliance on information which turned out to be largely false. I voted for its repeal in 1970, the first time repeal came before the Senate.

I have been asked why I have not voted against all military funding, because I know that much of those funds are going to Vietnam. From my earlier comments, you will have seen that I do not intend simply to see American troops abandoned in Vietnam. Furthermore, while I am willing to cast a symbolic vote against military spending to indicate my opposition to the war and to waste in military programs, I firmly believe that the United States needs an adequate national defense. I would not vote to undermine that defense. I am proposing this week a defense budget which would—in my view—provide an adequate defense while reducing expenditures roughly \$30-billion.

On other matters raised by your party's questioners. I have fought hard for the rights of Native

Americans and have introduced much progressive legislation. I am the author of the Senate Resolution, passed in 1967, which opposed the heartless termination policy. I have repeatedly condemned the callousness of government which led to the imposition of excessive bail for some so-called "political" prisoners, and to prison and criminal practices which caused the injustices at Attica and in the George Jackson case. But I have not limited myself to wringing my hands; I have made concrete alternative proposals.

Finally, as for the Pentagon papers, they were not offered to me to publish and, in any case, I believe they had a greater impact when published in *The New York Times* than they would have had coming from a known antiwar senator.

In sum, I support progressive policies for the United States which will relieve our country of the burden of a disgraceful war and allow us to tackle the real problems facing us. But we cannot hope for the adoption of such policies if we resort to irrational and unwise argumentativeness. That course serves neither the interests of our country nor of our people.

Sincerely yours,
George McGovern

JENNESS REPLY



Dear Senator McGovern,

I am writing in reply to your Jan. 14 letter, in which you respond to some questions that are being raised by students across the country about your campaign.

Most of those who have asked these questions are not members of my party, as you seem to think. Many of them are members of campus chapters of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP). Others have not yet endorsed any candidate. Still others have been your own young supporters.

Opposition to your stands on key questions comes from a much broader layer of young activists than just supporters of socialism.

Many dedicated antiwar activists, civil libertarians, Black and Chicano fighters for self-determination, militant women, and others are questioning your campaign and the Democratic Party.

It is because I strongly oppose your attempt to convince activists in the antiwar and other movements for social change to work within the Democratic Party instead of building independent movements against the government that I have criticized your candidacy.

However, your impression that I have singled you out as a "special target" is false. I have been campaigning vigorously against all the Democratic and Republican candidates. For instance, on Jan. 15 I publicly debated Representative Paul McCloskey at Colby Junior College in New Hampshire.

Let's set the record straight on the question of the debate that had been scheduled for Oct. 2 at the Madison campus of the University of Wisconsin.

The debate had been jointly arranged by the Madison Youth for McGovern and the Madison Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. How-

ever, you sent a telegram to Madison consisting of only two words: "I decline." This fact was reported in the press.

On Oct. 2, we addressed separate meetings. At your Madison meeting you were asked from the floor why you had refused to debate me, and replied to the 1,000 people present, "I understand that Linda Jenness is the nominee of your party, but I don't yet have the nomination of my party, so it wouldn't be appropriate."

Several days later, James Campbell, a *Chicago Sun-Times* reporter, contacted your Washington campaign office. In the Oct. 15 *Sun-Times* Campbell wrote, "... McGovern campaign officials in Washington didn't seem to know what to say. One campaign boss... said Mrs. Jenness was a 'kook and a Trotskyite.'"

In your letter, you again claim that since you are currently seeking the Democratic presidential nomination "we are not competing for the same office at the moment." You are seeking the Democratic nomination because you want to be president. I am a presidential candidate. We are competing for the same office. The fact that we are members of competing political parties should not prevent us from debating our views.

Too young?

In a Dec. 8 letter addressed to me, Stephen Robbins of your Washington staff explained why you declined to participate in a debate between presidential candidates arranged by Congressman Paul McCloskey and myself. Robbins first pointed out that you were "limiting debates to opponents within the party." He then stated, "In addition, the Senator does not feel it is appropriate to debate with candidates who are constitutionally unqualified for the office," referring to the fact that I do not meet the constitutional age requirement of 35.

You do not mention this issue in your letter. Is this still your position? Do you think you can avoid debating me because I am "too young"?

Andrew Pulley and I have called for a constitutional amendment that would eliminate all restrictive age requirements for elective offices. Will you join us in supporting such an amendment?

You ask me how many primaries I entered on the path to my party's nomination, as if to imply that my party is not run democratically.

I was nominated by delegates to a national convention of the Socialist Workers Party held in Cleveland, Ohio, August 8-12, 1971. The delegates were democratically elected by party members around the country. The convention was preceded by months of discussion and debate. Every member had an equal voice in the discussion and the election of delegates, and each delegate had an equal voice in the final choice of candidates and program.

Unlike your party, women, Blacks, Chicanos, and young people do not have to wage a battle to make themselves heard in the Socialist Workers Party. My party nominated a young woman and young Black man for president and vice-president. Your party, like the Republican Party, has always been a party of boss rule by a handful of wealthy power-brokers and corrupt politicians, and it will never be an instrument for real social progress.

On the war in Indochina: You say that the U. S. should set a date for troop withdrawal and stop the bombing, provided that the Vietnamese assure "a safe and orderly withdrawal of our forces and the return of all American prisoners."

Senator McGovern, the U. S. has no right to be in Indochina one year, six months or one day. The only "safe and orderly withdrawal of our forces" would be an *immediate*, total withdrawal. I oppose continuing the war for any period of time, because any continuation of the war means death for thousands more American GIs and Vietnamese. The way to protect American troops from "unnecessary danger" is to bring them home now.

I call for immediate and unconditional withdraw-

N REPLIES TO THE S PARTY CAMPAIGN

al of American troops. Immediate, because anything less tramples on the right of the Indochinese people to self-determination. Unconditional, because the U.S. has no right whatsoever to put any conditions on the Vietnamese.

April 22 antiwar actions

The National Peace Action Coalition has called upon all Americans, regardless of political persuasion, to participate in peaceful and legal mass demonstrations against the war on April 22 in New York City and Los Angeles. The central slogan of these demonstrations will be "Stop the Bombing Now, U.S. Out of Indochina Now." Will you endorse these demonstrations and march on April 22?

You claim that your vote for the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution was a "mistake," and that

say to the world: "The United States will no longer intervene in the affairs of other nations."

If you were elected, your foreign policy would not differ fundamentally from that of your predecessors—Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon—in that its foundation would be the maintenance of American imperialism.

Christopher Lydon, reporting on your proposal for a \$54.8-billion "alternative defense budget" in the Jan. 20 *New York Times*, writes:

"Like the Pentagon planners, Mr. McGovern said he starts from the premise that Communist China and the Soviet Union will remain 'actively hostile' to the United States and that the risk of both nuclear and more limited confrontations are real . . .

"The McGovern budget would maintain the 'triad' of nuclear deterrence with manned bombers, land-based missiles and nuclear-equipped submarines

to meet the countless other needs of the great mass of Americans.

Angela Davis

You say you are opposed "to the imposition of excessive bail for some so-called 'political' prisoners." Does this include Angela Davis, who is being persecuted and held without bail because of her political views? If so, why don't you say it outright? Why haven't you called for her immediate freedom?

Why didn't you call for an investigation of the murder of George Jackson at San Quentin?

Why don't you put the responsibility for the Attica massacre where it belongs—squarely on the shoulders of Rockefeller and the prison officials who refused to grant the just democratic demands of the Attica inmates?

On the Pentagon papers: You declined to make the Pentagon papers public when they were brought to you by Daniel Ellsberg in January 1971. You have been quoted as saying, "I told him that I felt as a lawmaker that I could not be in the business of breaking the law" (*New York Post*, July 31, 1971). Had you acted to release the papers, you would have faced far less risk to yourself than Ellsberg, who as a result of his courageous act now faces imprisonment. Excuses such as yours were made by every State Department bureaucrat who helped to conceal the government's policy of deceit in Indochina.

If I were president, I would have *all* the secret documents and secret government deals published for everyone to read.

I welcome this opportunity to have an exchange of views with you. However, in your letter, you discuss only a few of the issues facing the American people. You have yet to respond to my criticisms of the Democratic Party, and to my criticisms of your positions on the Arab revolution, wage controls, the Black liberation struggle, La Raza Unida Party, repeal of all anti-abortion laws, homosexual rights, or your position of excluding from your call for amnesty for draft resisters all GIs who have deserted military service and all those who have refused service on political grounds.

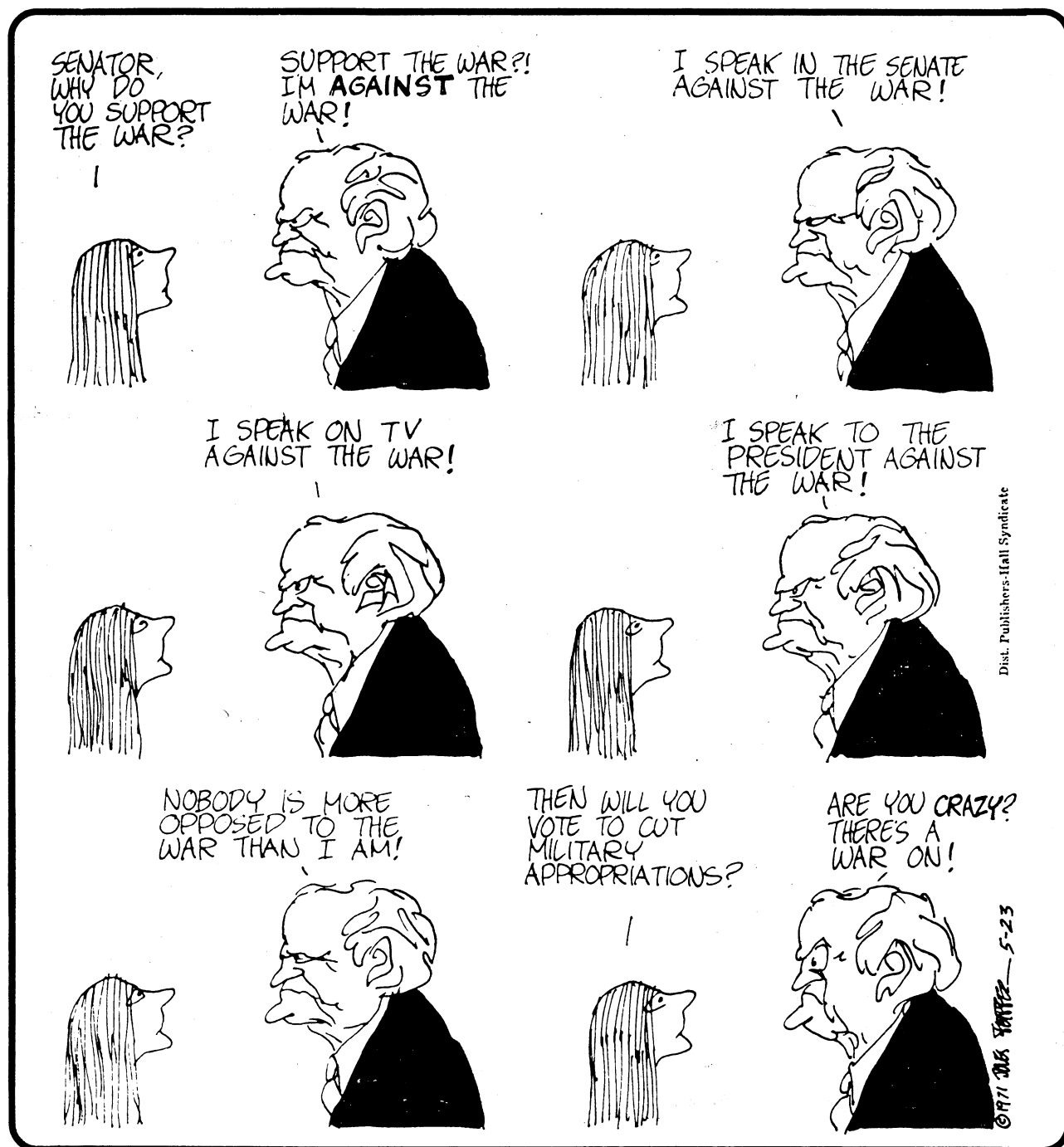
I hope that you will discuss these issues in further correspondence. However, this discussion should not take place only in letters, but face-to-face before the public.

As you have said, "I do think voters are entitled to see the candidates on the same stage, to see them in action person to person, to see how the candidates handle each other in open debate."

I am willing to debate you anywhere, anytime. I appeal to you once again to accept this proposal.

Sincerely,

Linda Jenness



you voted for its repeal in 1970, "the first time repeal came before the Senate."

You are in error on this point. On March 1, 1966, Senator Wayne Morse offered an amendment to S2791 (fiscal 1966 supplemental defense appropriations) that would have repealed the Tonkin resolution. How do you explain your vote in favor of a motion to table the amendment, in effect killing it? (*Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, March 4, 1966, page 544.)

You defend your votes in the Senate in favor of defense appropriations and military funding because you "firmly believe that the United States needs an adequate national defense" and therefore you "would not vote to undermine that defense."

If I were president, I would dismantle every U.S. base throughout the world. I would call home all the naval fleets and order the withdrawal of every American troop stationed abroad. I would

. . . greater reliance than ever would be placed on Polaris and Poseidon submarines. . . .

"Eight military divisions and 14 air wings would be devoted primarily to the defense of Europe . . . two divisions and a total of about 130,000 Americans would actually be stationed in Europe."

Yours is not a program for peace, but a program for more war, for continued military interventions in the affairs of other countries.

The far-flung American military machine is not fighting on the side of democracy and progress anywhere in the world.

This military might, which you want to maintain, is not for "defense" at all. It is for aggression, as in Vietnam, Cuba and the Dominican Republic.

In addition to calling for an immediate end to the war, I call for the complete dismantling of the entire war machine. All of the \$80-billion spent yearly on defense should be used to build hospitals, day-care centers, schools and housing, and

A TRUTH KIT*

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Continued from page 11

ness, our candidate for president?" he was asked yesterday by students at Southern Illinois University [Carbonale], Illinois State [Normal] and Northwestern [Evanston]."

The Youth for McGovern think we are such a threat that at my meetings in New England they felt a need to intervene. They came and set up their literature tables at my meetings. Then they sat in a little block right in the front row and tried to ask me embarrassing questions.

They asked me about my stand on abortion, on the Middle East, and on defense spending. After getting applause with each of my answers, I leaned over and said to them: "Look, if you want to embarrass a candidate, you have to ask them questions about their weak positions, not their strong positions."

"Well, what are your weak positions?" they asked. "Well, now," I said, "there's the rub. You will have to look far and wide before you can find a position of the Socialist Workers Party that I am ashamed of."

When Bella Abzug was asked by a Young Socialist for Jenness and Pulley organizer why she belongs to the Democratic Party, she replied: "I think the youth should give the Democratic Party one more chance." That answer in many ways epitomizes the predicament of the Democratic Party in their approach to the youth of America. All they can say is "Give us one more chance." They cannot point to their record with any pride; they cannot list any reasons why youth should support them. They can only plead, "Give us one more chance."

It will be one of your jobs to reach those same people and tell them that the chances of the Democratic Party are all used up! They were all used up long ago and they have been riding on promises and lies ever since.

In my campaign for president of the United States I have not had to lie about my record on the Vietnam war, as George McGovern has had to do; I have not had to plead for one more chance for my party, as Bella Abzug has had to do. And I have not had to tell people to pull the lever for the Democratic Party jackass, as all of them have had to do!

And there's something else we should remember. Many youth are now campaigning for McGovern, Lindsay, Kennedy, Muskie, or even Humphrey—but we should not discount them. We can win many of them over. What, for instance, is going to happen to the McGovern supporters after McGovern fails to get the Democratic Party nomination? Some of them will become supporters of our campaign; some of them will be at your next convention; and for others, the seeds we plant may not take root until a few months, or even a year after the election. But they will take root. They will remember what we told them during our campaign and they will come to understand and agree with our politics.

Tens of thousands of Americans will remember that only the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance had the guts to stand up and challenge the right of the capitalists to rule this country. While the Democrats and Republicans were going through their charades, assuming that everyone was too cowed or too bought off to challenge them, we stood up and said: "Just a minute! We are neither cowed nor bought off. We challenge your right to rule."

The capitalist politicians spend millions of dollars on their campaigns—but what do they spend it on? They spend it trying to create an image of what they as *individuals* are. They try to convince people that they, as individuals, can save the country.

They hire hairdressers to give them either a mod or conservative look, depending on their role this year. John

Lindsay and Ted Kennedy try to cash in on sex appeal.

They have whole advertising companies convincing people that they have nice families, that they go to church on Sundays, that they don't drink or smoke, at least not in public. They hire beauticians to cover up their wrinkles. In fact, I understand that Muskie wears his makeup all the time now just in case he's caught by a photographer.

These politicians must look in the mirror some mornings and wonder if they are the same person who went to bed the night before. Think how petty that is. How trite, how penny ante—these two-bit imposters offering themselves as individual saviors for the masses of American people.

Our whole concept of politics is different. We have a plan, a program for changing this society. We don't try to build up our candidates as individual saviors or to create false images. (Well, I think Andrew did buy a new suit, but quite frankly, if our campaign depended on projecting Andrew Pulley as a soft-spoken, fatherly, baby-kissing saint—with no prison record—we'd be in big trouble!)

We believe that only the masses of American people, united in their own organizations, are going to change society—there is no other force that can do it. Electing a socialist here or there to office without a mass force behind them will not change society, and we do not tell people that it will.

That's why we don't measure our success by the number of votes we get. We don't have any illusions about the electoral system. We know these elections are stacked against anyone who isn't a Democrat or a Republican, and they don't even count all your votes when you do get them.

Our whole campaign is based on the concept that only the American people—the working people, women, Blacks, Chicanos, students, GIs and prisoners are the force that can change this society.

Party adds new dimension

But even the largest and broadest mass movements will not be enough unless there is a revolutionary-socialist party and youth organization to help lead these movements. And that is why we must build the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. The revolutionary party that is needed, our party, is not a united front of all these movements we've been talking about. It is not a coordinating committee of the leaders of the mass movements.

Our party adds a whole new dimension to the struggle—a rounded program that interrelates all the movements into an organized struggle against the capitalist rulers. It is that program which we are presenting to the American people in this campaign.

Our program is also an international program that intertwines our struggle with the struggles of our sisters and brothers around the world—from Ireland to Latin America, and from Palestine to Bangladesh. Many revolutionary fighters in other parts of the world face a totally different situation than we face here. We must deal with the illusions of the capitalist elections in 1972, but many of them must face the military might of imperialism in 1972.

For five days now, the U.S. government has rained an unimaginable quantity of bombs, including steel-pellet antipersonnel bombs, upon the Vietnamese people. Government sources report that an armada of 350 planes and helicopters have flown more than 1,000 combat strikes in the last five days of around-the-clock bombing. But the Vietnamese keep fighting.

Just think what they have stood up against. Millions dead, burned by napalm and poisoned by deadly gases. Their country devastated and turned

into a wasteland. They have fought for over 30 years.

Who are these people who have struggled so heroically, with an endurance and courage that is almost beyond belief? They are rice farmers, textile workers, rubber plantation workers—Vietnamese farmers and workers. They are common people fighting for a second or a third meal a day and a little human dignity. And in this day and age fighting for such elementary rights has made them heroes looked to around the world.

For the past ten months, the Bengali freedom fighters have resisted a massacre that left over a million people dead and drove 10.5 million from their homes and country in terror. This assault, under the command of Yahya Khan and supported by the U.S. government, has been equalled in recent years only by the slaughter in Southeast Asia.

The Bengali people, who saw their villages razed to the ground, who saw their children butchered and their elderly tortured, who saw the Bengali women raped and murdered, did not buckle.

Those people, fighting for self-determination, saw the U.S. government send several war ships, including the *Enterprise*—the largest warship in human history—to the Bay of Bengal,

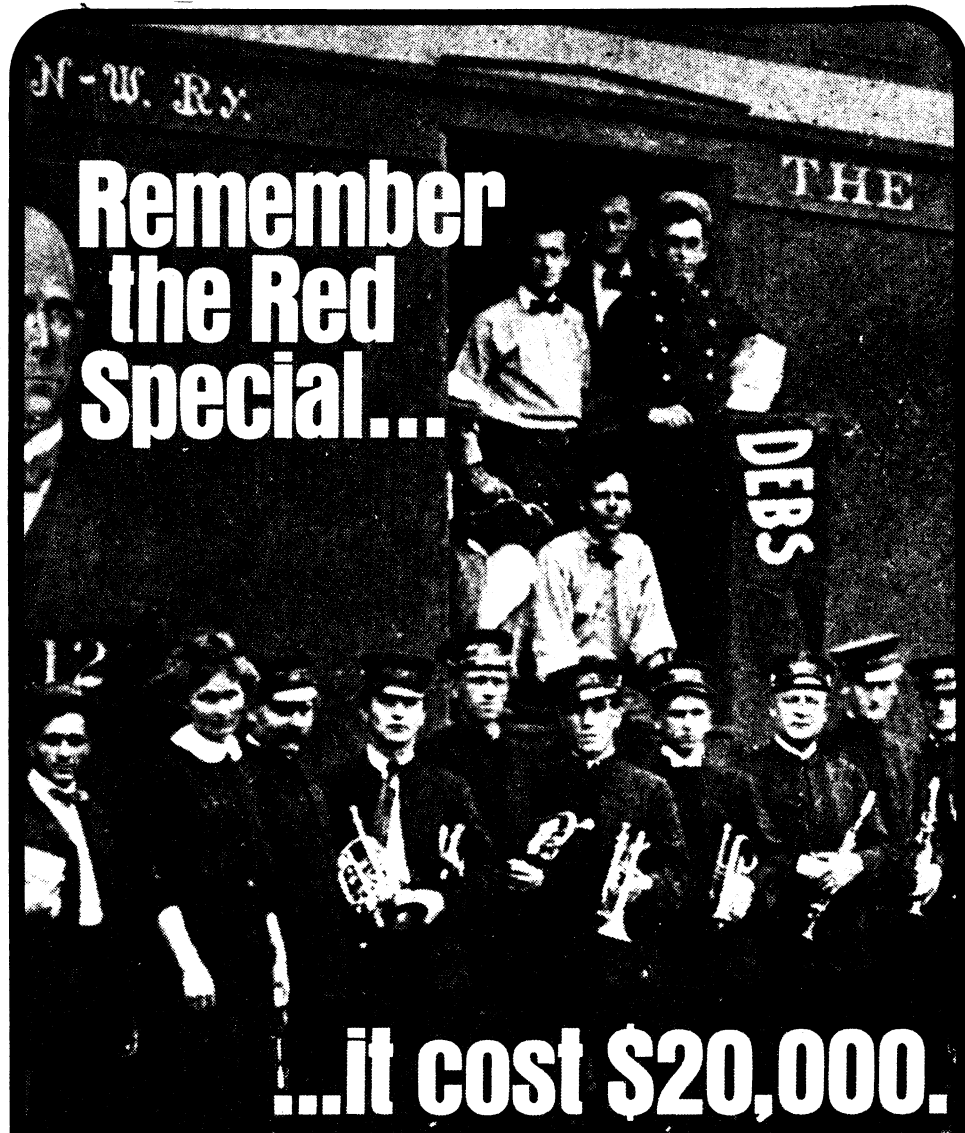
and they were still not intimidated.

The new nation of Bangladesh joins Vietnam as an inspiration to the colonial world and to revolutionaries everywhere. And we salute them.

Our salute to revolutionary fighters around the world is not just a tip of the hat. It means that we are dedicated to building the revolutionary-socialist movement in *this* country that can abolish capitalism once and for all.

You here in this room tonight constitute a nucleus of socialists that will spread throughout this land and bring thousands upon thousands of youth into this campaign, and eventually into your own organization. The army of young socialists that I see before me can reach out to the American people, convince many of them of our politics, recruit them to the revolutionary-socialist movement—so that next year at this time we can be a much larger and a much more powerful force.

The members of the Young Socialist Alliance today are the youth of America who have chosen the greatest of all careers. You have chosen to be fighters for humanity. The Socialist Workers Party salutes you, and we are proud to receive your endorsement.



The Red Special was the name given a train rented by the Socialist Party for the last few months of Eugene V. Debs' presidential campaign in 1908. It carried Debs and a crew of campaign workers from coast to coast and served as a platform for hundreds of meetings in which he spoke to several hundred thousand people.

Transportation has changed in the last 64 years, but the Jenness-Pulley campaign will cover the same ground. Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley have already had meetings in close to 100 cities and have already spoken in person to 100,000 people.

In 1908 the Socialist Party had to make a tremendous effort to raise the \$20,000 for the Red Special. It will be no less an effort in 1972 to keep our campaign on the road. But we can do it, with your help.

Enclosed is a contribution of \$_____ toward the cost of the Jenness-Pulley election campaign.

I want to make a regular monthly pledge of \$_____ from now until November.

Name _____
Address _____ City _____
State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____
Socialist Workers Party '72 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor,
New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone: (212) 260-4150.

'72 Socialist Campaign

Stephen Bloom of the Socialist Workers Party national campaign staff reports that as of Jan. 21, 3,106 people in 47 states and the District of Columbia have signed cards endorsing the Jenness-Pulley ticket. This tops the 3,008 endorsers obtained throughout the entire 1968 SWP presidential campaign. Almost one-third of the total was obtained in the three weeks since the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Houston, Texas.

The breakdown by categories is: Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, 1,357; Women for Jenness and Pulley, 727; Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley, 249; Chicanos for Jenness and Pulley, 54; general endorsers, 719.

States with over 100 endorsers are: California, 700; Pennsylvania, 304; Massachusetts, 229; New York, 215; Texas, 204; Illinois, 185; Michigan, 176; Wisconsin, 134; Ohio, 133; and Rhode Island, 132.

In 26 states and the District of Columbia, there are 10 or more endorsers. There are endorsers in every state except Delaware, South Dakota, and Wyoming.

States leading in Afro-American endorsers are: California, 70; Michigan, 54; New York, 27; Illinois, 14; and Tennessee, 10.

States with the most Chicano endorsers are: California, 21; Texas, 16; Indiana, 6; Washington, 3; and Colorado, 2.

If you want to help in the drive for endorsers, write the national campaign office for a free packet of endorser cards.

The following is a sampling of the mail recently received by the national campaign office:

"Please send me a single copy of the truth kit on George McGovern. I read the article in the ISR (International Socialist Review) and it was dynamite. Keep the change. I'll send more when I can."

Steve Cass, Knoxville, Tenn.

"I feel ready to support, in any way that I am able, the candidacy of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley in '72. I just read in The Militant of the free offer of the Jenness and Pulley newsletter. Please send me a copy as soon as possible. Also, I would greatly appreciate any further information you might send me. I have been to many demonstrations in the past, unfortunately not understanding the interrelationship of ideas until now. Yours in Peace and a New America,"

Nick Lococo, Forest Park, Ill.

"I will be voting for the first time this November. Please send me any literature and buttons that you have for your candidates Jenness and Pulley. Thank you."

Fred Taft, Durham, N. H.

"Dear Ms. Jenness:

"This is to acknowledge your kind offer to join you and Representative Paul N. McCloskey Jr. in a debate in New London, N. H., on Jan. 15.

Unfortunately, on that date I was not in New Hampshire and was, therefore unable to meet with you. I trust the debate was an exciting one and let me take this opportunity to wish you all the best in your campaign.

"Again, thank you for your kind invitation. Sincerely,"

Vance Hartke, United States Senator.

"We are interested in a radical analysis of George McGovern's candidacy, and are therefore interested in the SWP stance. Could you send us one copy of 'Everything You Wanted to Know About George McGovern.' Enclosed is the required quarter. In solidarity,"

The Rainbow Family, Potsdam, N. Y.

On Jan. 12 a federal district court in Massachusetts heard a suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party 18 months ago concerning requirements for minority-party ballot status. A decision is pending.

The suit challenges the Massachusetts provision that no more than one-third of the signatures on a nominating petition may come from any one county. A similar distribution requirement in Michigan was invalidated by a 1969 SWP suit.

The Massachusetts suit also challenges the requirement that a new or minority party file signatures on nominating petitions equal to 3 percent of the vote for governor in the last election (approximately 65,000 signatures).

In a surprise move, the Pennsylvania legislature has just changed its requirements for minority party ballot status, increasing the number of signatures required on nominating petitions for a candidate for statewide office from 0.5 percent to 2 percent of the total vote cast in the last statewide election.

This means that 35,000 valid signatures must be obtained in a three-week period during the cold winter months in order to qualify for the ballot.

The Socialist Workers Party campaign learned of the new law from the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, which is coordinating a suit on behalf of a number of minority parties in Pennsylvania to have the new law invalidated. The American Civil Liberties Union has agreed to take the case.

An attractive blue, orange, and white poster with the slogan "Repeal all anti-abortion laws—Vote Socialist Workers in '72" is available from the national campaign office for 50 cents (20 cents each on orders of 20 or more).

Address all letters, inquiries or requests for campaign materials to Socialist Workers Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-4150.

— STEVE BEREN

Rising prices expose phony 'controls'

By LEE SMITH

JAN. 22—The release of the Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index for December yesterday tore another hole in the threadbare disguise of "price controls" with which the government continues to try dressing up its attack on wages. This comes on top of unemployment figures that continue to climb.

One week earlier, the BLS index for wholesale prices showed a rise of 0.8 percent in wholesale prices for December. An increase of 0.4 percent in consumer prices that same month showed up in yesterday's report. (Both indices tend to show rises smaller than the actual price increases because of the method by which they are computed—see "Why the price index understates inflation," *The Militant*, Nov. 5, 1971.)

Herbert Stein, chairman of Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, did his best to present the bad news as good news. On Jan. 14 he called the 0.8 percent wholesale price rise "a heartening indication of significant progress in our battle against inflation," telling reporters, "I was prepared . . . to explain a much bigger rise."



Photo by Public Employee Press

The AFL-CIO's Operation Price Watch—the IRS has turned down most of its complaints about price increases.

A sharp December rise had been anticipated, Stein explained, "as a result of the transition from the freeze to a period of more flexible controls." The fact that prices had continued to rise during the so-called "freeze" did not apparently alter Stein's argument that "post-freeze" rises could be accounted for as deferred increases from the 90 days between Aug. 15 and Nov. 13.

Moreover, in discussing the "post-freeze bulge" in consumer prices yesterday, Stein implied, according to the Jan. 22 *New York Times*, that "January prices might rise more than in December" as a result of this same phenomenon.

If working people were finding it difficult to share Stein's view of the increased costs reflected in the price indices as "heartening," there was scarcely more encouragement in the Price Commission's record for January. On Jan. 15 the commission cut loose 87 percent of all retail firms from the largely unfulfilled posting regulations that had supposedly required prominent display of base price listings for use by customers.

On Jan. 19 the commission completely lifted all controls from 75 percent of all retail firms—an estimated 1.5-million outlets—and from 40 percent of rental housing. This move was accompanied by the opening of a "full-scale campaign" by the Internal Revenue Service to enforce the posting

regulations on the 13 percent of retail firms still bound by them.

One can hardly view any of this as more than an elaborate charade. First, the posting regulations were followed by only a fraction of the firms to which they applied before the Jan. 15 ruling. Even where they were followed, Price Commission Chairman C. Jackson Grayson conceded to members of the AFL-CIO's Operation Price Watch, there was no way to determine from the listings whether any single increase was out of line or not. "The reason," explained *Time* magazine Jan. 24 in reporting Grayson's remark, "is that the Government reviews price increases . . . by large groups of products . . . rather than by individual units." Grayson's admission was borne out by the fact that the IRS approved the majority of increases challenged in complaints from AFL-CIO Price Watchers.

Second, aside from spot checks by the IRS itself, the kind of complaint-filing by consumers carried on by Operation Price Watch is the only means of control Phase Two places on any company with annual sales below \$50-million. This virtually non-

existent restraint was all the commission lifted from firms with annual sales of less than \$100,000 Jan. 19.

Finally, even the giant firms, whose price boosts must be submitted for the Price Commission's okay, have not found themselves weighed down by any heavy-handedness on the commission's part. Quite the opposite; this month the commission allowed the auto industry its second increase since Phase Two began, bringing the combined rise in auto prices to 3.4 percent. An increase in New York bus and subway fares from 30 to 35 cents—more than 16.6 percent—was quickly approved at the first of the year. It is likely that an increase of 9 percent in New York telephone rates, coming on top of a 20 percent increase just before the freeze in July, will be allowed by the commission as well.

Expressing their concern for the credibility of the nonexistent price controls in the face of the latest phone rate hike, the *New York Times* editors wrote in the paper's Jan. 19 issue: "Now that the price freeze is a puddle, New Yorkers are looking vainly for some evidence that Phase Two will ever bring surcease from an avalanche of increases in costs basic to the family budget." If one substitutes "Americans" for "New Yorkers," the statement remains as valid—and there is little prospect that it is going to get any better.

Rhodesian Blacks explode in protests against racist regime

From Intercontinental Press

In January, an eighteen-member British commission arrived in Zimbabwe [Rhodesia], supposedly to test Black attitudes toward a November 24 agreement between British Prime Minister Edward Heath and "Rhodesian" ruler Ian Smith.

The agreement provides for the formal independence from Great Britain of the white-ruled colony, provided the country's 5,000,000 Blacks accept the terms of a new constitution. While giving lip service to the principle of majority rule (there are only 250,000 whites in Zimbabwe), the new constitution actually allows an almost indefinite extension of the present system of white domination. (See *Intercontinental Press*, December 6, 1971, p. 1062, for a report on the terms

Smith's government had completely lost control of the situation. On that day former Rhodesian Prime Minister Garfield Todd, who is considered a liberal, was arrested, along with his daughter, at his home in Shabani, a mining town where police had recently shot into a crowd of strikers, killing one African and wounding nine others.

The arrest of Todd was widely regarded as a sign of panic on Smith's part. The agreement with Britain provides for the maintenance of "normal political activity" in the country. Denis Healy, the British Labour party's foreign affairs spokesman, said he was "appalled" by Todd's arrest.

Apparently the shooting down of Africans and the Rhodesian law prohibiting gatherings of more than ten

reported in the local white press, could be considered a 'success' from the British and Rhodesian points of view."

Black opposition appeared to be so unanimous that even the Center party, a coalition of Black and white liberals that opposes the Smith regime but had urged acceptance of the agreement, reversed its stand on January 20.

Also on January 20, the Rhodesian government canceled several public hearings of the commission, and arrested Josiah Chinamano, a leader of the African National Council, which has opposed the agreement.

Smith, who seemed shaken by the fact that "his" Africans had gotten so far out of control, went on national television to proclaim that Zimbabwe Blacks are "stupid" for opposing the agreement. "What greater proof could anyone have of their lack of maturity, lack of civilization, their inability to make any constructive contribution?" asked the white leader.

Smith went on to claim that if Africans opposed the new agreement, they must support the 1969 constitution, which is less hypocritical in its oppression of Blacks.

Finally, after some fifty sessions, the Pearce Commission managed to find one chief, near the city of Bulawayo, who said he supported the proposed deal. It remains to be seen whether the commission will report that the existence of one "mature," "civilized" African, a man no doubt capable of making "constructive contributions" to the oppression of his people, shows that the African people really support the Heath-Smith plan.

In a dispatch from Salisbury in the January 24 *New York Times*, Charles Mohr indicated that the commission may hold its future meetings behind closed doors in order to make it easier to misrepresent African opinion:

"In a few days the commissioners . . . will meet in Salisbury to exchange experiences and discuss ways to improve their sampling efforts. It seems possible that they will try to find some substitute for the public meetings.

"If they continue to rely primarily on the public meetings and the response does not change, it will be almost impossible for the commission to tell the world plausibly that its findings are that Rhodesians accept the terms."

Whether or not Smith and the British government decide to implement the agreement, it has been completely

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exposed before the entire world by the wave of demonstrations. A January 22 statement by the African National Council summarized the determined position of the African population of Zimbabwe:

"If our rejection of the proposals means that the 1969 Constitution will remain, then the African would rather live with an imposed oppressive position than go down in history as having accepted an oppressive constitution for himself."

Students stage actions in Madrid

From Intercontinental Press

More than 250 students at Madrid's two universities were arrested in four days of confrontations with the police, January 17-20. On January 17 a rally of about 1,000 students protesting the expulsion of 4,000 medical students was attacked by mounted police, who have been stationed permanently on campus since the beginning of 1969.

The students fought back, and by noon there were skirmishes at various places around the campus. Some students moved into the downtown area, where they blocked traffic and used stones to protect themselves against police attack.

Some official cars were reportedly stoned, including one bearing the insignia of General Fernando Fuertes de Villavicencio, a member of Franco's staff.

On the evening of January 17, police dispersed a rally in the engineering school by firing shots over the students' heads.

About 100 students were arrested during the first day of fighting. There was no report of the number injured.

The demonstrations continued on a somewhat smaller scale on January 18. On January 20, club-wielding police attacked a rally of 800 students in the architecture school. Besides the students, four professors and the dean were beaten. About 150 more students were arrested.

Since last November, medical students had been boycotting classes in protest over changes in the curriculum. The university instituted a series of examinations, one every four months. If a student fails any one of them, he loses credit for an entire year. In addition, the length of study was increased from six years to seven. Students charged that the ministry of education was trying to initiate a covert quota system.

On January 13 the rector expelled almost all of the medical school students, saying they would be reaccepted only if they signed a pledge to "respect academic discipline" and "accept the security measures the authorities deem necessary so that classes can proceed in an orderly fashion." The students refused and called upon other students to support them by going on strike. Some 500 doctors in two city hospitals declared their solidarity with the students.

Although the students' demands centered on curriculum issues, the question of police repression on the campus figured heavily in their decision to strike. After the university rector charged that it was impossible to have a dialogue with the unreasonable students, they replied:

"There can be no dialogue if the personal safety of those doing the talking is not guaranteed. Every time we chose representatives, they were arrested, prosecuted, and indicted. These penalties and the presence of the police in the university do not seem to be the best way to set up a dialogue."



Black defiance in Rhodesian city of Gwelo

of the agreement.)

The commission contains no Africans; most of its members are British aristocrats (its chairman is a seventy-year-old judge, Lord Pearce) or government employees who have served in the British colonial office. Its plan was to spend a few months in Zimbabwe, interview some Black "leaders," and report that Blacks favored implementation of the agreement.

But, to the shock of the Smith government, not to mention the Tories, an unprecedented mass mobilization of the people of Zimbabwe has brought the work of the Pearce Commission to a virtual halt.

On January 17, some 8,000 Blacks took to the streets of Gwelo, a city in the central part of the country, shouting "No! No!" Mobile police units assaulted the demonstrators with tear gas. One Black was killed; fifty-five were arrested.

Despite the police repression, the Gwelo demonstrations continued for three days, with Blacks defending themselves against the police attacks.

On January 19, the protests spread to the capital, Salisbury, where cars belonging to whites were stoned by Africans chanting "No! No!"—a phrase that quickly became a national slogan.

About the same time, some 200 miles south of Salisbury, in the Black suburbs of Fort Victoria, crowds of Blacks refused to listen to two representatives from the Pearce Commission. Two Africans were shot down by cops.

By January 19 it became clear that

people are not violations of "normal political activity." But by arresting a white politician, Smith overstepped the bounds of good taste. Even the *Times* of London began to criticize the terms of the agreement.

On January 20, African opposition to the pact spread to Umtali, about 150 miles east of Salisbury. Eight were reported killed as cops fired into a demonstration. The same day it was reported that three Blacks had been killed and twenty-four wounded in the Salisbury demonstrations.

The British had previously acknowledged that Africans in the urban centers generally opposed the agreement, although the massive manifestation of that sentiment took them by surprise. But what put the final stamp of doom on the commission's whitewash job was the reaction of Africans in the countryside, where most Blacks live.

Chiefs in the so-called Tribal Trust Lands are on the payroll of the Smith government. They can be dismissed at the will of the regime.

The commission's original plan was to send teams into the countryside, amass a series of statements of support from local chiefs, and then report that most Blacks favored the agreement. But the commission hearings in the countryside received what the January 21 *New York Times* called an "overwhelmingly negative response."

"As its members fanned out across Rhodesia this week," wrote correspondent Charles Mohr from Salisbury, "they were repeatedly met by cries of 'No! No! No!' from crowds of blacks.

"Not one commission hearing, as

A Militant Interview

Struggle for civil rights in Northern Ireland



British troops arresting Irish demonstrator in the Ulster town of Newry

By DAVE FRANKEL

The Jan. 19 *New York Times*, in an article headlined "Ulster Parades Banned for Year," quotes the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association as answering the ban on demonstrations by saying, "It is an indication that the government is really afraid of the constant expression of opposition to the Faulkner regime. We will of course continue to hold parades despite the ban."

On Jan. 15, *The Militant* had the opportunity of interviewing Ivan Barr, the vice-chairman of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA). Barr, who is on a six-week tour of the United States, explained that the NICRA was formed in 1967 as a nonviolent and nonpartisan organization open to both Catholics and Protestants. Its purpose is to guarantee civil rights to all of the people of Northern Ireland. "This is necessary," Barr said, "because over the past 50 years, since the Unionist state had been set up, it has maintained itself on the slogan 'a Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people.' It has encouraged immigration among the Catholic people of Northern Ireland, segregated the Catholic and Protestant population, encouraged unemployment in Catholic ghetto areas, and implemented repressive legislation to suppress the nationalist community each time it attempted to become politically active and agitated for equality or for the reunification of the country."

The first basic demand of the NICRA was that of "one man, one vote." According to Barr, "This was to counteract the voting system in local government elections in Northern Ireland, where a businessman may have any number of votes. These votes are assessed on the value of property, and people of adult age who do not have enough money or who do not occupy certain types of housing (so as to be considered 'rent-payers'), are not allowed to vote." Other demands of the NICRA call for an end to all repressive legislation and the outlawing of discrimination in jobs and housing.

When no response was gained from the Northern Ireland government the NICRA decided to launch a campaign of nonviolent protest in the streets in support of its demands. Its first march, held in 1967, was dispersed by the police even though they had given permission for it.

"A march called in October 1968," explained Barr, "was banned by the Minister of Home Affairs of that time, Willy Craig. When the march assembled irrespective of the ban, the regular police force of Northern Ireland carried out a very vicious

attack against the marchers, using batons and water cannon. So a further march was called in November 1968, and as a result of the repression by the police force that had taken place in October, 20,000 people turned out, compared to 300 the month before. It was an expression of the revulsion of the nationalist community in Northern Ireland at the repressive tactics of the police and the government. . . .

"This was the situation then. When a protest demonstration was called by the Civil Rights Association, they were regularly attacked and harassed by the loyalist supporters of the government while the regular police force either gave them active support or simply stood back and let these people have their way. There were no prosecutions of loyalist supporters of the government for attacking these demonstrations."

Ghettos invaded

Things came to a head in August 1969, when a loyalist demonstration in Derry led to fighting that spread throughout Northern Ireland. "During that August period," Barr continued, "complete rows of houses in the Catholic ghetto areas, especially in Belfast, were burned down; civilians were shot dead in the streets. Guns were used by the loyalist supporters of the government, by the Ulster Special Constabulary (a force on which no Catholics are accepted) and by the regular police force. They used several armored cars and a couple of machine guns during that August period in Belfast." It was at this point that the British troops were brought in.

The British army encircled the Catholic ghettos, removed the barricades that had been used to defend them against the unionist pogroms, and later, under the direction of the Northern Ireland and British governments, began to carry out searches in the nationalist areas. As Barr described it, "They went into the ghetto areas, kicked in the doors, drove people from their beds and searched the houses. Coupled with these searches (which were restricted to the nationalist ghettos) was the introduction of the Criminal Justice (Temporary Provisions) Act, which carried a mandatory sentence of at least six months for any person convicted of disorderly behavior. If any person put up a strong protest against the tactics of the army—coming into their areas, coming into their houses, searching and digging, bringing people out of their beds at all hours of the night—they

were immediately carted away, charged with disorderly behavior, brought before the courts and given a mandatory sentence of six months.

"This procedure continued until July 3, 1970, when a fierce battle developed between the people in the Belfast ghetto areas, supported by the Republicans [the IRA], and the British army."

In explaining the outbreak of fighting, Barr said, "I think one thing is very important. The people in the minority areas of Belfast have on occasions down through the years been attacked and burned out of their homes by the loyalist supporters of the government, the most recent time being in August 1969. These people knew that the loyalist supporters of the government were fully armed, and that they outnumbered the minority by two to one. . . ."

The increasing resistance to the raids on the nationalist ghettos led to the introduction of internment, imprisonment without trial, on Aug. 9, 1971. Although internment was defended as a means of restoring peace, over half of the more than 200 deaths in the past two and one-half years have occurred since August 1971.

I asked Barr about the situation under internment and the reaction of the NICRA to its use. He indicated that at present there are more than 600 people being held without charge or trial. In addition to the charges of torture, which have been verified by the British press and groups such as Amnesty International, Barr points out that the last time the Special Powers Act was invoked, in the period between 1956-1962, many people were held for three to five years before being released.

The response of the NICRA to internment, Barr said, was to call "for a civil disobedience program aimed at securing the release of all those held without charge or trial, at pressuring the government into abolishing repressive legislation such as the Special Powers Act and at pressuring the Westminster [British] government into taking effective steps to . . . guarantee full civil rights in Northern Ireland. . . ."

"The civil disobedience campaign took the form of nonpayment of rent [much of the housing in Northern Ireland is publicly owned]. It has since been escalated to include the nonpayment of electricity and gas bills, and of TV licenses [use taxes]. The campaign has been supported by 30,000 families.

"Now the Northern Ireland government has reacted by introducing further repressive legislation. A law called the Repayment of Debt Act empowers the government to make deductions for rent and arrears from wages, social security benefits, maternity grants, death grants, any form of allowance normally paid to people through government agencies. This has nullified to some extent the affect of the campaign for withholding these payments, but at the same time the implementation of the Repayment of Debt Act has created great administrative problems and expense for the government. The 30,000 families supporting this campaign are in fact expressing that they are not prepared any longer to be ruled by a system of government such as exists in Northern Ireland." The most recent demonstration in the NICRA's campaign against the internment policy saw 20,000 people in the streets of Belfast on Jan. 1. (Belfast has a population of about 400,000, including about 100,000 Catholics.)

Greater unity

"One thing that the Northern Ireland government did do by introducing the internment policy," Barr pointed out, "was to create a greater degree of unity among the opposition than has existed in the past." The civil disobedience campaign is being supported by virtually all of the organizations of the nationalist minority.

At this point Northern Ireland is being governed by a parliament that no longer has even the pretense of Catholic representation, as is reflected in its policies.

The Jan. 13 *Christian Science Monitor* reports that "the Ulster government gave formal permission to Protestant areas for organization and posting of neighborhood vigilante groups. . . ." This is done, "in many instances, with police guidance." At the same time, the Criminal Justice (Temporary Provisions) Act, passed in August 1969, stipulates that any person caught with ammunition, regardless of the circumstances or the plea of that person, must be given a mandatory sentence of two years in jail. Repressive laws such as these have been selectively enforced by the authorities, who use them almost solely against the nationalist minority, in the same way that searches for arms have been carried out solely in the Catholic ghetto areas.

The conflict in Northern Ireland, says Barr, "is not a religious struggle. . . . It's a struggle with the system, with the government in Northern

Continued on page 22



Gary Bryner, president of UAW Local 1112

Photo by Bruce Cline

UAW local head blasts speedup in Lordstown plant

By HERMAN KIRSCH

LORDSTOWN, Ohio—A bitter dispute is brewing at the huge General Motors plant in Lordstown, Ohio. GM has attempted to speed up production by laying off more than 700 workers in the past six months while attempting to maintain the same production rate of 101 cars an hour. The workers, members of UAW Local 1112, are refusing to go along with the speedup.

In retaliation against the workers' refusal to speed up, the company has shut down the assembly lines early every day for the past several weeks, sending about 3,700 workers home with only part of a day's pay. The company claims that workers are sabotaging production by not performing all their jobs, thereby creating backlogs of unfinished parts and leaving the assembled cars in need of immediate repairs.

The union leadership has responded by pointing out that the company can't expect to get the same quality when fewer workers are overworked and forced to turn out the same number of cars per hour.

On Jan. 6 I was able to interview Gary Bryner, the 29-year-old president of the 8,500-member UAW local. Bryner noted that the low average age of workers at Lordstown—24 years old—and the fact that the plant's assembly line speed is the fastest in the auto industry, makes his union somewhat unique.

Workers' resistance to the speedup is reflected in the thousands of grievances that have piled up recently. "The problems we're facing now," said Bryner, "probably began in October 1971 when the General Motors Assembly Division took over." Before that the plant was administered by the Chevrolet and Fisher Body divisions of

GM. The company began a campaign to cut costs to improve its competitive position. "Now there are probably three or four thousand grievances related to speedup, discipline, health, and safety."

I asked Bryner about management charges that angry workers have accosted foremen and cut off their neckties.

Bryner began by saying he didn't know of any instances of ties being cut off in anger, but then went on to say, "I understand that that's a tradition at Lordstown; I didn't establish it." However, he said that he himself "had snipped a tie or two."

The union is attempting to fight the company's denial of the short-workweek benefit they are entitled to. If workers are called in to work but sent home early, they are supposed to receive 80 percent pay for any hours under 40 that they don't work. Bryner said GM was trying to claim they weren't required to pay the benefit because the lost hours were due to a labor dispute and shoddy workmanship, i.e., it was the workers' fault that they couldn't work a full day. The union has filed an appeal against this decision.

I raised the general problem, in the whole auto industry as well as other industries, of automation and speedup producing layoffs and chronic unemployment. Bryner said he didn't know what steps could solve the general problem of unemployment, but that one thing his union does insist is that all workers work at a normal pace. "If they all work at a normal pace and refuse to be sped up, that will guarantee some jobs."

I noted that the United Transportation Union has succeeded in forcing the railroads to stop layoffs through a contractual agreement that the railroads have to keep every employee. I asked whether Bryner thought this could be a legitimate demand for the UAW.

"I agree that it's fair to ask for job security in whatever form you can. And it has been a demand that has been talked about in the UAW and other union circles."

Bryner went on to say that there had been discussion in his local on the need for a shorter workweek in order to alleviate the problems of layoff and unemployment. "We plan on locally getting together in a short-workweek movement," he said. "That is, four days of work for five days

pay. Bryner thinks that the four-day workweek will be one of the demands raised by Local 1112 at the constitutional convention of the UAW. "There are many other local unions that are doing the same thing."

Asked whether he thought that working within the two-party system was the best political solution to the war as well as the many other problems of our society, Bryner said he thought "our system is the best," and that the main problem is that workers haven't used the power they have "to make the Democrats and Republicans do what we want." However, he also said he liked the idea of a labor party and would vote for a resolution calling for formation of a labor party if such a resolution came up in the UAW, as it has in the past.

Gary Bryner has endorsed and spoken at antiwar demonstrations, including the Oct. 13, 1971, demonstration in Youngstown, Ohio. I asked whether he felt the majority of Local 1112 would favor immediate U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia.

"Yes," he said definitively. "We



Photo by Bruce Cline

Herman Kirsch, SWP candidate for Congress from Ohio's 20th C.D.

haven't taken a poll; the executive board okayed a poll to be taken but that hasn't come around yet. But I think the majority of people everywhere want out of the war. I think a lot of polls indicate that.

"It seems that when they reduce the killings to one or two, people tend to forget about the war—which is wrong, but it happens. But I think the majority of people want an end to the war—want 'Out Now.'"

The National Picket Line

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS in Champaign the nonacademic employees (cooks, maids, clerks, stenographers, etc.) receive low wages and have had some layoffs. A small group of them is trying to organize a union and has published two issues of the impressive *Non-AC News*. Along with other interesting information, the newsletter reports the wage scales paid by the university. Cooks, for example, get \$1.85 an hour, \$74 for a 40-hour week. In the January issue, the organizing committee promises to explain how the university's nonacademic group insurance works.

The editors say "Non-AC News is not subsidized by any trade union or other organization, and the cost of publishing the paper comes out of the pockets of its staff." They look for contributions from nonacademic workers at the university, potential union members. The newsletter can be obtained by writing *Non-AC News*, c/o Af. B., Box 2325, Station A, Champaign, Ill. 61820.

IN 1970, WHEN THE MINIMUM BUDGET for a family of four in an urban area was last compiled, it was \$6,960 a year, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Prices have risen since then. But even at this figure, the head of a family must earn about \$3.35 an hour just to scrape by. The majority of wage workers, more than 40 million, are paid less than \$3.35 an hour. This means that in order to maintain the bare minimum standard of living, many families must depend upon two working members, or upon overtime work if only one member in the family is employed.

Others, those called "the working poor," who earn \$2 an hour or less, subsist near the poverty level. The official poverty level established by the Office of Management and Budget, is \$3,986. About 20 percent of all wage workers never get above the poverty level.

FROM THE JAN. 15 AFL-CIO NEWS: "Stressing that 1971 closed out with unemployment at the highest peak in 10 years, AFL-CIO Research Director Nat Goldfinger predicted that 'the lion's share' of any economic growth this year will go to businesses and wealthy families, not to workers. In fact, he said, with a 'massive shift of income distribution' now taking place, it is very possible that a 'profits-boom' could develop this year, with only a slight reduction in unemployment."

Government statistics of registered unemployed record 5.2 million out of work. The actual number of unemployed is millions higher since the official figures do not count those who have given up looking for work.

UNEMPLOYMENT IS RISING IN WESTERN EUROPE. Some of the two million foreign workers in West Germany, the first to be laid off, are returning to countries in the south of Europe. Italy and England each have more than one million unemployed, about 4 percent of the work force. France and Sweden both face unemployment. In Sweden unemployment has reached 1.3 percent, low by U.S. standards but considered high there. Foreign workers in France from Algeria and Tunisia, unable to find work, are re-

turning to their homelands. Ireland has nearly 9 percent unemployment.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN THIS COUNTRY cuts workers down first, but it also affects some of the higher-ups and makes it hard for aspiring executives to find comfortable well-paying positions. The steel city of Gary, Ind., is a good place to see what unemployment means when it hits the working class. A majority in this city (population 174,000) is Black. More than half the normal 25,000 work force in the steel mills has been laid off. Most of those who had worked two years or more still get state unemployment plus Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB), provided by the Steelworkers union contract, about \$82 a week in all. Those who had less than two years' seniority get around \$40. Some have run out of their unemployment benefits and are on relief.

Out-of-work executives do not as a rule have to get by on \$82 a week. One unemployed executive told *New York Times* reporter Michael C. Jensen that he had been asked to take a leave of absence without pay from his \$20,000-a-year consulting job. "I have a small private income; so it wasn't so much the money," said the laid-off executive, "but when you don't work, your mind gets dull." He registered with eight executive recruiting agencies and answered 50 ads. "I got five responses that led to interviews," he said, "but in each case I was told there were 500 to 800 applicants for the job, and I didn't get it."

—FRANK LOVELL

By DICK ROBERTS

The world trade objectives of President Nixon's "New Economic Policy" have been outlined in a report written by the assistant to the president for international economic affairs, Peter G. Peterson. It was released in Washington, D. C., Dec. 29.

Not generally available to the public, the report was circulated "in the form of a loose-leaf notebook," according to the Dec. 30 *New York Times*. "The first section is Mr. Peterson's 51-page written document, preceded by a summary. The last section contains the 72 charts and 73 pages of written material accompanying them," the *Times* states.

The "Peterson report" confirms the analysis of the government's wage-freeze attack on American workers that has been presented in *The Militant*. It underlines the fact that the central driving force of the "New Economic Policy" is the deteriorating international competitive position of U. S. industry.

The government wage-control program is not discussed in the Peterson report, but the report leaves no doubt about the purpose of wage controls: to narrow the wage differentials between U. S. and foreign workers. According to one of the charts included with the report, the average hourly earnings of U. S. workers in manufacturing in 1970 were \$3.36. This compares to \$1.62 in West Germany, \$1.25 in the United Kingdom, \$1.01 in France, and \$0.96 in Japan.

A second chart reveals a fact about American wage levels that is rarely mentioned in ruling-class justifications for wage controls: the real wages of American workers have risen only 13 percent in the last decade, a figure far below increases in real wages in the other advanced capitalist nations. According to Peterson's figures, real wages in Japan increased 103 percent; Italy, 82 percent; West Germany, 73 percent; France, 46 percent; Canada, 37 percent; and United Kingdom, 35 percent.

Despite this fact, Peterson emphasizes the need of the capitalists to further retard the increase of American wages: "The rate at which U. S. wages had been rising exceeded our gains in productivity by a wider margin than in other countries. As a result . . . our exports have become increasingly less competitive with those of Europe and Japan."

Four themes are stressed in the 51-page document:

- U. S. industry faces a serious challenge from Japan and Europe in the struggle for world markets;
- Far-reaching "reforms" of the U. S. economy are needed to meet these international competitors;
- The international financial system established at Bretton Woods in 1944 is no longer feasible;
- Europe and Japan must take steps to allow a further penetration of U. S. goods and capital.

"The central fact of the past 25 years," states Peterson, "had been the conviction—ours as much as that of other countries—that the U. S. was dominant, both in size and competitiveness, in the international economy We as a nation and the world as a whole were too slow to realize that basic structural and competitive changes were occurring; as a result, international policies and practices were too slow in responding."

Peterson states: "While the U. S. continues to be the world's most advanced economy, the gap between ourselves and the rest of the developed world has been narrowing. In 1950, the U. S. GNP [Gross National Product] accounted for 40 percent of the gross world output; today, it is about 30 percent. . . .

"In the decade of the 1960s. . . U. S. exports of manufactured goods

increased by 110 percent, but those of West Germany doubled and Japanese exports rose by 400 percent. . . .

"The European Community became the largest trading area in the world. As for Japan, its share of world output and exports have risen in 20 years from about 1 to 6 percent," and its domestic economy has grown at over 10 percent per year in real terms, achieving the most dramatic rate of economic progress in the world."

Balance of trade

Peterson puts particular emphasis on the shifting U. S. balance of trade, one of the factors that contributed to the international monetary crisis that erupted last May. "Imports have re-

U. S. industry in sectors most subject to competition. But he raises considerations which are indicative of the monopolists' long-range goals.

Quality of life

For one thing, he complains in scarcely veiled language about the deepening radicalization: "A . . . fact with which we must contend is the increasing propensity of Americans to question the value structure of our society. . . . Many believe that, in the past, too much emphasis was given to producing an ever larger quantity of goods and services while the 'quality of life' was subordinated to this drive According to these arguments,

haps continuing excess supply of college graduates [!] is compounded by an apparent shortage of appropriate vocational training in high schools and post high-school education and training. It is estimated that eight of 10 in high schools should be receiving occupational skill training, yet less than one of four are receiving it, and much of this training is not directed to anticipated needs in the labor force."

More tracking in high schools and fewer students in colleges! It remains to be seen how those young people who have already rejected the 'quality of life' proscribed by capitalist competition will now react to the demand that they shape their lives all the earlier to the needs of imperialist

Nixon's aim: Hold down wages to help U.S. big business compete abroad



Detroit AFL-CIO workers demonstrating Sept. 23, 1971, against war and wage freeze. They sense Nixon's concern is not to end inflation but to lower wages.

Photo by Tom Vernier

cently closed the gap by which they were exceeded by our exports; in 1971 they will exceed our exports for the first time since 1893 by perhaps \$2-billion, or therabouts. What this means is that our exports have become inadequate to pay for our imports."

Peterson reveals a long-term concern of the imperialists: "Our imports have been rising not only in response to our consumer appetites, but because our industry buys an increasing share of raw materials abroad. Our imports of crude oil, iron ore and copper are growing and we import most or all of our natural rubber, tin, nickel and chrome. Long-range projections indicate that by the year 2000 we will import 30 percent to 50 percent of our mineral requirements, including oil. In doing so, we will be competing in world markets with other industrialized nations, such as Japan, which are even more dependent on imported raw materials than we are."

Peterson stresses that the temporary settlement of the international monetary crisis—which was achieved by Nixon's agreement to devalue the dollar two weeks before the report was issued—is not the only objective of the "New Economic Policy." "We should not assume that achieving balance of payments equilibrium is a sufficient economic goal. . . . We will need to increase our competitiveness, our productivity and, in general, enlarge the areas of comparative advantage vis-à-vis the rest of the world. The way to do this is to concentrate on things we do best. This, in turn, will increase our international competitiveness." (Emphasis in the original.)

Peterson does not reveal the specific plans of the ruling class to tool up

one would logically be led to conclude that growth and the 'quality of life' are irreconcilable concerns. . . . It is important that we reconcile these views since failure to do so will not only frustrate the achievement of our 'quality improvements' goals but will also keep us from realizing the growth and productivity objectives which are necessary for our competitive position and an increased standard of living."

But it is doubtful that the imperialists place much hope in convincing young American workers they should work harder to increase the profits of the ruling class. Considerably more ominous is Peterson's discussion of "manpower training needs" and "a work program for international economic policy." What is involved here is massive automation of industry with its concomitant needs for more specialized skills among workers and its displacement of millions of workers who do not have the "necessary skills."

Peterson declares "The mis-match of technical skills to opportunities and what might be the current and per-

monopoly.

The ruling-class strategists are well aware that intensive automation of U. S. industry will result in mass unemployment in communities with obsolete plants. Peterson has some high-sounding words on this: "A program to build on America's strengths by enhancing its international competitiveness cannot be indifferent to the fate of those industries, and especially those groups of workers, which are not meeting the demands of a truly competitive world economy. It is unreasonable to say that a liberal trade policy is in the interest of the entire country and then allow particular industries, workers, and communities to pay the whole price. That is particularly unacceptable at a time when unemployment levels are high and there is widespread concern over jobs."

High sounding words, but little in the way of recommendations to cope with the problem. Peterson states that the Nixon administration has set up a "task force of the Council on International Economic Policy" to consider the matter.

The Wage-Price Freeze Swindle
by Les Evans & Linda Jenness
35¢

Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N. Y. 10014

In Review

Theater 'Nightride'

Nightride by Lee W. Barton. Directed by Milton Lyon. Produced by Bill Shirley. Vandal Theatre, New York.

Nightride is the first commercial play about gay people to portray them as healthy human beings, not exotic specimens in a zoo. Despite its conventional form and staging, this makes it something of a milestone.

It deals with a closeted has-been playwright in his fifties, Jon Bristo (brilliantly played by Lester Rawlins), who is offered an opportunity to revitalize his career and make a contribution to gay liberation by allowing a young rock singer, Jab Humble (Chandler Hill Harben), to use a collection of poems he wrote to his lover in 1939. The conflict in the play centers on his unwillingness to "come out" publicly by authorizing the use of the poems and his own suspicion that hiding his gayness is no longer a tenable position. He relents in the end, but only after fighting two battles: one with himself, and the other with his agent (Don Draper). The agent, of course, is the bloodsucking villain who exploits Bristo and constantly reminds him that the only road to success for a "queer" writer is to have a respectable "straight" agent like him.

The rock star is gay and proud, and has been openly flaunting his affection for his mute lover Peter (Jeremy Stockwell) at rock concerts. Eric (Philip Larson), Bristo's young sailor companion, is a fan of Humble's and admires his open gayness. He realizes that gay people can walk taller because someone as prominent as Humble has come out.

The play's central theme is the contrast between the open homosexual whom the gay liberation movement has taught pride in being gay and anger at society's bigotry, and the closeted gay of the preceding generation. Bristo was considered a bold writer of his generation for including gay people in his plays at all. But Humble is not impressed. He accuses Bristo of writing a "drag show" by making the dying lover of his greatest play a female instead of a male.

It was fear that forced him to disguise what he really wanted to say, Bristo admits, but he asks Humble, "How old were you in 1953?" When Humble says he was only three, Bristo retorts with a moving and chilling account of the terror gays felt during the 1950s: "Well, I wasn't! I had a

career then. You don't know how things were. If you'd kissed your little boy on stage, they'd have frozen you stiff. You would have ended up back in jail. Considering the teen-aged gangs around then, those 'fans' of yours might have literally killed you. Movie careers got stepped on like bugs. If you got caught in a raid or at the baths you were finished, even if you were young. Well, I wasn't young and I was established. Whatever that means any more. And I was scared. No audience would have let a curtain go up on anything truthful in those days about 'us.' It was a perpetual drag act to get anything across. I guess I did it better than most."

Humble, too young to be influenced by the witch-hunt, refuses to cringe before either his oppressors or Bristo's fear of them. And while the punch of his lines is here, as throughout the play, marred by an absurd overuse of hip jargon, his reply to Bristo does capture the anger and determination of the new militant homosexual: "You want me to be ripped up with guilt? Is that your bag? Well, man, I've been fighting those bastards all my life . . . I've watched them laugh at everything I cared for . . . I've seen them blackmail people and run cheap shrink businesses to tell everyone how malignant we all are. Well, baby, they're through!"

A corollary to this theme of the generation gap among gay artists is one of contrasting life styles and attitudes toward sex. Bristo views his sexuality as something apart from and at odds with the rest of his life. Humble, on the other hand, sees sex as a positive factor integrated into his art and his life as a whole.

In fact, he believes that by using the erotic poetry and the well-known playwright's name he can shock the public into accepting homosexuals. Yet there have always been gay individuals who flaunted society's norms without their rebellion changing those norms. To do that will require more than liberated individuals. Playwright Barton, though, does not examine this relationship between the individual homosexual who has come out, and the need for a gay movement. Nothing is said, for instance, about organizing gay people to fight for their rights or about direct action challenging oppressive institutions.

Thus, while *Nightride* is an excellent play about gay people and issues being raised by gay liberation, it is not a play about gay liberation. And if it shows how far we have come, it also shows we have a long way to go.

— KENDALL GREEN



Cast (from Left): Don Draper, Philip Larson, Lester Rawlins, Chandler Hill Harben, and Jeremy Stockwell.

Pamphlets On Micronesia

America vs. Micronesia and the Friends of Micronesia Newsletter (November-December 1971). Published by the Friends of Micronesia.

These materials of the United States-based group Friends of Micronesia deal with a lesser-known aspect of U.S. colonialism. Micronesia was given to the U.S. by the United Nations after World War II as a "Trust Territory." It was awarded for "strategic" purposes, although Trust Territory status is supposed to prepare the area for complete independence, not serve the "strategic" needs of the United States.

One of the "strategic" uses to which Eniwetok, Bikini and other Micronesian islands have been put is as sites for U.S. atomic and hydrogen bomb testing. Micronesians living on these islands were evicted by U.S. military officials and given a small "compensation." Then their homes were obliterated by nuclear bombs.

America vs. Micronesia describes conditions on the Micronesian islands of Ebeye and Kwajalein: "A typical child on Ebeye lives in a shantytown, faces endless epidemics, receives occasional education and health care and exists irremediably cut off from his ancestral life-style and independence. His father working on Kwajalein deals with an additional gift of American import: Jim Crow. There American personnel live in a neat, air-con-

ditioned community that combines Leisure World with Brave New World. . . . Micronesians on the base work mostly as domestics. They commute from Ebeye. Until just recently they could neither ride in taxis nor buy anything in the stores. Kwajalein even closed its modern hospital to Ebeye residents three miles away, so that a seriously ill Marshallese would have to be flown 1,500 miles to Guam for treatment."

The islands are under the complete control of the U.S. Department of the Interior and a U.S.-appointed high commissioner, who have the power to prevent anyone, whether a U.S. citizen or a Micronesian, from going to or leaving these islands.

America vs. Micronesia includes classified portions of the U.S. government's Solomon Commission Report submitted to President Kennedy in 1963. It outlines how U.S. military officials, including Marine Corps Assistant Commandant General Lewis Walt, have been preparing the islands to serve as major U.S. bases in the event the U.S. is kicked out of Southeast Asia and Okinawa.

Despite demands by Micronesian representatives for more control, the U.S. demands complete control over the military and foreign affairs of the islands. An article from Saipan, Mariana Islands, in the Dec. 24 *New York Times*, pointed out that in the negotiations between U.S. and Micronesian representatives held last December, "The major difference holding up acceptance [of an agreement] has been a demand by the Micronesians that the association with the United States be subject to termination by either side at any time. Washing-

ton has insisted that severance be by mutual agreement."

According to the *Times*, a movement for independence is led by 11 of the 33 members of the Congress of Micronesia, an elected legislature for the islands. Anti-U.S. "terrorists" burned down the legislative chambers of the Congress on Saipan last February and the residence of U.S. High Commissioner Edward E. Johnston in December.

Rear Admiral Paul E. Pugh, U.S. Navy commander in the area, explained to *New York Times* reporter Robert Trumbull the real reasons why the U.S. government wants to hold onto Micronesia. It wants to use it as a base for imperialist aggression against the peoples of Asia. Said Pugh, "Contingency operations like the war in Vietnam still need forward supply bases."

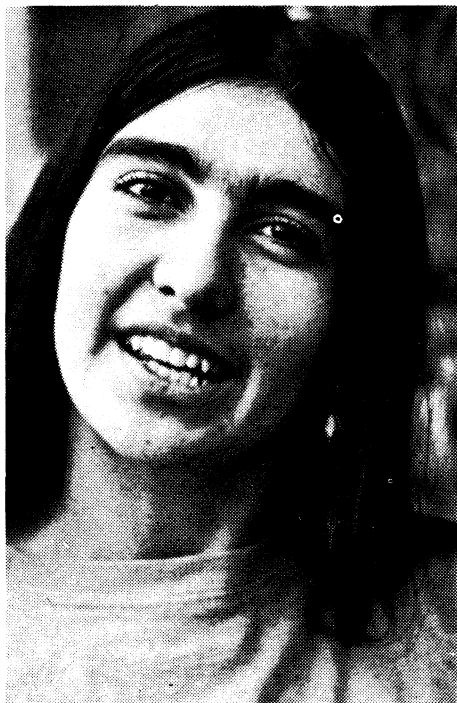
U.S. negotiators demanded retention of missile-testing bases in the Kwajalein Atoll, a World War II airfield complex on Tinian Island in the Marianas from which the U.S. atom-bombing of Japan was launched, and harbor facilities and training sites in the Palau Islands.

A second round of negotiations is scheduled for March in an effort to overcome the impasse at the December talks.

This pamphlet and newsletter are well worth reading for those who want to learn more about a little-known struggle against U.S. imperialism. More information can be obtained from Friends of Micronesia, 115 Norway St., Boston, Mass. 02115, or 2325 McKinley Ave. #12, Berkeley, Calif. 94703.

— TONY THOMAS

Raza students: say: high school's changed in Crystal City, Texas



Diana Serna: 'Since the walkout, there have been many changes . . . We've got politics in school now.'



Cleofas Tamez: 'This is what the gringo is fighting. They don't want us to know the truth.'

By HARRY RING

The student radicalization has had a major impact on the country generally and on the Chicano liberation movement in particular. A prime example of the role of students in shaping political consciousness and sparking social change is found in Crystal City, Texas. Crystal City is generally regarded as the birthplace of La Raza Unida Party and it was the first place where the Chicano people won political power with their own political party.

Like everything else in this town prior to the Raza Unida administration, the Crystal City High School was a brutally racist institution. Although this community of 10,000 is overwhelmingly Chicano and a majority of the high school students are Chicano, the school was run as though it were an Anglo-only institution.

In the spring of 1969, the Chicano students decided they had enough racist abuse and walked out. They failed to win their demands so another "blowout" took place the following December. They carried through a determined, militant fight.

In the course of that fight, the students and those in town who were actively supporting them got a true political education. The Chicano who was assistant principal of the high school was also the mayor, and a Chicano teacher was on the city council. They opposed the demands of the students and were soon seen as *vendidos* (sell-outs). Students and community leaders saw the need to run their own candidates for city council and school board.

These Raza Unida Party candidates won control of the school board and city council in the April 1970 elections. The school board was then able to make meaningful changes in the school system, providing Chicano students with a nonracist, bilingual education relevant to their needs and interests.

During a recent visit to Crystal City, I talked with two high school activ-

ists, Diana Serna and Cleofas Tamez. They are now juniors. When the walkout occurred they were in their first year and the youngest of the leading activists in that battle.

An interview with them was largely a matter of turning on a tape recorder and letting them talk. The following are some of the things they had to say.

Serna: Since the walkout there have been many changes. And I think the changes have been for the betterment of the students. Being that I was in school for a half a year during the time the gringos had all the power, I can compare. I didn't like it then. I found myself trying to stay away from school. I disliked the school, the teachers, the environment. The people were racists and our teachers were bad. They'd call us pigs. I didn't enjoy going to a class and learning from a teacher who would tell you that you were privileged to sit next to a gringo, or an anglo, just because they were white and you were brown.

They'd tell you that we didn't have any culture, we didn't have anything, that we were just in the way, that the United States didn't want us and Mexico didn't want us.

I'd find myself talking back to them and fighting them. But that's all you did. You weren't thinking about your classes. You were thinking about what to tell the teacher when she tried to put you down. The environment just wasn't fit. You couldn't learn anything.

Tamez: All the organizations were closed. You couldn't get into them. If you wanted to get onto the high school newspaper you found the people already there elected the new ones.

If you went to the counselor and said you wanted to go to a four-year university, a good university, he'd say, "Oh listen, why don't you go to this business college in San Antonio. In a year you'll be an expert. Why waste so much money? I know you don't have much money."

They never told us about scholarships. They'd just say go to a business college. But mostly they'd just let us drop out in the first or second year. They didn't care if we learned. They just wanted to get us out of here to work in the fields, so they'd get richer.

They're fighting us so much now because Chicanos are going to college. We're going to learn about the system we live under—how we can use it for our benefit, or whether we seek to destroy it.

The people from *Cristal* will not only remain here. They'll spread throughout Aztlan. And wherever they go, they'll start their own revolution, their own fight for justice, for *la causa*. This is what the gringo can't stand. Because then they'll lose their whole control over the area. So they must fight us. If *Cristal* succeeds, then all through South Texas Chicanos will revolt. In many places our people are just waiting to see if *Cristal* will succeed or not, so that they themselves can take control of their own destinies.

Serna: What we're doing now is what I've always dreamed about. I've always had this kind of hate. I'm sorry to say that. I don't think it's something to be proud of, but I've always hated them. I was what they called one of the "lucky" ones, invited to their houses and everything. I was like "in." They voted me the most popular in my freshman year. That's why they almost had a heart attack when they saw me in the walkout, and being on the leading line.

They started begging me not to. I said, "I've always felt this," because I knew the way they were, the way they put down the Mexicans. I learned from them to hate. That's all they know—to hate.

Punished for speaking Spanish

Tamez: When I started school they made us ashamed of knowing Spanish, of eating tortillas. If they heard you speak Spanish they'd send you to the office, or punish you for it. So by the time you were in the fourth or fifth grade, you were so ashamed of speaking Spanish that you never really learned it. That's what is so beautiful about the bilingual courses we have now. It's given us pride in our own language.

When I started school they put me in a mentally retarded group because I didn't know a word of English. I'd be a senior now, almost graduating.

Serna: Being politically aware is something that's very important in the United States. We've got politics into the school now. Some people don't think we should, and the papers criticize us for it. But I think politics is the main thing in life. It has a lot to do with the way you live, and the way your children are going to live.

Tamez: Also our library is really excellent now. We have all kinds of magazines and newspapers, from the most radical to the most conservative. We have books on Mexican history and books about American history—the truth about American history, not the kind about George Washington being just perfect and Lincoln freeing the slaves. No, man, that's just no more. This is also what the gringo is fighting. They don't want us to know the truth.

Serna: Another thing is the relationship with the teachers. It's just fantastic. It's beautiful. It's something that never happened before. Like I'd never believe I'd go bicycle riding with one of my teachers, and swimming with one of the others.

Tamez: The gringos are scared because they know they've got it lost. It's just so beautiful. Here's this empire that they've built for hundreds of years just crumbling down. They just can't stand that. That's why they're out to make us fail. But we're not going to. We've set out to do something and we know the nation is watching us.

Berrigan trial opens

By LEE SMITH

JAN. 24—The government's frame-up trial of Father Philip Berrigan and six other Harrisburg defendants opened this morning with instructions by Judge R. Dixon Herman to the 144-member panel from which the jury will be selected. Last week, Judge Herman ordered a separate trial for the eighth defendant, 21-year-old Theodore Glick, who had requested permission to serve as his own counsel. The charges against Glick are the same as those against the seven whose trial begins today.

The Harrisburg defendants face possible maximum five-year sentences under catchall "conspiracy" charges. These are contained in a modified indictment that, in April, replaced the original indictment handed down last January. The government's case still rests on the outlandish accusation that the defendants "plotted" kidnapping Nixon's national security adviser, Henry Kissinger, and blowing up heating tunnels of federal buildings in Washington, D.C. But the prosecution is relieved of the need to prove these dramatic charges because they are included in a general conspiracy along with acts such as raids on draft board offices.

The Justice Department's chief prosecutor, William S. Lynch, in pretrial arguments last spring had the arrogance to assert that these Catholic activists are worse enemies of society than organized crime!

An impressive arsenal of legal talent will be pitted against Lynch in the trial. The team of defense attorneys, headed by famed civil liberties lawyer Leonard B. Boudin, includes former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and Paul O'Dwyer.

The defendants are also backed by broad public support, which was reflected in a news conference and demonstration before the court convened this morning in Harrisburg, Pa. Five persons, all of whom have themselves been victimized for their political ideas and activity, read a statement of solidarity with the Harrisburg defendants. Howard Zinn, Anthony Russo, Michael Ferber, Carlos Feliciano and Richard Falk jointly declared, "These defendants do not stand alone."

The five stated, "The government has been trying with bombs and guns to pacify and subdue the people of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, who want to be independent of foreign control. It is now trying to pacify Americans who speak and act against the war. . . ."

Echoing a common theme of the Harrisburg Defense Committee, the five charged that "the real conspiracy that has taken place" is the one "revealed in the Pentagon papers, in which the leaders of government have conspired and continue to conspire to make war on the people of Indochina and to keep secret their plans from the American people."

A group of local draft resisters also read a statement and deposited their draft cards and draft records in a coffin that was then carried in a procession to the federal courthouse four blocks away, where Father Neil McLaughlin, one of the defendants, said a prayer before entering the building with the group.

Calendar

ATLANTA
WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND THE 1972 ELECTIONS. Speakers: Nancy Guli, a leader of Shirley Chisholm's Georgia campaign committee; Alice Conner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Georgia; and Eliza Paschall, member of NOW and a member of the Georgia "challenge" delegation at the 1968 Democratic Party convention. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. at the Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.W. (at Poplar), Third Floor. For further information, call 523-0610.

BOSTON
SPECIAL DEBATE: A tape of the Jan. 15 debate between Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, and Representative Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.), who seeks the Republican nomination for president. Wed., Feb. 2, 8 p.m., on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sat., Feb. 5, 8 p.m. on WBUR, 90.9.

BROOKLYN
MOZAMBIQUE: Firsthand Report and Slide Show. Speaker: Bob Van Lierop, recently returned from a visit to Mozambique. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m., at 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Brooklyn Militant Forum.

HOUSTON
THE ANGELA DAVIS CASE. Speakers: representatives from the Houston Angela Davis Defense Committee. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. at 6407 Lyons Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN '72 BANQUET. Featured speaker will be Linda Jenness, SWP presidential candidate. Fri., Feb. 4, at Baces Hall, 1528 N. Vermont Ave. Tickets, \$5. Cocktails at 6 p.m., dinner at 7 p.m., and rally at 8 p.m. For reservations, call (213) 461-8131 or (213) 463-1917.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN
THE NEW YORK TELEPHONE STRIKE: The First Six Months. Speakers: Dennis Serrette, vice-president Local 1101 Communications Workers of America, head of Local 1101 strike committee; and Doug Roper, representative of Local 1101 strike committee. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m., at 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE
LATIN AMERICA: CONTINENT IN REVOLT. Panel discussion with Professor James Cockcroft, Livingston College; Frank Grinnon, USLA Justice Committee; David Tobias, NACLA; and a representative of the Dominican Committee for Human Rights. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m., at 2744 Broadway (at 105 St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. West Side Militant Forum.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
Socialist Workers presidential candidate Linda Jenness speaks at women's meeting. Wed., Feb. 9, 8 p.m. at Pauley Ballroom, U.C. Berkeley. Cosponsored by Female Liberation, Northern Calif. National Women's Political Caucus, Independent Campus Women, Women for Jenness and Pulley, and U.C. Davis Women's Center.

PHILADELPHIA
ABORTION—A WOMAN'S RIGHT vs. THE FETUS FETTERISTS. A debate. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m., at 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of 10th and Market Sts.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. Phone: WA5-4316.

SAN FRANCISCO
THE YOUTH VOTE IN 1972. A panel discussion by Tom Vernier, national coordinator of Young Socialists

for Jenness and Pulley; plus representatives from the McCarthy, McGovern and Chisholm campaigns. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m., at 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information, call (415) 626-9958.

SAN FRANCISCO CAMPAIGN RALLY. Thurs., Feb. 10, 8 p.m. at Sanchez School, 325 Sanchez St. (between 16th and 17th Sts., near Market St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c.

CAMPAIGN RALLY AND BANQUET. Sat. Feb. 19 at 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. 5 p.m.: refreshments. 6 p.m.: classical buffet dinner by Chefs for Jenness and Pulley. 8 p.m.: rally featuring Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, followed by revolutionary entertainment. Donation: \$5.

LINDA JENNESS will also speak at Univ. of the Pacific, S.F. State College, S.F. City College, Diablo Valley College, Laney College, Golden Gate College, Mills College, and others. For more information on these meetings, call East Bay campaign headquarters at (415) 658-6205 or S.F. campaign headquarters at (415) 626-9958.

SEATTLE
REVOLT IN THE NAVY. Speaker: Seaman Pat Hayes, of the USS Uhlman. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m., at 5257 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1, h.s. and unemployed 50 c. Aup. Militant Forum.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 7 p.m. every Thursday, KPFC-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES
FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM: What Is the Role of Revolutionary Socialists in the Women's Liberation Movement? Speakers: Rebecca Finch, former national staff member of WONAAC and a member of the SWP; Jane Van Deusen, Minneapolis Female Liberation and Minneapolis YSA women's director. Fri., Feb. 4, Carl Skoglund Hall, 1 University Ave. N.E., Second Floor, Minneapolis. Donation: \$1, students and unemployed 50c. Aup. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
THE STRUGGLE IN BANGLADESH. Speaker: James Harris, 1971 Socialist Workers Party candidate for D.C. congressional delegate, national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m., at 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Forum.

SISTERS IN STRUGGLE: Seminars on Women's Liberation. Five week series beginning Wed., Feb. 2, 8 p.m., Militant Bookstore, 746 9 St. N.W. All women invited. Free. Classes include: Feb. 2: The Roots of Women's Oppression. Feb. 9: The Family—Reactionary or Progressive? Feb. 16: Women in the Russian Revolution. Feb. 23: The First Wave of Feminism. March 1: Current Trends in the Feminist Movement—a study of the Dialectic of Sex by Shulamith Firestone.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75c per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. Display ad rates: \$10.00 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

...S.F.

Continued from page 24

Toland also refused to give pictures taken by the campus press to the administration.

Letters demanding reinstatement can be addressed to Dr. Harold Buttner, President of City College of San Francisco, 50 Phelan Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94112. Copies should be sent to the Committee for Defense of Democratic Rights at City College, 412 Foerster, San Francisco, Calif. 94127.

...Irish

Continued from page 16

Ireland, which has . . . divided the people on religious lines. For certain it's not a struggle to propagate the Church as far as the Catholic people are concerned, and I don't believe that the Protestant people are thinking to propagate their church.

"Since internment was introduced there has been a complete revulsion among the minority people in Northern Ireland for the government as it presently exists. Prior to that the people were prepared to accept the introduction of civil rights legislation by the unionist government and accept that government. Now the people do not want the unionist government in existence. They want legislation that will guarantee civil rights implemented by a different administration in Northern Ireland. . . ."

Barr feels that there is a rapid political awakening going on in Northern Ireland. He maintains that prior to the establishment of the NICRA people had little interest in politics and tended to accept their oppression as part of their normal lives. "But since the establishment of the Civil Rights Association, the campaign for civil rights and the repression launched against it by the Unionist government, there has been a far greater degree of political awareness among the working class people of Northern Ireland. They are very much concerned now in relation to the political situation as it affects themselves. They also draw comparisons with their own struggle and what is taking place in America and other countries. The inspiration for setting up the NICRA came from the Black people here [in the U.S.]. The very songs that are sung at civil rights demonstrations in Northern Ireland were

taken from the Black people of this country. I think the young people see a similarity in the struggles and identify the one struggle with another."

Ivan Barr's visit to the U.S. is at the invitation of the National Association for Irish Freedom, which is the support group of the NICRA and represents it in this country. Inquiries for speakers should be sent to: The National Association for Irish Freedom, 799 Broadway, Room 422, New York, N.Y. 10003.

...Raza

Continued from page 4

(RUP) leaders that they will support Chicano Democrat Joe Bernal and self-proclaimed "Kennedy Democrat" Albert Peña in the 1972 elections. The Dec. 18, 1971, issue of *People's World* (West Coast voice of the Communist Party) quoted RUP state chairman Mario Compean as stating that in Texas they did not anticipate opposing Democrats who are "involved with the people." The *People's World* added, "He so characterized Texas State Senator José Bernal and Roberto [Albert] Peña, Bexar County commissioner."

The Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party campaign literature tables attracted a great deal of interest. Thirty subscriptions and 130 single copies of *The Militant* were sold. Eleven people endorsed the SWP presidential ticket. Other literature tables included those of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC), the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), and the League for Industrial Democracy.

The conference endorsed the efforts of CoDEL (see In Brief, p. 2). An antiwar resolution called for support to the April 22 antiwar actions in New York and Los Angeles and demanded "that all the *carnales* be brought home now." Another resolution urged support to the efforts of the USLA Justice Committee "to publicize and build a national and international campaign to release the political prisoners" in Latin America.

Despite the heavy presence of Democrats and other reformists, there was a free exchange of ideas and all viewpoints were allowed to be presented. In this respect, the conference was a model of how political differences within the movement should be handled.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Rathers, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, P.O. Box 456, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 968-5738.

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.

Claremont: YSA, c/o Mark Neithercut, Story House, Claremont Men's College, Claremont, Calif. 91711.

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

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815.

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.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Robert Mattson, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-1988.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Barbara Thornton, 1316 Arapahoe Ave., Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 444-1440.

Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1100 Champa St., Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Bob Quigley, 127 Washington St., Apt. 106, Hartford, Conn. 06106.

New Haven: YSA and Socialist Workers '72 Campaign, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA c/o David Zimet, Box 13861 University Station, Gainesville, Fla. 32601. Tel: (904) 373-2627.

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

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. (3rd floor), SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o John Center, 1407 Schnider Hall, Bush Towers, Carbondale, Ill. 62901. Tel: (618) 453-5882.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 758-2935 (night).

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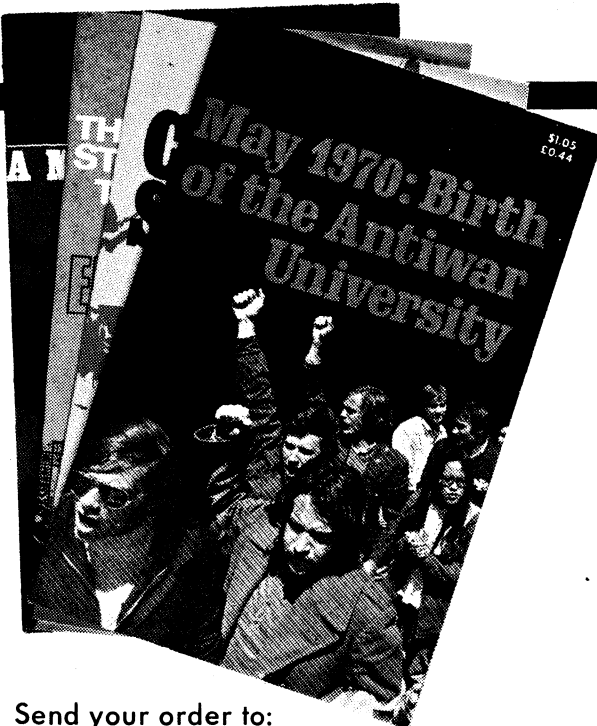
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THE MILITANT

Sadat's cops attack Egyptian students

By TONY THOMAS

JAN. 25—*New York Times* correspondent Raymond H. Anderson in Cairo, Egypt, wrote on Jan. 24: "Egyptian policemen moved into Cairo University before dawn today to break up a sit-in by students demanding a more militant policy against Israel, and later in the day used tear gas to challenge thousands of students marching into the center of Cairo."

"Policemen wielding clubs clashed outside the university with stone-throwing students, whose demonstrations had originated in confusion about delayed military action against Israel but shifted today to protests against the arrest of the campus sit-in participants. Students charged that 1,500 people had been seized. . . ."

The attack on the sit-in climaxed a series of confrontations between the Egyptian capitalist regime led by Pres-

'year of decision.' It would have been, Sadat said lamely, except that the India-Pakistan war 'drew the attention of the entire world and became a battle of the big powers, affecting our battle' and preventing him from going to war."

Sadat claimed that the India-Pakistan war cast a "fog" over the Mideast, preventing action by Egypt. Sadat's regime was promptly dubbed the "fog government" by the students.

Student protests against Sadat's "fog policy" during the first weeks of January reached a peak at three departments of Cairo University during the week of Jan. 18-25. The Jan. 20 *Washington Post*, describing the demands made during a rally on Jan. 18, stated, "the students passed resolutions insisting that the only solution to the Middle East crisis is for Egypt to fight [Israel]."



Egypt's President Anwar el-Sadat

ident Anwar el-Sadat and the Cairo University students—confrontations that have exposed the "progressive" image of Nasser's successor.

Sadat's policy in relation to Israel (which occupies all Egypt east of the Suez Canal) has been to rely on U. S. diplomacy to win concessions from Israel rather than to mobilize the Egyptian and Arab masses.

In May 1971 Sadat carried out a purge of "leftists" within his own ruling Arab Socialist Union and government. The May 20, 1971, issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* described Sadat's government following the purge as based on the "support of the clergy and the old and new bourgeoisie. The composition of the new government itself . . . can only reassure the free enterprisers at home and the United States abroad."

Sadat attempted to give his reactionary course window dressing by dubbing 1971 "the year of decision" in the struggle against Zionism, threatening "all-out war" at the year's close if a settlement was not reached.

The close of the year brought no "decision" by Sadat, only the continuation of the same policy of collaboration with imperialism. Sadat's failure was further accentuated by the announcement that Egypt's "friend," the United States, had granted Israel 18 new F-4 Phantom jets.

According to the Jan. 31 issue of *Time* magazine, the student demonstrations were "provoked by a massive reshuffle of the Egyptian cabinet [Jan. 16] . . . and a heavily publicized television speech by Sadat in which he ineptly explained away his repeated promise that 1971 would be Egypt's

"They called for the nationalization of American oil interests in Egypt, a two-month shutdown of the universities so students could be given serious military training, and a program with a fixed deadline for 'arming the masses.' They specifically rejected the resumption of the UN Middle East peace keeping mission under special envoy Gunnar Jarring."

According to the *Post*, posters and signs on the campuses demand higher taxation of Egypt's upper classes to pay for defense against Zionist and imperialist aggression.

The Jan. 22 *Le Monde* reported that on Jan. 20 "two to three thousand students assembled in the great amphitheater of the University of Cairo decided by acclamation to demand that the chief of state [Sadat] come himself to explain his policies, otherwise the occupation of that hall would continue." They also threatened a hunger strike to back up their demand.

According to the Jan. 23-24 *Le Monde*, Egyptian police at first held off from attacking the occupation because they thought the approach of school vacations in a few days would diffuse the student struggle.

While no large segment of the Egyptian population has yet entered the struggle alongside the students, these demonstrations raised demands that are supported by broad sections of Egyptian workers and peasants. So far the only indication of nonstudent action was the Jan. 25 *New York Times* report that "The Egyptian press syndicate, an association of journalists, tonight [Jan. 24] expressed support of the student demonstrations."

S.F. City College expels socialists

By JOE WARD

SAN FRANCISCO—On Jan. 20 four City College Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley were expelled from school. The four received no notice that they were being investigated. They had no trial; they do not know who their accusers are. Nor do they know what the charges are against them.

This is the latest in a series of stepped-up attacks on the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP) and on the student population of City College.

During the past month the administration has attacked the YSJP primarily because of a campus election campaign it ran calling for student-faculty control of the campus. On Jan. 10 an attempt was made to force the YSJP to remove a campaign table from the cafeteria. On Jan. 12 physical force was used to remove a campaign banner that called for student-faculty control of the campus.

During the past semester the administration has increased its attacks on students and their rights to free speech. On one occasion the administration attempted to cut off the electricity during a rally against the war sponsored by the Black Moratorium Committee. On Nov. 3 they tried the same thing with a rally of the Student Mobilization Committee. In both cases the students in attendance literally stopped the administration.

In December the administration attempted to stop a gay dance. Harassment against political organizations selling newspapers and literature have also increased.

The response of the expelled young socialists and civil libertarian students has been to circulate a petition demanding that the four—Jeff Berchenko, Steve Gabosch, Lloyd Kenney, and Joe Ward—be immediately reinstated and that they be given the right to due process. A Committee for Defense of Democratic Rights at City College is being formed.

The expulsion of these four students clearly violates their constitutional rights. All that is known is that at some time some unknown person made accusations against the four. The administration, acting on these accusations, took no note of the Bill of Rights, which states that a person is innocent until proved guilty. No evidence has been shown to the expelled students. The administration has simply decided that they are guilty and must prove their innocence.

Leading student activists in the area have already expressed anger at the expulsions. David Henderson, president of the student body at Cabrillo Junior College, Marilyn Winch of the UC Berkeley Student Senate, and Jim Toland, editor of the S.F. City College paper *The Guardsman*, have demanded that the students be reinstated.

Continued on page 22

Abortion fights build Boston conference

By JOANNA MISNIK

BOSTON—The Boston Women's Abortion Action Coalition (BOWAAC) held a press conference here Jan. 24 to announce developments in the recent Vermont Supreme Court ruling that invalidated the restrictive Vermont abortion law. The press conference was attended by leading individuals in the Boston abortion law repeal movement, who expressed solidarity with the Vermont victory. Among them was Massachusetts State Senator Jack Backman, who will soon be introducing an abortion law repeal bill in the state legislature. Also present were Diane Krane, president of Massachusetts Organization to Repeal Abortion Laws (MORAL); Pat Caplan, chairwoman of Massachusetts NOW; Robin Taylor from the Abortion Task Force of NOW; and lawyers who helped initiate a class action suit against the Massachusetts abortion law.

Speaking for the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), national project director Joan Gombos announced plans for the Women's National Abortion Action Conference scheduled for Feb. 11-13 at Boston University. She stressed the need for a national conference at a time when developments such as the victory in Vermont clearly show that activity around abortion law repeal has never been greater.

The conference will begin with a rally Friday night, Feb. 11, from 7 to 10 p.m. The Saturday and Sunday sessions, which are open to women only, will include general assemblies

and workshops. Under discussion will be such questions as court action, national and local legislative projects, campus and high school work, forced sterilization, medical clinics, and building the abortion law repeal movement.

On Jan. 22 BOWAAC joined with Massachusetts NOW in a funeral procession through downtown Boston to dramatize the fact that abortion laws murder women.

BOWAAC has been on a publicity campaign in the New England area to bring women to the conference. Leafletting teams have traveled to the University of New Hampshire, the University of Vermont, and to campuses in Maine and Massachusetts, where they have set up tables and spoken to meetings organized by women on campus. Many campuses are scheduling a day for "The Abortion Waiting Room," a multimedia display on abortion that includes films, charts, tapes and literature depicting the horrors of illegal abortion and describing the safe medical procedure abortion can be.

BOWAAC meetings reflect the excitement in the Boston area about having the conference here. The last several meetings have been attended by more than 70 women, many of whom are actively involved in building the conference. The next BOWAAC meeting will take place Jan. 31 at 8 p.m. at the Boston University College of Liberal Arts. For more information, contact BOWAAC at 552 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. Telephone: (617) 547-1818.