

THE MILITANT

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

For quality Black education: a reply to Nixon on busing

The following statement was issued March 21 by Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

On March 16 President Nixon made a nationally televised broadcast on court-ordered busing to desegregate schools. He delivered a message to Congress on the same subject the next day. Both statements clearly indicate that he intends to roll back important civil rights gains won since 1954, the year the U.S. Supreme Court declared dual, or segregated, school systems in the South to be unlawful.

The bills Nixon proposes—the Student Transportation Moratorium Act and the Equal Educational Opportunities Act—are no more designed to provide quality education for Black people than the 90-day wage freeze was intended to give workers a decent wage commensurate with the rising cost of living. They are devised to continue both “legal” and de facto segregation and to “freeze” the struggle against the dramatically inferior conditions in Black schools.

Nixon is aware that Black schools are inferior to white schools, so he talks about bringing equal education to Black chil-

dren in the central cities. But he proposes only \$2.5-billion to do this—money previously appropriated or requested. This sum isn't even a drop in the bucket. It is only a fig leaf covering the hypocrisy of his bills—bills that pander to white racist sentiment.

We support busing in cases where Black people see it as a way to obtain quality education for their children.

If, when, where, and how Black children are to be bused, however, is a decision for the Black community alone.

Like growing numbers of Black people, we do not view busing as the long-term solution to the severe educational problems facing Black people. To solve these problems over the long run, we support the demand raised by many Blacks for Black control of Black education with adequate financing and facilities.

We call for a crash program to spend billions of dollars on school construction in the Black community; teaching and learning facilities equipped with the best that technology can offer; trained and responsive teachers provided with adequate pay; free meals, books, and supplies for

the students; adequate wages for maintenance workers and other public school employees; a full program of adult education; up-graded job-training programs; adequate preparation for those wanting to attend college; and a guaranteed job for all high school graduates.

We call for ending the traditional method of funding schools through local property taxes, which are blatantly unequal from area to area. We call for im-

posing a 100 percent tax on corporate war profits and on incomes of \$25,000 or more.

More than enough funds to carry out this program could be found by ending the Indochina war, one of the biggest factors behind the cutbacks and the fiscal crisis now plaguing public education.

To ensure that this program is carried out and to eliminate racism in education, there must

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YOUNG LORDS LEADER SENTENCED, APPEALS: Pablo Yoruba Guzman, minister of information of the Young Lords Party, was sentenced in New York March 15 to two years in jail for refusing to cooperate with the draft. Yoruba's trial in a federal court in January was rigged from beginning to end. A defense motion that the trial be held at night so working people could attend and testify was denied, as was a motion that testimony be given in Spanish as well as English. The jury was all white, and the average age was 55 (Yoruba is 21). The only witnesses the defense was allowed were "character" witnesses, but Yoruba's parents were disqualified as "prejudiced." The defense based its case on the argument that Puerto Ricans, as citizens of a foreign country, should be exempt from the draft.

Yoruba's lawyer, Daniel Meyers, filed an appeal March 22 contending that selection of federal jurors from 1968 voter lists prevented a jury of peers.

THREE YOUNG LORDS ARRESTED: A March 18 rally protested the sentencing of Pablo Yoruba Guzman. The March 22 *New York Post* reported, "According to Young Lords spokesmen, police from the 40th Precinct 'arbitrarily' picked the three from the crowd of 150 after two Molotov cocktails had been thrown at a nearby bank."

"The party also contends that plainclothes police tried to run over demonstrators with their cars and fired into the air before the bomb-throwing incident."

"No Police Dept. account of the incident was available."

Charges against Ricardo Bertran, 20, Jose Torres, 19, and Roberto Salgado, 27, included arson, inciting to riot, reckless endangerment, resisting arrest, disorderly conduct, and harassment.



Pablo Yoruba Guzman

Photo from Palante

PUERTO RICAN STUDENTS WIN VICTORY: After more than two years of "benign neglect" by the administration at the State University of New York at Albany (SUNYA), Puerto Rican students mobilized and made important gains in their struggle for a full-time, independent Puerto Rican studies department.

The Feb. 11 ASP (Albany Student Press) reports that on Feb. 10 Puerto Rican students presented President Louis Benezet with a list of demands centering on an independent studies department by September 1972. Benezet gave approval "in principle" but stated that the budget cutbacks and the state hiring freeze made it impossible. An emergency meeting with the deans was called and as many as 100 Puerto Rican and Black students participated. In the heated debate that took place, students exposed the dishonesty . . . and duplicity of the administration. The day-long confrontation ended dramatically when the Puerto Rican students, led by PROLE (Puerto Ricans Organized for Liberation and Education), were able to secure written agreement from the SUNYA administration to start hiring the necessary personnel, beginning with an associate or full professor for a permanent position in Puerto Rican studies.

WALPOLE PRISON REBELLION: Bob Geb from Boston sent us the following item. "In a March 17 interview, Massachusetts Corrections Commissioner John Boone predicted continued troubles in the state's prisons so long as prisoner grievances remain unresolved. Hours later Walpole inmates fulfilled his prophecy in a rebellion resulting in fire damages set at \$200,000."

"Walpole has been the scene of months of peaceful work stoppages, protest rallies, and other inmate actions that have won substantial public sympathy but few reforms."

"At a March 18 news conference, inmates explained several grievances: a library with 'nothing relevant' to read, bad food, overcrowding, no medical facilities, and the 'two-thirds' law, whereby those convicted of 'violent crimes' cannot apply for parole until they have served two-thirds of their sentences, while others can apply after serving one-third."

"The prison factory at Walpole netted the state a profit

last year of \$329,851 on total sales of \$2.3-million. Inmates are paid only fifty cents a day for their labor."

NEWSFLASH

MARCH 23—After 49 years of fighting, women have won congressional passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. The U.S. Senate voted 84-8 yesterday in favor of the constitutional amendment that prohibits discrimination based on sex by any law or action of federal, state, or local governments. If ratified, the ERA opens the door to far-reaching legal changes to wipe out all vestiges of the centuries-old treatment of women as inferior human beings and second-class citizens. Thirty-seven more state legislatures must now ratify the amendment (Hawaii has already done so) before it becomes law.

PROTEST 'GREET'S' BRITISH ARMY BAND: More than 150 chanting demonstrators formed a picket line around the entrance to the San Francisco Civic Auditorium March 11 to protest a performance of the Scots Guards, currently on a "goodwill" tour. The Guards are attempting to improve Britain's blood-stained image.

Militant reporter Dave Warren writes, "Ironically they have been engaged in some of the most brutal fighting in Belfast in past months. The pickets chanted 'British out of Ireland' and 'End Internment,' and passed out literature to passers-by and those who attended the performance. Even some of the Guards came out to receive literature, their colorful kilts in strong contrast to the drab battle dress the Irish are used to seeing through clouds of tear gas."

The action was organized by the Irish Solidarity Committee, a coalition recently formed in the Bay Area to organize support for the freedom movement in Ireland.

PARTIAL VICTORY FOR RIGHT TO SELL AT U OF I:

After a three-month struggle, the recalcitrant administration of the University of Illinois at Chicago, Circle Campus, has decided to grant campus organizations the right to sell publications in the student lobby. But they seem somewhat hesitant about letting students sell anywhere else on campus. A number of Militant salespeople have been harassed and victimized under a university ruling prohibiting student organizations from selling their publications.

Scott Alexander reports from Circle: "We really didn't expect that they would seriously try to restrict the right to sell, and we predict that the chancellor will be forced to grant us the right to sell anywhere on campus." Alexander is currently a vice-presidential candidate for the UICC student government on the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley ticket.

NO SQUALOR IN CHINA: Many TV and newspaper reporters who covered Nixon's visit were clearly impressed with accomplishments made in China since a planned economy was instituted.

Eric Pace in the March 13 *New York Times* reported, "In a few unescorted strolls and in many bus trips through city streets, the network men found no squalor and no firm evidence that they were being hoodwinked about life on the mainland."

"We saw no one living in abject poverty," said Robert Wussler, CBS News's executive producer for special events. Interviewed after his return, he said, "There may be real poverty there, and they may have hidden it from us, but we did get around a lot, and I saw no beggars and no people who were obviously starving."

This situation is in stark contrast to the mass famine, disease, and deprivation that existed before the revolution in 1949, or that exists in present-day India.

PORTRAITS OF TROTSKY IN CHINA?: For the most part, the reporters in China during the Nixon trip focused almost exclusively on the comings and goings of the Nixon party. Since most of the TV commentators didn't know much about China, they spent much of their time in the "trivia trap," with their "superficiality showing," as one admitted.

In this context, an interesting factual error crept into an article by Audrey R. Topping in the Feb. 26 *New York Times*. Topping visited the East is Red Silk Brocade Factory, "where woven portraits of Mao Tse-tung are churned out by the yard alongside the traditional patterned brocades. . . . Besides portraits of Chinese leaders they weave pictures of Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky as well as epic scenes from the revolution."

Apparently Topping is not aware that Leon Trotsky's writings, as well as those of supporters of his views, are banned in China. The bureaucratic regime that banned the writings of this leader of the 1917 Russian revolution and his followers does not permit his portrait either.

—JOEL BRITTON

Children's march demands child care centers and welfare rights

By BARBARA MUTNICK

WASHINGTON, D.C., March 20—Tens of thousands from across the country are expected to converge on Washington March 25 to protest the Nixon administration's frontal attack on the poor. Sponsored by the National Welfare Rights Organization, the Children's March for Survival will focus its protest against Nixon's Dec. 9, 1971, veto of the Child Development Bill and against H.R. 1—the welfare bill now pending in the Senate.

The noon march around the White House and the rally on the Washington Monument grounds—along with

board, along with D.C. congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy, endorsed the march. The D.C. school board's endorsement is the first such action taken by the board in support of a major demonstration.

Further endorsements have come from Coretta Scott King, the D.C. Committee to Free Angela Davis, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

H.R. 1, the Social Security Act of 1972, is currently pending in the Senate. The most offensive of its five sections is Title Four, known as the Family Assistance Plan (FAP). Pushed by,

Just as serious is the portion of FAP euphemistically called "Opportunities For Families." OFF would require that a large percentage of welfare recipients be forced into training programs and then jobs at three-quarters of the minimum wage.

An important aspect of the forced-labor part of FAP is its provisions concerning child care. As a rationale for vetoing the child development bill, Nixon pointed to the provisions incorporated in H.R. 1 as measures that would adequately deal with child care. However, the bill he vetoed emphasized developmental, educational child-care. The FAP provisions are simply for custodial child-care—meaning that no standards for child-care centers and educational programs have been set. In fact, the provisions in FAP do not even meet the inadequate present federal standards for child-care centers.

In government circles the following interpretation of FAP is already being given: If six mothers with children live on a block, five should be "encouraged" to go to work, while the sixth can be left to care for all the children.

In the past several years, a number of Supreme Court rulings have led to a series of laws that in some small ways protect the dignity of welfare recipients. FAP is basically aimed at cutting across any such protections to the point of effecting punitive measures that not only create great economic hardships for welfare recipients but also attempt to divide and demoralize them.

For example, the bill leaves the states free to impose residency requirements. Furthermore, if any member of a family on welfare fails to comply with the myriad of requirements, such as forced labor, the entire family can be automatically and arbitrarily docked as much as \$800.

The scheduled mass march in Washington March 25 is an important step in the fight against Nixon's insidious attack on the poor.

Jenness, Pulley support march

The following statement in support of the March 25 Children's March for Survival was released March 21 by Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

Nixon tries to call his welfare program a "reform" and a "family assistance" plan. Likewise, he vetoed the child development bill with the excuse that the bill would "weaken" the family.

The March 25 Children's March for Survival is demonstrating that, to the contrary, it is Nixon who is attempting to deny assistance to families of working people. It is Nixon who wants to condemn children to poverty and deny adequate care to children of working mothers. It is Nixon who wants to deny mothers the possibility to pursue an education or a job while their children are young. And it is Nixon who wants to force welfare mothers to accept any demeaning, low-paying job that is offered to them.

Nixon said the child development bill—limited as it was—would be "too expensive"; and yet he proposes an \$83.4-billion war appropriation in his budget.

The Children's March for Survival is raising demands that point to the inhuman priorities of this capitalist system upheld by both the Democratic and Republican parties: the needs of working people and their families are denied while resources are poured into war and enforcement of "law and order" to protect the private profits and interests of the capitalists.

We urge everyone to support the Children's March and to continue the struggle for the goals of that march by helping to build the April 22 antiwar demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles, as well as the May 1-6 National Abortion Action Week of local activities demanding repeal of all abortion laws, no forced sterilization, and repeal of restrictive contraception laws.



Photo by Howard Petrick

Tot-in demands child care at New York's City Hall, Aug. 26, 1970.

other activities during the day such as workshops, free medical examinations for children, and entertainment—have received broad support from individuals and groups including the Harrisburg Seven, John Kerry of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, the National Caucus on the Black Aged, Bella Abzug, La Donna Harris, Dr. Benjamin Spock, and Gloria Steinem.

A Sunday session of the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., voted to support the march, and in Washington, D.C., the school

the administration as a "reform" bill, it is more aptly characterized by the Harrisburg Seven in a message of support to NWRO as "carefully packaged and perfumed injustice."

Through the use of loopholes and directly repressive measures, FAP will, if passed, critically worsen the already desperate situation those receiving welfare face. Because there is no requirement that the states must maintain present levels of payments to welfare recipients, it is estimated that up to 90 percent of those on welfare would suffer cuts in their grants.

Militants sold on campus, at plants, markets

By NANCY COLE

MARCH 20—A total of 1,010 subscription renewals have been received in *The Militant* business office since the campaign to visit introductory subscribers from last fall's subscription drive was launched at the Young Socialist Alliance national convention in late December. During last week 103 subscription renewals came in, as well as 223 introductory and 25 new one-year subscriptions.

The three top areas in renewal work this week were San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Minneapolis. The large number of introductory subscriptions was due primarily to the work of *Militant* supporters in Chicago and Philadelphia, who sent in 41 and 28 subscriptions respectively, and to the national Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley teams, which sent in 59.

The effort to obtain subscription renewals is being combined with building support for the Socialist Workers Party's election campaign and encouraging participation in the spring antiwar and abortion actions. This aspect of the renewal drive has met with a positive response in all parts of the country. Hundreds of people have signed up to endorse the Jenness-Pulley campaign through the efforts of the renewal teams, and many have expressed interest in becoming active in campaign activities and in the anti-

war and abortion movements.

Even those readers who still want to give the capitalist parties one more chance are often interested in talking to *Militant* representatives and in hearing their ideas. For example, Gary Boyers, the renewal drive director from Boston, reports, "Generally, even if they're supporting McGovern and think *The Militant* is too radical, they like the idea of being talked to. Many reconsider renewing, and almost all ask to be informed about campaign activities. One Black activist we visited said he wanted to write an article on the Pulley tour for his BSU newspaper."

Although there is no specific date on which the renewal drive will end, most areas will have completed visiting subscribers by the end of April. The next few weeks will be the best time for a concerted effort to visit and talk to the remaining subscribers in each area, tying it in with the build-up for the April 22 antiwar actions and the May 1-6 abortion actions.

A *Militant* saleswoman from Macomb, Ill., writes that "the overall reaction to *The Militant* on campus is highly favorable—many students are delighted to discover that we're selling it and want to 'get involved'—a positive sign!"

Reports continue to come in on selling *The Militant* at plant gates. Bos-

ton sellers write that after selling *Militants* at a plant one week, the next week they "had conversations with some workers who noted that the papers are being left in lunchrooms and are being read by many more than those who buy them."

Gary Guy from Denver reports that sales of the March 3 issue included 20 at Mountain Bell Telephone Co., 10 at the unemployment office, 4 at

a United Rubber Workers meeting, and 46 at a local supermarket.

Letters from our readers included the following this week:

From a subscriber in Asbury Park, N.J., "I am enclosing \$1.70 for 10 issues of the next *Militant*. I understand this is the rate for 10 or more. Keep up the great reporting and articles."

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The Militant SPECIAL OFFER 10 ISSUES/\$1

- () \$1 for 10 weeks of *The Militant*.
- () \$2 for 10 weeks of *The Militant* and 3 months of the *International Socialist Review*.
- () \$6 for one year of *The Militant*.
- (-) \$1.50 for 6 months of *The Militant* for GIs.
- () New () Renewal

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Jenness, Pulley answer Nixon on busing

Continued from page 1

be Black control of the facilities, curriculum, and finances.

This means the election of community councils of parents, students, faculty, and public education workers to supervise the schools; establishment of an educational system and curriculum that meets the needs of Black children, prepares them for future economic security, and gives them a knowledge of themselves and an understanding of the true history and culture of Black people.

It means instituting a crash program to train Black administrators and teachers, and preferential hiring of Blacks to such positions; maintenance of the rights of all students and teachers, including freedom of expression, freedom to pass out literature and organize clubs and trade unions, freedom from censorship of school newspapers, freedom of assembly and the right to invite any outside speakers to the schools regardless of their political views.

It also means ending the tracking system, which steers some students into college preparatory courses and others into secretarial, shop, and home economics courses (which for many mean unemployment); and opening school facilities to activities benefiting the community and the Black liberation struggle.

Black control of Black education with adequate funding and facilities sums up our program for quality education in the Black community. Within this framework, busing is a measure whose use should be determined by the Black community.

Many Black people do not see busing as a panacea. They do not agree with the liberal premise that simply placing Black children in the same classroom with white children will make a qualitative difference in their education. This premise is a take-off on the racist notion of the "white man's burden."

Because of these sentiments, the ma-

jority of the delegates to the National Black Political Convention held March 10-12 in Gary, Ind., registered opposition to busing and called for Black control of Black education. An amendment to the resolution was also adopted supporting busing where "it serves the end of equal education for Black people."

In another example, it is estimated that 40 percent of the Blacks voting in the recent Florida primary voted in favor of a constitutional amendment opposing busing.

Busing implemented by white racist school boards has not always been a positive experience for Black students. Black students bused to predominantly white schools have been verbally, physically, and psychologically abused. In some cases Blacks are not allowed to join clubs or to form their own organizations. They are sometimes segregated into all-Black classes, or sectioned off in majority-white classrooms. Expressions of Black

identity and Black consciousness are suppressed.

In the South particularly, Confederate symbols, symbols of slavery, abound in some of the schools. And Black teachers and administrators have been pushed out of their jobs in the name of "desegregation."

Any opposition to these humiliating conditions brings quick suspension or expulsion for the students involved. Thus, in some newly desegregated schools, few Black students remain at the end of the semester.

These experiences show why Black people should control the education of Black children. We support a nationwide mass mobilization of the Black community for this demand.

The labor movement—particularly teachers unions—and white parents should support the right of Black communities to control Black schools and should join the fight for a crash program to improve the facilities in the schools and raise the quality of Black education.

SWP speakers discuss Gary convention

By JOEL BRITTON

Black representatives of the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley who attended the recent National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., have begun an extensive series of speaking engagements on the significance of the convention for the Black liberation struggle.

Kenneth Milner, SWP candidate in California's 7th C.D., spoke at the Militant Forum in Oakland on March 17.

Milner told the Forum audience, "The most important thing about this convention is that 8,000 Black people came together seeking solutions to the problems that exist in the Black community. And thousands of young nationalists who came to that convention were sympathetic to the idea of a Black political party as an alternative to continued reliance on the Democratic or Republican parties."

"There was a great deal of discussion at the convention on the need for a Black political party," according to Milner, "although most of it didn't take place on the convention floor."

Of Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher's speech, Milner said, "The speech was really very good in terms of outlining the whole history of the Democratic and Republican parties since Reconstruction—how they have continued to sell out Black people. He even made the statement that the Democratic Party has Black people in their hip pocket."

"However, Hatcher, who raised the concept of 'a third party,' and the Reverend Jesse Jackson, who raised the prospect of 'a Black party,' both went on to make it clear that they, along with the Congressional Black Caucus and such figures as Imamu Amiri Baraka, were interested in trying to pressure the Democratic Party. They want to barter for certain concessions from the white aspirants to

the Democratic presidential nomination."

Milner spoke of the National Black Agenda and platform of demands adopted at the convention. "The platform was a fairly radical, militant, nationalist platform. Unfortunately, it is only on paper. There was no discussion on how to implement it."

Other Black socialists scheduled to speak on the issues raised at the Gary convention include *Militant* staff writers Derrick Morrison and Tony Thomas; Malik Miah of the YSA national office; Maceo Dixon, SWP candidate for congress from the 1st C.D. in Michigan; and the Black team of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley now touring Black college campuses in the South.

Herman Fagg, SWP candidate for D.C. delegate, took part in a Militant Forum panel in Washington, D.C., March 17 with others who attended the convention. Excerpts of the forum were broadcast on radio station WHUR.

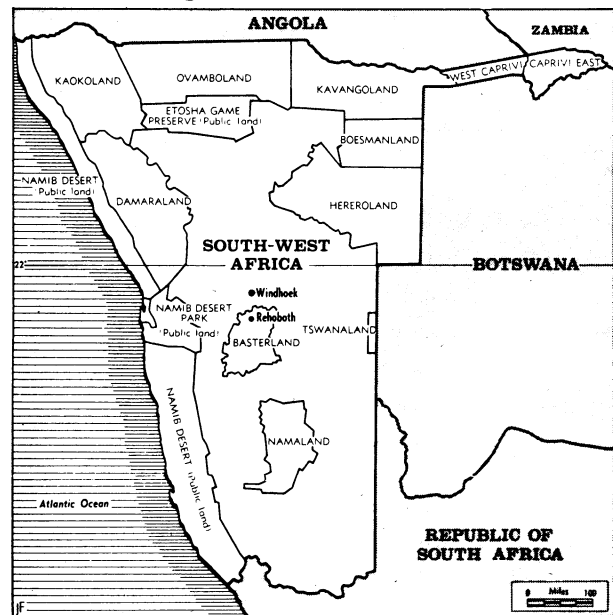


Kenneth Milner is the SWP candidate for Congress from the 7th C.D. in Calif., the seat now held by Ron Dellums.

By Any Means Necessary

WALDHEIM WHITEWASHES SOUTH AFRICAN RULE IN NAMIBIA. During his three-day tour of Namibia (name given South-West Africa by the United Nations), UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim claimed, according to the March 9 *Washington Post*, "The aim of South Africa is to grant self-determination to Namibia. The aim of the United Nations is the same."

Thus, Waldheim gave a new twist to arguments defending South Africa's position, despite the fact that both the UN and the World Court have declared that position illegal. South Africa has retained the territory through a League of Nations mandate dating back to 1920.



South Africa's plan for "self-determination" would divide the 600,000 indigenous Blacks into Bantustans along tribal lines. These Bantustans, parceled out of small portions of land, would

amount to little more than reservations, leaving the rest of the land in South Africa's hands. In effect, Waldheim is endorsing for South-West Africa the same "solution" that was used against the American Indians. The Blacks, however, are demanding something far different.

The recent strike of almost 15,000 Ovambo workers in the mines and other industries in the territory spurred the Blacks to meet and form a cross-tribal organization on the weekend prior to Waldheim's March 6 visit. They are demanding an end to the Bantustan, or apartheid, policy and control over all of South-West Africa. These demands were raised by more than 100 Africans who met Waldheim at the airport in Windhoek. They were also aired during his talks with African church leaders in Ovamboland. (Ovamboland, located in the north and bordering on Portuguese-held Angola, is the largest Bantustan.) These are just a few of the signs of the struggle for real self-determination.

THE AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY COORDINATING COMMITTEE is holding a national news conference March 20. The news conference, according to an announcement, will mark the formal opening of a "campaign to marshal Black public opinion against the involvement of the United States in supporting oppressive European colonial domination of Southern Africa—Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), South Africa and Guinea-Bissau. The campaign will culminate in a mass protest demonstration in D.C. on May 27, 1972 and will be directed toward the U.S. State Department, Rhodesia, South Africa, Britain and Portugal."

Among those on the 50-person steering committee, chaired by Owusu Sadaukai (Howard Fuller), president of Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, N.C., are: Congressional Black

Caucus Chairman Representative Louis Stokes (D-Ohio); Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones); the Reverend Ralph Abernathy; Angela Davis; Julian Bond; Huey P. Newton; Stokely Carmichael; and Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher.

The committee is located at 2207 14th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. Telephone: (202) 462-3411.

FIVE HUNDRED BLACK CROSSES WERE PLACED IN THE SNOW IN HARVARD YARD MARCH 6. The crosses were in protest of Harvard University's ownership of stock in the Gulf Oil Company, the largest American investor in Portuguese-held Africa. The action was organized by the Pan-African Liberation Committee and the Harvard-Radcliffe Association of African and Afro-American Students. The crosses symbolized Africans who have died at the hands of the Portuguese.

JACKSON STATE DAMAGE SUIT FOR \$13.8-MILLION BEING HEARD IN COURT. Relatives of five of the 12 students wounded and of the two students killed at Jackson State College on May 14, 1970, following the U.S. invasion of Cambodia, have filed suit against 42 state highway patrolmen and five Jackson city policemen. A decision on the suit is expected soon in Federal District Court in Biloxi, Miss.

The cops charged were part of a contingent of policemen and patrolmen that fired more than 250 rounds of ammunition into a crowd of Black students standing in front of a women's dormitory on the Jackson State campus. The students were protesting the war in Indochina and the draft at the time. The police say they fired in response to sniper fire from the dorm, yet there is little evidence to support such a contention.

—DERRICK MORRISON

By CINDY JAQUITH

"Women should be free to determine their own fertility . . . the matter of abortion should be left to the conscience of the individual concerned, in consultation with her physician. . . ." This is the central theme of the second section of a report from the Federal Commission on Population Growth and the American Future.

This section of the report, which was issued on March 16, calls for all states to adopt liberal abortion laws similar to those in New York and favors providing contraceptives to young people

women for birth control and abortion information in their schools. In particular, the report's results will help build National Abortion Action Week called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) for May 1-6. Protests scheduled for this week will center on the demands of repeal of all abortion laws, an end to forced sterilization, and repeal of restrictive contraception laws.

The commission recommends that "states should be encouraged to enact affirmative statutes creating a clear and positive framework for the practice of abortion on request." Unfortunately, it cites as a model the New York abortion law, which

quality day care available to all families who wish it."

Although the report does not call for repeal of all abortion laws, if its recommendations were put into practice, they would represent significant gains for women in this country.

However, the false theory of the first report—that there is a need for population control—has nothing in common with the right of women to control their own bodies. In this report the commissioners are attempting to create the specter of total social chaos if the growth rate of the American population—especially the urban population—is not controlled. They suggest that each family be limited to two children, warning, according to the *Times*, that "unless population growth was checked, social freedom would be choked by fees, forms, licenses, lines, regulations and red tape." Furthermore, they try to blame population growth for environmental pollution.

The *Times* reports that "at the moment," the commission feels that the population is adequately controlled by the increased use of abortion and other means of birth control. But the study raises the possibility of another spurt of the growth rate, implying that government-enforced population-control measures should be taken in that event.

The idea that population growth is responsible for deterioration in the quality of life is a reactionary concept used by racists to justify the sterilization of Blacks, Chicanos, and poor people. It also leads to advocating other forms of government restriction of family size.

The March 17 *New York Times*, for example, ran an editorial headlined "Three's a Crowd." The editorial begins by discussing the commission's stand on abortion and contraception but centers its remarks on population control, asserting "the desirability—if not the necessity—for moving toward a policy of zero population growth for the United States."

The *Times* ignores the contradictions between the commission's first and second reports, and instead claims that "The commission's proposals . . . for greater freedom of individual choice in decisions affecting child-bearing are a logical sequel to the first part of its report. . . ." Thus the *Times* editors try to link the need for ending restrictions on abortion and contraception to the myth of overpopulation.

The reason American cities are overcrowded, millions of Americans are starving, and the environment is being destroyed, is not that there are too many people, but that the majority of people do not control the resources and the means of production in this society. These resources are instead in the hands of a wealthy minority that seeks only to make profits.

In fact, those who wish to draw attention away from the very real threat posed by the injustices of capitalist exploitation try to focus on population growth to divert the American people from seeing the real source of the destruction of the quality of life in this society.

Consider the tons of food that the government pays farmers to destroy to keep food prices high, or the refusal of big business to institute pollution-control measures that cut into profits, or the billions of dollars this government pours into bombing Southeast Asia, or the nuclear pileup that threatens to annihilate the human race. It is these products of the irrational capitalist system—not population growth—that constitute a danger to this society.

The abortion law repeal movement and the women's liberation movement as a whole have taken a clear stand against population control theories and in favor of the right of a woman to choose whether to bear children or to terminate an unwanted pregnancy.

The government has denied women this basic right. But now women are organizing to win control of their bodies—not to enable the government to begin telling them how many children they can have, but to secure a basic democratic right.

The Population Commission Report and women's right to control their own bodies



Nov. 20 demonstration for abortion law repeal

Photo by Ellen Lemisch

with no age limit. An earlier report by the commission was made public on March 11.

The commission's study was ordered by President Nixon two years ago. Like several other presidential commissions—for example, the commissions on drugs and pornography—many of the findings of this study run counter to reactionary positions taken by Nixon.

The tone of the March 16 report contrasts sharply with the first report, which based itself on the false premise that population growth is the major threat to the "quality of life" in this country. The first report concludes that much of the "problem" of population can be solved by enabling parents to avoid unwanted children.

The March 17 *New York Times*, in discussing the second report, points out that "The commission . . . based its recommendation entirely on other grounds than population control. Reflecting a dominant general theme, the report assailed prohibitions on abortion 'as obstacles to the exercise of individual freedom.'"

The fact that an official government commission has taken a stand in favor of women's right to control their own bodies demonstrates the powerful impact that the women's liberation movement, and particularly its campaign for repeal of all abortion laws, is having. The fight women have waged in every state and on a national scale to repeal the abortion laws has played a major role in popularizing the concept of this right for women.

The second report, by recognizing the right of women to control their own bodies, will give additional impetus to the abortion law repeal movement as well as to the demands of high school

only permits abortions performed by a doctor up to the 24th week of pregnancy. This law makes a woman who gets an abortion in the 25th week a criminal. In order for women to have complete control over their reproductive lives, all legal restrictions on abortion must be eliminated.

The report urges that "governments make funds available to support abortion services in states with liberalized statutes," and that "abortion be specifically included in comprehensive health insurance benefits, both public and private."

The section recommending that contraceptives be made available to all young people admits that "As a society, we have been reluctant to acknowledge that there is a considerable amount of sexual activity among unmarried young people." This section, as well as other parts of the report, reflects the changing attitudes toward traditional sexual norms in this country. "We should strive," the commissioners later state, "for the ideal of diversity in which it would be equally honorable to marry or not, to be childless or not, to have one child or two or for that matter, more." These statements reflect the increasing rejection of the concept that women are only fit to be childbearers and child-raisers.

The report calls for hospitals to ease their restrictions on voluntary sterilization. It opposes the use of bonuses for sterilization, noting that such financial rewards could be used to try to limit the population of the poor. In the portions of the report released by the *Times*, there is, unfortunately, neither mention nor condemnation of the practice of forced sterilization.

The commission also said that "public and private forces should join together to make high-

Puerto Rican women meet in N.Y.

By CANDIDA McCOLLAM and MAXINE WILLIAMS

BROOKLYN—More than 200 people attended the March 18 Conferencia sobre la Mujer Puertorriqueña (Conference on the Puerto Rican Woman) sponsored by the Brooklyn College Institute of Puerto Rican Studies and the Puerto Rican Alliance.

According to the chairwoman, the conference was held to "develop a dialogue and to begin to explore the effects of various systems, such as religion and culture, education, economic exploitation, and machismo, on the Puerto Rican woman."

A rich and inspiring discussion took

place in conference workshops on these and other questions affecting la Puertorriqueña. The conference reflected the determination of many young Puerto Rican women to stand up and fight against their oppression.

At the final plenary, workshop resolutions were read calling for free abortions in community-controlled clinics; for free, community-controlled child-care centers; and for Spanish-language material on contraception and abortion. Freedom was demanded for all political prisoners, and especially for Lolita Lebrón, an independence fighter now serving a life sentence in a U.S. prison.

In one workshop, a representative of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition proposed that the workshop call for the conference to endorse the May 1-6 Abortion Action Week. One woman objected, saying that abortion is a form of population control. Sisters from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) also objected, but on the grounds that the abortion movement was not a viable part of the Puerto Rican liberation struggle. A number of women said they were interested and asked for more information, recognizing that the "right to choose" whether to have a child is the first step toward full liberation of Puertorriqueñas.

In Our Opinion

AFL-CIO walk-out: a first step

The withdrawal of AFL-CIO officials George Meany, Floyd Smith, and I.W. Abel from the government Pay Board March 22, although long overdue, is a welcome action. The walk-out was precipitated by the Pay Board's decision to abrogate the West Coast longshore contract—negotiated after a 134-day strike—by cutting the wage increase from 20.6 to 14.9 percent.

However, the failure thus far of United Auto Workers union President Leonard Woodcock and Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons to join in the walk-out continues to provide window dressing for the anti-labor actions of the Pay Board.

George Meany was completely correct when he asserted that the Pay Board is stacked against labor, that it is government-controlled rather than independent, and that only wages are being controlled while prices, rents, interest rates, and profits continue to climb.

The Nixon administration responded to the labor walk-out from the Pay Board by charging the labor members with sabotaging "the fight against inflation and the fight against higher prices." This is demagoguery of the worst order. As the statement of the AFL-CIO Executive Council correctly pointed out, "In the guise of an anti-inflation policy, the American people are being gouged at the supermarket and squeezed in the pay check." The upshot of all of the Nixon administration's talk about "ending inflation" is not to end inflation at all, but rather to hold down wages.

The fact that prices have continued to rise while controls have been imposed on wages shows clearly that wages are not responsible for inflation. Rather it is the government's huge deficit spending, particularly for military purposes, that is to blame.

The AFL-CIO statement also noted that Nixon's policies have led to no drop in the long rolls of the unemployed, who have had "their wages frozen at zero, with no real prospect of relief."

The only way for the trade-union movement to fight back effectively to maintain a decent standard of living in the face of constantly rising prices and unemployment is through independence from the government. It must refuse to go along with any government interference with contracts won by workers after considerable struggle and sacrifice. The whole meaning of the Pay Board—set up by the Nixon administration with the help of the Democrats in Congress—is that in order to win any wage increases workers must now fight not only their individual employers, but the government as well.

If Meany and the other AFL-CIO officials want to prevent government control over union-won contracts, then they should oppose any form of pay board. They should announce their determination to have nothing to do with Nixon's Pay Board, any future pay board under a Democratic administration, or any other government agency with the authority to rip up contracts won by trade unions.

They should take the initiative in convening a democratically-selected national conference of the labor movement in order to plan a united, powerful struggle against the capitalist wage-control policy.

Demands such a conference could adopt to protect the living standards of working people are: 1) full compensation for past and anticipated inflation through cost-of-living clauses in all contracts; 2) a shorter workweek at no reduction in pay, so that the existing work can be spread to all who need a job; and 3) immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina to end this war, which has spurred inflation.

In addition, labor needs its own political instrument to fight for its interests. A labor party based on the trade unions would provide an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties, the parties of big business.

PCPJ and April 22

The People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) recently voted to publicize the April 22 demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles and to encourage its local affiliates in those two cities to participate in the marches under the slogans of PCPJ. This decision is a step forward for the entire antiwar movement, and The Militant welcomes it.

Along with the April 1 demonstration in support of the Harrisburg defendants and the local demonstrations and teach-ins planned by antiwar groups across the country, the April 22 demonstrations will provide visible expression of antiwar views during the 1972 election campaign.

In this regard, the failure of the PCPJ to formally endorse the April 22 actions (which were endorsed by the World Assembly for Peace in February), its failure to encourage its membership outside of New York and Los Angeles to participate in them, and its failure to commit itself to a major national effort to build them are serious shortcomings.

No other antiwar actions this spring are being built as nationwide demonstrations or on the scale of those on April 22. All sections of the antiwar movement, while raising their own slogans and demands, should unite in the most visible and massive repudiation of Nixon's fraudulent "Vietnamization" policy and for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina.

Letters

Women, names, and marriage

Last summer I got married and now the university I go to addresses me by "Mrs." and then my husband's last name. The university will not allow me to either keep my own name or have a combination of my name and his name. I am very confused by their answer. I do not have on any legal document that my name is my husband's name. The marriage certificate has my name as it was before I married. What determines what my "legal name" is?

I married my man for what he was, not his name or a title. The "marriage" as such was really just a legal hassle which we were willing to go through because we wanted to be together without constant bother from uptight people.

P. M. L.

Providence, R. I.

In reply—The laws forcing a woman to take her husband's name when she marries apparently differ from state to state. The U.S. Supreme Court made a little-publicized decision on this question earlier this month. According to a UPI dispatch, the nine male justices ruled that a state does have the authority to require a married woman to assume her husband's name. The ruling upheld a Sept. 28 decision of a three-judge federal court in Alabama denying Wendy Forbush of Anniston, Ala., the right to have a driver's license issued in her "maiden" name.

Forest Hills

I have just finished reading your article "Right of Blacks to non-ghetto housing is issue in Forest Hills" by Elizabeth Jayko in the March 3 issue of *The Militant*. While on the whole the article was good, the opening paragraphs were a little upsetting. I am referring to the underlying anti-Semitism (presumably unconscious) in the second paragraph, which reads:

"The controversy concerns the construction of three 24-story apartment buildings to accommodate 504 low-income families and 336 elderly families in a community that is overwhelmingly white, middle-class, and Jewish."

While this is a correct description of the majority of the Forest Hills community, I am sure, why was it necessary to include the appellation of "Jewish"? I can not recall once in your excellent coverage of the situation in Cairo, Ill., where you referred to the white community as overwhelmingly Christian. Why refer to those in Forest Hills as "overwhelmingly . . . Jewish"?

R. S.

Chicago, Ill.

Message to outer space

The U.S. government has launched a lie which will travel further than any other in human history. The Pioneer 10 spacecraft, which will observe the planet Jupiter on its way out of our solar system, might conceivably be found by living beings from another solar system, and so

a plaque was placed aboard the ship to describe humanity to the ship's hypothetical finders.

The plaque contains a drawing of two human beings, one of each sex, who are shown nude in the interests of science. The government chose to draw two whites, even though the vast majority of humanity is non-white.

Wishing to make a good impression on the observers from outer space, the two are drawn without any hair except on the tops of their heads (his is short, hers is long). The female is depicted without reproductive organs.

To tell the people from outer space who to talk to should they ever visit earth, the male is shown waving "hello," while the female's hands hang humbly by her side; otherwise we might have given the impression that there is equality between the sexes of humanity. The male's gesture is officially described as a symbol of peaceful intentions.

No mention is made in the plaque of the millions of earthlings who starve to death every year, and the millions more who die of easily-cured diseases, while billions of dollars are spent on space programs whose ultimate purpose is military.

Bob Geb

Boston, Mass.

Prisoners study group

We are a group here in the Tombs who have come together for the purpose of establishing a Marxist study group. We have over 200 men, spread throughout the prison, who have joined our study groups. As a matter of interest to you, we are in the process of petitioning the warden of this modern-day Bastille, and the City Department of Correction, to allow speakers and lecturers in to talk on subjects of a social nature.

I noted with interest the struggle being waged regarding the entry of Ernest Mandel to the United States. His works have influenced us tremendously. As a matter of fact, I am in the process of preparing a lesson on the labor theory of surplus value and am referring to some of the work he has done along those lines.

Presently we are involved in a two-part study of historical materialism and the Communist Manifesto. We are also engaged in a project we set dealing with the question of Black nationalism and its relevance to the international struggle.

Hap Gary

New York Men's House of Detention
(The Tombs)

Guardians of fetuses

The thought that a lawyer could become the legal guardian of all unborn children seems unbelievable, but the courts have given some credence to this concept. It strikes me that these moves are nothing more than a dangerous sort of harassment, which if allowed to continue could lead to many deeply oppressive decisions beyond the already unfair and unjust denial of a woman's right to control her own body.

Although I am not trained in law, it seems that a legal guardian is

The Great Society

responsible for the actions and effects of his or her ward. If this is so, that means that the guardian, who denied the parents' decision-making power, should pay for: the increase in food consumption for the mother caused by the fetus; the loss in pay suffered by women who are unwillingly laid off work by sexist pregnancy rules; and especially the hospital expenses caused by miscarriage.

If nothing else, monetary penalties on legal guardians will perhaps make them less willing to toy with the lives of other human beings.

Roy Simonons III
Houston, Texas

Theology thug

I'd like to share with you a lesson in Christian theology. I was recently standing in Harvard Square in Cambridge, carrying a sign which advertised the Feb. 11-13 conference of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, when an abortion opponent—a male Episcopal theology student—became filled with divine inspiration and attacked me, knocking me to the ground and pinning me there while tearing the sign to shreds.

Episcopal theology officially disapproves of men physically attacking "ladies," but the incident shows how this applies only so long as a woman knows "her place"—it's apparently perfectly Christian for a man to attack an abortion law repeal activist.

The theology thug and those who think like him might as well get used to the idea that the abortion law repeal movement will not be intimidated by physical attacks or anything else. The female suffrage movement faced the same sort of obstacles we face now; we won then, and we will win again.

Sudie Trippet
Cambridge, Mass.

The Christian view

I have decided not to renew my subscription to *The Militant*, finding no answers but unfair criticism and accusations towards the Nixon administration and other world leaders. Not only did you advocate violence but also the Gay Liberation movement and other resistance movements.

As a Christian living, not hiding, in this world and attending a local junior college, I have accepted a responsibility to spread and share the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to help better, not hinder, my surroundings.

Your paper offered no hope, no answers, but advocated ideas and systems that only pollute men's minds more. St. Paul says in Romans 13:1, "Every Christian ought to obey the civil authorities, for all legitimate authority is derived from God's authority and the existing authority is appointed under God." He says it quite clearly, doesn't he?

As far as the gay liberation movement goes, God was quite explicit about Sodom and Gomorrah.

Andrew Geyer
Santa Cruz, Calif.

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.

Defers to petty minds—Yielding to a "literal interpretation" of the law, California's Governor Reagan said he would end the recently disclosed practice of assigning unmarked state cars to members of his administration. The cars are supposed to be limited to police work. Reagan noted he had only done what was traditional with previous administrations. But they didn't get caught.

Afterthought—Maybe Reagan will find it was for the best that he got caught passing around those unmarked state cars. After all, if squandering of state funds was totally unrestricted, even a governor might have to pay taxes. Last time around, millionaire Reagan avoided payment of state income taxes through well-ordered "business losses."

Un-British—A Labor member of the British Parliament proposed a bill to nationalize crown lands that give Prince Charles an income of \$286,000 a year. It is indefensible, MP William Hamilton said, that two coal miners should toil for 50 years to earn "as much as we give this young

twerp in a year." After stunned silence, enraged Tories successfully insisted Hamilton withdraw the horrendous remark. The House then voted 233 to 104 not to consider the bill.

The march of civilization—British scientists are working on an ersatz coffin nail made from cellulose.

Winnie and me—"I believe the greatest political leader of our time was Winston Churchill. Back when he was warning us about Hitler, I was doing the same thing."—Sam Yorty, mayor of Los Angeles, currently campaigning to be next mayor of the United States.

China postscript—Some sayings from Chairpeople Dick and Pat, as quoted by Stanley Karnow in the *Washington Post*: Dick, on seeing the Great Wall of China: "I think you would have to conclude this is a great wall." Pat, observing a display of ceremonial headresses of gold and precious stones, "Isn't that something?" Dick, examining a microscopic bit of ivory engraved with a verse by Chairman Mao: "Art is my weakness."

Mr. Free Enterprise—A true entrepreneur, Adam Smith observed, must possess a generous amount of *chutzpah*. We were reminded of this on learning that Clifford Irving has reportedly offered Little, Brown publishers (a Time-Life subsidiary) the details of the Hughes "biography" for a \$600,000 advance. Now all they have to do is figure out if it's the real Clifford Irving.

Practical visionary—U of Maryland Professor John Jackson favors new schools being built partly underground to provide fallout-shelter facilities. He concedes that such construction is more expensive but notes that there would be a savings on heating and air conditioning. And, he adds, there'd be fewer broken windows.

Chew on this one—Congressman John Melcher, a veterinarian, says meat inspection is such that his family eats no cuts that cannot be inspected in their home before they are cooked.

— HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

FREE ABORTION ON DEMAND IN EAST GERMANY

—On March 9 the East German Parliament passed a bill making abortions on demand available to women through the 12th week of pregnancy. The abortions will be paid for by the East German social security system. The bill also lowered to 16 the age at which women can obtain birth-control pills.

The decision to legalize abortion was not unanimous. Fourteen members of Parliament voted against the bill and eight abstained. "In the past," according to the March 10 *New York Times*, "the 500 members (of Parliament) had always voted unanimously."

Previously, women had to apply to a state commission in order to obtain a legal abortion. This right was granted only to women under 16 or over 40, or to women who had at least four children.

The East German Parliament's move to legalize abortions is long overdue. The prior denial of abortions in East Germany contradicted the Marxist tradition of support to the right of women to control their own bodies. One of the first steps taken by the Bolsheviks after the 1917 Russian revolution was to legalize abortion. The lack of this right in East Germany until now—and the restrictions still placed on abortions after 12 weeks in the new law—underscore the degree to which the East German bureaucracy has sacrificed the rights of women to its own narrow interests.

ILLINOIS HIGH SCHOOL WOMEN WON A VICTORY

with the recent decision by the state Office of Public Instruction that Illinois public schools should not expel students because they are pregnant. According to a statement by the office's legal advisor, Allen Schwartz, "in the last five years, the phenomenon of students' rights has strengthened our position that pregnancy is not grounds per se for an exclusion policy."

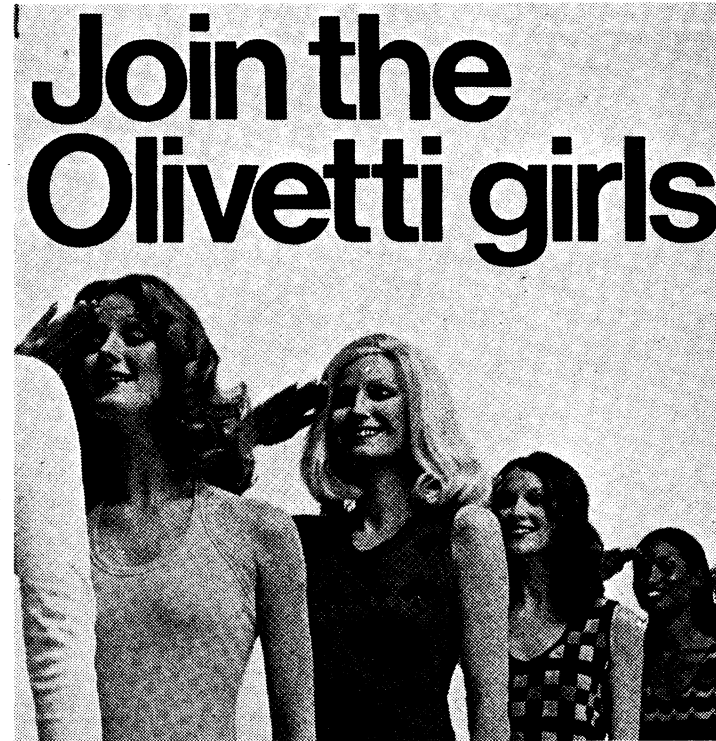
A recent study of 1,285 Illinois schools between grades 6 and 12 showed 3,421 reported pregnancies in the 1970-1971 school year, a 16 percent increase over the previous year.

THE ILLINOIS SUPREME COURT DECISION that prevented a 15-year-old Chicago woman from obtaining an abortion has been challenged in a suit by 11 psychiatrists. The suit seeks to establish mental and emotional reasons as grounds for legal abortion in Illinois. The Illinois Supreme Court's decision stated that only physical threats to a woman's health are valid reasons for legal abortion. This ruling forced the 15-year-old woman to obtain her abortion in New York. Psychiatrists had testified that she would commit suicide if she bore the child.

TEACHER SUES OREGON SCHOOL DISTRICT—Mary Gray, a teacher in La Grande, Ore., was dismissed from her job last year because she had advised a retarded

woman student about abortions. The student was a ward of the circuit court.

On March 11, 1971, the district school board refused to renew Gray's contract and also refused to grant her a hearing. She is now suing the Union County Intermediate District for reinstatement with back pay and \$200,000 in damages. The Oregon Education Association and the National Education Association are supporting Gray's suit.



OLIVETTI PICKETED—Secretaries and members of the National Organization for Women (NOW) picketed the Olivetti Corporation on March 15 to protest the company's sexist advertising campaign. The theme of these ads is that secretaries will love Olivetti typewriters "Because this is the typewriter with the brain inside that makes the four most common typing mistakes absolutely impossible. . . . So you can type faster, neater, sharper. And have more fun." The obvious implication is that secretaries need the Olivetti "brain" because they don't have any of their own.

NOW member Midge Kovacs told *The Militant* that the picketers were greeted in true Olivetti style with a table of hors d'oeuvres and cocktails set up in the building's lobby. The company had put up a sign that read: "For the weary women's liberationists. Come inside when you're tired of picketing and collect your women's liberation cocktail."

Kovacs says that despite this demeaning treatment, the company has taken one of its ads out of circulation.

— CINDY JAQUITH

Oakland beverage workers on strike

By CAROL DEBERRY

OAKLAND, Calif. — A militant strike by Teamster beverage workers here has been marked by company violence since it began last December.

On Feb. 26, several hundred strikers and their families demonstrated in a mass picket and rally outside the San Francisco Coca Cola bottling plant.

A leaflet used to build the action carried a photograph of one of the company's private cops standing guard while two scabs loaded a truck; the goon wore a gun and a riot helmet and held a German shepherd attack dog on a leash. The leaflet read: "WE PROTEST!"

"Because . . .

"Teamster Beverage Workers want a Fair Wage Settlement, TRAINED DOGS have been set on them!"

"Because . . .

"Our fathers want Decent Working Conditions, PRIVATE COPS have pulled their GUNS on them!"

"Because . . .

"Our husbands want Job Security, they have been threatened with LOSS OF THEIR JOBS!"

"Because . . .

"An injury to one is an injury to all, YOU PROTEST TOO!"

"Don't buy Unfair Soft Drinks!"

"ALL OUT AT THE PUBLIC PROTEST PICKET LINE!"

The demonstration was organized by the Wives and Children of Striking Teamster Beverage Workers. A court injunction prevents the union from calling demonstrations at the struck work sites.

Three locals are involved in the strike, Local 70, Local 298, and Local 896, representing workers at Coca

Cola, 7-Up, RC Cola, Pepsi Cola, Shasta, Canada Dry, and Dr. Pepper. Management for these companies is represented by the Food Employers Council.

In addition to the workers from the three striking locals and their families, members of Local 34 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union joined the Feb. 26 demonstration.

Demonstrators passed out the leaflet quoted above to motorists at the intersection of Van Ness and Mission next to the plant while the mass picket was in progress.

Young workers on the line spoke bitterly of the use of guns and dogs by the company "rent-a-pigs." A court injunction won by the union supposedly bars the use of guns and dogs by the company cops, "but don't kid yourself," a young picket said.

Significantly, a large number of the supporters from ILWU Local 34 were Black or Chicano. The beverage unions have their own hiring halls, and racism is reflected in their practices. "I guess we have what they call

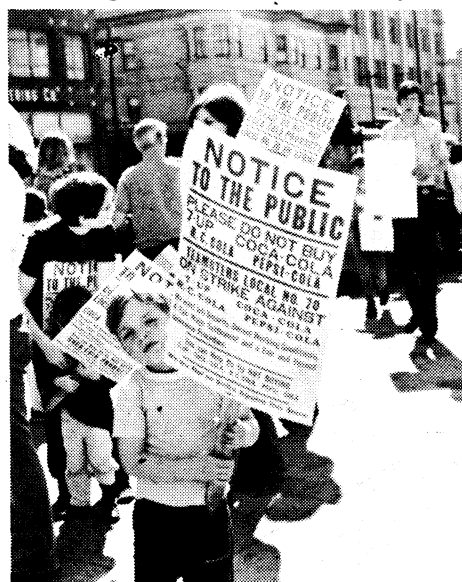


Photo by Diana diTullio

Teamster strikers and families demonstrate outside plant.

"tokenism," a young striker told *The Militant*.

The companies have attempted to exploit this racism to weaken the

union. When the wage freeze—which had paralyzed negotiations that began in August—came to an end, management proposed to hire Black and Chicano workers outside the union hiring halls and employ them as "trainees" for one year. During the year of "training," these workers would not belong to the union, would have no seniority rights and would be paid less than union-scale wages. The union rejected this attempt to break it, and Local 70 went on strike (the other two locals went out about a month later). But the company would not have been able to even propose its union-busting scheme if it were not for the almost lily-white policies of the union hiring halls. Since the strike began, the employers have sought to recruit Blacks and Chicanos as scabs.

Because this is the slow season for soda sales, the company has an advantage. Some of the workers believe they were maneuvered into striking at this time as part of an all-out plan by the company to smash the union. No settlement is now in sight, but the Feb. 26 action is an example of the kind of approach that can lead to victory.

Hayakawa picketed by Asian groups

By MILTON CHEE

SAN FRANCISCO—On March 11, a picket line of 125-150 Asians protested a dinner honoring Dr. S.I. Hayakawa, the president of San Francisco State College. Hayakawa is particularly well known for calling in the police to savagely suppress the student-faculty strike at SFSC in 1968-1969.

The picket was called by Concerned Asians, a coalition of 13 Bay Area Asian groups. These include: Jap-



Photo by Don Lou

March 11 picket line against Hayakawa.

anese American Students Project, SFSC; Asians for Community Action, San Jose; J-Town Collective, San Francisco; Asian Women's Health Team; East Bay Asian Legal Service; Asian Law Students, University of California at Berkeley; Japanese Community Services; Health Caucus; Committee for Community Involvement, San Mateo; Asian American Community Alliance; Asian Americans in the Human Services; Bay Area chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League; Asian American Alliance, George Washington High School, San Francisco.

A leaflet distributed by the picketers to the press and the public called for a boycott of the dinner. The main chant of the evening was "one, two, three, four, Hayakawa out the door." Picket signs also linked Hayakawa's recent visit to South Vietnam (the topic of his talk) to the genocidal nature of the Southeast Asian war with the slogan, "S.I., My Lai, Apple Pie." Other signs denounced his attempts to represent the Asian community: "Hayakawa does not speak for us," and "S.I. You lie."

The dinner was sponsored by the San Francisco chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League.

The National Picket Line

THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY initiated new work rules on March 10 that threaten the jobs of approximately 250 men in the SP system and laid off 12 yard switchmen as a starter.

The United Transportation Union, AFL-CIO, struck the Southern Pacific, demanding that the workers who were fired be put back on the job. The strike closed all SP operations between Portland, Ore., and El Paso, Texas, for one day. An estimated 30,000 SP shop and office workers respected the picket lines, and more than 60,000 railroad cars rolled to a halt.

However, a federal judge issued an injunction against the strike, and the workers returned to their jobs March 11, less than 24 hours after they walked off.

George Lechner, UTU Western regional vice-president, said the strike was only called after the firings, when the union was unable to get the company to enter into negotiations over the matter. The company's action revealed a difference in interpretation of the recently signed contract in the railroad industry. Union officials claim the new contract provides for union-management negotiations over the number of workers to be laid off. But the company maintains that the new work rules, accepted in principle by the unions, allow the company to unilaterally lay off thousands of workers who will no longer be needed.

Under the new work rules, SP brakemen have been assigned the additional job of "car herding." Switchmen previously hired for this are now eliminated.

The court order Judge Robert Peckham handed down in San Francisco halted further layoffs pending a March 20 hearing.

ON MARCH 4 THE STATE COUNCIL OF THE CALIFORNIA FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO, voted to invite all presidential candidates to address the convention of California teachers to be held in San Diego, May 26-29.

Teachers in every state would like the state legislatures or the U.S. Congress to appropriate enough money to solve the school crisis. But it is doubtful that the presidential hopefuls of either the Democratic or Republican parties will be able to explain how money for the schools will be provided. They have all been in government or connected with the parties in power for the past quarter century, yet none has done anything to help the school system.

Although the California teachers will listen to more false promises from the Democratic and Republican party politicians, they have also shown they are ready to act on their own to save the schools.

Teachers have been among the front-line fighters against the war in Vietnam, and they are now demanding that the \$80-billion in military appropriations be used for education and other needs of the people in this country. Because they understand the link between the war and the school crisis, the California Teachers union is supporting the April 22 antiwar demonstration in Los Angeles.

Teachers should demand that all candidates pledge to bring all U.S. troops home now, slash the bloated military budget, and appropriate the necessary funds to rebuild the inadequate educational system in this country.

A DENVER CORRESPONDENT REPORTS that the United Rubber Workers union there signed a contract on March 3 with the Samsonite lug-

gage company. Wages range between \$3 and \$3.50 per hour for most of the 1,600 workers in that plant, but some get less than \$3. Union officials won their most important demand, a full union-shop. Only about 50 percent of the work force had previously belonged to the union. Much of the work at the plant is governed by "incentive guarantee"—piecework rates. The new contract established a grievance procedure that is supposed to protect incentive workers from the system's built-in speedup.

Even though half the workers at Samsonite are women, the explanation of the new contract distributed by the union refers only to "his" regular pay, "his" job classification, and an understanding involving lead "men." Needless to say, this sexist attitude is a reflection of the fact that the union has no women officers.

We are also indebted to our Denver correspondent for sending in the following quotation from a 1969 speech by AFL-CIO President George Meany at their annual conference on community services:

"In a sense the American trade-union movement is really unique. It is the only trade-union movement in the world that is completely independent of a political party. It is the only trade-union movement in the world that rejects the idea of class struggle as an end in itself. It is the only trade union in the world that devotes its time to the interest of all of the people."

Employers are included in "all the people." The interests of the employers are presently receiving more attention and protection from the AFL-CIO bureaucrats than the interests of the workers.

—FRANK LOVELL

Lordstown struggle points to issues affecting all of labor

The following are excerpts from a talk given by Herman Kirsch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Ohio's 20th C.D. and for many years a member of the United Auto Workers. The talk was given at the Cleveland Debs Hall Forum March 11.

Unusual interest from diverse sources is being expressed concerning the dispute between the young workers and the General Motors Corporation in Lordstown, Ohio. Articles and analyses have appeared in *Fortune* magazine, the *New York Times*, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, and *Newsweek*, not to mention coverage in the socialist and left-wing press.

On March 7 the *New York Times* editorialized on the Lordstown struggle. Called "Revolt of the Robots," the editorial stated: "The strike of young General Motors workers that has shut down the world's fastest assembly line is a symptom of widespread rank-and-file rebellion against the dehumanizing effects of automation."

"The struck plant at Lordstown, Ohio, engineered to turn out 100 Vegas an hour, is a mainstay in G.M.'s hopes of stemming the in-



Average age of Lordstown workers is 24

roads West German and Japanese small cars have been making in the American auto market. But its operations have been plagued by constant labor turmoil despite the supposed insulation of good wages, high general unemployment and a location in the conservative heartland of Middle America."

The editorial continues: "The troubles at Lordstown are not unique to that plant or to the auto industry. In steel and other mass production industries, the rigidities of standard work practices are breeding discontents that present difficult challenges for employers and unions alike."

And finally comes the purpose of the editorial: "It is incontestable that more advanced technology is essential to industrial survival in an increasingly competitive world. Heightened productivity is the key to protecting jobs, wage scales and the whole panoply of social benefits from health care through early retirement now hitched to the paycheck."

This editorial in the *Times*, the most influential daily newspaper on the East Coast, reveals the reason behind all the attention given the Lordstown dispute in the capitalist-controlled press. This mammoth GM plant is a test-tube experiment to determine whether the American worker, now

under the lash of high unemployment and rising cost of living, will bend to increased exploitation.

Of course the phrase "heightened productivity is the key to protecting jobs" is a calculated lie. Every worker knows that exactly the opposite is the case. Higher productivity leads to more layoffs.

Unemployment is endemic to capitalism. This system does not operate on the concept that everyone has the right to a job. The driving mechanism of capitalism is the search for profits, not the needs of working people.

The *Times* editorial refers to the competition of small foreign cars on the American market. Competition with Europe and Japan is also affecting steel, electronics, clothing, and many other industries. By playing off the American worker against the lower paid Japanese and West German worker, and by holding down wages in this country to decrease the gap between wages here and abroad, American business hopes to increase their profit margin.

Speedup is major issue

The primary dispute at the Lordstown assembly plant is speedup. In October of 1971, General Motors Assembly Division, a tough management division of GM, took over and laid off more than 700 workers without cutting back the assembly line speed of 100 Vegas per hour. Since October 5,000 grievances have accumulated and thousands of workers have been disciplined for various reasons. Almost all the workers have been subjected to short workweeks without supplementary unemployment benefits agreed to under the UAW contract.

GM claims that the cars are sabo-



the plants with them the new perspectives of American youth in 1970. At the beginning of this year roughly one third of the hourly workers of Chrysler, GM, and Ford were under thirty."

The moguls who run the auto plants don't quite know what to do with these young workers. One GM effort to curb the rebellious young workers is called "A New Work Force," a program that utilizes the services of high-priced psychiatrists to train the foremen in sensitivity to the thinking of the workers. Of course, this program has been a miserable failure. Five percent of the workers are absent without excuse every day, and on Fridays and Mondays the percentage climbs to 10 percent.

The other factor that drives GM up the wall is tardiness. The assembly



Herman Kirsch

lines can't move without every man and woman at their stations, so if workers are late the foreman has to scramble around to find a replacement to fill the gap.

The reasons given for absenteeism according to Gooding in *Fortune*, are worth relating. Workers tell the foreman, with all seriousness, that "the alarm clock didn't go off" or that they were sick that day. The best reason of all, calculated to flabbergast a supervisor, was described as: "Some of the workers cite pressing amorous relations that preclude their presence in the plant."

Former Chairman of the GM Board of Directors James Roche complained at a banquet celebrating the company's 50th anniversary, that "Management and the public have lately been shortchanged. We have the right to more than we have been receiving." With all due respect to Roche—who was accustomed to a salary in the range of \$800,000 a year in contrast to the \$9,400 annual wage of a GM auto worker—we must state that the company is getting far more than it is paying for.

Ralph Nader, in a recent issue of *Playboy*, and Leonard Woodcock, president of the UAW, have estimated the direct labor cost of an automobile selling for \$3,000 at less than \$300. Auto workers are getting only a fraction of their worth when working for this monopoly. They know this to the marrow of their bones, and their actions prove it. Workers in the auto industry are so anxious to get out of the plant at quitting time, for example, that they stampede like cattle, risking life and limb. It's a sight you must see to believe.

The workers have a profound dislike for their jobs, the conditions, the treatment, and the monotony. They are completely alienated. The strike at Lordstown is long overdue.

If the young workers at Lordstown can win their fight against the billion-dollar General Motors Corporation they will inspire the majority of the working people in this country with their actions.

Striking workers prepare long fight

By HERMAN KIRSCH

LORDSTOWN, March 20—The Lordstown, Ohio United Auto Workers strike of 7,800 workers against the Assembly Division of General Motors went into its 18th day today. Most gates at the huge plant were closed, while a token line picketed the main gate.

The strike, called by UAW Local 1112, has already affected 11,000 workers in four states. The parking lot of the General Motors Fabricating Division plant in Lordstown was completely empty when I was there, indicating that the plant's 1,800 workers have been laid off as a result of the strike in its sister plant next door.

Workers have also been laid off at plants in Grand Rapids, Mich.; Columbus, Ohio; Detroit; Syracuse, N.Y.; and Trenton, N.J. Other General Motors plants are experiencing short workweeks.

Donald Finesworth, one of the "older" men, with six years seniority, is now getting \$30 a week strike benefits. He said that since he is single he is "prepared to hold out. It don't matter to me; I don't have a family."

Finesworth travels 33 miles each direction—two hours a day—in order to work at the plant. "Some men," he said, "travel as far as 90 miles to work."

Prior to the takeover by General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) in October 1971, most workers put in many hours of overtime. Last year James Edwards, 26 years old, worked an average of 12 hours a day, seven days a week, in the Chevrolet Truck Division.

Edwards is confident the strike will not last long. "Anyway," he said, "after making \$15,000 last year, I can hold out for a while. Besides, I have work to do around the house."

In November 1971, GMAD slowly cut the overtime and started layoffs. Eight hundred workers have been laid off since December, while the assembly line speedup has remained the same.

Concerning the Pay Board decision to cut the longshore contract, Charles Hostter said, "I don't feel it's right that they cut back the longshoremen after they agreed on a 21 percent increase. I don't think it's fair."

On the other hand, William Bloom suggested, "There has to be some kind of freeze. Everything is going too high."

Bloom made \$13,500 last year. His opinion of the wage controls is, "It's making the rich richer and the poor poorer." Bloom, Edwards, and Finesworth are veterans of Vietnam, and were unanimous in their support of the war. As we left the local union parking lot, Bloom called out, "What's going to happen if they pull everything out of Vietnam?"

This contrasts with the feelings of many workers in the union, who have discussed the formation of a peace committee. Gary Bryner, president of Local 1112, spoke at an Oct. 15, 1971, antiwar moratorium demonstration in Youngstown.

Canada moves to deport Humberto Pagan

From Intercontinental Press

The Canadian government, with the connivance of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, is trying to send a Puerto Rican student leader back to San Juan, where he faces almost certain death.

Since last September Humberto Pagán Hernández has been held in an Ottawa jail, originally on charges of having entered Canada illegally. In December that charge was dropped, but Pagan was ordered deported. His appeal of that decision was to be heard March 8, and an extradition hearing has been scheduled for March 27. The U.S. government wants Pagán returned to Puerto Rico to stand trial on five counts: murder of a police officer, possession of a deadly weapon, transportation of a deadly weapon, unlawful flight to avoid trial, and jumping bail.

The charges relate to a police-provoked incident March 11, 1971, at the San Juan campus of the University of Puerto Rico. The university had been the scene of mass struggles against U.S. domination of the island. One of the major issues was the presence of U.S. military programs, like ROTC (Reserve Officers Training Corps) on the campus. On March 10, ROTC cadets, who previously had not displayed their uniforms openly, marched to the campus carrying weapons and U.S. flags.

The following day, cadets, police, and leftist students massed on the campus. The police provoked an incident and shooting broke out. Among those killed was Lieutenant Colonel Juan Mercado, chief of the Puerto Rican riot squad. A wave of arrests of leftists, socialists, and advocates of Puerto Rican independence followed. Pagán, an active leader of the socialist wing of the independentist movement, was picked up in his home town of Aguadilla, where he had fled from San Juan.

He refused to turn state's evidence, was beaten and tortured, and finally was charged with Mercado's murder. He was released on \$30,000 bail.

Pagán has pointed to evidence showing that he could not possibly have shot Mercado from where he had been standing. Students have charged that Mercado was in fact killed by police bullets.

It became clear that Pagán was to be the scapegoat for the colonial administration. In September 1971 he decided to flee Puerto Rico. In an interview published in the *Charlatan*, the student newspaper of Carleton University in Ottawa, he explained why:

"There is a right-wing terrorist organization commonly called the vigilantes. This group was organized by the police. After I was charged and out on bail, on three different occasions they tried to murder me. Two of the attempts were made by the police themselves. The propaganda that the mass media made around my case was that of creating the image of a guilty man. The colonial governor went so far as to congratulate the police for the arrest of 'that dangerous communist criminal.'"

When Pagán arrived in Canada last September, he was arrested by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. He was interrogated extensively by the

FBI and has been badly treated in jail, being denied medical attention, for example.

Pagán has asked permission to be sent to Cuba, which has formally announced its willingness to grant him asylum. Pagán is opposing his extradition to Puerto Rico on the grounds that he is a political prisoner and should be given the right of asylum.

The Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners has appealed to Prime Minister Trudeau to halt the extradition proceedings. The Committee for the Defense of Humberto Pagán Hernández is coordinating defense activities and is raising money to fly Puerto Rican defense witnesses to the Canadian hearings. The Committee can be reached c/o Students Association, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada.

Swedish women demand 'right to eat'

By CAROLINE LUND

The March 27 *Intercontinental Press* reports the rapid growth of a movement of women in Sweden against rising food prices. According to the Feb. 27 Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*, 6,000 people marched through Stockholm Feb. 26 chanting, "We want the right to eat!" All ages were represented on the march, the newspaper said, though most of the participants were women.

One elderly woman carried a sign reading, "Even a pensioner wants to have a little beef now and then!"

"This was a popular demonstration," *Dagens Nyheter* reported. "Many on-lookers along the march picked up the slogans and joined the demonstrators. . . . Many had never demonstrated before. . . ."

The leader of the movement is Ann-Marie Norman, a housewife from the Stockholm suburb of Skärholmen. According to a report by Guy de Faramond in the March 8 Paris daily *Le Monde*, the protest movement grew rapidly barely a week after Ann-Marie Norman was interviewed on television Feb. 17. In the interview, which lasted only two minutes, she called on Swedes to boycott beef and milk.

Food prices in Sweden have risen 17 percent during the past 13 months,

stated the March 19 *New York Times* story on the Swedish women's protest. The price of food in Sweden is presently higher than in any other place in the world except for Iceland.

Ten days after the boycott was called, milk sales dropped 35 percent in the Stockholm area as a whole. Meat sales also dropped, but marketers would not say by how much.

The *Times* said that at least 120 action committees have been formed across Sweden to continue the protest.

The Swedish government at first tried to blame the high prices on a government policy of equalizing farmers' incomes with those of industrial workers. But one of the women organizers replied to this: "When you look at the enormous differences between how much the farmers are being paid and how much the shops are charging, it is obvious that some in-betweens are making an unfair profit."

The organizers of the boycott claim that the farmers are backing the protest movement.

The March 8 *Le Monde* report noted: "That a 'wildcat' movement, launched by a housewife with no political connections, could have met with such a response in Sweden, is indicative of the climate created by the rise in prices and taxes at the very moment the country is undergoing the worst unemployment since 1948."

The ruling Social Democrats, continued the article, "who have made full employment one of the cornerstones of their policy," find themselves confronted with such widespread unemployment that it "recalls the bad memories of the thirties."

Three to five percent of the active population are unemployed in Sweden.

This spontaneous protest movement against rising food prices dispels the widespread misconception that Sweden is a "socialist" country. Although Sweden has many social security and social welfare provisions, it still operates basically on a system of private enterprise and private profits. And therefore it suffers the results of the anarchy of capitalist production in the form of unemployment and inflation.

The powerful impact of the Swedish women's movement should be a lesson to people in this country. As the wage controls continue, and as prices continue to rise despite the loudly proclaimed price "controls," the potential for a similar protest against high prices is building up in this country as well.

A precedent exists for such a movement here. In 1966 women started a protest against food prices that spread to some 100 cities in 21 states. The women picketed price-gauging su-

permarkets and organized effective boycotts against them. In some areas the women sought and were able to obtain trade-union support.

We have already seen a limited step toward an organized protest with the establishment of price-watch committees by AFL-CIO unions to monitor price rises and inform the community of them.

Socialist education meetings planned

By LEE SMITH

The ideas being raised by the 1972 Socialist Workers Party election campaign will be the topic of discussion at a number of spring socialist educational conferences scheduled in major cities during the coming weeks.

Cosponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, these conferences are planned to involve people who have become interested in socialism as a result of the SWP election campaign. Organizers of the conferences expect that a number of young campaign supporters will decide to join the YSA during the conferences.



Richard X Clark Photo by Mark Sattinoff

The first conferences are coming up on the weekend of April 8-9 in Boston and Philadelphia. Evelyn Reed, a well-known Marxist writer on anthropology and women's liberation, will speak in both cities. Panel discussions of the student movement, the war in Indochina, and the elections are planned for both conferences. Conference organizers are seeking to involve representatives of the capitalist candidates in debates over election strategy.

SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley will speak to the Boston conference. Barry Sheppard, a national leader of the SWP, will speak on the contributions of Wilhelm Reich to social theory.

Richard X Clark, a leader of the Attica rebellion who is now out on parole, will speak to the Philadelphia conference about the radicalization in the prisons. He will also discuss the continuing harassment at Attica and the state's preparations for a frame-up of the prisoners involved in the rebellion.

Conferences are planned for the last weekend in April in New York; Washington, D.C.; Houston; and the San Francisco Bay Area. Conferences in Minneapolis, Detroit, and Seattle are scheduled for May 19, 20, and 21.

For more information on these conferences, write to the SWP National Education Department, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014 or contact the SWP or YSA nearest you (see Socialist Directory on page 22 for addresses and telephone numbers).



Photo from Dagens Nyheter

Demonstration of 6,000 in Sweden hits skyrocketing food prices.

'72 Socialist Campaign

Two recent news stories illustrate that the SWP campaign is beginning to slightly unnerv some Democratic Party candidates.

The following is excerpted from an item that appeared in Warren Rogers' syndicated column in newspapers throughout the country:

"McGovern had just finished a speech at the school (University of Florida) and was heading for his car. He was approached by a young man who said he was a member of the Socialist Workers Party. . . . Would the senator like to sign (a) petition condemning the Vietnam war?"

"It was then that McGovern blew. As other students gathered around, he denounced the Socialist Workers Party as 'a bunch of liars who have misrepresented my stand on the war.' Raising his voice, he said that the party was 'making George McGovern their chief target in Florida.'"

Peggy Holter, writing in the Feb. 1-Feb. 14 Los Angeles News Advocate, reports a speech Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, a Democratic presidential candidate, delivered at the University of Southern California on Jan. 14:

"... she never really discusses what she would do if elected. Her domestic program seems to end with the appointment of more women and members of minority groups to high office, a goal to which even President Nixon pays lip service.

"During the question period after the USC address, Ms. Chisholm 'lost her cool' when a student who identified himself as a member of the Socialist Workers Party asked her why she didn't support that party's presidential slate (a Black and a woman) and why she didn't testify before the House Armed Services Committee against the draft. The congresswoman's reply was that she couldn't do everything. She also became very agitated when another student asked why she didn't support groups advocating the end to all restrictions on abortions. She explained that she had to be very careful about what groups she lent her name to. Following the angry outbursts, she apologized to the students.

"At a press conference held at NOW headquarters, she was asked what she thought of Nixon's economic policy. 'Well, President Nixon had to do something to stave off inflation . . . I guess you have to say the President has succeeded in certain ways. . . .'"

The open letter from Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley to Shirley Chisholm, printed in the March 24 Militant, should be reproduced and distributed by local campaign committees. Individuals who would like a copy of the letter should write to the national campaign office.

As of March 16, a total of 6,801 people have signed cards endorsing the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

Mary Margaret Goodrich of New York magazine recently informed the SWP national campaign office that Ms. magazine is preparing a story for a future issue on three women political candidates—including Linda Jenness.

The March 22 Guardian, an independent radical newsweekly, broke its long silence on the Jenness-Pulley cam-

paign by devoting its weekly "Radical Forum" page to an article by SWP national campaign director Larry Seigle. Seigle's article outlines the SWP program, details the progress of the socialist campaign to date, and discusses strategy for radicals in the 1972 elections.

The Feb. 24 Colorado Daily, reporting on a debate between Joyce Tally of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and Mike Dice of Students for McGovern, says that "Tally charged George McGovern with numerous contradictions and discrepancies in his voting record and campaign literature. . . . These accusations were largely left unchallenged by the McGovern supporters. . . ."

An updated version of the brochure "Bring the Troops Home Now, Vote Socialist Workers," which outlines the SWP position on the war in Southeast Asia and strategy for the antiwar movement, is now available from the national campaign office. \$1 per 100, single copies free.

Susan Netzorg, writing in the March 21 San Francisco Fault, finds Linda Jenness "a personable, articulate undogmatic young woman with candid answers to thoughtful questions," and quotes Jenness on fighting pollution:

"They wanted to do an area study of pollution (in Atlanta). So who are the main polluters? Lockheed, GM, Ford, the city of Atlanta itself. So who do they put on the commission? Lockheed, GM, Ford, the Mayor. It was like putting the fox in charge of the chicken coop."

Netzorg quotes Jenness on the sexist myth that a woman in the White House would be too emotional to handle the job. "I'll tell you," Jenness said, "male chauvinism is not so bad as it used to be. They don't ask me anymore if I'm going to blow the world up during my period."



Photo by John Gray

Evelyn Reed

Noted feminist Evelyn Reed, a member of the SWP National Campaign Committee, spoke to more than 300 people at the University of Texas on the subject "Have Women Always Been the Second Sex?"

Another member of the SWP National Campaign Committee, Paul Boutelle, the 1968 SWP vice-presidential candidate, spoke on strategy for the Black liberation struggle to about 125 people at the University of Nebraska on March 10.

If you would like Boutelle or Reed to speak on your campus, contact the national campaign office at 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-4150.

— STEVE BEREN

Lindsay's record: racist and pro-war

By STEVE BEREN

Last summer, after 20 years as a Republican, John Lindsay, mayor of New York City, joined the Democratic Party. Claiming to be a fighter for the cities and an opponent of war, he is now a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination.

An examination of Lindsay's record indicates that his policies are not fundamentally different from the policies of previous Democratic and Republican administrations.

When Lindsay was in Congress, he supported civil rights legislation on the grounds that it would counter the growing nationalist movement among Black people: "Were it not for [the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts], the Negro revolution that is taking place in the country would be ten times as powerful, the unrest ten times as great." (1963 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 362.)

In the fall of 1968, Mayor Lindsay joined with the racist leadership of the United Federation of Teachers in opposing the right of Black control of Black education, including the right to hire and fire teachers.

After a local school board—set up by the city in the Black community of Ocean Hill-Brownsville as an "experiment" in community control—transferred 19 teachers for interfering with the experiment, Lindsay labeled the actions of the local board "illegal" and eventually suspended the board.



Lindsay— young image, old politics

In the spring of 1969, the state legislature passed a UFT-supported bill abolishing the experimental districts in Ocean Hill-Brownsville and two other areas.

Lindsay later wrote, "Because of an initial mistake of establishing these districts solely in black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods . . . the dispute took on ugly racial and religious overtones. . . . Black extremists resorted to anti-white and anti-Semitic epithets." (The City, p. 21, New American Library, 1970.)

Lindsay has explained his opposition to Black control of the Black community: "The basic question remains: Who will control the ghetto, the builders or the burners? I'll continue to do all I can to help the responsible people keep control." (Reader's Digest interview, August 1968.)

By "burners," Lindsay means "the young men and women of the ghettos, the cop-taunters and bottle-throwers who have been in the vanguard of almost every outbreak of trouble in the cities (and) constitute the most serious threat to law and order and to progress itself in our major cities . . ." (Redbook, July 1968.)

How does Lindsay think this "threat" should be met?

"Rapid deployment of police; swift dispersal of crowds; isolation and de-

tention of inciters; calm determination to restore order. . . . This is the kind of training we must encourage." (Life, September 27, 1968.)

Lindsay, as mayor, has added 4,000 police to the New York force, making it larger than the standing army of Denmark; raised police salaries; added an extra police platoon; and modernized police communications.

While Lindsay supports the use of the police force against the Black community, he opposes Black control of the police in the Black community, and he supports gun control legislation aimed at denying the right of self-defense to Afro-Americans.

Foreign policy

Lindsay supports an American foreign policy aimed at continuing American domination of the world, politically and economically.

Writing in the March 1964 Esquire, Lindsay praised the CIA for its ouster of the Mossadegh regime in Iran in 1953 ("The successful coup was of great benefit to the United States and the West.") and for having engineered the overthrow of "the virulently anti-American Arbenz regime in Guatemala. . . . But for the success of that coup, Soviet-directed communism in Latin America would presumably be far more entrenched than it is today."

Lindsay supported the U.S.-financed United Nations intervention in the Congo in the early 1960s. "What we are doing in supporting U.N. efforts in the Congo," Lindsay said, "is maintaining the right of the policeman to be on the beat." (1962 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 159.)

Lindsay voted in favor of economic sanctions against revolutionary Cuba, and voted in favor of authorizing the Kennedy administration to use troops for possible interventions against Cuba or East Germany and the Soviet Union.

Despite his claim to be an opponent of the war in Vietnam, Lindsay has always supported the overall aim of American domination of Asia and containment of China.

In 1959 and 1961, Congressman Lindsay voted for congressional resolutions opposing China's admission to the U.N.

In 1964, he voted for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which provided the legislative basis for U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Lindsay now claims that he has been opposed to the war since March 1965. This is not true. On May 5, 1965 and September 17, 1965, Lindsay voted for war appropriations.

At the 1968 Republican convention, Lindsay offered a proposal on the war (reprinted in Look, Aug. 20, 1968) that rejected "a solution . . . through . . . surrender." Lindsay proposed that the U.S. stop the bombing "in return for an agreement by the North Vietnamese that no military advantage would be taken of such a step. . . ." Lindsay also called upon North Vietnam to "1) stop providing rockets for attacks on cities; 2) stop seeking control of territory it does not now control; 3) launch no new offensives. . . ."

Despite his claim to represent "new priorities," Lindsay openly admits that his current opposition to the war is not an indication of opposition to the basic aims of imperialism:

"The rhetoric of 'domestic priorities' could become . . . misleading and dangerous. . . . Suggestions that the United States somehow resign from the world are . . . shortsighted and

Continued on page 22

What were the real issues at Paris world peace assembly?

By FRED HALSTEAD

MARCH 17—The World Assembly for Peace and Independence of Indochina held in Versailles Feb. 11-13 received worldwide attention and press coverage. The fact that more than 1,200 delegates from 84 countries participated made it an impressive show of opposition to the American aggression in Indochina.

The conference endorsed a series of spring antiwar actions in the United States, including the April 22 mass demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles. The resolution stated, "Throughout this electoral year, during which Nixon will run again for the presidency, the American antiwar movement will mount a steadily increasing campaign to raise forcefully the issues of the war and its domestic costs. This campaign will open in April with six weeks of action and demonstrations. . . ."

An appendix to the resolution listed the actions, including the April 1 action in defense of the Harrisburg Seven and Angela Davis, and the April 22 actions.

The resolution also called for "big multiform rallies and actions" to be held in other countries "simultaneously with the most important initiatives of the U.S. movement."

One hundred and forty Americans from a variety of organizations attended the conference and met with representatives of the Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian liberation struggles. This inspirational factor was noted in many underground and movement publications.

The most remarkable coverage of the Versailles conference, however, appeared in the pages of the *Daily World*, a newspaper that reflects the views of the American Communist Party. Its reports included slanderous and vituperative attacks against the leaders of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) for their attendance at the conference and for the role they played there.

William Pomeroy, the *Daily World's* European-based correspondent, opened this attack in the paper's Feb. 22 issue. This diatribe centered on the debate that occurred at the conference between representatives of NPAC and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ).

Pomeroy has a pat description for the discussions that took place. "Trotskyism," and not different proposals on how to conduct the antiwar struggle, was the problem! Here, word for word, is what he has to say:

"Having failed to ban or to sidetrack the Assembly, American imperialist intrigue then focused on one of its often-tried last resorts: to attempt to disrupt the Assembly with dissension. It is not surprising that the weapon for this maneuver was concealed in the large and rather unwieldy American delegation, in the person of certain Trotskyist adherents."

Not only does Pomeroy think that the Trotskyists are a big problem in the movement, but they are, in fact, agents of imperialism! In a subsequent article in the March 11 *Daily World Magazine*, he even attempts to link suspicions of CIA agents at the conference with NPAC's "disruptionist role."

Who, exactly, does the *Daily World* think it can influence by the repetition of these timeworn Stalinist slanders? Such tactics may have been useful to the American Communist Party in pulling the wool over the eyes of many American radicals during the Moscow purge trials of the 1930s. At that time the CP justified the murder of the majority of Lenin's original Bolshevik co-workers by vilifying them as "Trotskyite agents of imperialism."

This type of slander, however, has not carried much weight in the 1960s and 1970s.


Continuing his attack, Pomeroy writes in the Feb. 22 article, "First of the American Trotskyist bids upon arrival was the effort to precipitate controversy over the exclusion from the French delegation of the French Trotskyist-influenced Solidarity Front for Indochina [FSI]. The 48 diverse French organizations had agreed to exclude the SF [FSI] because of its past disruptive activities, although some organizations participating in the SF were present in the Assembly."

"The Assembly presidium squelched the disruptionist bid by insisting on the unarguable principle that since the Assembly was called to support the right of Indochinese peoples to decide their own affairs, no foreign delegation had the right to interfere in the affairs of the French delegation."

"American Trotskyists, present in the U.S. delegation as representing the National Peace Action Coalition, tried again and again, in caucus, in commission and in plenary session, to impose their own action proposals regardless of overwhelming majority decisions. In every case they were overwhelmingly rebuffed, to the extent that no ripple of dissension disturbed the main Assembly sessions."

Before going on to further attacks by the *Daily World*, let's get one fact straight. Pomeroy characterizes the National Peace Action Coalition, the foremost organizer of mass antiwar demonstrations in the United States, as a "Trotskyist" organization. This is false. It is not true that the six NPAC national coordinators in Versailles have become "certain Trotskyist adherents" who are "weapons" of "American imperialist intrigue." NPAC is a broad coalition of organizations and individuals and is open to all who want to organize mass actions against U.S. intervention in Indochina. The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance are among the most active supporters of NPAC.

ASSEMBLEE MONDIALE DE PARIS



Conference session in Versailles.

Pomeroy's attack upon NPAC was followed on Feb. 26 by another *Daily World* broadside, this time in an article by Donna Ristorucci entitled "Trotskyites' demands rejected at Versailles." The article is based on an interview with Mike Zagarell, who, Ristorucci explains, "represented the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and the Young Workers Liberation League" at Versailles.

Ristorucci says Zagarell told the *Daily World* that "U.S. Trotskyites representing the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) [tried] to split the U.S. delegation and disrupt the entire conference. . . ."

"The Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party (SWP) delegates," the article says, "tried to use two issues to split the conference—the non-participation [read: exclusion—F.H.] of the Front Solidaire [sic] Indochine (FSI), a French organization dominated by Trotskyites but also including Maoists, anarchists and radical pacifists, and the choice of dates for spring anti-war actions."

Zagarell goes on to explain that each delegation had a right to set up its own rules, and "the question of the FSI was considered an internal matter for the French movement." The FSI, he said, was not considered a "legitimate" part of the peace movement in France because of its "divisive tactics" such as "breaking windows, provoking police, etc."

The facts

What are the facts?

Those of us who were in the NPAC delegation welcomed the opportunity presented at Versailles to meet with representatives of movements around the world struggling against the war in Indochina, and particularly, with representatives of the Indochinese liberation movements themselves.

Even more important was the fact that an international antiwar conference had an obligation to call coordinated, worldwide mass actions built on a united-front basis involving all opponents of the war.

In the past, the gatherings convened by the Stockholm Conference have been rather cut-and-dried affairs hardly distinguished by effective calls to action or by constructive controversy or creative discussion. But this year's gathering was the first one devoted entirely to Indochina. That, in itself, represented a step forward.

As the NPAC delegates prepared to go to Paris, we became aware of a serious problem in the organization of the conference. Unlike conferences of the American antiwar movement, the Versailles conference was not organized on a nonexclusionary basis where all forces opposed to the war are invited to attend.

The Front Solidarite Indochine (FSI), had asked to attend the conference and to be listed as co-hosts (along with 48 other French organizations). Despite the fact that the FSI had organized the nationwide Nov. 6 demonstrations in solidarity with those held in the U.S. by NPAC and PCPJ, the French "welcoming committee" rejected this request under pressure from the massive French Communist Party.

The French CP's "problem" was that the Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International, participates in and supports the FSI. Since 1968, the French CP has refused to collaborate with the so-called "provocateurs" and "ultra-leftists" (especially the Trotskyists) who had galvanized France into action during the May-June events of 1968. The most recent example of this policy was the French CP's refusal to join the united-front protests against the Feb. 25 murder of a Maoist Renault worker by a company security guard—protests supported by the majority of the French radical organizations.

The application of this sectarian policy to the Versailles conference was pure and simple: exclude the Communist League and the Indochina Solidarity Front. Unfortunately, other French organizations and the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam acceded to this pressure.

This raised a critical question for the Versailles conference. If a united front of all forces is truly needed to help force the U.S. out of Indochina, what reason can there be to exclude any group willing to help with this? If political exclusion is used to deny the rights of one group, where would it end?

NPAC's position in Versailles was clear and straightforward: the FSI should be recognized as a "legitimate" and welcome part of the Versailles Assembly.

One glaring omission in the *Daily World's* coverage was its failure to report that many supporters of PCPJ, including some members of the Communist Party, also protested the FSI's exclusion at first. In fact, a preliminary meeting of the American delegation held in Paris on Wednesday night, Feb. 9, voted overwhelmingly to send an American delegation to the conference organizers to protest the exclusion.

Interestingly enough, there was only one representative of NPAC in this entire meeting! The other NPAC delegates had been delayed and had not yet arrived in Paris.

Unfortunately, by the time the conference opened on Friday, Feb. 11, the American protest delegation had become convinced that the exclusion of the FSI was a sealed matter and could not even be discussed in the conference. To do so, they said, would "embarrass the conference internationally" and "hurt the cause of the Vietnamese." Instead, they proposed to limit the American delegation's protest to closed meetings with the conference organizers.

This rationalization was not accepted by NPAC, nor was it accepted by a number of prominent French antiwar leaders attending the conference.

So much for the divisive role of NPAC on the matter of the FSI. The record speaks for itself. Those who supported political exclusion—including the French Communist Party, with the complicity of the PCPJ representatives—were being divisive, not those who opposed the exclusion.

What about Zagarell and Pomeroy's charge that the NPAC delegates "precipitated controversy" over "the choice of dates for spring antiwar actions?" At issue here was not "the choice" of dates for such actions, but whether there would be a call



Photo by Elie Kagan

NPAC contingent on Feb. 13 Paris demonstration at conclusion of Versailles peace conference. Daily World's slanderous attack tries to link NPAC with the CIA.

for mass demonstrations around the world *at all*.

The NPAC position was that the international situation calls for worldwide massive street demonstrations scheduled over a short enough period of time to have maximum impact and to focus the outrage of the world against U.S. intervention in Indochina.

We favored an international campaign culminating in massive actions in many countries on a given day or week.

No fetish about dates

We had no fetish about "whose date" (NPAC's or PCPJ's) international actions would be called for. NPAC purposely proposed the week of April 15-22 for international actions because it included both April 15 (a date called by PCPJ) and April 22 (a date called by NPAC).

The organizers of the conference had scheduled an Action Commission where these questions could be discussed, but they presented no proposal to this body. Instead, they expected the American delegation to produce an action proposal that could be adopted by the conference as a whole.

The proposal for a World Peace Week April 15-22 was first presented to the Action Commission by NPAC co-coordinator Ruth Gage-Colby. In the discussion that followed, many speakers, including French CP members and representatives of Eastern European countries, endorsed the NPAC proposal as obviously the most practical for an international call.

In the Action Commission's final meeting, Jerry Gordon of NPAC took the floor to summarize the April 15-22 action proposal. It was then opposed by a number of speakers associated with PCPJ. They counterposed a proposal for an April 1-May 15 six-week "period of international solidarity," with four activities taking place in the U.S., including the April 22 mass demonstrations.

It would seem that these two proposals could have been joined to produce a combined American proposal. But the PCPJ leaders were not willing to combine the two proposals or to include

in theirs a call for international mass demonstrations during the week of April 15-22 or on *any other specific day or week* in the spring.

Professor Sidney Peck of Howard University, a leader of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, was the coordinator of the American delegation. As such, the conference organizers looked to him to play the role of the "key American spokesperson" at the Versailles conference.

Peck, however, urged the Action Commission not to adopt or incorporate the April 15-22 proposal, saying that to do so "would be taking sides in a dispute in the American movement." He argued that the conference "should not interfere in internal affairs of the American movement" just as "we are all opposed to interference in the internal affairs of the Indochinese people." Peck concluded by begging the delegates in the Action Commission "not to impose unity on the American movement."

Peck was seconded by two other PCPJ leaders: Al Hubbard of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) and Paul Mayer of the Harrisburg Defense Committee. Hubbard characterized NPAC as "racist" and opposed the very idea of mass demonstrations, which he belittled as "once-a-year orgasms" that "Black people do not relate to."

The action proposals were then simply referred (without a vote) to those chairing the Action Commission. The final draft they presented to the Assembly the next day listed the four U.S. actions originally contained in the PCPJ proposal.

Jerry Gordon and Jim Lafferty, both co-coordinators of NPAC, attempted to take the floor in the final plenary session to urge the incorporation of a call for international actions on a specific day or week. The presiding committee denied their right to speak. This incident is what Pomeroy is describing when he reports that the presiding committee "squashed a disruptive bid" and that "no ripple of dissension disturbed the main Assembly sessions."

The behavior of some PCPJ leaders in Versailles was undoubtedly an abuse of the international

authority of the American antiwar movement. Rather than projecting a course of international mass actions, they opposed such a call, fearing it would "impose unity in the American movement"—in other words, lead to cooperation between PCPJ and NPAC in organizing mass actions in the U.S.

They were so preoccupied with their factional differences with NPAC—and with its mass-demonstration perspective—that they did not stop to think about the potential power of masses of people marching in the streets at the same time throughout the world.

Fortunately, antiwar forces in a number of countries are preparing for spring actions and are organizing broad coalitions for this purpose.

The final action resolution of the Versailles conference, if it were implemented by all antiwar forces around the world, could lead to impressive and massive demonstrations this spring. Furthermore, the decision of the conference to endorse activities called by both NPAC and PCPJ should be an important unifying factor in the U.S. antiwar movement.

The fact that a debate took place between NPAC and PCPJ in Versailles is not in any way harmful to the antiwar movement. Unity in the antiwar movement does not presuppose an absence of debate, contrary to Zagarell and Pomeroy's frenzied contributions to the pages of the *Daily World*.

What the antiwar movement requires is *unity in action*, where different organizations—often having different points of view—can *mobilize* people for mass actions that occur at the same time and place and on the same date.

What is yet to be seen is whether the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice will decide to support and build the April 22 mass antiwar demonstrations scheduled for New York and Los Angeles.

The March 11 national steering committee meeting of NPAC decided to support and actively build the April 1 demonstration to defend the Harrisburg Seven. This reaffirms its long-standing policy of defending persons victimized for their forthright opposition to the war.

However, a March 3 mailing from the national office of PCPJ contains the following statement in a postscript attached to a letter signed by five national coordinators of PCPJ: "Another factor in coming to a decision is the National Peace Action Coalition's call for mass demonstrations in L.A. and N.Y. on April 22. PCPJ has decided not to endorse that date."

Guardian supports April 22

Hopefully, this decision will be reconsidered. The arguments for a unified effort of the entire American antiwar movement were very well put in a Feb. 23 editorial in the *Guardian*, a radical news-weekly published in New York.

The *Guardian* said, "In addition to backing several actions that had been called by PCPJ, the [Paris] assembly also—and we think most importantly—supported the mass demonstrations to be held April 22 in New York City and Los Angeles under NPAC's auspices."

"At question is whether the April 22 demonstrations will enjoy the full support of the entire U.S. antiwar movement."

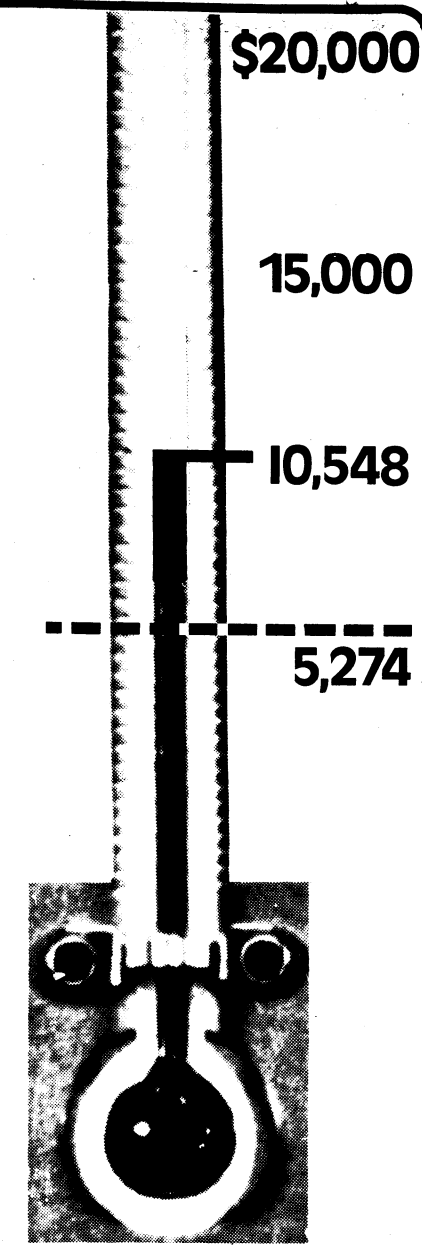
"In listing its calendar of activities for the spring recently, PCPJ significantly avoided mentioning the April 22 protests. This was, obviously, no mere oversight but an indication of PCPJ's antagonism toward NPAC. (On Nov. 6, the date of the last big antiwar protests, the People's Coalition at least gave token support to the demonstrations—which were basically organized by NPAC—and in a few cities extended its full backing.)"

"We hope that the enthusiasm engendered by the assembly meeting convinces PCPJ cadre and leadership to take their heads out of the sand long enough to understand the objective political—if not necessarily organizational—requirement for antiwar unity at this crucial point in the development of the peace movement. . . ."

"The only conclusion they can come up with that is consistent with the needs of the Indochinese and American peoples is to join enthusiastically with NPAC and the entire antiwar movement in building April 22."

Indeed, it is the obligation of the American antiwar movement—all sections of it—to set a worldwide example of unity in mass action.

This approach will be the only principled and effective one until every last American troop, bomber, and military installation is out of Indochina, and the last trace of American interference in the internal affairs of the Indochinese peoples has been ended.



\$20,000 Campaign Matching Fund Fund drive reaches halfway mark

The Socialist Campaign Matching Fund passed the \$10,000 mark this week. The \$1,684 that came into the national campaign office was matched by the California campaign supporter who has offered to match all contributions to the Jenness-Pulley campaign, up to \$10,000. The total raised is \$5,274, and when matched, it is \$10,548.

The present pace must be maintained if the campaign is to successfully meet the \$20,000 goal by April 14, the concluding date of the drive.

Your help is needed. You can contribute to the Socialist Campaign Matching Fund by returning the attached coupon with your donation to the national campaign office.

() I can contribute \$... to the \$20,000 Matching Fund
() I can contribute \$... to the Matching Fund at the rate of \$... per month between now and November.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Mail to: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Campaign fund drive reaches \$10,000

By SYD STAPLETON

The drive to raise \$20,000 for the Jenness-Pulley campaign reached the halfway mark this week. More than \$5,000 has now been donated to the campaign and matched with an equal amount by a California campaign supporter who has offered to match all contributions, up to \$10,000. The drive lasts until April 14, making these last weeks critical for reaching the \$20,000 goal.

Besides the contributions from the California supporter, the largest single source of income in the drive has come from donations in response to ads in *The Militant* and to mailings and other appeals from the national SWP campaign office. Another significant source of income has been the collections taken at rallies and banquets for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. The national campaign office receives 40 percent of such collections, and that 40 percent is applied to the matching fund.

Campaign manager Larry Seigle reports that "Income from the Matching Fund has already helped the campaign in several areas of work. It has helped us expand our national coordination of efforts to get Jenness and Pulley on the ballot, and has covered travel expenses for Tom Vernier, who will be working with state campaign committees on ballot work. Matching Fund income has enabled us to restock our supplies of literature, including printing 150,000 new brochures, and has been a major factor in paying off campaign bills for printing, telephone, and other services. It has also given us the flexibility to be able to do things like our recent mailing to 5,000 campaign supporters to aid in building CHOICE '72."

One contributor to the Matching Fund wrote, "I was moved to give this contribution by the attractive matching feature of the present fund raising campaign. Tell the generous donor who is matching these contributions that I originally intended to give \$100 but was convinced to give \$200 by the fact that it would be worth \$400 to the Jenness and Pulley campaign."

Pulley speaks on Gary parley

By NINURE SANDERS

CHICAGO—More than 150 people attended a rally on March 18 to hear Andrew Pulley and Illinois Socialist Workers Party candidates. The rally was part of a Midwest Socialist Campaign Conference held in Chicago.

Pulley drew an enthusiastic response from the audience. Describing the recent Black Political Convention held in Gary, Ind., he said "Despite the fact that there was a widespread desire among those attending for an independent Black party, the Democratic and Republican hacks did everything in their power to quash this step from being taken at that convention."

Other speakers at the rally included Patricia Grogan, SWP candidate for

governor of Illinois; Norman Oliver, running for Cook County state's attorney on the SWP ticket; and Suzanne Haig, SWP candidate for attorney general. A collection taken at the rally raised \$1,654 for the campaign.

The conference also featured Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley and Women for Jenness and Pulley workshops, and discussions on getting the SWP candidates on the ballot in the Midwest, supporting the Committee on Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), distributing campaign literature, and reaching the press.

In the first four days of his Midwest tour, Pulley has spoken to 275 students at three high schools, appeared on four radio shows, and has been interviewed by two newspapers, including *Muhammad Speaks*.

Campus leaders run for Regent in Colo.

DENVER—Barbara Hennigan, a leader of the recent free-speech fight at the University of Colorado, Denver Center, has announced her candidacy for UC board of regents on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Hennigan played an active role in helping win the right of all political organizations to leaflet and sell literature on the UCDC campus.

The Colorado SWP is also running Jon Hillson for board of regents. Hillson was a leader of the student strike in May 1970 at the University of Colorado in Boulder.

Three days after the launching of his campaign, Hillson addressed a meeting of 400 UC Boulder students. The meeting had been called to discuss the recent board of regents decision to reinstate ROTC as a credit course. (UC students won the removal of ROTC credit during the May 1970 strike.) The regents have also granted retroactive credit for all ROTC courses taken during the last two years.

Hillson explained to the crowd the importance of defending the gains made by students during the 1970 upsurge. The struggle against ROTC, he pointed out, clearly demonstrates the existence of strong antiwar sentiment on the campuses.

Striking Texas bus drivers hear Jenness

By STEPHEN FUCHS

AUSTIN, March 19—Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, spoke to a meeting of 50 striking bus drivers from the University of Texas (UT) shuttle bus system during her campaign stop here March 16-19. The drivers, who have been on strike for about a month, are demanding safer buses and recognition of their union, the Amalgamated Transit Union. Jenness spoke against the government wage controls, the threatened use of antiunion legislation, and for the need to form a labor party based on the trade unions.

She urged a meeting of more than

200 students on the UT campus to vote in the IMPACT '72 polls, currently being conducted on campuses throughout the state. Fifty people attended a reception for Jenness following the meeting. More than 30 students signed cards endorsing the campaign and 5 asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

At Southwestern University, a school of 800 in Georgetown, Texas, 100 students turned out to hear Jenness. She also spoke to several high school classes and at a city-wide high school campaign meeting in Austin, where 7 students asked to join the YSA.

Jenness spoke at an antiwar rally sponsored by the Austin Student Mobilization Committee and received the most enthusiastic response given any of the speakers.

The extensive media coverage of Jenness' tour here included three articles in the UT student newspaper, reports on all three local TV stations, and an appearance on the half-hour "Inter-vue" TV program.

The presidential candidate's three-day tour in the area netted 70 new campaign endorsers and \$700 in honorariums.

Debates highlight Miller's tour in D.C.; Va.

By CALVIN GODDARD

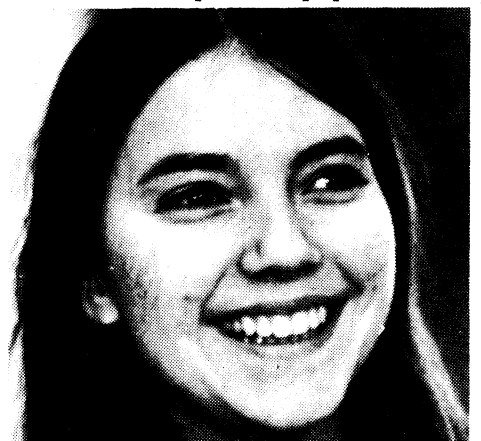
WASHINGTON, D. C.—Laura Miller, a national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, began a week-long tour here by debating Ann Bryant, a spokeswoman for Shirley Chisholm, at the Washington, D. C., Militant Forum on March 10. Sixty-five people attended.

At Cardozo High School Miller engaged in another debate before an audience of 200. She shared the platform with student supporters of Muskie and McGovern. Students booed loudly when the Muskie supporter stated that he was for the Maine senator because he wanted to back a "winner."

One hundred fifty students at Yorktown High School in Arlington, Va., heard Miller, and two students asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance. At Marshall High in Falls Church, Va., where Andrew Pulley was denied permission to speak just two weeks ago, Miller spoke to an after-school meeting of students.

Miller's other meetings included talks at Parkdale High School in Riverdale, Md.; Old Dominion College in Norfolk, Va.; and Community College of Baltimore, where seven Afro-Americans signed cards endorsing the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

Miller's tour here ended March 17 with a two-hour debate with supporters of McGovern, McCarthy, and the People's Party at George Washington University. During her tour Miller was interviewed by United Press International (UPI), the Washington *Daily News*, and campus newspapers.



Laura Miller

Photo by Ed Shaw

CHOICE '72 vote in Madison this week

By SANDRA MAXFIELD

NEW YORK, March 20—Thirty-four thousand students at the University of Wisconsin at Madison will have the opportunity to vote in a CHOICE '72 presidential poll on March 28. The Wisconsin Student Association has invited all nationally recognized presidential candidates to speak at an Election '72 Symposium scheduled for March 26. So far, according to CHOICE '72 organizers, Linda Jenness and George McGovern have agreed.

Plans are underway on campuses and in high schools across the country to hold CHOICE '72 polls in response to a letter issued March 10 by 13 leaders of student and youth organizations (see *The Militant*, March 24). The letter called for CHOICE '72 polls on all the presidential candidates and on key political issues, to be held on college campuses and in high schools this spring.

Students in Texas have already begun voting in IMPACT '72, a similar poll being conducted on 25 campuses in the state. SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness, who is presently touring Texas, said in a March 16 release to the press: "One of the main reasons I am coming to Texas at this time is to urge students to turn out to vote in IMPACT '72 and to urge a big student vote for the Socialist Workers candidates. . . .

"In addition to voting for me . . . I urge the students of Texas to vote for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia, for total repeal of the abortion laws, and for granting 18-year-olds full equal rights."

Three special four-page *Militant* supplements on the Socialist Workers Party election campaign are still available: "SWP Campaign Launches Biggest Election Campaign in Its History," "SWP 1972 Campaign Off and Running," and "George McGovern Replies to the SWP Campaign." Supplements are two cents each or \$1 for 100. Order from SWP 1972 Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

In Ohio, Miami University, Case Western Reserve University, Ohio State University, and Cuyahoga Community College are planning CHOICE '72 polls. The student government at Cuyahoga is also sponsoring National Speakers' Debates to which presidential candidates or their representatives will be invited in conjunction with CHOICE '72.

The student council at Wiley Junior High School in Cleveland has voted

to organize a CHOICE '72 poll.

California endorsers of CHOICE '72 include the Northern California youth coordinators for Muskie, McGovern, Lindsay, Humphrey, and Jenness; Larry Seidman, president of the Associated Students of the University of California at Berkeley; Larry Diamond of the Stanford University Council of Presidents; Ken Maley, San Francisco State Associated Students president; Jerry Beaulieu, president of the California Community College Journalism Association; and Pat Harrington, assistant coordinator of the California Marijuana Initiative.

The Northern California endorsers have sent a letter to student body presidents and officers, and campus newspaper editors, along with the national CHOICE '72 letter, urging them to sponsor and organize CHOICE '72 as part of their spring student government elections. Seven referendum questions, dealing with the war in Southeast Asia, abortion laws, laws against homosexuals, capital punishment, the Angela Davis case, the environment, and marijuana laws were included on the sample ballot sent out by the endorsers.

Dean Reed of the Northern California Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley reports that the YSJP plans to ask the board of education in San Francisco and Berkeley to sponsor CHOICE '72 in the high schools.

On March 14, the statewide results of presidential preference polls taken at 15 California colleges during the past two months were announced. Linda Jenness received 330 votes, more than Jackson, Yorty, Hartke, Ashbrook, and Wallace, and only slightly less than Humphrey, who received 375 votes. George McGovern led the poll with 4,208 votes. The March 15 *San Francisco Chronicle*, reporting on the poll, stated: "Not many voters know the name of Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers party candidate, but at San Francisco State College she drew 62 votes to 21 for Humphrey and nine for Jackson."

Other campuses planning CHOICE '72 polls include West Virginia University in Morgantown and the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. The Pennsylvania youth coordinator of the George McGovern campaign has endorsed the poll.

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley are helping to organize CHOICE '72 on campuses and in high schools. Campaigning for the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party candidates, the YSJP is arranging debates, symposiums, and radio and newspaper coverage to get out the vote for Jenness and Pulley this spring.

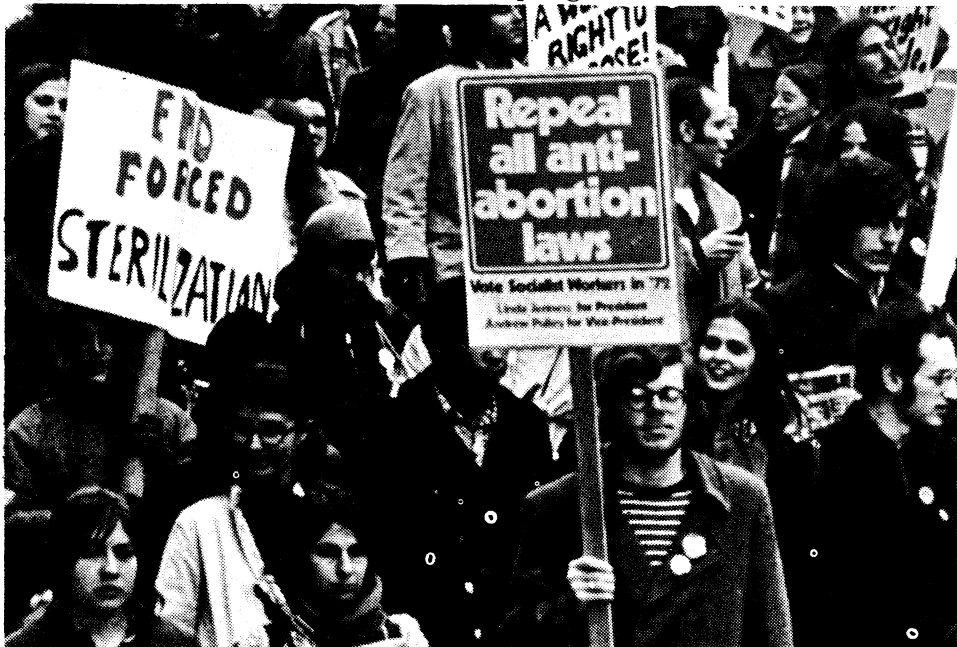


Photo by Ellen Lemisch

Campaign supporter carries SWP poster on Nov. 20, 1971, abortion law repeal demonstration in Washington, D.C. The YSJP is urging students to vote for repeal of the abortions laws in CHOICE '72 referendums.

Southwest team leads endorser drive

By JANICE LYNN

The national field teams of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley have gathered 846 endorser cards signed by Jenness-Pulley supporters as of this week. The Southwest YSJP team has obtained 355 of these endorsers, with the largest number, 72, coming from the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. Since the beginning of the endorser drive last fall, Martin Rothman, Southwest team member, has signed up 318 new campaign supporters. In Southern California, Arizona, and New Mexico, six students have joined the Young Socialist Alliance as a result of this team's efforts.

Henry Scheer, team captain, reports that "Even national convention delegates for the Democratic and Republican candidates have been open to the Socialist Workers campaign. The questions we are asked most often, however, are 'What's the use of running in elections if Jenness can't win?' And, 'Won't this be throwing my vote

in a public debate. He writes, "At Syracuse University a debate had been set up with the Students for McGovern, but after they saw all the publicity the YSJP put out, they backed down. The only strong supporter of McGovern we ran into was at Colgate University in Hamilton, N.Y. He was a reader of *The Militant* who said he was 'giving the system just one more chance' and if the system blew that chance, he would join the socialists."

Jeannie Reynolds, captain of this team, reports that a number of the leaders of the Gay Freedom League in Syracuse have become endorsers of the Jenness-Pulley campaign. In Buffalo, members of the Mattachine Society, a gay rights organization, also endorsed the campaign. One of

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party 1972 election campaign are petitioning from March 27-April 8 to place Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley on the New Jersey ballot. Eight hundred signatures must be filed by April 27 to qualify for ballot status. Campaign supporters intend to get 2,400 signatures.

If you want to help in this effort, contact: Bob and Ann Redrup, 4607 New Brunswick, Piscataway, N.J. 08854. Telephone: (201) 968-1583.

them will be helping to form a YSJP group at the State University of New York at Buffalo. The Gay Liberation Front there sponsored the YSJP campaign table and a talk by team member Kendall Green.

When told that the SWP will be collecting 35,000 signatures this summer to get on the ballot in New York State, supporters in Buffalo indicated they would be sure to do their share.

The Southern YSJP team has concluded its tour of campuses in Florida. Debbye Chlosta reports that at the University of Florida in Gainesville, Shirley Chisholm avoided questions about her position on abortion. Chlosta writes, "Chisholm would not come out and say that any woman should be granted an abortion, and many of the women felt that her refusal to commit herself brought into question her claim of being 'unbought and unbossed.'"

In the state of Washington, the Northwest YSJP team reports that they have set up active groups of campaign supporters at Washington State University in Pullman and at Central Washington State College in Ellensburg.

The Midwest team of campaign travelers began touring campuses in Iowa and Nebraska last week, while the Afro-American team is continuing its visits to Black schools in Alabama and Georgia.



Photo by B.R. Washington

SWP campaign table at the Gary National Black Political Convention, March 10-12. The Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley field team joined other campaign supporters at the convention.

away?' We then explain that socialists participate in elections in order to educate masses of people about our politics and the need for fundamental social change. We also explain that the 'wasted votes' are the votes for the Democrats and Republicans, as they are the ones who support the evils of this system. We have convinced hundreds of people to support the only campaign that presents a real alternative in 1972, the Socialist Workers campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley."

Ernie Harsch, a member of the YSJP team traveling in New York State, reports that it is very difficult to locate any supporters of McGovern who are willing to defend their candidate

Initial victory won in Calif. election suit

SAN FRANCISCO—The district court of appeals here heard a suit March 9 challenging California's candidate filing fees. The fees range from 1 to 2 percent of the salary of the office sought.

Sandy Knoll, SWP candidate for county supervisor, is a plaintiff in the suit.

Knoll is also seeking to end the practice requiring all candidates to pay for the publication of a statement about their campaign in a booklet that is sent to registered California voters.

Attorneys for Knoll argued at the hearing that such fees discriminate against persons who cannot afford

to pay a fee to run for office.

After hearing the arguments the three-judge panel set a second hearing for March 28. They indicated that they wanted to study several recent rulings on filing-fee cases.

The U.S. Supreme Court decided Feb. 24 that filing fees for primary candidates in Texas were unconstitutional. Its written decision, however, has been recently interpreted by some courts as upholding the right of a state to impose "reasonable" filing fees.

The court has permitted Knoll to receive nominating papers without paying the filing fee pending a decision.

The following statement, dated Feb. 23, is Ernest Mandel's reply to the decision of the West Berlin Senate denying him appointment as a professor at the Free University of Berlin. (See *The Militant*, March 24.) Mandel, a prominent Marxist economist from Belgium and a leader of the international socialist party, the Fourth International, was barred appointment on Feb. 22. The declaration denying his appointment made it clear that the Senate did not question his scholarly qualifications but opposed his political activities and views. Since this action, Mandel has been barred from entering West Germany.

justice through the establishment of a classless society free of violence. It would be interesting to know whether, in the opinion of the West Berlin Senate, the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism is to be defined as contrary to the constitution. Should this be the case, then the Senate would have to set up a procedure for the dissolution of the DGB [Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund — German Union Federation], whose Munich declaration of principles calls for the transfer of the means of production to social ownership, which actually prepares for an end to capitalism.

Workers government

4) Another argument for the unconstitutionality of the Fourth International

All these leading representatives of the German workers' movement advocated the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the installation of a state form like that of the Paris Commune—that is, a democratic workers' republic, which the Fourth International works toward today. What a wing of the West Berlin SPD has committed, therefore, in the decision of February 22, is an ideological patricide without precedent in the European history of ideas; for the West Berlin Senate would today bar all these leaders of the German workers' movement from carrying out teaching activities in the Free University.

5) The West Berlin Senate has sought its chief witnesses from other

ideas, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press.

Concession to the right

6) Thus this decision is not only a disgrace, it is moreover an unequaled political stupidity. It is a concession by the SPD to the uninterrupted pressure of the right in the Federal Republic of Germany against the presence of Marxists in the educational field. But basic democratic rights cannot be "assured" only 75 or 66 percent of the time; they are granted as a whole or else they begin to break down. When members of the SPD themselves speed up this process, they forget in a flippant and criminal manner the lesson of history: For no one knows where this process will some day end. Must I remind the West Berlin Senate that all Social Democratic organizations and newspapers were banned once already as "Marxist" during the Third Reich? If all organizations of the workers' movement do not cooperate to guarantee all the basic democratic rights, then the big capitalists and their agents can use the salami-tactic [cutting off one at a time — *IP*] on the workers' organizations and isolate them and smash them one after the other. At least the French Social Democrats understand this better than their West German colleagues, since they have been very active recently in defense of all basic rights for our French comrades of the Ligue Communiste. Rumors are already flying thick and fast in West Berlin about the next people to be fired. Several members of the SPD have already been mentioned.

7) We await with curiosity the opinion of the "emergency association" [an informal group of professors to defend "freedom of teaching and research"]. For here is a clear case where the "freedom of teaching and research" will be injured. Should the "emergency association" not attack the decision of the West Berlin Senate, then it will be definitively unmasked as an advocate not of freedom of teaching but of a monopoly of teaching by only one intellectual current—that is, unmasked as an advocate of the suppression of freedom.

8) The real question is the rigid prevention of any Marxist studies, presented by Marxists themselves, in the universities. At first it was said that there were no scientifically qualified Marxists. But after Senator Stein explicitly acknowledged that I am competent, now it is objected that polit-

Ernest Mandel has been banned because of his political views from the United States, Switzerland, France, and Australia, in addition to West Germany. In the U.S., a suit challenging the constitutionality of the ban has been initiated by eight prominent academic figures from leading universities. A federal district court ruled in Mandel's favor. The government appeal is presently before the U.S. Supreme Court, which has agreed to rule on the case during its current term.

Contributions to the defense—which emphasizes the democratic right of Americans to hear all ideas, including those of Mandel—should be sent to: The Mandel Case Legal Defense Fund/ National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 25 E. 26 St., New York, N.Y. 10010.

ically active Marxists cannot be appointed. Since, however, political practice is an integral component of Marxism, it means that any appointment of real Marxists is excluded. Lastly, the West Berlin Senate proves in this way that it is an opponent of a really pluralistic university. At the same time

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Ernest Mandel answers West Berlin Senate

From Intercontinental Press

1) The decision of the West Berlin Senate to refuse my appointment to the Free University on the grounds of my membership in the Fourth International represents a clear departure from the principles of the rule of law on the part of the West Berlin SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands — Social Democratic party of Germany] leadership. For these principles assure that no one can be discriminated against if he has not been found guilty of an offense or a crime. Collective discriminatory measures against members of any ideological, religious, or racial minority destroy law for the sake of arbitrariness that justifies itself only by the needs of the state.

It begins with the so-called radical left minority, then come those with Jewish grandmothers, then it is against strike agitators or any agitation in the press, and it ends finally with all those who are in any way disagreeable to the local petty official.

Fortunately things have not yet gone this far, but the first steps in this direction have been taken. A witch-hunt of a McCarthyite character is beginning. It can only be continued further if an army of agents and informers is set upon the left in order to "prove" membership in an organization if membership is not "confessed." All of public life can be poisoned through such practices.

2) I know of no decision by the constitutional court that defines the Fourth International as unconstitutional in the Federal Republic of Germany. Consequently, the executive is here permitting itself to anticipate judicial decisions and at the same time, by that means, to greatly influence them. Not only is an entire group defined as guilty without being charged and without being allowed to defend themselves, but the possibility of any kind of objective legal decision is prevented from the beginning. This also is a clear break with the principles of the rule of law.

3) The alleged unconstitutionality of the Fourth International is traced, according to their view, to wanting to overthrow the "liberal-democratic basic order." That is a crude lie. In no programmatic document of the Fourth International is there talk of a struggle against any "liberal-democratic basic order"; the West Berlin Senate is unable to quote a single line in relation to this. This whole argument only has sense if "liberal-democratic basic order" is synonymous with capitalist exploitation in the eyes of the Senate.

We do indeed wish to overthrow this exploitation, just as we want to attain the abolition of every form of social inequality, oppression, and in-

al, according to the Senate, is its stand for a government of workers' councils. The Senate—which has taken such trouble to become knowledgeable on the statutes of the Fourth International—should have concerned itself somewhat more thoroughly with its programmatic literature. There it would discover that, according to our view, a workers' council government is only possible with the active support of the great majority of those who live from wages—that is, an absolute majority of the people of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Senate would further discover that we are for a multiple-party system with political opposition parties, with

countries. It wants to prove the "subversive intrigues of Ernest Mandel" by the fact that he has been expelled from the U.S.A., France, and Switzerland. What the Senate by no means adds is that 350 public figures in Switzerland—among them particularly fifteen Social Democratic members of Parliament (National Council), as well as numerous trade-union leaders—protested against this expulsion decision made by a minister of police who was well known during the war as a notorious anti-Semite; that a federal court of the U.S.A. defined the expulsion order as unconstitutional (at the present time there is an appeal by the U.S. government against this



Photo from Der Spiegel

Mandel being interviewed in his Brussels home by reporters from Der Spiegel, a widely read West German weekly news-magazine.

broader freedom of the press, assembly, and association than today, because not only should these basic rights be granted to all working people, but material means for implementation of these rights must also be provided. From this flows an interesting question about the "liberal-democratic basic order" that the Senate pretends to defend against the Fourth International. For the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany both defends the basic rights, at least formally, and, in the interpretation of the West Berlin Senate, at the same time protects the capitalist social order. What happens, then, if the majority of the people, in the exercise of their basic rights, declare themselves for the abolition of this social order? That is exactly the situation we are working toward. In this case, should the basic political rights be sacrificed on the altar of the golden calf, or should the golden calf be sacrificed on the altar of basic political rights? The Senate has apparently come out on the side of the golden calf, since it reproaches us for a break with a "liberal-democratic basic order."

The Senate's definition of hostility to the constitution would apply not only to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, August Bebel, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, but prior to 1923 also to Karl Kautsky, Rudolf Hilferding, and Rudolf Breitscheid.

ruling before the highest court of the U.S.A.) and that this expulsion has been protested by numerous well-known professors such as Professor Wassily Leontief and Professor [Kenneth] Galbraith, and by numerous newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. The same applies to the expulsion order in France, only to a much greater degree.

By this action the West Berlin SPD leadership places itself far to the right not only of the Swiss Social Democrats and world-famous American and French intellectuals, but also even to the right of American bourgeois daily newspapers and American judges.

The monstrosity of thus hiding behind the fig leaf of foreign authorities lies in the fact that the Senate declaration explicitly emphasizes that my expulsion from these countries was not on account of any punishable behavior but rather on account of "agitational and educational activities"—that is, on account of the exercise of elementary rights such as freedom of speech. That the Senate can maintain in the same breath that it defends the "liberal-democratic basic order" that is supposedly opposed by me, but can only charge me explicitly with the defense of my views in speech and writing, is striking proof of which side is actually threatened by freedom of

Black activist, Gary Lawton, fights for bail

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Utilizing the precedent established when Angela Davis was freed on bail, attorneys are now trying to win bail for Gary Lawton, a Black activist being held on charges of murdering two policemen in an ambush. Until California's death penalty was recently voided, bail could be denied in cases involving capital offenses.

Lawton has been imprisoned without bail since last May in Riverside, a city about 50 miles from Los Angeles. A center of the orange industry, Riverside has a population of about 140,000. Some 20 percent are Black and Chicano, and the town is run by hard-bitten white racists.

The indictment of Lawton came as a shock to the Black community. The idea of his being involved in such a killing goes contrary to everything they know about him, and police "evidence" was so incredibly flimsy that initially it was assumed that Lawton would not be indicted.

Recently, Lawton's wife, Chukia Lawton, came to Los Angeles for discussion of the case with the movement press. The group interview, in which this reporter participated, was broadcast by listener-sponsored radio station KPFK to help get the facts of this victimization out to the public.

The story told by Chukia Lawton illustrated Malcolm X's observation that for Black people "the South" is everything south of the Canadian border.

Riverside's Black and Chicano communities, she said, suffer the same kind of insult and injury as in all other American cities. And, as in other cities, resistance to oppression has been developing. Her husband, an ex-Marine, emerged as a spokesman for the Black community soon after his return from service. One of his initial activities was a 1968 effort to have the name of a park in the Black community named after Martin Luther King Jr. as a memorial to the slain civil rights leader. This proposal to the city council evoked a furious response from local racists and was successfully blocked by them.

The Lawtons and others established a group called the Black Congress, which organized opposition to police brutality, slum housing, and exploitation by white merchants. Anger at the racist resistance reached a peak in the summer of 1970, when police provoked a confrontation in the Black community. A highway patrol car was turned over, several guns were taken from it, and the car was burned.

About eight months later, on April 2, 1971, two cops were shot in what police described as an ambush. Police moved into the Black community with a massive force. Roadblocks were established, and residents were stopped for searches at gunpoint.

Among those stopped and searched by police—a good distance from the scene of the shooting—was Gary Lawton. He was released when a report on the patrol-car radio advised that the suspects were four whites and a Black with an

Afro. Lawton is partially bald. By the next morning the description was changed to three Black youths, between the ages of 16 and 20, all with Afros, and one white youth. Lawton is 31.

Yet two days later, police picked Lawton up for questioning. He underwent several voluntary lie-detector tests, passing them all. Then, on May 19, six weeks after the killing, police arrested him.

He was arraigned on two counts of murder after a preliminary hearing where the case against him was flimsy to the point of being preposterous.

Two young Black men, whom many in the community have suspected of being police informers and narcotics addicts, testified they had taken guns



Chukia Lawton

Photo by Harry Ring

from the police car during the confrontation a year before. One of these guns was reportedly found at the scene of the shooting of the two cops. The two witnesses testified that one of them—they couldn't agree which one—had sold the gun to Lawton some months before the killing of the cops. No evidence was presented that the gun, which Lawton flatly denies buying, was actually used in the shooting.

There apparently were no direct witnesses to the shooting, but several people testified to seeing the suspects leaving the scene. Their testimony varied and conflicted, but none of them described anyone remotely resembling Lawton. A Black sergeant from the sheriff's office was among those testifying to seeing the suspects flee the scene. He said he knew Lawton and that Lawton was not among those he saw.

Beginning at the preliminary hearing where Lawton was arraigned, there has been a systematic police campaign of intimidation designed to thwart the development of a defense movement.

At the arraignment, police with riot guns were stationed on the roof of the courthouse. Those entering the courtroom were searched and made to produce identification. Often people were kept waiting while their identification was sent to the police to see if they were "wanted." Women wearing wigs were forced to remove them. Chukia Lawton said she was subjected to a virtual scalp massage by a matron and was then told to remove her "wig."

In the days following the arraignment a defense committee was formed. Since then, two of those active in the committee have been fired from their jobs. Chukia Lawton has been harassed by the police. Once she was arrested for failure to "disperse." The charge was so outlandish that a judge quickly ordered her acquitted.

Perhaps as a result of all this, she says, the local NAACP and other moderate groups have been hesitant to enter the case. It has been difficult to counter the lynch campaign directed against her husband by the local daily, the *Riverside Press Enterprise*.

Lawton has been subjected to brutal treatment in prison. Although he has not been convicted of anything, he is held in a maximum-security section. For several weeks last winter, the heating system was broken in that area of the jail. Chukia Lawton said her husband was so hoarse when she visited him that he could hardly speak. Other prisoners, he told her, were suffering heavy colds, and some had come down with pneumonia.

The defense has sought, unsuccessfully, to get a change of venue on the basis that the campaign of vilification against Lawton in the local paper made it impossible for him to get a fair trial.

But when the prosecution moved for a change of venue on "security" grounds, the case was ordered transferred to Indio, a reactionary, wealthy resort town in the desert. The trial is slated to begin in July, some 14 months after Lawton was jailed.

Two Black Riverside youth have also been arrested in connection with the shooting. One is charged with making the phone call that lured the police to the scene of the shooting; the other with being an "accomplice." The charge of "conspiracy to commit murder" has been added to the murder charge against Lawton.

The defense committee desperately needs money for court expenses and for its efforts to rally support behind Lawton. Contributions may be sent to: Gary Lawton Defense Committee, c/o Chukia Lawton, 2538 Pleasant St., Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Concluding the KPFK discussion of the case, Chukia Lawton said: "Many, many things have gone down. But the main thing is that my husband and many others in this country are truly political prisoners. They are not there because they committed crimes, but because they have spoken out and tried to help other oppressed people."

Chicanos strike Romana Banuelos' factory

By WALTER LIPPMANN

LOS ANGELES—President Nixon assumed that the appointment of Romana Acosta Bañuelos as Treasurer of the United States would persuade some Chicanos that they had a representative in his administration. He might even have thought that this would include the workers at her food plant in suburban Gardena. (Not counting, of course, those seized at the plant shortly after the announcement of her appointment and deported to Mexico for lack of residency documents.)

One thing is clear now. Bañuelos isn't likely to win votes for anyone among the workers at her plant. They're on strike against sweatshop wages and working conditions.

More than 200 workers at Romana's Mexican Food Products went on strike March 8, three months after their last contract expired. According to Rosa Perés, a young woman who makes tamales at the plant, a major demand is the 40-hour week. Many workers get only three or four hours' work a day at \$1.95 an hour. Their union, Teamsters Local 630, is also

demanding a 50-cent-an-hour wage increase, longer vacations, and dues checkoff.

Work is being speeded up considerably on the production line. Rosa Perés says that workers who have been making 17 dozen burritos in 45 minutes in the past are now told to make that many in 15 minutes. Many workers have quit, unable to keep up with the new pace. Some can't last more than a few hours.

The company, which does an annual business of \$6-million, subjects women workers to humiliating purse searches, suspecting they might be stealing a few tacos.

Ramona's has resisted wage demands on the grounds that they violate the 5.5 percent Pay Board guideline. In addition, company attorney George Jensen told reporters "it would cost \$10,000 for us to get new office machines if we have to start the dues checkoff, and I found out in Washington that the cost of these machines would be counted as part of the workers' 5.5 percent raise which the Pay Board would approve."

The workers, mostly Chicanos, are determined to win substantial gains.

Christopher Hernandez, a young truck driver at Romana's, said that Chicano community groups have come to the strikers' aid. Casa Mapa, Casa Hernandez, Casa Hermanidad, and La Raza Unida Party have joined

the picket line and offered material aid to the striking workers.

The strikers welcome support to maintain the picket lines outside the plant at 13633 S. Western Ave. in Gardena.



Photo by Walter Lippmann

Striking Teamsters, Local 630, in front of Romana's Mexican Food Products factory

The Maoist record: reply to the Guardian

By TONY THOMAS

Editorials in the March 1, 8, and 22 issues of the *Guardian*, a radical newspaper published in New York, voice sharp criticisms of the views expressed by *The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party on the meaning of Nixon's recent trip to China.

The *Guardian* states in its March 22 "Viewpoint" column that "The Socialist Workers Party is continuing to spread poison propaganda about fancied 'deals' between People's China and U.S. imperialism as a result of President Nixon's journey to Peking." The March 1 *Guardian* claims that this view is "nonsense" and represents "hysterical slanders against China." The *Guardian* even claims it prefers the old-time imperialist opponents of the Chinese workers state to *The Militant's* revolutionary-socialist criticisms. The March 1 "Viewpoint" editorial column states: "there are moments when these parties of the left make us nostalgic for the old China Lobby." (The China Lobby was the name given the virulent anti-Communist circles that demanded the U.S. government take a harder line against China during the 1950s and 1960s.)

Articles appearing in *The Militant* over the past few months analyzing the meaning of the improvement of relations between the U.S. and China have described the actions of China's Maoist leaders. The *Guardian's* analysis is based solely on what the Chinese leaders have said.

In defending our contention that an agreement might have been made between Nixon and Mao to attempt to settle the Indochina war, *The Militant* has pointed to Mao's record in Bangladesh, Ceylon, Indonesia, and elsewhere. We also documented how China twice helped to force the Indochinese people to make settlements at the conference table that left portions of Indochina under capitalist and imperialist control. These were the 1954 Geneva accords that laid the basis for the development of the Diem, Ky, and Thieu puppet regimes in South Vietnam and the 1962 agreements "neutralizing" Laos.

The *Guardian* editors, however, refuse to deal seriously with China's record in these affairs. Apparently they see no connection between what China has done in the past and what it will do today or tomorrow. Instead they place blind faith in the rhetoric of the bureaucratic leaders of China. In the *Guardian's* view, the Chinese section of the joint U.S.-Chinese communiqué signed in Peking is "a model of revolutionary diplomacy" and proves that whatever happened when Nixon was in Peking was in the interests of the world revolution. However, a comparison of this communiqué with the actual deeds of the Chinese officials shows that they can't be taken at their word.

The March 8 *Guardian* states, "The Peking government stated in the communiqué that 'it firmly supports the struggles of all oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation.'" Does this statement square with China's actions in regard to the massive struggle of the East Bengali people for self-determination in 1971?

The Chinese government completely supported the Pakistani regime's genocidal campaign against the Bangladesh freedom fighters. China not only verbally supported Pakistan against the Bengalis but sent financial and military aid to the Pakistani occupation forces in Bangladesh.

As if this were not enough to show the hypocrisy of the Chinese leaders,

the same communiqué quoted in the very same issue of the *Guardian* states that the Maoist regime "firmly maintains that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with the UN resolutions on the India-Pakistan question, immediately withdraw all their forces to their respective territories. . . ."

These United Nations resolutions, which were pushed through the General Assembly last fall by both the U.S. and China, considered Bangladesh as part of Pakistan's "respective territories"—a position still held by both Washington and Peking. Thus the same communiqué that includes pompous statements on the liberation of oppressed peoples also includes cynical rationalizations for the Pakistani capitalists' oppression of the Bengali people. And the *Guardian* hails this document as a "model of revolutionary diplomacy!"

The March 8 *Guardian* further quotes the "model" Chinese resolution as saying, "Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—this has become the irresistible trend of history."

Was this "irresistible trend of history" part of China's strategy in opposing the youth and peasant rebellion that shook Ceylon last year? This rebellion ended with massive jailings, including the arrest of leaders of Ceylon's Maoist Communists.

During that struggle the Chinese government granted an interest-free loan of \$30-million to help finance the Ceylonese capitalist government's repressive campaign. On June 3, 1971, *Ceylon News*, a weekly published in Colombo, printed a letter from Chou En-lai supporting the Bandaranaike regime's repression of these



Captured Ceylonese rebels. Moscow, hoping for closer ties with Ceylon, sent military aid to put down rebel youth. Peking matched it with a loan offer.

young rebels.

Chou's message read in part: "We are glad to see that thanks to the efforts of Your Excellency [Prime Minister Bandaranaike] and the Ceylon Government, the chaotic situation created by a handful of persons who style themselves 'Guevarists' and into whose ranks foreign spies have sneaked has been brought under control."

While the tide of revolution was "irresistible" in Ceylon, the Maoist leaders were determined to help the Ceylonese capitalists resist it.

Despite this record, which has nothing in common with a revolutionary-internationalist foreign policy, the *Guardian* is able to state in its March 1 issue that it's "certain that the People's Republic of China is ready to reject any such deal that would sap the international revolutionary movement of one iota of strength." In an

editorial in the March 8 issue, the *Guardian* states it was unable to find "one iota of evidence" in *The Militant* and other publications to substantiate the claims that the Nixon-Mao talks raised the danger of a sellout of the Vietnamese revolution.

However, it is the *Guardian* that offers no explanation for the Maoists' course in Bangladesh, Ceylon, Indonesia, and elsewhere. Despite the strong adjectives and many quotations from Chinese statements, the *Guardian* has yet to show how supporting the genocidal campaign of the Pakistani militarists against the Bengali nation is in the interests of the world revolution. They have yet to show how shooting down and imprisoning Ceylonese workers and peasants is in the interests of the world revolution. They have yet to show how Mao's support to Sukarno and his "national bloc"—which included right-wing elements that slaughtered nearly 500,000 Indonesian Communists in 1965—was in the interests of the world revolution. Does the *Guardian* believe that the resources of the Chinese workers state should have been spent to pay for counter-revolutionary murder in Bangladesh and Ceylon? Does the *Guardian* believe that the Indochinese fighters have any reason to trust a regime that has sold out revolution on such a scale?

Do the *Guardian* editors really believe that the answers to these questions have no bearing on the diplomatic relations between the U.S. and China?

The Militant's view is that these actions of the Chinese regime are not flukes but part of a nonrevolutionary, nationalist foreign policy. This policy flows from the theory that revolutions in other countries should be



subordinated to the narrow diplomatic interests of the Chinese bureaucracy, which claims it is building "socialism in one country."

It is from the actual deeds of the Maoist regime itself that this foreign policy has been revealed. It is also on the basis of these same actions that *The Militant* rejects the *Guardian's* naive notion that "there is not one shred of evidence to suggest the People's Republic of China will sell out Vietnam or any other revolutionary class struggle." On the contrary, the record shows that a sellout is a real likelihood.

The *Guardian* attempts to hide its failure to deal with the actual facts of China's record behind a smoke-screen of vitriolic attacks on *The Militant*. This however, is not going to fool those who are serious about assessing the real meaning of the Nixon-Mao détente.

'Subversive' employees worry government

By LEE SMITH

"If You Want to Work for the Government," advised the headline on a front-page article in the March 17 *Wall Street Journal*, "Hide That Dart Board." The subheadline continued: "Bureaucrats Try to Curb Hiring of Pranksters, Subversives; Is Your Mailman a Socialist?"

"Stung by such celebrated leaks as the Pentagon Papers," wrote staff reporter Elliot Carlson, ". . . and dismayed by assorted lesser acts of employee effrontery (using President Nixon's picture as a dart board, for instance), the [U.S. government] bureaucracy is circling up the wagons."

Such pranks as lobbing darts at Nixon's picture worry the administration because they show that federal workers are affected by the growing radical sentiment in the country. Since dart-throwing hardly seems sinister, however, officials must come up with arguments that attempt to justify their concern. Carlson reports somewhat skeptically on one that goes: ". . . even persons who engage in embarrassing antics must be viewed as potential threats to the nation's security."

Following this line of reasoning, Notre Dame law professor Charles E. Rice claims, "In today's climate, there is no government position which is not sensitive. Who but the janitor would know better the location of air-conditioning ducts in which to place explosives?" Rice asks gravely.

Carrying the syllogism still one step further, Robert Mardian, who heads the Justice Department red squad (the so-called "internal security" division), talks about "revolutionary terrorists" employed by the government.

To bolster the less-than-convincing scare stories of potential violence, administration spokesmen also use the red-baiting ploy of calling socialists "subversive."

The recent court victory won by the Socialist Workers Party and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in the case of SWP member Duncan Gordon (see *The Militant*, Feb. 18.) "clearly upsets government men," according to Carlson.

"The government had fired the mailman on the ground he was a member of the Socialist Workers Party, included on the Attorney General's 24-year-old list of allegedly subversive organizations," the *Journal* article reports. "The court ruled that the party's subversive nature hadn't been proven. Not only did the man get his job back but also other members of the party have since become letter carriers, too. . . ." (And who but the mailman would know better the location of mailboxes?—L. S.)

In reaction to the extension of civil liberties won in the Gordon case, the paper says, "the Nixon administration is moving to upgrade the legal standing of the subversive-group list." Nixon is proposing that the Subversive Activities Control Board be given subpoena, contempt and judicial-review powers that it could use in investigations of political organizations aimed at labeling them "subversive."

NDP and elections



1970 Ontario New Democratic Party convention

Photo by Jeff White

Militant reporter David Thorstad traveled to Ontario last November to gather material on Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party. This is the fifth of six articles in which he relates developments in the NDP to questions about a labor party in the United States.

By DAVID THORSTAD

Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party, is a parliamentary party. This means that its strategy, its outlook, and its activities are shaped by its commitment to bringing about change and winning power through the parliamentary process, not through mobilizing and leading the Canadian working masses in the streets as well as in parliament in a struggle to overthrow capitalism. The difference in the two approaches is the difference between a revolutionary party and a reformist party.

As a reformist party with a parliamentary strategy, the NDP spends most of its time trying to win elections. (Of course, there is nothing wrong with a labor party winning elections to a bourgeois parliament. On the contrary, even as a minority party in such a parliament, it can have a positive effect, as the NDP's predecessor, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), demonstrated. Old-age pensions were introduced in Canada, for instance, because the CCF held the balance of power in parliament and pressured the Liberal government into granting them.) Yet while running in elections is what the NDP does most and best, it does not always do it well.

Canadian workers took a big step forward when they formed their labor party a decade ago. But this does not mean they no longer have any illusions in the ability of the parties of big business to solve their problems. They do. And the only way the NDP can break down these illusions is to put forward a clear alternative to the capitalist parties. This, however, it does not always do.

The Oct. 21, 1971, provincial elections in Ontario provide a good example of the NDP's approach.

The NDP went into the elections with high hopes of sweeping out of power the Tories (the Progressive Conservative Party), who have held power there for 28 years. A Liberal Party survey last May had revealed that most voters felt the NDP could give Ontario its "most honest, able, sincere and responsive" government. And the NDP had been encouraged by the landslide NDP victory in Saskatchewan last June.

It had every reason to expect substantial gains. After all, the election was occurring in the midst of growing unemployment, mounting protests against the sellout of Canadian natural resources to the U. S. war machine, pollution, plant closures, cutbacks in educational spending, rising prices. The finger of blame for all of this pointed logically to big business and its parties, the Tories and Liberals. "Without question the labor-backed party is entering the election with considerable confidence in the outcome," said the Saskatchewan NDP paper, *The Commonwealth*, Sept. 29.

But the election results were a bitter disappointment to the NDP. While the NDP's share of the popular vote increased to 27 percent (slightly above the previous election in 1967), the voters returned the Conservatives to office with 78 seats.

The Liberals dropped to 20 seats from 27, and the NDP fell from 21 to 19. Two of the seats it lost were important working-class seats.

Why did the NDP not do better? The answer to this question explains more than the vicissitudes of one election in one province. It says a lot about the way the NDP operates throughout Canada.

Fails to project alternative

Ontario party leader and candidate for premier Stephen Lewis blamed the poor showing on a high-powered campaign by big business to bring media exposure to incumbent Tory William Davis. "People will buy the product even if they don't like it if it's being sold to them often enough," he lamented. He said the NDP's total campaign fund of \$216,000 made it impossible to compete with the \$4-million spent by the Tories. While this publicity push was undoubtedly a factor, it nonetheless does not explain the NDP setback.

Some NDP leaders laid the blame at Lewis' own doorstep, charging that he was not charismatic enough. This notion that the voters need a candidate who fires their imagination more than a program that meets their needs reflects a shallow concept of politics shared by the entire NDP leadership.

In a brief analysis of the NDP's poor showing, the Nov. 10 *Commonwealth* dwelt on what it saw as the bright side. It purred about the NDP's new image of respectability and congratulated the party for electing a candidate in the Tory stronghold of Ottawa. "The NDP vote went up substantially right across Ottawa and in the surrounding district," it said, painting the city as some vast expanse of territory. "What's more, the NDP in Ottawa were given good press coverage and were treated as responsible and respectable candidates for the first time in a provincial election."

The reason the NDP ran a crippled campaign and did not march triumphantly into office is that it failed to present a clear and decisive alternative to the parties of big business. It was unable to inspire confidence among the voters because it did not show that it was fully committed to the interests of working people or that it was confident in its ability to lead. This was made clear on several major issues of the campaign.

- Plant closures. In the year preceding the elections, 138 plants, involving more than 16,000 workers, were closed down. This was more than during any single decade since the 1929 crash. Yet neither the NDP nor the labor movement successfully resisted these closures. In most cases, a serious campaign was not even launched to stop it.

- Public ownership. Instead of posing the need for public ownership and workers' control of shut-down plants, Lewis attacked the very idea and assailed the NDP's left-wing caucus, the Waffle, for supporting it. Moreover, the NDP hardly distinguished itself from the Tories and Liberals with its proposal for a government fund to channel private investment priorities into less vulnerable industries.

- Extension of public tax aid to Catholic schools. The NDP's support for this in the face of widespread opposition and relative indifference even among Catholics lost it considerable support and tarnished its reform image. The Tories, the only party to oppose extending such aid be-

yond Grade Ten, came out with a more "forward-looking" image on the issue than the NDP. The NDP's position was not only a crassly opportunistic ploy to pick up Catholic votes. It was also self-defeating, for whatever Catholic votes it may have gained on this, it lost by its principled support of the right of women to abortion.

What the NDP really lacked in the Ontario campaign was a leadership and a strategy for bringing labor to power. No energetic campaign was mounted around the theme "Labor to Power, Elect the NDP" and hammered home in rallies and literature. The campaign was conducted for the most part on an atomized local-constituency basis, with lots of doorbell ringing but no rallies. The special election issue of the Ontario NDP newspaper, *New Democrat*, consisted of a glossy brochure with a color photo display that focused more on Stephen Lewis the man than it did on political issues. Aping the histrionics of the capitalist parties, it entitled the main article "STEPHEN LEWIS: Ontario's been waiting a long time."

While no other party could claim that many of its canvassers and campaign workers were high school students, and while trade-union participation in the NDP campaign was greater than ever before (in terms of full-time organizers, part-time canvassers, and union donations), still the NDP failed to maximize its potential impact.

It organized no major campaign rallies at all. It made no special appeal to youth, many thousands of whom were voting for the first time due to a lowering of the voting age. The only youth rally was organized by the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, the Trotskyist youth organization, in Toronto. The Young Socialists also published and distributed 30,000 leaflets explaining to young people why they should support the NDP.

Had the NDP been responding properly during the past few years to the challenge of leading the working class against the attacks of big business at all times—not just during election campaigns—it would have undoubtedly gone into the recent Ontario elections equipped with a more capable leadership and better prepared to lead the working people to power. This failure to provide leadership in day-to-day struggles is the NDP's most characteristic weakness.

Municipal elections

The NDP has generally been reluctant to challenge local government by presenting candidates in municipal elections, tending instead to concentrate on seeking provincial and federal posts. It entered the Toronto municipal arena as a political force for the first time, for instance, in 1969. And while it did so with a strong reform program, its campaign lacked focus and did not pose a serious challenge to the capitalist parties on all levels of municipal government. It failed to run a full slate for city council; it ran no one for mayor; and it left the entire board of education unchallenged.

Now, with municipal elections approaching in 1972, the NDP is threatening to repeat this error and leave the working people of Toronto without a clear and strong alternative to big business government. It is doing so under the pressure of a new formation called Community Organizing 72.

CO72 is a multi-class coalition based on the notion that through "community control" a local "power base" can be built up for some civic-minded reformers who will be "accountable" to the community. It is a vote-catching gimmick that rejects party politics at the municipal level and fosters the illusion that an amorphous amalgam of well-intentioned individuals representing differing class forces can succeed in kicking big business out of city hall. Among the initiators of CO72 were prominent leaders of the Toronto Labor Council, and now NDP, Liberal and independent aldermen, and assorted "community leaders" have lent their support to it.

As momentum picks up behind CO72, the NDP has considered the possibility of running only a partial slate and making no-contest deals with CO72 candidates. If it does, it will be passing up the opportunity to provide the kind of firm leadership its own community—the working people of Toronto—need, and again abandoning them to the Liberals, the Tories, and the illusions of CO72.

In the face of the NDP's wavering, the Canadian Trotskyists of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes issued a public statement to a meeting of the NDP Toronto Area Council near the end of November 1971 calling upon the NDP to "enter the 1972 elections with a full slate of candidates headed by a mayoralty candidate." Should it fail to do so, the LSA/LSO and the YS/LJS said they were prepared to enter their own slate of candidates "to provide a clear class alternative to the working people of Toronto."

In Review

Pamphlets Theater

Antiwar movement answers Nixon

NPAC Factsheet No. 1. *Is the War Winding Down?* NPAC Factsheet No. 2. *Out Now! vs. Nixon's 8 Point "Peace" Plan.*

The National Peace Action Coalition has published two timely and valuable pieces of antiwar literature in the form of four-page newspaper-style leaflets. The first of these NPAC factsheets, *Is the War Winding Down?*, exposes the U.S. aim of permanent military occupation of Indochina.

Briefly and clearly, it documents Pentagon plans for a five-year war in Cambodia that would result in 863,000 Cambodians—out of a total population of less than seven million—under arms by 1977. Pentagon plans



Photo by Michael Hardy

for the expansion of the savage air war currently being waged throughout Indochina and the effects of the U.S. campaign for control of Southeast Asia on the peoples of that region are also described.

The second factsheet, *Out Now! vs. Nixon's 8 Point "Peace" Plan*, not only specifically refutes Nixon's latest "peace" proposal but also explains the concept of self-determination for oppressed nations supported by the antiwar movement. The antiwar movement's demand for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina is contrasted to Nixon's proposal for withdrawal "within six months of an agreement." The demand of the antiwar movement for total U.S. withdrawal is compared to Nixon's plan, which says nothing about the huge U.S. bases in Thailand; the U.S. naval fleet, including aircraft carriers, operating off the coast of Vietnam; and the continued U.S. military aid to the puppet dictatorships in Laos, Cambodia, and Saigon. Finally, the antiwar movement's demand for the unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam is contrasted to the six major conditions Nixon demands in return for the promised withdrawal.

These antiwar publications deserve the widest possible distribution. Their format is attractive, and they will help build the April 22 antiwar demonstrations in Los Angeles and New York. A third factsheet—"Why Mass Action?"—which defends the basis of the antiwar movement, will be out shortly.

The NPAC factsheets can be ordered from: NPAC, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 911, New York, N.Y. 10011. Single copies are free; *Is the War Winding Down?* costs three cents each for 10 or more; and *Out Now! vs. Nixon's 8 Point "Peace" Plan* costs one cent each for 10 or more.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Torture in Brazil

Torquemada. A play written and directed by Augusto Boal. Presented by the New York University School of the Arts.

"Torture is the only democratic thing left in our country." These words, uttered by the infamous fifteenth century Spanish Inquisitor-General, Torquemada, are not so remote today.

The play *Torquemada* is a vivid eyewitness report of the torture of political prisoners in Brazilian jails, as experienced by playwright Augusto Boal early last year.

Boal wrote this damning indictment under the very eyes of his prison guards by pretending to learn French (which he already knew) and inscribing notebook after notebook with French translations of Portuguese, occasionally inserting a whole paragraph of *Torquemada*.

The playwright was finally released after prominent figures in American theater publicly protested Boal's imprisonment to the Brazilian authorities.

Torquemada was performed under Boal's direction March 9-12 by students at the New York University School of the Arts. One can only hope that the American public will see more of Augusto Boal and *Torquemada*.

The play makes dramatic use of images drawn from the Spanish Inquisition to expose the neo-colonial terror practiced today by the Brazilian gorillas.

On the advent of the discovery of the New World, Queen Isabella appointed Tomás de Torquemada, her confessor, to take charge of the Inquisition. Torquemada, in turn, pledged to "discover inequality and base our justice upon it." The Inquisition policy of *limpieza de sangre* (racial purity) was used to persecute Jews and Moslems as heretics.

The past eight years of military rule in Brazil (since the coup of 1964) have included more than 1,000 killings of dissidents and a pervasive use of torture that stretches even beyond Boal's well-drawn historical parallel with the Inquisition.

The machinery of the Inquisition was regulated to suit the needs of the Spanish monarchy; repression in Brazil is likewise as arbitrary.

The mental anguish of the Inquisition is equalled today by day-to-day fears of the contemporary Brazilian "squadrons of death," which pay fateful night visits to political dissidents.

Denunciation is common, and guilt by association—however remote—is sufficient incrimination in the eyes of the regime.

This is perhaps best illustrated by Boal's experience. The charges against him ("defaming the government") were as typically vague as the condemnations of heresy were during the Spanish Inquisition.

Boal's parallel between the Inquisition and the current situation in Brazil is formidably drawn in the scene where Inquisitor Torquemada is appointed by Queen Isabella. Her regal dress hardly camouflages the wreath of toy bombers in her crown and the M-16 at her side, symbolizing U.S. maintenance of the Brazilian regime.

Brazil's economic domination by U.S. imperialism is depicted in a scene where prisoners act out the roles of speculators in the Brazilian stock market. The gasps of the tortured speculators relate soaring investments in countless American companies. Napalm wins.

The prison scenes that follow are further testimony of the extent of the Brazilian regime's cruel methods of dealing with political dissidents.

The modern Brazilian methods of torture are strikingly reminiscent of the main methods used by the Inquisitors—the rack, the hoist, and water torture.

Torquemada also portrays the use of scientific torture (electric shocks) administered while a *gringo* industrialist—his suit scaled with dollars—sits perched in a vulture-like position, observing the extraction of a false confession.

Nor are these the only forms of torture—female prisoners are sexually abused and used as bait to divide the competing males. Boal graphically depicts the special oppression of both women and homosexuals within Brazilian prisons.

Torquemada is a forceful exposure of the Brazilian military regime and United States imperialism as well as a cruel and furious report on the brutal application of torture and repression in the absence of mass popular resistance. A painfully artistic creation, it is a forceful indictment of "justice" based on inequality. It clearly shows the need for an international defense effort to free those in Brazil's prisons.

—CANDIDA McCOLLAM



Police attack demonstrator in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Books Radical Therapist

The Radical Therapist. Edited by the Radical Therapist Collective. Produced by Jerome Agel. Ballantine Books. New York, 1971. 315 pp. \$1.25.

The Radical Therapist is an anthology of articles from the publication of the same name. As a journal, *The Radical Therapist* is a chronicle, discussion bulletin and polemical organ for psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, psychotherapeutic patients, and others who have become part of the current radicalization and have rejected the role of therapy as mental police for the status quo. *The Radical Therapist's* motto is "Therapy means change, not adjustment."

The vitality of the journal is well reflected in this anthology. There is not total agreement among the authors represented here, nor should there be. These essays represent a beginning effort to revitalize psychotherapy as a weapon against the alienating institutions of capitalist society. They demonstrate convincingly that established psychotherapy all too frequently interprets adjustment to mean conformist behavior.

The "Manifesto" of *The Radical Therapist* states: "Therapy is dominated by gradualist models which bolster the status quo. Even well-meaning people today find themselves trapped in a frustrating, dehumanizing system, from which they see no way out. The revolutionary spirit of the founders of therapy—Pinel, Freud, Reich—has been weeded out. Intending to liberate people from their neuroses, therapists today further 'adjustment,' social control, and the commercialized society."

"In spite of evidence from therapists themselves, the system remains unresponsive, bulky, privileged, and stiff. Therapy notions are a tangle of midwife myths, fantasy, and outright bias. Therapy practices serve the free enterprise system. But contemporary therapy demands contemporary ideas. Sensitive to notions of 'countertransference,' therapists can be amazingly blind to their own class, race, and sex bias; and to the historical moment in which they live."

Articles in the collection cover a wide variety of topics: "On Training Therapists," "Madness and Morals," "Is Women's Liberation a Therapy Group?," "Lesbianism," "Marriage and Psychotherapy," "Community Mental Health as a Pacification Program," "Rights of Children," "Notes on Fanon," etc.

The essays vary in worth, as might be expected in a publication open to a wide range in views. Unfortunately, they are least effective and most diffuse when it comes to presenting positive alternatives. Considering the newness of their undertaking, however, this should be neither surprising nor discouraging.

Subscriptions to the publication cost \$6 for one year and may be obtained by writing to *The Radical Therapist*, Hillsdale, N.Y. 12529.

—ARTHUR MAGLIN

Loyalist reactionaries mass in Belfast

By DAVE FRANKEL

MARCH 20—Between 50,000 and 60,000 people organized by the right-wing Ulster Vanguard Movement demonstrated March 18 in Belfast against any concessions to the oppressed Catholic minority of Northern Ireland and for "total victory" over the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

William Craig, the former minister for home affairs of the Northern Ireland government, inspected the ranks of former police reserves (B Specials) drawn up for the occasion. According to a March 20 *Christian Science Monitor* dispatch Craig declared, "One day if the politicians fail it may be our job to liquidate the enemy."

Indicating the opposition of the die-hard Unionists to any significant reforms, Craig, according to the *Monitor*, "urged his supporters to give an 'unquestioning determined response' if

called on to defend Ulster, whether from Dublin threats or London initiatives."

Despite the rhetoric attacking the government, the Ulster Vanguard Movement is only carrying out the stated policies of the Northern Ireland government. The March 9 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that Northern Ireland Prime Minister Brian Faulkner "summoned the provincial public to do more to organize its own protection against IRA violence. He asked for more recruits for the security forces, especially the police and police reserves."

The Northern Ireland government is also carrying out a campaign to raise the strength of its militia, the Ulster Defense Regiment, to 10,000 men.

There are more than 200,000 legally registered guns in the hands of the

one million Protestants in the North of Ireland, not including the arms held by the police and the Ulster Defense Regiment. However, the British army regularly conducts arms searches and raids in Catholic areas.

Last week the Unionist Party, which has ruled Northern Ireland since the forced division of Ireland 50 years ago, voted in the Northern Ireland Parliament to oppose "any political initiative put forward by the UK [United Kingdom] government if it were to involve the following:

"1. Any move for a United Ireland, or

"2. Any element of direct rule [from London] or any reduction of the present powers of Northern Ireland, or

"3. Any proposal for community government, government by commission, or proportional representation in the Cabinet."

Further proof of the attitude of the Unionist government is provided by the fact that no soldiers or police were in evidence at the Ulster Vanguard Movement's rally, although it was an illegal gathering, according to the March 19 *New York Times*. The government has continually used police and soldiers to surround and harass Catholic civil rights demonstrations on the pretext that they are "illegal." This was the policy followed yesterday at a demonstration of 10,000 in one of Belfast's Catholic areas.

Determined to hold the British enclave in Ireland, the Heath government in London remains committed to the Unionist Party. The hope for stability Heath shares with Craig and the Ulster Vanguard Movement depends on "total victory" over the aspirations of the Catholic masses for a united Ireland and for the democratic rights they have been denied.

May 1-6 abortion action plans reported

By DIANE RUPP

CHICAGO, March 18—Fifty women from various parts of the country gathered here today for the National Coordinating Committee meeting of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). Representatives from abortion law repeal coalitions in Atlanta, Boston, St. Louis, Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, Gary Ind., and other cities reported on their progress in building National Abortion Action Week, scheduled for May 1-6.

The meeting discussed the recent report from the Federal Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, which calls for reform

of state abortion laws to allow abortions up to the 24th week of pregnancy. Women pointed out that the commission based its recommendations in the second section of the report on the right of women to make their own decisions concerning childbearing, rather than on theories of population control. While noting the contradiction between the commission's support for a woman's right to choose and its call for reform rather than repeal of the abortion laws, the women felt that the report reflected the impact of the abortion law repeal movement.

The National Coordinating Committee approved a recommendation to send Carol Lipman on an interna-

tional tour. Lipman was a national project director for the Nov. 20, 1971, abortion law repeal demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. After representing WONAAC at a women's liberation conference in England on March 25, she will visit France and other European countries to discuss the WONAAC campaign with women's liberation and abortion law repeal groups.

The Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition reported on its plans for a Midwestern conference to be held April 8. A similar conference in Texas took place this weekend. Women from the Cleveland coalition discussed their activities around the issue of forced sterilization. Representatives from New

York and Chicago reported a good response to WONAAC's campaign from high school women.

Included in the projects slated for Abortion Action Week are campus speak-outs on abortion and gynecological care and women's commissions where women will testify on their experiences with abortion laws.

Nearly all regional areas are planning demonstrations for May 6 around the demands of repeal of all abortion laws, an end to forced sterilization, and repeal of restrictive contraceptive laws.

The meeting elected national coordinators to serve as spokeswomen for WONAAC and to direct staff activities between National Coordinating Committee meetings.

April 22 countdown

With the April 22 demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles one month away, the National Peace Action Coalition has received confirmation that solidarity actions are planned in England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, France, Belgium, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Switzerland, and Sweden. A national antiwar conference planned in New Zealand for April 22-23 will also tie in with the international protests.

Vice-president Spiro Agnew chose Drake University in Des Moines, Iowa, a stronghold of the right-wing Young Americans for Freedom, as the site of his first public appearance on a college campus of either himself or President Nixon in almost two years.

Agnew's March 15 rally at Drake was attended by 150 student antiwar protesters, who walked out after he asserted, "What we have done in Vietnam may be the most moral thing ever done."

A speaker from the Upper-midwest Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) urged the participation of Drake students in the April 22 demonstrations.

The Minneapolis SMC has organized teach-ins in 12 Minnesota and Iowa colleges. It has developed a series of six different one-hour programs on the war called "Six Hours for Indochina." Each program includes a film and speaker. Subjects are: Vietnam—a Veterans View, The Electronic Battlefield, Ecocide in Indochina, The Struggle for Life, Who Invited Us?, and The War and the Economy.

The Minneapolis Peace Action Coalition reports that four more local unions and two executive boards of local unions have endorsed the April 22 actions. MPAC is planning a rally and picket line at the Minneapolis federal building on March 30 in support of the Harrisburg defendants.

In New Haven, Conn., the New Haven PAC, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the New Haven Committee for Peace and Justice have sent out a call asking other organizations to join them in sponsoring a local demonstration April 15. This will be followed by a teach-in on April 16 and speak-outs in several high schools on April 19. New Haven PAC is calling upon the mayor of New Haven to officially declare the week of April 15-22 "Peace Action Week."

The March 12 meeting of the Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition was attended by supporters of Shirley Chisholm's campaign for president, and representatives of Youth for McGovern, Lindsay for President, and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. Also at the meeting were the North Shore PAC, South Shore PAC, Natick and Cape Cod PAC, the Socialist Workers Party, Female Liberation, Boston Industrial Mission, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the American Friends Service Committee, North Andover Peace Committee, and SMC representatives from eight or nine campuses and five high schools.

Support for April 22 continues to

grow in the western half of the country. New endorsers include the Texas Women's Political Caucus, Senator John Tunney (D-Calif.), and La Raza Unida Party of Houston.

In Los Angeles, 50 women attended a meeting to organize a women's contingent in the April 22 march there. Another sign of interest generated by the L.A. action is the fact that activists in the campaign of Eugene McCarthy have come to the April 22 West-NPAC office for material on the demonstration and are building the action at their campaign engagements.

On March 19, April 22 West supporters picketed the L.A. convention center, where an appearance by Nixon was scheduled. Nixon failed to show up, but more than 800 members of the United Farm Workers union, AFL-CIO, protesting Nixon's policies toward farm labor, did. The antiwar demonstrators passed out buttons and leaflets on April 22, which were well received.

San Francisco reports that more than 125 people attended a March 11 teach-in organized by the Northern California SMC. An April 8 teach-in will feature Anthony Russo, co-defendant with Daniel Ellsberg in the Pentagon papers case; Carol Feraci, the antiwar singer who confronted Nixon during a White House performance; a former CIA operations officer and Army researcher in Vietnam; a former U.S. Army major who served two tours of duty in Vietnam; and a former development volunteer who spent two years in South Vietnam.

The Northern California PAC also reports that the California Federation of Teachers has endorsed the April 22 demonstration and voted to publicize it and solicit funds from member locals to help build it.

"The theory that the war issue has been 'defused' does not square with many of the facts of American public opinion," states Louis Harris in the March 16 *New York Post*. The poll he released that day found that 56 percent of Americans favor a U.S. policy that "just announced one day that all U.S. participation and help in the war was over." Twenty-six percent were opposed.

Of those interviewed, 46 percent felt that "if there is no negotiated Vietnam peace agreement," then Nixon "will not have kept his 1968 promise to end U.S. involvement in Vietnam." Twenty percent were opposed.

Fifty-three percent rated negatively President Nixon's efforts to end the war.

The SMC national office has put out a new 16-page issue of *The Student Mobilizer* and a handbook on "How to Organize the SMC." Also available is a new yellow and blue 8.5 by 22 inch "telephone pole" poster. To order, write to the SMC, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 911, New York, N.Y. 10011.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Calendar

BERKELEY

GARAGE SALE TO BENEFIT JENNESS-PULLEY CAMPAIGN. April 1-2, 2158 Emerson St. You can help; contribute used household items. Call (415) 658-6205 to arrange for pickup.

BOSTON

ATICA, WALPOLE—WHY DO THEY REVOLT? Panel discussion on the nature of the prisons. Fri., March 31, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (opposite South Station). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

VOICES OF DISSENT. Jazz and the Black Experience. Music and commentary on the origins of Jazz. Wed., March 29, 8 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1 Sat., April 1, 8 p.m. on WBUR-FM, 90.9.

BROOKLYN

UNITED FARM WORKERS STRUGGLE. Speakers: Edward Hammond, from the United Farm Workers union, and other union members. Fri., March 31, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Forum. For more information, call (212) 596-2849.

DETROIT

THE MEDICAL INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX. Speaker: Dr. Richard Kunes, member of Health-PAC and author of *Your Money or Your Life*. Fri., March 31, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Forum. For more information, call (313) 831-6135.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE JAILING OF A RADIO STATION MANAGER—THE CASE OF WBAI. Speaker: Edwin Goodman, station manager of WBAI recently released from jail for refusing to turn over to the city tapes of the Tombs uprising in 1971. Fri., March 31, 8 p.m., 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (at 4th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

MERIT BOOKSTORE BOOK SALE. New and used books at drastic reductions. March 25-31. Open 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (at 4th St.).

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

FEMINISM AND LITERATURE. A panel of feminist writers. Fri., March 31, 8 p.m., 2744 Broadway (at 106 St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. West Side Militant Forum. For more information, call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND

THE MEANING OF NIXON'S TRIP TO CHINA. Speaker: Russell Block, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 31, 8 p.m. 3536 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$1. Aup. The Militant Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

VIETNAM AND THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION. Fri., March 31, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of 10th and Market Sts.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (215) WA5-4316.

SEATTLE

AN ANALYSIS OF ALLENDE'S CHILE AND WHERE IT IS GOING. Speaker: Clare Fraenzl, coordinator of the Seattle Peace Action Coalition. Fri., March 31, 8 p.m. 5257 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1, h.s.

students 50c. Aup. The Militant Forum. For more information, call (206) LA3-2555.

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, KPFF-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

CAMPAIGN BANQUET. Speakers: Becky Bohan, former candidate for president of the Minnesota Student Association, and Louis Cobet, Socialist Workers 1972 Minnesota campaign manager. Sat., April 1, 5:30 p.m.: Refreshments. 6:30 p.m.: Dinner. Skoglund Hall, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin), Mpls. Donation: \$2. For more information, call (612) 332-7781.

MINNESOTA ABORTION ACTION CONFERENCE: To map plans for Minnesota's Abortion Action Week. Sat., April 8, Blegen Hall, University of Minnesota. Registration: 9-10 a.m. Conference begins at 10 a.m. Constituency workshops: 11 a.m., followed by plenary. Rally: 8 p.m., with speakers including Matilde Zimmermann, WONAAC; Phyllis Kahn, NOW; Betty Hoop, West Suburban Council for Women's Liberation; Becky Bohan, University of Minnesota Women's Liberation. Child care available. Conference open to all women. Rally open to everyone. For more information, call (612) 341-3844.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF PSYCHO-SURGERY. Speaker: Dr. Barbara Roberts, project director of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. Fri., March 31, 8 p.m., 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (202) 783-2363.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 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.

...Militant

Continued from page 3

With his one-year renewal, a reader in Pullman, Wash., commented, "Keep up the fantastic work—you, should I say our, paper provides more information on what's really happening and the continuing struggle against capitalist-racist oppression and exploitation than any other paper I've seen. I am particularly pleased by the excellent coverage you give on Chicano Liberation. I feel I am privileged to receive *The Militant*."

And from a reader in Indiana interested in helping a friend, "I have no order blank here to fill out for a 10-week subscription but would like to order this special subscription for a friend who has just recently become interested in politics . . . I feel that a weekly radical newspaper of *The Militant's* caliber will help him greatly to further his revolutionary consciousness."

THE APRIL *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, just off the press, features an article by Frank Lovell on "Wage Controls and the Unions." Other articles include, "Engels and Women's Liberation" by Evelyn Reed, and "Martin R. Delany and the Beginnings of Black Nationalism" by Derrick Morrison. Copies can be obtained for 50 cents each from the *ISR* business office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Back issues of the *ISR* are also available. The January issue, which featured an article by George Novack on "Georg Lukács as a Marxist Philosopher," sold 206 copies on New York newsstands.

...Mandel

Continued from page 16

it testifies to its own inferiority, because this opposition can only originate from fear of an intellectual confrontation. It is obvious that I will neither fling bombs nor set up machine guns at the Free University. The only question is of giving the many socialist students the opportunity to have instruction, in the course of their university studies, that speaks to their needs—and at the same time of enabling Marxists and non-Marxists to confront each other with their views concerning scientific analysis and theoretical conceptions of the economy of a society. I welcome such a confrontation, since Marxism thrives best in a continuous atmosphere of sharp, scientific criticism. That the Berlin Senate is afraid of such a confrontation speaks volumes about their lack of confidence in their own ideas, and their unreadiness to allow even the most elementary university autonomy. This attempt to restore the authoritarian university openly and cynically provokes continual unrest.

...Lindsay

Continued from page 11

indefensible. . . .

"[There should not be] any lessening in the depth and importance of our foreign policy concerns. We must continue . . . maintaining a strategic posture adequate to deter possible adversaries. . . . We must . . . protect our interests around the world." (*Foreign Affairs*, October 1971.)

In 1952 and 1956, Lindsay supported Eisenhower for president. In 1960 and 1968, he supported Nixon. (He served as a national staff member of United Citizens for Nixon-Agnew.) Today he says the Republicans are not an instrument for social change; in the past he called the Democrats the party of Tammany Hall, white supremacy, corruption, and big business. He was right both times. The demagoguery of this opportunist, hypocritical, party-hopping politician should be exposed and explained throughout the country.

...trial

Continued from page 24

as any "plot" to bomb the tunnels was concerned, Millard testified: "The idea was so vague that it's hard to comment on it."

Barone also said he received the impression that Wenderoth was not seriously considering any such project.

One of the "overt acts" listed in the conspiracy indictment was a conversation at a Catholic Peace Fellowship meeting in the capital in October or November 1970. The conversation, the indictment alleges, concerned the possibility of kidnapping Kissinger. However, during cross-examination of Barone, when defense attorney Terry Lenzer finally succeeded in overcoming Lynch's objections, the witness told the court that the conversation—which lasted "three, four, or five minutes"—was exclusively concerned with what the participants thought of the kidnappings carried out by the Québec Liberation Front and the Uruguayan Tupamaros. Lenzer asked if it were true that no mention had been made of this country. "That's right," Barone answered.

Socialist Directory

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

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85001. Tel: (602) 968-5738.

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THE MILITANT

Top union officials ponder response to attack on dockers

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, March 21—On March 22 Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), will meet in Washington, D.C., with leaders of the Teamsters, the United Auto Workers (UAW), the International Longshoremen's Association, and George Meany of the AFL-CIO. The subject: what to do about the Pay Board's decision to cut the ILWU-negotiated hourly wage increase from 72 cents to 42 cents.

Last week the ILWU, UAW, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and the AFL-CIO jointly published an ad in several major newspapers, including the *New York Times*, urging the Pay Board to grant the ILWU's wage increase. The main argument of the ad is an adaptation to the government's contention that wages not based on increased productivity are "inflationary."

But the facts—published for the first time—are astonishing. The ad claims that the 25.9 percent increase over 18 months won by the ILWU was justified on the basis of productivity alone. It notes that the productivity increase in the West Coast longshore industry since 1960 was 138 percent! And furthermore, while unit labor costs in the private, nonfarm economy have risen about 30 percent since 1960, the cost of handling a ton of cargo has dropped 30 percent.

A study prepared by the Pay Board's own staff acknowledges that the West Coast shipowners saved approximately \$1-billion in production costs since 1960, of which only \$62-million went to the longshoremen. The study concluded that the ILWU contract met the test of "uniqueness" (i.e., an unusual productivity increase), which would allow a raise above 7 percent. (Five and a half percent is permitted for cost-of-living increases.)

Evidently Bridges and Thomas Gleason of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) felt confident that the tactic of blowing the productivity horn and pressuring the Pay Board would pay off, or else they would not have put clauses in the ILWU and ILA settlements that allow for cancellation if raises are not approved. Bridges went so far as to

call for a continuation of the strike "if the Pay Board cuts back our negotiated settlement as much as one cent!"

Behind the scenes during the strike, the Bridges leadership helped sabotage the convening of a general conference of the labor movement that was approved by labor bodies up and down the West Coast. Such a united effort could effectively fight the wage controls. But Bridges, like all the other top labor bureaucrats, fears setting the union ranks in motion.

Union members are increasingly aware of the ineffectiveness of having each union plead individually before the Pay Board, whose very purpose is to deny wage increases. The California Federation of Teachers, for example, is attempting to mobilize support for a statewide conference of labor to plan a fight against the wage controls. The first act of such a gathering would probably be to demand that the five labor members permanently withdraw from the Pay Board. This would kill the Pay Board.

The day the board's decision was announced, Bridges spoke to Local 10 in San Francisco urging restraint—no wildcat strikes—pending his meeting with Meany and Co. Especially, he cautioned, don't use the statistics presented to the Pay Board against the shipowners; they're on our side. There was some laughter at this point.

On the San Francisco waterfront there is anger about the wage cut and anger at the shipowners. There have been minor walkouts. Longshoremen have not yet recovered from the 134-day strike, but there is willingness—though no eagerness—to go back on strike if it is necessary. The longshoremen fear that Bridges will fold again, as he did in the last strike. Also, they feel that "We shouldn't go it alone, but should get broad labor support first."

The leadership of ILWU Local 10 has had this position for some time and sees a congress of labor in this area as a realistic possibility.

The Bridges leadership, Gleason, and Meany are now faced with a situation where they evidently can't "make a deal." Will they cave in, or can they be forced to adopt a fighting stance? That is the question.



Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU

Harrisburg defense set for April 1 action

By LEE SMITH

MARCH 21—As the Harrisburg Defense Committee puts its energies into organizing the April 1 demonstration in Harrisburg against the war and in solidarity with the frame-up trial defendants, the government is wrapping up its weak case for the prosecution.

The defense committee, which has coordinated publicity and fund raising for Father Philip Berrigan and six other antiwar activists facing "conspiracy" charges in the Harrisburg trial, plans a series of build-up activities during the week prior to April 1, including rallies, workshops, teach-ins, concerts, and marches. This week is celebrated by Christians as Holy Week, and a religious theme will be part of these activities. The first will be a "pilgrimage" to the state capitol building on March 26.

Then, on April 1, thousands of persons are expected to converge in Pennsylvania's capital for a mass rally that is being supported and built by the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, and the National Peace Action Coalition, as well as the defense committee. The rally is directed against the war and in support of the Harrisburg Seven and other victims of political repression.

(More information on April 1 or the buildup activities can be obtained from the Harrisburg Defense Committee, 240 North Third Street, Room 307, Harrisburg, Pa. 17101. Phone: (717) 232-7531.)

In the courtroom, federal prosecutor William S. Lynch finds himself near the end of presenting his case against the six Catholic activists and Egbal Ahmad, a Pakistani scholar indicted along with them. The seven are charged under a general conspiracy indictment with "plotting" the kidnapping of presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger, the bombing of underground heating systems in the national capital, and the destruction of draft board files.

The government's main evidence has been the word of Boyd F. Douglas Jr., an agent-provocateur employed by the FBI while he was in prison with defendant Philip Berrigan. Douglas ended his two-week-long testimony March 14, and Lynch is now calling other witnesses in an attempt to corroborate the stories told by the FBI informer.

The government's corroboration looked as flimsy as its principal evidence yesterday, as the court heard from two witnesses: John Millard, a former Catholic University student;



Photo by John Center

Harrisburg defendant Egbal Ahmad speaks at October 1971 antiwar rally in Chicago. Thousands are expected at combined defense and antiwar rally in Harrisburg April 1.

and Anthony Barone, an employee of the Civil Service Administration.

Both men said Father Joseph Wenderoth, one of the defendants, had told them that he and Father Berrigan had been inside the seven-mile tunnel system that houses heating units for government buildings in Washington, D.C. However, as far

Continued on page 22

700 Puerto Ricans discuss defense cases

By JUDY WHITE

NEW YORK—More than 700 people packed a high school gymnasium here March 19 for a Conference on Puerto Rican Political Prisoners. The spirited crowd was almost entirely young and Puerto Rican.

The conference focused on the history of Puerto Rico, the domination of the island by the United States, and the need to build the movement for an independent Puerto Rico.

Presentations were made by members of a broad spectrum of groups supporting independence for Puerto Rico as well as by defense committees for pro-independence militants in jail or facing prosecution for their views or activities.

Facts were given about the cases of imprisoned Nationalist Party activists. The Nationalist Party, once the leading pro-independence force, was brutally repressed in the 1930s,

40s, and 50s, and some Nationalist Party members are still in jail.

Information was presented on the status of current cases of Puerto Ricans on trial for their political beliefs—Carlos Feliciano, Humberto Pagan, Eduardo (Pancho) Cruz, Wilfredo (Goody) Cruz, and Yoruba Guzman.

The remarks by Carlos Feliciano, whose case is about to come to trial, were the high point of the conference. His pledge to continue struggling for the independence of Puerto Rico by any means necessary reflected the sentiment of the overwhelming majority of the audience.

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners found considerable interest at the conference in the question of political prisoners throughout Latin America. A sizeable quantity of USLA literature was given out.