

THE MILITANT

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

Protest U.S. bombings All out April 22!



The following statement was issued April 5 by Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president. (See news article, page 5.)

U. S. air forces capable of launching the heaviest bombing attack against any people in history stand poised to fly against North Vietnam on President Nixon's command.

This threatened air assault must be condemned! All U. S. military forces should be immediately withdrawn from Southeast Asia!

An all-out campaign is needed to build the April 22 antiwar demonstrations set for New York and Los Angeles!

Never have President Nixon's pretenses for escalation been more flagrantly phony. Nixon claims that the North Vietnamese forces fighting side by side with the liberation forces of South Vietnam violate the 1954 Geneva Accords and the agreements supposedly made when President Johnson temporarily suspended bombing of North Vietnam in 1968.

But the Geneva Accords themselves are illegal and a violation of the right of Vietnam to self-determination. The countries participating in the 1954 Geneva conference had no right whatsoever to interfere in the affairs of Vietnam.

Furthermore, the entire U. S. presence in South Vietnam is a violation of the Geneva Accords—which Nixon accuses the Vietnamese of violating!

The Eisenhower administration violated the accords even as they were being written by sending CIA sabotage crews into the Hanoi area. John F. Kennedy escalated this secret war against North Vietnam. Kennedy also violated the accords by sending thousands of U. S. troops into South Vietnam to bolster the military dictatorship of Ngo Dinh Diem against a rebelling populace. The Saigon regime itself—imposed on the South Vietnamese people by U. S. military might in defiance of elections promised for 1956 in the Geneva Accords—is a violation of those accords.

Lyndon Johnson ordered massive bombing attacks on North Vietnam before the U. S. government claimed there were any North Vietnamese units whatsoever in the South.

Nixon speaks of 1968 accords that have been violated. If any "agreements" were wrung from the Vietnamese under the threat of John-

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HERE'S TO YOUR HEALTH: District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) says that New York Health Department reports show "most city hospitals to be rodent- and roach-infested to the point where the health of patients and employes alike is endangered."

POLICE TO POLICE THE POLICE: According to the March 23 *New York Times*, "About one out of every 13 policemen among the 925 assigned to arresting narcotics pushers and gamblers has been secretly recruited for another mission: providing top commanders with intelligence about any corrupt policemen in their ranks." But who will police the police policing the police?

GAY WALK: To dramatize the need for action on several gay rights bills languishing in the New York State legislature, a dozen members of the Gay Activists Alliance and other gay groups are walking to Albany. A GAA press release says the walkers will arrive in Albany Saturday, April 15, at which time they will join "several thousand other gay women and men from all over New York State in a march to the steps of the state capitol, where a massive rally will take place."

'SHAMEFUL ABSURDITY': In a new violation of the norms of socialist democracy, officials of the Soviet Union have refused to issue a visa to a representative of the Swedish Academy who was to have presented Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn with the 1970 Nobel Prize for Literature. This action came one day after the publication in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* of a long interview with Solzhenitsyn, who said it would be a "shameful absurdity" if Soviet officials again prevented him from receiving the award.



Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

STEP TOWARD FORCED STERILIZATION: The California State Social Welfare Board is proposing that the third "illegitimate" child be forcibly removed from its mother. This reactionary proposal has been opposed by Mariana Hernández, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 30th C. D., as "an attack on women's right to control their lives. . . . The measure is a thinly veiled threat—directed against welfare mothers, thousands of whom are Black and Chicana. Such a measure is clearly a first step toward forced sterilization. . . . The state does not want to pay for these children. First they take your children away, and if that doesn't work, they propose forced sterilization to insure that you do not have children. . . ."

"We recognize no such thing as 'illegitimate' children. All children . . . have an equal right to share all the benefits of society regardless of the resources of the parents."

BLACK WOMAN 'NOT GUILTY' IN MINN.: A Rochester, Minn., jury of six men and six women has declared Constance Trimble, a 20-year-old Black woman charged with first degree murder, "not guilty." Trimble had been in jail in St. Paul for more than 15 months in lieu of \$50,000 bail before going on trial last month for the killing of a policeman.

The jury decided March 16 that the prosecution had failed to produce evidence of intent to kill, and that while she had made a phone call that led to the policeman's death in an ambush, she was unaware that he'd be shot in the process.

According to *Militant* reporter Betsey Farley, "The not-guilty ruling, at least in part, was due to the large amount of protest directed at the prosecution of Trimble. The Women's Bail Fund was instrumental in raising \$5,000, the money Trimble's lawyers used for her defense.

"The verdict indicated that the radicalization process has had its impact on the jury system. Black people are not automatically found guilty any more."

Trimble is now serving 30 days for refusing to name the man who asked her to make the telephone call.

CALIF. LOYALTY OATH UNCONSTITUTIONAL: On March 27 Superior Court Judge Robert Bostick declared California's witch-hunting "loyalty" oath unconstitutional. He ruled that seven Alameda County Peace and Freedom Party candidates must be placed on the June 6 ballot without signing a statement that reads: "I swear (or affirm) that I am not engaged in one way or another

in any attempt to overthrow the government by force or violence, and that I am not knowingly a member of any organization engaged in such an attempt."

It was the last part of this oath that the judge found too vague, but on that basis he threw out the entire oath. The suit was based on a 1967 U. S. Supreme Court decision invalidating a similar oath for faculty at the University of Maryland. Plaintiffs in this suit were Lee Coe, Hilda S. Cowan, Anne Draper, Patricia H. Duncan, Sarah Seahill, Leo Seidlitz, and William N. Walker Jr.

MARIJUANA PANEL: Despite President Nixon's warning that he would reject a recommendation to legalize marijuana, the March 22 report of the National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse points in that direction. The congressional commission, nine of its 13 members appointed by Nixon, has called for ending the penalties for personal possession of marijuana or for "casual distribution" of "small amounts" of pot, either free or for "insignificant" payment.

On the other hand, the commission recommends that the "Cultivation, sale or distribution for profit and possession with intent to sell would remain felonies. . . ."

And before you left your home, you'd have to weigh in to make sure you didn't have more than one ounce of the weed, the legal limit to "possess" in public. Even the one ounce, "would be contraband subject to summary seizure and forfeiture." If your scale was off and you ventured out with slightly more than one ounce, this "would be a criminal offense punishable by a fine of \$100."

Even assuming you had no more than one ounce in your possession, "Public use of marijuana would be a criminal offense punishable by a fine of \$100."

YSP SLATE ENTERS BINGHAMTON ELECTIONS: The Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley have announced that they will run a full slate of candidates for student government positions at Harpur College in Binghamton, N. Y., in the election taking place at the end of the semester.

In May of 1969, the Young Socialist Alliance won the positions of president, advocate, and secretary, and four representative positions. During the YSAers' one-year terms in office, Harpur College students made gains in the fight for student control of the school. The student government, for example, subsidized transportation for 2,000 students and faculty (the total enrollment is 4,000) to the Nov. 15, 1969, antiwar march on Washington.

The candidates this year are Betti Sachs for president, Richard San for vice-president, Linda Loew for treasurer, Paul Karlinsky for advocate, and Dom Roguly for at-large representative. Candidates for the other 12 representative positions will soon be announced.

State budget cutbacks threaten many of the gains that were won in previous struggles. One of the important demands of the current campaign will be "Stop the tuition hike—for no tuition!" and "No cutbacks!"

THE MILITANT GETS REPRINTED: Among the newspapers and magazines that have reprinted articles from *The Militant* recently are the *Southern Gay Liberator*, published in Florida; *tumbri!*, an underground paper in Providence, R. I.; *The New Paper* of Carrollton, Ga.; *The Fixer* of Harrisonburg, Va.; *Papel Chicano* of Houston; and *Somos Aztlan* of Boulder, Colo.

La Brèche, the fortnightly French-language paper of the Ligue Marxiste Revolutionnaire of Switzerland, reprinted Caroline Lund's article "How the capitalists control the Democratic and Republican parties" as the center spread of its March 23 issue.

POSTAL WORKER REINSTATED: Last summer, Ken Evenhuis, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, was fired from his job as a substitute mail carrier in Los Angeles for allegedly lying on his job application. He had stated he wasn't "a member of any organization that favors the overthrow of the constitutional form of the government of the United States or which seeks by force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States." The post office said he was a member of such an organization, the SWP, and cited as proof the inclusion of the party on the Attorney General's List.

In January, federal Judge Martin Gasch ordered the Post Office, Civil Service Commission, attorney general, "and all persons in active concert and participation with them" from using the Attorney General's List as it had been used in the cases of Evenhuis and SWP member Doug Gordon of San Francisco.

Evenhuis' lawyer, Dorian Bowman, acting for the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, recently received a letter from the Civil Service Commission reporting their decision to reinstate Evenhuis retroactive to July 13 "and to cancel the action barring him from seeking or accepting other Federal employment."

—JOEL BRITTON

Boston U students strike against military recruiting

By PAT PUTNAM
BOSTON, April 5—Yesterday and today thousands of Boston University students stayed out of school in a strike to protest the presence of Marine recruiters on campus and the March 27 arrest of 33 BU students demonstrating against the recruiters. During the strike—which was supported by the student government and a wide variety of campus organizations—and the days preceding it, the campus was alive with mass leafletting, picket lines, and massive student and faculty meetings.

The student government has not yet made an estimate of the number of students who participated in the strike.

The 33 students were arrested while peacefully demonstrating along with 200 to 300 others against the recruiters. Boston University President John R. Silber called in the Boston tactical police force to break up the demonstration. Several students and faculty were bitten by police dogs and clubbed in the process.

This was the first time that military recruiters had set foot on this campus in two years. During the May 1970 strike, following the U.S. invasion of Cambodia, the mass antiwar sentiment of the students and faculty forced the administration to refrain from inviting military recruiters to BU.

BU students were outraged by President Silber's recent unilateral decision to reinstitute military recruiting. On March 28, the day following the arrests, a mass meeting of more than 2,500 students voted to approve three demands introduced by the Student Mobilization Committee. These demands were: 1) no recruiters on campus; 2) no cops on campus; 3) drop all charges against those arrested March 27. A fourth demand calling for an end to unilateral administrative decisions was also adopted by the body.

The next day, March 29, a picket line of 500 to 600 students was held at the site of the arrests. At a mass meeting following the picket, 3,000 students voted to strike on April 4 and 5.

An open strike coordinating committee was formed at the meeting. This

committee, composed of eight subcommittees, was designed to implement the action proposals passed at the mass meetings. This structure also afforded the 3,000 students already involved in action a means to organize the rest of the BU campus—totalling 12,000 students—for a successful strike.

A position paper explaining the four demands was widely distributed throughout the campus. The introduction to the paper aptly characterizes the attitude of the students about this and other administrative actions at BU this past year: "Since taking office last spring, President Silber has attempted to probe the student body to find out how far he can get without provoking mass unrest. It is clear that this situation has now reached the boiling point.

"The tuition hike, removal of telephones, the student activities fee question, and now military recruiters on campus, were all conscious attempts to extend administrative control and roll back the gains of the student movement."

On Thursday and Friday, March 30 and 31, there were picket lines of 40 to 50 people in front of the administration offices for several hours. The picketers were spirited and chanted continuously the four demands as well as "U.S. Out of Southeast Asia!"

During these two days, meetings of 100-300 students were taking place all over the campus—in the dormitories and in all of the undergraduate schools. Faculty members also came to these meetings, in addition to holding their own meetings, in an attempt to work out some way to respond to what was happening.

The faculty in several departments set up ad hoc committees, some to investigate exactly what had happened on March 27. The campus paper featured daily articles on all the activities taking place.

On Monday morning, April 3, a third mass meeting of some 500 students voted to approve proposals from the strike coordinating committee for activities during the next two strike days.

Picket lines on Tuesday, April 4, the first strike day, started at 8:30

a.m. and continued throughout the day, with up to 100 students participating.

Attendance at classes was very low. Many professors called their classes off, either in solidarity with the strike or because none of their students showed up.

Other classes were turned into discussions on the war and the issue of military recruiters on campus.

Today the picket lines again started at 8:30 a.m. The picket lines were larger, and participation in classes was even lower than yesterday.

At noon, around 300 students gathered in front of the student union and boarded buses to go down to Roxbury courthouse, where the trial of the BU 33 was to take place. About 100 people actually got into the courtroom. The rest gathered outside to await the results.

The spirit of solidarity with the defendants was great. At 3 p.m., the crowd was informed that 30 of the defendants' cases would be continued until May 31, at which time the charges would probably be dropped. The other three will be tried separately on charges of assault with a deadly weapon, because one of them was accused of having a knife in his possession at the time of arrest.

What will happen at tonight's meeting is at this point unclear. The students and faculty at Boston University are obviously sick and tired of not having a voice in the decisions of their university. They are becoming more and more aware of why the administration is continuously making unilateral decisions that go directly against their sentiments on many issues.

The BU Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, one of the major supporters of the strike, is running a campaign in the student union elections. The campaign started two weeks ago and will end next week.

Throughout the campaign—and especially during the strike—they have distributed thousands of leaflets explaining the issues of the strike and how these issues tie up with others, such as the student-union fee. They have also stressed the necessity of establishing student-faculty control of the university.

The Militant gets around...

100 RENEWALS WERE RECEIVED LAST WEEK, bringing the total number of renewals this spring to 1,209. The majority of these are from readers who bought introductory subscriptions during last fall's subscription drive. In addition, 129 introductory and seven new one-year subscriptions were sent in last week.

A reminder: all areas should try to wrap up visiting the remaining subscribers in their region by the end of April.



Photo by Mimi Shepherd

TOP AREAS: Militant supporters in Chicago last week sent in 33 introductory, three new one-year, and 12 renewal subscriptions; San Francisco sent in 13 introductory and 11 renewal subscriptions; and Cleveland sent in 12 introductory and six renewal subscriptions.

MORE THAN 400 MILITANTS WERE SOLD AT THE HARRISBURG DEMONSTRATION on April 1, plus 72 copies of the International Socialist Review. Sellers reported an enthusiastic response to both *The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party 1972 election campaign.

MILITANTS SOLD AT REFORM DEMOCRAT CONFERENCE: Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley distributed campaign literature and sold 70 Militants at the recent California Democratic Council conference in Oakland. The presence of so many Jenness-Pulley supporters and people reading *The Militant* led one conference participant to remark that Jenness must have a delegation at the conference. Snapped a Democrat standing nearby, "She can't, she's not a Democrat."

SATURDAY WRAP-UP SALES: Militant sales directors from several areas report a good method for selling out their bundles. Regular "wrap-up" sales are scheduled for Saturdays, with teams going out to sell the remaining part of the bundle. Shopping centers, supermarkets, and downtown areas are especially good locations for these sales. Paula Smith from Brooklyn sold 50 Militants in two hours on a street corner in Greenwich Village last Saturday, and 25 more on Sunday.

A PRISONER IN COLUMBUS, OHIO, WRITES, "I have heard a lot of your paper and was lucky enough to get one to read. I dig it, because I dig the truth and I go along with *The Militant*. Could you please add me to your list so I can receive *The Militant*."

FROM A TEACHER IN STANFORD, CALIF., we received the following letter: "I have recommended *The Militant* to students in my study group to provide an alternative view of American society. Would you please begin 10-week subscriptions immediately for the enclosed list of students." Militant representatives should take a hint from

this and visit interested high school and college teachers to request that they recommend the special introductory offer to their classes.

ANGELA DAVIS TRIAL COVERAGE: This issue begins the expanded firsthand coverage of the Davis trial. To complement our efforts to get out the truth about the frame-up trial, we are encouraging all areas with *Militant* bundles to make a special sales effort and raise their bundles for the next few issues. Areas will also want to increase bundles of next week's issue to sell on the buses going to the April 22 antiwar demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles.

THE MILITANT GETS TO THREE NEW PLACES: Orders for weekly bundles of *The Militant* have recently come in from Richmond, Calif.; Dallas, Texas; and Memphis, Tenn. If there is no one selling *The Militant* in your area, help get it around by taking a regular bundle. The coupon below can be filled out for new bundles. (The cost for bulk orders is 17 cents each, payable at the end of each month.) — NANCY COLE

Please send me a weekly bundle of *Militants* (circle one):

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City _____ State _____ Zip _____

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

10,000 on Harrisburg demonstration

By DAVE FRANKEL

HARRISBURG, April 1—More than 10,000 demonstrators protesting the Harrisburg frame-up trial and the war in Indochina marched on the Pennsylvania state capitol here today. The demonstration drew a wide cross section of the antiwar movement. Seminary students and a contingent from the National Federation of Priests Councils marched with members of Federal Employees for Peace and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC). One colorful section of the march, organized by the Bread and Puppet Theater, displayed "Mr. Bigman [Uncle Sam]," who "eats the children of the world."

The rally following the march was chaired by Paul Mayer of the Harrisburg Defense Committee and actress Ruby Dee. Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) spoke briefly to the crowd and was followed by Fania Jordan, Angela Davis's sister, who represented the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis. The Davis Defense Committee was one of the sponsors of the demonstration, along with the Harrisburg Defense Committee, and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

Jordan discussed some of the activities in defense of Angela Davis af-

ter making a factional attack against those who support building actions around the single issue of the Vietnam war. She also praised the Communist Party's presidential election campaign and the efforts of the CP to obtain ballot status around the country.

Daniel Ellsberg, the chief defendant in the Pentagon papers case, hailed the protesters, saying that the Harrisburg trial was meant to intimidate the antiwar movement.

Father Daniel Berrigan (Philip Berrigan's brother), and Sister Elizabeth McAlister represented the Harrisburg defendants at the rally and discussed their view of the moral issues presented by the war. Other speakers included Ngo Vinh Long, a Vietnamese student; the Reverend Ralph David Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Beulah Sanders of the National Welfare Rights Organization; William Kunstler; and Richard Trejo of the United Farm Workers union. A telephone message from Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, foreign minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, was also received.

Unfortunately, organizers of the rally refused to allow National Peace Action Coalition coordinator Jerry

Gordon to announce the April 22 antiwar actions to the assembly, despite the fact that NPAC has actively supported the demonstration. A short announcement of the April 22 action was made late in the rally.

NPAC and SMC activists were well represented at the demonstration, with



Photo by Mark Satinoff

Bread and Puppet Players performed at April 1 antiwar action of 10,000 in Harrisburg.

CP dodges issues, rejects antiwar unity

By DAVE FRANKEL

If you were one of those who read an article by Donna Ristorucci in the March 22 *Daily World*, a newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party USA (CP), you would probably have come away with the impression that a worldwide wave of revulsion and opprobrium is about to come crashing down on the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC).

Ristorucci takes to task the *Guardian*, a radical newsweekly, for a Feb. 23 editorial that criticized the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice for not responding more positively to NPAC's appeals for a united effort of the antiwar movement around the demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles on April 22.



Student Mobilization Committee and NPAC activists in a March 30 demonstration in Minneapolis against the frame-up of the Harrisburg Seven.

NPAC, it seems, "is disregarding not only the majority of the U. S. movement, but the entire world's anti-imperialist movement." Because of "NPAC's method of work . . . organizations representing hundreds of thousands—even millions—have openly stated their refusal to work with NPAC." And, in case you're one of those who would like to see united antiwar actions this spring in which all sectors of the antiwar movement participate, you should know that this would be possible—"were it not for NPAC's and SWP's [Socialist Workers Party] manipulations."

Ristorucci refrains from branding NPAC as an arm of the CIA—manifesting a delicacy of expression not shown by William J. Pomeroy, another *Daily World* writer. In a March 11 article Pomeroy attempted to account for the differences of opinion within the American delegation to the World Peace Conference at Versailles by referring to "belief that the CIA or related agencies would press internal efforts to disrupt Assembly proceedings from within. Not surprisingly, the Trotskyists and those linked with the National Peace Action Coalition . . . drew the most suspicion of carrying out a disruptive role."

Ristorucci, however, apparently believes her lame concoction of lies and slanders will stand as a sufficient explanation for the CP's sectarian refusal to participate in building the April 22 demonstrations.

First, a few factual points. Ristorucci contends that NPAC "has done nothing to promote the activities planned for the six-week period [called by the World Peace Conference in Versailles] other than the April 22 demonstration, which it had planned prior to the conference."

This is false. The Versailles conference named four sets of dates for antiwar actions: April 1, April 15, April 22, and May 1-15. NPAC has been actively building the first three of these, as well as the entire six-week spring offensive. In line with its long-standing tradition of defending opponents of the war victimized by the government, the March 11 NPAC national steering committee voted to endorse and actively build the April 1 Harrisburg demonstration, 11 days before the appearance of Ristorucci's article. NPAC included April 15 in its week of antiwar activity leading up to the mass demonstrations on April 22 because PCPJ had called for local actions on that date. NPAC has called, and will continue to call, local actions as part of the six-week spring antiwar offensive. These range from the actions answering Nixon's misuse of the POW issue to the many teach-ins and local demonstrations that have been organized around the country.

Of similar veracity is the claim that "NPAC has, at past demonstrations jointly sponsored with PCPJ and oth-

ers, barred agreed-upon speakers representing people's movements from the platform while stacking speakers' lists with SWP-NPAC speakers. . . ."

Ristorucci wisely states her case without trying to prove it and refrains from getting mixed up with such cumbersome details as where and when these events happened and who was involved. However, since NPAC and PCPJ have cosponsored only two major national antiwar actions, those on April 24, 1971, and those on Nov. 6, 1971, it is instructive to review the speaker's lists for those actions.

The Nov. 6 action in New York, one of the largest actions on that date, was chaired by entertainer Tony Randall; Jerry Gordon of NPAC; David Livingston, president of District 65, Distributive Workers; and Beulah Sanders of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO).

Speaking were Senator Vance Hartke; Representative Bella Abzug; Jarvis Tyner, the CP's candidate for vice-president; Kate Millett, author of *Sexual Politics*; Juan Mari Brás, secretary-general of the Puerto Rican Movimiento Pro-Independencia; Sidney Peck of PCPJ; Dr. Benjamin Spock; Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for president; Charlene Mitchell of the Angela Davis Defense Committee; Debby Bustin of the Student Mobilization Committee; and others.

A similar range of views and constituencies was represented on the speaker's platform in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco on April 24. Is this what Ristorucci means by "stacking speakers' lists?"

The fact is that there are real political differences between NPAC and PCPJ. PCPJ supports the Provisional Revolutionary Government's seven-point program, while NPAC refuses to advocate one or another policy for the Vietnamese people on questions such as neutrality, unification of their country, or the type of regime the Vietnamese should install following a U. S. withdrawal.

NPAC does not agree with the PCPJ demand that the U. S. "set a date" for its withdrawal from Vietnam. NPAC's position is that the antiwar movement should demand the immediate withdrawal of U. S. forces from Indochina.

NPAC is an antiwar coalition that attempts to mobilize masses of people

large banners urging participation in the April 22 marches. Activists from New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D. C., distributed more than 4,000 copies of the *Student Mobilizer*, 24,000 stickers, 1,600 posters, 14,000 leaflets, and 800 buttons—all of which will be used to help build the April 22 actions.

against the war, its effects at home, and the victimizations of those who struggle against it. It does not claim to represent a new American left, nor does it claim to mobilize people around a whole program of diverse social reforms, as does PCPJ.

Unfortunately, Ristorucci uses charges of "manipulation" in order to avoid discussing these real political issues within the antiwar movement. This tactic, together with the CP's attempt to identify NPAC with the SWP, is reminiscent of the same type of red-baiting arguments the CP itself has suffered so much from in the past. The CP conveniently ignores the fact that NPAC is an antiwar coalition that includes individuals and organizations representing a wide range of political views, while the SWP is a revolutionary-socialist party and only one of NPAC's constituent organizations.

NPAC has proved its ability and determination to mobilize masses of people against the war in Indochina. NPAC initiated the call for the enormous April 24, 1971, demonstrations in December of 1970. The PCPJ refused to support them until the end of February. In the Nov. 6 demonstrations, which saw 150,000 people out in the streets demanding that the U. S. get out of Indochina, PCPJ again dragged its feet. The Nov. 17, 1971, *Guardian*, while affirming its political agreement with PCPJ, was forced to assert that "It is a pity the many affiliates of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, which co-sponsored the protests, played so minor a role in the Nov. 6 actions across the nation."

The CP is supporting the continuation of this tradition in regard to the April 22 demonstrations. NPAC's position—wholeheartedly supported by the SWP—is that the differences within the antiwar movement should not be allowed to prevent cooperation and collaboration on specific actions. To show that the majority of the American people continue to oppose this war and will tolerate no new escalations of it, all sections of the antiwar movement should unite in the streets, while raising their own slogans and carrying out other forms of activity as well. This is the real issue facing the antiwar movement today.

Vietnamese offensive poses dilemma for Washington

By DICK ROBERTS

APRIL 5—The powerful thrust of North and South Vietnamese regiments against the northern military outposts of the Saigon regime is the largest since the Tet offensive in early 1968. It once again testifies to the indomitable strength of revolution in Vietnam.

It shows what would happen if the civil war in Indochina were really "Vietnamized." The military clique in Saigon would collapse, and the revolutionary forces would sweep to victory.

Washington is today nowhere nearer obtaining its main aim in Vietnam than it was seven years ago when President Johnson began escalating the U.S. intervention. Today, as at that time, the capitalist-landlord regime in Saigon remains in power only because of massive U.S. military support.

As the Saigon armies in the north flee the revolutionary advance, abandoning U.S. arms and equipment in their path, it is worth recalling that hundreds of billions of dollars and tens of thousands of American lives have been spent for the sole purpose of stabilizing this army. And this is not to speak of the unutterable toll of horror brought about in Indochina by the most intensive bombing in the history of warfare.

Press censorship has rarely been tighter. It is unclear at the time of this writing just how much of the huge buildup of U.S. bombers has already been sent against the revolutionary forces in North and South Vietnam. Yet there can be no doubt that Nixon has assembled the biggest phalanx of bombers ever used in this war, and that the strategists meeting hourly in Washington have mapped plans to lay waste the North Vietnamese countryside and cities in retaliation for this offensive.

On April 4 the *New York Times* reported from Saigon that "The United States command marshaled an armada of hundreds of B-52 bombers and fighter planes today, poised for possible strikes against North Vietnam and against its 15,000-man force pouring into South Vietnam.

"With enemy troops controlling half of South Vietnam's northernmost province, Quangtri, the United States Navy dispatched the aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk from the Philippines to

A panel discussion on the issues facing the antiwar movement, featuring National Peace Action Coalition coordinator Jerry Gordon, George Vickers of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, and Guardian staff writer Carl Davidson, will take place on Friday, April 14. The meeting will be at New York University's Main Building, Room 703, at 8 p.m. It is sponsored by the NYU Young Socialist Alliance. Admission, \$1.

join the carriers Coral Sea and Hancock off Vietnam. There were reports that a fourth carrier, the Constellation, would follow soon from Japan . . . Each carrier has some 90 combat planes."

The same newspaper reported the following day, April 5, from Washington: "The United States tonight [April 4] ordered the deployment of 10 to 20 more B-52 bombers to Indochina to strengthen the American ability to respond to the new North Vietnamese offensive.

"The new planes will bolster the existing fleet of stratofortresses by up to 25 percent. Eighty more of the giant bombers already are stationed at bases in Thailand and Guam."

The fact that tens of thousands of refugees are pouring out of the battle zone in northern South Vietnam indicates that intensive bombing has already begun in that region.

It is important to recall, however, that Nixon had already undertaken a major escalation of the bombing of North and South Vietnam before the present offensive developed. Congressman Edward Roybal (D-Calif.) entered the pertinent figures in the *Congressional Record*, March 30:

"... during the months of July through November 1971, the United States bombed Indochina at the rate of 50,000 tons per month. In late December . . . the President ordered massive air strikes against North Vietnam, a total of 1,000 sorties over a 5-day period.

"Subsequently, during February 1972, over 67,500 tons of bombs were dropped on Indochina, a 35 percent increase over the totals for the latter part of 1971. In addition, from January 1 through March 20 of 1972, there were 100 bombing raids against North Vietnam. This is five times the 20 strikes flown in the first 3 months of 1971 and will soon surpass the total of 108 strikes for 1971.

"The air war was further escalated by the addition of 42 B-52's operating from Thailand and Guam in February 1972, doubling the B-52 force in Southeast Asia." (*Congressional Record*, p. E 3296.)

The administration's shutting off of the Paris talks on March 23 was a further signal of Nixon's intention to escalate the air war and to increase the military pressure on Hanoi to submit to his eight-point surrender terms. But neither the walkout in Paris nor the four months of escalated bombing since December deterred the revolutionary offensive.

In fact so-called interdiction raids have always failed to prevent troops and supplies from moving south. This is because their main intent is to inflict civilian casualties and to terrorize the populace.

For the past five days, the Nixon administration has gone out of its way to give the appearance of calmness in the face of the new offensive. It now appears that this was one of the reasons for regularly predicting a revolutionary advance since the beginning of January. But the apparent calmness is as phony as everything else the administration says about the war.

Nixon interrupted a vacation to get back to the White House for a series of secret top-level meetings. The "Washington Special Action Group" under Henry A. Kissinger has been meeting daily since the offensive began. "The group," says the April 5 *Times*, "which is composed of senior officials from the State and Defense Department and the Central Intelligence Agency, meets during emergencies." In fact the only thing Washington accurately predicted about the offensive was that it would be launched. The intelligence estimates failed to pinpoint the time, place, and strength of the attack.

A typical article was written from Saigon Feb. 3 by *Times* correspondent Craig R. Whitney. "If the North Vietnamese win any major battles," said Whitney, "it will not be because the South Vietnamese are unprepared. In Quinhon all Vietnamese soldiers

and the Americans who advise and supply them are under orders to wear flak jackets and steel helmets whenever they venture off base." Besides Quinhon, Whitney mentioned Benhet, Pleiku, and Kontum as reported targets of the "much-heralded offensive." Furthermore the attack would occur "any time between now and the 20th of February," according to an American officer cited by Whitney.

But the attack came more than a month later than that. It was not launched in the Central Highlands around Kontum Province as Whitney expected, but 195 miles north of Pleiku in Quangtri Province. It was not even launched on a clear day but when the skies were clouded over so that U.S. bombers would have a poorer chance of hitting advancing troops. And, to top it all off, North Vietnamese full-strength units were reported in the attack for the first time in the history of the war.

The irony of this seems to have escaped the TV commentators. For seven years they have justified the U.S. attack on Indochina as a retaliation for the supposed "North Vietnamese invasion" of South Vietnam. But now, it would seem, according to them, that the "invasion" began five days ago.

The inability of U.S. military intelligence to gauge the tactics of the revolutionary forces is another indication of the realities of the war. At no time have the forces of the imperialists been able to hold large land areas anywhere in Indochina. Every single portion of South Vietnam, in-

The following is excerpted from the April 4 lead editorial of the *Los Angeles Times*.

'Victory in Indochina is not the will of the American people. This nation has long since perceived the futility of this war. If a way out can be negotiated in Paris, fine. But the frustration of negotiations is no cause to slow the withdrawal. There is only one way out. It includes pilots and bombardiers and airborne electronics technicians as well as infantry. If Saigon cannot survive without them, the sooner that is acknowledged the better.'

cluding Saigon itself, has always been vulnerable to revolutionary attack.

Washington has depended on massive bombing to beat back such attacks and on devastation of the countryside to terrorize the populace. In the 1968 Tet offensive this took the shape of bombing the cities themselves to hurl back that revolutionary drive—"bombing the cities to save them," as a U.S. official stated at the time.

Four years after the Tet offensive, Nixon is in a worse situation than Johnson was at that time. Today the combined forces of the revolutionary armies and the international antiwar movement have forced Washington to withdraw most of its main regiments. The Pentagon is confronted with "positional warfare" for the first time in the history of this war, and not on the Pentagon's terms but on the terms of the liberation fighters.

Can a new and even more horrendous escalation of the bombing beat back the new revolutionary advance? This is the overriding question that is being pondered in the secret White House meetings. It most sharply expresses the realities of this war.

Harlem Four released; fourth trial set

NEW YORK, April 5—New York State Supreme Court Judge Irwin D. Davidson ruled today that a fourth trial be held for the Harlem Four beginning May 8. Meanwhile, Judge Joseph Martinis delayed ruling on the defense motion to drop the charges in light of new evidence. Instead, he has scheduled hearings on the evidence before making a possible ruling.

NEW YORK—In the wake of a dramatic chain of events, the Harlem Four walked out of the Manhattan House of Detention, the "Tombs," on \$5,000 bail each, March 31. The four were greeted by more than 200 relatives and friends, some with tear-swollen eyes, as they made their exit.

The Harlem Four—Ronald Felder, William Craig, Walter Thomas, and Wallace Baker—were tried and convicted along with two other Black youths for the murder of a white shopkeeper in Harlem in 1964. The conviction was overturned on appeal, and two subsequent trials for the four, the last ending in January of this year, produced hung juries. But in spite of the fact that the Manhattan district attorney's office had not secured a conviction, the four were kept behind bars without bail for eight years!

At the time of their initial frame-up, the defendants were between 17 and 19 years old. One of them, Thomas, has a daughter who is now nine years old.

In light of the last hung jury, Judge Joseph Martinis granted bail of \$75,000 apiece. But this meant no bail at all, since the four come from poor families.

Early in March, defense attorneys William Kunstler, Lewis Steel, and Conrad Lynn brought taped testimony from a probation officer that two key prosecution witnesses had perjured themselves. Martinis then held a hearing March 29, where he lowered bail to \$5,000 each. A hearing on the new evidence will be held April 5, at which time Martinis could override the district attorney's request for a fourth trial and drop the charges.

The flimsiness of the state's evidence and the widespread support in the Black community for the four defendants have been important factors in the defense effort. Community leaders, including Black elected officials, have issued appeals in behalf of the four. Hundreds of Black youth have attended the trial sessions and hearings.

Sidney Von Luther, a Black Democratic state senator, and Dr. Annette Rubinstein of the Charter Group for a Pledge of Conscience, one of the defense committees working in behalf of the four, coordinated the raising of the \$20,000 bail.



Walter Thomas

In Our Opinion

The field narrows

Two more candidates have now dropped out of the campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination—New York City Mayor John Lindsay and Indiana Senator Vance Hartke.

The American people were treated to another example of the rank opportunism of the Democrats and Republicans when Hartke announced his endorsement of Hubert Humphrey for the Democratic nomination. Hartke—who has stated at antiwar demonstrations that he is for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia—had no trouble whatsoever in throwing his support to Humphrey, one of the architects of the war as vice-president in Lyndon Johnson's administration.

Humphrey said in 1967, for example, "I support our policy in Southeast Asia and Vietnam—I support it now as I have over the last 12 years." Later the same year Humphrey said about Vietnam: "This is our great adventure and a wonderful one it is. We are going to be in Asia for a long, long time."

Of course this year Humphrey is saying he was mistaken for all those years and now is a "peace candidate." His "peaceful" intentions were demonstrated April 4 when he urged President Nixon to "use American air power" against the offensive of the Vietnamese freedom fighters.

A few days after Hartke's withdrawal from the race, the American people got another glimpse of the corruption that is standard operating procedure among Democratic and Republican politicians. According to Susan Lichtman, a former secretary for the famous ITT lobbyist Dita Beard, Hartke had his hand in the till of ITT. He and other congressmen would regularly ask for "favors" from the company in the form of jet plane service, Lichtman said.

Although Lindsay has not as yet endorsed any of the other candidates, he will do so sooner or later. Those who have supported Lindsay or Hartke on the basis of their claims to be for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam should consider supporting Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president. In addition to supporting immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U. S. troops and bombers from Indochina, the SWP candidates are not in business to exchange favors with the big corporations. They are for replacing the Democratic and Republican party government of the capitalists with a government of the working people.

HHH on busing



MARCH 17 IN FLORIDA: 'Thank goodness. . . the President has been able to get his finger up in the air. . . and has decided (to) say amen to some of the things that some of the rest of us have been trying to do.'

MARCH 20 IN WISCONSIN: Humphrey puts his own finger in the air and decides that Nixon's plan is 'insufficient,' 'deceptive,' and 'insensitive.'

Letters

Antiwar town

Although capitalist politicians claim the war in Indochina is not an issue, they were proved wrong once more. This time it was the town of North Andover, Mass. On March 18, after much hard work by local antiwar activists, North Andover went on record as calling for "out now."

An overwhelming majority of those present at the annual town meeting passed a resolution putting the town on record as favoring "the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of all U. S. forces, aid and logistics from South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and to redirect national priorities away from military spending and instead toward meeting human needs."

The seemingly impossible task of getting the town to take an antiwar stand was compounded by the fact that the most powerful political group in the town is the V. F. W. post. Although the antiwar resolution received excellent press coverage, we knew more was needed to get the resolution passed. We printed a leaflet for distribution around the town, and we called two public meetings in order to get more people involved and to enable us to canvass the town more efficiently.

The town meeting's approval of the resolution was hailed as a great victory by the town's antiwar forces, but we are not stopping here. We will be holding teach-ins to build for the April 22 antiwar demonstration, and plans are being made to charter a bus for the march on New York.

Earl Camiré
North Andover, Mass.

Oppressive schools

I find your paper informative, interesting, and challenging, and think it important for everybody trying to make decisions about everything coming down around him. I also appreciate your subjective point of view—it is a needed antidote to the subjective "objectivity" of the capitalist press.

One area which needs more coverage is the topic of "education" in our public schools. I think we can all gain from an investigation and exploration of the system's manipulating of its students. Here in a predominantly Chicano area, the scene is clearly and openly oppressive.

Jeff Kirsch
San Elizario, Texas

Mort Furay

Mort Furay died here of a heart attack on March 13. He was president of the 10,000-member Local 705 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees union. A maverick among trade-union officials, he remained to his death a militant defender of working people and the underprivileged in American society.

Furay's experiences with American capitalism began when he was a CIO organizer in the 1930s. He retained to the end his attitude that this society was essentially arrogant and greedy. He promoted causes as varied as prison reform and popular culture, organizing a downtown theater company.

The Detroit *Free Press*, in reporting his unexpected death, didn't mention Mort Furay's other contributions, such as his services to civil liberties causes. In 1969 Furay

joined the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee to help defend the Fort Jackson Eight, and the April 5 Antiwar Action Committee, which built the Chicago antiwar demonstration.

It was characteristic of him to see unpopular causes as a challenge. He believed that a better world for the downtrodden could only succeed by mass struggle.

Edith Gbur, Henry Austin
Detroit, Mich.

Political prisoners

When the term "political prisoner" is applied, those applying it refer to their crimes as an extension of the ghettos created by the superstructure. The attitude of the masses of prisoners throughout the United States is proof that the prison system is a reflection of the same treatment administered to them by the superstructure when they were members of society.

Those in power relate a one-sided story to society concerning the prisoners' behavior. Once they [society as a whole] become aware that our treatment is a duplication of the way they are treated, they in turn will rebel against the corrupted few who exploit and keep the masses oppressed.

I have never publicly voiced my opinion, but the time comes when each person is confronted with those in power and recognizes the system for what it really is. At such a time, each person must determine where he stands. As for myself, my ending speaks for me. "Remember Attica!"

Henry Pielow
Correctional Facility
Attica, N. Y.

Bandits

During the TV presidential candidate debate March 5 in Manchester, N. H., one of the candidates, in answer to a question about the POW situation in Southeast Asia, mentioned that the "North Vietnamese" consider the prisoners to be bandits rather than POWs. Immediately afterwards he spoke of the "Communist" aggression in South Vietnam. His almost automatic refusal to face the facts was pitiable—and is symptomatic of the blindness that afflicts much of U. S. society.

This country sent over half a million invaders to Vietnam. Laos and Cambodia were successfully trying to stay neutral, but we invaded them also in our attempt to formally perpetuate the division of Vietnam into two countries.

Our official blindness consists in not being able to admit the obvious fact that we *are* invaders, and that none of the million Vietnamese people we have murdered were foreigners; they were all citizens of Vietnam. The term "bandits," if actually used by the Vietnamese of the North, is understandable.

Michael W. Morrison
Lexington, Mass.

'Soviet Life'

I have yet another example of the Soviet revisionists' anti-Trotsky campaign. A few years ago I subscribed to the Soviet magazine *Soviet Life*. When the time came to renew, I received a letter asking me to renew and offer any suggestions I might have concerning future articles. I mailed my check along with a short note asking that Trotsky's role in

The Great Society

the formation of the Red Army be covered in detail.

Needless to say, they cashed my check and I never received an answer or another copy of *Soviet Life*. It wasn't such a great loss, though. The magazine wasn't very good, and they were terrible liars besides.

Dan A. Townsend
Memphis, Tenn.

Right to revolution

The people have a perfect legal right to a revolution, whether it's with guns or petitions. From the *Declaration of Independence* I quote the following: "That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends [life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness], it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Whenever a government allows large corporations to exploit the people, then it's time to make changes in the structure of that government. This should also apply to our prisons. What members of the American society are exploited more than prisoners (especially the Black prisoners)?

The number of Black males that are incarcerated compared with the statistics of 1950 is up about 25 percent. This means that more Black men are committing crimes compared to 1950, or they are discriminated against more when they enter a courtroom. Why is this? Is it because of the revolutionary trend today, or is it another step in the practice of genocide by keeping as many Black males from Black females and decreasing the reproductive rate of the Black race?

I would appreciate any comments on this from your readers or staff, critical or not.

Carl Leonard Williams
835 W. Morgan St.
Raleigh, N. C. 27602

Gay conference

Thank you for Art Gursch's article [*Militant*, March 10] on the national Gay conference here in Chicago. There was one important thing, however, which Art didn't include. Morris Kight (a longtime advocate of unity between the Gay movement and the antiwar movement) made a statement—which received an ovation but was not adopted as an official position of the conference—calling for a people's mandate that the United States "... be ordered to dismantle its worldwide military-industrial-police complex, and that all police agencies operating outside the U. S. should be ordered to come home. Beyond that, the power in the U. S. should be, once and for all, returned to the people."

Build April 22!

Richard Chinn
Fiery Flames Tribe
Chicago, Ill.

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.

Holy rip-off—The official "Jesus Christ Superstar" T-shirt features Jesus holding a microphone. According to Jerry Bergh, artistic director of the musical, there are also at least eight unauthorized Jesus Christ T-shirts in varying degrees of bad taste. He had the good taste not to mention that the most distasteful thing about them is that they don't pay royalties.

Or anything else that isn't nailed down—Spiro Agnew got a riotous response from New York's "finest" when he told them he was sick and tired of those who say cops "over-react" every time they "take a stand."

Moral issue—The March 31 *Militant* was incomplete in its account of increased government concern about socialists and other dissidents asserting their right to federal employment. It's not merely a matter of "revolutionary terrorists" slipping into clerical and custodial jobs, explained Assistant Attorney General Robert Mar-dian. Now they're getting "people who feel they should be ruled by a sense of conscience" rather than by their superiors. Can you imagine if we had a government dominated by such people?

Educated entrepreneur—Educators have expressed concern about the morality of the booming term-paper business with gross sales of up to \$1-million by such market leaders as Write-On Inc., Planned Paperhood, and Quality Bullshit. Responded Arthur Harger of Write-On: "I think this is a challenge to the educational system. If they made the educational process a real learning process, then companies like ours wouldn't be able to exist."

Age of enlightenment—Some 40,000 of the country's spiritual leaders are currently investing \$25 in a year's supply of canned sermons. We trust the inventory includes some solid exhortations on resisting the lures of creature comforts in a materialist-oriented society.

Fluid approach—At executive conferences, the National Management Ass'n is setting up its afternoon happy hours as "adjustment periods."

Drama dep't—California Governor Ronald Reagan says he has no plans to return to movie acting. He confided, however, that he would like to do General MacArthur, ending with

the late general's line, "Old soldiers never die, they just fade away." If that now seems a bit campy, it could be changed to "Old politicians never die, they just steal away."

Pure Americana—A new product is an attractively packaged supply of deodorized, perfumed manure for indoor plants.

Don't bank on it—We recently reported a sprouting of commercial sperm banks, which for a modest fee, will store frozen semen for up to 10 years as fertility insurance for men undergoing vasectomies. The Public Health Association says, "... the biological potency and genetic adequacy of human sperm which has been frozen and stored over a protracted period ... remains to be established." Representatives of two of the banks responded that they had never made any guarantees.

Expanding market—We assume that the purveyors of canned sermons took due note of the National Geographic Society report that the Bible has been translated into 1,473 languages and dialects, with linguists currently working on 500 more.

— HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

PROTEST HIGH SCHOOL PRINCESS SELECTION—Portland high school women are demanding an end to the High School Princess Selection, which is part of the city's annual Rose Festival. One of the highlights of the Rose Festival is the crowning of the Rose Festival Queen, chosen from candidates selected in the high schools and by big corporations.

Each year senior women parade across the stage in special high school assemblies. According to Festival rules, high school princesses are chosen "60 percent by appearance, 20 percent by poise, 20 percent by the sound of their voice."

This January, women from several high schools formed WARFPS—Women Against the Rose Festival Princess Selection. WARFPS wants to end this degrading contest in the schools. It has proposed to the Portland School Board that students hold a binding referendum in each school to vote on whether they wish to participate in the princess selection. Last year, Adams High School and Jackson High School held such referendums. Students in both schools voted to end the selections.

The school board, however, wants to maintain the princess selection and has refused to allow binding referendums in other schools. WARFPS has organized a petition campaign and has won the support of many teachers and the presidents of the Portland Federation of Teachers and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. One high school teacher who's all in favor of ending the beauty contest—and is urging her own students to oppose it—is Miss Oregon of 1958.

MORE ON HARRIS POLL—Last week we reported some of the findings in Louis Harris' new poll on women's attitudes. The March 24 *Washington Post* includes more statistics from the survey. Sixty-seven percent of the Black women polled were "sympathetic to the efforts of women's liberation groups." Harris also says that women with less than \$5,000 annual income favor the efforts of women's liberation groups by 45 to 41 percent. The total number of women polled were unsympathetic to feminist groups by 49 to 39 percent.

The charge often leveled at the feminist movement is that it's just a "white, middle-class movement," which Black and poor women do not see as relevant to them. The Harris poll indicates that this is a myth: these women, especially Black women, feel more strongly than the female population as a whole that this movement is in their interests.

N. J. WOMEN TO COMPETE FOR HIGH SCHOOL VARSITY TEAMS—The New Jersey State Interscholastic Ath-

letic Association agreed March 28 to allow women high school students to try out for varsity sports teams in member high schools. The ruling came down as Abbie Selden, a 15-year-old student at Teaneck High School, was preparing to seek an injunction against the association's decision to bar her from competing for the school tennis team. Selden filed suit on Jan. 31, charging that the association was violating the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

TEL AVIV STUDENTS DEMAND CONTRACEPTIVES—Several hundred students in Tel Aviv, Israel, recently issued a public statement that "demanded the immediate introduction of a realistic program of sex education in the schools, and the distribution of contraceptives to boys and girls requesting them," according to the March 23 *San Francisco Chronicle*.

A recent survey commissioned by Israel's Ministry of Health showed that 93 percent of Israeli high school students favor premarital sex relations. Forty-six percent of the men and 15 percent of the women in the upper grades said they had had sexual intercourse.

'WE HAVE HAD ABORTIONS'—The January issue of *Ms.* published the names of 53 American women who have signed a petition calling for abortion law repeal. The petition reads:

"The attitudes and laws against abortion in this country are causing untold suffering. Approximately one million American women had 'illegal' abortions in 1971—many of them self-induced or performed by the unqualified, some of them fatal.

"I have had an abortion. I publicly join millions of other American women in demanding a repeal of all laws that restrict our reproductive freedom."

Among the women who have signed the petition so far are: Susan Brownmiller, Judy Collins, Dorothy Pittman Hughes, Billie Jean King, Viveca Lindfors, Susan Sontag, Gloria Steinem, Barbara Tuchman, and Shirley Johnson (Wheeler).

Organizers of the petition drive hope to dramatize women's support for abortion law repeal by collecting as many signatures as possible. The names will be sent to the White House, to all 50 state legislatures, and to women in other countries who have carried out similar petition campaigns.

To add your name to this petition, write to American Women's Petition, *Ms.*, 370 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 10017.

— CINDY JAQUITH

SWP statement on Argentine kidnapping

The following statement was issued April 3, 1972, by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

The kidnapping of Oberdán Sallustro by the Revolutionary Army of the People (ERP) created an international sensation, as was to be expected in view of Sallustro's prominence as the general manager of the Argentine branch of Fiat Concord. The sensational aspects were further heightened by the exceptional ransom the guerrillas sought from the government and the company, by the ultimatum of the guerrillas to place Sallustro before a "firing squad" if the terms were not met, and by the decision of General Alejandro Lanusse not to "negotiate" with the ERP even if it meant the death of the hostage.

However, this particular action was only the most spectacular in hundreds of guerrilla actions that have been carried out in Argentina in the past two years by seven guerrilla groups of varied political coloration.

The rise in such actions is ascribable to four fundamental causes: 1) the economic impasse of Argentine capitalism and the efforts of the ruling class to find a way out by fur-

ther depressing the standard of living of the working masses; 2) the imposition of dictatorial military rule and the banning of political opposition; 3) the use of troops and police against workers who engage in strikes or students and others who initiate protest demonstrations; 4) the arbitrary imprisonment of unionists and union leaders, use of torture on suspects, secret killing of persons seized by the police, and imposition of abysmal conditions on political prisoners held by the hundreds in the jails of the country.

The victimizations under the military junta headed by General Lanusse have led to numerous international protests. We are in full solidarity with this campaign for the release of all the political prisoners in Argentina and an end to the repression.

The anger and bitterness of the youth in Argentina are understandable. Their natural reaction is to turn to revolutionary means to open up a new perspective for Argentina. They have been encouraged in this way by the explosive social tensions that have given rise to repeated upsurges by sectors of the masses.

Unfortunately no mass revolution-

ary-socialist party exists in Argentina that could draw these youth into its ranks and provide them with the most effective avenues of struggle. The example set by the Bolsheviks in preparing for the Russian revolution has become obscured because of the repellent policy of "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism followed by the Soviet bureaucracy since Stalin's time. Thus, many revolutionary-minded youths are attracted to the examples set by Che Guevara in Bolivia and by guerrilla formations like the Tupamaros in Uruguay.

Under the influence of such examples, the ERP has committed everything to practicing urban guerrilla warfare. In place of powerful actions by the masses themselves, the ERP is attempting to substitute small actions by a tiny group. Their hopes are placed on these actions serving as examples to the people living in the slums. They hope that the dramatic nature of the "exemplary actions" will inspire the masses to begin moving toward toppling the old regime and establishing a government of their own.

In reality, the work of bringing the masses into the political arena in all

their invincible power differs qualitatively from such notions. It requires deep involvement in the daily life of the masses. It requires patient struggling, under the guidance of a revolutionary-socialist party, to project demands directly linked to the economic, social, and political needs of the masses, and to organize support for these demands in such a way as to raise the self-confidence of the masses and take them through transitional steps onto the road of a socialist revolution.

The primary task at present is to build a revolutionary-socialist party capable of providing effective political guidance in this process. Guerrilla actions like the kidnapping of Sallustro separate the revolutionists from the masses, divert attention and energy from party building, and lead to unnecessary defeats.

Of the courage of the ERP guerrillas and their readiness to stake their lives in the cause of socialism, there can be no doubt. Nonetheless, in our opinion, actions like the kidnapping of Sallustro represent a mistaken course, which we urge the ERP and the other guerrilla groups in Argentina to reconsider.

April 22 countdown

In response to the intensified U.S. bombing in Vietnam, the National Peace Action Coalition has called an emergency national steering committee meeting to be held in New York City, Sunday, April 9. The Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition has scheduled a news conference for April 6 to protest the additional U.S. aircraft carriers sent to Indochina and the new bombing attacks. Representatives of Youth for McGovern, Youth for Chisholm, Youth for Muskie, and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley have agreed to participate.

Thirteen activists from the April 22 GI and veteran's brigade marched the 80 miles from Santa Barbara to Santa Monica, Calif., on the weekend of April 1-2 to publicize the April 22 demonstration in Los Angeles. Stopping for rallies and literature distribution in communities along the way, the brigade received an overwhelmingly favorable response.



April 1 Harrisburg, Pa., demonstration.

Photo by Mark Satinoff

An April 1 antiwar conference at Portland State University (PSU) drew 60 people, including representatives from six high schools, PSU, Portland Community College, and the American Friends Service Committee. Two new chapters of the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) were formed as a result of the conference, and an April Actions Organizing Committee was set up. The committee will be working on an April 15 local action as well as on the April 22 Los Angeles demonstration.

SMC activists in Philadelphia report that 25 high schools were represented at a high school antiwar conference held there on March 25. The SMC is putting out a high school newsletter, *The Activist*, and is planning activities for April 19.

Secretary of State William P. Rogers will be at Yale University on April 20. Yale SMC and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War will be sponsoring a protest demonstration.

Yale activists already chalked up one victory on April 4, when George William Westmoreland was

scheduled to address a closed meeting of the Yale Political Union on the subject, "The Army's Role in the Search for Peace." About 900 people came to the Yale law school auditorium, where the talk was to take place, at the urging of the New Haven Peace Action Coalition, the Yale SMC, VVAW, and the New Haven Air War Collective. Westmoreland canceled out because of the demonstration.

A less notorious group of military recruiters canceled their appearance at Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio, after a sit-in and picket line of 200 students was held March 23. Thirty Oberlin students have already signed up to go to New York on April 22.

The Westbrook, Conn., town meeting has passed a resolution condemning the Indochina war and declaring April 22 Peace Action Day.

The Cleveland Peace Action Coalition reports that the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1746 has signed up 58 people to attend the April 22 demonstration. Antiwar activists at the College of Wooster in Wooster, Ohio, are planning to have a bus from their campus, and Cincinnati, Youngstown, Columbus, and Athens, Ohio, are all chartering their own buses to go to New York.

April 19 activities are planned at eight high schools in Cleveland—Normandy, Parma, Valley Forge, Lakewood, Chagrin Falls, Shaker Heights, Cleveland Heights, and Wiley Junior High School. Wiley is planning a school-wide assembly, with a speaker from the SMC, a showing of the film "Automated Battlefield," and an antiwar poetry reading.

On April 12 the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) will be holding an April 22 fund-raising event at the home of Ben Gazzara and Janice Rule in New York City. Called "An Evening for

Peace With Carol Feraci" (Feraci is the antiwar singer who confronted Nixon at a recent White House performance), it is sponsored by such figures as William Styron, Arthur Miller, and Terry Southern.

Jim Leass writes from Detroit that the Detroit Federation of Teachers has endorsed the April 22 demonstrations. The DFT Union Peace Committee has a regular column in the *Detroit Teacher*. It has also put out a leaflet describing the April 7 teach-in that will be held at Wayne State University and urging teachers to attend.

About 80 demonstrators picketed the Old Federal Building in Minneapolis on March 30 in a protest of the trial of the Harrisburg Seven. The demonstration was called by the SMC.

Plans for an April 18 labor speak-out against the war, April 19 teach-ins at the University of Minnesota and other colleges and high schools, and an April 20 send-off rally for those going to New York have also been made. The Minnesota Peace Action Coalition reports that the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly has voted to endorse the April 22 demonstrations.

The Cedar Falls Peace Action Coalition in Iowa says it will send at least one bus to the April 22 demonstration in New York. Antiwar activists at the University of Iowa are participating in the Los Angeles march.

A general meeting of the Chicago Newspaper Guild has voted unanimously to endorse the April 22 demonstration. The Chicago Peace Action Coalition has printed 250,000 leaflets to publicize the action.

In Canada, the Vietnam Mobilization Committee has announced that it is shifting the date of its spring antiwar actions to April 15 in order to confront Nixon when he is on Canadian soil, meeting with Prime Minister Trudeau.

The SMC national office has sent out copies of its "Open Letter to American Students," with preliminary signers, to college, movement, and underground papers, to student leaders, and to political groups all over the country. The SMC will release the letter, which urges students to get behind the April 22 actions, with all the signers on April 10. The SMC is asking recipients to add their names and to join with the SMC in publicizing the open letter.

The SMC has printed 40,000 copies of a new four-page *High School Student Mobilizer* and 50,000 April 19-April 22 stickers. Order from: SMC, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 911, New York, N.Y. 10011.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Conference sets abortion actions in Canada

By EVELYN SMITH

WINNEPEG—"Every mother a willing mother, every child a wanted child." This was the banner under which the first cross-Canada conference for a woman's right to abortion took place here March 18-19. Nearly 250 women from 47 different organizations attended, some from as far away as Nova Scotia and Vancouver.

The abortion question has become a big issue in Canadian politics. While a federal therapeutic abortion law exists, it is extremely difficult for women to get abortions. The major obstacle is the federal Criminal Code, which reads, in part: "Every one who causes the death of a child that has not become a human being, in such a manner that, if the child were a human being, he would be guilty of murder, is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for life."

The abortion law repeal movement in Canada has been waging a petition campaign in support of bills in Parliament to repeal those sections of the Criminal Code dealing with abortion.

The major proposal passed by the conference set May 1-6 as Abortion Petition Action Week in solidarity with the international call issued by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) in the United States. The women established a goal of 75,000 signatures on the abortion law repeal petitions by May 6.

In addition to petitioning, the Action Week will focus on educational activities, teach-ins, and debates with anti-abortion forces, all culminating in provincial demonstrations on May 6. On that day the petitions will be presented to provincial governments. A cross-country delegation will go to the nation's capital, Ottawa, over Mother's Day weekend, May 13-14, to present the petitions to the federal government.

The conference also voted to form the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal Abortion Laws. Open to all women who support repeal, the coalition is based on 1) repealing all sections of the Criminal Code that deal with abortion; 2) support for the right to early sex education and access to birth-control information and devices; 3) opposition to forced sterilization and any attempts to link the question of abortion to population control; and 4) the right of every woman to choose whether to bear children.

The broad support for the aims of the new coalition was clear from the rally held Saturday morning. Speakers included Dr. Harriet Christie of the United Church of Canada; Joyce Meissenheimer, the official delegate of the British Columbia New Democratic Party (NDP) Executive; Eleanor Pelrine, author of *Abortion in Canada*; and June Menzies, representing the Manitoba Action Committee on the Status of Women, and the National Council of Women.

The conference also heard greetings from provincial abortion law repeal coalitions, from the New Zealand Abortion Law Reform Association, the British Columbia Young New Democrats, the Vancouver NDP area conference, and NDP Member of Parliament Grace MacInnes. Nancy Rolf, from the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, addressed the gathering as well.

The conference workshops proposed ideas for additional activities this spring. The coalition plans to make abortion law repeal a major issue in the upcoming federal elections, to continue the defense of victims of Canada's restrictive abortion laws, and to put out a cross-country newspaper. The conference sent a message of support to Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Montreal doctor who faces trial on charges of performing illegal abortions and conspiracy to perform such abortions.

A fund-raising event auctioning off the Criminal Code in small pieces raised \$1,643 on Sunday March 18.

Abortion right under attack by legislatures

By CINDY JAQUITH

Six out of ten Americans support abortions for reasons other than to save the life of the woman, according to a survey released in conjunction with the reports of the U. S. Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. The survey, conducted last summer, involved 1,708 women and men.

Half the people polled believe that there should be no laws restricting abortion. The overwhelming majority of those polled, 87 percent, feel that the government should make birth control universally available. Sixty percent support birth-control education in high schools and 80 percent say that voluntary sterilization should be legalized.

This poll is just one more example of the widespread support for women's right to control their own bodies. Despite this support, reactionary state legislatures and anti-abortion forces continue their attempts to block moves to repeal the abortion laws.

Although a federal court ruled in March that New Jersey's abortion law is unconstitutional, State Attorney General George F. Kugler Jr. has issued a directive that abortion is still a criminal act in New Jersey. Kugler claims that the old law must be upheld because the federal court ruling stands in opposition to a decision by the New Jersey Supreme Court. The state is appealing the federal court decision.

On March 30, Dr. Robert M. Livingston issued a direct challenge to Kugler's attempt to disregard the federal court decision. Livingston held a news conference to announce that he had per-

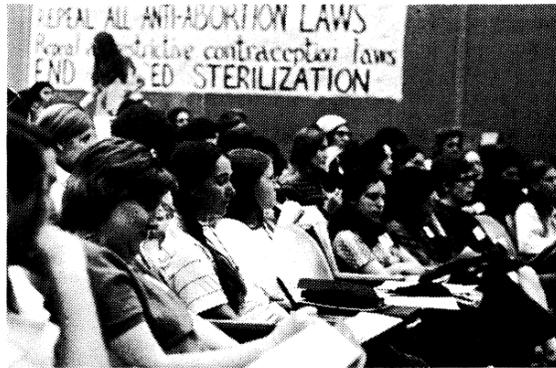


Photo by Melissa Singler

Regional abortion conferences like this one at the University of Texas in Austin have discussed actions to defend and extend abortion right.

formed two abortions in his office that morning. He declared, "It's about time that we stopped the nonsense and the charade and the debasing practice of making women who do not want to continue their pregnancies . . . drive way out of state for something they should have legal access to here." The attorney general's office has made no move yet to arrest Livingston.

In Massachusetts the state legislature defeated a bill on March 14 to repeal the state's abortion law. The vote was a blatant rejection of the testimony presented in favor of repeal by many women at hearings held by the Social Welfare Committee of the state legislature on Feb. 24 (see *The Militant*, March 17). As if to underscore their lack of interest in the needs of women, the legislators went on to defeat a bill that would have put the question of the abortion laws to a state referendum.

The Vermont State Senate has passed a new abortion law to replace the old law ruled unconstitutional by the state supreme court in January. The new law just passed makes abortion legal only when there is "grave and substantial risk" to the health of the woman. To obtain an abortion, a woman must get permission from a doctor, from the hospital chief of staff, and from a "fetal care committee." Unlike Vermont's old law, the new statute contains penalties for any woman who has an "illegal" abortion.

In light of these new attacks on women's right to control their own bodies, the regional abortion law repeal demonstrations planned for May 6 and the activities scheduled throughout National Abortion Action Week, May 1-6, become all the more urgent.

17 cities plan for Abortion Action Week

Women will be marching on May 6 in more than a dozen cities for repeal of abortion and restrictive contraception laws, and for an end to forced sterilization. As the culmination to the May 1-6 National Abortion Action Week, rallies and demonstrations have so far been scheduled in Atlanta, Denver, Sacramento, Boston, Cleveland, Chicago, New York, Austin, Houston, Philadelphia, Detroit, Seattle, and St. Paul, Minn. Portland women plan a demonstration for May 3, and other cities may hold actions as well.

The regional conferences held by local affiliates of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) in March indicate the potential

The following materials for building National Abortion Action Week are available from the WONAAC national office: Buttons: "Abortion is a woman's right to choose" (50 cents), "Abortion Action Week May 1-6" (25 cents). Brochures: "What is WONAAC?" (100 for \$3), Abortion Action Week printed leaflets with space for local information (100 for \$1). Abortion Action Week posters (50 for \$3).

For prices on larger orders, write WONAAC, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 315, New York, N. Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 675-9150.

for involving many women in the May 1-6 activities. More than 100 women attended a statewide abortion law repeal conference in Austin, Texas, on March 19. A planning meeting in Boston on March 18 drew 125 women from the New England area. Conferences in Philadelphia and Denver also took place during March.

Rose Roberts, one of the organizers of the Feb. 13 Teamsters Local 688 conference on women's rights in St. Louis, will speak at the Midwest abortion law repeal conference scheduled for Chicago on April 8. Other conferences are planned in Cleveland, April 4; Minneapolis, April 8; San Francisco, April 15; and Atlanta, April 18.

San Francisco women held a successful training session March 18 to discuss how to debate anti-abortion groups on the question of a woman's right to control her own body. Plans are underway for a vigil march to a San Francisco hospital and for setting up an all-week Abortion Action Center at the San Francisco YWCA during May 1-6. On May 6 women from all over Northern California will converge on the state capitol in Sacramento.

Support continues to grow for the *Women vs. California* class-action suit against the state's abortion law. There are now 2,500 plaintiffs in the suit.

High school women in Chicago are discussing actions against a Board of Health ruling that denies contraceptives to women under 16. Possible plans include picketing the Board of Education, holding a conference on birth control, and organizing a high school contingent for the May 6 demonstration in Chicago.

The Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition hopes to hold its Women's Commission in the Chicago City Council chambers. The commission will hear testimony from women on their experiences with the abortion laws, forced sterilization, and restrictive contraception laws.

The Washington, D. C., WONAAC has scheduled a similar commission for the evening of May 6. Two women who have agreed to preside at the tribunal are Dr. Barbara Roberts of WONAAC and Mary Treadwell from Pride, Inc., an anti-poverty organization in the Washington Black community.

New York WONAAC has set its march route for the May 6 action. Demonstrators will assemble at Bellevue Hospital and end their march at Union Square with a rally. There, women will gather signatures on petitions in support of two bills before the New York state legislature. These bills call for repeal of the abortion and restrictive contraception laws and for making contraceptives available to all New York residents.

Detroit women anticipate that the introduction of an abortion law repeal bill in the Michigan state legislature by Representative Jackie Vaughn

Continued on page 22

Gary Black agenda sets nationalist demands



Photo by B. R. Washington

By DERRICK MORRISON

The National Black Agenda, the platform adopted by the National Black Political Convention that met in Gary, Ind., March 10-12, is an attempt to formulate a program for Black liberation.

The Agenda's tone and content reflect the Black nationalist radicalization that has reached into every Black community in the United States. Despite inadequacies and inconsistencies, the Agenda clearly points in the direction of the need to build the independent power of Black people as an "independent Black political movement" that could ensure Black people the right to control their lives and communities.

The preamble to the Agenda, which was condemned by the national leadership of the NAACP as a document "rooted in the concept of separate nationhood for black Americans" and for containing "rhetoric" of "revolution rather than of reform," was drawn up by William Strickland and Dr. Vincent Harding, two Black scholars associated with the Institute of the Black World in Atlanta, Ga. The rest of the Agenda, consisting of demands and recommendations, was prepared by other Black scholars, along with D. C. Congressional Delegate Walter E. Fauntroy and Illinois State Senator Richard Newhouse.

Although many Black Democratic politicians had projected the Agenda as a "shopping list" of demands for which Black people would barter their votes in the marketplace of Democratic and Republican party politics, it points to the need to go beyond those bounds.

The preamble starts, "We come to Gary in an hour of great crisis and tremendous promise for Black America. While the white nation hovers on the brink of chaos, while its politicians offer no hope of real change, we stand on the edge of history and are faced with an amazing and frightening choice: We may choose in 1972 to slip back into the decadent white politics of American life, or we may press forward, moving relentlessly from Gary to the creation of our own Black life. The choice is large, but the time is very short."

It outlines the problems faced by Afro-America. "Our cities are crime-haunted dying grounds. Huge sectors of our youth—and countless others—face permanent unemployment. Those of us who work find our paychecks able to purchase less and less. Neither the courts nor the prisons contribute to anything resembling justice or reformation. The schools are unable—or unwilling—to educate our children for the real world of our struggles. Meanwhile, the officially approved epidemic of drugs threatens to wipe out the minds and strength of our best young warriors."

"Economic, cultural, and spiritual depression stalk Black America, and the price for survival often appears to be more than we are able to pay. On every side, in every area of our lives, the American institutions in which we have placed our trust are unable to cope with the crises they have created by their single-minded dedication to profits for some and white supremacy above all."

The preamble then boldly asserts a premise that must lie behind all Black political activity, "A Black political convention, indeed all truly Black politics must begin from this truth: *The American system does not work for the masses of our people, and it cannot be made to work without radical fundamental change.* (Indeed, this system does not really work in favor of the humanity of anyone in America.)" (Emphasis and parentheses in original.)

The concluding section of the preamble recognizes the need for independence. "The challenge is thrown to us here in Gary. *It is the challenge to consolidate and organize our own Black role as the vanguard in the struggle for a new society.* To accept that challenge is to move to independent Black politics. There can be no equivocation on that issue. History leaves us no other choice. White politics has not and cannot bring the changes we need." (Emphasis in original.)

The Agenda calls for, among other things, a minimum of 66 Black congressional representatives and 15 Black senators in proportion to the 15 percent of the population that it cites as Black; home rule for the District of Columbia, which is now "controlled by a white-dominated Congressional Committee and a set of presidential appointees"; and a national Black development agency "for the purpose of facilitating Black ownership and/or control of the full range of business and service enterprises now serving ghetto communities, including public transportation and communication systems, day care and health centers, housing, educational and commercial and financial institutions."

The Agenda also demands the development of "mechanisms for Black control of the schools where Black children are educated, moving beyond the sterile issue of 'busing' to the basic issue of the redistribution of educational wealth and control"; the creation of "Black-controlled, publicly-funded 24-hour day care centers"; "community control over the courts and the prisons"; local control of the police; and a Black agency to educate the community about the "causes and effects of pollution." Its economic demands include: for a family of four a minimum annual income of \$5,200; a minimum wage of \$2.50; and free medical care for families with incomes of less than \$10,000.

On foreign policy, the Agenda calls for supporting the "revolutionary movements in Africa, especially in Azania [South Africa], Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe,

and Guinea Bissau," and to assist African countries moving "toward meaningful political independence." One key plank demands that the U. S. government "withdraw all corporations, military bases, communications facilities and other institutions which contribute to the dehumanization or subjugation of African and Third World peoples."

Another plank calls for recognition of "the importance of the Chinese model for fundamental political and economic transformation of African and other Third World societies."

In addition to the foreign policy statements of the Agenda, the delegates endorsed a resolution from the D. C. delegation calling for the dismantling of Israel and self-determination for the Palestinian Arabs, whose lands were stolen to create the Zionist settler-state.

Another resolution from the North Carolina delegation put the convention on record in support of the May 27 African Liberation Day national demonstrations in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco, Calif.

Despite the depth and breadth of the Agenda and some of the convention resolutions passed, other demands that have been raised by Black people were either inadequately treated or glaringly omitted.

For example, the Agenda took a step backward on the question of self-determination for Indochina. Instead of calling for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops, it calls for withdrawal by the end of 1973.

In the case of Black women, only the demand for day-care centers was mentioned. No mention was made of demands for equal pay for equal work and abortion on demand, despite the fact that representatives from the Gary Commission on the Status of Women, an official city agency, submitted proposals to the convention resolutions committee along these lines.

In the case of Black workers, the Agenda called for employers to give equal recognition to Black parallel unions on jobs where the existing trade unions discriminate. Nothing was said about the growing number of Black caucuses that have been formed within the existing trade unions, nor was there recognition of the plight of unorganized Black workers.

Beyond these shortcomings, the Agenda has a still more important drawback. While it defines some of the goals of the new nationalist consciousness, it contains no outline of the strategy and tactics necessary to achieve those goals. Within this framework, the logical step for developing "independent Black politics" and putting those goals within the grasp of the Black community is a Black political party. This is the step the Agenda heavily implies but draws away from.

The demands the Agenda lists for Black representation and power will not be obtained through the Democratic and Republican parties. Only Black political activity in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans and in the streets as well as in the electoral arena can win these demands.

A Black party could unify the struggle and throw the full weight of the Black community behind the actions of Black workers, students, women, prisoners, and GIs.

Nevertheless, because the Agenda and some of the resolutions implicitly pose the question of Black people breaking with the politics of the two capitalist parties, the Congressional Black Caucus is already hedging and retreating from them. During the convention, the Louisiana delegation succeeded in getting a resolution on the floor calling upon the convention to form a Black party. The CBC—with the aid of Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) of the Congress of African People and the Reverend Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity)—was successful in pigeonholing the resolution.

After the convention, the CBC and other Black Democratic politicians, such as Gary Mayor Richard G. Hatcher, repudiated the resolution on busing—which simply supplemented the Agenda demand for Black control of Black education—and the one on Palestine.

In these retreats from the high points reached at Gary, the CBC reveals its continued submission to the politics of the Democratic Party. It shows that it has no plans for organizing and leading the Black masses in struggle to implement the Gary decisions. Rather than arm itself with this perspective, the CBC hopes to use the Agenda to extract a few concessions from the national convention of the Democratic Party this summer in Miami.

It's possible, however, that the Agenda in the form passed at Gary will not survive the trip to Miami. Convention organizers stressed that the Agenda was a draft, subject to "refinement," and would not be in final form until May 19, the birthday of Malcolm X. The body working to finalize it is a steering committee composed of the heads of the 44 state delegations (many of whom are Democratic Party politicians), representatives from about 10 national Black organizations, and the convention organizers. Just as democratic procedures were lacking at the convention, this group is subject to no democratic control or regulation.

The Agenda and the Black Political Convention show that the time for Black political independence, for a Black party, is now. Radical changes require radical instruments. And as the preamble to the Agenda points out, "we delude ourselves here at Gary if we think that change can be achieved without organizing the power, the determined national Black power, which is necessary to insist upon such change, to create such change, to seize change."

Muskie: a 'reformed' Vietnam war hawk

By JANICE LYNN

On Jan. 4, 1972, after 12 months of active campaigning that cost more than \$1-million, Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine announced his candidacy for president of the United States. In a televised production that cost \$35,000, Muskie asked the American public to "believe" in his sincerity about making "a new beginning" in America.

An examination of Muskie's record and proposals reveals what kind of "new beginning" he is really talking about.

Before public pressure turned him into a dove on the Vietnam war, Muskie had for years consistently defended the American aim of dominating Asia. Muskie's role at the 1968 Democratic Party convention is particularly revealing on this.

A Sept. 9, 1968 article in *U.S. News & World Report* entitled "Why Muskie Was Chosen for the No. 2 Spot" reports, "Senator Muskie has a record of support for the Johnson administration on Vietnam policy. He testified before the platform committee of the Democratic convention in favor of a Vietnam plank acceptable to President Johnson. Later he gave one of the floor speeches endorsing the convention's Vietnam plank."

The Vietnam plank Muskie valiantly defended called for a bombing halt only when it would not endanger the lives of U.S. troops in the field, no reduction of search-and-destroy missions, and for a new government in Saigon only after the war ended.

In addition to voting for the Tonkin Gulf Resolution in 1964 and against an attempt to repeal it in 1966, Muskie has consistently supported all military and defense appropriations from 1959, when he entered the Senate, up to the present, including those aimed specifically at supporting U.S. military involvement in Vietnam.

As late as 1967, Muskie served as an observer named by President Johnson to oversee the "integrity" of the South Vietnamese elections. Muskie came back and reported, "We found no evidence suggesting widespread fraud or irregularity . . . I found the election to be a stimulating and indeed an inspiring experience." (1968 *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, p. 2370.)

Muskie reported this despite the fact that many newspapers were closed down, Buddhists were beaten and jailed, and no one who was against the war could get on the ballot.

Muskie's current plan for Vietnam—"we must set a date when we will withdraw every soldier, sailor, and airman, and stop all bombing and other American military activity, dependent only on an agreement for the return of our prisoners and the safety of our troops as they leave"—still makes withdrawal contingent upon concessions from the Vietnamese and violates the right of self-determination for Vietnam. Muskie wants a negotiated settlement in which the U.S. will continue to play a decisive role.

Muskie is also opposed to the right of women to decide for themselves whether to bear children. Muskie has stated "The question of abortion does trouble me; I suppose it's related to my religious . . . or my church training . . . I'm concerned about diluting in any way the concept of the sanctity of life. . . . We're not entirely sure of the psychological impact upon mothers themselves who become free or indiscriminate in the use of this way of avoiding the consequences of sexual relations. . . . A life has been

taken away from them, and it's the very nature of motherhood, you know, to shield and protect life, not to destroy it. . . ." (*New York Times*, April 7, 1971.)

Muskie's statement about the sanctity of life is pure hypocrisy. He does not voice concern for the thousands of women who die each year because they are forced to seek unsafe abortions at the hands of quack abortionists.

Muskie stated at a private meeting with 35 Black community leaders on Sept. 8, 1971, in Los Angeles that he would not accept a Black vice-presidential candidate. None of his subsequent explanations could cover up this disgusting display of racist arrogance. The Sept. 9, 1971, *Washington Post* quotes him as stating, "I said that in my judgment it was not possible because such a ticket would not be elected." He obviously expected Black people to agree with his opinion that since this country is so racist that a Black person could not be "elected," Blacks should therefore throw their support to white candidates like Muskie and trust him to represent their interests.



Drawing by Paul Smith

If HE were able to get pregnant, would Muskie still oppose abortion on the grounds that women should not be free to avoid 'the consequences of sexual relations'?

Muskie has consistently voted for increased appropriations for law enforcement, most of which goes toward building up police occupation of the ghettos and barrios. He voted for the 1968 Omnibus Crime Bill passed in the wake of ghetto rebellions following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. The bill authorized \$100-million in fiscal year 1969 and \$300-million in fiscal year 1970 for the police, permitted wiretapping and other electronic bugging by police in a wide variety of cases, and prohibited the mail order sale of handguns.

More recently, Muskie voted for the 1970 Crime Control Act, despite the fact that many of its provisions were considered unconstitutional and despite warnings that it contained "the seeds of official repression." He voted on Feb. 29 for a "compromise" anti-busing bill to bar the use of federal funds for busing unless it is court ordered.

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'72 Socialist Campaign

Susan Winsten, a feminist and former coordinator of the New York Student Mobilization Committee, will be the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in central Brooklyn's 16th C. D., the Brooklyn SWP announced March 28.

The March 30 *New York Post* reported: "A 21-year-old Brooklyn secretary has just jumped into the fight to unseat Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-Brooklyn), who has represented (central Brooklyn) for the past 50 years. . . ."

"Unlike Elizabeth Holtzman (a founder of the Brooklyn Women's Po-



Susan Winsten

litical Caucus), who will challenge Celler this June in the Democratic primary, Miss Winsten said her candidacy is designed to give people an alternative to the traditional two-party system. . . ."

"Miss Winsten will run on the party's national platform—which stresses an immediate end to the Indochinese war, the advancement of the women's liberation movement and the creation of a separate black party. . . ."

The Tampa Tribune, Tampa's major daily newspaper, has a three-page feature in its March 26 issue on Jack Lieberman, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Florida's 2nd C. D. The writer of the article, Mike Bane, says that "In four years at Florida State University (FSU) in Tallahassee 'Radical Jack' Lieberman has made quite a name for himself." Bane goes on to say, "Lieberman is the teacher of what is possibly the most controversial course in the history of Florida higher education—'How to Make a Revolution in the USA.'"

"Although Lieberman's chances for election are small," predicts Bane, "it's going to be a serious campaign."

As of March 30, a total of 7,901 people have signed cards endorsing the SWP 1972 campaign. California went over the 2,000 mark during the past week and now has a total of 2,015 endorsers. New York is second with 561, and Michigan is third with 558.

The national campaign office recently received the following letter:

"Thank you so much for the literature you sent me. Now there seems to be hope. There is the chance that people will finally see and understand what the government is doing to them. I also want to congratulate your stand on women's rights. It's about time someone took 'woman power' seriously." Chris Johnson, Jackson, Mo.

On March 23, Peggy Bunn, SWP candidate for Congress in California's 6th C. D., addressed a public rally

called by the San Francisco Transport Workers Union, protesting proposed cuts in the public transportation services. The San Francisco YSJP reports that Bunn was enthusiastically received by the 400 people present, mostly transport workers and their families.

The Boston University YSJP is running Alan Einhorn for president and Nancy Charpentier for vice-president in the BU student government elections. Einhorn and Charpentier are campaigning in support of the April 22 national antiwar demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles and Abortion Action Week, May 1-6. Some of the campaign's demands are: Make public all BU relations with the government war machine and end all campus complicity with the war; use of university facilities by the movements for social change; university-funded, free child-care facilities for women students and faculty; a women's studies program; and more extensive birth control and abortion services at the university.

Mark Schneider of the San Francisco SWP Campaign Committee reports on Senator Hubert Humphrey's (D-Minn.) March 24 visit to Hastings College of Law, where he spoke to about 500 people:

"When asked if he supported the April 22 actions, Humphrey refused to answer but said he would be campaigning, not demonstrating. Jane Sica, SWP candidate for San Francisco City College Board of Governors, asked Humphrey if he favored the repeal of all abortion laws. In remarkably blunt fashion. He replied 'No.' A woman shouted from the audience, 'You would if you were a woman!' Humphrey, upset, replied, 'I'm not and I don't even have any tendencies in that direction.' This remark drew a negative reaction from the audience."

SWP California congressional candidates Carole Newcomb (26th C. D.) and Dennis Scarla (19th C. D.) addressed 100 students at an open-air rally at Moorpark College on March 22, as part of a First Time Voters Conference.

Three to four hundred students attended a March 23 El Camino College meeting to hear speeches by Mariana Hernandez (SWP candidate from California's 30th C. D.), two Democrats, TV actor Leonard Nimoy (representing a Democratic candidate), and a member of the Young Workers Liberation League who is a Peace and Freedom Party candidate.

Communist Party vice-presidential candidate Jarvis Tyner, speaking to almost 100 people at the Unitarian Church in Los Angeles on March 24, was asked by one woman about the Socialist Workers Campaign. Bonnie Aptekar of the L. A. YSJP reports that Tyner said the SWP campaign was not serious. All Jenness and Pulley ever talk about, he claimed, is the war and abortion.

Address all inquiries and orders to SWP 1972 Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-4150.

— STEVE BEREN

WHAT'S BEHIND TH

Nixon pursues attack on labor...

By DICK ROBERTS

Why did President Nixon launch the "New Economic Policy" last Aug. 15? At first glance the timing of Nixon's decision doesn't sound like that important a question. It might have come six weeks or six months sooner or later.

But *Los Angeles Times* reporter Robert E. Wood has written a series of articles vividly describing the last-minute events that brought about the mid-August moves. Wood's account leaves no doubt about the main purpose of NEP: to bolster the sagging position of U.S. monopoly in world trade and finance, above all by cutting back the wage increases of American workers.

This report confirms the analysis of the wage-freeze policies that has been presented in *The Militant*. Its most interesting new material is Wood's description of the continuity between Nixon's domestic economic policies before and after the wage freeze.

One has to remember that when Nixon campaigned for the presidency he promised not to devalue the dollar or institute wage controls. But Nixon's economic "game plan," as it was called at the time, had the same objective as the New Economic Policy: to dampen wage demands of American workers in order to give U.S. monopoly a freer hand in international competition.

There were two sides to the game-plan tactic: the increasing levels of unemployment—brought about by recession and stringent federal fiscal and monetary policies—would exert pressure on workers to tone down their wage demands; and recalcitrant workers would be ground down in a series of long strikes in major industry.

It didn't work out that way. Even as the ranks of unemployed swelled to more than five million, American workers conducted a series of militant battles to defend their wages. Highlights included the electrical workers' struggle against GE at the end of 1969; the March 1970 postal workers' strike against the government itself, against which Nixon used the National Guard; and the 58-day auto workers' strike against General Motors at the end of 1970.

Los Angeles Times reporter Wood picks up his account at this point in his March 11-13 articles. Wood describes how in October 1970, during the GM strike, the prestigious Business Council, composed of top directors of the major U.S. corporations, sent a delegation to the White House "to talk with the President about inflation and the nation's other ills.

"Mr. Nixon asked the group if industry couldn't reduce inflation by simply showing more 'backbone' when negotiating new contracts with labor unions." (Emphasis added.)

This was the game plan. The italicized words show precisely what Nixon and the rulers of American industry mean when they talk about "reducing inflation." They mean driving back the wage demands of workers. They did not then and they do not

now have any intention of controlling prices or profits.

Wood continues, "The bad news came in the answer of General Motors Chairman James M. Roche, worn down from five weeks of a company-wide strike by the United Auto Workers. 'Mr. President,' the mild-mannered car maker said cautiously, 'we have on the table right now an inflationary wage offer that WE have made, and I doubt that we can settle on even that.'

"The hint of misgivings apparently did not get through," Wood says. "The White House later that day issued a communique saying that the businessmen had expressed 'strong universal support for the economic policies that the Administration is following.'"

The Militant was not impressed by the White House communique. On Nov. 13, 1970, it carried a full-page article headlined: "Why corporate chiefs want Nixon to take tougher stand on wages." *The Militant* declared, "Top officials of the largest U.S. corporations have asked for greater White House participation in wage battles across the nation.

"Although the details of the corporate executives' request have not been made public, their move assuredly re-



LNS photo

GE strikers in 1969 fought back against opening phase of Nixon's 'game plan.'

flects forces at work in the national and world economy that will have a major impact on future U.S. wage struggles."

The Militant concluded: "How far is the administration willing to go in 'permitting' the ranks of the unemployed to swell? This is undoubtedly one of the major questions that was discussed by the Business Council members, first at Hot Springs and then in Washington.

"But the press reports of the Business Council proposals also indicate that their thinking followed a different path: If a 6 percent unemployment level is insufficient to bring the unions into line, and unemployment levels much higher are politically risky, then it may be necessary for the government to take direct measures against wages.

"This is what top corporate officials mean when they begin to talk about an 'incomes policy [wage controls].'"

Wood states that Nixon's director of the Office of Management and Budget, George P. Shultz, "went to Hot Springs in May, 1971, for another Business Council meeting and argued again that business should show 'backbone.' Finally the group decided to vote. How many, the moderator asked, feel

that 'backbone' can lick the inflation problem?"

"A lone hand went up in the quiet room: Shultz's."

As Nixon's game plan was falling apart in the real give and take of the class struggle, international trade and monetary pressures were building up against U.S. monopoly.

"Perhaps if there was a subtle turning point before early August," says Wood, "it came with a series of presidential briefings by Peter G. Peterson, then assistant to the President and now secretary of commerce.

"Peterson, former head of Bell & Howell, had been assigned to work up some ideas on America's problems in world commerce, and his tactfully put, well-documented ideas had plenty of effect.

"Peterson's basic message was that the United States was confronted with a far-reaching change in its competitive position, that it must stiffen its negotiating stance with foreigners and bring inflation under reins so that the problem would not just keep cropping up. He argued that things would get worse, not better, if new measures were not applied soon."

The event that hastened Nixon's launching of the New Economic Policy the most, according to Wood, was a strike that did not take place: That is, the decision in July by the barons of the U.S. steel industry not to force a strike of the steelworkers. "Then came climactic Aug. 2, a Monday," says Wood.

"On Sunday the steel companies had announced an 11th-hour settlement with their unions, raising wages more than 30% over three years. On Monday, they leaped onto the newswires again with the disclosure that they would raise prices on virtually all of their output by 8%.

"To Shultz and the other steadfast advocates of the old game plan, the steel hike was completely demoralizing. The huge price change was sure to spawn more cost increases in all products that depend on steel. That included the politically sensitive price of automobiles."

Wood also records that at the same time an increasing "number of Republican lawmakers were turning toward an incomes policy as just about the only alternative left."

It should be noted that at no point in the entire evolution of the NEP did the capitalist politicians ever seriously consider freezing prices. Wood reports that as the controls plan came under discussion, the policy makers felt that "Micro" controls—keeping tabs on every individual item bought or sold in a modern economy—"would take more people than anyone could possibly imagine." Rents were impossible to control without an army of checkers, "and you definitely don't try to control the price of canned rattlesnake meat."

Canned rattlesnake meat! What about the ordinary meats and canned goods that the majority of America's working people eat? These arrogant officials had no intention of controlling prices on them either.

Following the settlement in the steel industry, wage-freeze plans went to the drawing boards. Even then, according to Wood, the administration was rushed to its Aug. 15 announcement sooner than planned because of rapid developments in world economics.

"The international monetary system—which hinged on the U.S. dollar—was crumbling fast.

"It was becoming more apparent that it would be just a matter of time

until we simply reached the end of the rope,' a high official said. . . .

[The top administration officials] had been looking toward imposing the freeze and other measures sometime in the fall—not right away.

"But international economic turmoil had scuttled their timing. . . .

"The subject had grown in urgency. American products were suffering from price competition in world markets, and statistics increasingly hinted that the nation would suffer, in 1971, its first excess of imports over exports since 1893."

Nixon announced the freeze on Sunday, Aug. 15, in order to get the word out before money markets opened the following day. The U.S. "gold window" was slammed down, effectively devaluing the dollar; a rash of protectionist moves on U.S. products in world trade was announced; and the wages of American workers were frozen, to be followed in 90 days by the institution of permanent government agencies to police wages.

Nixon, the leading Democratic and Republican politicians, and the trade-union bureaucrats, whether on or off the government's Pay Board, all pretend that inflation is the real target of the New Economic Policy and that controlling wages is at least one way of controlling inflation.

This is a myth from start to finish. Robert Wood's articles in the *Los Angeles Times* offer fresh evidence of just how phony the pretense of combatting inflation is. The rulers of this country launched the wage freeze in order to drive back wage increases and lower the standard of living of American workers. Their concern is maintaining the profits of U.S. monopolies.

...with wage board like those used before

By LEE SMITH

Nixon's wage-control scheme, the AFL-CIO Executive Council charged as George Meany, I.W. Abel, and Floyd Smith walked off the Pay Board March 22, "is nothing more than a device to make the average worker and consumer both the victim and the goat, while the banks and big business pile up increasing profits.

"We will not be a part of the window-dressing for this system of unfair and inequitable government control of wages," the council declared. (Emphasis added.)

The AFL-CIO statement challenged, "Let the people who are exercising the power take the full responsibility for their decisions—without the facade of labor representation and the pretense of tripartism."

Four months of collaboration with the Nixon Pay Board should not have been necessary to demonstrate that "tripartism" on such a board can only be "pretense." A look at the historical record of similar "tripartite" boards reveals that labor's participation in the control of wages has never served any purpose but that of "window-

E WAGE CONTROLS?

dressing" for devices to make the worker "both the victim and the goat."

There never have been—and there cannot be—government wage controls that are "fair and equitable." By implying that there can be, the AFL-CIO Executive Council indicates its readiness to serve once again as a "facade" for controls set up by a new administration.

The whole concept of a tripartite board such as the Pay Board must rest on the fundamentally false and antilabor notion that inflation is caused by workers demanding higher wages. The top AFL-CIO leaders gave credence to this lie by serving on the Pay Board, and their statement of resignation continues their complicity with the fraud.

Such tripartite boards—composed of business, labor, and "public" representatives—have generally made their appearance under the guise of fighting inflation. This was the case with the War Labor Board that AFL President Samuel Gompers helped Woodrow Wilson's administration set up in 1917-18. It was also true of the National Defense Mediation Board designed for Franklin D. Roosevelt by CIO leader Sidney Hillman in 1941—and of the War Labor Board that succeeded it in 1942-45. The same rationale was used for the Wage Stabilization Boards in 1950-1952.

In World War I, World War II, and the Korean war, tripartite boards held down wage increases with some degree of success. And in every case, inflation continued unabated. *The purpose of a Pay Board is to hold down wages. But wages do not cause inflation.*

The real motive behind the Pay Board is the desire of U. S. corporations to maximize their profits and gain a competitive advantage over Japanese and European capitalism on the world market. The Pay Board has been Nixon's attempt to repeat what was done by the Roosevelt and Truman administrations during World War II and the Korean war. In light of the refusal of the present heads of organized labor to draw the lessons of these experiences, it is worthwhile examining more closely what happened in both of these earlier cases of tripartism.

Early in 1941, as the U. S. drive toward entry into the imperialist war moved into high gear, Franklin Roosevelt proposed the idea of a tripartite board to the top leaders of the powerful CIO. Philip Murray, then a vice-president of the United Mine Workers and president of the CIO, wrote a memorandum published in the March 10, 1941, *CIO News*, criticizing the proposal.

Murray wrote that the "setup of the proposed board carries strong anti-labor possibilities in the three members supposed to represent the public." The formula Murray referred to was modeled on the World War I Labor Board that had been composed of four labor, four business, and three "public" members. "It has been the experience of labor," the CIO president correctly stated, "that representatives from the public are usually taken from the ranks of retired businessmen."

Nat'l Defense Mediation Bd.

On March 14, CIO leader Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, held a news conference announcing the formula he had worked out with Roosevelt for the National Defense Mediation Board (NDMB). It matched almost perfectly

with Murray's warning. Nevertheless, three days later Murray agreed to the proposal and named himself and UMW secretary-treasurer Thomas Kennedy as CIO representatives on the NDMB.

George Meany and George M. Harrison, both representing the AFL, filled out the labor representation. The business representatives were W. C. Teagle, Cyrus Ching, Roger Lapham, and Eugene Meyer, all heads of corporations. And while the three "public" members were not exactly the retired businessmen Murray had predicted, their class allegiance was the same as if they had been. They were Clarence Dykstra and Frank P. Graham, presidents of Wisconsin University and the University of North Carolina, respectively, and patent lawyer William H. Davis.



Franklin D. Roosevelt

The NDMB met the same fate that has befallen Nixon's Pay Board, but it lasted for eight instead of only four months before biting the dust. Murray and Kennedy walked off the board in November 1941 after the seven pro-business members were joined by Meany and Harrison in the last of a series of distinctly anti-labor rulings affecting some 53,000 miners (mostly organized in the UMW) working in mines owned by the country's largest steel monopolies.

War Labor Board

The walkoff of the CIO members smashed the NDMB, but within two months the "statesmen of labor" were serving on a new tripartite board—one with even greater authority to enforce its decisions. The new board was staffed by some of the very same "public" members (Davis and Graham) whose pro-business bias had been denounced by the CIO when Murray and Kennedy left the old board.

In the two months that intervened between the CIO leadership's death-blow against the NDMB and its midwifing for the War Labor Board, U. S. imperialism had passed from preparation for war to actual involvement. Bowing to the patriotic war hysteria, both the CIO and AFL leaders voluntarily surrendered the right to strike. Consequently, labor occupied a position on the new board even weaker than that it had held on the NDMB.

Prior to the gigantic 1945-1946 strike wave that burst all the restrictions placed on wage gains during the war, a heroic struggle by the United Mine Workers, led by John L. Lewis, in 1943 broke down the WLB's

formula for denying virtually any wage increases. But even the victories won in the four successive strikes of the UMW (by that time no longer part of the CIO) and the meager concessions wrested by other "illegal" strikes could not offset the overall pattern. The WLB was largely successful in holding wage rises to a bare minimum.

At the same time, prices zoomed upward and profits soared even higher. In a 1944 report to FDR, George Meany, who had been serving in the Office of Price Administration, pointed to a 28.5 percent discrepancy between wage and price adjustments. In seeking a 17-cent per hour wage increase that same year, the United Steelworkers presented figures showing that profits for the U. S. Steel Corporation had almost tripled in 1942-43.

Wage Stabilization Boards

After the postwar labor upsurge had peaked and ebbed, the U. S. rulers got their crusade against "Communism" underway. The government waged war in Korea under the guise of "defending democracy" and threatened the Chinese revolution.

Harry Truman went before the country in December 1950 to declare a state of "national emergency." In a message that was unusually frank about who would be asked to sacrifice for the crusade to "contain Communism," he said: "Workers will be called upon to work more hours . . . A defense effort of the size we must now undertake will inevitably push up prices." (Emphasis added.) While admitting that prices would rise, Truman threatened to clamp "mandatory controls" on wages.

All of the machinery set up by Truman to "mobilize" the economy was exclusively dominated by representatives of big business. The only place where room was made for representatives of the labor movement was on a new tripartite board—the Wage Stabilization Board. A minority of three seats on the 12-member board went to Harry C. Bates, AFL Bricklayers; Emil Rieve, CIO Textile Workers; and Elmer E. Walker, International Association of Machinists.

Just as the corporate profits for 1950 were reported to have increased by more than 50 percent from the previous year (nearly \$42.6-billion in 1950, compared to \$28.1-billion in 1949), the pro-business majority on the WSB voted Feb. 16, 1951, to impose a ceiling on wage increases of 10 percent of the Jan 15, 1950, wage

levels.

In response to this action, the three labor members walked off the WSB. They could scarcely have done anything else in the climate created in the labor movement by the blatantly antilabor shape of Truman's economic policy, combined with the unpopularity of the Korean war. For example, in a December 1950 UAW Local 600 election in which more than 32,000 votes were cast, a candidate who ran on an antiwar/labor-party platform received 16,188 votes, losing by a mere 476.

Forced by such sentiment into denouncing Truman's policies, the top officials of organized labor at the same time sought energetically to mend the temporary break with the Democratic administration. The issues of the Korean war and the formation of a labor party were debated openly on the floor of the UAW convention in April 1951 (although neither resolution passed). But that same month, the union leaders walked back onto a "new" Wage Stabilization Board. This board had 18 members instead of 12, but the same old ratio of business, "public," and labor representatives kept it stacked against the unions.

The same rank-and-file militancy that had found expression in the leaders' temporary walkoff also meant that the WSB was relatively less successful in its aim of holding down wages than the WLB of World War II. Nevertheless, it met with limited success. Even the 54-day national steel strike of 1952, which was a major challenge to the WSB, was settled on a wage rise below what the WSB recommended. (The strike was nevertheless not a complete defeat, since it succeeded in defending working conditions against an all-out assault by the steel companies.)

The walkoff from Nixon's Pay Board differs from the earlier walkoffs, which took place under Democratic administrations. Since Roosevelt's New Deal, the leaders of the U. S. labor movement have maintained a coalition with the Democratic Party. In large part their actions, including the Pay Board walkoff, are determined by their political strategy of supporting the Democratic Party. Thus, while it is unlikely that Nixon will be able to lure them back onto his board, when a Democratic administration comes into office these "labor statesmen" will once again be ready to act as "window-dressing" on another tripartite board.



World War II Laura Gray cartoon depicts AFL president William Green and CIO president Philip Murray selling workers tickets to FDR's War Labor Board merry-go-round.

Mass. ballot drive launched by SWP

BOSTON—Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, announced at a March 31 news conference here that the Socialist Workers Party will seek ballot status in the state of Massachusetts. "This will be the first time that a socialist party has ever collected the number of signatures required to get on the presidential ballot since the Massachusetts Election Law was passed in 1939," Pulley told the press.



Andrew Pulley

The law requires 56,038 signatures on independent nominating petitions. This is 3 percent of the vote cast for governor in the last election. The SWP plans to obtain substantially more than the minimum required. Pulley noted that this petition effort is a "reflection of the growth of the SWP" in Massachusetts and nationally.

Associated Press, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and the *Bay State Banner*, a Black community newspaper, attended the news conference. In addition, an article outlining the ballot drive appeared in the *Boston Globe*, and news of the petition effort was carried on the Boston NBC-TV affiliate.

The announced goal of 56,038 signatures is the highest in any state for the SWP since it was formed in 1938. The party has fielded a presidential slate in every election year since 1948. In December 1971, campaign supporters obtained more than 51,000 signatures in Florida, nearly twice the required number. This is the largest number of signatures collected to date in a single SWP petition drive.

The decision to launch the ballot attempt was made in an enthusiastic and unanimous vote of the Boston branch of the SWP. One of the major factors in the decision was the partial success of an SWP-initiated legal challenge to the Massachusetts election law. As a result of a federal suit, the requirement that signatures on petitions must come from different parts of the state was ruled unconstitutional. Most of the petitioning will be done in the Boston area.

Hardy fights for spot on Portland ballot

PORTLAND—Philip Hardy, Portland mayoral candidate endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party, filed suit March 29 in Multnomah County Circuit Court to have the city's residency requirement for candidates declared unconstitutional. Hardy's name was taken off the May primary ballot March 24 for failure to meet the three-year residency requirement.

Hardy was represented in a court hearing March 31 by Attorney Reuben Lenske. After hearing the arguments, Judge William Dale ruled that the residency requirement for candidates is constitutional. The judge accepted the proposition offered by the city's attorneys that becoming a candidate is a privilege and not a right.

Hardy plans to appeal this ruling. "In light of the recent U. S. Supreme Court decision invalidating long res-

The ease with which large petitioning efforts have been completed already, such as in Florida, and the 16,500 collected in Indiana, encouraged the Boston SWP to project this ambitious effort.

The petitioning campaign will be run from the new SWP headquarters in Boston. In addition to a number of spacious offices, the headquarters contain complete kitchen facilities and a meeting hall large enough to seat more than 200.

"This is a perfect setup for organizing the petition drive," explained George Basley, SWP New England ballot coordinator, in an interview with *The Militant*. "We expect campaign supporters from all over the state and from the entire New England region to help us with this massive undertaking," he added.

"We are appealing to Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley from all over the region to come into Boston and pitch in. We are making arrangements for housing, and we're going to stock up on peanut butter and jelly."

The petitions must be submitted to state officials by July 11. The period from May 27 to June 18 has been chosen as the target date for the intensive petitioning effort so that student volunteers can join the drive when their school terms are over.

Some petitioning, however, will be done beginning in April, as soon as the petition forms are available. Basley urged campaign supporters throughout Massachusetts to get in touch with him right away so that they can begin circulating petitions throughout the state. The 18-year-old vote has made campus petitioning possible for the first time, and wherever this has been tried in other states it has been very successful.

Plans are underway for a gala campaign rally featuring Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley during the petitioning drive. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley from all over New England will be invited to the rally.

In addition to the petitioning, projections are being made for a relaxed, yet thorough series of classes for the benefit of the volunteers who will be working throughout the drive. National leaders of the SWP are planning to come to Boston to teach some of the classes. Recreational and social activities are also planned.

Anyone interested in participating in this project for a few days, or a few weeks, should write to the SWP Campaign Committee, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02115. Telephone: (617) 482-8050.

idency requirements for voters," he said, "I feel confident that I and my supporters will win this court case."

On Friday evening, March 31, Hardy held a campaign rally at Portland's first Militant Forum. Thirty-five people and a TV crew were present to hear the results of the first stage of the ballot fight. Speaking along with Hardy was Al Schwartz, Portland Associated Press representative, who endorsed Hardy's efforts to obtain ballot status. The audience also heard a tape from Judy Baumann, national secretary of Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), supporting the suit. Alan Hangar, Oregon CoDEL representative, announced plans to contact all other mayoral candidates, as well as public officials and civil libertarians, to win their support for Hardy's case.

Biggest petition drive in history of SWP

By JUDY UHL

When Eugene V. Debs, Socialist Party candidate for president, qualified for every state ballot in 1912, his campaign supporters had to collect nearly 160,000 signatures to comply with the existing ballot requirements.

The population of the United States has doubled since 1912, and the ballot requirements have been revised upward as well. For example, in Florida 51,000 signatures have been collected to place Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, on the ballot in 1972. Debs was required to file only 500 signatures. To qualify for the ballot in every state today would require more than a million signatures on petitions, or six times the 1912 requirement.

In fulfilling its pledge to make this the biggest socialist campaign since Debs, the SWP has announced plans to obtain more than 500,000 signatures to qualify its presidential ticket for ballot status in 30 states. Already, more than 100,000 signatures have been obtained toward this goal. In addition, Ohio and Pennsylvania petitioners have filed 7,000 signatures

alternative point of view." Other petitioners cited the continuing disillusionment with the two capitalist parties and the deepening radicalization. One petitioner said that her best response came from people who liked the idea of two young people, one a woman and one a Black man, taking on the old white men of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Travel proved a necessity in collecting signatures in Utah, since the state law requires that 10 signatures be collected in each of 10 counties. The Communist Party, the Human Rights Party, and the SWP all filed signatures to win recognition of their parties in Utah, but only the SWP met the signature distribution requirement. The SWP, which has challenged such distribution requirements in the courts before, plans to go to court to invalidate the present Utah election statute.

The state must draw the congressional district boundaries before petitioning for congressional candidates can begin. These districts must also be drawn before presidential electors can be obtained from each congressional district, as required in Louisiana, Virginia, Iowa, and Tennessee. The failure of the state legislatures to draw these boundaries in Virginia, Tennessee, and Connecticut has prevented the SWP campaign supporters in those states from beginning their petitioning.

"Most people don't realize the reactionary nature of the present ballot laws," commented Larry Seigle, national SWP campaign manager. "The purpose of the election laws regarding minority parties is to protect by law the monopoly now held by the capitalist parties. The Democratic and Republican-controlled legislatures increase ballot requirements for independent parties, make ballot status automatic for the Democrats and Republicans, and then they try to point to ballot status as a measure of whether a party has any support or not!"

Seigle outlined the SWP's plans to challenge reactionary ballot laws. Besides the suit in Utah, the SWP candidates are plaintiffs in suits challenging the requirements for forming a political party in Pennsylvania, California, and Texas. Signature distribution requirements are the target of a suit in Illinois. Filing fees are being challenged in Washington, Florida, and California; and loyalty oaths are being contested in Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma.

Seigle emphasized that these and other SWP suits offer the possibility of ballot status not only for the SWP, but for all minority party and independent candidates. The SWP is working with the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) to gain support and publicize these cases.



Photo by Walter Lippmann

The Pennsylvania SWP has filed 4,500 signatures to place Nancy Strebe, its candidate for U. S. Congress, (First C. D.) on the ballot.

to win ballot status for SWP congressional candidates.

Some factors affecting the SWP's ballot push are similar to those encountered by petitioners in every signature drive since the first ballot laws were passed in the late 1800s. Several times during January and February, Jenness-Pulley supporters in Michigan and Ohio were forced to canvass in freezing temperatures. In capping the Indiana petitioning drive in March, petitioners fought 30-mile-an-hour winds.

A new factor affecting ballot work this year is the 18-year-old vote. Petitioners everywhere report an excellent response to the SWP ticket on the campuses, where a high percentage of students are now registered voters.

More than 6,000 of the 16,500 signatures collected in Indiana were obtained on the campuses by Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. "Petitioning to get on the ballot is one of the best activities to translate that first step of endorsing the campaign into active commitment," commented Bill Rayson, Midwest YSJP traveler. Rayson reports that two YSJPers in Indianapolis, whose first campaign activity was petitioning, have decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

When asked to give their impressions of petitioning in Indiana, the participants in the drive agreed on one thing: the response was fantastic.

"Everyone is against the war," one petitioner noted. "People are all fed up with the way things are going in this country, and they want an



The Ohio SWP has filed 2,700 signatures to put Cecil Lampkin, candidate for U. S. Congress from the 21st C. D., on the ballot.

Jenness takes fourth place in Madison CHOICE '72 poll

By SANDRA MAXFIELD

APRIL 3—Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, placed fourth in a field of 18 candidates in the March 27-28 CHOICE '72 poll at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. Jenness received 139 votes—7 percent of the total votes cast.

George McGovern led the poll with 743 votes (37 percent), followed by Richard Nixon with 445 votes (22 percent), and Shirley Chisholm with 198 votes (10 percent).

Trailing behind Jenness, John Lindsay got 124 votes, and Eugene McCarthy polled 90 votes. The leading Democratic contenders mustered the



Photo by Mark Satinoff

Linda Jenness marching in April 1 Harrisburg demonstration.

following: Edmund Muskie, 69 votes; George Wallace, 45; Hubert Humphrey, 33; and Henry Jackson, 32. Republican Paul McCloskey and Benjamin Spock of the People's Party each got 1 percent of the vote.

Candidates receiving less than one percent of the vote included Communist Gus Hall with 13 votes and Wilbur Mills, Patsy Mink, Vance Hartke, Edward Kennedy, Samuel Yorty, John Ashbrook, and Pat Paulsen.

In a significant victory for the abortion law repeal movement, the referendum on total repeal of all anti-abortion laws received an 83 percent "yes" vote. Referendums for unconditional amnesty for draft resisters and deserters and for immediate, unconditional, total withdrawal from Indochina were endorsed by 66 percent and 69 percent respectively. More than 2,000 students participated in the Madison CHOICE '72 poll.

Students in five political science classes at Edina High School in suburban Minneapolis held a mock presidential election recently. Jenness took fourth place with 21 votes, polling more votes than Humphrey, McCarthy, Lindsay, and Muskie combined. McGovern led with 61 votes, followed by Nixon with 45 and McCloskey with 31.

A resolution submitted before the membership of the Washington (D. C.) Teachers Union (WTU) March 27 calls for the WTU to strongly encourage "... each high school to hold a CHOICE '72 assembly during the

month of April . . . to be followed by student balloting to indicate their Presidential preference on a number of major issues. . . ."

The resolution also states, "the WTU will immediately communicate this position to all members of the D. C. School Board urging them to endorse CHOICE '72." This resolution was passed unanimously by the 25 members present.

The Utah State University (Logan) student government has decided to appropriate funds for CHOICE '72, scheduled for the week of April 17-21. The next issue of the student newspaper at Columbia-Greene Community College in Athens, New York, will contain a CHOICE '72 ballot. In the first week of May, the Wilson High School Student Council in Washington, D. C., will conduct a CHOICE '72 ballot and hopes to initiate similar polls on a city-wide basis. Other dates set for CHOICE '72 are April 14 at Weber State College in Ogden, Utah, and April 14-17 at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh.

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley are vigorously campaigning in high schools and on campuses throughout the country for the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party candidates. They are arranging debates, symposiums, radio and newspaper coverage, and massive leafletting and poster campaigns to gather support for their positions on the referendum questions and to get out the vote for Jenness and Pulley this spring.

YSJP teams set up campaign groups, gather endorsers

By JANICE LYNN

The team of Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley has been visiting campuses in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. Atlanta University in Georgia is the first campus visited by the team where organized support for Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm exists.

Team captain John Hawkins writes, "We were able to convince a number of students who were thinking of supporting or were already supporting Chisholm to support Jenness and Pulley instead. Forty-one students at Atlanta University signed up to support the Socialist Workers campaign."

Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters in Tennessee are collecting signatures on petitions to place Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley on the state ballot. Five hundred fifty signatures, from nine different congressional districts, are needed to meet the requirement. If you want to help in this effort, contact Elizabeth Lariscy, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37201. Telephone: (615) 292-8827.

Afro-American team member Laura Moorhead reports that at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, "Literature sales on the campus averaged over \$30 per day. Students were especially interested in Pathfinder Press publications by and about Malcolm X. Another title that sold especially well was Dick Robert's pamphlet, *The Fraud of Black Capitalism*. We signed up 70 campaign endorsers on the campus in three days."

The team also visited Benedict College in Columbia, S. C., where many students remembered Andrew Pulley from 1969 when he was one of the Fort Jackson Eight antiwar GIs. At Georgia State University in Atlanta,

where 140 copies of *The Militant* were sold, many people were familiar with the campaigns of SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness, who ran for mayor of Atlanta in 1969 and for governor of Georgia in 1970.

The team has signed up 329 Afro-American endorsers of the Jenness-Pulley campaign during their first five weeks.

At the University of Pittsburgh, Mid-Atlantic YSJP team captain Jeannie Reynolds participated in a seminar on Nixon's New Economic Policy with representatives of the Muskie, McGovern, and Communist Party campaigns. Team member Ernie Harsch writes, "The Muskie representative completely ignored the wage freeze; the McGovern representative implied that 'big labor' helped cause inflation; and the Communist Party representative admitted that the CP had indeed supported the wage freeze during World War II. Reynolds attacked Nixon's wage controls as an assault upon the rights and wages of the working people and was the only member of the panel to call for Black people controlling their own communities."

YSJP groups have been established at both Allegheny County Community College in Pittsburgh and the University of Pittsburgh.

During their first four weeks on the road, the Mid-Atlantic team members have signed up 164 new supporters of the SWP ticket.

The Midwest YSJP team has helped set up three new YSJP chapters—in Lincoln, Neb., and in Iowa City and Cedar Falls, Iowa. Ninety-five people have signed endorser cards on campuses visited by the team.

Sheila Ostrow, captain of the Midwest team, writes, "Of special interest to students are the McGovern truth kit and the '72 SWP campaign buttons. More than 50 buttons were sold in two days on the Cedar Falls, Iowa,

campus. When we see someone with a McGovern button, we sell them the truth kit, and the next day they are likely to return to our table to buy an SWP campaign button and endorse the campaign."

Mimi Shepherd, another team member, says, "Of all the campaign material, the most popular item is still *The Militant*. The team has doubled its bundle to 300 per week, and we have already sold more than 50 subscriptions." Professors have shown an interest in ordering more Pathfinder Press titles for their courses next fall, according to team member Alan Grady.

At Washington State University in Pullman, the Northwest YSJP team sold more than \$85 worth of literature. *Ireland in Rebellion*, *Allende's Chile*, and *Genocide Against the Indians* were the best sellers.

Northwest team member John Goebel reports: "We signed up 73 new endorsers on this campus alone, had two lengthy interviews with the campus radio station, helped form an active YSJP group, and debated a McGovern supporter at a meeting of 45 people. The McGovern supporter ended up saying that McGovern wasn't 'that good,' but what else was there to vote for in '72?"

Val Moller, also on the Northwest team, writes about the mock Democratic convention held March 17-18 at Gonzaga University in Spokane, Wash.: "As students became irritated at the totally bureaucratic manner in which the convention was being run, more people started to come around our table. Our sales totaled \$32, six people endorsed the campaign, and nine *Militant* subscriptions were sold. We were able to talk to most of the 300 students who attended the convention and found that many of them were beginning to question seriously the worth of the Democratic Party."

\$20,000

16,406

8,203

\$20,000
Campaign
Matching Fund
\$1,797
to be
raised by
April 14

With only 11 days remaining, the Socialist Campaign Matching Fund has \$3,594 to go toward its \$20,000 goal. One half of this amount, or \$1,797, must be raised by the national campaign office, while the other half will be provided by the California campaign supporter who has offered to match all campaign contributions, up to \$10,000. The Matching Fund Drive ends April 14.

During the last week a total of \$1,274 came into the national campaign office. The total included \$200 from a campaign supporter in Brooklyn, \$50 from Yellow Springs, Ohio, \$50 from Philadelphia, \$200 from Maryland, \$60 from Massachusetts, and 40 percent of a \$500 collection taken at the Houston SWP campaign banquet on March 25.

() 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.

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

Socialist candidate hits AEC test plan

DENVER—Joan Fulks, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. senator from Colorado, testified here March 28 at a hearing conducted by the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). The AEC hearings were held on the proposed use of underground nuclear explosions to free natural gas presently locked in tight geological formations.

The proposal has been dubbed Project Rio Blanco because Rio Blanco County is the site selected for the underground blasts scheduled for late this year.

The hearings, the first "public" hearings ever held by the AEC on a proposed underground nuclear test, opened with a session in Meeker, Colo., in Rio Blanco County March 24 and then moved to Denver March 27 and 28.

Attention at the hearings the first two days focused on the objections to the test raised by the Oil Shale Corp., Superior Oil, and similar firms whose plans for strip mining in the test area would be disrupted by the nuclear stimulation project. These companies couched their objections in terms of concern for the environment, attempting to ally themselves with the genuine environmentalists, who voiced the Colorado public's fears of the dangerous nuclear detonations. (Three

30-kiloton blasts are proposed.)

In her statement, SWP candidate Fulks attacked the "hypocrisy" of the oil companies before turning her criticism on the AEC and its proposed test. "To point out the dangers of the proposed nuclear detonation is correct," Fulks said, "but for oil companies to plead ecology is ridiculous." She cited scientific evidence on the ecological dangers of strip mining.

Zeroing in on the proposed gas stimulation project itself, Fulks charged that the AEC "is not acting in the interests of the majority of people in this country, but rather in the interests of the giant gas industry."

Instead of protecting the public from radiation and other possible consequences of such a test, Fulks said, the AEC helps big business "feed the



William Mitchell, who chaired Colorado hearings on gas stimulation.

public a pabulum of half-truths . . . about the dangers involved."

The socialist candidate also scored the way in which the so-called "public" hearings were conducted. "I would like to ask some questions—rhetorical

questions, since questions are not answered here," she said. "Why can't the people vote on these questions?" Fulks asked. "It was pointed out yesterday," she said, "that these hearings are conducted in such a manner as to intimidate the average person . . . They are also inaccessible. They are held in a place hard to get to and during working hours for most people. Why is this?" she asked.

Merger reunites Social Democrats

By DAVE FRANKEL

The Socialist Party, USA (SP) and the Democratic Socialist Federation merged on March 11 after ratification meetings held in New York. The new group, representing not the old but the senile left, set as its priority the defeat of Richard Nixon in 1972 by hustling votes for the Democrats.

The merger ended a split dating from 1936, when the right wing of the SP walked out due to the party's shift to the left under the impact of the radicalization of the 1930s. Part of this group returned to the SP in 1957.

The split of the old right-wing leaders, who objected to Norman Thomas's call for an all-inclusive party because they opposed working with revolutionaries, opened the way for the small group of American Trotskyists then in existence to join the SP.

In their year-and-a-half of activity as members of the SP, the Trotskyists won over the majority of the Young People's Socialist League, the SP's youth organization, and many members of the SP's left wing. The Thomas leadership resorted to bureaucratic methods to stifle discussion within the SP on the crucial issues of world politics and political strategy. In late 1937 the Trotskyists were expelled from the SP. They subsequently formed the Socialist Workers Party in January of 1938.

The SP never recovered from the loss of its left wing and has moved consistently to the right since that time. Its last presidential campaign was run in 1956, with the SP ticket on the ballot in only six states. It drew 2,121 votes.

Today, the SP has completely given up any pretense of being a party of fundamental social change, as is indicated by its open support to the Democratic Party.

The March 12 *New York Times* reports that the SP Chairman Michael Harrington had sought "to get his party to advocate withdrawal from Vietnam 'by a date certain'" prior to the unification but was unsuccessful. By calling for setting the date rather than for immediate withdrawal, even the most left-wing section of the SP stands to the right of the majority of the American people.

Most Americans would be only too glad to see the last of the U. S. troops withdrawn immediately from Vietnam. They have expressed this sentiment time and again in some of the most massive demonstrations in U. S. history. The merger of the SP with its former right wing stands as eloquent testimony to its hostility to the new radicalization among American youth.

¡La Raza en Acción!



JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ RIPS THE TWO PARTY SYSTEM: José Angel Gutiérrez, founder of the Crystal City, Texas, Raza Unida Party, was the keynote speaker at a testimonial dinner last month for Armando Navarro of Cucamonga, Calif. The gathering, which according to *Militant* correspondent Frobén Lozada drew a capacity crowd of 500, gave Gutiérrez an enthusiastic reception.

Noticing a few local and state politicians in the wings, Gutiérrez opened his speech by stating, "You are welcome, Democrats and Republicans, future-to-be whores." This quickly triggered a round of applause. "Let me tell you about this two-party system which constantly tells us to join the middle stream of America—or, as LBJ would say 'us reasoning together.' There is no middle of the road because the Republicans and the Democrats are one. There is no difference. . . . There is no middle of the road for the young, the poor, the minorities, women, and for one of a different religion, other than Protestant. We don't fit into that mold of Mr. and Ms. America.

"You will hear the Republicans say one thing, and then you listen to the Democrats, and they too will say, 'we too will get out of Vietnam,' to try to get us to forget that they got us in."

The liberals in particular drew Gutiérrez's wrath, "the liberals who want to know first if really you are racist in reverse. I say there is no such thing as a racist in reverse," he replied. "It's simply a healthy reaction to racism, to their racism and to their hatred. When these liberals say that we are a party of hate, we must reply, 'we are a party of hate because we teach the truth about your parties and because America has been bred not only out of hate, but out of violence.' And if you don't believe it, let's go to East Los Angeles with our ties removed and see what *la placa* (the cops) does to us.

"They say we are a party of hate, yet we have no George Wallaces, we have no Agnews."

Turning his attention to the question of political representation, Gutiérrez stated, "We Chicanos have no representation. And one man, one vote doesn't mean that a [Representative Edward] Roybal [D-Calif.] can cast a vote for three million Chicanos in California. Neither should we allow ourselves

to have a man like [Representative] Henry B. González [D-Texas] about whom a racist can say, 'I'm for Henry B.!' There's not a single Chicano—outside of the local level—who has been elected by a Chicano constituency."

About the *vendidos* (sell-outs) he had this to say: "They keep telling us not to rock the boat and to look at the progress we've made in the last three years. When I ask them what progress, they have no answer. 'Don't rock the boat!' Hell, it's a canoe, and it's leaking, it's sinking!

"What progress? Three hundred Chicanos at the University of Texas out of 36,000 students?"

Gutiérrez praised the campaign of Raul Ruiz in Los Angeles as a good example of the power Chicanos can wield when running independently of the Democrats and Republicans. The votes cast for Ruiz led to the defeat of liberal Chicano Democrat Richard Alatorre. Gutiérrez pointed out that "we are not interested in electing Republicans for office nor are we simply interested in defeating Democrats. We are interested in actions. Because we do not believe that out of 30,000 Puerto Ricans in Boston, only 9 can graduate from high school in 1971. We are saying that if La Raza cannot graduate from our schools, *no one can graduate!* And if there are no congressmen for La Raza,

then there will be no congressmen for anybody else. We are going to register Raza Unida, we are going to run Raza Unida, and we are going to vote Raza Unida."

Armando Navarro, whom the dinner honored as "Chicano of the Year," also had some strong words to say about the oppression of La Raza. "The plight of our people," he said, "is predicated on exploitation, oppression, rejection, you name it. We have faced a history of betrayal. . . ."

"Our concept of a Raza Unida Party is one based on the belief that in order to have political power, we must have economic power. Our party is also one of action, of confrontation, and not only of political action. For the present, I believe that the concept of La Raza Unida Party holds the most promise for us. But it must be based on community control and not the control of a few people calling the shots. Our party will grow as long as there are issues to be confronted, and our party will be there at the front. It's a party that is more than a political party. It's an organization that functions every day. . . . We have to build, to work, so that self-determination may become a reality and not just an expression."

—ANTONIO CAMEJO



L. A. antideportation demonstration March 4, 1972. Jose Angel Gutierrez emphasized La Raza Unida Party's role in such actions.

Photo by Walter Lippmann

A Militant Interview

HOWARD MOORE DESCRIBES DAVIS DEFENSE STRATEGY

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

BERKELEY—Ken Milner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from California's 7th C.D., and I interviewed Howard Moore, chief counsel for Angela Davis, at his home here recently.

Moore, who says he is a Black nationalist and a socialist, has his regular law practice in Atlanta, Ga. He is living here while heading the legal defense team for the Davis trial, which also includes attorneys Leo Branton, Margaret Burnham, and Doris Walker.

Moore said his "whole experience as a lawyer" has been with "political kinds of cases," and cited cases where he represented Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Julian Bond, James Forman, Dick Gregory, Muhammad Ali, and others, "all over the country."

"As a matter of fact," he told us, "we [the Southern Legal Assistance Project] represented the Socialist Workers Party in Georgia in the case of [Linda] Jenness versus [Ben] Fortson [Georgia secretary of state]. It's the first time we lost in the [U.S.] Supreme Court. That was probably one of the most important political cases that has been before the Supreme Court in some time. What was at stake in that case was whether or not Georgia could require five percent of the eligible voters in the last general election as signers on petitions to place a political party's candidates on the ballot in a current election. As you know, Georgia—like most of America—is a one-party state with two factions: the Republican and Democratic factions. That's what we were challenging. Linda Jenness, who is now the Socialist Workers Party's presidential candidate, was at the time that party's candidate for governor."

Moore explained that the Georgia law required 88,000 signatures to place Linda Jenness on the ballot. "This is a staggering burden," he said, "and we thought that the Supreme Court would go forward and knock down that kind of requirement so as to create some flexibility, some opportunity for minority parties to get on the ballot. But what it actually did by its decision was to let stand a political monopoly."

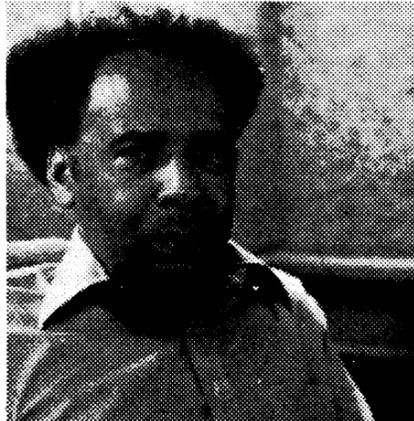
Turning his attention to the Davis case, Moore told us that the basic courtroom strategy of the defense "is to be as aggressive as you can, using the legal tools, the legal system itself—against itself—to bring out the truth." He stressed that the work carried on outside the courtroom by the defense committee "is perhaps the most important aspect of the whole defense."

"The defense committee," he said, "through its activities provides the wherewithal for the whole defense—for Angela to have her choice of three or four lawyers who can devote their entire time to her defense and to developing her case. Without all of the things the committee does—conducting rallies, demonstrations, petition campaigns, collecting funds, disseminating information, holding press conferences—the defense would be weak indeed."

"But because of the defense committee's work, the lawyers are able to act in the court to express the power of the people. And when Angela is acquitted, it won't be because of the skill of the lawyers or their devotion, or because of the fairness and impartiality of the American judicial system, but because of the power of the people."

Moore described the impact on the judge of the massive petition drive

demanding bail for Davis. He went on, "The defense committee functions to insure that there are people in the courtroom who are sympathetic to Angela. This is very important to her morale. And it's important to her lawyers too—to have some people in the audience we can see share our beliefs and support us in the case. There is nothing more torturous than being in a courtroom surrounded by nothing but teeming hostility everywhere you look—in the eyes of the judge, prosecutor, jury, bailiffs—and spectators."



Howard Moore

Moore said he wanted *Militant* readers to know that the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis and All Political Prisoners "is responsible for political work. Funds which it raises are used in two ways. One way is to further political work—the building of a mass movement capable of freeing Angela and other prisoners. The other way is that a portion of the funds go directly to the Angela Davis Legal Defense Fund. The Angela Davis Legal Defense Fund also receives money directly, and this money is used for no other purpose except the legal defense. Funds for the legal defense are not used in any way in the mass movement."

Moore informed us that fund-raising activities have not been able to gather the resources for carrying on the case with maximum intensity. The prosecution has at its disposal extensive resources backed up by a special law that allows the state to reimburse Santa Clara County for most of the expenses incurred in prosecuting Angela Davis. "It is reasonable to expect," Moore said, "that if the case is so expensive for the prosecution that the county can't pay for it, then it is so expensive for us that the National United Committee and the Angela Davis Legal Defense Fund can't pay for it."

Because of the terrible financial burden of conducting the defense, Davis' attorneys filed a motion asking the state to pay the costs of defending her. Moore pointed out, "There should be some parity between the ability of a person to defend his or her life and the state's ability to take that person's life." California Governor Ronald Reagan decried the motion as "utterly ridiculous."

The prosecution's lack of concern for how much it spends, Moore said, demonstrates the determination of the government to convict Angela Davis. The case, he continued, is significant not so much because of any legal precedents involved, but because of the politics behind the frame-up. "I don't care what bag people are coming out of," Moore said, "they have to relate to what is happening in this case. I don't know what antagonisms people have against the Communist Party, but I want to point out that

California and America consider this case to be the number one case against political activists. Nixon made a national political judgment in October 1970, when he said in signing the Crime Control Act, 'I give you the tools to catch would-be terrorists such as Angela Davis.'"

Moore commented on the need for a mass national defense organization that could conduct continuing education and activity in behalf of political prisoners. "You can file the most sensational, the most scholarly motion possible," he said. "You can make



Angela Davis

the clearest and most devastating argument. But the means of getting back to the people is, in the first place, the monopolistic media, and they are going to distort it." He asked, "How can you expose the courts as instruments of repression unless you have people organized, unless you have a network of communication, a system of political education for people?"

Moore said a model for the kind of national defense group he was talking about might be the International Labor Defense (ILD), founded in 1925. The ILD defended Sacco and Vanzetti and other political prisoners and class-war victims of capitalist "law and order" in line with the credo, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

At the time of our interview, Davis was still being held without bail. She was released on bail of \$102,500 on Feb. 23.

Moore discussed Angela Davis' role in the defense. "She is going to conduct her defense in cooperation with her counsel. Her pretrial detention, of course, has hampered her preparation of her defense because she has not had the necessary freedom, as we have, to interview witnesses, to visit the various scenes, inspect the evidence, talk to people who would only talk to the defendant in the case, talk to people she can't see in jail because they have been convicted of felonies, and that kind of thing."

Pretrial detention has also cut her off from adequate access to a law library, Moore said. "Her routine, her hours of work, are regulated by her jailer rather than by her needs in defending herself."

While in some cases such pretrial detention could have a seriously adverse effect on the state of mind of the accused, Moore said that "with Angela this has not happened." Moore attributed this to Davis' "ideological outlook, which is a stabilizing force. It gives her insight into her oppressors. It permits her to predict their conduct. It enables her to understand the concrete conditions that motivate such conduct, and therefore her morale is very good. More important, she knows that the people support her, that people around the world love her. She knows that she has the support of all progressive humanity."

Cleveland workers: 'End the Pay Board!'

By ROBERT BRENNAN

CLEVELAND, March 15—Three hundred angry welfare workers marched through downtown Cleveland today, shouting "Freeze prices, not wages" and "End the Pay Board." The workers—members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1746—gave up their lunch hour to protest a Pay Board decision denying a minimum of \$150 retroactive pay to thousands of state employees in Ohio.

The state employees were entitled to the increase through a bill passed in the Ohio legislature granting sorely needed retroactive pay raises of 10 percent or 38 cents per hour, whichever is greater. Ohio currently pays its employees as much as \$1 per hour below wages of workers doing comparable jobs in neighboring states.

Following the march, a spirited picket line and rally were held in front of the Federal Office Building. About 20 federal workers came out and joined the demonstration.

Ed Neuschler, chairman of the welfare chapter of Local 1746; Minnie Player, president of the Cleveland Welfare Rights Organization; and Jim Moore, assistant director of AFSCME District Council 78 spoke at the rally.

"A hundred and fifty dollars may not sound like a lot of money to the bankers on the Pay Board, but it represents two weeks' salary to many of our members," Neuschler commented. "Ten percent of welfare workers in Cleveland receive supplementary assistance from the welfare department because their pay is so low. We object to the Pay Board decision, but we object to the Pay Board even more."

Jim Moore explained AFSCME's response to the Pay Board: "We are going to fight this thing in the streets, in the courts, and at the ballot box. Right now we have a case before Columbus courts contesting this decision." Moore concluded by reading a statement of support to the rally from the Cleveland Federation of Labor.

The demonstration was the first public action in Ohio calling for an end to the Pay Board and the wage controls. An example of the militancy of the demonstrators were signs calling for the creation of a profits board to replace the Pay Board.

It was the first demonstration for many of the workers, but most younger workers in Local 1746 have had some experience in the antiwar movement, the Black liberation movement, or in campus struggles. One-third of the demonstrators were Black women.

Local 1746 has a recent history of initiative. It was the first local in Cleveland to endorse the April 22 antiwar demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles. It has an established peace committee, and a women's committee is in the process of formation.

The local represents 3,000 workers, 50 percent of whom are Black. More than 50 percent are women.

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

By DAVID THORSTAD

The formation of Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party, projected the working class as an independent force into the political arena and thereby changed the character of politics in Canada. It polarized politics along class lines and raised to a higher level the way the masses look

of Canadian workers still believe that the evils of capitalism can be eliminated or reduced to tolerable levels through reforms. They do not yet understand that this will require a socialist revolution.

Yet they do understand that their interests are best served by having their own political party. That is why they broke with capitalist politics more than 10 years ago. For the past decade, this working class that will one day make the Canadian socialist revolution has been going through an important educational experience in independent labor political action. It is an experience the working class in the United States has not yet begun to go through. And it is an experience that Canadian revolutionists

criticized revolutionaries who were working to help win the NDP to a position of actively fighting for socialism. "The party of socialism in Canada is the Communist Party," it pontificated.

The Canadian CP, which has roughly 2,000 to 3,000 members, has been declining steadily since the end of World War II. It attempts to head off support for the NDP among its own members by running candidates against the NDP, thus dividing the NDP vote. It does this especially where the NDP candidate is radical and risks appealing to CP members.

Yet it does not offer a program that differs substantially from the NDP's own reformist program. Its purpose is not to offer an alternative but to prevent its members from backing the NDP. This sectarian policy was explicitly articulated by a Saskatchewan CP leader in the CP's magazine, *Communist Viewpoint*. He defended the decision to run against an NDP candidate last year in that province as follows: "It must be said that some of our own members succumbed to opportunism by unconditionally supporting the NDP. This is almost always a problem when a slate of Communist candidates is not running."

Maoists

Canadian Maoists are split up into several weak splinter groups with no appreciable impact on Canadian politics. They have in common a sectarian hostility to the NDP. The only one with a cross-Canada following, however tiny, is the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist). In last year's Ontario election it issued a hysterical poster calling on workers to boycott the elections and to "Get organized for national war against U.S. imperialism!" Not surprisingly, the appeal fell on deaf ears.

The revolutionary approach

When the masses of workers adhere to a reformist labor party and not to the revolutionary party, revolutionists must define the way they operate accordingly.

Revolutionists are not observers of the historical process but participants in it. They attempt to consciously intervene in that process and influence its outcome. As a result, they do not cut themselves off from the very workers whose long-range historical interests they represent by setting up chapels of purity that chant the virtues of socialism from the sidelines. To do so would be both frivolous and suicidal.

The goal of revolutionists is to build a mass revolutionary workers' party that can topple capitalism. They see their participation in a reformist labor party as part of the process of building such a party. They try to win the labor party to a position of advocating socialism and of actively struggling on all levels of society around a program that defends the interests of the working masses. They raise demands, like a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, as the solution to unemployment; cost-of-living wage increases to offset price rises; and public ownership of corporations under workers' control. Such demands can be understood by the workers and raise their level of understanding by pointing toward the need for a socialist solution to the ills of capitalist society.

They try to get the labor party to challenge the right of the capitalists to rule by providing a working-class alternative to the capitalist class in elections, from the municipal to the federal level. And they strive to have it put forward and fight—whether there is an election going or not—for a program that links the struggles of the laboring masses to those of mass movements originating outside the organized labor movement, such as the women's liberation movement, the antiwar movement, the national

struggle of the Québécois for self-determination, and the student movement.

The only group in Canada with this revolutionary approach is the Trotskyists of the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA/LSO) and the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (YS/LJS). They have had a consistent record of supporting the labor party in the face of the leadership's hostility and of seeking to "win the NDP to socialism." Ever since the formation of the NDP, they have been doing this in various ways.

● The Canadian revolutionists belong to the NDP and put forward a revolutionary perspective inside the party. They have done this despite sometimes vicious red-baiting on the part of the reformist NDP leaders, who would prefer to see the party remain a polite and respectable election-oriented party that does not soil itself in extraparliamentary struggles.

Membership in the NDP is a provincial matter, and some provincial NDPs do not permit members to belong to what they have chosen to designate as an "opponent political party." The Ontario NDP leadership designates the LSA/LSO as such, and has more than once invoked this reactionary, exclusionary provision against both the LSA/LSO and the YS/LJS. In contrast, LSA/LSO members are able to function as open members of the NDP in the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia.

This anticommunist policy has compelled the Trotskyists to fight for the democratic right of revolutionists to express their views within the NDP. While the battle has not yet been definitely won throughout Canada, it is one the NDP bureaucrats have not been able to wage with impunity. To an extent, it has even been self-defeating for them.

In the mid-sixties, for instance, there were several waves of expulsions of Trotskyists from the Ontario NDP and the New Democratic Youth (NDY), the party's youth group. A Committee to Defend the Expelled fought back in 1967 with a campaign of public meetings and a pamphlet exposing the treachery of the NDP leadership. Many young activists in the NDY first came into contact with and were won over to the ideas of revolutionary socialism during this period. Many of the most experienced joined the Young Socialists. Today the NDY is virtually nonexistent—destroyed by the witch-hunting of the NDP leadership. The Young Socialists, on the other hand, have become the main radical organization among Canadian youth.

● The Canadian Trotskyists propagandize in their press for a class-struggle program and a socialist perspective that would turn the NDP into a fighting weapon in the hands of labor rather than a mere parliamentary machine. A great deal of space is regularly devoted to these matters in the LSA's bi-weekly newspaper, *Labor Challenge*.

● The LSA/LSO attempts to build support for the NDP and win votes for it in elections by publishing special campaign leaflets and issues of *Labor Challenge* and by its members participating in the riding (Canadian electoral district) campaigns. It urges the NDP to run full slates of candidates on all levels of government; it often runs its own candidates for posts not challenged by the NDP. It does not run against the NDP, because it feels that to do so at present would be sectarian and would divide the NDP vote and weaken labor's alternative to the capitalist parties. This is a tactical question, however, and under other circumstances revolutionists might very well put up their own candidates even where a labor party candidate was running.

● Revolutionists, who play a leading role in movements like the anti-

Continued on page 22

Canada's labor party

Revolutionary strategy for the NDP



Photo by Rachel Towne

New York City public employees demonstrate against budget cuts in Albany, May 1971. In order to fight effectively for their demands, workers need their own party.

at the relationship between their own interests and the question of state power.

The very existence of the NDP is a challenge to the right of the capitalist class to rule because it is an explicit assertion that the working class needs to put forward its own solutions to the problems that affect the working masses.

The ultimate challenge to capitalist rule—the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist minority by the working majority—will be carried out by the working class. This can never be accomplished, however, as long as the working class remains politically tied to its enemies, as it is tied in the United States to the Democratic Party. Indeed, it cannot be accomplished without the existence of a mass revolutionary workers' party able to lead the working masses in the final showdown with the capitalist class.

The NDP is not such a revolutionary party. It is a reformist party with a reformist program and a reformist leadership. But it is also a mass party the Canadian workers increasingly look to as *their* party. They look to a reformist party rather than a revolutionary party because the majority

have been going through with the rest of the working class.

Today the NDP is where the more advanced sectors of the working class in English-speaking Canada are at. This is a fact that cannot be overlooked or sidestepped. It is nevertheless a fact that the Canadian left has not always understood.

Communist Party

The Communist Party opposes the NDP for what is its main virtue: it is a class party. It is a party that pits the working class against the parties of the capitalist class—the Liberal, Conservative, and Social Credit parties. Revolutionists welcome this because it helps clarify class relationships. The CP, on the other hand, like the CP in the United States, prefers to see these relationships blurred.

The CP wanted the NDP to be a coalition party between labor and what it views as the "progressive" wing of the capitalist class. Its national executive committee issued a statement on the founding of the NDP in 1961 voicing its desire that the NDP be "a democratic national coalition of patriotic forces for peace, Canadian independence, and social progress." It

By MARVEL SCHOLL

The Militant has many new readers, many of whom have never belonged to trade unions. Therefore, it's possible that the words "bureaucrat" and "bureaucracy" applied to the organized labor movement may not have much meaning or may be confused with the government hacks who wrap everything up in yards of red tape in order to maintain the status quo.

While there are a great many similarities between the government and trade-union bureaucracies, there are almost as many differences, particularly in how each type of bureaucrat or bureaucracy got that way.

The trade-union officialdom, especially in the higher echelons, is composed of elected officers who have interpreted their own international constitutions in such a way as to practically perpetuate themselves in office—some of them for life, but most of them, in any case, long after they have outlived their usefulness. This is done by rigging the conventions where most international officers are elected or by questionable balloting procedures in referendum votes. But the men and women who make up this select coterie are not those I would like to discuss.

It is the men and women in the lower and middle echelons of the hierarchy, the business agents and organizers, that need examining. These people are charged directly with keeping the rank and file in order, riding herd on them in strike situations, and getting them out to vote for the Democratic "friends of labor."

Some of these lower-echelon union officials "got on the pie," as workers

The making of a union bureaucrat

characterize getting on the union payroll, with malice aforethought—demonstrating their militancy in the plant primarily to further their own ambitions.

But many others got there by another route—being kicked upstairs in order to get them out of the hair of both management and the union hacks.

Let's take a not-so-mythical example of one militant trade-unionist who was turned into a typical bureaucrat.

Joe Jones worked on the line in an auto plant, alongside his best friend, Jack. Both men's families had a close social life. Jack was a good union militant, but not an aggressive one. He looked to Joe for leadership and supported him as the section grievance-committee man ("griever").

Joe worked hard attempting to settle the many beefs the rank-and-file workers had. He honestly believed in enforcing the contract to the letter.

Joe was a World War II veteran and joined the union after his discharge from the Army. He came from an old-line trade-union family. Both his father and his grandfather had been part of the great strike wave

of the 1930s. He had listened to many stories from them about the days when the rank and file in these new industrial unions controlled their own leadership.

As a griever he tried to do his job. In the eyes of both the company and the local union hierarchy he became a "gadfly." At one point, angered at the growing number of unsettled grievances in his file, he fought with a foreman and was fired. Word went through the plant like wildfire and all the men walked off the job. Joe got his job back.

By now both management and the union hacks knew they had to do something about Joe.

Management decided to offer him a supervisory job—an old gimmick that sometimes succeeded in making the former union militant one of the best of company men.

But the union officialdom beat the company to the punch. They had discussed Joe and decided that the best way to handle him was to kick him upstairs, onto the union payroll.

After some hesitation, Joe accepted. He felt that in such a post he would be better able to help his own men.

He started out that way. His fel-

low organizers warned him that his efforts would be fruitless, but he tried anyway. He kept close contact with his former assembly-line friends, visited the job daily, tried to force definitive decisions on grievances and violations. In meetings with the management and union officials above him, he began to feel as though he were fighting two enemies.

He griped a lot and considered going back into the plant, but his much higher salary as a union hack got in the way. His family now had a new home in a much nicer neighborhood and a new car. This "better way of life" was changing Joe's whole outlook. He stopped visiting the plant every day, avoided the grievance-committee men who swarmed over him when he did come in, and spent less and less time socializing with his best friend, Jack.

He didn't like himself much, but held onto the idea that he could still do something concrete for the workers in the plant.

Gradually, he settled into his new role, began to accept the frustrations that went with it, and became just another lower-echelon bureaucrat—a "leader" with his eye out for promotions within the hierarchy.

His former close friends watched Joe change from a fighting militant into a well-trained, tamed, and contented union hack—one they could not remove. They hadn't elected him, so they had no recourse to the unions' constitutional provisions for recall.

More and more, Joe went along with the district and local union bureaucracy and the international leadership. He had been house-trained.

The National Picket Line

THE BULL MARKET IN BEEF is not the result of blind economic forces alone. The Department of Agriculture, in collusion with the meat trust, planned it for a long time. They were not surprised when the Department of Labor announced on March 23 that food prices, led by meat, contributed to a 0.5 percent jump in living in February, the biggest since last June. The rise in food prices, 1.9 percent, was the steepest in 14 years.

Neither were housewives surprised by the Labor Department announcement. They already knew that sirloin was \$1.53 a pound; pork chops, \$1.39; and ground chuck, \$0.97.

Chairman C. Jackson Grayson of the Price Commission, who pretended to be surprised, hastily announced that a public hearing will be held in Washington on April 12, and a House Agriculture subcommittee indicated it will hold its own hearings on meat prices. Such hearings are advertised as attempts to discover the cause and cure of rising food prices. But the mechanics of how meat prices have been jacked up is no secret and requires no special investigation.

The Jan. 31 *Wall Street Journal* whimsically reported that there was then a "bull market in beef and pork and chicken."

WSJ staff reporter John A. Prestbo then went on to say, "The retail price spiral comes much to the surprise of some agricultural economists and much to the consternation of housewives who thought the government was doing something to slow inflation."

Unprocessed meats are not controlled by the price board, and not much of anything else is either. Now, with the most recent jump in prices, there has been some speculation about the possibility of putting controls on raw meats. Both the administration and the Cost of Living Council vigorously deny contemplating such a move.

The price of beef has gone up about 20 percent in the past year according to a consumer survey of food prices conducted in Atlanta, Ga., in March after the Labor Department announced the February increase in consumer prices.

Last January a veteran meat industry observer said, "We haven't had any price demonstrations yet, but as the weather warms up I wouldn't be

surprised to see some gals (sic) parading around with 'boycott-the-butcher' signs again."

In 1966, when some meat prices rose, housewives picketed stores in several parts of the country.

Cuts of beef normally considered budget stretchers now are nearly outside the budget. Pork and chicken prices are also rising steadily.

Working people can and should take steps to protect themselves from being squeezed between frozen wages and rising prices. The first step should be union demands for escalator clauses in contracts, which would give workers automatic increases in pay with each rise in the cost of living. In addition, consumer committees organized for the purpose of watching prices should demand that every store post the August 15, 1971, price of every product it sells. Every price increase would be investigated by the committee. If necessary the books of the stores involved would be examined.

If steps such as these are not taken, the bull market in beef can very well turn out to be a bear market in the standard of living of all those who work for wages, who are retired on fixed incomes, or who happen to be welfare recipients.

UNEMPLOYMENT, LIKE INFLATION, cuts down the standard of living of the working class. Some areas are harder hit than others, but everywhere the trend of unemployment is upward. More are out of work every week, and the duration of unemployment is getting longer.

Minneapolis typifies the trend. The number out of work soared to 104,900 in February—an increase of 6,300 over January, at a time when there ought to be more jobs, not fewer. There are 5,800 fewer jobs in Minneapolis now than a year ago.

The Minnesota Manpower Services Department said that 5.3 percent of the state's workers were unemployed in February, still a cut below the national average. But the trend is the same.

This is something the union movement can also do something about. A beginning would be made if the unions launched a national campaign for the 30-hour workweek throughout all industry with no reduction in pay. Everyone is entitled to a job in this society, and the hours of work should be reduced in accordance with the number of unemployed until everyone has a place to work.

—MILTON ALVIN



Housewives were not surprised by the announcement that food prices contributed to a 0.5 percent jump in living costs in February.

In Review

Books

'The Stalin School of Falsification'

The Stalin School of Falsification. By Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press. New York. 1972. 338 pp. Cloth \$8.95. Paperback \$3.45.

The lie as a political weapon has a long and unsavory history. Its one consistent feature is that it is always used for reactionary purposes.

If any award is to be given for founding a school of lying in politics that has outlasted any other, has had the most harmful consequences, and has misled more people than any other, it must go to Joseph Stalin.

The Stalin school started as a series of seemingly unimportant revisions of historical records for purely factional aims in skirmishes among Soviet leaders. But it ended up as the most monstrous murder machine in history, destroying revolutions and revolutionists. Unfortunately, this school still exists, misleading millions of people and doing incalculable damage.

The publication of Leon Trotsky's book, the third English-language edition, will be welcomed by all those interested in learning the truth about the origin of Stalinism in the world labor movement. As the author put it in his forward to the American edition, "He [Stalin] will enter into the annals of the history of 'thought' only as the organizer of the greatest school of falsification."

The great lie machine associated with Stalin's name arose out of the economic, social, and political conditions of the Soviet Union in the early 1920s after the post-World War I European revolutionary upsurge had been defeated.

Surrounded by hostile imperialist enemies, weakened by years of war, its economy in ruins, heir to a semibarbaric czarist past, the new proletarian state faced insurmountable obstacles. Rising on the wreckage inherited from the past, a caste of parvenus, some from the revolutionary party itself, demanded economic privileges and favored treatment in the midst of widespread poverty and hard times.

This privileged caste found in Stalin and his closest associates the most effective leaders of their tendency. They could come to power only through the widest use of lies to discredit the genuine revolutionists, those who remained Marxist-Leninists.

Trotsky's book begins with a letter he wrote to the Bureau of (Communist) Party History. It is a reply to a long questionnaire concerning his participation in the October Revolution sent to him in 1927, four years after the internal party struggle had first broken out and about three years after Lenin's death.

Trotsky's reply to the various questions begins with his arrival in Petrograd in May 1917. He tells of his participation in the revolutionary events of that year, which culminated with the Bolshevik triumph in October.

Important sections of this chapter describe in detail the relations between Lenin and Trotsky during the critical months of the struggle. Trotsky describes how he and Lenin, previously at odds for many years over various questions, came together in the revolutionary year 1917 and cooperated to assure the success of the October Revolution. It was necessary to set the record straight on this point, particularly since Stalin and his henchmen lied more about the Lenin-Trotsky relations than any other question.

Stalin's role

Of considerable interest is Trotsky's account of the real role played by Stalin in the revolution. Stalin responded to the overthrow of the czar in February with proposals to unite the Bolsheviks with the Mensheviks in a single party. He also stood for support to the bourgeois Provisional Government established after the czar's downfall. These were policies directly contrary to those of Lenin. They approximated Menshevik, not Bolshevik, views.

Trotsky quotes time and again from writers who commented on his own role in the revolu-

tion. In the years up to 1923 there was nothing but praise for him. But after that, those who sided with Stalin began to write just the opposite. Stalin himself indulged in this two-faced journalism. Soon after the October Revolution he praised Trotsky's work. Later, however, he wrote that Trotsky, being a relatively new member of the Bolshevik party, could not have played much of a role in the events.

Stalin's falsifiers cited the formation of a committee that they claimed "led" the revolution in its final and most critical days. But Trotsky has no problem in proving from the record that this committee never even held a meeting, to say nothing of leading any revolutions.



Both of the above photos were taken from a 1920 motion picture. The crudely doctored version below, eliminating Leon Trotsky and another person, is typical of the Stalinist falsification of history.

Countless examples of such events are contained in Trotsky's letter and make up a partial history of the period from 1917 to 1927.

An interesting and informative chapter is devoted to explaining the real origins of "Trotskyism" as contrasted to Leninism. Trotsky thoroughly proves how these alleged contrasts were fabricated by Zinoviev and Kamenev when they were allied to Stalin. Later, when these two leaders switched sides and made a temporary bloc with Trotsky against Stalin, they acknowledged that they had invented the whole business of so-called "Trotskyism" in order to keep the leadership in their own hands.

The defeats flowing from Stalin's policies provided the political motivation for the wholesale mudslinging at Trotsky and his supporters. These defeats included the German events of late 1923, which opened opportunities passed up on Stalin's insistence.

In addition, there were Stalin's attempts to hide the false policies he imposed upon the Chinese

Communist Party in the 1925-1927 period of the Chinese revolution. Stalinist policy subordinated the Chinese Communist Party to the bourgeois Kuomintang. This involved giving up the communist program as well as its organizational independence—a policy that led to the defeat of the 1927 revolution.

To bury these defeats or at least shift the blame for them to someone else's shoulders required a mountain of lies. But Trotsky reveals the truth about these very important events.

In 1927 the Stalin faction made strenuous efforts to expel Trotsky and other opposition leaders from the party. A number of meetings of the Central Control Commission and the Central Committee of the Communist Party were called for just this purpose.

This volume includes three speeches Trotsky made in his defense at such meetings. They are splendid examples of how a revolutionary politician defends himself against the lying onslaughts of unprincipled enemies. They also demonstrate how Marxists deal with complex political questions involving international revolutionary events.

Accusing Molotov, one of Stalin's principal associates, of strangling the party, Trotsky ends the last of these speeches with a brief statement defending the Soviet Union. "To sum up. For the socialist fatherland? Yes! For the Stalinist course? No!"

Trotsky tells the truthful story of Lenin's relations with Stalin, especially during the last period of Lenin's life. Stalin had accumulated great power in his hands even during Lenin's lifetime and was using it bureaucratically within the party and state. As a result, Lenin decided that Stalin should be removed from his most important post, general secretary of the party.

Lenin put this in his Testament, his last message to the party. But this was not the final chapter. Before he became completely paralysed, Lenin broke all personal relations with Stalin because of the latter's disloyalty and rudeness. In his last important political act, Lenin agreed to fight jointly with Trotsky against the rising bureaucracy in the party and state. That meant to fight Stalin. Only Lenin's final illness and death prevented him from taking part and put the main burden on Trotsky.

Another chapter tells how the 1917 insurrection took place, who played what parts in it, and what the real views of Lenin and Trotsky were in the critical days.

The Stalinist mountain of lies includes the idea that a sharp conflict took place between Lenin and Trotsky over the October insurrection. But this is all fiction. Considering the difficulties caused by Lenin's enforced absence from the center of events, there was an unusual degree of agreement between the two principal leaders of the revolution.

The Lenin-Trotsky program led to the October victory of Bolshevism in the revolution. Not long after the conquest of power, during a discussion of the crisis that had occurred on the eve of the insurrection, Lenin had an opportunity to say something about Trotsky's attitude toward Mensheviks and other compromisers. The crisis had been brought on by public opposition to the insurrection from prominent Bolshevik leaders, especially Zinoviev and Kamenev—a position Lenin characterized as treason.

Lenin said, "As for conciliation, I cannot even speak about that seriously. Trotsky long ago said that unification is impossible. Trotsky understood this and from that time on there has been no better Bolshevik."

There is a new introduction written especially for this edition by George Saunders, author of *Rebels and Bureaucrats* (Pathfinder Press) and a member of the editorial staff of *Intercontinental Press*. The book also contains two forewords by the author, extensive explanatory notes, and an index.

—MILTON ALVIN

Hussein's 'peace plan' rejected by all

The following are major excerpts from an article that appeared in the March 27 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

By JON ROTHSCHILD

The *New York Times* called it "Hussein's dream," a plan "surely worth considering as a possible opening toward peace in the Middle East." Egyptian journalist Mohammed Heykal, close confidant of President Anwar el-Sadat, said it appeared that 1972 was to be "the year of betrayal." U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers was afraid to comment, lest "we [the Nixon administration] kill it with our embrace."



King Hussein

On March 15 Jordanian King Hussein announced that he had a bold new plan for peace in the Arab East. In a grandstand play for world public attention, he let news of it be leaked the preceding day, and even seemed to imply that he had already made a deal with the Israeli government. Before a single day had passed, and in some cases even before the plan was officially announced, denunciations had come from nearly every Arab regime, as well as from the Palestinian resistance movement. But the Amman butcher had stolen the head-

lines from Anwar el-Sadat.

The essence of the "Hussein plan," as it soon came to be called, was that a new United Arab Kingdom (UAK) be formed, composed of what is presently the kingdom of Jordan plus the now Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River.

The UAK would have, according to the plan, a federal structure. A national assembly would be composed of equal representation from the two regions. Legislative authority for the kingdom as a whole would rest with Hussein and the assembly, judicial authority with a federal supreme court.

In addition, each region would have a local assembly with autonomous powers, a local governor-general appointed by those assemblies, a local cabinet, and an independent regional court system. Capitals were selected: Amman for the East Bank (and for the seat of the federal apparatus) and Jerusalem for the West Bank. There was even a provision for expansion: "liberated territories" (an apparent reference to the Gaza Strip) would be invited to join up.

Hussein's announcement did not mention the trivial fact that the entire West Bank is now occupied by Israel. In fact, the plan made no mention of Israel at all. The statement has a certain pathological tone; it reads as if the Israeli troops had already withdrawn and the natural monarch were describing what will happen next week. The lack of any mention of Israel, combined with the immediate Israeli rejection of the plan, demolished any notion that a prior agreement had been made.

Reaction among the Arab regimes was immediate. The Egyptian-Syrian-Libyan federation charged that the CIA was behind the whole thing and that Hussein was preparing to make a separate peace with the Zionist state.

The Iraqi Baath party took the occasion to propose "immediate union" with the federation, in order to reinforce Arab unity against the "capitulation" of Hussein. The Algerian government said the plan represented a recognition of the Zionist *fait accompli*. King Faisal of Saudi Arabia was the only Arab ruler to support his royal Jordanian counterpart explicitly.

The response of the Palestinian leaders in the West Bank was nearly universally negative. "Too little, too late" was a common comment. And the Israeli Knesset (parliament) responded by passing a resolution that virtually declared the West Bank annexed to Israel.

The universal condemnation the plan received and the air of unreality that pervades its formulations make one wonder whether even Hussein considered it a serious proposal. What was the king's intent?

From the end of the first world war until 1948, the West Bank was part of the British mandate of Palestine, and contained about half its inhabitants. When the United Nations handed most of Palestine over to the Zionist movement in 1947, the West Bank was supposed to become an Arab Palestinian state. But during the 1947-48 war, Jordanian King Abdullah, Hussein's grandfather, occupied the West Bank. As part of the armistice agreement with Israel, it was annexed to Jordan. It remained part of Jordan until 1967, when it was taken over by the Israeli armed forces.

Shortly thereafter, it became clear that at least a considerable sector of the Israeli ruling class favored permanent absorption of the West Bank. Jewish settlements multiplied, and the trappings of permanence (as opposed to temporary military occupation) began to appear.

But the statement apparently failed to reiterate the fedayeen call for the

liberation of all Palestine, and in that sense represented a retreat from their advanced positions of a year ago. Rumors were current that the PLO would counter Hussein by establishing a Palestinian government-in-exile. But the following day the PLO announced that this plan had been "abandoned, at least temporarily, to avoid antagonizing certain Arab regimes."

Hussein's proposal, the answer of the Israeli government, and the apparent inability of the fedayeen to give a clear and decisive response are ominous signs for the Palestinian people. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the Lebanese army's subsequent occupation of fedayeen-controlled areas dealt the resistance movement a heavy blow. (See *Intercontinental Press*, March 13, p. 253.) In the next several months, and especially after Nixon's trip to Moscow, further attacks — aimed at eliminating whatever is left — can be expected.

The next step for U.S. imperialism and the Israeli ruling class will likely be an attempt at a deal with Egypt. This may not be easily gained, whatever Anwar el-Sadat's inclinations may be. The Egyptian workers and students have been the central force opposing the recent counterrevolutionary tide in the Arab East. In them the Arab regimes, the Israeli government, U.S. imperialism, and the Soviet bureaucracy may find an obstacle hard to surmount.

Below is the first of what will be a regular feature in The Militant through the November elections. "Where the Socialist Candidates Stand" will explain the position of the Socialist Workers Party on key issues. The column is designed so that campaign supporters can cut it out and reproduce it with an electronic stencil.

Where the socialist candidates stand: On unemployment

The following expresses the views of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

The official unemployment figure has stood at about 6 percent throughout all of 1971, and in February 1972, it was 5.7 percent. That's 5.4 million people—not even counting those who work part time or have given up looking for a job—who are scraping along on minimal unemployment benefits or on no income whatsoever.

High unemployment is nothing new, however. The current recession accompanied by high unemployment is the fifth since World War II.

In fact, unemployment has always existed under capitalism. The anarchy of capitalist production both creates and requires a reserve pool of labor to serve the needs of the "free enterprise" system. Each company makes its own decisions—on the basis of market considerations—regarding whether to expand and hire more workers, lay off workers, move to another area, or close down altogether. Thus workers are dumped arbitrarily with no provision for future work, and they are rehired from the

pool of the unemployed only when some company decides it is profitable.

Furthermore, in a period of recession, such as we are in today, the capitalists find that they cannot get maximum profits by using their factories to full capacity, so they simply lay off workers and produce less.

This system of capitalism is so irrational—from the standpoint of human welfare—that in 1970 U.S. industries produced approximately 77 percent of what they could have produced if they had employed everyone and used all their machines to full capacity (according to the 1971 *Statistical Abstract of the United States*).

The American people could certainly use the goods that are not being produced. But the capitalists don't produce to capacity because that is not profitable under present conditions.

The Democrats and Republicans admit that they cannot eliminate unemployment under this capitalist system. Nixon, for example, promises that he is working toward "full employment." But what does he really have in mind? He defines full employment as 4 percent unemployment. His idea of the best of all possible worlds is one in

which more than 3.5 million people are jobless.

The Democrats are no different; they have simply defined full employment as a slightly lower percentage of unemployment.

The Socialist Workers Party *does* have a program for eliminating unemployment—completely.

We believe that the interests of the majority of the people must override the profit interests of the small number of capitalists. If the employers can't or won't hire people who want jobs—for whatever reason—then it is the capitalists who are to blame, certainly not the workers. The SWP proposes the following steps to protect unemployed working people and their families from the injustices of capitalism and to eliminate unemployment.

1) To eliminate unemployment in the long run, the workweek must be progressively shortened, with no reduction in pay, so that the available work can be divided among all who need jobs. Workers could fight for the shorter workweek in their contracts on an industry-wide basis, as well as by pressing for it to be instituted nationally as an amendment to the wages and hours act, just as

the eight-hour day was instituted.

2) As long as unemployment exists, unemployment benefits should be set at an average of the union wages in the country. They should be provided for the duration of the unemployment, regardless of whether a worker has been previously employed. It is ridiculous to set an arbitrary time period after which a person must starve or go on welfare.

3) The government should institute a crash public-works program, which could give jobs to the jobless and at the same time provide sorely needed services for the American people. War industries and the war budget should be turned over to such socially useful production.

4) Strict enforcement of antidiscrimination laws and a policy of preferential hiring should be adopted to overcome the many years of job discrimination against Black people, Chicanos, other oppressed nationalities, and women.

5) If a capitalist threatens to close down a plant and move to another area, the plant should be nationalized under the democratic administration of the workers.



Calendar

BOSTON

THE BOSTON UNIVERSITY STUDENT STRIKE AND THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. Speaker: Jeannette Tracy, coordinator, Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition, national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., April 14, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (opposite South Station). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

VOICES OF DISSENT. Prospects for the antiwar movement. Wed., April 12, 8 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sat., April 15, 8 p.m. on WBUR-FM, 90.9.

LOS ANGELES

The Militant Labor Forum presents weekly forums on Friday evenings at 8:30 p.m. Some of the topics covered are: economics; ecology; the struggles of women, Blacks, and Chicanos for liberation; the antiwar movement; literature and art; the student movement; trade-union movement; and the struggles in other countries. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information, call (213) 463-1917.

NEW ENGLAND

HEAR ANDREW PULLEY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president.

Mon., April 10, 1 p.m.: Harvard U Call (617) 482-8050 for room number. 4:30 p.m.: Brandeis U, Waltham, Mass. Sponsored by GRITO. Call (617) 482-8050 for room number. 7:30 p.m.: Boston U, School of Public Communications Auditorium, 640 Commonwealth Ave.

Tues., April 11, 1 p.m.: Worcester State College, Old Auditorium, Worcester, Mass. 3:30 p.m.: Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass., Apocalypse Coffee House. 7:30 p.m.: Clark U, Old Library, Worcester, Mass.

Wed., April 12, 8:45 a.m.: Portsmouth High School, Auditorium, Portsmouth, N.H. 2 p.m.: Bates College, Lewiston, Me. Call (617) 482-8050 for room number. 8 p.m.: Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. Call (617) 482-8050 for room number.

Thurs., April 13, 8 p.m.: U of Rhode Island, Kingston, R.I. Call (617) 482-8050 for room number.

NEW YORK

WHAT NEXT FOR THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT? Speakers: Jerry Gordon, coordinator, National Peace Action Coalition; Carl Davidson, the Guardian; and George Vickers, People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. Fri., April 14, 8 p.m. 703 Main Building, New York University, Waverly Place and Washington Sq. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. N.Y.U. Young Socialist Alliance. For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

OAKLAND

Talk by Jose Revueltas, Mexican writer and recently released political prisoner. Fri., April 14, 8 p.m. 3536 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$1. A usp. Militant Forum. For more information, call (415) 654-9728.

PORTLAND

THE WAGE CONTROLS AND THE FIGHT AGAINST THE WAR. Panel discussion with: Larry McCabe, president, Portland Federation of Teachers; John Olson, legislative lobbyist for ILWU; and Lawrence Black, member of Local 87A IUOE. Fri., April 14, 7:30 p.m.

208 S.W. Stark, Room 201. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. A usp. Militant Forum.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:15 p.m. every Wednesday, KPFC-FM, 90.7.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY. Speakers: Mark Smith, director of operations, African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee; Florence Tate, information coordinator, African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee; and Herman Fagg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for D.C. delegate. Fri., April 14, 8 p.m. 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Forum.

...war

Continued from page 1
son's bombing, the U. S. had no right to extract such "accords."

Furthermore, Nixon has already been escalating the bombing of North Vietnam since last December. The U. S. has flown more air strikes against North Vietnam so far this year than in all of 1971.

The CIA documents in the Pentagon papers estimated that more than 80 percent of the casualties of U. S. bombing in the North were civilians. Defenseless women, men and children are the main victims of the murderous U. S. bombing. An attack on the scale Nixon threatens—with more than 600 bombers mobilized at bases throughout Southeast Asia and on carriers off North Vietnam's shores—can result in incalculable slaughter of the civilian populace.

The tens of thousands of refugees already fleeing the battle zone in the northern part of South Vietnam testify to massive U. S. bombing in that area, the exact scope of which is unknown since administration decrees forbid the press to report on the air and ground war that is taking place.

The American people want an end to this unjust killing, which totally violates the right of the Vietnamese to form their own government. The entire history of the war has taught increasing numbers of Americans that the capitalist government in Washington cannot be trusted to end this war. Despite eight years of promises, going back to Lyndon Johnson's 1964 campaign, the Democrat-controlled Congress has continued to give its stamp of approval to this war. And Congress will continue to do this un-

til the masses of Americans put a stop to the war.

The war cannot be ended by voting for the capitalist politicians who started it and continue it.

Only independent action through the antiwar movement can register the unambiguous protest that is necessary to force Washington to withdraw.

Two marches and rallies are scheduled in Los Angeles and New York for April 22 as part of worldwide antiwar actions to take place on and around that date. We urge that all those opposed to the war join together in making these actions as large as possible. This will be the most effective way to struggle for immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Southeast Asia and to protest Nixon's latest bombing assault.

...abortion

Continued from page 9
will be an important focus for their Abortion Action Week activities.

In Minneapolis, Abortion Action Week will begin with a May 1 rally at the University of Minnesota. Women students plan to link their fight for women's health care in the school clinic to the national campaign for abortion law repeal. Endorsers of the rally include Enid Griffin, Minneapolis National Organization for Women (NOW) Reproductive Committee, and Jack Baker, student body president at the University of Minnesota.

Speak-outs, films, debates with anti-abortion forces, and other activities fill out the plans for May 1-6 in many other areas.

— CINDY JAQUITH

...Muskie

Continued from page 11
As chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution, Muskie has often been referred to as "the Mr. Clean of the environment crusade." But as A. James Reichly reported in detail in the June 1971 *Fortune* magazine, Muskie's record as governor of Maine was less than spotless. Reporting how polluting was permitted in streams classified as vital for industrial use, Reichly writes,

"Business lobbyists who were then active in the state capitol remember him as 'understanding.'"

...NDP

Continued from page 18

war and women's liberation movement, try to get the labor party to embrace and back the demands of these movements. In their view, a labor party ought not to hold a narrow concept of its social role, but should champion the struggles of all the oppressed.

Canadian revolutionists welcome and support left-wing formations like the NDP's Waffle caucus. They see in such a formation the possibility of building a militant, socialist left wing that can not only carry out education and struggle within the party, but also establish crucial links to dynamic social movements outside the labor party. A left-wing caucus can thus serve as a vehicle for gaining acceptance for a revolutionary perspective on a mass scale—and for bringing together the forces that will some day form the mass revolutionary party that will lead the Canadian socialist revolution.

There is a myth to which many people in the United States subscribe: that the workers cannot and will not take control of the nation's affairs. To this revolutionists reply that not only can they do so, but they will do so. They must if the built-in evils of the capitalist economy—inflation, unemployment, racism, imperialist war—are ever to be eliminated. As these problems persist and worsen in the context of a deepening radicalization, the thinking of American workers cannot fail to be affected. And it is they who will be increasingly receptive to the idea that labor should form its own party. This need not, and indeed almost certainly will not, occur the way it did in Canada because both historical and national conditions are different. When it occurs, the American working class will have taken a giant step toward replacing rule by the few over the many with a more rational and civilized form of social organization.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Rathers, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Ariz. 85001. Tel: (602) 968-5738.
Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.
CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.
Claremont: YSA, c/o Andrew Weissberg, 247 Oberlin Ave., Claremont, Calif. 91711. Tel: (714) 624-2294.
Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.
Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.
Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815.
San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.
San Diego: YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.
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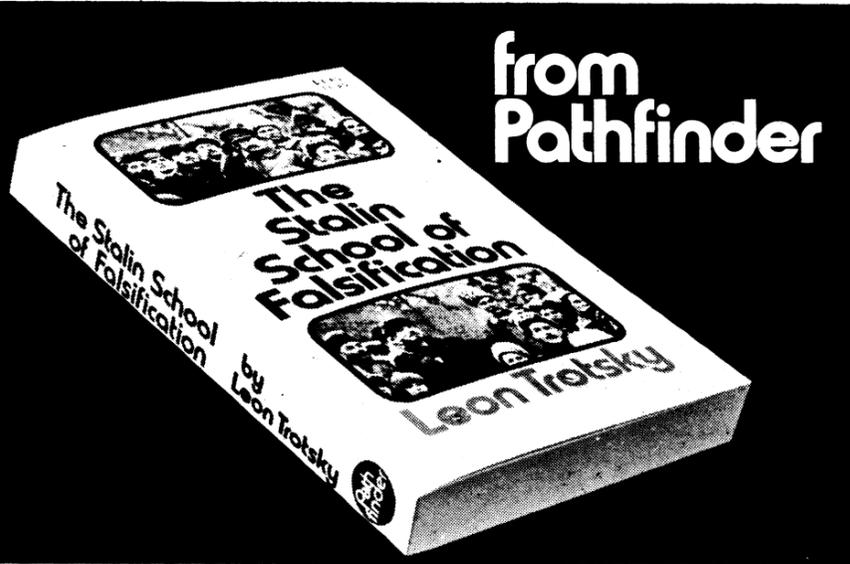
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THE MILITANT

Angela Davis points out: 'State has no evidence'

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN JOSE, Calif., April 3—The lid is opening on what appears to be a hastily contrived case by the state of California against Angela Davis. The state contends that Davis planned, financed, and helped to carry out a jail escape and kidnapping attempt at the Marin County courthouse Aug. 7, 1970.

Since Davis was not present at the courthouse incident, the state attempted to link her to the Aug. 7 events through an alleged plot to free the Soledad Brothers. (Davis had worked in the Los Angeles office of the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee.)

But as the case against the Soledad Brothers began to crumble, and as support mounted for bail for Davis, the state was forced to delete Davis' speeches in defense of the Soledad Brothers from the conspiracy indictment against her.

Finally, on March 27, the day the Soledad Brothers were acquitted in San Francisco, chief prosecutor Albert Harris assured the jury in San Jose that her case was not a political frame-up. Davis, he said, had acted "not out of concern for social justice," but just to free the one man she passionately loved—George Jackson.

Davis ridiculed Harris's "sick kind of game" in her opening statement to the jury March 29. "Since I committed no crimes," she stated, "since all my activity was open and above-board, the prosecutor is left with one alternative. He must shape his circumstantial case out of the ordinary circumstances of everyday life.

"He would have you believe that lurking behind my external appearance are sinister and selfish emotions and passions, which, in his words, know no bounds. This is utterly fantastic, this is utterly absurd. Yet it is understandable that Mr. Harris would like to take advantage of the fact that I am a woman—and women in this society are supposed to act only in accordance with the dictates of their emotions and passions.

This is a symptom of the male chauvinism which prevails in this society."

Davis predicted to the jury that "the prosecutor's evidence itself will show that his case is no case at all." The inconsistent testimony of seven witnesses called by the prosecution to link the Aug. 7 incident to a supposed plot to free Soledad Brother George Jackson has borne out her prediction.

Five of the witnesses have given conflicting reports of the wording and timing of a statement attributed to prisoner James McClain. (He is alleged to have demanded, "Free the Soledad Brothers," when hostages were taken during the Aug. 7 incident.) Two other witnesses, Norene Morris and Joyce Rodoni, former jurors in the Marin County courtroom Aug. 7, denied hearing any mention of the Soledad Brothers while they were held as hostages.

The first witness for the prosecution, Maria Elena Graham, was also taken hostage Aug. 7. She testified March 30 that McClain had exclaimed, "Free the Soledad Brothers or we will kill the judge," and that George Jackson's brother, Jonathan, had repeatedly shouted, "Free our Soledad Brothers!" during the incident. When pressed by the defense, however, she tearfully admitted that McClain's threats and Jackson's repeated statements had "just come to her for the first time" while she was on the witness stand. "It came to you because Mr. Harris told you to say it," defense counsel Howard Moore Jr. suggested.

James Keane, a personal friend of Harold Haley, the judge who was killed on Aug. 7, testified today that McClain said to him, "Tell them we want the Soledad Brothers released by 12 o'clock." The photographs Keane took of the Aug. 7 incident have been submitted by the prosecution to each witness to emphasize the violence of the events.

Harvey Teague, a Marin County

sheriff's captain, agreed that he heard someone say something to the effect that "you have until noon to free the Soledad Brothers and all political prisoners," but he believed that these remarks were directed to no one in particular. Teague also admitted that the written police report he submitted the same day of the incident made no mention of the Soledad Brothers.



Angela Davis

None of the witnesses presented by the prosecution have demonstrated that any concrete proposals were made to complete the exchange of hostages for the Soledad Brothers. The defense has suggested that "Free the Soledad Brothers," if it was said, was merely the expression of a popular slogan like "Free Angela."

As the testimony in the Davis trial enters its second week, the courtroom remains full of spectators and press from around the world. Persons must wait in line for several hours beginning at 6 a.m. to assure entrance to the courtroom, which only has 30 seats for spectators.

This week's highlights in the Angela Davis trial

MARCH 27—In his opening statement to the court, chief prosecutor Albert Harris says that he will submit mainly circumstantial evidence, demonstrating that Angela Davis planned, financed, and helped commit a kidnapping and jail escape attempt on Aug. 7, 1970.

MARCH 28—Davis trial is postponed because of an alleged escape and kidnapping attempt by three prisoners at the San Jose County jail, located next door to the courtroom. One of the prisoners, Jacob F. Zitzer Jr. (also known as Chuck Williamson), is killed by police. The police refuse to release more than a single contradictory statement on the incident, which is altered the next day.

MARCH 29—Judge Richard Arnason interrogates the jurors to determine if the jail incident of the previous day has prejudiced them against Davis. Davis charges in her opening statement that the prosecution's tale of blood and passion is "a sick kind of game." She maintains that the state is trying to fit her into its preconceived crime scheme through pure guesswork. The first witness, Maria Elena Graham, testifies that during the escape attempt Jonathan Jackson repeatedly shouted, "Free our Soledad Brothers," and that convict James McClain threatened, "Free the Soledad Brothers or we will kill the judge."

MARCH 30—Graham admits to the defense that yesterday was the first time she had "remembered" the sup-

posed threat by McClain. Witnesses Norene Morris and Joyce Rodoni testify that they heard no one say "Free the Soledad Brothers."

MARCH 31—No trial because of the holidays.

APRIL 3—Newspaper photographer James Keane testifies that James McClain said to him, "Tell them we want the Soledad Brothers released by 12 o'clock." Three police officer witnesses give slightly different stories. They admit that the Soledad Brothers were not mentioned in the original police reports.

APRIL 4—Trial is postponed because of a death in the family of one of the jurors.

Big rally protests cop squad

By PAULA REIMERS

DETROIT—More than 2,000 people, mostly Black, attended an enthusiastic rally March 26 protesting the Detroit Police Department's STRESS unit.

STRESS, a special armed plainclothes detachment of the police department, was supposedly created to deal with street crime. The initials mean Stop the Robberies—Enjoy Safe Streets. In fact, however, STRESS has unleashed a reign of terror in Black and poor neighborhoods throughout Detroit.

Since its inception about one year ago, STRESS officers, mostly white, have murdered at least 14 people, mostly Black. STRESS recently came to national prominence when three of its officers broke into an apartment where three off-duty Wayne County sheriff's deputies were playing cards. Because one of the deputies "looked like he was armed," the STRESS officers began shooting, killing one deputy and wounding two others.

The March 26 rally was sponsored by the Labor Defense Coalition (LDC), a predominantly white lawyers group that has handled a number of complaints against STRESS; the Guardians of Michigan, an organization of Black policemen; and the State of Emergency Committee, which was formed in response to STRESS killings and the Attica prison massacre last September.

Speakers at the rally included Kenneth Cockrell of the LDC; Cornelius Hudson, president of Local 26 of the Detroit Public Workers union; Ira Samuels of the Guardians; and Dr. Reginald Wilson, president of Wayne County Community College.

Ted Spearman, a lawyer with the LDC, announced that LDC was planning to go into court April 7 to get an injunction to prevent STRESS from operating in the community. He said the LDC was circulating petitions in support of the suit.

Justin Ravitz, another LDC lawyer, outlined some of the history of STRESS and the facts his investigation has uncovered. He said that in the four months beginning May 1971, five civilians were killed by STRESS officers in a one-block area. One officer, Ray Peterson, was involved in all five killings. Another officer was involved in four.

Before his assignment to the STRESS unit, Peterson had no fewer than 21 civilian complaints of brutality against him.

Ravitz spoke of the case of James Henderson, who saw STRESS officers kill a man in the community on May 11, 1971. On Sept. 9 STRESS officers killed Henderson. One week before his death, officers had told Henderson that they would "get him."

Ravitz also disclosed the fact that not one STRESS officer has ever required medical treatment after a STRESS operation. Moreover, their own reports say officers "shoot fleeing felons," but morgue reports indicate that many victims have been shot in the face and in the chest.

Samuels of the Guardians summed up the anger and outrage of the people of Detroit when he said, "Either STRESS will go or the mayor and everyone responsible for keeping it will go."

A number of Black activists are meeting to discuss the possibilities of organizing a mass demonstration demanding the abolition of STRESS.