

THE MILITANT

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

Nixon mobilizes forces to save Saigon regime



U.S. Marines airlifted to Phubai battlefield. About 100 balked at patrol orders April 11. --Story on page 3.

Join protests in L.A., N.Y. April 22

— see page 5

LOS ANGELES: Assemble 10 a.m. at Bronson and Wilshire, near Crenshaw. Rally 1 p.m. at MacArthur Park.

NEW YORK: Assemble 10 a.m. at Central Park West and 72 Street. Rally 1 p.m. at Bryant Park.

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: DOUG JENNESS
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

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Southwest Bureau: 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Phone: (213) 463-1917.

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BEEF BOYCOTT: Sixty women in Keene, N.H., announced April 4 that they were boycotting beef to protest the current high prices. Eight supermarkets in the Keene area will be affected.

PRISONERS ALLOWED TO REGISTER: Richard Honigisto, San Francisco county sheriff, has arranged for deputies to register inmates of the county jails to vote. Inmates at Santa Rita jail in Alameda County have also been allowed to register.

California law permits prisoners to vote if they have not been convicted of "infamous crimes"—certain felonies. The county registrar decides which prisoners are eligible.

TERRORIST OPPOSED IN AUSTIN: Meir Kahane of the Jewish Defense League spoke to 500 people at the University of Texas in Austin on March 15. A rally and picket line of about 75 people protesting the JDL's terrorist practices were sponsored by the Organization of Arab Students, the Palestine Solidarity Committee, and the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

Picketers carried signs with slogans such as "Jews yes, racists no!" and "Defend the Arab revolution," and passed out leaflets telling the truth about the JDL.

Most of the audience was hostile to Kahane's views. When he made such remarks as "Arabs don't do things as well as Jews do," he was met with chants from the audience denouncing his blatant racism. The question period exposed Kahane's Zionist views as serving the interests of neither Jews nor Arabs.



Photo by Howard Petrick

University of Texas students protest JDL

DATE SET FOR MANDEL HEARING: The U.S. Supreme Court has scheduled its hearings on the case of Ernest Mandel for April 18. The Justice Department is appealing a lower federal court decision that declared invalid the Belgian Marxist scholar's exclusion from this country in 1969 under the McCarran-Walter Act.

Eight prominent professors, including Wassily Leontiev of Harvard and Noam Chomsky of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, were co-plaintiffs in the original suit. Attorneys for the plaintiffs are Leonard Boudin and David Rosenberg, acting for the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. The court is expected to issue its opinion on the case before it adjourns in June.

TEAMSTERS IN BOYCOTT ACTION: On March 31, about 300 striking bottlers and drivers from the Bay Area Teamsters locals on strike against the soft drink industry held a demonstration in Jack London Square in Oakland. The demonstrators urged the patrons of the many restaurants and bars in the area not to purchase the struck soft drinks.

In addition to several officers of the Alameda County Central Labor Council and the Alameda County Building Trades Council, more than 70 members of the United Farm Workers Union were present. The militant, chanting pickets kept it up for more than nine hours and returned the following evening for a four-hour demonstration.

FILING FEE VICTORY: A California district appeals court has declared that state's filing fee unconstitutional for candidates who can't afford to pay. Previously, all candidates for state offices were required to pay fees of 1 to 2 percent of the annual salary of the office. Sandy Knoll, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the Alameda County board of supervisors, filed the suit.

In a related action, the court ruled that the county could not require advance payment in order for the candidates to have a statement appear in the pamphlet that goes out to all voters. Thus, candidates will have the option of contesting the pamphlet fee when billed after the November election.

These suits were supported by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL).

MILITANT FORUM I (ANGELA DAVIS): The film *Angela Davis: Portrait of a Revolutionary* was shown to an audience of about 100 at the Chicago Militant Labor

Forum in March. Andrew Pulley, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke briefly before the film. Stressing that "an injury to one is an injury to all," Pulley expressed the Socialist Workers Party's support for the Angela Davis defense. Money was collected to aid the work of the defense committee.

MILITANT FORUM II (LOBOTOMIES): Dr. Barbara Roberts, a coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, spoke at the March 31 Washington, D.C., Militant Forum on the topic "A Feminist Looks at Psychosurgery." The activist physician described the threat posed by the increasing use of lobotomies, a form of brain surgery, to control behavior judged undesirable. Lobotomies irreversibly destroy brain tissue of the frontal lobes, the area affecting a person's emotions, creativity, and sense of self.

The "mildly disturbed"—the "neurotic housewife" and the "hyperactive child," for example—are the chief targets of the "new wave of psychosurgery," says Roberts. "The political implications are obvious." A recent book on psychosurgery suggests that the method be applied to "politically activist groups (students, racial, etc.)" that engage in "unacceptable violence."

Among those funding research in the field are the U.S. military and the Justice Department. Although there is not yet an organized movement against these practices, opposition is growing. The Medical Committee for Human Rights and some members of Congress are seeking a formal investigation.

ACTION HITS ANTI-GAY BIGOTRY: On April 10 several hundred people picketed the offices of the New York Daily News to protest an anti-gay editorial the paper had run. The editorial—"Any old jobs for homos?"—had welcomed the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Mike McConnell case, misrepresenting the decision in the process.

The News called gay people "fairies, nances, swishes, fags, lezzes." It said, "government . . . should have full freedom to bar them from jobs in which their peculiarities would make them security or other risks."

The protesters demanded an apology for the "abusive and bigoted" editorial and a retraction of the "false report that the . . . court has upheld the banning of gays from government employment." They also demanded that the Daily News "allow its hundreds of gay employees to openly acknowledge their sexual orientation without fear of reprisal."

Four demonstrators were arrested after about 30 of them talked for over an hour to News employees in their offices. According to the Gay Activists Alliance, one of many gay groups supporting the protest, the response was very favorable.

Marching in the demonstration was Joanna Misnik, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in New York's 20th C.D.



Photo by John Lauritsen

Bella Abzug speaking at gay rights rally

DOMINICAN MARCH: The Partido Revolucionario Dominicano is sponsoring a demonstration and rally in New York on April 22 to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the invasion of the Dominican Republic by U.S. Marines. The action will start at 1 p.m. at 137th Street and Broadway and will proceed to 159th Street. El Comite Vietnam—Santo Domingo, a supporter of the April 22 march against the war in Indochina, is also building the Dominican action.

CALLEY RALLY FLOPS: American Legion members and other supporters of Lieutenant William Calley, the U.S. Army officer convicted a year ago of murder in connection with the My Lai massacre, arranged recently for a gigantic rally in the Municipal Auditorium in Columbus, Ga. The rally was to urge President Nixon to grant executive clemency for Calley, who is now under house arrest at Fort Benning, Ga.

According to the Atlantic Constitution, rally organizer V. Eugene McMichen, "had predicted 75,000 persons would converge on Columbus for the rally." A grand total of 296 showed up.

—JOEL BRITTON

U.S. mobilizes forces against Viet rebels

By DICK ROBERTS

APRIL 12—Thirty-nine war ships and more than 600 planes are alerted for war duty or are en route to Southeast Asia in addition to the U.S. task force already mobilized in the war zone. This will more than double the naval and bomber strength President Nixon is bringing to bear against the two-week-old revolutionary offensive in South Vietnam.

More than 60,000 Marine, Air Force, and Navy enlisted men are involved in the new Southeast Asia troop buildup.

While White House and Pentagon officials refuse to disclose details on the armada they are rushing to defend the Saigon regime, data on the U.S. troop movements has been compiled by an "Ad Hoc Military Buildup Committee." Consisting

For information on Nixon's war escalation contact Ad Hoc Military Buildup Committee, 67 Winthrop St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138. (617) 492-5570. Funds needed!

of antiwar GIs, Vietnam veterans, and helpers, the Cambridge-based committee has been working on an around-the-clock basis since April 8. Its information comes from GIs at U.S. bases across the country and around the world.

● Two squadrons of the third Marine air wing stationed at El Toro, Calif., have left, or are about to leave, for Vietnam. This includes 80 aircraft.

● More than 19,000 Marines, including the first division at Okinawa, elements of the second division at Camp LeJeune, S.C., and the seventh regiment at Camp Pendleton, Calif., are alerted for war duty.

● Air Force units have left for Indochina or for "destinations unknown" from bases in Iwakuni, Japan; Hickam, Hawaii; Beale, March, and Travis, Calif.; Johnson, N.C.; Westover, Mass.; and McConnell, Kansas. The committee conservatively estimates that more than 400 planes and 7,500 men are involved in the Air Force buildup.

● Aircraft carriers *Kitty Hawk*, from Subic Bay in the Philippines; *Constellation*, from Yokosuka, Japan; *Midway*, from Alameda, Calif.; *Saratoga*, from Mayport, Fla.; and *Oriskany*, from San Diego, Calif., are headed toward the South China Sea. This will bring the total number of aircraft carriers off the coast of Vietnam to eight—each carrying 70 or more fighter-bombers. There are 4,000 or more sailors on each of the giant ships.

● Other war ships on alert or en route to the battle zone include four cruisers (including the guided-missile cruiser *Albatross*), 15 destroyers (including five guided-missile destroyers), and 13 destroyer escorts.

It is evident that the administration hopes to lay waste the cities and countryside of Vietnam in retaliation for the revolutionary offensive. This armada will be capable of launching by far the biggest air attack—accompanied by off-shore shelling—in the history of the war.

As of April 9, B-52 bombers had already made the deepest attacks into North Vietnam in the history of B-52 usage in the war. This was the first time B-52s have been used against North Vietnam since Nov. 27, 1967, according to George Esper of the Associated Press in Saigon.

On April 11, the Pentagon ominously stated that the United States command in Saigon would no longer make daily announcements of American air strikes over North Vietnam. Reporters had already complained of a "tightening of American information policies" in Saigon, according to the Washington AP bureau.

U.S. troops rebel

One hundred of the first GIs to be sent into the arena of renewed heavy fighting balked at the assignment April 12. They are members of the 196th Light Infantry Brigade, which had been stationed in Danang, in northern South Vietnam. On April 11 they were transferred to Phubai air base near Hué, believed to be one of the main targets of the revolutionary advance.

"When the men arrived they were ordered into trucks to be taken near the area they were to patrol," an April 12 dispatch from Phubai stated. "The troops would not move. A lieutenant asked for volunteers, and a handful got aboard the trucks. Then a captain and senior noncommissioned officers talked to the men, and within an

hour all of them got aboard except one platoon of approximately 45 men."

These rebels undoubtedly reflect the feelings of the overwhelming bulk of GIs in and out of Vietnam. There is no point fighting and possibly dying in this despicable war. The antiwar sentiment of the troops is an important factor restraining Nixon from answering the new revolutionary offensive with U.S. ground combat forces.

Meanwhile the press, radio, and TV are cooperating with the Nixon administration's heavy censorship of battlefield news. This makes it difficult to assess the scope of the revolutionary advance. Nevertheless, whatever the precise military situation, the liberation fighters have already scored significant political gains.

First of all, they have exploded the myth of "Vietnamization." As Nixon orders the heaviest bombing attacks in the war's history and threatens to step up the bombing of North Vietnam to levels above those of 1967-68, no one can possibly argue that the Saigon dictatorship can stand on its own without massive U.S. military support.

This undercuts the whole pretense of Washington's intervention in Indochina. If the Saigon regime cannot last without the bloody intervention of foreign military forces, it does not have the support of the Vietnamese people. It is hard to believe that any statement in history will be regarded as more hypocritical than Nixon's assertion that Hanoi is "invading" South Vietnam—in the eighteenth year of the U.S. military invasion of Vietnam, which began during the Geneva conference in 1954.

One should bear in mind the key admission of the *Pentagon Papers* concerning this period of Vietnamese history almost two decades ago: "South Vietnam is essentially the creation of the United States."

Secondly, the Vietnamese revolutionaries have shown that they can launch a forceful attack against the Saigon regime's armies anywhere in South Vietnam at any time they choose. *Newsweek* magazine made a cogent observation on this point in its April 17 issue:

"Four long years after the Communists' 'go for broke' Tet offensive was 'defeated,' many months after the invasions of Cambodia and Laos 'set the enemy back,' weeks after U.S. strategists thought that Hanoi had been 'forced' to postpone a massive year-end assault, everything was suddenly back to square one. In a devastating attack, the North Vietnamese Army smashed through many South Vietnamese defenses from one end of the country to another."

At the same time, the revolutionary forces control virtually all of Cambodia except the capital city of Phnompenh. They also control most of Laos. No matter what happens in South Vietnam in the next few weeks, Washington will be as far as ever from achieving its central aim in Indochina: crushing the revolution.

And this is the third important point of the Vietnamese offensive. It underlines that Nixon, no different from his Democratic Party predecessors in the White House, hopes to crush the Vietnamese revolution in order to stabilize the Saigon regime.

James Reston, the influential vice-president and columnist of the *New York Times*, stated it April 11:

"The military crisis in Vietnam has at least clarified the policy of the Nixon Administration. In the name of protecting the withdrawal of American troops and prisoners from the battlefields, the President is now directing a massive air offensive against the enemy in order to prevent the defeat of the South Vietnamese Army and the overthrow of the Saigon Government."

"This is at least a policy; but it is not a policy for getting out, it is a policy for staying in; not a policy for defending our troops, but a policy for defending General Thieu's command and his regime."

Reston should immediately have added, "it is a policy rejected by the majority of American people." But Reston, like the Democratic Party doves who are campaigning against Nixon, pretends that the issue of the war can and should be settled at the polls and in Congress.

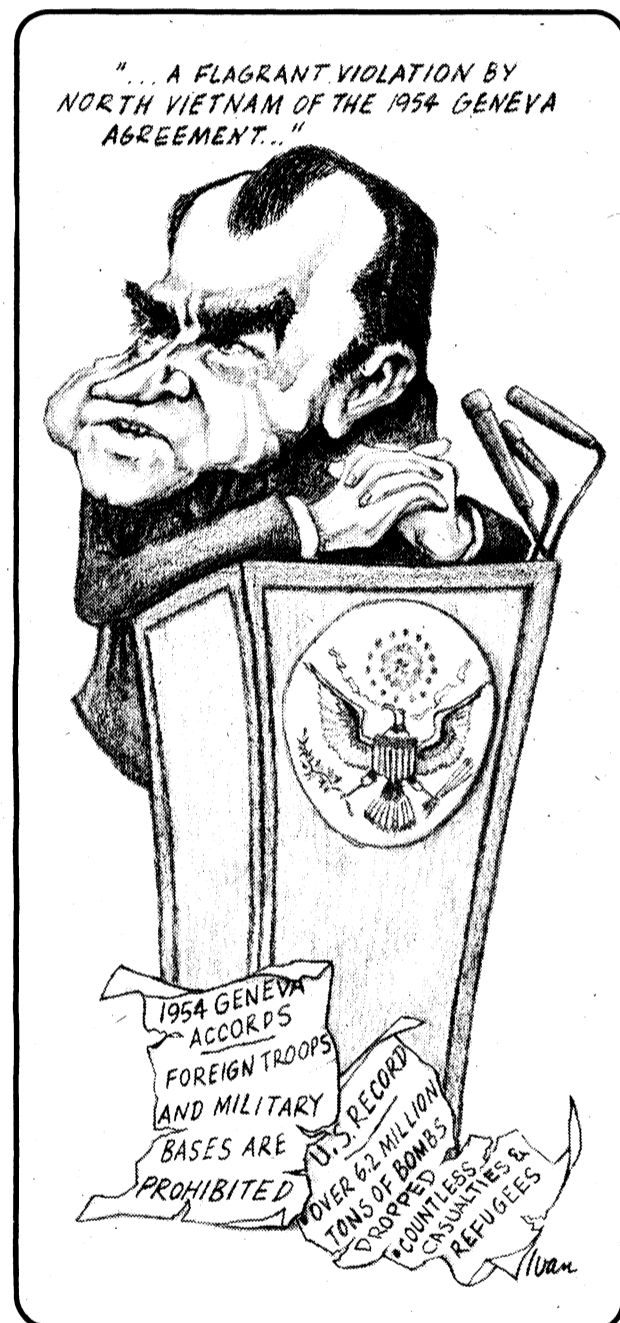
Reston leaves out the fact that when they had a chance, the American people voted massively against the war—in the 1964 presidential election campaign. Even in 1968, Nixon got an edge over Humphrey because he lied about a "secret plan"

to end the war, and voters associated Humphrey quite correctly with the war policies of the Johnson administration.

So far as Congress is concerned, the doves have at least proved one thing in the last two years: "end the war" and "set the date" amendments are incapable of ending the war, now or at any time.

This is because the imperialists who rule this country intend to try to prosecute the war until they win their cherished foothold in South Vietnam. Neither of the twin capitalist parties will stop the war, either by executive decree of the president or by votes in Congress. Only the masses of American people can force an end to the war, and they can do this only by demonstrating their unequivocal opposition to the war *independently of the ruling parties*.

Following the Tet offensive of 1968, the Johnson administration pretended that it had won a military victory and that its decisions were not influenced by that revolutionary upsurge. But the Tet offensive actually had a deep impact on the future of the war, convincing millions of Ameri-



cans that the price of crushing the Vietnamese revolutionaries was too costly in terms of the lives of GIs.

The Tet offensive ultimately forced the ruling class to adopt its strategy of "Vietnamization": buying time through troop withdrawals and stepped-up bombing throughout Indochina. This tactic of the imperialists is what is being challenged by the present tide of revolutionary advance.

One thing we can be certain of in the next two weeks: The eyes of the ruling class will be trained on April 22, the date of the antiwar demonstrations set for New York and Los Angeles.

In these mass protests the American people can show how they really feel about the war and give an unambiguous answer to Nixon's bombing escalation. Every day that Nixon steps up the bombing and increases the buildup of air and naval forces in Southeast Asia increases the importance of the April 22 demonstrations. Nixon must be answered on April 22 with the biggest voice ever: "Stop the Bombing!" "Out Now!"

Antiwar actions in Tex.; Pa.

By DANIEL FEIN

HOUSTON, April 8—A march and rally of 250 people here today protested the new U.S. attack on Indochina. Called by the Houston Peace Action Coalition (HPAC), the march began with a picket line around the headquarters of the Humble Oil Company, a major war profiteer. The marchers then proceeded through the downtown area to the city hall.

The Raza Contra la Guerra committee led the march with spirited chants of "Raza Si, Guerra No!" and "Chicano Power!" The demonstrators marched on the sidewalks because of a reactionary city statute that requires an \$800 insurance policy in order to march in the streets anywhere in Houston. HPAC challenged the constitutionality of this law last fall, but the local courts upheld the statute.

Pedro Vasquez, head of the Raza Contra la Guerra committee, chaired the rally. Among the speakers were Debby Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas; and Dan Lowry, representing Francis Farenthold, a Democratic Party candidate for governor of Texas.

By ROSEANNE RULTENBERG

PHILADELPHIA, April 6—Two hundred antiwar demonstrators greeted President Nixon here today in an emergency demonstration that was organized in less than 16 hours. The Student Mobilization Committee heard last night that Nixon was to speak at a Catholic Educators Conference at 11 a.m. today. The SMC called all the antiwar organizations in Philadelphia, urging them to cosponsor a demonstration in front of the Civic Center, where Nixon's meeting was scheduled. Radio stations and newspapers were also notified.

Among the groups at the demonstration were: Student Mobilization Committee; Philadelphia Peace Action

Coalition; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; United Farm Workers; Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley; Vietnam Veterans Against the War; Harrisburg Defense Committee; Students for a Democratic Society; Socialist Workers Party; We Speak Out; and Friends Peace Committee.

The Farm Workers had also planned a demonstration for the same time to protest an injunction against the lettuce boycott they have been organizing in Pennsylvania. The demonstrations joined together under the slogans "Freeze War, Not Wages!" "Stop the Bombing, Stop the War!" and "Support Berrigan, Join Us!"

Many nuns and priests coming out of the meeting gave the peace sign to the demonstrators. Hundreds of April 22 buttons were sold, and large amounts of material was distributed for the April 22 actions. The three major TV networks, several radio stations, and the major newspapers and campus press in the Philadelphia area covered the demonstration.

Defeat for gay rights

By DAVID WELTERS

MINNEAPOLIS—April 7—The U.S. Supreme Court rejected on April 3 the appeal of gay activist Mike McConnell, whose contract for a librarian position was rejected by the University of Minnesota regents in July 1970. The refusal to hear arguments on his case upholds the decision by a federal court of appeals that states may deny employment to a homosexual.

The wording of the federal court decision is such that it may be applied to all activists, not just homosexuals. The court said McConnell was demanding "the right to pursue an activist role in implementing his unconventional ideas [and] to foist tacit approval of [them] on his employer," the university.

The regents' decision was made after McConnell applied for a license to marry University of Minnesota student body president Jack Baker. McConnell had already received notice of acceptance from the head librarian, but the regents felt he would have given the university unfavorable publicity.

McConnell has one other case pending in the U.S. Supreme Court, a suit appealing the rejection of his application for a marriage license in Minneapolis.

Campaign fund goes over top

By SYD STAPLETON

NEW YORK, April 10—The \$20,000 Socialist Campaign Matching Fund drive has gone over the top, with four days still to go. As of today, \$11,995 has been sent to the national office of the Jenness-Pulley campaign.

The Matching Fund drive was made possible by a California supporter of the Socialist Workers Party campaign who offered to match all contributions to the campaign, up to \$10,000. After other contributors had given \$10,000 to the Matching Fund, an additional \$1,995 was donated by campaign supporters, bringing the total to \$21,995. More contributions are expected to come into the campaign office this week, and a final report on the six-week fund drive will appear in next week's *Militant*.

During the last week, \$3,792 was raised, including 40 percent of a \$1,400 collection taken at an April 7 Philadelphia campaign rally and 40 percent of a \$1,600 collection taken at a campaign rally in Boston on April 8. A contribution of \$400 came from a Philadelphia campaign supporter and \$200 came from a collection taken by the Minneapolis Socialist Workers Campaign specifically for the Matching Fund.

The tempo of the drive increased

this week, with three times as much income coming in as last week. The national campaign office received nearly 100 individual contributions this week through the mail, well over twice the number received in any previous week.

The largest single portion of the \$11,995 total has come from mail contributions in response to the ads in *The Militant* and to mailings requesting funds. A total of \$2,195 came from contributions of less than \$50; \$4,004 was in contributions of more than \$50; and \$1,766 was in the form of monthly and other pledges to the Matching Fund.

The remaining 34 percent of the \$11,995 total came from the 40 percent of local socialist campaign rally collections that went toward the Matching Fund. Direct personal solicitation by the national campaign office raised \$850 of the \$11,995.

Commenting on the success of the Matching Fund drive, campaign manager Larry Seigle said, "The response to the Matching Fund drive has been phenomenal. Hundreds of people have responded to our appeals to enable the campaign to continue to grow. The Matching Fund has been an impressive demonstration of support for the socialist campaign—aside from its value as a source of badly-needed operating funds.

"We are especially grateful to the campaign supporter who made the drive possible through the offer of \$10,000 in matching funds. The \$20,000 total has meant greater opportunities for the campaign, and it has set a standard for campaign fundraising work that we will certainly make every effort to continue."

Seigle also noted that "Of course, the conclusion of the Matching Fund drive does not mean the end of socialist campaign fund raising. We have begun projects with the help of the Matching Fund that must now be continued. As the campaign progresses, we expect more and bigger opportunities to reach people with our ideas, and we will need more money than ever before to do this. The support for the Jenness-Pulley ticket that became evident during the Matching Fund drive makes us confident that we will be able to raise that kind of money."

The Militant gets around...

RENEWALS FROM LAST FALL'S SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE NOW TOTAL 1,304. Ninety-five of them came in last week, in addition to 121 new introductory subscriptions.

The two top areas for the week were Boston with 13 introductory and seven renewal subscriptions and the Oakland-Berkeley area with nine introductory and five renewal subscriptions.

The national Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley teams again led the way with 50 introductory and six renewal subscriptions. The introductory subs included six from Moscow, Idaho; nine from Spokane, Wash.; 13 from Pullman, Wash.; and 20 from Cedar Falls, Iowa.

AIRPORT SALES: Louise Haberbusch from the San Francisco Young Socialist Alliance reports that teams have been regularly selling more than 100 *Militants* in each visit to the airport. "Most of them were sold to the many GIs there whose interest was sparked by the 'Out Now' issues. One GI who saw me selling the paper exclaimed, 'I've been looking for this paper since I left Rhode Island. I'm really glad to see you selling it here tonight.'"

The GIs' response to *The Militant* has not gone unnoticed by the lifers. Haberbusch writes that when one sergeant was asked if he had seen the latest *Militant*, he replied, "Yes, and I wish I could get my men to stop reading it!"

CONFIDENCE, ENTHUSIASM, AND PERSISTENCE: The reporter quoted above attributes the success of airport sales to the attractive content of *The Militant*, combined with "confidence in the paper, enthusiasm, and hardworking persistence"

on the part of those selling it.

A *Militant* salesman in Burlington, Vt., shares this attitude: "I have found the best way to move *Militants* is to approach people aggressively, positively, and with confidence, knowing that if they only realize how good *The Militant* is, they couldn't help but buy it."

Help sell Militants April 22

Hundreds of *Militant* supporters and Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters will be selling *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review* in Los Angeles and New York on April 22. If you would like to help sell, stop by the following dispatch centers:

NEW YORK: Assembly distribution point—West 75th Street, west of Columbus Ave.
Rally distribution point—West 39th Street, between Fifth and Sixth avenues.

LOS ANGELES: Assembly distribution point—west side of Bronson Avenue, north of Wilshire Boulevard.

Rally distribution point—west side of Park View Street, south of Wilshire Boulevard.

THE MILITANT GETS TO OMAHA: We received the following letter from Omaha, Neb., last week: "I'm writing requesting 25 copies of *The Militant* every week. The reason I didn't use the cou-

pon is that the copy I'm reading isn't mine, and I don't want to rip it up. Also, could you please send me any information you might have on the YSJP and the *International Socialist Review*."

FIVE AREAS INCREASE BUNDLES: Chicago, Oakland-Berkeley, Portland, Seattle, and Washington, D.C., have raised their weekly *Militant* bundles recently—some for particular issues and others for their regular bundles. The increases so far total 405 *Militants* per week, and many other areas indicate they are working on increasing their bundles soon. This effort to increase sales includes organizing sales at a variety of locations. Austin reports that they have been organizing sales teams every Friday night and Saturday afternoon to go downtown and to supermarkets. They sold 98 of the March 31 issue this way, mostly to Black people and Chicanos.

Portland sales director Fred White writes, "We have been conducting regular sales at factories, shopping centers, bus stations, unemployment centers, downtown areas, etc. Early Friday morning sales at the ILWU (International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union) hall have been excellent." They have also been selling at the Portland Federation of Teachers meetings and at school board meetings where the High School SMC and Women Against Rose Parade Princess Selection have been presenting demands.

And campus sales have been good at Queens College in New York, where YSJPers sell 50 *Militants* a week, and at Adelphi University on Long Island, where one supporter sells 15-20 *Militants* a week.

— NANCY COLE

Antiwar protests planned in Belgium

The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) sent Dan Rosenshine to Europe to speak to antiwar groups and meetings there and to encourage solidarity demonstrations with the April 22 national demonstrations in Los Angeles and New York. The following is the second in a series of reports Rosenshine is sending to the NPAC office in New York. The reports are being released to antiwar and radical publications in the United States.

BRUSSELS, April 1—A broad coalition of antiwar organizations, trade unions, student groups, and political tendencies are organizing for spring antiwar actions in Belgium.

Three main activities are planned:

- An April 20 teach-in at the University of Brussels, organized by the University of Brussels Indochina Committee.

- An April 22 mass demonstration in Liège, a large industrial city in the eastern part of the country. This action is being co-organized by the Liège sections of the General Federation of Belgian Workers (Fédération Générale des Travailleurs Belges—FGTB) and the Confederation of Christian Unions (Confédération des

Syndicats Chrétiens—CSC).

These are the local Liège affiliates of the two national trade-union federations—one Catholic, one Social-Democratic.

- A May 6 mass demonstration in Antwerp organized by the Humanitarian Workgroup X (Humanitaire Werkgroep X), a pacifist organization, in cooperation with a wide range of antiwar, political, religious, and other organizations in the north of Belgium.

The population of Belgium is divided into two linguistically defined groups. The April 22 Liège demonstration will draw heavily from the French-speaking east and south of the country. The May 6 Antwerp action will draw more heavily from the Flemish-speaking north.

However, these two events—and also the April 20 Brussels teach-in—are being built as national actions. The National Vietnam Committee (Comité National Vietnam—CNV) is cosponsoring each of the actions, participating in their planning, and publicizing them nationally. The CNV was the organizer of the first national mass demonstrations in Belgium, some of which drew as many as 25,-

000 people. It is chaired by Henri Rolin, a former Social-Democratic cabinet minister.

CNV posters and leaflets are being distributed throughout the country. They list all three actions and encourage participation in each. Leaflets for April 22, written and produced by the Liège unions, are also being distributed throughout Belgium.

The recent months have seen a considerable reactivation of the Belgian movement. Like other European countries, Belgium experienced a lull in organized antiwar activity as a result of widely held illusions that the war was "winding down" and might be settled by the Paris talks. The recent increased U.S. bombings of Indochina and appeals for worldwide action by the Vietnamese themselves have given renewed energy to the movement here.

This is reflected in the increased activity in the universities and high schools of Belgium. The University of Brussels Indochina Committee was established in December and now numbers more than 300 members. The Brussels High School Indochina Solidarity Committee (Comité de Solidarité Indochine Lycéen) was recent-

ly formed at a city-wide meeting of 70 activists and is working in 30 area high schools.

Altogether, more than 40 groups are sponsoring the spring antiwar actions. Among them are the Belgian Union for the Defense of Peace (an affiliate of the World Peace Council), pacifist groups, student governments, Catholic organizations, and radical political organizations. The fact that the radical political organizations are working together on Indochina, in spite of differences on other questions, has helped to encourage an atmosphere of unity for the spring actions.

Since this is the first such ambitious undertaking in two years, the action's organizers are cautious in predicting the turnout. But they feel the unity in action established this spring must be continued in order to mobilize the growing sentiment that the United States troop withdrawals and "peace demagoguery" have merely been devices to placate public opinion while the U.S. continues to intensify the war. Discussions are already under way for one national demonstration in the fall in Brussels, which is both geographically central and the most populous city of Belgium.

April 22 countdown

The intensified bombing and shelling of Vietnam, along with the threat of further escalations of the war by the U.S., have resulted in heightened activity in the antiwar movement throughout the country. The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) held an emergency national steering-committee meeting on April 9 that drew more than 200 people, three times the normal attendance. Participants came from as far away as Jacksonville, Fla., and Los Angeles.

Two hundred fifty antiwar activists attended the April 8 meeting of the New York Student Mobilization Committee (SMC). Nineteen campuses and 23 high schools were represented. The activities planned in New York leading up to the April 22 demonstration include a rally at New York University on April 14 and a city-wide high school rally in Bryant Park on April 19. Eight New York high schools are planning activities for April 19.

An SMC rally at Columbia University April 12 drew 200 people.

Five hundred demonstrators joined an emergency picket line in Boston on April 7 to protest the new escalation of the war. A mass meeting on April 10 also drew more than 500, including representatives from all sectors of the Boston antiwar movement. The meeting called an April 14 march and rally under the sponsorship of "The Emergency Coalition to Stop the War."

Elsewhere in New England, mass meetings and rallies are planned for April 13 at Brown University in Providence and at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst. A mass meeting is scheduled for April 12 at Clark University in Worcester, Mass., and a city-wide demonstration is scheduled there for April 14. Protests are also slated at the University of Rhode Island in Kingston on April 18 and in Burlington, Vt.

More than 750 people attended an April 7 teach-in at Wayne State University in Detroit. Speakers included author Betty Friedan, NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon, former senator Ernest Gruening, and Fred Branfman of Project Air War.

A panel on wage controls, unemployment, and the war in Vietnam featured Sophie McGloin, vice-president of the Detroit Federation of Teachers; Doyle Worley, president of the Detroit Printing Pressmen's union; and John T. Williams, NPAC coordinator and Teamster official.

About 150 people attended an emergency picket line on April 7 called by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition. The United Farm Workers Union postponed a picket that it had scheduled in order to attend the one called by CAPAC. People from all sectors of the Cleveland peace move-



April 7 demonstration in Cleveland

Photo by Herman Kirsch

ment participated in the demonstration.

The Militant has received a letter from Tricia Brodie, secretary of the April 22 Indochina Committee in Glasgow, Scotland.

She says: "I am writing on behalf of the Indochina Committee in Glasgow to express solidarity with the NPAC and other antiwar groups and also to tell you about our activities so far.

"We have regular Sunday afternoon meetings during which we have a discussion on some aspect of the war and antiwar movement. Then, after the business affairs have been conducted, we set to, making placards for the demonstration, addressing envelopes (hundreds of them) with letters asking people for their support. Every Saturday afternoon we have public meetings at Royal Exchange Square, Glasgow (just about the equivalent of speaker's corner in London). This

is great for getting our ideas across and for inducing discussions among the general public.

"A literature stall has been successfully set up in Glasgow University. We sell antiwar literature such as 'War and Revolution in Vietnam,' 'GIs and the Fight Against the War,' etc. We hope to set up stalls in Strathclyde University and in colleges in and around Glasgow. . . .

"Finally, we ask for messages of support to be read out at the rally after the demonstration."

The April 22 demonstrations are being built all over Europe. So many requests for NPAC speakers have been

received that the NPAC steering committee voted to send NPAC Coordinator Stephanie Coontz to Europe in order to help fulfill them. Dan Rosenshine, a former NPAC staff coordinator, is already in Europe helping to build the April 22 actions there.

The University of Georgia in Athens, Ga., has scheduled a teach-in and rally for April 12. The gay liberation group there is organizing buses to New York for April 22.

An April 17 teach-in is planned at Georgia State, and a rally will be held at Emory University on April 20.

The SMC is sponsoring a rally at Florida State University in Tallahassee on April 13, and the Gainesville SMC reports that more than 175 people have signed up to go to New York for April 22.

An April 8 demonstration in Washington, D.C., drew about 150. The People's Coalition for Peace and Justice

has called for a rally in Washington on April 15, to be followed by a sit-in at the White House. An emergency antiwar conference will be held the following day.

A letter urging trade unionists to support the April 22 demonstrations has just been put out by NPAC's Labor Support Committee. Among the signers of the letter are three trade unionists who have recently returned from a trip to North Vietnam: Clifton Caldwell, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, AFL-CIO; Harold Gibbons, international vice-president of the Teamsters; and David Livingston, president of District 65, Distributive Workers.

Other signers include Ernest DeMaio, general vice-president of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; Abe Feinglass, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters; Stan Greenspan, international representative of the United Auto Workers; Frank Rosenblum, general secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO; and Raoul Teilhet, president of the California Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.

Darrell Reuther and Marta Richmond write from San Diego that "The Student Mobilization Committee at San Diego State College is currently holding a 'Vote for the War Criminal of Your Choice.'"

SMC chapters at La Jolla High School, Palomar Junior College, the University of California at San Diego, and other schools are also joining in the election.

The Raza Contra la Guerra committee reports that the three largest MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan—Chicano Student Movement of Aztlan) chapters in San Diego have endorsed the April 22 demonstrations. The MECHA chapters at San Diego State College, the University of California at San Diego, and San Diego City College have also reserved three buses for the demonstration in Los Angeles.

A 50-minute tape showing the high points of the SMC conference held in New York last February will be shown on cable TV in New York City. —DAVE FRANKEL

In Our Opinion

Argentine kidnapping

The events surrounding the April 10 assassination of Argentine army general Juan Carlos Sanchez and the death of kidnapped Italian industrialist Oberdan Sallustro on the same day have demonstrated the hypocrisy of Argentine President Alejandro Lanusse and his government. The Sallustro kidnapping was reported to have been carried out by the People's Revolutionary Army (Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo—ERP). Responsibility for the assassination of Sanchez was reportedly claimed by both the ERP and the Revolutionary Armed Forces (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias—FAR), another guerrilla group.

Despite Lanusse's attempts to exploit the sympathy for Sallustro and Sanchez, it is clear that he had no concern for Sallustro's life. Nor does the Lanusse government care about the lives of the countless workers, trade unionists, students, and revolutionists who have been abducted by police, imprisoned without charge, and tortured. The New York Times reported April 11 that the Argentine military dictatorship holds at least 500 political prisoners at the present time and that many of those arrested have disappeared—presumably tortured to death. Lanusse's charges of "lawlessness" against the kidnappers are dwarfed by the hideous crimes of his own government.

Although a struggle against the criminal policies of the Lanusse regime is necessary, we oppose acts of individual terrorism, such as kidnapping and assassination, in the struggle for social change. We believe such actions are harmful to the necessary task of mobilizing the masses of people in revolutionary action. As the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party said in its April 3 statement on the Sallustro kidnapping, "In place of powerful actions by the masses themselves, the ERP is attempting to substitute small actions by a tiny group."

History has proved that revolutionary changes occur only by the action of the great masses of people. To be effective, a revolutionary movement must use tactics that correspond with the general strategy of winning mass support and building a mass revolutionary-socialist party. Individual terrorist acts harm this strategy for several reasons.

First, actions against individual government officials or individual capitalists help to miseducate working people and in Argentina, the poor peasants, as to the real character of their enemy. The capitalist state does not consist of just a few capitalists or generals, and it is impossible to defeat this state by wiping out its individual agents or demanding reforms in return for the lives of these individuals. The capitalist system can only be defeated by a mass movement that sweeps away the entire repressive institutions of the capitalist state—the police, army, courts, and prisons.

Second, individual terrorist acts make it appear as though violent, antisocial actions come from the revolutionary left, rather than from the ruling class. They help to shift the blame away from the capitalist rulers of Argentina—who are responsible for the day-to-day violence of police repression, exploitation of workers, and the poverty and malnutrition of hundreds of thousands of slum dwellers.

The task of revolutionists is to isolate the ruling class politically by helping the masses of people to understand the injustice and criminality of the ruling class. The way to do this is through building mass actions in defense of the rights of working people.

Third, terrorist acts by revolutionists serve to strengthen the hand of the ruling class by giving it a club with which to crack down on the entire workers movement. Since the kidnapping in Argentina, the government has unleashed a bloody wave of repression, sending army troops with dogs in house-to-house searches through the city of Buenos Aires. This repression will hurt the entire movement in Argentina.

The working people and peasants of Argentina are giving their answer to the Lanusse dictatorship through massive protest actions. April 4-7 witnessed an uprising in the city of Mendoza as well as a general strike that spread to Cordoba and San Juan.

Revolutionists must participate in mass actions like these. They must be deeply involved in the dynamics of the class struggle, and they must project demands that sharpen the struggle against the government, broaden mass support, and develop the confidence of the masses in their own power. Only through leading such struggles can a mass revolutionary-socialist party be built that is capable of overturning capitalism in Argentina.

Prisoners strike

A March 22 Socialist Workers Party press release supporting the strike by 1,923 inmates at the Ohio Penitentiary in Marion, Ohio, was printed on the editorial page of the *Cleveland Press*. The March 21 strike was called to protest the low rate of pay inmates receive, as well as other inhuman conditions in the prison.

Unmarried inmates in Ohio prisons work for five cents per hour, while those with families get nine cents per hour. The SWP statement said: "It is ridiculous to label this meager sum as pay. A more accurate description is slave labor. The difference between five and nine cents per hour is beyond explanation; it only adds insult to injury. Moreover, the terribly low rate of pay for prisoners undercuts union wages. Productive labor should be paid the same regardless of source."

"The Attica rebellion last year emphasized an explosive situation in the nation's prisons. Explosive because the men and women who fill these 'feudal fiefs' do not want to be treated like animals."

"The new and higher consciousness of prisoners who now demand better pay, a voice in prison affairs and an end to vindictive treatment deserves the support of everyone."

In response to the statement, I received letters from two inmates in the Ohio penitentiary expressing their appreciation of the statement. One made the point that "Public help is needed, because until now, any reform has come from the vocal and involved prisoners here." The other said, "Right on for showing some concern about how they treat us convicts in these joints. I wish more people out there felt like you do."

Herman Kirsch

*Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress (20th C.D.)
Cleveland, Ohio*

Greetings from Vietnam

On behalf of the Vietnam Committee for Solidarity with the American people, we thank you very much for the newspapers you sent us last year.

We highly appreciate your informative paper, which is very useful for us. Especially, your paper has had very good articles on the Vietnam war, thus helping the American people understand the situation in Indochina and laying bare the reactionary, deceptive nature of the U. S. government policy.

With best wishes and warm greetings,
*Tran Trong Quat, secretary
Vietnam Committee for Solidarity with the American people
Hanoi, Democratic Republic of Vietnam*

The handicapped

I've read so much about the oppression of Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, women, etc. But I've read nothing pertaining to the oppression of another group of people. These are the handicapped people. You may not think they're oppressed, but they are. Just try to get a job if you're handicapped. They take one look at you and say, "Sorry, we have no openings at this time." It's just a way of saying, "go get lost," and most end up on welfare, which is an insult to a person.

Our education doesn't teach us how to be productive citizens, but to keep

Letters

us as stupid as possible, and the situation is made worse if you're Black, Chicano, Indian, women, etc. Also, people don't look at us as if we were human beings with feelings like other people; they look at us as if we were freaks in a side show.

I'd like to see the handicapped get out and protest against their treatment in this rotten system.

J. B.

Cleveland, Ohio

Population control I

Socialists should be able to see the desirability of population control when communally decided upon. As Cindy Jaquith pointed out in her March 31 article on the Population Commission Report, cities are overcrowded. I believe they always will be as long as they exist, including under socialism. I believe all people need to hunt and farm for a living in order to approach their best health.

While the first job of socialists is to make people aware that capitalism's attempts to cure capitalist ills, such as overpopulation, always work against the interests of the people, socialists should consider population growth in this larger sense instead of only countering the population theories of capitalism. Overpopulation is a problem—an expression of the individualism that capitalism is founded on.

Only socialism can end chaotic population growth.

*Russell DuPree
Portland, Maine*

Population control II

While we agree with most of what Cindy Jaquith said in her article on the Population Commission's report and women's right to control their own bodies, one of her arguments seems unproven. She claims that the "false" theory that there is a need for population control has nothing to do with the right of women to control their own bodies.

It is true that population growth is far down the list of causes of the nation's ills, if it belongs there at all. There are many other effects of capitalism that are directly responsible for these ills. Like Jaquith, we think one should view with extreme skepticism any arguments that seek to base a strategy for change on a panicky fear of overpopulation. We also think the demand for "No Forced Sterilization" is a crucial one.

But we are also skeptical of the view that reducing population growth has nothing to do with the aspirations of the women who today, in increasing numbers, are fighting for abortion law repeal and full access to contraceptive methods. We think many of them connect their desire to reduce what would be their contribution to population growth with an image of what a better world would be like. We also think that this is not completely irrational.

When women are in full control of their bodies and lives and the whole of society is conscious of the effects of rates of reproduction—a situation, as Engels pointed out 90 years ago, only possible under socialism—then we will have an acceptable form of population control.

*Jan Garrett,
Mary Garrett
Minneapolis, Minn.*

The Great Society

Population control III

Both the above letters raise important questions, which I can answer only very briefly in this letter. I urge DuPree and the Garretts to read Joseph Hansen's *The "Population Explosion"* (Pathfinder Press, 1970) for a more complete discussion of population growth and its effects on society.

Hansen explains why the concept that "overpopulation" is threatening today's society is a myth. He deals at length with the question of whether we can provide enough food to feed all the people in the world and successfully demolishes the dire predictions of the "population experts." Hansen explains that we have the technological ability to feed, clothe, and house every single person on this planet right now. Moreover, we are capable of expanding our resources and our scientific knowledge to provide for a much larger population.

I will just cite one example Hansen uses to show that the potential for production of food easily outdistances the growth of the population. He quotes some facts from a Jan. 11, 1960 *New York Times* article: "The output of the country's agricultural plant continues to outpace the 'population explosion.' During the Nineteen Fifties farm output increased 2.25 per cent a year. Population growth speeded up, but only at the rate of 1.8 per cent a year. In short, as of now, the total output of farms is beating a rapid rate of population growth by something like one-half of 1 per cent a year."

What is the real cause of the poverty of masses of people all over the world? Hansen's pamphlet demonstrates that it is the capitalist system, where "the distribution of hunger in the population is not due to the abundance of the poor, but to poor distribution of society's abundance."

Only a planned, socialist economy, organized and controlled by the working people, will change this situation. Certainly if we were living under such a system right now, there would be more than enough food to go around, as well as universal child-care centers, decent housing, efficient mass transportation, and a clean environment.

Might there be a population problem in the distant future, after socialism has been achieved on a world scale? This is something we can only speculate on now. Hansen quotes Engels on just this question at the end of the pamphlet: "... if at some stage communist society finds itself obliged to regulate the production of human beings ... it will be precisely this society, and this society alone, which can carry this out without difficulty. ... it is for the people in communist society themselves to decide, whether, when, and how this is to be done, and what means they wish to employ for the purpose." As Hansen points out, "We will do all right if we succeed in solving the problem of our time ... bringing order and planning into the world's economic system."

Cindy Jaquith
New York, N. Y.

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

They let 'em out?—Humphrey, Muskie, and Lindsay wound up their Wisconsin campaigns with visits to the Milwaukee zoo.

Student of priorities—Susan Brown of San Francisco arrived home and found her husband doubled over with a perforated ulcer. "How," she asked herself, "can I get an ambulance here quickly?" Police allege she called the homicide bureau and reported she had just shot her husband. An ambulance arrived shortly. Brown has been charged with falsely reporting a crime. Meanwhile, her husband is in satisfactory condition.

Could put them out of business—WASHINGTON (AP)—John A. Schneider, president of Columbia Broadcasting System, said doing away with all violence from television would eliminate such mass entertainment series as *Gunsmoke*, *The FBI*, and *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, as well as football and news reports from Vietnam."

Resourceful resource director—California Governor Ronald Reagan dumped his director of the Water Re-

sources Control Board after revelations of undue chumminess with the business interests he was supposed to be controlling. Now it's disclosed that substitute appointee E. F. Dibble has been drawing some \$900 a month in a novel expense arrangement. Designating his Redlands home as his official headquarters, friend Dibble collects \$25 for each day spent at the capitol in Sacramento, plus \$94.50 for flights home in his private plane. (Commercial fare is \$44.)

He can't support everyone—Governor Reagan said the "most notable" accomplishment of his administration is the number of people he's gotten off welfare.

No connections?—Nancy Reagan,

wife of the California governor, says she gets so upset when someone criticizes her husband that she soaks in a hot tub and engages in an imaginary dialogue with the offending party. The way the governor's been doing lately, that could be very hygienic. But wouldn't it be easier if Martha Mitchell used her influence with ITT to get her an extension?

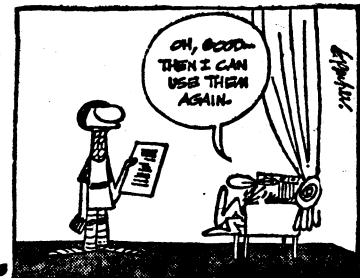
Close fit—Criticizing the various Democratic aspirants, Spiro Agnew said, "We now live in a curious era when the national spotlight is focused on the paranoid and the masochistic and the smear-America cheap-shot artists." Excepting the smear-America bit, some might think that was a pretty good thumbnail political autobiography.

— HARRY RING

THE WIZARD OF ID



BY PARKER AND HART



Women: The Insurgent Majority

AUSTRALIAN WOMEN DEMONSTRATE—Nearly 5,000 women marched in four Australian cities on March 11 for women's liberation. The demonstrations, which took place in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Brisbane, were the largest to date for the Australian women's movement, according to the March 22 *Direct Action*, the newspaper of the Trotskyist Socialist Youth Alliance. The women demanded the right to work; equal pay; equal opportunities for work and education; free child care and preschool facilities; free, safe contraceptives; and safe, legal abortion.



Photo by Direct Action

March 11 women's demonstration in Sydney, Australia, drew 2,500.

RABBIS ATTACK ERA—A coalition of Orthodox rabbis has charged that the Equal Rights Amendment jeopardizes the practice of their religion and could undermine "morality" in this society. The rabbis deny that Orthodox Judaism treats women as inferiors, but their arguments don't hold much water. For example, Rabbi David Hollander, quoted in the April 4 *New York Times*, and the April 3 *New York Post* said that women are prevented from becoming rabbis "not because they are inferior. It has to do with the place of women." The place of women, according to Hollander, is to be "feminine in appearance and philosophy, not brazen or arrogant." Hollander defended the Hebrew school practice of teaching women typing, stenography, and home observance of dietary laws, while male students engage in "deeper academic study."

Another practice the rabbis want preserved is segregated seating by sex in the synagogues. They warned of immoral possibilities if men and women sit next to each other during services.

'BRAZEN AND ARROGANT' WOMEN?—A group of Orthodox and Conservative Jewish women in New York are organizing against the discriminatory practices of their religion. The women have formed a group called Ezrat Nashim, which has two meanings in Hebrew: the words refer to the area in synagogues that is reserved for women and can also be translated as "help for wom-

en." Many members of Ezrat Nashim are students who have become involved with the campus women's liberation movement.

"We're directing our demands at the Conservative movement," the women explain. "But ultimately all of Judaism will have to come around." Ezrat Nashim's demands include the right of women to become rabbis and cantors and the right to be witnesses and initiate divorce, presently denied by Jewish law. The women are also challenging the stereotyped role of wife, mother, and homemaker ascribed to them from birth. They want to be able to take the same courses in Hebrew schools that male students take.

In Cincinnati, another Jewish woman is breaking traditions. Sally Priesand, a student at the Jewish Institute of Religion, Hebrew Union College, will be ordained as a rabbi this June.

NEW EEOC GUIDELINES HIT BUSINESS DISCRIMINATION AGAINST PREGNANT WOMEN—The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) has issued new guidelines charging that an employer's refusal to hire a woman because she is pregnant is a violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Abortion, pregnancy, miscarriage, childbirth, or recovery from any of these are legitimate reasons for collection of employee health insurance, says the EEOC. In addition, the EEOC's guidelines state that it is illegal to fire a woman whose pregnancy has made her miss more days of work than allowed under company rules.

Other guidelines laid down by the commission extend some of the state protective laws to men. In particular, laws setting minimum wages and lower retirement ages for women should apply to men also, according to the EEOC.

The EEOC has no legal power to enforce these guidelines, but it can initiate court action against companies that continue to discriminate or against states that do not change their laws.

ALASKA is the eleventh state to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. As of April 5, the amendment must be ratified by 27 more states to become law.

N. Y. MEDICAID ABORTION BAN CONTESTED—A New York Civil Liberties Union lawyer has filed a complaint in federal court to demand that the Nassau County Medical Center in Long Island, N. Y., "be required to perform an abortion at plaintiff's request whether or not the plaintiff has funds to pay for such medical procedure." The complaint is in behalf of Elizabeth Klein and "all other similarly situated women" in Suffolk and Nassau counties. On Feb. 10 the New York State Court of Appeals upheld a 1971 directive by the state social services commissioner canceling Medicaid payment for abortions for New York women except when they are "medically necessary."

— CINDY JAQUITH

Women set May 1-6 abortion activities

By CINDY JAQUITH

APRIL 11—Opponents of the reformed New York State abortion law, led by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, have called a march Sunday, April 16, in New York City. Cardinal Terence Cooke has sent a letter to all Catholic churches in New York State to mobilize Catholics for "Right to Life Sunday." In his letter, which was to be read at all masses on Sunday, April 9, the cardinal focused on the "human lives taken legally since July 1, 1970, when the New York State abortion law went into effect."

The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) has called for a counterdemonstration on April 16 in response to the anti-abortion march. WONAAC urges everyone who supports the right to abortion to demonstrate at 1:30 p.m., Sunday, April 16 at Fifth Avenue and 86th Street, where the anti-abortion marchers will assemble half an hour later.

The New York WONAAC action is one in a series of activities around the country leading up to Abortion Action Week, May 1-6. Called by WONAAC, Abortion Action Week will culminate in demonstrations in 13 cities on May 6. The demands of the demonstrations are repeal of all abor-

nesota abortion law, sentence by sentence.

Women set plans for the May 6 Chicago demonstration and buildup activities at a Midwest abortion law repeal conference held in Chicago April 8. The 75 women in attendance heard a panel of speakers that included Rose Roberts from Teamsters Local 688 in St. Louis, and Sybella Fritchie, an American Civil Liberties Union lawyer who will be arguing for repeal of the Illinois abortion law before the U.S. Supreme Court.

During Abortion Action Week, several Chicago campuses are planning to hold tribunals where women will testify on the abortion laws. Other events scheduled are a closed-circuit TV debate with anti-abortion forces at the University of Illinois, a referendum on the abortion laws at Northwestern University during the last week of April, and campus performances of Myrna Lamb's play "But What Have You Done for Me Lately?" In cooperation with the student government, women at Roosevelt University will provide abortion counseling and pregnancy tests on campus during Abortion Action Week. Women at Evanston High School plan a school assembly.

Women attending the Chicago con-



Photo by Steve Beck

Nov. 20, 1971, abortion law repeal demonstration in San Francisco

tion laws and restrictive contraception laws, and an end to forced sterilization.

WONAAC has called on women in other countries to hold solidarity actions May 1-6 for a woman's right to control her own body. Five hundred women, meeting at a conference in New Zealand April 1-2, have set May 5 as the date for a march in support of WONAAC's international call.

Support for Abortion Action Week has also come from the *Guardian*, a radical newsweekly published in New York, which endorsed the May 1-6 actions in an editorial in its April 12 issue.

One hundred fifty women gathered in Minneapolis on April 8 for a regional abortion law repeal conference. It discussed plans for the May 1-6 activities in Minnesota, which include a regional demonstration on May 6 at the state capitol in St. Paul.

Dr. Jane Hodgson, the Minnesota physician who was convicted of performing an illegal abortion, spoke at the conference. Hodgson's case is now before the U.S. Supreme Court. Other speakers were Matilde Zimmerman from the WONAAC national office; Becky Bohan from the University of Minnesota Women's Liberation; Betty Hoop of the West Suburban Council for Women; Sandy Wise from the Gay Feminists Coalition; Phyllis Kahn, National Organization for Women (NOW); and Mary Hillery, Minnesota Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Women at the conference raised \$170 by auctioning off the Min-

ference had come from campuses and high schools in Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, and Wisconsin. Five members of Teamsters Local 688, which has gone on record in support of abortion law repeal, participated in the conference, as well as women from the Lake County, Ill., chapter of NOW.

Shirley Johnson (Wheeler), the first Florida woman to be convicted for having an illegal abortion, spoke at the April 8 Southeastern abortion law conference held in Atlanta. Sponsored by the Georgia Women's Abortion Coalition (GWAC), the conference drew 65 women from Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida. As a buildup to the regional demonstration in Atlanta on May 6, GWAC and the Atlanta YWCA plan a teach-in on April 29. Several Atlanta churches will hold services April 30 with sermons focusing on the need for repeal of the abortion laws.

WONAAC will carry its own banners in the April 22 antiwar demonstrations in Los Angeles and New York and will distribute thousands of leaflets for Abortion Action Week. To help get out the word on May 1-6 at the April 22 demonstrations, contact the WONAAC national office, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 315, New York, N.Y. 10011 or the Los Angeles Abortion Action Coalition, 2936 W. 8th St., Third Floor, Los Angeles, Calif. 90005. Telephone: New York (212) 675-9150; Los Angeles (213) 487-7696.

Sixth grade women fight for rights

By LYNN SILVER

Last fall, a fight for equal recreational facilities for female students developed at Public School 34, an elementary school on New York's Lower East Side. The school is about 90 percent Black and Puerto Rican. In March, I interviewed two sixth-grade students—Stephanie Carlotti and Karie Feingold—who helped organize the struggle.

I asked them how they had started on the idea of organizing for equal recreational facilities. Stephanie told me, "We were having a discussion in class, and one of our teachers was talking about the situation between women and men in the U.S. Most of the girls and some of the boys were saying that they agreed with women's lib. We began to talk about [how female students] didn't have equal recreational facilities during school periods. For example, during lunchtime the girls have to use the lunchroom and just sit and talk, whereas the boys . . . got the equipment, all of it, and the gymnasium."

Stephanie said that the only time female students got to use the gym facilities was during the 45-minute physical education class, which the male students took also.

After the classroom discussion, Stephanie continued, "We spoke to the principal about it. He said he was sorry, but the girls had the lunchroom. We decided we were going to have to go around with a petition. The petition said that we demanded that the girls in the school get equal rec opportunities, including the use of the gym." Stephanie said that almost all the female students from the third grade on up signed the petition.

"Before we went back to the principal, we had the support of the PTA, the parents, and some of the teachers," Stephanie explained. "[The principal] just repeated that the girls had the lunchroom. When we asked him just what we were supposed to do there,



Photo by Howard Petrick

Young demonstrator at August 26, 1970, march in New York.

he said we can talk and we can talk and we can talk. So who wants to talk all the time? And when we talk [they] tell us to shut up anyway."

Karie recalled some of the princi-

pal's other remarks. "We were discussing the gym and he told me, 'Well, they'll get hurt, they'll run around dribbling the ball and they'll fall and get hurt and start crying.'"

A committee of students went back to the principal for a third time and told him that female students were going to start leafletting and picketing outside the school. It seems that at this point, the principal gave in.

Female students were allowed to use the gym, along with male students. But the principal's concession didn't last too long. "Since he didn't really want us in there, he was looking for some excuse to get us out," Stephanie said. Claiming that the gym was overcrowded, "he said right away it wasn't working out and that he was sorry, but he'd have to take the girls out. We told him he could take the boys out. We ended up alternating," she explained.

I asked Karie if she and Stephanie has been harassed for their activities. She told me that school officials had tried to make both of them remove their women's liberation necklaces when school pictures were taken, but they refused.

Karie added that once, when a teacher overheard her discussing equal rights with another student, she was sent to the principal's office. "When I walked in, the principal asked me what class I was from. When I told him, he said, 'So you're the class that started up about the girls.' He tried to scare me out of it. He said he'd have my grades made bad."

The idea of equal rights for female students seems to be spreading. Karie informed me that a friend of hers at another elementary school heard what was done at P.S. 34 and is planning to do the same at her school.

Feminists organize groups in Argentina

From Intercontinental Press

Women's liberation groups are beginning to organize in Argentina, according to a report from Buenos Aires. Toward the end of last year, two organizations were formed—the Unión Feminista Argentina (UFA—Argentine Feminist Union) and the Alianza Feminista (Feminist Alliance). The latter, formed in September, consists of about thirty women, most of them housewives and over thirty years old. "Basically, we intend to call on all women in the country to demand full equality and participation in national tasks," said María Elena Oddone, the group's president. "We think that society will not be changed by substituting one group of men for another group in power, but by abolishing the patriarchal concept of power rooted in male supremacy."

She said she was in favor of abortion "when it is therapeutic, that is, when the life of the mother is in danger."

The basic principles of the group are the following:

"1. To support the unquestionable right of the woman to be considered a free and independent human being.

"2. To favor legal equality through eliminating discriminatory laws.

"3. To promote equality of opportunity in access to public office and leading posts."

According to its president, the group has no political affiliations, and supports no political party.

Rally to demand Black activist's freedom

LOS ANGELES—A demonstration will be held April 17 in Riverside, a community some 50 miles from here, demanding freedom for Gary Lawton, a Black activist charged with murdering two policemen.

The two policemen were killed a year ago, reportedly in an ambush. Six weeks later Lawton, a leading activist in the Black community, was indicted on very flimsy evidence. Two Black youths, Nehemiah Jackson and James Gardner, were later indicted as "conspirators" in the killing, apparently on the sole basis of hearsay evidence from a white teen-age friend of one of them.

Bail was originally denied Lawton and Jackson. (Gardner is being held on a prior charge.)

After the California Supreme Court nullified the death penalty, the way was opened for winning bail previously denied those charged with capital offenses. Such a precedent was established when bail was granted Angela Davis.

Attorneys for Lawton and Jackson applied for bail on this basis, and in a hearing last month, bail was set at \$150,000 for Lawton and \$75,000 for Jackson. Since neither could raise such a large sum, it was, in effect, the same as no bail. However, the prosecuting attorney was not satisfied with this and is trying to have the bail revoked on the basis of a ruling in a recent case that went contrary to the Davis decision.

The court also ruled that any future hearings in the case would be held in Indio, a wealthy, reactionary desert resort community some distance from Riverside. The case has been ordered transferred to Indio for alleged "security" reasons. Lawton's trial is slated to be held there in July.

Information on the April 17 demonstration in Riverside may be obtained from the Gary Lawton Defense Committee, 2538 Pleasant St., Riverside, Calif. 92507. Contributions to aid the defense may be sent to the same address.

14,000 attend Panther rallies

By KEN MILINER

OAKLAND—On March 29-31, the Black Panther Party held what was billed as a Black Community Survival Conference. About 14,000 people in all attended the three-day affair, which featured free sickle-cell anemia tests and the distribution of 10,000 bags of free groceries—with a chicken in every bag.

The theme of the conference was registering Black people to vote. Although the Panthers drew upon an analogy from Malcolm X that registering to vote was like loading a gun, their aim was not Black political independence as advocated by Malcolm but the perpetuation of reliance upon the capitalist Democratic Party.

The publicized list of speakers included Black Democratic politicians like Julian Bond, a Georgia state legislator; Lloyd Barbee, a Wisconsin state assemblyman; D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons of the Berkeley City Council; and Ron Dellums, a U.S. congressman from California's Bay Area. The object of the voter registration campaign and the conference was clearly to help Black Democrats. With the exception of Barbee, however, none of the politicians showed up. Other announced speakers such as Johnnie Tillman, national chairwoman of the National Welfare Rights Organization, and the Reverend Charles Koen of the Cairo, Ill., Black United Front were also not present.

The first session of the conference was held Wednesday night, March 29, in the Oakland Auditorium. Bobby Seale, chairman of the Panther Party,

and Barbee spoke. About 7,000 people attended. Voter registration and sickle-cell testing took place before, during, and after the session. The groceries were given out at the end of the session.

The second session, or rally, was held on Oakland's Green Man Field the following day. Seale, Ericka Huggins, and Father Earl Neil were the speakers.

The last rally took place in Berkeley's San Pablo Park on March 31. Seale again spoke, along with the Reverend Frank Pinkard, who ran for the Oakland City Council last spring with backing from liberal Democrats and the Panther Party.

Berrigan jury deadlocks on main charges

By LEE SMITH

APRIL 10—While the deadlocked jury in the Harrisburg frame-up trial did not completely acquit all seven defendants April 5, the outcome represented a clear victory for the antiwar movement and a sound defeat for the U.S. government, which spent more than \$1-million attempting to secure convictions.

Only two of the 12 jurors were convinced by the government's shabby case, built on the testimony of con man Boyd F. Douglas Jr., who had acted as a paid provocateur for the FBI; the rest chose to believe that the six Catholic antiwar activists and Pakistani scholar Eqbal Ahmad were not guilty of the outlandish conspiracy charges. The main charges alleged that the seven had "plotted" to kidnap presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger and bomb government heating units in Washington, D.C. Because the jury could not reach agreement on these charges, Judge R. Herman Dixon had to declare a mistrial on the substance of the frame-up.

The jury did agree to convict Father Phillip Berrigan and Sister Elizabeth McAlister of smuggling letters in and out of the Lewisburg, Pa., federal prison where Berrigan is serving a six-year sentence for destroying Selective Service records.

According to the letter of the law, McAlister could be sentenced to prison for up to 30 years and Berrigan for up to 40. Such penalties seem unlikely, however, even without an appeal. A post-trial hearing in early May will provide defense attorneys an opportunity to argue that the statute under which the two were found guilty was intended to stop such "contraband" as weapons and drugs and was never aimed at letters.

All seven defendants could also be tried again on the main charges, according to the letter of the law. However, in the opinion of *New York Times* reporter Homer Bigart, the results of the first trial are not apt to encourage the government in a second try. William S. Lynch, chief prosecutor in the case, said the government's decision would not be announced for several months.



Philip Berrigan (top) and Elizabeth McAlister: 'guilty'—of writing to each other.

By Any Means Necessary

ROY WILKINS DEFENDS U.S. IMPERIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA. Roy Wilkins, the executive director of the NAACP, offered an unvarnished defense of the right of U.S. corporations to exploit Black African labor at a news conference in Johannesburg, South Africa, March 27.

According to the March 28 *New York Times*, Wilkins asked the rhetorical question, "How many black jobs would be lost if General Motors went back to Detroit, if John Deere and Chase Manhattan pulled out?" He concluded, "If these American corporations were not here . . . and South African corporations had those manufacturing units, would they not have the same or a worse pattern?"

This is not a call for progress but a defense of the status quo, a defense of apartheid. The idea of the African majority overturning the white minority is out of the question for Wilkins. For as he stated, "Changes should be made legally," which rules out real change.

These comments did not just fall from the sky. The *Times* reports that in Port Elizabeth, Wilkins was the guest of General Motors. So, as Wilkins lectured on South African campuses, he was wined and dined by U.S. corporations for services rendered. As the old saying goes, who pays the piper calls the tune.

Why did Wilkins make his comments at this time? He did not indicate in his remarks whom he was replying to or debating with. But upon further examination, it becomes clear that the object of his attack was the rising Pan-African con-

sciousness among Blacks in the U.S. This found expression at the recent National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind. The platform of the convention, the National Black Agenda, called upon the U.S. government to "withdraw all corporations, military bases, communications facilities and other institutions which contribute to the dehumanization or subjugation of African and Third World peoples."

Immediately after the convention, Black students and workers in Louisiana held a demonstration against the importation of Rhodesian chrome ore by the Foote Mineral Co.

Moreover, Black militants have designated May 27 African Liberation Day. They are planning national demonstrations of solidarity with the African Revolution in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

What irks U.S. corporations is not only these extraparlimentary activities against their operations in southern Africa, but the fact that this opposition has found expression within the hallowed halls of the U.S. Congress itself.

Representative Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), acting on behalf of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), introduced legislation Feb. 16 calling for the liquidation of U.S. corporate investment in South Africa, South-West Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese-held territories of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola. The bill also calls for the stockholders and board directors of these businesses to pay reparations to a commission con-

sisting of representatives from the African liberation organizations, the Organization of African Unity, and the CBC. The bill stipulates that reparations would be no more than 75 percent and no less than 65 percent of a corporation's investment in these countries.

This radical proposal was developed last May 25, a date set aside by several Black groups as World-Wide Solidarity Day for African Liberation. On that day last year, Dellums and Representative John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.) were presented with "The Washington, D.C., Declaration." The African Commission of the National Committee of Black Churchmen drew up the Declaration, which has the support of the Black Polaroid Workers Alliance of Boston, the Pan-African Skills Project of New York, the Black IBM Workers of Washington, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit, the Black Caucus of the American Committee on Africa, and the Black Law Students of Rutgers Law School.

It was this Declaration that Dellums and the CBC proposed as legislation. Although the CBC has not embarked on a real campaign to publicize this legislation and mobilize people in its behalf—despite their endorsement of May 27—it serves to legitimize Pan-Africanism and provides a focus for further activity and actions.

The legislation, along with 45 pages of documentation, was printed in the *Congressional Record*.

—DERRICK MORRISON

CP's antiwar strategy: build a 'broad people's coalition'

By DAVE FRANKEL

Differences within the antiwar movement on questions of tactics, slogans, and even the nature of the movement itself are nothing new to the activists who participate in it. Nevertheless, many antiwar activists have been shocked by the continued refusal of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) and many of the organizations associated with it to join with the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) in a nationwide effort to help mobilize people for the April 22 demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles.

PCPJ's intransigence is all the more shameful in the face of the intense combat now taking place throughout Vietnam and the significant escalation of the bombing by the U.S. government. The administration's concern with how the American people react to its moves in Indochina has been stressed in news coverage of the Vietnamese offensive. The response of the antiwar movement to the increased bombings and the possibility of further escalation will be a major factor in Nixon's calculations on how far he can go in propping up the Thieu dictatorship in Saigon.

At the heart of the differences between NPAC and PCPJ is disagreement on the type of movement each is trying to build. NPAC is simply an antiwar coalition. It attempts to mobilize the largest possible numbers of people in opposition to the war in Indochina and its effects, regardless of their views on other issues.

This approach makes it possible to unite in action socialists, who want to see U.S. troops withdrawn from Indochina because they favor the victory of the Vietnamese revolution; pacifists, who oppose the U.S. presence in Indochina because they oppose all violence; and those who vote for Democratic or Republican candidates. It unites women, Blacks, Chicanos, unionists, GIs, veterans, students, and others in common action against capitalist war policy. The different components of NPAC continue to express their positions on other issues while acting together on their point of agreement—opposition to the imperialist war in Indochina.

PCPJ, in contrast, seeks to involve people around a general program for social reform in which the war in Indochina is one of many concerns. The best-known, best-organized, and largest group supporting the PCPJ perspective is the Communist Party (CP), which finds PCPJ's approach complementary to its own electoral perspective. The CP, according to an article by Gus Hall (CP 1972 presidential candidate) in the March 4 *Daily World*, wants to "turn the country towards an anti-monopoly course of peace, economic security and a wider based democracy, to bring about the crystallization of a broad people's coalition of the anti-monopoly, anti-war, anti-racist, anti-fascist, pro-labor forces in the United States."

Jarvis Tyner, the CP's vice-presidential candidate, characterizes his party's program as one which "though short of socialism . . . provides for the building of an anti-monopoly coalition which will nationalize many industries and place them under democratic control." (*Daily World*, March 1.)

The CP's dream is to construct a broad coalition such as the one led by Allende in Chile. Such a coalition, in the CP's view, would include socialists, Communists, and politicians from the "progressive" wing of the capitalist class. However, to remain ac-

ceptable to the capitalist politicians, its program would not call for socialism.

Because the CP wants a coalition that involves the liberal politicians, it sees the Democratic Party as its main arena of electoral activity at this time. As Tim Wheeler warns in the Jan. 11 *Daily World*, "'Go-it-alone' formations such as 'new' parties, have tended to cut activists off from mass struggles inside the Democratic Party. . . ."

Peggy Dennis, in setting forth the CP's electoral approach in the December 1971 issue of *Political Affairs*, refers with pride to "the recent electoral victories of Congressman Ron Dellums (Calif.), Congresswomen Shirley Chisholm and Bella Abzug



The CP showed what it means by the "anti-monopoly coalition" when it hailed Lyndon Johnson's 1964 election triumph as "an important people's victory."

(New York), the growing number of Black mayors around the country, and the mounting influence of the Black Caucus in Washington, D.C.

"But oddly, few in the Left refer to the fact that practically all of these people's victories were the result of militant *merging* and *unity* of the radical movement outside the two-party system with the hundreds of thousands inside those parties who were given an opportunity to support and actively campaign for these militant candidates within the framework of the two-party system in which they battled and won the party designation." (Emphasis in original.)

Dennis calls for merging the mass movements outside of the Democratic Party, such as the antiwar movement, with the electoral campaigns of the liberals within the Democratic Party.

When PCPJ's open letter to NPAC (published in the April issue of its newsletter, *Movin' Together*) talks about the need to "bring together blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and whites, workers and intellectuals, the religious community, small businessmen, women—all of these forces—into a coalition that becomes, in effect, an American Left," the CP sees the same type of liberal-reformist coalition that it longs for.

The role the CP envisions for PCPJ is reflected in an article by Donna Ristorucci in the April 1 *Daily World*. Reporting on a discussion with a PCPJ staff member, Ristorucci stresses that "The peace movement attaches great importance to the 1972 elections" and to "the effort by local PCPJ chapters and affiliates to influence state primaries."

This means that local PCPJ chapters will be working to turn out votes for the two parties that initiated the war in Indochina and continue to prosecute it.

Ristorucci explains the "Citizens Action Pledge," one of the mechanisms designed to rope people into campaigns for Democratic Party "peace candidates." "One part of the pledge is to be used to sign up candidates during the election campaign. . . ." she

says. "The other part is to be signed by citizens pledging that they will not support a candidate who does not support the three points."

The three points are: stop the air war, set the date for total withdrawal of all personnel and matériel, and end support for the Thieu regime. Many liberal politicians have come out in favor of these demands. The task facing the antiwar movement, however, is to build a mass movement so powerful that the U.S. rulers are forced to end the war no matter who is in office. Such a movement cannot rely on election promises to set some future date for withdrawal, thus violating the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination. It must depend on its own ability to mobilize masses in the streets.

The differences within the antiwar movement have sharpened with the approach of the 1972 elections. The CP's evaluation, set forth by Gus Hall, is that "Because of the extreme reactionary nature of the Nixon challenge, the opportunities for the crystallization of a broad people's anti-war, anti-racist, pro-labor and democratic coalition is a real possibility. But it must have a base in the cities and Congressional Districts." (*Daily World*, March 4.)

The CP would like to have the antiwar movement serve as part of the "base in the cities and the Congressional Districts." As Hall sees it, "The forces of reaction are out to destroy any candidate or elected official who does not have such a mass base."

When the CP favors mass actions, it wants them subordinated to this scheme. Such actions would then serve to win people to groups taking this electoral approach, to expand their authority and make them known. They would give the liberal capitalist politicians leading such a movement added weight and room to maneuver, while putting pressure on the less responsive elements within the Democratic Party.

As a perspective to transform this society, this view must be rejected. Its stated objective is limited to reforming capitalism rather than organizing the masses of the American working people to take power and establish a socialist society.

As a strategy for building the antiwar movement it is ineffective. By subordinating the need to unite the largest number of people in action against the war to its concept of an "American Left," PCPJ restricts whom it will unite with. It can only include those groups and individuals willing to accept PCPJ's reformist social program. On this basis it excludes revolutionaries. It excludes Black nationalists who do not agree with its program on how to fight racism.

PCPJ's insistence that it will unite with others only on the basis of its program for ending repression, its program for welfare reform, its program on the war, flows from putting its social reform program before the need for a united antiwar movement. That is why PCPJ refuses to put real effort into the April 22 antiwar demonstrations.

Both the CP and PCPJ are doing a disservice to the U.S. antiwar movement and to the Vietnamese revolution. All the justifications they manufacture can't cover up the fact that they prefer the prospect of organizing support for Democratic Party hacks to unity with the thousands of antiwar activists who will be demonstrating in the streets April 22 for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina.

Socialist educational conferences planned

By HUGH MORGAN

The first weekend socialist educational conferences in a nationwide spring series of such meetings took place over the April 7-9 weekend in Boston and Philadelphia.

Between 150 and 200 persons attended the Boston conference to hear speeches on the student movement by David Keepnews, a New York City high school student running for the state legislature on the Socialist Workers Party ticket; on women's liberation by Evelyn Reed; on Nixon's economic policies by Dick Roberts; and on the contributions of Wilhelm Reich to social theory by Kipp Dawson. The conference also featured a panel discussion of the 1972 elections, and heard Andrew Pulley, SWP vice-presidential candidate, describe the SWP's 1972 campaign.

More than 100 people turned out in Philadelphia, where there was also a panel discussion of the elections, as well as speeches by Roberts and Reed, and by Richard X Clark, a leader of the Attica revolt. Clark joined Derrick Morrison, *Militant* staff writer, in a discussion of the Black struggle and the National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Ind., in March.

Conferences are coming up in six cities the weekend of April 28-30. The ideas raised by the SWP 1972 election campaign will also be the focus of discussion at these meetings. The meetings are being sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance, the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, and the SWP 1972 Campaign. Conferences on April 28-30 will occur in New York; Minneapolis; Washington, D.C.; Houston, Texas; Denver; and Chicago.

The New York Socialist Campaign Weekend will begin with a talk on the 1972 Socialist Workers election campaign by national campaign chairman Peter Camejo on the evening of April 28. A campaign rally the following evening will feature SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness; Joanna Misnik, New York SWP congressional candidate from the state's 20th C.D., where she is running against Democrats William Ryan and Bella Abzug; and other speakers. During the day on the 29th, there will be a panel discussion on the significance of the Gary Black convention by members of the YSA and of the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU).

At the Minneapolis conference, Delpine Welch of the YSA national office will speak on women's liberation, Art Sharon will speak on U.S. labor history, and Andrew Pulley will speak about the SWP campaign.

In Washington, D.C., George Novack will discuss a Marxist philosopher's view of "The Meaning of Life," and *Militant* staff writer Frank Lovell will discuss Nixon's wage controls and the unions.

Peter Buch, a former Zionist youth leader and now a spokesman for the SWP, will talk about the Arab revolution at the Houston meeting.

Six more conferences will be held the weekend of May 19-21 in the San Francisco Bay Area, Atlanta, Cleveland, Seattle, Portland, and Detroit.

For more information on these meetings, write or call the YSA nearest you. (See Socialist Directory on page 22 for addresses and telephone numbers.)

West Coast ILWU contract still uncertain

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, April 11—The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) has served notice on the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) that unless a satisfactory settlement is reached by April 17, the current contract (which was drastically revised by the Pay Board and sent back for "renegotiation") will be canceled.

In the last issue of the *ILWU Dispatcher*, ILWU president Harry Bridges stated: "The first thing is that we must make clear we are not accepting the Pay Board's decision. . . . Our position was, and still is, that the Pay Board dumped our whole agreement, and we must and will invoke the provision of our strike settlement that we can serve notice to cancel if the Pay Board does not approve our whole settlement."

Actually a 30-day extension clause expired March 30, but the ILWU postponed the deadline until April 17, at which time the Pay Board's decision on the contract of the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) is expected.

The Pay Board cut the ILWU's first-year raise from 72 cents to 42 cents an hour. However, it did not touch the 40 cent second-year raise, which is due this July 1, nor the pension increases. The total package of economic gains was reduced from 25.9 percent to 14.9 percent.

It so happens that the ILA contract increase for the first year comes to 14.9 percent. No ILWU member will be surprised if the Pay Board approves the ILA settlement in order to head off any possibility of joint ILWU-ILA action.

During the coming weeks union meetings will be held up and down the coast to consider the options and de-

cide what to do next. Will there be another tie-up of West Coast shipping? This is not certain. There are many questions within the ranks, and even the most militant are cautious.

If there is another strike, how will it be conducted? Will 40 percent of shipping, including Vietnam military cargo, be unaffected as during the last 134-day strike? Will ships be allowed to divert cargo to Mexico and Canada? Will Hawaii go out next time? Longshoremen have had it with the way the last strike was run and want some assurances of a more effective strike policy before they hit the bricks again.

At present, Frank Fitzsimmons presumably represents labor on the Pay Board. His counterpart is Roco Siciliano, who really does represent business. Siciliano was the president of the PMA when Nixon was elected. Nixon appointed him to a State Department job and then to the Pay Board. Siciliano coolly abstained on the ILWU contract vote when the PMA was supposedly pleading along with the union that the *entire* agreement be approved.

Siciliano's prominent position on the Pay Board points to a significant development in the shipping industry. Today most major shipping companies and stevedoring firms have been bought up by corporate conglomerates. For example, both Pacific Far East Lines and American President Lines are owned by Natomas, a holding corporation that is also in oil and real estate. Matson Lines is part of Alexander Baldwin Corporation, a conglomerate that includes Castle and Cook, which in turn has extensive holdings in the Hawaiian Islands. Sealand, the huge container-shipping corporation, that handles

mostly military cargo, is part of the Reynolds Tobacco Company. And so on.

Heavy capital is being invested in shipping. Within a decade the industry will be largely mechanized and automated, and hand-handling of cargo will be the exception.

Completely automated cargo vessels, without crew, needing a human pilot *only* when entering or leaving port, are already on the drawing boards and are expected to be on the seas by 1975.



ILWU West Coast Caucus meets, Feb. 12-15

Photo by L. Carballar

The industry is healthy, and profits are high. Private tonnage on the West Coast has more than doubled in the last 10 years—19 million tons in 1960; 39 million tons in 1970. But there has been no corresponding increase in labor-hours. The labor cost of handling a ton of cargo has actually decreased 30 percent in 10 years. Productivity has risen 138 percent in the same period.

The shipping industry wants no union interference in its plans to squeeze out the workers. Thus far, the leadership of the maritime unions

has blindly adapted to industry changes, asking only for more money and bigger pensions while their membership has dwindled.

To many longshoremen, especially the younger workers who study these problems, it is becoming clear that only efficiently run, *complete* strikes that affect the whole economy can win substantial gains in the transportation industry, and that any major strike must mobilize mass labor support. Younger members are already talk-

ing about the program for July 1, 1973, when the present contract—if it isn't canceled—will end. Some of the things discussed include a 30-hour week, guaranteed wages, three-month vacation with pay, and labor unity on a fighting program to get these things. There is also talk of a general conference of the labor movement to mobilize labor support behind the longshoremen. There is already a movement afoot, headed by the California teachers union, to call a statewide conference of labor to discuss a plan to fight the wage controls.

Where the socialist candidates stand: On rising prices

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

In the seven-year period from 1965 to 1972 prices rose by more than 30 percent, according to the U. S. Department of Labor. Working people know this painfully well from trips to the supermarkets and department stores.

The Democratic and Republican party politicians try to tell us that rising prices are due to a so-called "inflationary psychology." Their story is that workers greedily demand higher wages; this makes the capitalists raise their prices; and thus the "wage-price spiral" goes up and up.

In this way the Democrats and Republicans try to make working people think that they themselves are responsible for the rising prices that erode their incomes. Even the top labor officials have gone along with this hogwash by giving support to the concept that wage controls will alleviate rising prices.

The truth is that the labor movement, through fighting for wage increases and cost-of-living, or esca-

lator, clauses, has barely managed to keep up with the price rises, so that in terms of purchasing power, wages at the end of 1971 were virtually the same as wages at the start of 1965.

If you listen closely to the government economic "experts," however, a bit of the truth sometimes comes out. For instance, in Nixon's speech announcing his "New Economic Policy" on Aug. 15, 1971, he pointed to the real cause of inflation when he said: "One of the cruelest legacies of the artificial prosperity produced by war is inflation."

Government deficit spending for war causes inflation and rising prices—not working people who are demanding wage increases to *compensate* for the rising cost of living.

Since World War II this country has faced a continuous pressure toward inflation derived from the huge government deficit spending for the cold war, the arms race, and the network of U. S. bases and counterinsurgency operations all over the world. The escalation of the Vietnam war in 1965 has only sharpened this inflationary tendency.

Nixon's war budget for 1973 is \$83.4-billion, 34 percent of the na-

tional budget and \$6.3-billion over last year's war budget.

Billions of dollars flood into the economy for which there is no corresponding increase in purchasable goods. War spending all goes into making instruments of death and destruction. It does not create useful products that people can buy.

Monopolies then try to rake in profits by jacking up prices to absorb the increased purchasing power of consumers.

Working people end up paying for deficit spending indirectly, in the form of price rises eating away at their incomes. The economist most respected by the capitalists, John Maynard Keynes, wrote openly about the fact that most people never suspect that inflation is a disguised method of taxation for war.

In addition to increasing taxes, the government attempts to unload the cost of the Southeast Asian war on the backs of working people by holding down wages so that wage earners can't protect themselves from inflation.

The Socialist Workers Party believes that working people should not have to pay more than they already have—in taxes and in the lives of their

sons—for a war they oppose. Working people have the right to protect themselves in any way necessary from the effects of inflation.

The following points constitute the program of the SWP for combating rising prices.

1) Abolish all wage controls. Cost-of-living, or escalator, clauses in all union contracts so that wages will rise to whatever degree prices rise. The escalator clause should also be applied to social security payments, welfare payments, and the minimum wage to alleviate the devastating effect of inflation on those with fixed incomes.

2) Immediate, unconditional withdrawal from Southeast Asia. Dismantle all U. S. bases around the world and bring the GIs home. Unilateral disarmament of the U. S. Confiscation of all profits made by war industries.

3) Roll back all rents to a maximum of 10 percent of family income.

4) Consumer committees should be elected in each neighborhood to inspect price increases in supermarkets. The committees should have the power to enforce price controls by confiscating products being sold at exorbitant prices.



THE KREMLIN'S CAMPAIGN

Since the following article appeared in the April 3 issue of Intercontinental Press, there have been several new developments regarding Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's Nobel Prize. On April 4 the Soviet Embassy in Sweden announced its refusal to grant a visa to the secretary of the Swedish Academy, Dr. Karl Ragnar Gierow, so that he could go to Moscow to present the Nobel Prize to Solzhenitsyn.

Solzhenitsyn, author of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, *The First Circle*, and *The Cancer Ward*, was awarded the prize in October 1970. He feared going to Sweden to receive the prize because of the possibility that he would be barred from returning to his country. The author was expelled from the Soviet Writers Union in 1969 because his novels express criticism of the reactionary bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

Significantly, Dr. Gierow was denied the visa to go to Moscow the day after a long interview with Solzhenitsyn was printed in the New York Times and the Washington Post. The interview, obtained in Moscow, was the first Solzhenitsyn had granted to Western journalists in nearly a decade.

In it he describes the severe harassment to which he and his wife have been subjected, how he has been prevented from doing research necessary to the historical novels he is now working on, and how anyone who visits or otherwise contacts him is investigated and often loses his or her job.

The campaign of harassment and intimidation of Soviet dissidents goes far beyond Solzhenitsyn, however. The April 10 Intercontinental Press carried another article by George Saunders, "Kremlin Troubled by 'Flash Points' of Dissent," which cites recent reports in the London Times, the New York Times, and the Christian Science Monitor indicating that the Soviet leadership has launched a sweeping campaign to stamp out dissent. The past months have seen widespread arrests and searches of dissidents' homes in the Ukraine, in Moscow and Leningrad, and in the Baltic republics.

Special targets are the journals, such as the *Chronicle of Current Events*, that have articulated protest against the police-state policies of the bureaucracy. These periodicals appear in the form of samizdat, the Soviet term for privately circulated, uncensored materials, usually in typescript form.

By GEORGE SAUNDERS

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the world-famous Soviet novelist, has become the object of renewed attacks in the Stalinist press, not only in the Soviet Union but internationally. The attacks on him are part of an intensified repressive drive begun by the Kremlin at the turn of the year.

That drive has taken the form of arrests, police searches, press attacks, and a campaign of "information" for party cadres presented by top officials in confidential sessions. Its primary targets are those dissident groups, organizations, publications, and individuals that have become most visible as the movement for socialist democracy has developed in recent years.

For example, Pyotr Yakir has been a major object of the current drive. Son of a Red Army general who was shot in Stalin's purge of 1937, he is the last prominent member still at liberty of the Initiative Group for Defense of Human Rights, which has continued to function although most

of its members have been imprisoned, "hospitalized," or exiled.

Valery Chalidze, a leader of the Human Rights Committee, has also been singled out for attack in the press—in terms that threaten legal proceedings, namely, the charge that he gave "slandorous anti-Soviet materials" to a foreigner. The best-known member of the Human Rights Committee, nuclear physicist Andrei Sakharov, has not as yet been publicly denounced. Apparently the Kremlin feels the ground is insufficiently prepared for that.

questions that endanger the bureaucrats' claim to legitimacy. The religious sympathies and the element of Slavophilism in his writings do not negate the power of his pro-Leninist, antibureaucratic motifs.

In a clean sweep of all visible dissent—something Brezhnev and Company would like to accomplish but which they may find politically unfeasible—such an intransigent figure, enjoying such international stature, could not be overlooked. But he would have to be discredited before he could be brought down.

tal Press, January 17, p. 41.)

On December 27, Solzhenitsyn issued his "Tribute [Slovo] in Memory of Tvardovsky," a bitter description of how the bureaucrats who had driven Tvardovsky to his death had then conducted a glib official funeral over his remains. (The full text appears on page 344 of our March 27 issue.) Circulating in *samizdat*, Solzhenitsyn's latest work soon became widely known.

In reprisal for his increasingly open defiance, an official press assault, which had clearly been in preparation



Solzhenitsyn at Dec. 12, 1971, funeral for Aleksandr T. Tvardovsky, a prominent Soviet editor. Tvardovsky helped persuade Soviet bureaucrats to allow Solzhenitsyn's 'One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich' to be published.

Another member of the Human Rights Committee, Aleksandr Galich, a playwright and author of *samizdat* satirical songs, was expelled from the Soviet Writers Union in late December. Galich is a "corresponding member" of the committee, as is Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn himself.

But the renewed attacks on Solzhenitsyn are aimed not so much at any organizational role he plays in the Committee. Indeed he is not an activist or organizational type, although some bureaucrats have charged that he considers himself the "political leader of the opposition." It is the ideas and values he stands for, the fierce independence that he embodies and that his works express, that make him a necessary target if a complete "ideological" housecleaning is to be carried through by the bureaucracy.

His writings contain a merciless critique of the Soviet privileged elite—exposing their corruption, their self-seeking, their cynicism, arbitrariness, and cruelty. At the same time his writings revive Bolshevik, Leninist revolutionary traditions with great vitality and sympathy, and probe the causes of the revolution's degeneration into Stalinism, raising searching

If there was already a general need to discredit the Nobel Prize-winning novelist, his increased protest activities in the last few months must have prodded the bureaucrats in their timing. Last fall he issued an open letter denouncing the KGB [political police] for searching his home and beating a friend of his who caught them in the act. The novelist also denounced the KGB for its long-term harassment, vowing to submit in silence no longer.

In December, Solzhenitsyn put pressure on reluctant Swedish authorities, asking in an open letter that his Nobel Prize be awarded to him at a ceremony in Moscow. In the context, such a ceremony would have amounted to a demonstration of defiance against the Stalinist officialdom, which refuses to acknowledge the greatest living Russian writer because of its fear of his pen.

Although the Swedish government, with an eye to its relations with Moscow, has not complied, an unofficial ceremony of oppositional mood nevertheless took place on December 21—not for the Nobel Prize, but in honor of the late editor and poet Aleksandr Tvardovsky—with Solzhenitsyn playing a leading role. (See *Intercontinen-*

for some time, was then put into print. It appeared in the weekly paper of the Soviet Writers Union, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, Number 2 for 1972, on January 12.

The attack took the form of a "critique" of Solzhenitsyn's novel *August 1914*, which was published in May 1971 in Paris after all the Soviet publishing houses to which it had been offered had refused it.

The main theme in the assault on Solzhenitsyn is that he wishes to return to prerevolutionary czarist Russia and that he is against the October socialist revolution. In fact, *August 1914*, which deals with the early defeats of the czarist regime in World War I, is Solzhenitsyn's attempt to probe and reveal the roots of the revolution in the war and in the corruption of the old order.

Literaturnaya Gazeta claims that the novel is a disguised attack on the present regime (Does it equate itself with the czarist bureaucracy?), that it lends aid and comfort to "anti-Soviet people," and that it romanticizes prerevolutionary Russia, while maligning the Bolshevik Revolution. Solzhenitsyn's real conception is, apparently, a series of novels of which this is the

AGAINST SOLZHENITSYN

first, that will ultimately bring him to a portrait and analysis of the revolution. The present novel is far from having laid out Solzhenitsyn's views on that event.

Literaturnaya Gazeta goes further, however, in its efforts to ascribe pro-czarist and procapitalist views to the novelist. It prints a condensed translation of an article that appeared in December in the German picture magazine *Der Stern*. This was based mainly on an interview obtained by *Stern's* Moscow correspondent from an eighty-two-year-old woman who claims to be Solzhenitsyn's cousin—one Irina Ivanovna Shcherbak of the town of Georgievsk.

Here is how Robert G. Kaiser, in a *Washington Post* article datelined January 12, describes the elderly Shcherbak's function in the story:

"She describes the writer's [Solzhenitsyn's] rich forebears, right down to the Rolls Royce car his grandfather supposedly owned. (A purported picture of the car appeared in *Literary Gazette* today.) She also says her famous cousin treated her badly, after she told him stories of his family's life before the revolution."

Shcherbak claimed that Solzhenitsyn's parents had been wealthy bourgeois and that his grandparents had been big landowners—owning over 4,000 acres and 20,000 head of sheep. *Literaturnaya Gazeta* claims that "these facts have been confirmed," protesting all the while that it does not intend to make a "vulgar sociological" equation between a person's family background and activity in later life.

Of course, that is precisely what it intends. Solzhenitsyn for his part has categorically denied the story of his alleged "wealthy" background. In fact, he is from a poor family. His father, a schoolteacher, died before Solzhenitsyn was born, in 1918. His mother supported herself and him by working as a typist in Rostov. He was educated in Soviet schools and, being a capable student, went on to earn a university degree in physics and mathematics. He even did some postgraduate work on the strength of a "Stalin scholarship" in 1940.

There may be a simple key to the riddle of "cousin" Irina Shcherbak. First of all, the *Stern* correspondent does not indicate how he "turned her up" in the out-of-the-way town of Georgievsk. The Soviet paper reports he simply traveled there out of curiosity. How timely! And he even found a picture of a pre-1917 Rolls Royce, convenient as a People's Exhibit A in the case of the "class enemy" A. I. Solzhenitsyn.

The truth about the *Stern* interview can be deduced from a similar incident of several years ago, before the novelist was expelled from the Soviet Writers Union. A purported interview with Solzhenitsyn was made available to the Western press by Victor Louis, the enigmatic Soviet citizen who works for a London paper and acts as an agent for the Soviet government on very high levels. Louis' article was a subtle but unmistakable smear job. Professing objectivity and friendliness toward Solzhenitsyn, Louis ultimately pictured him as a man embittered and twisted in an egocentric way by his life's adversities (that is, the little matter of eight years in Stalin's prison camps).

The Soviet police have the resources and ingenuity to "obtain" the services of a German journalist—or at least to produce a sensational bogus cousin, complete with Rolls Royce photo.

Their experience in fabrications, especially since the mid-thirties, is really rather extensive.

The theme that Solzhenitsyn wants to restore the old order was repeated in a special article in the February 26, 1972, *Daily World*, the New York publication expressing the views of the Communist party of the United States. It repeated much of the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* material, without attribution, although the Irina Shcherbak concoction was left out—perhaps it has become too embarrassing already.

This attack on Solzhenitsyn, entitled "History Takes a Fall," is datelined, for some reason, Helsinki, Finland, and the author is Martti Larni, not further identified. Larni takes Solzhenitsyn to task for, of all things, *not publishing in his own country!* Quoting bourgeois reviews of the novel (apparently not having read the book itself), Larni implies that Solzhenitsyn is opposed to both the Soviet Union and the October Revolution. Solzhenitsyn, according to the poorly read Larni, attributes the revolution solely to the defeat of the czarist armies at Tannenberg in August 1914—a childish simplification of Solzhenitsyn's approach.

Moreover, the Soviet writer is charged with being pro-German, with the implication that he was even pro-Nazi. This of a man who led a Soviet artillery unit through most of the war and who was wounded and decorated several times. Solzhenitsyn was originally jailed, in 1945, for criticism, written in a personal letter, of Stalin's inadequate leadership of the war against the Nazis. In 1957 he was cleared of these fabricated charges by a Soviet military court.

But for Larni, and for the Kremlin cynics for whom he writes, such facts mean nothing. Solzhenitsyn is merely "a self-centered man, fed from childhood on vinegar, as we say in Finland, bilious and asocial, who, in a fit of self-admiration does not see farther than his navel. . . ." Such a man, Larni predicts, baring his teeth with a jailkeeper's growl, "is either lost in his speculative constructions and historical facts created by his own imagination or *vanishes without trace in fog in another country.*" (Emphasis added.)

Why does the *Daily World* give so much space to review a novel not yet published in English? Why the Helsinki dateline? Simply to give the impression—especially when sold or quoted in Moscow—that there is wide international revulsion against this apparently reactionary and traitorous Nobel Prize winner, who is "bilious and asocial" to boot!

Certainly such publishing favors by the *Daily World* to its "cothinkers" in Moscow do not contribute in any way to making either the American or the international revolution. Perhaps the "Communists" of the CPUSA have forgotten that part and parcel of the revolution is the fight against bureaucracy and privilege—features of czarism that Lenin especially detested and intended the revolution to remove.

A more ominous attack on Solzhenitsyn occurred in the midst of the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky in Moscow on January 5. There the prosecutor, as part of the official proceedings, classified Solzhenitsyn, along with Bukovsky, as a "slandering and vicious anti-Soviet element."

"A. Solzhenitsyn's lampoons on the Soviet people," she said, according to a *samizdat* transcript that has now

become available, "blacken the exploits and achievements of our homeland and the dignity of the Soviet people and were suitable material for the routine, anti-Soviet campaign blown up in the West." He was awarded the Nobel Prize, she charged, "merely because he had slandered Soviet reality."

A witness for the prosecution also charged that Bukovsky had supplied him with manuscript copies of Solzhenitsyn's novels *Cancer Ward* and *The First Circle*, as though doing so were a criminal act. Bukovsky, let us recall, was sentenced to a total of twelve years in prison and exile.

So intent are the Kremlin authorities on attacking the great novelist that they have even trotted out one of their house poets to cross swords with Solzhenitsyn before an international audience. Usually they prefer the tactic of silence, pretending that the issue does not exist.

The *New York Times* on February 12 printed a translation of Solzhenitsyn's memorial tribute to Tvardovsky. On March 3, the Soviet poet Yaroslav Smelyakov—himself a former camp inmate, but one who remained loyal to Stalinism—wrote a reply, which was printed in the *Times* on March 11.



Vladimir Bukovsky, 29, was condemned Jan. 5 to seven years' confinement because of his activities in exposing the undemocratic suppression of dissent in the Soviet Union. At Bukovsky's trial, the prosecutor labeled both Solzhenitsyn and Bukovsky "slandering and vicious anti-Soviet elements."

Smelyakov denies that Tvardovsky was mistreated. He was "recognized by his people and his Government," Smelyakov asserts. As proof he cites the fact that the Soviet Military Publishing House has printed Tvardovsky's war poem *Vasily Tyorkin* countless times, that his complete works and special selections of his works have been published, that he has received three State Prizes, including one just before he died. "This does not look like hounding, does it?"

Smelyakov is of course speaking of Tvardovsky only as an author of poems. (His very last poem, which circulates in *samizdat*, has not even been published in the "complete works.") But Solzhenitsyn's entire theme was Tvardovsky as editor of

Novy Mir. Smelyakov breathes not a word of that.

To be sure, Tvardovsky's poetry is officially approved with a few exceptions, but he was driven out of his position as editor of *Novy Mir*, which he held for fourteen years, because he insisted on publishing anti-Stalinist material there—and not the least of that material was prose by Solzhenitsyn.

Smelyakov exposes a "contradiction" in Solzhenitsyn's argument. Solzhenitsyn admits, he says, that Soviet soldiers sent wreaths to be laid on the late poet's coffin, which disproves that Tvardovsky was at odds with the army.

This is almost too childish. Solzhenitsyn charges that the army officialdom banned *Novy Mir*, because of its anti-Stalinist content, as reading material for rank-and-file troops in the late 1960s. In fact, the Soviet press often printed articles by Soviet brass attacking *Novy Mir* and its editors. Smelyakov does not deny—or even mention that.

Finally, echoing the theme that Solzhenitsyn is "anti-Soviet," Smelyakov asserts that his opponent has illusions "that Soviet power will fall some day and some upcoming youth will build Matryona's world* on its smoldering ruins."

Solzhenitsyn has indeed predicted that Soviet youth's voices will ring out sharply some day against the bureaucratic cancer that sits on the back of the Soviet system and hinders its full development. The reference to Matryona's world is incomprehensible. Smelyakov seems to be suggesting that Solzhenitsyn favors a return to the "simple peasant life" of prerevolutionary Russia.

But in fact his short novel, "Matryona's House," is a sharp attack on the dehumanizing power of private property and primitive capitalist accumulative motives, such as must have produced the kulak class on the land. And Matryona is the embodiment of the victim of acquisitive greed and bureaucratic indifference.

She is nonetheless a person who preserves human values—love, selfless labor—despite oppression. The youth of the world, in making a revolution, will indeed build a world where Matryonas can live—on the smoldering ruins of both capitalism and bureaucracy, with all their Larnis, Smelyakovs, and *Literaturnaya Gazetas*.

*"Matryona's House" is one of two short novels by Solzhenitsyn in the paperback book *We Never Make Mistakes*, W.W. Norton, New York, N.Y., 1971, \$1.35, translated by Paul W. Blackstock.

REBELS & BUREAUCRATS

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Jenness answer to Ohio Sec'y of State

The following letter from Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, was sent to Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown on April 6.

I have received your letter of March 2, 1972, which contains your request for an affidavit before Affidavit before April 15 showing that I am 35 years of age.

I am 31 years of age, and my running mate, Andrew Pulley, is 20. I am sure you are aware of this, since our ages are listed in campaign literature, and have been widely reported in the news media. Since it is self-evident that I cannot submit the affidavit you requested, the purpose of your letter can only be to attempt to rule me off the Ohio November ballot.

I am shocked at this implied threat. If you were to rule me off the ballot on the grounds that I am not "old enough," you would be grossly abusing your function as Secretary of State, and you would be denying to me, to my party, and to the voters of Ohio the constitutionally guaranteed rights to an open and free electoral process.

It is my belief that the age requirement of 35 set by the U.S. Constitution is totally out of line with today's political realities. Young people have been in the center of the fight against the Vietnam war; they have spearheaded the fight for Black liberation; they have raised the issue of the oppression of women. It is young workers like the auto workers in Lordsburg, Ohio, who have begun to articulate and fight for the interests of working people in this country.

Nearly fifty million Americans are between the ages of 18 and 34. We are qualified to vote. Why shouldn't we be qualified to serve as president?

My age is not a liability but an asset. Young people have always played an important role in American politics.

Nathan Hale was 21 when he gave up his life for this country. Thomas Jefferson was 33 when he wrote the Declaration of Independence.

Andrew Pulley and I have called for an amendment to the U.S. constitution to abolish age requirements for the holding of public office. Such an amendment would be a step in the direction of democratizing the electoral process. As such, it would be similar to the women's suffrage amendment, the extension of voting rights to Blacks, and the lowering of the voting age to 18. If we are elected by the American people in November, we are sure that such an amendment could be passed in ample time to allow us to take office.

There is no Ohio or federal law which contains any age requirements for running for president or vice-president, as opposed to serving in those offices. Specifically, you have no statutory authority to require an affidavit of my age from me; nor is there any April 15th deadline in the Ohio election law for supplying you with such an affidavit.

As you well know, the voters of Ohio in November will not be casting votes directly for president and vice-president. They will be voting for presidential electors who are, under the law, the candidates for office. These presidential electors, in turn, will cast their votes in the Electoral College for the candidates of their choice. The 25 electors whose names have been filed with your office are all qualified to

run and serve as electors according to Ohio law.

However, I think the Electoral College system provided for in the U.S. Constitution is undemocratic. It should be replaced by a national direct election. Under such a system, candidates would qualify for the ballot in all 50 states at once, and there would be an end to state requirements that discriminate against new and independent political parties.

However, since the present law is based on the electoral college system, to be consistent with that law my name must be placed on the ballot to allow votes for the legally qualified slate of electors committed to my candidacy.

Other "underage" candidates for president and vice-president have in the past been placed on the ballot in many states.

For example, in the recent New Hampshire Democratic primary Edward Coll appeared on the ballot as a presidential candidate, although he is only 32.

And last year the Secretary of State of Colorado put two "underage" candidates of La Raza Unida Party on the ballot because he did not want to prejudice the outcome of a fight for their right to take office if elected.

There is an important precedent in Ohio. In 1948, your predecessor refused to place Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor, candidates of the Progressive Party, on the ballot on the grounds that they were not "legally" qualified candidates under Ohio law. The Ohio Supreme Court ordered the Secretary of State to place their names on the ballot. The Court pointed out that since the presidential electors pledged to Wallace were qualified to appear on the ballot, and since voters cast their vote for a slate of electors by designating their preference for a presidential ticket, the names of the candidates for president and vice-president must be put on the ballot.

It is clear from the statutes and from court opinions that you are not required to have the affidavit that you request.

I believe that your attempt to deny me the right to appear on the ballot is motivated by partisan political interests. You are trying to preserve the political monopoly now maintained by the Democratic and Republican parties and to deny voters of Ohio the chance to vote for a socialist alternative in November.

Your office has shown repeatedly that it views the Ohio ballot as the exclusive property of the Democratic and Republican parties. Few states can match Ohio's dismal record of undemocratic election laws and rulings. Since 1953, with the exception of two occasions when federal courts have ordered you to place candidates on the ballot, there has not been a single independent or third-party candidate on the Ohio ballot!

Now that the Socialist Workers Party has been able to comply with the new requirements of 5,000 signatures, you are grasping at straws in an attempt to keep socialists off the ballot.

It is not your duty to judge my qualifications as a candidate. That will be up to the voters of Ohio. The voters of Ohio must have the right to express their opposition to the bankrupt policies of the capitalist parties in November. They must have the right to express their preference for a socialist America by voting for Andrew Pulley and myself in November.

Jenness in Ohio: 'I have a right to run'

COLUMBUS, Ohio, April 7—Linda Jenness responded yesterday to Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown's threat to rule her off the November ballot.

At a press conference at the capitol here, Jenness made public a letter from Brown demanding an affidavit from her by April 15 stating that she is at least 35 years old. This is the age required by the U.S. Constitution to serve as president.

Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, is 31. In her statement to the press, Jenness pointed out that there is no constitutional age limit for running for the office of president, only for holding that office. She added that she felt confident that if she were elected, a constitutional amendment could be passed allowing her to serve.

Three TV networks sent reporters to the news conference. In addition to camera crews, reporters from Associated Press, United Press International, and two campus newspapers accompanied Jenness to the secretary of state's office. While the secretary of state declined to personally accept Jenness's reply, he did grant an interview to the press.



Photo by Dean Elder

Linda Jenness is interviewed by a reporter in Columbus, Ohio, after news conference launching her fight for the right to be on the ballot in Ohio despite her age.

The *New York Times* and other papers have reported Brown's challenge and Jenness's reply.

Jenness was joined at the capitol by a delegation of interested voters, who accompanied her to the secretary of state's office and made statements to the press. The delegation included Diana Cline, a representative of the official women's association of Ohio State University; Sanford Weinberg, a member of the Community Union in Columbus; Peg Shannon, a 19-year-old Young Socialist for Jenness and Pulley from Ohio State University; Tom Bayless, Ohio representative

In just three days, Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters collected 2,350 signatures on nominating petitions to place Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley on the New Jersey ballot. Eight hundred signatures are necessary to meet the New Jersey ballot requirement.

Jenness-Pulley supporters in Louisiana have begun petitioning to put the SWP on the ballot there. One thousand signatures are required, but petitioners plan to obtain 3,000. This is the first time the SWP has ever petitioned for ballot status in Louisiana. Campaign supporters who want to help should contact Craig Biggio, P.O. Box 18250, Baton Rouge, La. 70803. Telephone: (504) 388-1517.

of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL); and Dean Elder, Ohio coordinator of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

Bayless noted that CoDEL has already researched and prepared the legal groundwork for a court case supporting Jenness in the event that it becomes necessary to go to court. Cleveland attorney Ben Sheerer is representing CoDEL in the case.

Jenness appeared at a public protest meeting in Cleveland tonight to publicize her fight to win ballot status. The meeting, held at Debs Hall, was attended by 50 people.

Pulley tour helps build Mass. petitioning effort

By STEVE BLOOM

APRIL 10—During Andrew Pulley's first week of touring the New England area, 36 campaign supporters have signed up to help with the petition drive to get the Socialist Workers Party on the Massachusetts ballot. Six people have also asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

On April 8, the SWP vice-presidential candidate addressed an audience of 190 people at the new Boston SWP headquarters. The campaign banquet and rally, which also featured local SWP candidates, raised \$1,600 for the campaign.

In the past week, Pulley has spoken to 85 students at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and to meetings at Brown University in Providence, Boston University, Bradford Junior College, and to a group at the Roxbury, Mass., YMCA.

At the Common Sense Bookstore at

Fort Devens, outside Boston, Pulley talked with 15 active-duty GIs and supporters of the GI antiwar movement.

Press coverage of Pulley's tour so far has included articles in the *Bay State Banner*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Herald Traveler*, the *Record American*, as well as in the campus press.

Pulley also appeared at a campaign rally in Philadelphia April 7, where \$1,400 was raised. Other speakers at the rally included Len Lear, staff writer for the *Philadelphia Tribune*, the major Black newspaper in Philadelphia; Richard X Clark, a leader of the Attica rebellion; Yuseff El Hakim, of the Black Veterans Union and the Black Students League of Community College; and Nancy Strebe, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Pennsylvania's 1st C.D. Five people attending the rally asked to join the YSA.

'72 Socialist Campaign

David Williams of the Madison Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley reports that during Linda Jenness's recent three-day stopover in Wisconsin she spoke at two high schools, a junior college, on six radio and TV broadcasts, and to large university audiences in the Madison area. Jenness was interviewed by the two Madison daily papers, the British Broadcasting Company, and the Toronto Star.

On March 8, Portland YSJPers debated John Wolfe of Oregonians for McGovern before 1,000 students at Portland Community College (PCC). John Linder of Portland reports: "One of the central questions of the debate was McGovern's role as a candidate within the Democratic Party. Wolfe agreed that the Democratic Party had a rotten record, but claimed that a 'grass-roots movement' led by McGovern could transform the party into a viable instrument of change. When Socialist Workers Party Portland mayoral candidate Phil Hardy discussed McGovern's record on the issues, Wolfe replied that the YSJP McGovern truth kit was full of lies and distortions. He said that the Oregon McGovern campaign was preparing a brochure in reply to the truth kit, which will be distributed on all campuses in the state. Strangely enough, Wolfe didn't find time during the debate to point out a single lie or distortion contained in the truth kit." Following the debate, the coordinator of the PCC McGovern campaign endorsed the SWP campaign.



Photo by Antonio Camejo

Mariana Hernández

Mariana Hernández, a Chicano studies instructor at Cal State Los Angeles, is the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in California's 30th C.D. The March 29 Cal State Los Angeles College Times quotes Hernández on what she feels is one of the main differences between herself and incumbent Democrat Ed Roybal: "Roybal does not support La Raza Unida Party. He has clearly stated that he wants... the Chicano movement within the Democratic Party."

Hernández and the SWP support the Raza Unida Party campaigns and encourage the development of independent Chicano political parties as an important weapon in the struggle for Chicano liberation.

As of April 6, a total of 8,445 people have signed endorsement cards in support of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

On April 7 Carol Seidman announced that she is the SWP candidate for San Francisco School Board.

Dorothy Dillon, Northern California YSJP director and a central organizer of the 50,000 strong Nov. 6, 1971, San Francisco antiwar demonstration, is the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in California's 8th C.D.

The Pennsylvania SWP is running 10 candidates in 1972: They are: for U.S. Congress—Nancy Strebe (1st C.D.), Jean Savage (2nd C.D.), Diane Tasciotti (3rd C.D.), and Rose Ogden (4th C.D.). For State House of Representatives: Sal Mastriano (District 198), Carol Lisker (District 188), and Jack Barrett (District 187). The SWP is also running Marilyn Markus for State Senate (District 7), Harvey McArthur for state treasurer, and Ed Fruit for auditor general.

The April 1 Advocate, a West Coast gay community biweekly, reports on Linda Jenness's March 13 statement on gay rights. The Advocate notes that in addition to supporting gay rights legislation, Jenness "cites a widespread range of police-malpractice problems and urges repeal of all anti-gay laws."

"The Gay Insider," (Gay, April 17) calls Jenness's statement "one of the most unequivocal" issued on gay liberation by any presidential candidate.

The Northwest YSJP team reports that the Eugene Gay Alliance xeroxed copies of Jenness's statement to distribute to its membership and read the statement aloud at a membership meeting.

In the Arizona State University (Tempe) student government primary elections held March 15, YSJP presidential candidate Irene Gorgosz received 11 percent of the vote, and YSJP administrative vice-presidential candidate Mike Milin received 27 percent. Milin was endorsed by Alianza Universitaria and by MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan—Chicano Student Movement of Aztlan).

The following are excerpts from letters received by the SWP national campaign office:

"Please send me one of your March 1972 issues of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley Newsletter. I am a federal prisoner here at the U.S. penitentiary in Leavenworth, Kansas. It would be of great moral support to us in here if you could send me a couple of your campaign posters." D. J. B., Leavenworth, Kansas.

"Here is \$10 towards the election of Jenness and Pulley. I heard Andrew Pulley at the National Student Antiwar Conference in New York City. At the time (but no longer) I was a member of Young Socialists (Workers League). All forward in the 1972 campaign and victory in the current offensive of the Vietnamese people." M. A. Schlosser, Allentown, Pa.

Send all inquiries and literature orders to SWP Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-4150. —STEVE BEREN

Jenness testifies on Penn. elections laws

By LARRY SEIGLE

HARRISBURG, Pa., April 7—Linda Jenness appeared here today as a witness before a special three-judge federal court considering the constitutionality of Pennsylvania's election code.

The court heard testimony and arguments on behalf of a suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party, the People's Party, the Communist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, and the Consumer's Party. The suit challenges the new election code, which quadrupled the signature requirement for ballot status. Formerly, the state required signatures totaling one-half of one percent of the highest vote for a winning candidate in the previous statewide election. The new requirement is 2 percent.

Other witnesses included the Reverend Paul S. Harris, vice-chairman of the People's Party of Philadelphia; George S. Taylor of the Socialist Labor Party; and Judy Baumann, national secretary of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL).



Judy Baumann

Photo by David Thorstad

Attorneys Harry Levitan and Harry Lore of the American Civil Liberties Union represented the plaintiffs.

The heart of the challenge to the new law is that it discriminates against those individuals and parties who have limited access to funds, because the financial burdens of complying with the requirement are so great as to make it difficult or impossible for poor parties to comply.

Attorneys in the case felt that Jenness's appearance was especially significant because much of the legal argument revolved around the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the case of *Jenness v. Fortson*, a challenge Jenness brought against the Georgia election code in 1970.

At the end of her testimony, one of the judges asked the presidential candidate, "Are you the Jenness of *Jenness v. Fortson*?"

"Yes sir, the same Jenness," she replied.

Earlier in her testimony, Jenness explained that the state's action in passing the new law had nothing whatever to do with democracy.

"It is my opinion that the government of the United States, and of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, would like to try to maintain a political monopoly of the political process for the Democratic and Republicans, and they do this by imposing restrictions on candidates who do not have a lot of money, to keep them off the ballot."

"They talk about 'frivolous' candidates. There have been many frivolous candidates with a lot of money who have been able to get on the ballot."

"They talk about 'confusing' people with a lot of parties on the ballot. We are not a confusing party. Our program is quite clear. Much more confusing are the 12 Democratic Party candidates on the same ballot, such as in the recent Wisconsin primary, all of whom are saying the same things so that people don't know

whom to vote for. That's confusing."

Under cross-examination, Jenness was asked by the attorney for Pennsylvania if a candidate of the SWP had ever won an election:

A: No.

Q: You've never won an election. How many votes have you received for president?

A: Well, Eugene V. Debs received nearly a million votes in 1920.

Q: Was Debs a member of the SWP?

A: No, the SWP wasn't formed until 1938. Debs was the candidate of the Socialist Party. Today, we carry on our campaigns in the tradition of Debs, and we run on the same platform that Debs ran on.

Jenness also referred to the results of recent campus polls, such as the one at the University of Wisconsin, which show her with more support on campus than many of the contenders for the Democratic nomination.

Judy Baumann, introduced as an expert witness on election laws, demonstrated with the aid of charts and a blackboard that the new Pennsylvania requirement is one of the most stringent in the country.

Her testimony showed that Pennsylvania now has the fourth earliest deadline for filing nominating signatures, the fourth shortest time period in which to collect them (three weeks), and is sixth in the total number of signatures required.

The case for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania was presented by the attorney for the defendants and by James A. Green, state commissioner of elections, who appeared as a witness. Green's testimony centered on the argument that the voting machines in use by the state had a limited number of lines available for parties and candidates, and therefore the ballot had to be restricted.

Linda Jenness placed 12th out of 20 candidates in a University of Minnesota CHOICE '72 poll held April 5-6. With 5,941 students voting, Jenness polled 67 votes, ahead of Jackson, Spock, Ashbrook, Hall, Mink, Hartke, Mills, and Yorty. McGovern led with 2,695 votes; followed by Nixon, 1,014; Chisholm, 541; and Humphrey, 372. According to the poll, 2,668 students considered themselves Democrats; 2,118, Independents; 917, Republicans; 70, Socialist Workers; 63, American Independent Party; 33, People's Party; 18, Socialist Labor Party; 15, Communist Party; and 13, La Raza Unida Party.

Later, the attorney for the state, in response to a question from the court as to his opinion why the requirement had been changed, stated that "the state was aware of the growing interest in independent parties and was worried about 'stretching' the ballot machines." If the voting machines owned by the state couldn't be used, he said, "There would be a disruption of the electoral process."

Harry Lore concluded the arguments for the independent parties by stating, "To allow the mechanical limitations of a voting machine to dictate the perimeters of the First Amendment is folly."

A ruling on the case is expected soon. If successful in knocking out the 2 percent requirement, the case will set an extremely important precedent in the growing movement to democratize ballot laws.

Rail right-to-vote group expands activity

By LEE SMITH

The Right To Vote Committee, a broad ad hoc committee of railroad unionists organized around a program of democratic, militant unionism for the United Transportation Union, brought out the first professionally printed issue of its newsletter last month. This tenth issue of *Progress Report*, dated March 15, is an attractive, four-page tabloid.

The Right To Vote Committee was originally organized within the UTU (formed from the merger of the old railroad brotherhoods and representing 200,000 railroad workers) prior to the August 1971 UTU founding convention. The principal goal of the RTVC, winning the membership's right to vote on contracts, did not make it onto the convention agenda, but the issue was hotly debated at an informal convention session attended by 1,000. After the convention, the RTVC dissolved as a subordinate body within the UTU. It has continued activity since then as an ad hoc committee.

The four points of the RTVC's program are: 1) membership ratification of contracts, 2) defense of the right to strike against laws and other government intervention that curb this right, 3) a cost-of-living "escalator" clause in all rail contracts, and 4) a six-hour workday with no pay re-

duction to fight against job cuts.

The lead item in the March 15 *Progress Report* is an exchange of letters between Edward T. Heisler, a member of UTU Local 1433 and secretary of the RTVC, and Al H. Chesser, president of the UTU. In the first letter, Heisler requests a list showing how each local chairman voted on the new national contract. Heisler also scores the so-called "Selective Strike Strategy" of striking carriers one at a time instead of conducting a coordinated national strike to back up bargaining demands.

Heisler refers to the fact that the UTU leadership, in order to win Pay Board approval of the contract, consented to company-proposed changes in work rules that spell further job cuts and agreed to serve on a committee to study more such work-rule changes. He states: "In view of your capitulation to the Presidential Board, the Pay Board, and the carriers' demands for changes in our work rules I believe you should call the 'Selective Strike Strategy' something more appropriate for the occasion. May I suggest 'The Appeasement Strategy.'"

In a paragraph-by-paragraph answer to Heisler, the UTU president dances around the request for a list showing the local chairmen's votes. Pointing out that the votes of the general chairmen (who tabulate local

chairmen's votes on a particular railroad) are on record, he suggests that Heisler write to the general chairmen for the information. "I do not think it is any secret how each Local Chair-



Photo by Ellen Lemisch

Ed Heisler, secretary of the rail unionists' Right To Vote Committee.

man voted on the Agreement on any railroad," Chesser writes.

In reference to the Selective Strike Strategy and to his bowing before company and government requests for work-rule changes aimed at cutting jobs, Chesser writes: "It was repeat-

edly stated that the purpose of Selective Strikes was to obtain a negotiated agreement, which, in fact, was obtained. You certainly are privileged to disagree with the merits of the contract as negotiated, but I want to make the record perfectly clear that I did not capitulate to the Presidential Emergency Board, the Pay Board or the Carriers—I signed a negotiated settlement."

In a reply to Chesser's answer, Heisler expresses surprise and disappointment that Chesser neglected to send him a list of how local officials voted.

Responding to Chesser's lame explanation of capitulation to the Pay Board, Heisler takes up the question of an effective response to government intervention on the side of the employers. "Rail labor can take the lead in organizing a campaign of direct action," the RTVC secretary writes, "including the idea of convening an Emergency Congress of Labor."

The broad support enjoyed by the RTVC is demonstrated by the wide range of enthusiastic letters printed on the back page, many of them from local officers, from cities all over the country.

Copies of *Progress Report* can be ordered by sending a donation to the RTVC, P.O. Box 475, Bensenville, Ill. 60106.

Bangladesh suffers from deepening crisis

By TONY THOMAS

APRIL 10—Four months after winning its independence from Pakistan, Bangladesh is suffering a deep social crisis and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's government is losing support from the masses of East Bengalis. Reporting the deepening famine, *New York Times* correspondent Sydney H. Schanberg wrote on March 29:

"As a column of horsecarts carrying bagged rice plods along a dirt track on the edge of Faridpur [a town 35 miles west of Dacca], ragged children scramble in the dust for a few kernels that have escaped from a hole in a bag. . . .

"Disturbances—some observers have called them small riots—have broken out in several areas where shortages of rice and wheat have driven prices

nearly collapsed. The Awami League regime's decision to continue capitalist exploitation in Bangladesh left it powerless to do anything about the tremendous devastation Bangladesh suffered during the struggle for independence from Pakistan in 1971.

According to an article by Jon Rothschild in the April 3, 1972, *Intercontinental Press*, ". . . 1,600,000 dwellings, each of which sheltered an average of seven people, were demolished by the Pakistani army. With their homes destroyed and their sources of livelihood gone, hundreds of thousands of peasants have flocked to the cities and towns of Bangladesh. According to [the March 27] *Newsweek*, 175,000 poured into Dacca during the third week in March alone."

Reports quoted by Rothschild cite

Pakistani rule, Indians smuggled out the bulk of Bangladesh's vital jute crop, thereby depriving the Bengalis of vital foreign exchange. Moreover, India also took all captured Pakistani Army equipment, although much of it had been paid for by taxes levied on the Bengalis when their state was part of Pakistan. As one resentful Bangladesh official said, "What India took as war booty actually belongs to us."

The corruption of the Awami League government has contributed to the crisis. Sydney H. Schanberg wrote in the April 9 *New York Times*: "Some politicians are taking advantage of the disarray to grab off lucrative contracts, occupy businesses vacated by West Pakistani owners and profiteer in food and other relief goods."

The government's reaction has been minimal. According to Schanberg in the March 30 *Times*: "So far the Government has conveyed no sense of urgency or crisis to the people. There are no signs of mobilization for what may be a famine emergency—no efforts to commandeer river boats and vehicles, no campaign in the interior to organize the convoys of bullock carts and coolie crews that will be the only means of moving the food in remote areas when the rains come."

In fact, the only actions taken by the Awami League government have been to attack the political rights and standard of living of the already destitute Bengali masses. William J. Drummond, writing from Dacca in the March 28 *Los Angeles Times*, points out that the government has imposed a freeze on wage increases and has cut some workers' wages as much as \$10 a month.

The April 1 *New York Times* reports another aspect of the government's reaction. On March 31, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, prime minister of Bangladesh, addressed a massive rally in Khulna, a town 90 miles south-east of Dacca. Several thousand people had demonstrated there earlier against malpractices in the distribution of relief food and supplies.

According to the *Times*, Rahman's

reaction to such actions by the Bengali masses was clear: "The Prime Minister called for an all-out struggle against leftist extremists who he said were blocking his reconstruction efforts. He said the police had orders to 'shoot down' anyone 'engaged in creating confusion and trouble.'"

On the other hand, Rahman's government is completely friendly to those responsible for the suffering of the Bengali masses. His regime was based on the plundering Indian army, which stayed on Bengali soil until mid March.

Despite the U.S. financial, military, and political support to the Pakistani war against the Bengali people, Schanberg reported in the April 6 *Times* that ". . . Bangladesh officials, from Sheikh Mujib on down, have made it clear in private conversations that they want American aid and a strong American presence here. . . ."

The Awami League and Rahman were able to divert the struggle for independence from overthrowing capitalism during late 1971. At that time masses of Bengalis retained illusions about the Awami League and above all, trusted Rahman. However, the Rahman regime's complete failure to deal with the economic crisis facing East Bengal is wearing away his support.

Schanberg reports in the April 9 *Times* that the Bengali people have ". . . become impatient with the government. There is already talk in some intellectual circles—so far, only talk—of a 'second revolution.'"

The chance of such a revolution—a socialist revolution that would give power to the workers and peasants of Bangladesh—is heightened by the fact that large numbers of Bengalis are armed. An article in the April 4 *Times* reports that "Only a fraction of the arms supplied by India or captured from Pakistani forces have been surrendered." Many of these are in the hands of the guerrilla fighters, workers, peasants, and students who bore the brunt of the war against the Pakistanis and who now bear the brunt of the economic catastrophe.



Bengali child—Awami League's failure to break with capitalist exploitation has perpetuated misery in Bangladesh.

far beyond the reach of any but the well-to-do.

"Many factories, shops and businesses have not reopened since the December war and unemployment has rocketed. Beggars are multiplying at an unusual rate as the rural poor pour into the cities in the futile hope of finding work or at least a subsistence dole of food."

The economy of East Bengal has

the destruction of 500 road and rail bridges and 7,000 of the country's 8,000 trucks during the struggle in 1971. Added to these problems are those of 9,700,000 refugees returning to Bangladesh from India.

Bangladesh was also plundered by the Indian army during its occupation of Bangladesh following the India-Pakistan war. *Newsweek* of March 27 said, "During the last months of

By CAROLINE LUND

The main goal for some in the radical movement is to "dump Nixon" in 1972. Their idea is that a Democratic administration would be at least a little less of a tool of big business, less warmongering, and more amenable to social reforms and civil liberties than a Republican administration.

Yippie leader Jerry Rubin, for instance, is traveling around the country telling young people they can "beat Nixon" if they organize to do so. Some groups are already organizing for an anti-Nixon demonstration at the Republican National Convention to be held in San Diego in August.

An article from the underground paper *Seattle Sound*, reprinted in the *Chicago Seed* (Vol. 8, No. 2), commented enthusiastically on this sched-

This brief historical survey puts into proper perspective the attempts of some of the 1972 Democratic presidential contenders to capitalize on the massive antiwar sentiment by projecting themselves as "peace candidates."

From the record it is clear that the Democrats and Republicans have cooperated fully in defending U. S. imperialist interests throughout the world. And whenever Democratic or Republican presidents have withdrawn from a war, it has been only because of military reverses or massive opposition among the American people—not because of any antiwar principles or respect for the right of other countries to self-determination.

Civil liberties

The Democrats' record on democratic rights and civil liberties is no better than their war record. Democratic Party "liberals" were the chief spon-

sors of the first laws in this country that made it a crime to hold certain opinions, the first law outlawing a political party, and the first law establishing concentration camps where political dissenters could be sent without trial in a "national emergency."

Racist policies—such as the system of Jim Crow laws, the forced segregation of the armed forces prior to the Korean War, discrimination against Blacks in industry, lynching, the widespread use of the poll tax in the South to keep Blacks from voting—have been upheld by both Democratic and Republican administrations. These oppressive practices have been challenged and broken down only by the independent struggle of Black people, which has forced Democratic and Republican administrations to respond to their demands.

Finally, what about the Democrats' claim to be "friends of labor"? This image has been false way back to the original "friend of labor," Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose background was as a Wall Street lawyer. Roosevelt had the backing of most of the big capitalists and bankers in the country. The concessions he did make to working people were an attempt to stem the labor revolt—which culminated in the formation of the CIO—before it moved even further to the stage of breaking with capitalist politics.

Democrats did not lead a fight against the 1947 Taft-Hartley antilabor law, and they were sponsors of the 1959 Kennedy-Landrum Griffin Act (the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act). Similarly, the latest attack on working people—Nixon's "wage-price controls"—is actually a bipartisan policy. Prominent Democrats were urging Nixon to adopt such controls long before he did so last August. And since he imposed the controls, the Democrats have made no fundamental objections; they have simply raised tactical disagreements with the degree of control over prices.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE 'DUMP NIXON' STRATEGY?

uled action. It contrasted the San Diego demonstration to the one at the 1968 Democratic Party convention in Chicago, saying that in Chicago "many of the targets were vague."

"This time the targets are much clearer," says the *Sound*. "Nixon, Agnew, John Mitchell and their cronies constitute the enemy in no uncertain terms."

Are Nixon and the Republican Party "the enemy"? Is the Democratic Party any better than the Republican Party? These are important questions for the American people. For years, dissent from the labor movement, Black liberation movement, antiwar movement and other forms of social protest have been channeled into the Democratic Party as the only "viable" alternative to the Republican Party. But what has come of this strategy? Nothing much has changed as far as the basic inequalities and inhuman priorities of this system.

The image projected by the liberal wing of the Democratic Party is that the party stands for progressive principles, such as social reform, democratic rights, and trade-union rights. This image has been cultivated by the Democrats since the 1930s, when officials of the new CIO unions supported Franklin D. Roosevelt as a "friend of labor" and began to participate in a vote-catching coalition for the Democrats. After World War II, leaders of the Black communities joined the so-called "coalition" in support of the Democratic Party.

This image, however, is refuted by the Democrats' record. They have had ample opportunity to demonstrate what they stand for in practice, since Democratic administrations have been in office for 28 of the past 40 years.

War record

First of all, let's look at the issue of war. The fact is that Democrats have headed the country during all four major wars in which the U. S. has participated in this century.

The Democrat Woodrow Wilson was elected in 1916 on the grounds that he had kept the country out of war. But after he won he turned right around and plunged the country into World War I, with full agreement from the Republicans.

The Democrats and Republicans cooperated in carrying out World War II as well.

In 1945 Harry Truman took over when Roosevelt died. He was the one who ordered atom bombs dropped on Japan, obliterating two cities and more than 100,000 people in one blow. In 1948 the "liberal" Truman defeated the reactionary Thomas Dewey and then went on to launch the Korean War, the most unpopular war in this country prior to the war in Southeast Asia.

John Kennedy, who won the 1960 election, was a hero of the liberals. In 1961 he launched the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba (preparations for which had been initiated under Eisenhower). When Cuba subsequently tried to protect itself with arms, Kennedy brought the world to the brink of nuclear war during the missile crisis. He then went on to begin the Vietnam war.

In 1964 Lyndon Johnson won the election by claiming to be for "peace," while Barry Goldwater campaigned for all-out war in Vietnam. After being elected, Johnson proceeded to do what Goldwater had talked about: escalate the Vietnam war. In 1965 he also invaded the Dominican Republic to crush a popular revolt there.

sors of the first laws in this country that made it a crime to hold certain opinions, the first law outlawing a political party, and the first law establishing concentration camps where political dissenters could be sent without trial in a "national emergency."

The 1940 Smith Act—a police-state law that made it a felony merely to express an opinion, without any overt act—was quickly passed by a Democratic Congress and signed by Roosevelt.

In 1941 Roosevelt personally ordered 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Teamsters union Local 544 prosecuted under the Smith Act simply because they opposed U. S. government war aims in World War II. Roosevelt was also responsible for the incarceration of thousands of Japanese-Americans during World War II simply because they were of Japanese descent.

When the McCarran Act, later called the Internal Security Act, was before the Senate in 1950, a group of seven "liberal" senators that included Hubert Humphrey proposed an alternative to it establishing concentration camps for subversives. The alternative measure (the "Kilgore bill") was joined with McCarran's registration bill as Title 2 of the combined Internal Security measure.

In August 1954 the liberal Democrats tried to prove that they were more anticommunist than chief witch-hunter Senator Joe McCarthy by authoring and supporting the so-called "Communist-Control" Law. Senator Hubert Humphrey introduced the section of this law that for the first time outlawed the Communist Party. Humphrey proposed the police-state measure because, he said, "I am tired of reading headlines about being 'soft' toward communism."

Racial oppression

What about the issue of racial oppression? Here too the Democrats, like the Republicans, have a miserable record. First of all, the Democratic Party stand on human rights for Black people can be surmised from the fact that a whole wing of the party is made up of Dixiecrats—open supporters of white supremacist policies. The hypocrisy of "liberals" like Humphrey painting themselves as supporters of civil rights is clear from the fact that they welcome the Dixiecrats in their party. The liberal Democrats are more interested in the vote-catching influence of the Dixiecrats than they are in any principles of human rights.

The basic opportunism of both parties was blatantly demonstrated during the 1964 election contest between Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater. The Oct. 9, 1964, *New York Times* revealed that in the South both the Democrats and Republicans were distributing each other's literature designed for the North, in order to win the votes of racists. For example, Democrats distributed copies of a Republican brochure that quoted Goldwater as favoring integration. The Republicans had designed this for distribution in predominantly Black Washington, D. C. Republicans, on the other hand, passed out Democratic Party brochures showing Johnson posing with Martin Luther King Jr. and other Black leaders.

Both the Democrats and Republicans supported the racist police in the South during the campaign of white supremacist violence and terror against civil rights activists in the early 1960s. And both parties supported racist police violence



The record of the Democratic Party includes the annihilation of more than 100,000 Japanese with the atom bomb in 1945. Democratic and Republican politicians have cooperated in a bipartisan imperialist war policy.

On none of the basic issues facing the American people do the Democrats have a better program than the Republicans. Their record demonstrates that the real purpose of their liberal rhetoric is simply to get votes, not to challenge the inequalities and injustices of this system. Liberal Democrats may differ with Republicans over tactics and tempo, but not over basic principles or objectives. The differences between the two parties are certainly not enough to consider one as a real alternative or answer to the other.

The slight differences that do exist—mainly differences in rhetoric—are valuable to the capitalist class in enabling them to maintain their monopoly over the political arena while at the same time creating the illusion of democracy. The Republicans are presented as the villain—the openly reactionary tool of big business—in order to scare people into supporting the Democrats—who are nothing but another party of big business in disguise.

The campaign to "defeat Nixon," which can only mean "elect a Democrat," cannot possibly achieve any basic changes for the people of this country. "The enemy" is not only the Republicans, but the Democrats as well. And to continue supporting the Democrats in the belief that they represent the road to social change will only succeed in helping to perpetuate the con game of the two-party system.

The National Picket Line

AT A WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE early this year, attended by more than 1,500 representatives of business and industry, Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson took a look at "The Industrial World Ahead" and submitted what he and the others present undoubtedly hope will be a self-fulfilling prophecy. He predicted that in the next 20 years the right to strike will be sharply curtailed, especially what he called "the big, crippling, strike."

Many industries, from auto to soda pop, have begun to crack down against unions. In no mood to wait 20 years to find out if Hodgson is right, they want it right now. One of the things they seem to have in mind is to convince workers that strikes today don't pay. Government wage controls and the compliant judges who hand down court injunctions against strikes have encouraged the employ-

The General Motors Corporation has instituted a new policy worse than that of the telephone company. At GM a new division was created for the purpose—General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD). This is the division that took over the Lordstown assembly plant, laid off 670 workers, and provoked the recent 22-day strike there. The strike was settled on the promise that about 500 would be rehired. The speedup policy of the company has not changed, however, and no agreement was reached on the number of workers needed for each assembly operation. The company can still try to reduce the size of the work force while increasing production.

GMAD is introducing new speedup techniques and cost-cutting measures (mostly layoffs) at other GM assembly plants across the country. Bobby J. Higginbotham, recording secretary of United

for more and more profits to fill their already overflowing coffers with still more gold. . . ."

THE RAILROADS NEED NO LESSONS from anyone when it comes to antilabor policies and practices. They have operated since 1926 under the no-strike provisions of the Railway Labor Act, with the government acting as an effective strikebreaker. The Penn Central and Southern Pacific have both instituted new work rules and have started laying off switchmen in their yards and reducing the size of road crews.

When these arbitrary orders by the railroads provoked walkouts, the federal government intervened on March 31 to bar the United Transportation Union and Sheet Metal Workers from striking, even though the officials of both unions disclaimed any intention of calling a strike.

The government's 60-day strike ban was issued by Nixon under the "emergency" provisions of the Railway Labor Act. A three-member "fact finding" panel will recommend within 30 days how many jobs may be eliminated. On June 1 railroad workers can strike, but in accordance with past practice, the U.S. Congress can then be expected to enact emergency legislation against them.

IN A SIMILAR WAY, government regulations and state no-strike laws are used more frequently and effectively against municipal workers and teachers than in the recent past when there was more money available and fewer teachers. In San Francisco, Transport Workers Union Local 250-A is protesting cuts in public transit service resulting from bus drivers being laid off. Afraid of a strike at this time, union officials are appealing to bus riders to protest schedule cuts. One of their recent appeals says, "The Federal Government uses our taxes to subsidize Lockheed Aircraft; Penn Central Railroad and ITT get special concessions; the S. F. transit rider will be forced to walk."

The bosses are getting much harder to deal with, from the very big ones to the smallest. Most strikes run into government interference and all major settlements must be approved by the government Pay Board. This changes the old labor-management relationship. The trade-union movement is now dealing directly with the capitalist government. That is why it must scuttle the useless methods of class collaboration and devise instead its own class-struggle strategy to counter this new offensive of the employers.

— FRANK LOVELL



Photo by Steve Beck

Because of reactionary ban on strikes by government-employed workers, San Francisco Transport Workers Union has so far limited fight against cutbacks in transit service and driver layoffs to protest picketing at city hall.

ers' tough antiunion attitude.

The New York Telephone Co. declared last July that it would never raise its wage offer to 38,500 equipment installers and other skilled workers. After a seven-month strike, the company revised its pay rates slightly, conceding only enough to allow for a back-to-work vote. Although the strikers won a new sense of solidarity, as soon as they returned to work the telephone company set out to destroy this by victimizing some of the strike leaders and imposing new work standards.

Auto Workers Local 34 in Atlanta, Ga., wrote a lengthy letter of complaint to UAW President Leonard Woodcock last January. The letter stated that "If you need more examples of noncompliance (with the union contract) on the part of GMAD or the lack of leadership from our leadership, we have many members and committeemen who will be happy to supply more facts."

In Norwood, Ohio, UAW Local 674, which struck GM on April 7, lists grievances against speedup and layoffs resulting from "GMAD's lust

U Texas drivers win right to union contract

By RICHARD STUART

AUSTIN, Texas, April 10—Bus drivers at the University of Texas at Austin won an important victory today after waging a six-week strike against Transportation Enterprises Inc. (TEI). The TEI employers acceded to the strikers' three main demands—1) recognition of the union, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1549; 2) wage increases; and 3) maintenance of safety standards on operated equipment.

While some of the other demands, including a cost-of-living clause, were not won, the winning of recognition—for which the drivers fought for years—is a major gain in "right-to-work" Texas.

The strike began after the National Labor Relations Board ruled that the TEI workers were not under its jurisdiction, since TEI is a local concern serving the state of Texas.

Backed up by the NLRB decision, the management refused the union recognition. The drivers, mostly students,

called a strike. Management then brought scabs in from as far as 200 miles away to operate TEI's shuttle service.

Robert Evans, the new local's vice-president, said the strike had the support of more than 80 percent of the drivers. There was also tremendous support from UT students. On the strike's first day, 3,000 students and others from the UT community signed petitions supporting the drivers, and picket lines were established demanding union recognition.

The drivers also demanded that the buses meet safety standards required by law. They presented sworn affidavits detailing the unsafe operating condition of the buses—many of which had no fire extinguishers, first-aid equipment, emergency brakes, signal lights, rear-view mirrors, or windshield wipers. Drivers are always held liable in frequent accidents due to faulty equipment.

The strikers had exposed the way in which TEI would use working parts from the entire fleet to prepare buses for official inspection, removing them for use on the next batch to be inspected once the inspection was completed. Thus, TEI avoided legal citations but kept most of its buses operating in unsafe condition.

The shuttle drivers had been receiving \$1.60 per hour starting wages, compared to the \$2.50 made by other Austin drivers. The strikers had also charged TEI with race discrimination and demanded that it be ended.

Speakers at a Feb. 23 campus rally of 300 in support of the strike in-

cluded Melissa Singler, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress. On March 16, SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness spoke to the strikers. Jenness emphasized the importance of opposing Nixon's Pay Board and actively fighting against government wage controls.

Berkeley campus unions join against U officials

By ALAN WALD

BERKELEY, Calif.—The repeated failure of the University of California to negotiate seriously with the unions on the Berkeley campus has led to united actions by the labor organizations and the threat of a strike that would shut down the entire institution. The most recent development is a challenge to the chancellor of the university to come in person or send a representative to debate representatives of the campus unions on April 14.

Under the leadership of the Alameda Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, the 15 campus unions have begun to coordinate their work through a series

of meetings and common actions. Participants in the cooperative efforts include two American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) unions, three American Federation of Teachers (AFT) unions, three printers unions, and all unions representing stationary engineers, bakers, and culinary workers. In addition, the Teamsters and building trades unions are cooperating with the coalition.

The primary issues that concern the unions deal with pay increases, but there are also complaints about grievance procedures, layoffs, seniority, and participation in the campus decision-making processes.

At the beginning of January, representatives from the campus unions met with local legislators—including assemblymen Ken Meade, John Miller, and Robert Crown, and State Senator Nicholas Petris—in an attempt to gain their support.

On Feb. 19 the unions organized a demonstration that picketed a meeting of the regents of the University of California. Projected for the coming weeks are distributions to the Berkeley community of a leaflet describing the issues in the dispute and the possibility of a work stoppage.

The coalition of campus unions is led by the executive secretary-treasurer of the Alameda Central Labor Council, Richard Groulx. He stated in the Feb. 22 issue of the *Daily Californian*, the university paper: "If things follow like they are now, the end result will be a strike. We'll try like hell to avoid it, but if we can do no better, that's what will happen."

THE UNDERGROUND PRESS IN AMERICA

By GEORGE NOVACK

New tendencies in culture emerge by way of revulsion against established institutions and conventional modes of expression. This is as true in journalism as in the arts. The rise of the underground press in this country over the past 15 years is a case in point.

This new medium of communication is one of the most significant and colorful offsprings of the growing radicalization. In 1969 there were about 500 or more underground publications with a total circulation of about five million, not counting an estimated 5,000 others that come out like mayflies in high schools and other places—and die as fast. These figures may be a bit lower now, but each major city still supports at least one such paper with a circulation of 10,000 or more.

These facts are taken from Robert J. Glessing's perceptive study entitled *The Underground Press in America* (Indiana University Press, 1970, \$6.50).

The underground press can be more accurately called the alternative press. It is independent of the standardized mass media controlled by big business and the advertising hucksters. It doesn't have to cater to the tastes and prejudices of the upper and middle classes. Though they copy one another, these antiestablishment publications deviate from the stereotyped handling of news and opinion by official journalism and are nonconformist in their techniques, ideas, attitudes, and interests.

Many of its writers spurn Marxism as an outworn and irrelevant dogma of the "Old Left." Yet the origins, growth, and special traits of this new type of journalism can be explained and understood only by reference to changing social and political circumstances.

Although in its yearning for an impossible Arcadia a part of their constituency has turned against technological progress, the underground papers they sell for a living have been made possible by the introduction of new printing methods: offset printing, justifying typewriters, and camera-ready copy processes. These technological products of modern industry have enabled amateurs to start papers on a shoestring basis.

Almost none of the underground papers have a conservative slant; they are radical by nature. Their publishers, writers, artists, and readers are largely drawn from the alienated, uprooted, footloose, discontented elements of the population. These cultural outlaws comprise street people, hippies, drug users, Black militants, poor whites, and high school and college rebels who disdain the values and rules of "respectable" society, condemn its hypocrisies, injustices, and indecencies, and are looking for what they call new life styles.

On the fringes of such dissidents are the hangers-on from the well-to-do suburbs who want to be in touch with the cultural vanguard.

The Black liberation struggle, revulsion against the dull conservatism

of the Democratic and Republican administrations, the drug culture, the student revolt, the antiwar sentiment, the credibility gap in government and communications, and the feminist and gay movements have all contributed to creating the atmosphere and audience that has welcomed this sort of press.

There have been unorthodox innovations in the journalism of the past, from the penny press of the nineteenth century to the little magazines of the Greenwich Village Bohemias in the early decades of this century. But these precedents are not commensurate with the underground press, which has become a genuinely new counterinstitution in America.

New York City was its birthplace. The underground press took off with the *Village Voice* in 1955 and Paul Krassner's *Realist* in 1958. These pioneers still represent differing aspects of the medium: the *Voice*, loaded with ads, has grown into a prosperous, fat,



Underground cartoonist Ron Crumb has revived use of the comic strip in a way that Disney would not have expected.

and influential institution, the property of Carter Burden, a millionaire politician. The *Realist* remains an outrageously satirical one-man band.

Until 1965 almost all the other ventures of this kind fizzled out. Then the upsurge of radicalism generated after the escalation of the Vietnam war spawned hundreds of publications ranging from the *Los Angeles Free Press*, launched in 1964, to the *East Village Other*.

New sensations and styles

The preoccupations of the underground press range from scatology to ecology and embrace whatever interests young rebels disgusted with the hypocrisy of the older generation. Its publishers and readers are constantly in search of new sensations and styles, which are rapidly used up and thrown away like a piece of tissue. They are enamored of novelty in culture and politics. They are ironically unaware that this unquenchable thirst for what is "in" or "hip" reflects in its own way the built-in obsolescence of the consumer society they inveigh against and want to escape from.

By the same token the underground press has been experimental in numerous respects. It has introduced a more personalized and subjective style of

writing, bolder arrangements in layout, and the use of flat colors and free-form graphics of psychedelic inspiration.

Though some of its readers look longingly toward rural communal living, the underground press is essentially an urban product. The papers are mostly weeklies (the one attempt to start a daily in New York could not get off the ground).

With few exceptions they are not profitable or financially solid. They rely on cheap or voluntary, unskilled labor and are hawked in the streets by young people in need of subsistence. Most of them are carelessly edited, haphazardly operated, and sloppily written.

The underground press, says Glessing, is a "wildly unpredictable happening: constantly changing and mercurially fluid, it reflects and comments on an era faster moving than any other in history."

Thus over the past seven years many of the publications and their producers have oscillated from absorption in the youth culture to radical politics of the spontaneist-confrontationist variety and from a quest for some form of individual salvation to intense but short-lived social protest—and back again.

"When the swing to radical politics began in the 1967 Vietnam summer, *Helix* in Seattle, *Kaleidoscope* in Milwaukee, and *Distant Drummer* in Philadelphia shifted from psychedelic drawings, rock music and astrology to anti-police, anti-government, and confrontation politics," notes Glessing. "In 1969 those papers once again swung inward toward more cultural topics like rock music, alternative lifestyles, communal living and survival information for alienated readers."

Over the past two centuries capitalist society has seen many esthetic and cultural rebellions against its dominant customs and creeds and in time has succeeded in taming and coopting them. Will a similar fate befall this current experiment in journalism?

The alternative press is not separated by insurmountable partitions from the enviroing forces of capitalist America. Interaction has affected both. On one hand the underground press has influenced advertising, music, the theater (*Hair* and *Jesus Christ Superstar*), the movies, and sexual behavior. On the other hand the necessity of survival as a capitalist enterprise can dampen its impudence and erode its independence. The *Village Voice*, for example, is a critic rather than an opponent of the system, purveying equal measures of radical chic and liberal Democratic politics to its subscribers.

Even the more radical papers come to depend upon advertisers, either through sex-ads (most with a male chauvinist twist) or those of the commercial record companies. Concert Hall Publications, an offshoot of the Underground Press Service, was placing nearly \$40,000 a month in advertising insertions in underground papers by the summer of 1969. Marvin Garson of the San Francisco *Good Times* said of Concert Hall: "If they went out of business, fifty underground

papers would go down with them."

They face still other hazards. Most of their staffs resent discipline. They are not bound together by common political views and purposes. Anarchistic by inclination, they want to keep on doing their own constantly shifting thing. The components of the original collective, drifting in different directions, readily clash and split, especially where they chafe under the control of an individual publisher or clique.

Liberation News Service, *Rat*, the *Los Angeles Free Press* and the *Berkeley Barb* have all experienced this fissioning. Moreover, as tastes and trends change, rivals spring up competing for the readership of the established antiestablishment paper. Under these conditions the average publication does not last long.

A lack of realism marks the political outlooks of many underground publications. If they do not shun politics altogether, they are either drawn toward utopian experiments in communal living or favor spasmodic confrontationist sorties against the system.

They are generally more concerned with setting up "parallel" or "counter" institutions to the prevailing order than in patiently and persistently building mass movements capable of mobilizing enough power to effectively challenge the capitalist rulers. They prefer to escape from the dominant social reality rather than come to grips with it in a serious and sustained way.

Radical political publications

Glessing includes the *Guardian* among the underground papers, although it is more properly classified as a radical political publication. *The Militant* also belongs in this category. One difference between the two is that *The Militant*, unlike the *Guardian*, never adapted its line to the ultra-left antics or mimicked the overblown rhetoric of the underground constituency, as the *Guardian* has done at times.

The Militant is a national weekly with the largest circulation on the left; most underground papers are local or regional. But there are more deep-going differences between the two types of publications.

Although the format and artwork of *The Militant* owes something to the innovations of the underground press, its revolutionary Marxist politics stand on their own and in sharp distinction to the gyrations of the underground press. Even the most politicized of the alternative papers are not guided by any scientific theory of social development and systematic knowledge of the workings of capitalism. They do not have any carefully worked-out and thought-out program, any consistent, long-range goals, or speak for a revolutionary party and youth organization as *The Militant* does.

They serve fundamentally different purposes, even though their readership may overlap to some extent. By and large the best of the underground press covers aspects of the cultural

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In Review

Film 'To Die of Love'

To Die of Love. Directed by André Cayatte. Screenplay by André Cayatte and Albert Naud.

In its March 13 issue, *Time* magazine attempted an opinion concerning *To Die of Love*, a French film starring the noted actress Annie Girardot. Brushing aside the obvious political aspects of the movie by admitting that "the episode [upon which the film is based] became a *cause célèbre*," *Time's* semianonymous reviewer "J.C." goes on to compare this movie with *Love Story*, puritanically citing the fact that "the lovers . . . smooch, swoon, and suffer with a fervor. . . ." as evidence of the film's alleged sentimentality.

To Die of Love is not a sentimental movie. The title (as well as some of the more hostile reviewers) might give that impression. Actually, the movie is based on an actual incident in which Gabrielle Russier, a 30-year-old school teacher, was literally hounded to death because her notion of love was at variance with the "love" officially tolerated by the institutions of French society.

Except for details, which have been altered in order to protect the filmmakers from suit, Cayatte's film is based on the circumstances leading to Russier's suicide. In the film, she is given the name Danielle Guénod, and the man with whom she attempts to establish an open and unashamedly public relationship is her 17-year-old student, Gérard Léguen (based on the character of Christian Rossi).

Bourgeois society often tolerates such couples, but only when those involved are willing to hide their relationship, relegating their personal lives to a closet. Of course we can imagine that the "public outrage" (when the institutions of capitalist society scream for blood, it is always in the name of "the public") would not have been so great had the teacher been male and the student female. Or it might have been even more severe if the case had involved a homosexual couple.

The film is straightforward, focusing on the story of the couple and the

social crime committed against them. The impressionist techniques usually used to bludgeon home the sentiment in second-rate movies—dissolves and grainy as well as blurry shots—are used sparingly and effectively.

The motivating factor, the evil genius behind the events that take place on the screen, is Gérard's father's resolve to make an example out of the lovers. Quite consciously and systematically he destroys Russier with slander and prosecution, while at the same time attempting to shatter the rebellious spirit of his son.



Photo by Flax Hermes

Students marching in Paris during 1968 May-June revolt.

One of the most interesting aspects of the movie is François Simon's portrayal of the father. The movie gives some indication of the fact that he is a member of the French Communist Party. He was considered a radical (a "defender of liberty," as one of his

friends puts it), before the 1968 May-June events. The Russier development helps to expose this defender of conventional morality. Unfortunately, this identification will not be as clear to the American audience as it must have been to the French.

The setting of the movie is May-June 1968 and its aftermath. It is quite obvious that the two main characters derive much of their inspiration from this tumultuous period, including the idea that in their personal lives they can challenge the repressive norms of capitalist society, just as the young workers and students challenged its social and political authority.

This assumption may be naïve (and much of the motivation behind these two characters was certainly personal and emotional—not based on political experience). What dominates the movie, however, is not their personal or emotional situations, but rather the portrayal of society's ruthlessness in stalking them down.

The father reacts in exactly the opposite way to the May-June upsurge. In fact, through this character portrait, Cayatte has contributed an excellent study of the personal and psychological factors involved in the tremendous reactionary efforts of the French Communist Party.

Léguen is threatened by the spectacle of young students and workers challenging capitalist society in a struggle that simultaneously undermines the three pillars of his existence: (1) the French Communist Party, which attempted to sabotage the uprising (the French CP recently added an interesting historical footnote to its conduct during this period when one of its leaders stated, regarding the murder of a young Maoist auto worker, "no one wants another May-June 1968"); (2) the capitalist state, which he, as well as his party, has learned to coexist with very peacefully; and (3) the family, which he presides over with an iron hand.

But Cayatte also exposes the complicity of the so-called impartial organs of French society, for the educational, medical, and legal professions all had a heavy hand in the destruction of Russier.

That *Time* magazine reviews often combine obtuseness with dishonesty will not come as any great surprise

to readers of *The Militant*. In the review referred to above, "J.C." lives up to this tradition: he falsifies what he can understand; the other 99 percent he dismisses with a sneer.

While "J.C." dismisses *To Die of Love* for its sentimentality, Stephanie Harrington, writing one of the feature reviews in the March 19 *New York Times*, attacks Cayatte for opportunism as well as "aesthetic laziness," because he used "personal tragedy to make a political point."

Although Harrington at least has the honesty to discuss the movie before she pronounces judgment on it, her discussion simply reveals the shallowness of her political outlook and the hypocrisy of her concern for Gabrielle Russier's "personal tragedy." In the course of the review, for example, she attempts to excuse Léguen's parents by arrogantly stating: "Moreover, Cayatte loads the dice shamefully, never once indicating that the parents of a 17-year-old boy might be legitimately concerned about his having a public affair with his 30-year-old teacher." [Emphasis added.] Posing as a reviewer for whom politics is irrelevant, Harrington has, in this single sentence, dragged in all the hypocrisy of bourgeois morality.

Anyone deeply moved by this "personal tragedy" will be interested in discovering how this tragedy came about. It is precisely because Cayatte has shown the causes of this tragedy without hesitating to identify those responsible for Russier's suicide that reviewers such as Stephanie Harrington and "J.C." are attempting to discourage moviegoers from viewing this film for themselves.

—DAVID SALNER



If you're young . . . shut up

Pamphlets Young Socialists

Young Socialist Strategy for '72. Published by the Young Socialist Alliance. New York. 1972. 104 pp. Paper. \$1.25.

When Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for president in 1972, spoke at a national campaign rally in Houston, Texas, last December to an audience including the more than 1,200 delegates and observers from the Young Socialist Alliance national convention, she said the YSA had become a recognized force in the student movement. "No one can walk around the YSA today," she told the young revolutionary fighters, "and few are foolish enough to try to ignore you." She called attention to the YSA's role as "the un-

compromising core of the antiwar movement" and as "the spearhead of the fight against the archaic abortion laws," and she noted that YSA members "are respected defenders of all who are attacked by capitalist injustice." The Socialist Workers Party considers the support of the YSA for its election campaign invaluable, Jenness said.

There is no single document that offers a more comprehensive view of the politics and strategy that make the YSA such a key force in the American class struggle today than *Young Socialist Strategy for '72*. Contained in this magazine-format booklet are six reports and five resolutions adopted at the YSA convention, embodying the organization's analysis of the current political situation in the world and the U.S., the tasks it sees dictated for revolutionaries by that situation, and the steps it is following to carry out those tasks.

The compilation begins with the international report presented to the con-

vention by Frank Boehm. Compressing a wealth of information, this brief report takes account of the most important worldwide political developments in 1971 and traces the continuity of working-class internationalism from the First International, led by Karl Marx, through the Second and Third Internationals to the Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky, that today maintains Marxist internationalism. It spells out the YSA's campaign of support to the efforts of the USLA Justice Committee in behalf of Latin American political prisoners.

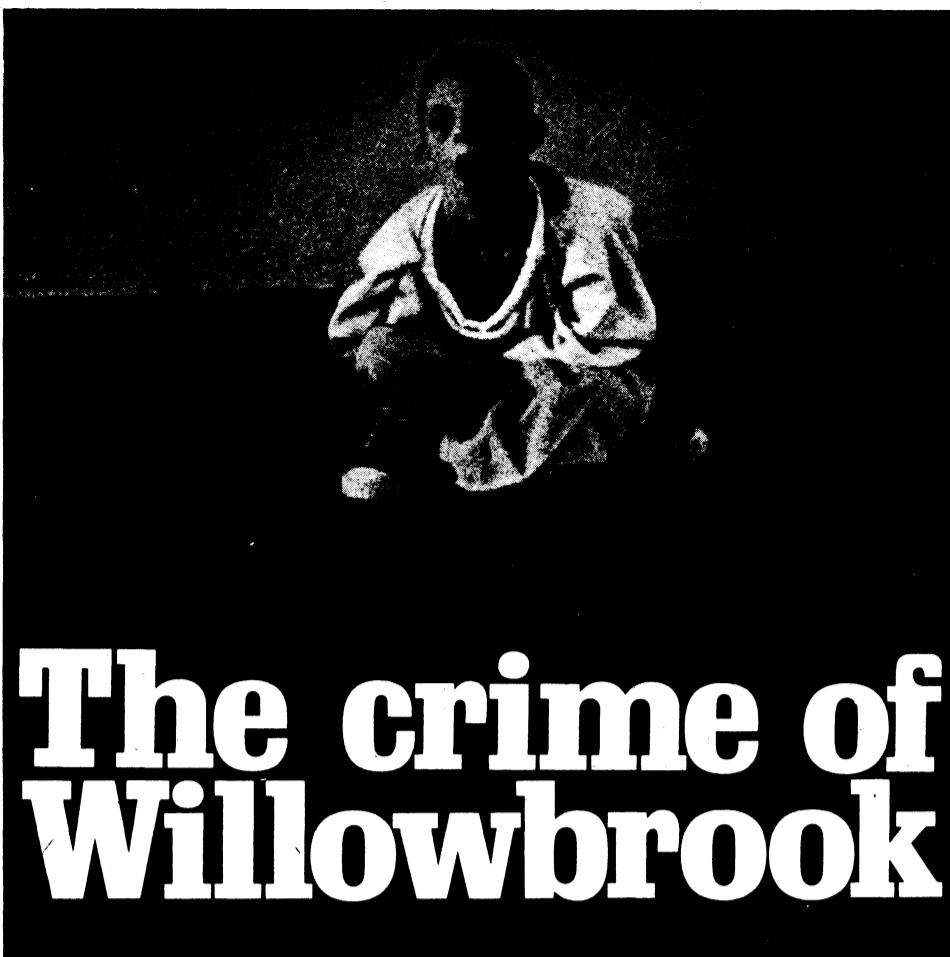
The political resolution and the political report by YSA national chairman Andy Rose take up the situation in the U.S. within the world context set forth in the international report. Both documents, and Rose's report in particular, focus on explaining the peculiarities of American politics in an election year and the problems and opportunities this election year presents for socialists.

The other reports and resolutions zero in on the antiwar movement, the Chicano struggle, the Black struggle, and women's liberation, assessing the state of each movement and outlining the YSA's role in building and furthering all of them.

A brief introduction explains the democratic procedure that led to the adoption of the reports and resolutions by the convention, the YSA's highest decision-making body.

Young Socialist Strategy for '72 combines careful analysis of the worst problems of capitalist oppression with an action program for revolutionary youth to combat these problems in a manner aimed at ultimately overturning the entire system of oppression. It is must reading for any young person seriously interested in fundamental social change. Reading it should help such revolutionary-minded youth to see that they belong among the socialist organizers and fighters in the YSA.

—HUGH MORGAN



The crime of Willowbrook

By LEE SMITH

Four years ago, a young Black mother brought her 12-year-old son a ball on a regular weekend visit. The son, Joel, is a mongoloid and does not live with his mother but at a state institution. On that Sunday afternoon in 1968, Joel smiled vaguely as his mother tossed him the ball and told him to catch it.

"Go get the ball, Joel," his mother said. Instead he wandered off in another direction and bumped into a tree. Alarmed, the mother took the boy back to his building and asked to see the nurse. She described what had just happened and wondered if the nurse had an explanation.

"Why Mrs. Best," the nurse replied, "don't you know? Joel has cataracts. He's going blind."

"I had never been told of any problem with Joel's eyesight until that incident," Eleanor Best told this reporter in a recent interview. "I just slid down on my knees and held onto my son and cried," she said.

Joel Best, who just celebrated his sixteenth birthday March 12, has spent 10 of those 16 years at the Willowbrook State School for the mentally retarded on Staten Island in New York Harbor. He is one of more than 5,000 patients now housed at a facility built 30 years ago to house 3,000. Conditions of neglect at Willowbrook, the world's largest institution for the mentally retarded, have recently been the subject of national attention in the news media. They are not in themselves new, as Eleanor Best's account of her discovery of her son's blindness illustrates.

A Feb. 14 *Time* magazine article headlined "Human Warehouse" correctly observed, "What sets Willowbrook apart from similar facilities in other states is sudden exposure." Of course, the state "hiring freeze" imposed by New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller in 1970 exacerbated problems at the school, but it did not create them. Conditions at the school were bad before Rockefeller's belt-tightening made them worse. The fact that retarded children and adults were among those whose belts the millionaire governor was tightening escaped most people's notice at the time.

What brought Willowbrook into the spotlight was a sudden increase in the militancy of parents whose children were being neglected. School officials held two staff members responsible for this new militancy, Dr. Michael Wilkins and Elizabeth Lee. When late last year the school moved to dismiss Wilkins, TV newsman Geraldo Rivera of WABC-TV in New York came to the doctor's defense.

With Wilkins's help, Rivera was able to bring cameras into some of Willowbrook's buildings and record for

television audiences the almost medieval spectacle of unattended children, many of them soiled with their own excrement, sitting, standing or lying in huge, barren rooms.

Rivera's consistent coverage of developments surrounding Wilkins's dismissal shocked the public in New York, and the story was picked up by the media nationally. As a consequence, Wilkins was reinstated; Rockefeller restored \$20-million that had previously been cut from the state budget and even appropriated an additional \$5-million for the school; and politicians echoed the public's outrage in fiery speeches.

Unfortunately, however, the \$5-million has not visibly changed conditions at Willowbrook. (Rivera sneaked back with a cameraman a month after the money had been appropriated and filmed a roomful of unattended patients, one of whom was injured and lay helpless and bleeding on the floor.) The oratory of congressional representatives and other officials has not been matched by any proposal of adequate measures to halt the criminal neglect at Willowbrook.

The proposals that have been made since the exposure call for the eventual phasing out of the school and its replacement with community-based centers that would each accommodate from 10 to 40 patients. Provided that such a plan includes a measure of parent control, it would unquestionably be an improvement. But Eleanor Best, like others, is skeptical: "I think it's a great idea, but right now they can't even take care of the facility they've got, so how come they're talking about this ideal setup that might come about 10 years from now?"

The immediate need is enough funds for an adequate staff. The recommended staff-patient ratio of 1 to 4 contrasts sharply with the 1-to-30-or-40 ratio that prevails in Willowbrook's worst wards. The brutality in this contrast expresses itself in what Wilkins claims is a 100-percent hepatitis rate, in starvation because the attendants cannot spend the necessary time feeding each patient, in death from unattended injuries or from choking on vomit or from diseases related to malnutrition. And most pervasive and worst of all is the plain neglect that means people capable of being trained instead live out completely empty lives.

Eleanor Best, who belongs to both the official Willowbrook parents' group, the Benevolent Society for Retarded Children, and to the parents' group of Building Six that Dr. Wilkins helped to organize, told me, "I don't blame the attendants. What can they do in these conditions?" She also

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Workers suffer from pension plan abuses

By ALEX HARTE

The *Wall Street Journal's* lead editorial March 20, in commenting on the current congressional consideration of pension plan abuse, felt constrained to admit: "Workers who late in life find that their pension expectations were illusory have a gripe that often is justified." The editors of this stately financial newspaper, however, cautioned against any "over-ambitious" legislation that would "saddle some employers with legal requirements that are too expensive for them to meet." After all, the editorial maintained, "The record of private employers and unions on this issue is not so dismal as to justify punitive treatment."

That's what the *Wall Street Journal* thinks. When presented with the facts, most Americans who work for a living would be unlikely to agree with so mild a judgment of employer practices in the arena of retirement and pension plans. What the pension plans of U.S. corporations really amount to are cruel confidence games, but con games worked on a scale that makes the crime of the ordinary bunco artist seem almost harmless. The big companies play for stakes running into the millions of dollars.

The kind of evidence that has been brought to light in a two-year investigation by a subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee was dramatically presented in a *New York Sunday Times Magazine* article March 19. The article, "The Case of the Disappearing Pension" by Fred J. Cook, contains both aggregate figures and individual case histories of workers who have found themselves without a dime in retirement benefits after a lifetime of working and paying into pension funds.

"vested" right to draw benefits from the plan into which a regular chunk of his or her paycheck has gone for all the years worked at a job connected with the plan. Clauses in most plans place a series of conditions on the vesting of a worker who participates in the paying end of the plan. For example, a plan may require that a worker have 25 years of continuous service and be at least 55 before he or she can get back any of the money paid into the plan. If a worker affected by such a plan gets laid off with only 24 years at the job, or with 25 years but at the age of 54, then not one penny can be drawn.

Portability is the worker's ability to retain accumulated retirement benefits in changing from one job to another. In most cases, this is now impossible—even for workers who change from one division to another of the same corporate conglomerate.

Cook relates the story of the 1963 Studebaker plant closure in South Bend, Ind., where more than one worker, cut off from promised benefits and too old to find new employment, chose suicide as the way out of this desperate situation. At the same time, the pension funds themselves grow fat and provide both companies and unions with investment capital and a convenient source for unsecured "loans."

Cook describes the complicity of the trade-union bureaucracy in the criminal swindle of administering pension money to line pockets that are already rich. This crime against the rank-and-file membership is compounded by something Cook only alludes to. These trade-union misleaders dangle imaginary pension benefits in front of their memberships at contract time as one



"Golden years" are not so golden for most people under capitalism

Basing himself on two studies involving about 10 million workers, Cook estimates that 92 to 96 percent of the 30 million workers supposedly "covered" by pension plans are not getting their benefits. Cook seems to discount this robbery in 85 percent of the cases—although there is no reason to—simply because that 85 percent work for five years or less in jobs covered by retirement plans. But even on Cook's terms, that still leaves two to three million workers who are being cheated out of retirement money after long years of working for the same employer. Men and women work for years at their jobs believing a pension will give them security when they are no longer able to work, and no one shows them the fine print until it comes time to collect.

What is there in the fine print that makes such a crime legal? According to Cook, the two concepts that are key to this "legal" fraud are "vesting" and "portability."

Vesting deals with the worker's

of the "fringe benefits" workers are expected to take in place of a higher wage increase.

For example, when workers are seeking a wage increase of \$1 an hour, their officials will settle for 45 cents an hour instead, and then try selling it to the workers as 45 cents "plus fringe benefits." The capitalist press will actually figure the "fringe benefits" into the increase and write about a 45-cent increase as a \$1.10 increase, or some other, higher mythical figure.

The failure of the Democratic and Republican administrations to provide an adequate living standard for all retired workers through government programs allows the employers to trade off pension benefits for immediate wage increases.

In addition to remedial legislation to stop the criminal abuse of existing pension programs, labor must fight for government-financed benefits at union wage scales for all retired workers.

Calendar

BOSTON

VOICES OF DISSENT. "Political Repression." Guests: David Deitch, recently suspended from the Boston Globe; and Carol Henderson Evans, who was arrested at the 1971 Mayday demonstration in Washington, D.C. Wed., April 19, 8 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sat., April 22, 8 p.m. on WBUR-FM, 90.9.

LOS ANGELES

MAY DAY CELEBRATION. Speakers: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party 1968 candidate for president; and Antonio Camejo, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m.; Rally, 9:30 p.m.: Party. Baces Hall, 1528 N. Vermont. Donation: \$2. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party. For reservations and more information, call (213) 463-1917.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

NEW YORK

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN WEEKEND. April 28-29. All sessions except Saturday night rally at Physics Building, New York University, Broadway and Washington Place. \$1 per session, \$2.50 for entire weekend.

Fri., April 28, 8 p.m.: Socialist Strategy in '72. Speaker: Peter Camejo.

Sat., April 29, 10 a.m.: For a Black Party, 1:30 p.m.: Women's Political Power in '72. Speakers: Susan Winsten, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 16th C.D.; Joanna Misnik, SWP candidate for Congress from the 20th C.D.; Brenda Feigen-Fasteau, spokeswoman for the National Women's Political Caucus; Cathy Samuels, Chisholm delegate and member of the Women's Political Caucus. 4 p.m.: Film: To Make A Revolution.

Sat., April 29, 8 p.m.: **NEW YORK SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential candidate; Joanna Misnik, SWP candidate for Congress from the 20th C.D.; and John Hawkins, SWP candidate for Congress from the 12th C.D. Tishman Auditorium, New York University Law School, Sullivan St. and Washington Square South. Ausp. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and Socialist Workers Party. For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN MOZAMBIQUE. A talk and slide show. Speaker: Robert Van Lierop, who spent five months with the guerrilla fighters of Frelimo in Mozambique. Fri., April 21, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (at 105 St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Dinner served at 6:30 p.m. for \$1.50. Ausp. West Side Militant Forum. For more information, call (212) 663-3000.

PHILADELPHIA

DON'T DRINK THE WATER AND DON'T BREATHE THE

AIR. Panel discussion. Thurs., April 20, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of 10th and Market streets). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (215) WA5-4316.

SAN FRANCISCO

SHOULD ANTI-ABORTION LAWS BE REPEALED? Speakers: Susan Vass, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 5th C.D., and Dr. Francis Filice, professor of biology at the University of S.F. and chairman of the United for Life Committee. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (415) 626-9958.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

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

...press

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side of the youth radicalization. *The Militant* plays an essentially different role in the movement for change.

It is an organizer for a revolutionary Marxist movement, an instrument for spreading socialist ideas in the stronghold of world imperialism. It supports every act of protest and helps build every movement that protects and promotes the welfare of the exploited and oppressed. It is the uncompromising opponent of every bureaucratic formation that has fastened itself upon the working class, from the heads of the AFL-CIO to the Kremlin leadership. It's the socialist alternative to the deceitful capitalist press.

...school

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has a daughter who is not retarded and lives at home. "God knows taking care of one healthy child can drive a person up the wall by the end of the day," she said, "and these people are tending for 20 or 30 retarded children. It's not their fault."

Best was vehement about whose fault it is: "The government is to blame!" she exclaimed. She said, "I would like to know what Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Lindsay, and all of them want? Do they want another Attica? The parents are really tired. We're really tired of conditions at Willowbrook."

In order to get any real action, she said she thought "parents will literally have to take to the streets. I mean go

to Rockefeller's office—and if it means being arrested, then so be it"

Parents from the Building Six group have demonstrated before. A picket by 100 parents protesting the proposed budget cuts last Nov. 14 was one of the actions that led the school's director, Dr. Jack Hammond, to try to dismiss Wilkins. In February, the parents demonstrated again, this time demanding that Wilkins be reinstated.

On March 17, class action suits were filed in cooperation with parents by both the American Civil Liberties Union and the Legal Aid Society. The suits named Rockefeller, Hammond, and other state officials as defendants and charge that conditions at Willowbrook violate patients' civil rights. Both suits ask the federal court in Brooklyn to enjoin the defendants from allowing conditions to continue.

Five days before the suit was filed, I visited Building Six to attend Joel

Best's birthday party. I was not able to see much; in order to be allowed into the building, I had to insist I was a friend of Joel's mother who had come for the party. After searching me to see if I had a camera, the attendant led me quickly to the cafeteria. Brightly decorated by the parents and filled with dancing young people in party hats, the room was not representative, parents assured me.

One young friend of Joel's, whose name is Freddy and who is also blind as well as retarded, sang for all of us at the party. He had a beautiful voice, and listening to it, one would not know he had any handicap at all. The lyrics of the song he sang were about love, but I don't think most of us who were not patients listened to the words. We were thinking about how criminal a system must be to cast out children like these as if they were garbage.

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AN OPEN LETTER TO AMERICAN STUDENTS

The student movement has been a major force responsible for creating majority antiwar sentiment in this country. In 1965 when they told us this was "the first consensus war in American history," it was students who organized teach-ins to question that consensus. In 1966 and 1967 it was students who helped shatter that consensus. It was students who organized the first mass marches which have involved other sections of society in active opposition to the war. Today, 65% of the American people believe that the war is immoral—in large measure because of the work of the student antiwar movement.

The only thing that stands between majority antiwar sentiment and majority antiwar action is a lie—the lie that the war is winding down. The facts are that the bombing is heavier than ever before and Nixon plans to leave a residual force of American GI's in Vietnam indefinitely. In the first three months of 1972, Nixon has sent more bombing raids against North Vietnam than in all of 1971.

The student movement must take the lead in exposing

Nixon's lies. Nixon, the man responsible for the invasion of Cambodia and Laos, would like nothing better in this election year than to point to the campuses of America and say, "I have silenced antiwar dissent. America is united behind my plans for peace."

Nixon has incredible resources at his disposal—free TV time, crack public relations teams, and millions of dollars. All we have are the meetings we can organize, the leaflets we can pass out, and the mass demonstrations we can build. But then, Nixon has to maintain the most ambitious network of lies the world has ever seen. All we have to do is to tell the truth about Vietnam.

There are massive, peaceful demonstrations for the immediate, total, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia and an end to the bombing NOW! scheduled for Saturday, April 22 in New York and Los Angeles. The decisive majority now oppose the war. By united massive actions by the antiwar majority we will end the war.

HELP US TO TELL THE TRUTH! MARCH ON APRIL 22!!

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THE MILITANT

The state's own witnesses contradict Davis prosecutor.

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN JOSE, Calif., April 11—The frayed thread by which the state has attempted to tie Angela Davis to the Aug. 7, 1970, jail escape and kidnapping attempt is an alleged demand to free the Soledad Brothers in exchange for hostages.

However, only two of the prosecution witnesses—Maria Elena Graham (one of the hostages on the day of the incident) and reporter James Keane—stated that they thought "Free the Soledad Brothers" was more than a shouted political slogan. Gary Thomas, the Marin County assistant district attorney (who had been shackled to Graham on the day of the incident), denied hearing any mention of the Soledad Brothers while being kept hostage. Ted Hughs, a police officer, testified he only heard Jonathan Jackson holler, "Free all the brothers at Folsom."

Thomas, heralded as the state's "star witness," was led by the prosecution on April 5 through a detailed recapitulation of the events of Aug. 7. However, contrary to the prosecution's version of a "simple but ingenious" kidnapping plot that "almost worked," Thomas indicated that his abductors scurried about in confusion looking for the exit, and that Ruchell Magee did not want to take any hostages.

As he was being led into a yellow van, Thomas said, he told his captors that "The San Quentin guards would recognize me and wouldn't fire." The shot that tore through his spine, Thomas admitted in court from his wheel chair, was probably fired by police outside the van. Thomas said that after the van had been fired upon, he turned and saw that Judge Harold Haley's face had been blown off by a shotgun held by Ruchell Magee, although Thomas has also said he never heard a shotgun blast.

He claimed that he then grabbed a pistol from Jonathan Jackson's blood-soaked hand and "fired at least one if not two shots in Jonathan Jackson's direction." James McClain "was

moving," Thomas testified, "and I shot him in the back. I turned and I shot in the area of William Christmas, and then I shot Ruchell Magee in the chest."

Defense attorney Leo Branton questioned Thomas sharply about why he shot Jonathan Jackson first if Jackson was already disabled, whereas Ruchell Magee allegedly killed Judge Haley. Branton revealed that a record of Thomas' statements of Aug. 8, 1970, gave a different version of the events: "Magee pulled the trigger as the van was pulling out of the parking lot. That infuriated Thomas, who shot Magee. . . ."



Angela Davis

Branton hinted that Thomas may have changed the account he made on Aug. 8 and other testimony he gave to the grand jury because he had been informed of the testimony of other witnesses. Thomas admitted that he had discussed the case on several occasions with the prosecution and that his marriage to Judge Haley's niece had made him especially concerned about the death of the judge.

Branton suggested another sequence of events inside the van. "The first fusillade, that hit the van," he postu-

lated, "killed both Jonathan Jackson and James McClain. You grabbed McClain's gun, and you began shooting towards the back of the van and hit William Christmas, Ruchell Magee—and possibly Judge Haley." With tightened shoulders, Thomas trained his eyes on Davis. "That's not right," he replied.

However, on April 11, San Quentin guard John Wesley Matthews offered testimony that may discredit Thomas' version of the killing of the van occupants and fit in with the hypothesis put forward by the defense.

Matthews, an expert marksman, maintained that at the beginning of the fusillade he shot three different persons inside the van. Matthews said he fired without discerning who his victims were, but that he was able to see the impact of the rifle bullets knock them down.

San Quentin guard Joseph Murphy had earlier revealed that prison guards are instructed "not to let hostages interfere with stopping escapees." "In other words," Branton asked him, "it is more important to prevent the escape than to save human life?" "Yes sir," Murphy said.

The name of Angela Davis has not been mentioned in any of the testimony recounting the events of Aug. 7. Since the state feels unable to wage a strong political case against Davis, relying instead on a shallow tale of "passion," it has been compelled to try to bolster its position by means of political slanders concerning events outside the courtroom. Prosecutor Albert Harris, for example, indicated that a letter supposedly exchanged by George Jackson and a former cellmate, James Carr, might be submitted as evidence. When Carr was mysteriously shot down on April 6 in San Jose, the capitalist press exploded with unsubstantiated "scoops" that sought to link him with Davis. The National United Committee to Free Angela Davis has charged that these stories, which have been "leaked" to the press, seem to be a provocation by the state.

300 rally for Carlos Feliciano

By RUBEN MONTARES

NEW YORK—A rally of about 300 people was held outside of the Bronx County courthouse on April 10, the day Puerto Rican nationalist Carlos Feliciano was to have been sentenced. (The sentencing has been postponed until May 3.) The gathering reflected the interest the case has generated, especially in the wake of the deal that has been offered by Bronx district attorney Burton Roberts to drop all charges relating to the use or possession of bombs or weapons.

Feliciano was charged in both Bronx and Manhattan courts in May 1970 with bombing or burning buildings. A two-year campaign to free him has been waged by militants in the Puerto Rican freedom struggle and civil libertarians.

In exchange for dropping all of the serious charges, Feliciano was to plead guilty to a relatively minor charge of "reckless endangerment." Alfredo Lopez, a leader of the Carlos Feliciano Defense Committee, explained in *Claridad* that "The deal was offered during an argument over the suppression of evidence on Thursday, March 24, in the Bronx supreme court before Judge Sidney Asch. The argument was raging over whether to allow a hearing, which would have exposed the illegal manner in which Carlos's car and home were searched after his arrest, to take place."

Feliciano pleaded guilty to reckless endangerment on the condition that the same deal be accepted in his case in Manhattan, where he faces similar charges.

A press release issued by the defense committee explained the decision. "After conferring with movement leaders, his family, and members of his committee, Carlos decided that this deal, wiping out the threat of a conspiracy charge levelled against the whole movement (because of the nature of the bombing allegations), was a good one. According to the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, in the minds of many militants in the Puerto Rican movement, Judge Asch has the reputation of being 'a decent and honest man,' the most likely of all New York judges to mete out a fair sentence.

"For the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano and the Puerto Rican people, the only fair sentence is for Carlos Feliciano to walk out of the court a free man."

At the rally Feliciano and his lawyer, William Kunstler, further explained the legal situation. Feliciano said he would go to trial on the Bronx charges if the Manhattan court doesn't accept the reckless endangerment plea in exchange for dropping their charges. Kunstler predicted that the Manhattan prosecutors office would not go along with the Bronx deal. Even if the deal is accepted by both courts, Feliciano will withdraw the guilty plea and stand trial on the original charges if he is sentenced to serve more time for reckless endangerment than the nearly two years he spent in jail awaiting trial.

On April 14 Feliciano will appear in court in Manhattan. At that time he will know whether the reckless endangerment plea will be accepted.

This week's highlights in the Angela Davis trial

APRIL 5—Plainclothes sheriff's deputy Kenneth Irving testifies that he heard "Free the Soledad Brothers" as "an idle exclamation or yell," and that he recognized the remark from his job of keeping surveillance on people from Marin County at antiwar demonstrations.

Gary Thomas, assistant district attorney of Marin County, alleges in his account of the Aug. 7, 1970, events that he shot Jonathan Jackson, Ruchell Magee, William Christmas, and James McClain after Magee shot Judge Haley. The defense finds a number of differences between Thomas' testimony and previous statements he has made.

APRIL 6—Police officer Ted Hughs states that he heard Jonathan Jackson

shout, "Free all the brothers at Folsom," but heard nothing about the Soledad Brothers.

Gun salesman Owen Swisher testifies that he sold a .30-caliber carbine to Angela Davis in April 1969, and John Plimpton testifies that he sold an automatic pistol to Davis in January of 1968. The purchases of both weapons were completely open and legal.

APRIL 7-9—Court recessed.

APRIL 10—Jury selection begins in the trial of 24 supporters of Angela Davis who were arrested on Jan. 31 and Feb. 2 for picketing in front of the San Jose courthouse. All of the potential jurors, except for one Asian woman, are middle-aged or older whites. The 24 are defended by at-

torney Tom Ferrito of San Jose.

Judge Richard E. Arnason cautions the jury that the shooting of ex-convict James Carr in San Jose April 6 had nothing to do with the Davis trial.

APRIL 11—San Quentin guard Joseph Murphy agrees that prison policy is to "prevent escape at all costs, including the killing of hostages." San Quentin marksman John Wesley Matthews relates that he ducked after being shot at and "came up firing," hitting three persons in the van.

Three other officers testify they fired at the van. James Brown, a California state personnel consultant, plays tape of gunshots that he recorded accidentally on Aug. 7 while interviewing a client.