
THE MILITANT

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

Revolutionary drive routs Saigon army



Panicked South Vietnamese soldiers in retreat scramble to board helicopter. See page 3.

Simone de Beauvoir discusses questions facing feminists

—page 4

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Saigon army panics
'Business as usual' at UAW convention
- 4 Interview with Simone de Beauvoir
- 5 ERA defeated in Calif.
- 8 Mass. CHOICE '72 results
- 9 Pulley tours Minn. Jenness in Southwest
- 10 McGovern primary gains reflect antiwar sentiment
- 11 Muslims demand Black control of police
Liberation fighters gain in Guinea-Bissau
- 12 April 29 and May 4 antiwar actions
- 14 May 27 protest actions on Africa
- 15 Open letter to YWLL convention
- 16 Interview with deputy chief of PRG in Paris
- 17 Moscow's treacherous Indochina policy
- 18 Socialist candidates on pollution
German Trotskyists on Argentine kidnapping
- 19 What is May Day?
- 24 Abortion rights bill in Congress
Judge: Davis letters irrelevant

- 2 In Brief
- 6 In Our Opinion
Letters
- 7 The Great Society
Women: The Insurgent Majority
- 9 '72 Socialist Campaign
- 10 La Raza en Acción
- 17 The Militant Gets Around . . .
- 20 In Review
- 21 The National Picket Line

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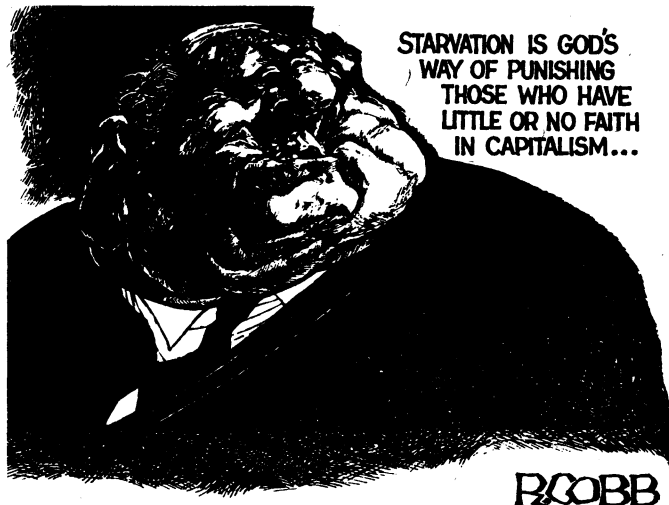
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SURPLUS EXPORTED WHILE PEOPLE STARVE: The "green revolution" in India has produced a surplus of rice and wheat, and officials are looking for export markets. But why would they export grain when many people are starving to death at home? The answer is to be found in an article in the April 30 *New York Times* explaining the cold facts of life under capitalism.

"Observers caution, however, that the talk of surplus may be misleading. The bulk of Indians live in unimaginable poverty and the per-capita food consumption is at least 25 per cent below health requirements. Starvation and malnutrition are major problems that the Government has been unable to surmount."

The solution? Feed the people, you are probably thinking. No, not now. First an industrialization program must be started "to help increase the purchasing power of the average Indian."

In the meantime the grain will go to those who can pay, "west Asian nations, where the demand is heavy."



FOREIGN STUDENT PUBLICATION: We have received the April 17 issue of *The International*, a new paper put out by the Foreign Student Council at the University of Washington in Seattle. The war in Southeast Asia is featured, and readers are urged to attend the April 22 antiwar actions. The case of Babak Zahraie, an Iranian student at UW threatened with deportation for his political views, is described in a major article.

Two articles in the current issue—on Vietnam and Iran—were reprinted from *Intercontinental Press*. Ten thousand students at UW got free copies of *The International*, paid for by the student government. Others may subscribe for \$3 for one year by writing the Foreign Student Council, 204R Hub, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 98105.

PANDA DIPLOMACY: When Nixon was vice-president under Eisenhower, Chi-Chi, the giant panda now in the London Zoo, was denied entry into the United States since she was "a product of Communist China."

McGOVERN MOVES TO THE RIGHT: The April 20 Ohio State University *Lantern* reports a visit to the campus by Senator George McGovern: "McGovern was asked about the upcoming war protests on college campuses. 'I used to participate in those demonstrations, as you know,' he said. 'But I've decided the best thing I can do now is run for the Presidency so I can speak out every day, not just on April 22.'"

ANTIWAR PROTEST IN KANSAS: Two thousand people showed up for an April 27 speech at the University of Kansas in Lawrence by Senator Robert Dole, head of the Republican Party national committee. Before he spoke, a resolution passed by the student senate was read, calling for the immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. troops and war matériel from Southeast Asia. The antiwar audience responded with a 10-minute standing ovation. "Dole got no such welcome," writes Militant reporter Greg Lauber. "He got ten minutes of 2,000 boos, followed by chants of 'stop the war.' Dole was allowed to speak, but the audience bought none of his lies about 'naked enemy aggression,' interrupting him persistently with cries of 'Out Now.'"

FROM SEAL LIVERS TO SPAM: The native inhabitants of the Pribilof Islands of Alaska have given up a traditional delicacy—seal livers. Why? Mercury poisoning, according to Robert Robertson of the National Council on Indian Opportunity. The seals migrate to the waters off California where they eat mercury-laden fish; the mercury concentrates in the livers of the seals.

What is replacing this delicacy? "Spam in cans and beans and other packaged foods," says Robertson.

BIRD VICTORY: We reported in January that Atlanta police were harassing sellers of *The Great Speckled Bird*, the South's leading underground paper. This harassment escalated in April with the arrest of nine *Bird* sellers on

charges of peddling without a license. The May 1 *Bird* reports that they went into federal court with a suit against Mayor Sam Massell and several of his underlings. The city was compelled to agree not to enforce the peddler's-license ordinance against the *Bird*.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN INNER CIRCLE CASE: A city official has agreed to testify to witnessing police inaction April 15 at the New York Hilton while seven members of the Gay Activists Alliance were brutally beaten. The gay activists were protesting an anti-gay skit during the annual dinner of the Inner Circle, an association of political reporters. The witness is Ethan Geto, press secretary for Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams.

On May 1 lawyers for GAA sought a court order directing District Attorney Frank Hogan to show cause why he has not yet issued a warrant for Michael Maye's arrest. Maye, head of the Uniformed Firefighters Association, has been positively identified as one of the assailants by a victim, Monty Manford, and by several witnesses.

Not only has there been no action taken against Maye and the other assailants, but the DA's office seems headed in the direction of making the victims into defendants, possibly charging them with trespassing at the Hilton.

Congressman Edward Koch (D-N. Y.) protested the beatings in the House of Representatives on April 24.

RACIST RALLY A FLOP: A three-day national protest by whites against busing fizzled out the first day, April 29, when fewer than 700 people showed up in Washington. As the *Washington Post* described it, there was a small rally on the Capitol Ellipse followed by "a dispirited march around the White House. An official of the National Conference Against Forced Busing lamented, 'Middle-Americans just won't turn out for something like this. If it's something involving young people they'll come out in the hundreds of thousands.'"

ON THE SIDELINES: A May Day march on Washington took place April 29, counterposed by its sponsors to the April 22 and 29 antiwar actions. Built around the slogans "30 hours work at 40 hours pay" and "Socialism now," the action was sponsored by the Progressive Labor Party, Students for a Democratic Society, and the Workers Action Movement. Fewer than 2,000 people attended; participants from New York predominated, with others from Chicago, Boston, Atlanta, and Washington.

THE PROLETARIANIZATION OF INTELLECTUAL LABOR: Well-paid electrical and other engineers have traditionally looked at unions as beneath their professional dignity, but the current economic situation is changing that. The May 1 *New York Times* reports, "The engineers, jammed in huge rooms before long rows of drawing boards, are often laid off without benefits. Now it is becoming harder and harder for them to be convinced that they are closer to management than to the workers in the shops."

Some are looking to the United Auto Workers union. "The most fertile ground is on the West Coast, where thousands of engineers in the aerospace industry have been laid off, have taken salary cuts of up to 25 percent and reductions in benefits to keep their jobs, and have had to retrain to get jobs in other fields."

LENNON AND ONO FACE DEPORTATION FIGHT: Artist Yoko Ono and former Beatle John Lennon won a partial victory May 2 when the Immigration and Naturalization Service ruled that they were "outstanding artists," possible grounds for being granted permanent res-



Yoko Ono and John Lennon singing at April 22 antiwar rally in New York.

idence. The INS had refused to renew their visas and initiated deportation proceedings, supposedly because of Lennon's 1968 marijuana-possession conviction in England, but more likely because of their outspoken radical views. A deportation hearing will take place May 9.

This action comes just after the visit of Charlie Chaplin, who was banned from the U.S. in 1952 for similar reasons.

—JOEL BRITTON

Panic strikes army of Saigon regime

By DICK ROBERTS

MAY 3—Mortal panic is sweeping the Saigon army as we go to press this week. In the northern provinces, in the Central Highlands, and in Binh Dinh Province, the three major fronts of the war at this time, tens of thousands of troops are fleeing; most of their officers have already fled.

The sole objective of the routed troops is to get out of the way of the revolutionary advance. They are using their guns to obtain and defend positions on helicopters, cars, trucks, buses—whatever can be had to get out of the battle zones. The roads are also filled with thousands of civilians fleeing from U. S. bombs.

This is the fruit of Nixon's "Vietnamization" scheme.

Little noted between press reports of the fear-stricken government forces is the fact that Washington's bombing support of the Saigon army has reached the highest point of the war. "United States B-52 heavy bombers flew 28 missions over South Vietnam [May 1]," *New York Times* reporter Malcolm Browne wrote from Saigon. "This was said to have been the highest number of such missions ever recorded on a single day." (The arrival of the fifth U. S. aircraft carrier, *Midway*, in the South China Sea, brings total U. S. air power to more than 700 planes.)

On the major fronts:

- "Thousands of people were reported [April 30] to be fleeing in panic from Kontum, a key city in the Central Highlands encircled by North Vietnamese forces," the *Times* reported May 1.

"Military sources said that 10,000 people had been taken by plane or helicopter from Kontum to Pleiku, to the south, over the weekend.

"Nuns, priests, military dependents, officials and many military men, including deserters, were among those leaving. . . . Reliable sources in Kontum said in reports telephoned to Saigon that residents were bribing South Vietnamese helicopter pilots the equivalent of \$240 a person to make the 20-minute trip to Pleiku."

- Binh Dinh Province is just to the east of Kontum Province. The collapse of these two provinces would cut South Vietnam in two. *Times* reporter Craig R. Whitney wrote from Quinhon, April 29, "The South Vietnamese militiamen and regulars who gave up the town of Bongson today [in northern Binh Dinh Province] are scattered in the nearby hills, along with thousands of the townspeople who, like them, fled in terror and disorder."

Whitney quoted a "senior American adviser": "The troops' morale was just broken. Some broke and ran, just ran and didn't know where to go. Some deserted to the VC. They just didn't know what to do, and that was because of their lack of leadership in any depth."

- Massive retreat followed the fall of Quangtri, May 1. From Hue, 40 miles to the south, *Times* reporter Sydney H. Schanberg wrote May 2: "Thousands of panicking South Vietnamese soldiers—most of whom did not appear to have made much contact with the advancing North Vietnamese—fled in confusion from Quangtri Province today, streaming south down Route 1 like a rabble out of control."

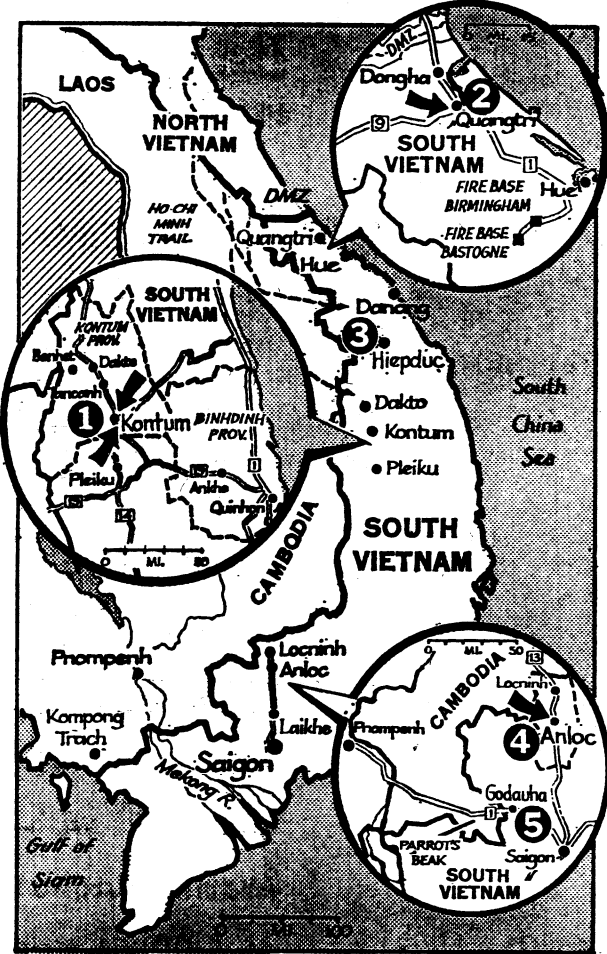
"Commandeering civilian vehicles at rifle point, feigning nonexistent injuries, carrying away C-rations but not their ammunition, and hurling rocks at Western news photographers taking pictures of their flight, the Government troops of the Third Infantry Division ran from the fighting in one of the biggest retreats of the war.

"No one tried to stop them: their officers were

running too."

Hysteria is not limited to Saigon forces. *Times* correspondent Whitney described the helicopter departure of three U. S. officers from collapsing Bongson, April 29. A Major Watkins told Whitney, "There were a lot of Vietnamese troops and police near us. They stuck like flies to honey. They knew we'd get a helicopter."

Whitney continued: "Describing the scene of the helicopters, Sergeant Carter said, 'I was beating them off with a rifle. I lost the rifle finally because I was holding one end, a Vietnamese was holding the other one, and it was either him or



The New York Times/May 1, 1972

May 3—Since this map was printed May 1, the encirclement of Kontum (1) has tightened. Quangtri (2) has been taken by the revolutionary forces. Hiepduc (3) was seized in the advance on Hue from the Southwest. Anloc (4) was still cut off. Guerrillas blasted the bridge at Godauha (5).

me, so I let my end loose."

"Despite the harsh sound of their words," comments Whitney, "all three of the Americans said they did not blame the individual South Vietnamese soldiers who broke and ran." What about the U. S. officers themselves who were the first to kick and clobber their way onto the retreat helicopters?

Binh Dinh Province, where this scene took place, has a population of about one million, making it second only to the province containing Saigon.

Victory of the revolutionary forces in Binh Dinh, where they already control the northern third, testifies to the support of the populace for the revolution. And this, just as much as the military advance of the revolutionary forces, is undermining the morale of the Saigon troops.

Whitney talked to Vietnamese officials in Quinhon, capital of Binh Dinh Province, May 1. "Several years' work on pacification programs has

been lost and Vietnamization has failed one of its most crucial tests," said Whitney. "And the failure is readily conceded by both South Vietnamese and American officials in Quinhon. . . ."

"A South Vietnamese official here, who may lose his job in the purge that is following on the heels of the Government debacle in Binh Dinh, put it this way:

"The Americans were sincere, they tried to help the Vietnamese armed forces, and from A to Z they brought equipment here," he said. "But one thing the Americans cannot bring here is leadership—they cannot bring that in from their arsenal."

"When the Communists were here before, from 1945 to 1954," he continued, "the people didn't have much to eat or good clothes on their backs but morally they were happy, because the Communists brought justice to this land for 10 years, not the corruption we have now." This is a statement by a Saigon official quoted in the *New York Times*!

Decisive turn

Even before the collapse of Quangtri on Monday, May 1, *Time* magazine, in its issue dated May 8, estimated that "Of South Viet Nam's 34 infantry regiments, 12 were temporarily out of action at week's end, meaning that more than half of their troops were dead, wounded or missing."

The same issue of *Time* stated that "only half of the twelve North Vietnamese divisions in South Viet Nam had yet been committed to battle. . . ." To put it in one sentence: Over a third of the Saigon army is out of commission and only a half of the revolutionary forces have been committed to battle. If this estimate is even approximately correct, taking into consideration the panic that swept South Vietnam in the subsequent few days, it is evident that the forces of revolution in South Vietnam are nearer to victory than at any time since 1965, when President Johnson first committed the United States to massive intervention to save Saigon.

"The danger at the moment," declares *New York Times* Vice-President James Reston in a significant article on the *Times* editorial page May 3, "is that Hanoi is doing so well in the drive toward Hue that it may think it can smash its way to a military victory and not only demoralize and defeat Saigon but humiliate Washington."

"Hopefully, they will not take this gamble, because nobody in Washington or Moscow or Peking, let alone in Hanoi, can calculate what Mr. Nixon will do if he is trapped. This point has been emphasized through private channels to everybody on the other side. . . ."

"So Hanoi will probably . . . ask for a compromise settlement and a coalition government in Saigon without General Thieu."

Reston gives two alternatives. Unlimited escalation of the bombing on one side, containing a scarcely veiled threat to bomb the port of Haiphong, or a "compromise"—negotiation of some government in Saigon without Thieu but acceptable to U. S. imperialism.

There is a third alternative. It is the only one that squares with the right of peoples to determine their own government, for which the Vietnamese have been fighting more than three decades. That is for the United States to get out and let the Indochinese people form the government they want.

'Business as usual' at UAW convention

By LEE SMITH

The United Auto Workers ended its five-and-a-half-day convention in Atlantic City, N.J., April 28. A film shown the first day of the convention, dedicated to the memory of the late UAW president Walter Reuther, recalled the union's stormy birth. Forged in battle against the conservative American Federation of Labor bureaucracy, the UAW joined the CIO in 1936 as the most democratic union in the new industrial labor organization. That year and the next it went on to fight against General Motors. The tactic of the sit-down strike, with which it won in Flint, Mich., in February 1937, swept through the rest of auto and other industries. But few traces of the fighting spirit projected on the screen were revealed in the rest of the convention's proceedings.

Meeting in the midst of a deepgoing social and economic crisis, the convention failed to provide adequate answers to the pressing problems of the war in Southeast Asia, unemployment, and inflation.

The changing composition of the UAW's 1.4 million members was reflected in the fact that only 40 percent of the 2,976 delegates to this convention had been delegates to the 1970 convention. There were 202 women delegates and about the same number of Black delegates. But the larger number of young, women, and Black delegates did not translate itself into any visible militancy in the convention's deliberations.

The drive to speed up productivity being spearheaded in the auto industry by General Motors at plants such as Lordstown and Norwood in Ohio

went unmentioned by any delegate or international official. It was only raised on the third day of the convention in a demagogic political speech by Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), who thundered to the cheering audience: "It's time we taught General Motors that those cars are being made by human beings."

When Kennedy attacked the war in Southeast Asia, his words were received with wild applause. The anti-war statements of UAW President Leonard Woodcock and other speakers, including Vietnam Veterans Against the War leader John Kerry and Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.), also received an enthusiastic response. But no program for fighting against the war was proposed.

The only action taken at the convention with regard to unemployment

was the call for an amendment to the 1971 Emergency Employment Act to create 500,000 public employment jobs—or enough for about 10 percent of those currently listed in the official Bureau of Labor Statistics as unemployed.

In attempting to explain the UAW's role on Nixon's Pay Board, Woodcock said that even though he "never had any illusions about the make-up" of the board and even though he "knew it was stacked against workers," he had served on the board because he was "obligated to try to make it work." Attacking Nixon's wage controls for their "inequity," Woodcock not only failed to oppose wage controls in principle but reiterated "the UAW's long-standing Price-Wage Re-

Continued on page 21

Simone de Beauvoir has created a considerable stir in radical circles by her declaration that she is a feminist. Perhaps the most prominent female writer among the left intellectuals in France today, de Beauvoir is best known in the United States for her book "The Second Sex." Written in 1949 from an existentialist viewpoint, this book was one of the first literary works to pave the way for the new feminist movement. For all its merits as a pioneer effort in exposing the oppression of women today, the book rejected the need for a feminist movement and put forth the idea that women should wait until after a socialist revolution to demand their rights.

Recently, Alice Schwartz, a member of the French Women's Liberation Movement (Mouvement de Liberation des Femmes—MLF) inter-

Schwartz: Why do you think that is?

De Beauvoir: Well, the socialist countries are not really socialist: Marx's dream of a socialism which would change man has not been realised anywhere. They have changed the relations of production, but we realise more and more that changing the relations of production is not enough to effect a real change in society, to change mankind. And as a result, in spite of the different economic system, the traditional roles of men and women remain unaltered. This is intimately connected to the fact that in our society, men have deeply internalised, in the form of what I call a superiority complex, the idea of their own superiority. They are not prepared to give it up. In order to bolster up their own egos they need to see women as inferior. Women are so used to believing themselves to be inferior that those who struggle for equality are rare.

Schwartz: In general what is your position regarding the new feminists, the young women in struggle who are more radical than ever before?

De Beauvoir: You know there are—at least in America where the movement is most advanced—a whole spectrum of tendencies: from Betty Friedan, who is rather conservative, to what is called SCUM, that is to say the movement for the emasculation of all men. And, between those two positions there are many others. It seems to me that there are also different tendencies within the movement in France. My tendency is to want to link female emancipation to the class struggle. Although, the women's struggle is a separate struggle, it is linked to the one we must wage with men. As a result I completely reject the total repudiation of men.

Schwartz: But isn't the present exclusion of men also a political question? Given that men represent the system, and that more than that they individually oppress women, aren't men considered by feminists in this initial stage as enemy number one?

De Beauvoir: Yes, but it's more complicated than that. As Marx says about the capitalists, they are also victims. It is too abstract to say, as I myself at one time thought, that it's only the system that's to blame. One must also blame men. Because you cannot be the accomplice and profiteer of a system with impunity. Even if you hadn't established that system yourself. . . .

We must blame the system, but at the same time, in our dealings with men we should act if not with hostility, at least with suspicion and prudence, and not allow them to encroach on our activities, on our own possibilities. . . .

Schwartz: You have talked of women as an inferior class. . . .

De Beauvoir: I didn't talk of class. But I said in *The Second Sex* that women were an inferior caste. A caste is a group into which one is born and from which one can never escape, whilst one can, in principle, leave one class and join another. If you are a woman you can never become a man. That really is to be part of a caste. And the manner in which women are treated economically, socially and politically make them an inferior caste. . . .

Schwartz: Certain movements go further. Starting from domestic work, which is free and produces no exchange value, they define women as a class apart, outside of existing classes. They pose patriarchal oppression (sexual oppression) as a principle contradiction and not as secondary. Do you agree with this analysis?

De Beauvoir: . . . One of the first questions I asked when I met militants from the M. L. F. was: how they thought patriarchal oppression and capitalist oppression were linked. At the moment I can't quite see the answer. . . .

But I think the analyses which make patriarchal oppression equivalent to capitalist oppression are wrong. Housework produces no surplus value: that is a different condition from that of the worker who is robbed of the surplus value he produces. I want to know exactly what is the relationship between the two. The whole strategy of the women's struggle should depend on that. . . .

Schwartz: . . . How do you see the relationship between the class struggle and the women's struggle?

De Beauvoir: All that I can see, and what has led me to modify my positions in *The Second Sex*, is that class struggle, properly speaking, does not emancipate women. If you look at the communists, trotskysts, or maoists, there is always a subordination of woman to the man. As a result, I was convinced that what was necessary was for women to become real feminists, for women to take the resolution of their problem into their own hands. Now, we have to analyse society in an absolutely serious manner, to attempt to understand the relation between the exploitation of the worker and the exploitation of the woman. And to what extent the suppression of capitalism will lead to conditions favourable for female emancipation. I don't know. It remains to be done. There is one thing I'm sure of: the abolition of capitalism would make it easier to bring about the emancipation of women. But the struggle would by no means end there.

The abolition of capitalism would not mean the end of the patriarchal tradition if the family remained as an institution. I believe that not only is it necessary to abolish capitalism, and to change the means of production, but also that the family structure must be changed. And this, even in China, has not been done. Of course they abolished the feudal family and at the same time brought great changes to the position of women. But, to the

Interview with Simone de Beauvoir

'Women must take their destiny in hand'

viewed de Beauvoir. The interview first appeared in the French weekly, *Nouvel Observateur*. We are reprinting here major excerpts from an English translation, printed in the March 8 issue of *7 Days*, a weekly newspaper published in Great Britain.

Although the Militant does not agree with some of de Beauvoir's positions, this interview provides useful insights into the debates taking place in the feminist and radical movements both in France and internationally. In an article in a future issue of *The Militant*, we will discuss some of the questions de Beauvoir raises.

Schwartz: Your book, "The Second Sex," remains the most radical analysis yet of the woman's situation. It can be said that you have inspired new women's movements. But only now after 23 years, have you involved yourself in the collective and concrete struggle of women. Last November, in Paris, you took part in the international women's march. Why?

De Beauvoir: Because in the last 20 years the situation of women in France has not really changed. A few legal advances have been made in the area of marriage and divorce. Contraception has become more widespread, but not nearly enough, since only 7 per cent of French women use the pill. Within the world of work there have been no serious advances. There are perhaps more women who work than before, but not a lot. . . .

When the women of the M. L. F. contacted me I wanted to join their struggle. They asked me to produce a manifesto on abortion from myself and other women saying that we had had abortions. I thought that this was a valuable step which would attract attention to a problem which, in the present situation in France, is particularly scandalous: the problem of abortion. So it was absolutely natural for me to go into the streets and march with the women from the M. L. F. in November 1971, and to take up their slogans as mine: free abortion on demand, free contraception on demand, voluntary maternity.

Schwartz: You are talking about the French situation now, but you have also visited some socialist countries. Has the situation of women there fundamentally changed?

De Beauvoir: It is a little different. For example, I've seen at close quarters the situation of women in the USSR. Almost all Soviet women work, and those who don't (wives of highly placed functionaries or very important men) are despised by the others. . . . All the same, there are few women compared to men in the central committee, or in the powerful supreme soviets. On the whole women are in the least pleasant and least highly rated professions. . . .

Women are roped off into teaching, into medicine; more important careers like science, engineering, etc., are much less accessible to them. So on the one hand they are not yet professionally equal to men. On the other, you find the same scandal that women in the Movement are struggling against; housework and childcare devolve entirely on the women.

Schwartz: There are many misunderstandings about the term feminism. I'd like you to give me your definition.

De Beauvoir: At the end of *The Second Sex* I said that I was not a feminist because I thought that the solution of feminine problems would be found in a socialist evolution of society. What I meant, by 'feminist', was fighting on specifically feminine issues independently of the class struggle. My definition remains the same today: by feminists I mean



Simone de Beauvoir marching with French women on Nov. 20, 1971, Paris demonstration for free abortion and free contraception.

those women or even men who fight to change the position of women, in liaison with and yet outside the class struggle, without totally subordinating that change to a change in society. And I would say that today I am a feminist, that way. Because I've realised that before we get the socialism we dream of, we must fight for the concrete condition of women.

I have also realised that even in socialist countries this equality has not been obtained. And therefore women must take their destiny in hand. That's why I now find myself linked to the movement for women's liberation.

Moreover, I have established—and this, I believe, is one of the reasons why many women have created the movement—that even in the French progressive movements, and even amongst the extreme left, there is a profound inequality between men and women. Always the women do the most humble, the most boring and the most anonymous jobs. And it is always men who do the talking, write the articles, do all the most interesting things and take the greatest responsibility. . . .

extent to which they accept the nuclear family, which is basically a heritage of the patriarchal family, I don't believe that women in China are liberated. . . .

Schwartz: Could one say therefore that the class struggle does not necessarily resolve the position of women, but that radical feminism, which questions society and the existing relationships between men and women, could necessarily resolve the class struggle?



Photo by Le Torchon Brule

Nov. 20, 1971, demonstration in Paris for free abortion and free contraception. The march swelled to double its original size as the women called for support from onlookers on the sidewalks. One older woman who joined the demonstrators said, "I can't believe it. I've waited 50 years for this!"

De Beauvoir: No, not necessarily. If you start by abolishing the family and family structures, there is certainly a chance that capitalism will take a knock. But I'm not going to venture further without having thought much more about the question. To what extent the destruction of the patriarchal family would lead to the suppression of all aspects of capitalism and of technocracy, I don't know.

If feminism makes radical demands and can succeed in imposing them, then at that moment it would certainly threaten the system. But that isn't sufficient to reorganize the relations of production, the relations of work and the relations of men—I mean by that human beings. There isn't a satisfactory analysis of that question. This is because women who have in the past been active in feminism were middle class women who struggled on a political level. The suffragettes were fighting for the right to vote. Their attack was not on an economic level. And, on the economic level, marxist formulae are too easily accepted.



Young Irish women demonstrating in Dublin last year for the right to obtain contraceptives. Under the present law in the Republic of Ireland, only married women can legally purchase contraceptive devices.

For example the idea that when socialism is achieved, equality between men and women will also exist.

Schwartz: In general, how do you see the evolution of women's liberation?

De Beauvoir: I think that it must progress. But I don't know. In France as elsewhere most women are very conservative. They want to be "feminine". All the same, it seems to me that new conditions of housework liberate women a little, and

leave her more time to think. She is inclined to rebel. On the professional level work will never be given to women in the capitalist system as long as some men are unemployed. That's why I think that women's equality cannot be won until we have a total overthrow of the system.

But I think that like the initially limited aims of the student movements, which by and by unleashed strikes through the whole country, the women's movement could make a lot of things happen. If they are able to penetrate the world of work, then they really will shake the system. At the moment, the weakness of the French movement and, I think, of the American movement, is that it mobilizes only a few women workers.

Schwartz: Do you think it is necessary to develop a sense of solidarity?

De Beauvoir: Absolutely. Individual emancipation isn't enough. Collective work linked to the class struggle is needed. Women who struggle for the emancipation of women cannot be really feminist without being on the left because if the socialist revolution isn't enough, to ensure sexual equality, it is necessary.

Schwartz: Moreover, for the first time, feminist movements are revolutionary movements. They no longer feel that they can change their position as women without changing society.

De Beauvoir: Right. There is a slogan I read in Italy which I found very accurate: "No revolution without female emancipation, no female emancipation without revolution."

Schwartz: Now that you see yourself as a feminist militant and are engaged in concrete struggle, what immediate action do you envisage?

De Beauvoir: I'm working on a project with a group of women: we are going to stage an event where crimes committed against women will be denounced. The first two sessions will be on the problems of maternity, contraception and abortion, and will take place on May 13 and 14 in the hall at the Mutualité. It will be sort of a commission of inquiry, where about ten women will interrogate witnesses: biologists, sociologists, psychiatrists, doctors, midwives, and above all, those who are victims of the oppression they experience as women. . . .

Schwartz: Women's struggle is frequently linked with abortion campaigns. Do you intend to go beyond this stage in your project?

De Beauvoir: Of course. Both the movement and myself must work on many other fronts. We are not only fighting for free abortion but for massive distribution of contraceptives which would give abortion a marginal role in women's control over their own bodies. Contraception and abortion are only a starting point for women's liberation.

Equal Rights Amendment defeated in California

By TYBIE MARTIN

LOS ANGELES, April 26—The California State Senate Rules Committee defeated a resolution to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment today, thus killing any possibility of the amendment's passage in the 1972 state legislative session. The ERA simply states that women should have equal rights before the law, which means equality in jobs, wages, promotion, pensions, education, and property ownership. If ratified, the ERA would provide women with an important tool for fighting discrimination on many levels.

On April 20 the California State Assembly passed the amendment by a vote of 56 to 11, largely due to an intense and well-organized campaign on the part of ERA supporters. More than 500 people attended the Assembly Judiciary Committee session on April 17, and after a four-hour hearing, the committee was convinced to recommend ratification. Members of Common Cause, the National Organization for Women, the American Civil Liberties Union, the United Auto Workers, and other groups spoke in favor of the ERA.

In arguing before the Assembly Judiciary Committee, these groups cited a list of California laws that discriminate against women, including: persons "incapable" of committing misdemeanors are children, idiots, lunatics, etc., and married women who are coerced by their husbands; swearing in the presence of women and children is punishable by 90 days in jail and a \$200 fine; a woman who has two jobs may not work more than 58 hours in one week—outside the home, that is; when a wife dies without leaving a will, her half of community property goes automatically to the husband, but when the husband dies, the wife does not get her half until all the property goes through probate.

The State Senate Rules Committee had turned down the ERA on April 5 without even hearing testimony. This triggered such outrage among supporters of the amendment that the committee had to schedule a hearing on April 26. At this hearing, opponents of the ERA, including some women trade-union officials of the AFL-CIO, successfully argued against ratification on the basis that if passed, the ERA would eliminate state protective laws for women.

Supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment have pointed out that women concerned about good labor laws should not be throwing their energies into opposing the ERA; they should fight for the extension of beneficial protective laws to men, who need them as well.

In order for the ERA to become law, 38 state legislatures must ratify it. Thirteen states have already done so.

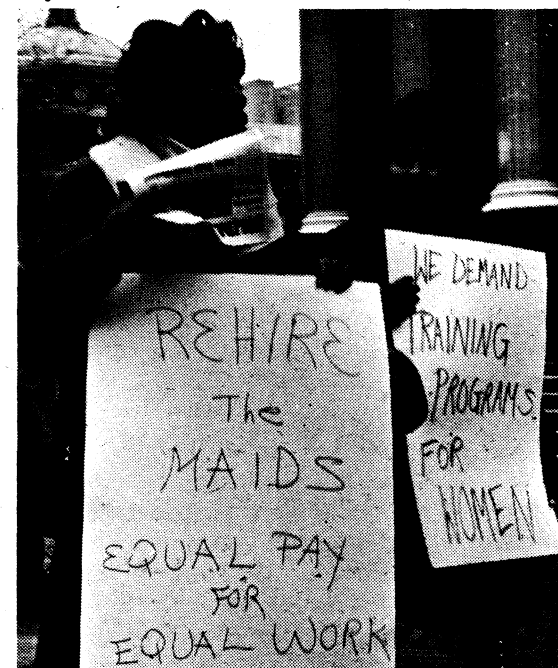


Photo by Julie Simon

Maids at Columbia University in New York on picket line in January to demand equal pay and to protest administration's attempt to fire them. Passage of the Equal Rights Amendment would give added impetus to fights against sex discrimination in employment.

In Our Opinion

Vietnam upsurge

For the past seven years the Vietnam war has been the central issue in international politics, representing the principal battlefield between the forces of imperialism and the forces for revolutionary change.

The current successes of the Vietnamese freedom fighters are of considerable significance, giving inspiration to oppressed peoples throughout the world. The upsurge of the Vietnamese rebels is exposing the myth that the war is being "Vietnamized." It is exposing the naked aggression of the U.S. in defense of the capitalists and landlords in Vietnam. The small country of Vietnam—despite the massacre of its people, the defoliation of its forests, the scarring of its land with bomb craters—has not only refused to give up but is scoring major victories against the greatest military power on earth.

In these historic developments, the antiwar movement in the United States has been a key factor helping to hold back the U.S. warmakers from using their full powers of destruction against the Vietnamese.

As the Vietnamese offensive continues, Nixon is considering three alternatives: reintroducing massive numbers of U.S. ground combat forces into Vietnam, using nuclear weapons on the Vietnamese, or making further concessions in order to arrive at a deal acceptable to the National Liberation Front and the North Vietnamese.

Nixon has not yet used nuclear weapons or reintroduced ground troops because the rulers of this country know this would result in such outraged protest in the U.S. and throughout the world that they could stand to lose more than they would gain in Vietnam. Antiwar sentiment is now so strong among the American people that it is even questionable whether Nixon could count on draftees to fight such an escalated war.

The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong was met with massive protests on April 22. The thousands of determined marchers were telling the government that phased troop-withdrawals are not enough, that a major escalation of this war by substituting bombs for troops will be protested.

The April 22 actions demonstrated that the antiwar movement can unite in response to any escalation. Many of the same organizations and individuals are joining together in the May 4 moratorium protests. Particularly significant is the action called for that day by the Detroit Metropolitan Council of the AFL-CIO and the Detroit Coalition to End the War.

But the depth of the antiwar sentiment and the strength of the antiwar movement do not mean that U.S. escalation with nuclear weapons or ground troops is excluded. The war criminals who run this country are capable of anything.

At this time of hard-won victories for the Vietnamese and of possible further U.S. escalation, the antiwar movement can play a historic role. Its duty in this country and around the world is to unite in action against any further major escalation of the war. It cannot allow differences to stand in the way of building the most powerful answer possible to the warmakers.

Antiwar organizations in some areas are planning actions for May 20, Armed Forces Day, in support of antiwar GIs.

Educational activities and protests against the bombings and against university complicity with the war should continue on the campuses.

We must continue day-to-day antiwar action, laying the groundwork for massive actions to answer any new escalations of the war by Nixon and demanding the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

'Top cop' dies

While both Democratic and Republican Party politicians are eulogizing J. Edgar Hoover, antiwar activists, Black and Chicano militants, and trade-union militants aren't sorry that he is gone. As the country's "top cop," Hoover symbolized the authoritarianism and injustice of capitalist "law and order." He represented the FBI, the 15,000-member secret police force paid for by tax-payers' money. Its main purpose is to spy on, harass, provoke, and victimize those who rebel against this system, while the real crooks—the corporate giants that steal billions both legally and illegally—go scot free.

Hoover got his start by organizing the Palmer Raids in 1920 under Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, filling the jails with thousands of innocent radicals and "aliens." During the McCarthyite witch-hunt in the 1950s, it was the FBI under Hoover that sent Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to the electric chair on a frame-up spying charge. The FBI's most recent outrage was its unsuccessful attempt to frame the Reverend Philip Berrigan and other antiwar activists for a so-called "conspiracy."

Whoever replaces Hoover, the basic nature of the FBI will not change. Its wiretapping, snooping, and use of agents provocateurs violate the constitutional rights of the American people, and it should therefore be dismantled.

But the functions of the FBI, the chief enforcer of capitalist injustice, can be finally eliminated only through a struggle to replace the entire capitalist system.

Snouts in trough

A recent *New York Times* muckraking article caught a number of congressmen, senators, and Democratic presidential campaigners Humphrey and Wallace with their snouts in the corporate trough. They are taking free \$800-an-hour trips on corporation-owned jets. "There is no sense of obligation," Senator Vance Hartke, an alleged favor-taker, cooed when questioned about this chronic, broad, and needless to say, illegal practice.

In contrast, I remember four years ago driving SWP presidential candidate Fred Halstead through a snowstorm in rural Michigan to give an evening speech in Ann Arbor. The car broke down. Halstead got out with a screwdriver and flashlight, fixed it, and we drove on to make the meeting.

Despite their Jet Commanders, their corporate-bankrolled conventions, and their corporate-financed campaigns, the Hartkes and the Humphreys will some day find themselves snowed over and out in the cold, for good. A miserable prospect for them, no doubt. But then I hope socialists will take pity and offer them something comforting. Perhaps a screwdriver.

Michael Smith
New York, N. Y.

Farm workers

The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) has filed a petition in federal court seeking an injunction against the farm-workers boycott of nine wine companies of California Napa Valley. The success of this injunction would allow the NLRB to utilize this repressive measure on any further boycotts.

The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in Detroit distributed a leaflet exposing the NLRB actions. The leaflet stated: "Farmworkers see this as a political move by the Republicans to use the NLRB to destroy the farm workers' movement."

At the end of the leaflet there were comments from Cesar Chavez and some strategy. Chavez said: "Now after we have found a way to struggle nonviolently and to make progress for ourselves and our children, the Republican Party is attempting to take away the boycott." As a strategy, he proposes: "Because the Republicans are responsible for this action, we must direct pressure towards Republicans at all levels of government. We are currently analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of every Republican office holder from Michigan and are planning actions in several locations around the state."

The leaflet implies that the Republicans are the only party responsible. The truth is that both capitalist parties have participated in implementing the wage board, which freezes Chicanos' wages at the lowest level.

If we continue to place our destiny in the hands of the Democrats, we will be crushed as the Democrats and Republicans shake hands to congratulate each other for having effectively crushed our organizing efforts.

It is only by promoting an independent political party, such as La Raza Unida Party, that Chicanos can be assured their needs will be met.

Arturo Ramirez
Detroit, Mich.

Letters

Question for McGovern

Right-wing Democrats are trying to smear George McGovern by saying he was a delegate to the 1948 Progressive Party convention that nominated Henry Wallace for president—a fact McGovern omitted from his official biography.

Radicals have nothing but scorn for this red-baiting attack. What they want to know is this: If McGovern considered the Democratic Party to be bankrupt in 1948, how has it improved since then? And what is there in its record that entitles it to support today?

G. N.
New York, N. Y.

Mister One-More-Chance'ers

An open letter to the Give-the-System-One-More-Chance'ers:

1972 election year comes around and what happens? Rennie Davis is preaching to vote Democrat. Jerry Rubin does the same. And you Mister One-More-Chance'ers follow suit. Now that's become the slogan and rationalization of all the sellouts (*vendidos*)—"give the system one more chance."

But that's only one of the many rationales; I'm hip to all of them. Like, "Hey, man, why should I throw my vote away for someone that's gonna lose anyway, man?"

Mister One-More-Chance'ers, that's a lot of crap and you know it, because whoever you vote for—be it the mule or the elephant—whether they win or lose the poor people are always gonna lose, because both parties condone capitalism and exploitation of the masses.

Now I heard tell that Rennie Davis is going to vote Democrat because Shirley Chisholm is running for the top office. And I thought a dude like that would be hip. Yes, she might just be unbossed and unbought, but she is all tool and all fool to a system that advocates racism and fascism for economical gain. Do Rennie Davis and Shirley really believe that putting more women and Third World people in office will solve everything? Doesn't she know that my nation Borinquen [Puerto Rico] has their own people on top and is still a colony? Why? What about Vietnam? Doesn't that country have a Vietnamese president? Don't bet your false teeth on it.

Now some other One-More-Chance'ers comment on the liberal Lindsay. Well the only thing liberal about Lindsay is the way he can tell an outright lie with a straight face. Perhaps you don't remember the prison revolt of 1970 in New York—after some heavy lying about no reprisals and a promise of no charges to be brought up on the rebelling Brothers. Mister One-More-Chance'ers, have you heard of the Tombs Seven or the Queens Five? That's where Lindsay's liberalism begins and ends at: lies, lies, lies.

How about McGovern? Why not score a Truth Kit from the Socialist Workers Party? [A Truth Kit on McGovern's record is available for 25 cents from the SWP National Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.]

Look at it this way: Either way you go you are going to lose, so why not lose your vote trying to win—by voting for the Jenness and

The Great Society

Pulley team—if you feel you just got to vote? Why not make history by voting for the Socialists, who want to abolish this capitalistic monster of a system.

Jenness and Pulley are not telling you that they are going to institute a rainbow cabinet, because they are far beyond the point of colors. Because when push comes to shove, it doesn't make much difference the color or the nationality of the guy who is banging you over the head with a hammer. Does it? Ask the Brothers in Glenville if the bullets that hit them hurt less because Mayor Stokes was the one who gave the order.

Before I end this letter, Mister One-More-Chance'er, so that you don't get the wrong conception of this letter or its writer—I am not nor ever have been a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, the Socialist Workers Party, or any other group in connection with them.

M. G. Piñero

*Captain of Education, National Prisoners Alliance
Ossing Correctional Facility (Sing Sing)
Ossining, N. Y.*

Peace and Freedom Party

I'm subscribing partly because you have a good paper and partly because of the free book offer. I'm a member of the Indiana Peace and Freedom Party. I recently learned from reading your paper that we are a reformist party. I hope to find out why you think that. My feeling is that often you are too zealous in your criticism of other groups. But at least you are one paper that believes in a people's press that is critical.

*Rex Y. Wenger
Goshen, Ind.*

In reply—The term reformist refers to a perspective of attempting to patch up the capitalist system rather than replacing it with a socialist system.

We agree with, and believe people should fight for, most of the reforms proposed by the PFP. That is why, for example, we support the antiwar movement. But a mass movement fighting for a specific demand, such as an end to the war, is different from a political party. A political party strives to take control of the entire state, and it must therefore take sides—implicitly or explicitly—in the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class.

To be revolutionary rather than reformist, a party must support the working class and the oppressed nationalities against capitalist exploitation and oppression. This means, ultimately, it must fight for socialism—the taking of power, politically and economically, by the exploited.

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.

Science Dep't—Future news reports involving scientific matters will be accepted by this reporter with a grain of salt.

Gives 'em sparkle—The FDA recalled 35,000 pounds of frozen strawberries laced with glass slivers.

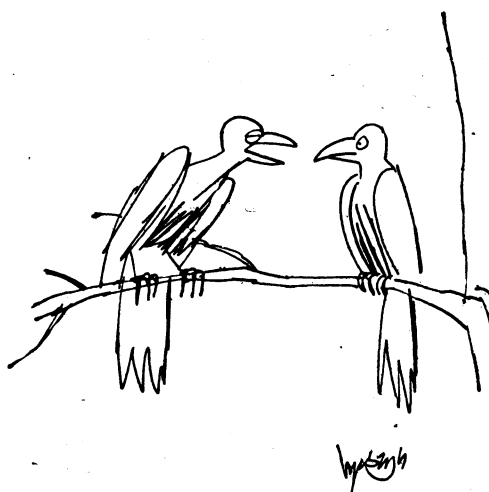
Win a few, lose a few—The Roman Catholic order which placed a recruiting ad in *Playboy* reports an unprecedented 600 responses. Meanwhile, the Vatican disclosed that in a five-year period since 1964, a total of 13,450 priests split the scene. The defection rate for 1970-71 is presumed to be higher.

Oh—Herbert Stein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, advised Congress that it's true the cost of living has gone up more since price controls were adopted than in the previous six months. But, he explained, this is only because food prices have gone up so much.

You try selling underwater land—Nicholas Morely, a Miami real-estate operator, had his son bar mitzvahed at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem. He rented the Tel Aviv fairgrounds to entertain 500 guests. He flew 45 guests—including the ex-king of Bulgaria—plus a rabbi and choir 7,000 miles for the bash. "I don't see why you should call this party elaborate,"

he said. "This is the fruits of my labors, and my labors are monumental."

And there's been less snow in the Sahara lately—"South Korean Freedoms on the Wane"—Headline in the *Los Angeles Times*.



"... you go ahead, I'm not migrating 6,000 miles to a polluted lake."

Moonstruck—New York Environmental Protection Administrator Jerome Kretchmer would like to turn the moon into a city dump. "I look at the moon," environmentalist Kretchmer said, "and I think how much garbage I could put up there." With a park in the center, right?

But it would be unnatural—Senator Proxmire, who is spending \$1,500 to have hair transplanted from his neck to his head, says, "I could have gotten a beautiful wig for only \$500."

He's catching on—Reporting on the Western States Toy Show, *Los Angeles Times* columnist Jack Smith wrote, "The only difference I could see between the doctor's kit and the nurse's kit was that the doctor's kit was black and the nurse's red. . . . I imagine that when boys and girls play hospital though, the boys get to be doctors and the girls nurses, and the boys make more money."

We're learning how to figure—The Ford Motor Co. paid its top executives \$11.3-million last year, a 27 percent increase over 1970. The money went to 56 people as compared to 54 the year previous. That's an increase of about 4 percent, which is well within the wage guidelines, right?

Sorry about that—GE has called back 487 implanted electrical heart pacemakers because of defects that may cause them to speed up dangerously. In a fit of generosity, the company said it will not only provide new ones free but even pay the surgical bills for implanting them. They didn't say if they would pay for planting expired patients.

—HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

EUNICE KENNEDY SHRIVER is down on women's liberation because she says she's worried about what will happen to children if women don't stick to their socially defined role in the home. At a college meeting in Nashville, Tenn., Shriver told the audience: "Women's Lib hasn't helped in child-rearing. It has been good in job discrimination and things like that, but it has resulted in the downgrading of the whole concept of motherhood. The idea now seems to be that housewives should do anything to get out of the house, leaving the children's minds neglected."

Of course, it's a little difficult for someone who grew up in the millionaire Kennedy family to conceive of a woman having a job in order to support young children. But for the majority of the four million working women with children under six in this country, work is a financial necessity. Many women also want the freedom to hold jobs or go to school simply to develop their own creative abilities. In this society only the very rich—like the Kennedys—can afford to pay the cost of decent child care, and there are only enough child-care centers for a tiny fraction of this country's children.

The concept of "motherhood" Shriver refers to is really part of the belief that each individual family must assume what should be the responsibility of society as a whole: feeding, housing, and caring for children and all other human beings. Far from threatening children, the women's liberation movement is a threat only to those who, like the Kennedys, profit from the inequalities preserved through the family system.

WOMEN IN THE CHURCH—The issue of the exclusion of women from the Episcopal Church priesthood may come to a head at the May 9 convention of the New York diocese. Sixty-three women, members of the Episcopal Women's Caucus of Province II, will demand that the convention support the right of women to be priests. The Episcopalian hierarchy's official argument against dropping the policy on women priests is that it would endanger unity moves between the Episcopal Church and the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches, both of which adamantly oppose women entering their priesthoods. The real reason for not changing the policy, of course, is that allowing women to be priests would help break down another myth of male superiority. This

was spelled out in a statement last year by the Right Reverend C. Kilmer Myers, the Episcopal bishop of California, who said that since a priest is a "God symbol," he must be masculine. "The male image about God pertains to the divine initiative in creation," Myers claimed.

WOMEN ARTISTS ORGANIZE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION—The first national conference of Women in the Visual Arts, held April 20-22 in Washington, D. C., was attended by more than 350 female artists, art historians, critics, and museum curators. In the course of workshops, panels, and lectures, the convention took up the problems faced by women in the visual arts field: the scant representation of women's art in museums, discrimination in hiring of women by art schools, and the backward attitudes of art critics toward women's art.

Much of the discussion also concerned whether a "feminine" art exists. Some women argued that the work of female artists reflects a unique use of imagery based on their "state of emotional reality." These women favored the development of a school of "feminine" art. Others pointed out that a theory of "vaginal sensibility" simply capitulates to the notion that women are by nature different than men. Artist Pat Sloane stated that "When the women's movement is quite properly committed to the proposition that biology is not destiny, how can we as women artists be so stupid as to propose that biology might be the determinant of one's artistic destiny?"

WIMBLEDON BOYCOTT—Women tennis players will boycott the Wimbledon championship tournaments this year unless they receive more prize money. In protest of the wide discrepancy between prizes for male and female players, almost all the 55 women scheduled to play in a tennis tour sponsored by Virginia Slims have already decided not to enter the first tournament scheduled in Britain. Among those planning the boycott is Billie Jean King, who recently created a stir in this country by taking a public stand in favor of abortion law repeal.

Two years ago the tennis world was jolted when female players organized a "Women's Lob" tour on their own to protest unequal prizes. At that time, male players often received 10 times the amount of money awarded to women.

—CINDY JAQUITH

Mass. CHOICE '72 results

By JANICE LYNN

Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness finished third in two CHOICE '72 polls held during the last week of April.

At Clark University in Worcester, Mass., Jenness received 31 votes (5.9 percent), behind McGovern, with 335 votes, and Chisholm, with 51 votes. Following Jenness were Pat Paulsen, Eugene McCarthy, Richard Nixon, Edmund Muskie, and John Lindsay. All other candidates received fewer than 3 votes, including Hubert Humphrey, Gus Hall, Benjamin Spock, and Edward Kennedy.

The Clark University referendum results were: immediate, unconditional withdrawal from Southeast Asia, 94.6 percent; repeal of all anti-abortion laws, 91.8 percent. Five hundred twenty-three students participated in the poll.

At Graham Junior College in Boston, Jenness received 8.3 percent of the 60 votes cast, following McGovern, who led the poll, and Nixon, who came in second. On the referendum questions, 60 percent supported immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia; 75 percent favored repeal of abortion laws; 86 percent supported equal pay for equal work; and 65 percent favored Black, Chicano, and Native American control of the Black, Chicano, and Native American communities.

At Tufts University in Medford, Mass., 442 students participated in the CHOICE '72 poll held April 18. Jenness finished fifth, with 3.4 percent of the vote. McGovern placed first, followed by Chisholm, Muskie, and Nixon. There were 20 candidates on the ballot, and two write-ins were recorded. Candidates on the ballot who received no votes were Vance Hartke, Wilbur Mills, Patsy Mink, Sam Yorty, and Gus Hall.

In a series of 11 referendum questions, the following votes were recorded: 99 percent for equal pay for equal work; 90 percent for students' right to vote where they go to school; 87 percent for repeal of all anti-abortion laws; 80 percent for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia; 79 percent in favor of the Black community deciding whether their children should be bused; 76 percent for free, 24-hour, community-controlled child-care centers; 72 percent for complete amnesty for draft resisters and deserters; 69 percent for Black, Latino, and Chicano control of the Black, Latino, and Chicano communities; and 66 percent for dropping all charges against the Harrisburg Seven. Fifty-seven percent voted for stopping campus complicity with the war machine; 43 percent for a guaranteed annual income of \$10,000; and 37 percent for immediately dropping all charges against Angela Davis.

At Boston University, Jenness tied with Lindsay for sixth place among a field of 16 candidates and several write-ins. Jenness received 26 votes. McGovern led the poll with 876 votes, followed by Chisholm, Muskie, Nixon, and Kennedy. All other candidates received only one or two votes, including Humphrey, Wallace, Spock, and Hall. A total of 1,425 students participated in the poll.

In the CHOICE '72 poll at Harpur College in Binghamton, N.Y., Jenness finished sixth in a field of 17 candidates, ahead of Nixon, Humphrey, Wallace, Spock, Ashbrook, Hall, Mink, Jackson, Mills, and Sanford. Jenness received 34 votes, or 3.5 percent. McGovern won the poll with 565 votes.

At Edinboro State College in Pennsylvania, CHOICE '72 was held on

April 24, sponsored by the Student Government Association. Due to the lack of publicity, only 390 students participated. Jenness received 19 votes, or 4.8 percent of the vote, scoring in fifth place. McGovern led the poll with 135 votes, followed by Nixon, Muskie, and Wallace. Following Jenness was Humphrey, with 18 votes, while all other candidates received 10 or fewer votes. The one referendum question, for total and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and matériel from Southeast Asia, was endorsed by 80 percent of the students.

A mock Democratic Party political convention was held on the weekend of April 21 at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland. YSJP coordinator Cathy Hinds reports that the Georgia delegation nominated Linda Jenness as the presidential candidate. Jenness received support from delegate slates in 10 different states and won 93 delegate votes out of a total of approximately 2,000.

Jenness came in ninth, with 33 votes, in the CHOICE '72 poll at Utah State University in Logan. Nixon received the largest number of votes. On the referendum questions, a majority of the students supported access to birth control information and devices through the campus health center and a majority favored immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia and amnesty for draft resisters and deserters. More than half the students voted in favor of continuing wage-price controls.

CHOICE '72 polls have taken place on many campuses throughout the country and will continue during the next few weeks. *The Militant* will report results as soon as votes are tabulated, and readers are encouraged to send in results as they become available.



Photo by Ellen Lemisch

More than 270 SWP campaign supporters gathered in New York on April 29 at a rally addressed by Linda Jenness. Other speakers included John Hawkins, New York SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 12th C.D.; Joanna Misnik, SWP candidate from the 20th C.D.; and Peter Camejo. The crowd donated \$749 to help build the socialist campaign, and six people asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

SWP petitioning breaks record

By JUDY UHL

MAY 1—The Socialist Workers Party national campaign committee announced this week that more signatures have already been obtained on nominating petitions for the 1972 presidential slate than were obtained in all of 1968. So far, 117,750 signatures have been gathered in nine states. In 1968, a total of 117,400 were collected.

The SWP campaign has obtained the four presidential electors needed to make a South Dakota ballot push. The campaign organizers plan to collect 7,000 signatures during May to win a place on the ballot for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

Electors have also been obtained

in Idaho, where SWP petitions are now being circulated. By May 31, Idaho campaign supporters must get 1,500 signatures to win recognition of the SWP.

The SWP has never been on the ballot in South Dakota or Idaho. In Louisiana, another new state for the socialist campaign, Jenness-Pulley supporters have all but two of their electors.

In Tennessee and Iowa, as in Louisiana, electors must come from each of the state's congressional districts. Campaign supporters are working now to obtain the necessary electors and begin circulating petitions.

During May, Socialist Workers Party

campaign supporters will be petitioning in a number of states to put Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley on the ballot. If you would like to help, contact the campaign at the following addresses:

CONNECTICUT: P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501 (25,000 signatures); DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: 746 9th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001 (26,000 signatures); MASSACHUSETTS: 655 Atlantic Avenue, Boston, Mass. 02115 (90,000 signatures); ILLINOIS: 180 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill. 60606 (40,000 signatures); TEXAS: 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas 77020 (45,000 signatures).

Leonard speaks on Texas campuses

By SUSAN LAMONT

Debby Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas, has recently completed a very successful first swing of her spring tour in Texas. During March, Leonard spoke to more than 1,300 people and reached thousands more with the program of the socialist campaign through news coverage.

The most successful meeting during this tour was Leonard's stop at Sam Houston State University on March 15, where she spoke at an "old-fashioned political rally" sponsored by the student government. The rally was attended by nearly 1,000 students, who listened to a long line of Democratic and Republican party candidates for every conceivable office. Leonard was the only candidate who spoke to the issues concerning the students, and she received the most enthusiastic response of any of the candidates. A front-page article in *The Huntsville Item* covered Leonard's speech this way: "Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor Debbie Leonard was the most outspoken of the speakers advocating a complete change in the American form of government. 'The Democrats and Republicans are exactly alike,' she said. 'The only way to have a choice is to throw out the current system and put in a new one.'" Leonard received a standing ovation at the conclusion of her speech. Twenty new campaign endorsers were obtained that day, including the president and six other members of the campus Black student organization, SPADE.

Another high point of her tour occurred in San Antonio, where Leonard and a group of YSJPers were able to confront Frances Farenthold, the leading liberal candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor. Questioned on her stand on the abortion laws, Farenthold refused to come out for repeal. Farenthold was forced at the meeting to agree to a public debate with Leonard.

Many young people who will be voting for the first time in November are trying to decide whether to vote for Leonard or Farenthold. One of the most successful pieces of literature produced by the Texas SWP campaign has been a leaflet entitled "Is Farenthold Really A Choice?" which is being distributed by YSJPers throughout Texas.

During Leonard's tour, close to 50 new campaign endorsers were obtained and more than \$90 in literature was sold.



Debby Leonard

'72 Socialist Campaign

With the renewed upsurge of antiwar activity in response to the U.S. escalation in Indochina, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley are actively building antiwar rallies and meetings on college and high school campuses. YSJPers helped build the April 22 and April 29 demonstrations and the May 4 national moratorium.

Campaign supporters have distributed thousands of copies of the Socialist Workers Party 1972 platform at the antiwar demonstrations and meetings that have occurred during the last two weeks.

Copies of the SWP 1972 platform can be obtained from the national campaign office, 706 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. The cost is \$7.50 per 1,000 copies.

Neil Dobro of the Cambridge YSJP sold 101 copies of the YSJP pamphlet "Everything you always wanted to know about George McGovern" at the April 22 demonstration in New York City. He reports that he "sold mostly to people with McGovern buttons, by shouting out that McGovern had voted for war appropriations and that he was a dead end for antiwar activists. Most people don't know how entrenched he is in the two-party system."

As of April 27, a total of 9,665 people have signed endorser cards in support of the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

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

"This contribution represents a sharing of our daily wage as cab-driver and waitress in the hope that some day, through efforts like yours, neither of the above occupations will be the servile master and slave relationships that they are today." S.G. and R.Q., Milwaukee, Wis.

"I know one thing for sure—I no longer accept the 'work inside the two-party system' idea. I see no hope there for massive structural change in America. I can only envision such change through the efforts of the American people themselves—particularly the workers." M.F., Santa Barbara, Calif.

"Recently a friend gave me a small poster depicting a group of Chicanos giving the Universal Brotherhood (clenched fist) salute over which a caption read 'Control Chicano del Barrio Chicano!' Could you please send us several more of these and also any other large posters which you may have that we can display." Jose F. Trevino, Chicano Vets Association, East Lansing, Mich. (This poster is available for ten cents from the national campaign office—S.B.)

"Dear Miss (Laura) Miller,

Having just viewed your interview on Al Capp's show, I must congratulate you on your intelligent conduct with such a boorish host. Your manner and style of articulating your party's views in spite of the badgering of Mr. Capp, your extensive historical and political knowledge, and huge concern for humans will gain many more supporters, and I wish to be counted among them. You have convinced me that I must become intrinsically involved in an allied party

here in Canada." M.T. Toronto, Ontario.

A recent issue of Challenge, an underground newspaper in the Quad Cities (Iowa) region reports extensively on a talk given by Andrew Pulley on March 24 at St. Ambrose College in Davenport, Iowa. Pulley is quoted on several issues, including the right of women to abortion:

"It should be up to (individual women) to decide the destiny of their own bodies and lives. . . . If anti-abortion laws claim to save lives, what about those women who die in the back streets at the hands of unskilled butchers? . . . If lawmakers are concerned about saving lives, what about the lives that are being lost every day in Southeast Asia. . . ?"

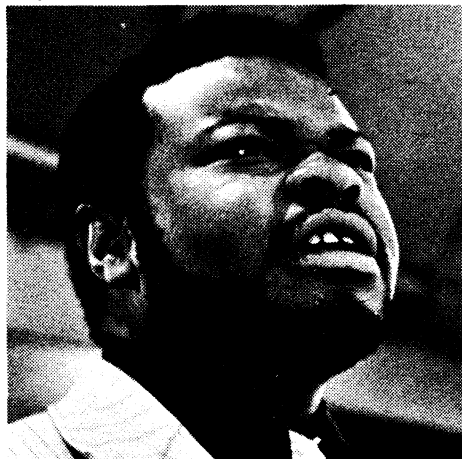


Photo by Ellen Lemisch

Andrew Pulley at April 23 student antiwar conference in New York City.

John Beadle of the Southern California YSJP reports that SWP campaign workers sold more than \$150 worth of literature and buttons at the April 22 antiwar demonstration in Los Angeles. Among the best-selling buttons were "Raza Si, Guerra No" and "Capitalism Fouls Things Up." A party after the demonstration sponsored by the YSJP drew 250 people and netted \$250 for the socialist campaign.

Linda Jenness spoke to about 200 people at Utah State University in Logan on April 14. John Wangsgaard of the Utah YSJP reports that Jenness was well received and that a spirited discussion followed her talk. Earlier, Jenness had addressed a well attended news conference, where she was interviewed by the three major Utah TV stations and the two major Utah newspapers.

Rosaire Bisson of the Vermont YSJP informs us that on April 14 John Franco, the YSJP candidate for president of the Student Association at the University of Vermont, debated his three opponents. He writes:

"The other three candidates declared that they intended to keep national politics out of their campaigns. However, within five minutes all three felt compelled to relate to Franco. They attacked him for not having the 'proper' approach—they favor lobbying the university trustees. They opposed the YSJP's stated goal of making the Student Association an active political organization responsive to the students. Friends and foes of the YSJP have quickly agreed that Franco's opponents are basically the same." Franco has been endorsed by the Coalition for a Democratic University.

— STEVE BEREN

Pulley tours Minn.

By DIANE GROTH

MINNEAPOLIS, May 1—Andrew Pulley was the featured speaker here April 29 at an SWP campaign banquet and rally held during the Upper Midwest Spring Socialist Conference. Minnesota Socialist Workers Party senatorial candidate Mary Hillery and the SWP congressional candidate for Minnesota's 5th C.D., Bill Peterson, also addressed the rally audience of 100, some of whom had come from as far away as Sioux Falls, S.D.

Campaign supporters at the rally donated \$950 to aid the SWP ballot push in Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, and South Dakota and to help build the campaign. Eight people also asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

The banquet and rally climaxed a week-long tour of the Upper Midwest by the SWP vice-presidential candidate. Earlier on April 29, Pulley had spoken to an antiwar demonstration of 350 sponsored by the Minnesota Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee as part of the nationwide antiwar actions on that day.

On April 25, Pulley spoke to 150 students at the University of Wisconsin at Eau Claire. Pulley's talk was carried live by the campus radio station, which had interviewed him earlier in the day. He was also interviewed by the campus paper and by Channel 9, the local ABC affiliate.

After a news conference in Mankato, Minn., on April 27, Pulley spoke to 125 students at Mankato State College. Black students in the audience responded throughout the meeting with shouts of "Right on!" as Pulley explained the role of the Democratic and Republican parties in continuing to oppress Afro-Americans. Fifty-five copies of *The Militant* were sold at the meeting, and 10 people signed cards endorsing the campaign, including 4 Afro-Americans. Pulley also spoke to 300 students at Mankato High School.

At Central High School in Minneapolis, eight students, including five Afro-Americans, endorsed the campaign out of a class of 30 studying the Russian Revolution. At the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, Pulley spoke to 75 students. His talk was taped by campus radio station WMMR, which also interviewed him afterward.

Additional TV and radio interviews included a half-hour live radio show on KFMM in Shakopee, Minn.; a half-hour taped interview on WWTC; and a 15-minute taped interview on KFPT-TV. The *Minnesota Daily*, the University of Minnesota campus paper, covered Pulley's tour throughout the week.

Campus meetings for Pulley also took place at Normandie Junior College in Minneapolis, the University of Minnesota in St. Paul, and at Washburn High School in Minneapolis.

Jenness in Southwest

MAY 1—Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party's presidential candidate, has completed the last week of her campaign tour through the southwestern United States. She addressed campaign rallies, high school and college meetings, and antiwar rallies and attended news conferences in Tucson, Phoenix, and Flagstaff, Ariz.; Albuquerque, N.M.; and Kansas City, Mo.

In Flagstaff, Jenness spoke to a meeting of 275. The student government of Northern Arizona University had invited her as part of their "Presidential Candidates Symposium." The student government is offering a \$600 honorarium to each of the presidential candidates who speak at Flagstaff. So far, no other candidate has accepted the invitation.

During the question and answer period, one of the Mormon students asked Jenness about her stand on legalized abortions. After a brief exchange, the male student suggested that women who didn't want to get pregnant should abstain from sex. The audience laughed and hissed at the hypocritical double standard he was so eager to apply. "You just put your foot in your mouth," Jenness retorted. "It's clear that the women here agree with me that men should have no special monopoly on sex."

A campaign rally earlier the same day in Tucson was attended by 50 people and covered by two TV stations.

The following day, Jenness spoke to an audience of 50 at Glendale Junior College and to a meeting of 85 at the University of Arizona in Phoenix.

In Albuquerque, campaign supporters arranged for Jenness to speak April 26 to a Women's Studies Class and to a meeting of about 100 at the University of New Mexico. Two TV stations, two radio stations, and a newspaper attended an earlier news conference in Albuquerque.

The news coverage included Jenness's answer when asked why people should vote for her: "In November 1972, the American people will face only two real choices. They can vote for Nixon, representing bombs and slaughter and lies; probably

Humphrey, representing bombs and slaughter and hypocrisy; or they can vote for Jenness, representing an immediate end to the war and a fight against this rotten government. The choice is fairly obvious."

The last stop of Jenness's tour took her to Kansas City, where she spoke to 130 high school students; to an antiwar rally at the University of Missouri at Kansas City; and to an evening campaign meeting at the university.

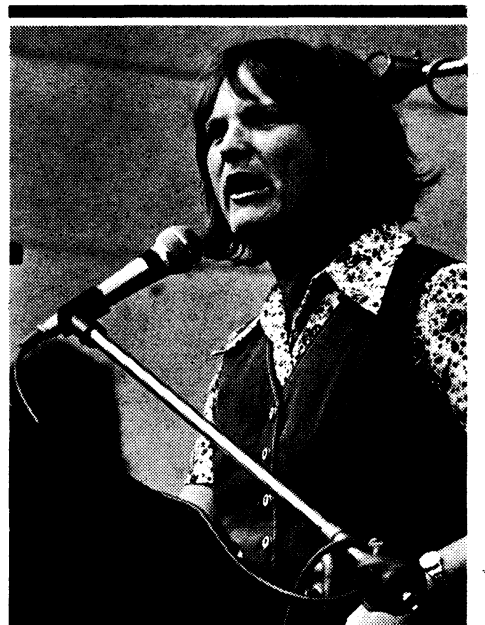


Photo by Ellen Lemisch

A tape of the speech by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness at the April 22 antiwar rally in Los Angeles is now available. Part of the speech is in Spanish. To order: send \$2.50 to the SWP '72 Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

A reporter from the *Kansas City Star* was assigned to cover Jenness's tour that day to write a feature article on the Socialist Workers campaign.

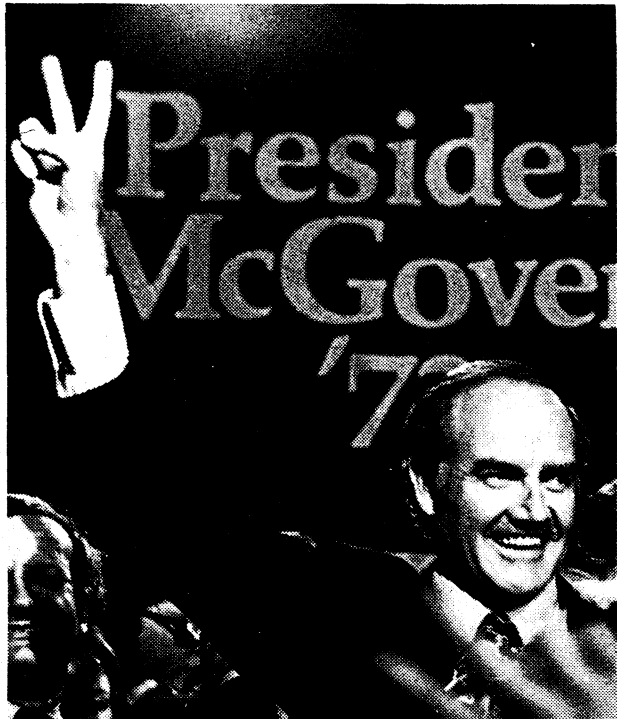
From Kansas City, Jenness flew to New York, where she spoke at an antiwar rally in Washington Square Park on April 29. Later that evening she spoke to more than 270 people at the SWP May Day rally.

McGovern primary gains reflect antiwar sentiment

By CAROLINE LUND

MAY 1—The 1972 primaries—especially the results in Wisconsin and Massachusetts—have demonstrated that antiwar sentiment, as well as dissatisfaction with rising prices and unemployment, is deeper than ever. The large votes for Senator George McGovern were a significant factor in forcing Senator Edmond Muskie to withdraw from active campaigning after being the Democratic front-runner and the apparent favorite of the party bosses for nearly two years.

McGovern's most dramatic victory was in the



With the taste of victory in his mouth, McGovern can be expected to moderate his views.

April 25 Massachusetts primary, where he received 52 percent of the vote as against 22 percent for Muskie, 8 percent for Humbert Humphrey, and 8 percent for George Wallace. A major factor in this sweeping McGovern victory was undoubtedly Nixon's escalation of the bombing in Vietnam.

The April 25 Pennsylvania primary also reflected opposition to Nixon's new escalation of the air war. Although McGovern campaigned there for only three days, he tied Wallace for second place, each with 21 percent, while Humphrey came in first with 35 percent.

A *New York Times* survey of Pennsylvania voters on the day of the primary showed that two-thirds of McGovern voters supported him because of his stand on the issues, and a great majority of these cited his criticisms of the war as their single most important reason.

Even prior to the stepped-up bombing raids, an antiwar protest was evident in McGovern's victory in the April 4 Wisconsin primary with 30 percent of the vote. Wallace, Humphrey, and Muskie trailed with 22 percent, 21 percent, and 10 percent respectively.

In Massachusetts even the Republican primary reflected the deep antiwar sentiment in this country. There, Representative Paul McCloskey Jr., the Republican "peace" candidate, received 4 percent of the vote even though he dropped out of the race on March 10.

Another strong concern of McGovern voters both in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, according to the *New York Times* surveys, was the state of the economy. McGovern has tried to identify himself with the growing dissatisfaction over rising prices, unemployment, and tax burdens.

But McGovern himself is already predicting that his more radical supporters may be in for some disappointments. An article in the April 28 *New York Post* described McGovern's intention to "go after the support of old guard [Democratic] party and labor officials whose help could bring him the Democratic Presidential nomination." Entitled "McGovern Decides To Woo the Center," it indicates that McGovern is beginning to move to the right as he gets a whiff of the "sweet smell of success."

The article, based on an interview with *Washington Post* reporter David Broder, quotes McGovern as saying: "Some of the more rigid purists in my camp don't even want me to talk to those people [presumably, the party bosses and Dixiecrats]. But they're just going to have to take me on my own terms. They've got to understand that I am a politician, and if I'm going to be the leader of

this country, I've got to have communications with all segments of the country."

McGovern will feel free to move to the right since the votes of many of his antiwar supporters are in his hip pocket, committed to him as a "peace" candidate.

An example of the pressure on McGovern from the right was an attack on him April 28 by Democrat Henry Jackson. Jackson called McGovern an "appeaser" of communism because of McGovern's support to Henry Wallace's Progressive Party in the 1948 presidential elections. Hubert Humphrey has also attacked McGovern, implying that McGovern is the candidate of the "radical left" because Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman are supporting him.

An indication of McGovern's concern with not appearing too radical could be seen in his attitude towards the massive April 22 antiwar demonstrations. McGovern refused to endorse the actions or speak at them, although he was asked. The Boston headquarters for the McGovern campaign even refused to allow literature for the April 22 demonstration to be displayed there. McGovern has not endorsed the May 4 moratorium actions either.

McGovern is not the only Democratic candidate who says he wants to end the war; even George Wallace is now soft-pedaling his warmongering to pose as a "peace" candidate. On April 13 he demagogically blasted both Humphrey and Muskie for their previous support of the Vietnam war, claiming that he had always considered the war a mistake. On April 25 Wallace attacked McGovern for voting for the Tonkin Gulf resolution in 1964.

Many of the Democratic Party politicians—including McGovern—have been forced by the massive antiwar sentiment in this country to criticize the war to some extent. But their past support for the Vietnam war demonstrates that their present criticisms are purely tactical: They have never questioned the right of the U.S. to intervene in Vietnam.

The history of this war has demonstrated that the antiwar movement independent of both the Democratic and Republican parties has had a powerful effect on limiting the ability of the U.S. government to carry on the war. It is this pressure that has forced many Democratic and Republican politicians to criticize the war. Whether McGovern wins or loses the nomination, the evolution of his campaign will certainly confirm again the futility of supporting "peace" candidates committed to the Democratic or Republican parties.

'A BUNCH OF LIARS!'

After reading **EVERYTHING YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT GEORGE MCGOVERN**, a Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley Truth Kit pamphlet by Laura Miller, George McGovern called the Socialist Workers Party a "bunch of liars who have misrepresented my stand on the war."

To learn the truth, read for yourself this 16-page pamphlet, which criticizes McGovern's current positions and his voting record, including his support to war appropriations.

Order a bundle now! (25 cents each; 15 cents per copy on orders of 25 or more)

I want (circle one) 25 50 100 250

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Socialist Workers '72 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003

¡La Raza en Acción!

ARIZONA FARM WORKERS: The United Farm Workers Union has organized a series of demonstrations to protest moves by the Arizona legislature to restrict the union's ability to organize. According to *Militant* reporter Stephen Perry, on April 4 more than 200 Chicanos protested the passage of Bill 2134 in the Arizona House of Representatives. This bill is designed to give a five-member agricultural labor-relations board full control over farm worker disputes. It would make secondary boycotts illegal, thus taking away the union's most important weapon. It would make it almost impossible to organize the union to strike.

On April 8 a picket of 150 people was staged in front of Dell Web's Townhouse, where a Republican women's convention was being held. Earlier, Pat Nixon and Judy Agnew arrived at Phoenix International Airport for the convention amid boos by farm workers.

MEXICANO HIJACKER: Ricardo Chavez-Ortiz, the *mexicano* who hijacked an airliner to dramatize his plea for social justice, has been released in Los Angeles on bail of \$35,000, lowered from \$500,000. Without giving support to the desperate methods he used to gain a hearing, La Raza in Los Angeles has affirmed the validity of his charges against "Anglo society."

The unemployed father of eight children hijacked a Frontier Airlines plane April 13 over New Mexico, where he had gone to look for work after being fired from a cooks job in Los Angeles. He insisted on broadcasting his charges over KMEX-TV and radio station KWKW, both Spanish-language stations.

In his broadcast, Chavez-Ortiz expressed concern about the question of dignity, of the right of people to be able to work and provide for their families. (It is estimated that the unemployment rate in East Los Angeles, where the Chavez-Ortiz family lives, is 30 percent.) He spoke of the irony of this country being able to put men on the moon, while not being able to provide jobs for millions of unemployed.

He said he feels his children must get an education, yet they are so dissatisfied with their schools that they don't want to go. He spoke of mistreatment of all oppressed nationalities in this country, of bad housing and inferior education.

This 37-year-old Mexican citizen, who came to this country 14 years ago, also spoke of the problems of worker-immigrants. He said he worked on one job from 7:30 a.m. to 10 p.m. with time for only one meal. He is a trained mechanic and reportedly has a pilot's license.

"We are working for his defense, absolutely," said Bert Corona of CASA (Centro de Acción Social Autónomo—Autonomous Center for Social Action). "He is not a criminal."

Danny Villanueva, general manager of KMEX, told *Militant* reporter Della Rossa, "I feel compassion for the man. He was frustrated, disillusioned by things we all know are true."

Xaviar Navarro, program director of KWKW, was asked if Chavez-Ortiz, who was reported to have been under psychiatric treatment, sounded rational. "Oh yes! The community knows of these problems. It is not a sign of madness."

On April 16, hundreds of Chicanos picketed the county jail where Chavez-Ortiz was being held, demanding that bail be reduced. Presidential candidate George McGovern was quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* as expressing sympathy for the "woeful grievances" of Chicanos that led to the hijacking.

Mariana Hernández, Chicano Studies instructor at Cal State L.A. and Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, said, "Ricardo Chavez-Ortiz speaks for all of us in the barrio when he speaks of massive unemployment, bad housing, and poor education. Many of us have felt his anger, frustration, and desperation. Without condoning skyjacking, we say Chavez-Ortiz is not a criminal. . . . We must continue to expose these conditions and at the same time organize a mass social and political movement to change society."

— ANTONIO CAMEJO

Muslims demand Black control of police

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK, May 1—"We have an issue before the Black community that cuts across our religious beliefs," Minister Louis Farrakhan told the more than 5,000 Blacks seated in the 369th National Guard Armory in Harlem. When he exclaimed, "Getting the white police out of the Black community. . . . We are asking, demanding, and will get control of our police in our own communities!" the crowd exploded in a thunderous hand-clapping, foot-stomping applause.

"Control," that was the theme of the Unity Rally held Sunday, April 30. The rally was endorsed and built by various community organizations, several Black Democratic politicians, and the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims). The momentum behind the rally grew out of the April 14 attack by more than 100 police and plainclothesmen on Muhammad's Temple No. 7 in Harlem.

In that attack, the police supposedly responded to a call about an officer in distress on the second floor of the Temple. They first burst into the building and then surrounded it, brandishing automatic weapons and shotguns. Scores of children attending the Muslim school were present. Muslim leaders say some of the officers pointed their guns directly at the heads of some of the students.

Two Muslims, Louis 17X E. Dupree and Bobby 9X Hopes, were arrested for physically expelling the first group of police officers that entered the mosque. A police weapon was fired dur-

ing the scuffle, and officers later fired "warning shots" into the entrance from outside. One officer was wounded and later died.

The distress call proved to be false, as have so many in relation to the New York City mosques. And because the Muslims have charged that the police broke a previously agreed upon procedure for handling such calls, the police have been clearly put on the defensive. For example, the police have yet to charge the arrested Muslims with the death of the officer.

Moreover, Bryant Rollins, executive editor of the influential Black weekly *Amsterdam News*, wrote in the April 29 issue that there are "unconfirmed



Minister Louis Farrakhan

reports that some 21 police officers have been quietly dropped from the 28th Precinct's prestigious plainclothes anticrime unit. . . ." This measure was reportedly taken for the officers' open display of weapons "without prior authorization."

Furthermore, the commander of the 28th Precinct, Deputy Inspector John J. Haugh, has resigned over the fact that the dead officer, Philip W. Cardillo, was not fervently backed by the department for "his actions in going into the mosque." In other words, he is complaining that the police have found no one to blame or frame for their attack.

Although Police Commissioner Patrick V. Murphy called the invasion a "terrible tragedy," the Harlem community sees it as one in a long train of abuses. And because the Muslims have decided to launch a defense campaign, a groundswell of support has developed.

The Muslims are demanding an apology from Murphy and Mayor John V. Lindsay for the assault, the dropping of all charges against the arrested Muslims, and the removal of white police from the Black community and their replacement by Black officers under Black commanders.

These demands have been endorsed by the *Amsterdam News*; *Black News*, a nationalist biweekly published in Brooklyn; the Guardians, an organization of New York City Black policemen; the Black Panther Party; Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel;

State Senator Waldaba Stewart; State Senator Sidney Von Luther; and many community organizations and churches. The politicians and representatives of these organizations and institutions spoke at the rally or sat on the dais.

B. R. Washington, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Harlem, issued a statement hailing the rally. "The Muslim defense campaign and demands should be supported by the entire spectrum of political opinion in Harlem. To cement this support we must build a Black united front committed to mobilizing and organizing the community in behalf of the demands. It is only by demonstrating our power, as we have begun to do in this rally, that we can compel the withdrawal of the white police and their replacement by Black officers accountable to us. We must have community control!"

Messages of support read at the rally included one from the Association of Arab-American University Graduates and another from the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Republic to the United Nations. The latter message said the Libyan deputy foreign minister had confronted the U. S. consul in Tripoli, the capital of the Libyan Arab Republic, over the mosque attack.

In closing, Minister Farrakhan said of the rally, "This is not the end, this is just the beginning. . . . We intend to organize the Black community behind this issue."

Liberation fighters gain in Guinea-Bissau

By TONY THOMAS

One of the key focuses of the African Liberation Day actions scheduled for Washington, D. C., San Francisco, Toronto, London, and the West Indies on May 27 is U. S. and NATO (North American Treaty Organization) complicity with Portugal's colonial wars in Africa. Portugal's colonial empire—the largest in Africa—includes Mozambique, Angola, and Portuguese Guinea-Bissau—Cape Verde Islands. The independence struggle taking place in Guinea-Bissau is one of the most advanced struggles within Black Africa.

Guinea-Bissau has a population of 600,000. Portugal claimed the area in 1886, but it took nearly 50 years of "pacification" campaigns against the Guinean people to effect full Portuguese control. This has left a rich heritage of resistance among the Guinean people.

Portugal's pacification brought little "civilization" to Guinea. Guinea has no railroads and very few roads. Commerce and business is completely in the hands of European emigrants. Ninety percent of the population is illiterate. In 1962, when the freedom fighters of the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde—African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands) launched their armed struggles, the government had built only a handful of primary schools and one high school.

"Economically, the colony was run as an appendage of Portugal—or rather of the monopolist trading company, the União Fabril—which supplied Portugal with cheap colonial imports in return for Portuguese exports, the terms of trade fixed in order to turn the balance of payments as favorably to Portugal as was possible." (*The Liberation of Guinea* by Basil Davidson. Penguin Books. 1969.)

Davidson found that in 1954 the majority of the population suffered from hookworms, two fifths of all villages had sleeping sickness on an

endemic level, and the infant mortality rate was 60 percent. Portugal claimed it could not "afford" to alleviate these conditions.

Since democratic rights have been virtually nonexistent in Portugal itself since Salazar established his dictatorship in 1932, it is not surprising that all political, democratic, and trade-union rights were denied in Guinea-Bissau.

The PAIGC was founded by Amílcar Cabral, an African agronomist, in 1956 with only six members.

They decided on Sept. 19, 1959, "that the only way to liberate the country is through struggle by all possible means, including war." (PAIGC document quoted by Davidson.) In 1960 they moved their base of operations to Conakry in the neighboring, independent Republic of Guinea.

The PAIGC launched its armed struggle in 1962. Since that time it has gained control over the great bulk of Guinea-Bissau. According to the Nov. 8, 1971, *New York Times*, "The guerrillas say that they control more than two-thirds of the territory with more than two-thirds of the population." Cabral stated in an interview printed in the Jan. 12, 1972, *Guardian*, a New York radical weekly, ". . . we have expelled the Portuguese from more than 40 camps; they used to have 14 camps along the border with independent Guinea—now they have only one."

"We now control all the roads except for some in the western and center-eastern regions; they cannot pass and they do not try."

One of the key beliefs of the PAIGC is that national liberation means more than formal independence. In a speech entitled "Foundations and Objectives of National Liberation in Relation to Social Structure," delivered at the Tri-continental Conference held in Havana, Cuba, in January 1966, Cabral outlined his ideas on this. He defined national liberation as the right to regain and continue Guinea's own his-

tory, which can only be done by "liberating the means and process of development of its own productive forces."

Faced with this threat, Portugal has responded with a brutal colonial war. Between 25,000 and 35,000 Portuguese and as many as 10,000 mercenary African troops have been enlisted by the Portuguese against the PAIGC's 5,000 regular troops and 5,000 militia women and men.

Portugal maintains an army of 125,000 in Africa fighting against freedom fighters in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique. Relative to Portugal's small population (9.6 million), this figure is equivalent to the U. S. having more than 2.5 million troops in Vietnam. Moreover, the strain is even greater since Portugal itself is a "backward," almost underdeveloped country.

Thousands of Portuguese youth have illegally left Portugal to escape the draft and the reactionary regime. Massive strikes against conscription shook Portugal's medical schools and universities in early 1971, even though such actions are illegal. Portugal's defense minister was forced to admit in the Jan. 18 *New York Times* that this dissent had affected the officer corps in Africa and had led to de-

sertions (which have also been reported by the Cuban magazine *Tricontinental*.)

Portugal is able to maintain whatever hold it has on Guinea-Bissau through alliances with its NATO allies: Britain, France, Germany, and the United States. (These countries also control the Portuguese internal economy.)

The character of Portugal's attempts to control its African colonies—strikingly like the U. S. involvement in Vietnam—was described by the Nov. 8, 1971, *New York Times*: ". . . the Portuguese control the air, dropping bombs and napalm on guerrilla targets, including villages. . . . But most of their ground forces are concentrated in a few urban areas, or in fortified outposts from which they venture only cautiously."

Although the U. S. and other NATO powers claim they ban Portuguese use of their military aid in Africa, the PAIGC and neutral observers have seen German, French, and U. S. supplies used. Recently the U. S. granted more than \$435-million in aid to Portugal in "payment" for bases in the Portuguese Azores. Those who oppose U. S. aid to Portugal should join in building the May 27 African Liberation Day demonstrations.



Photo from Africa Asia

Freedom fighters of the PAIGC (African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands) have wrested control of the majority of Guinea-Bissau from Portuguese imperialists.

April 29 and May 4:

New York

By DAVE FRANKEL

NEW YORK, April 30—More than 2,500 people filled Washington Square Park yesterday to protest the war in Indochina and the massive U.S. bombing of the Vietnamese people.

Four feeder marches were organized in addition to the main rally. About 200 young people, mostly students from Brooklyn College and Kingsborough Community College, marched over the Brooklyn Bridge to the park. Sixty Columbia and Barnard students marched downtown from their campus with a five-piece band, while about 50 students from Cooper Union and 40 from Pratt Institute also formed marches. The Pratt march was led by a banner saying "Activism Liberates."

Katherine Sojourner, a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, which organized the rally along with the Student Mobilization Committee, headed the speakers list. She characterized Nixon's April 26 speech as "the latest edition of the U.S. government's 'generation of peace' speech." "Only the names and dates have been changed to try to fool the innocent," she said.

Henry Foner of the Joint Board of Fur, Leather and Machine Workers pointed out that Nixon lies about the war just as he lies about wages and prices.



New York, April 29

Photo by Ellen Lemisch

Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, urged people to stay in the streets and build their own independent movements.

Other speakers included Brad Lyttle of the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, the New York affiliate of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice; Representative Bella Abzug; Representative William Fitts Ryan; and Joanna Misnick, Socialist candidate for Congress who will be running against either Ryan or Abzug in Manhattan's 20th C.D., depending on which of them wins the Democratic Party nomination.

Speakers at the rally emphasized the upcoming May 4 actions, which will include two rallies in New York—one at noon at Foley Square and the other at 4:30 in the garment district.

Denver

By JON HILLSON

DENVER, April 29—A statewide organizing effort that began 84 hours before today's emergency antiwar demonstration brought more than 5,000 people to Denver from every corner of Colorado.

The demonstration was initiated on April 25 at a statewide meeting attended by 60 people. But organizing

was held up for a day and a half by a 14-hour spring blizzard.

The first half of the two-mile march was led by a contingent of Asian-Americans, the first ever to march in a Colorado antiwar demonstration. Their banner, demanding "self-determination for Vietnam," expressed the sentiment of the marchers.

The second mile of the march was led by the Raza Contra la Guerra contingent of more than 200 Chicanos. The Denver-based Crusade for Justice helped monitor the contingent and played a central role in organizing it. A news conference was held at Crusade headquarters April 27 with Crusade founder Rodolfo Corky Gonzales and Ernesto Vigil, the editor of *El Gallo*, the Crusade's newspaper. Also at the press conference was Al Baldivia, an activist in the Colorado Peace Action Coalition as well as in the Crusade.

During the march itself, hundreds of people responded to the chants of "join us" and "off the sidewalks, into the streets."

About 40 members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) marched behind a coffin draped with an American flag, while a contingent of some 50 Chicanos from Greeley, Colo., marched in another section of the demonstration. Some active-duty GIs were among those who joined the march.

Speakers at the rally included Corky

Gonzales; Jerry Yoshima of the Asian contingent; Colorado Peace Action Coalition coordinator Jon Hillson; Barbara Thornton of the Boulder SMC; Joan Fulks, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Colorado; Penfield Tate, a member of the Boulder City Council; and two representatives of VVAW.

Boston

By JEANNETTE TRACY

BOSTON, April 30—In less than a week, strike activists on various Boston campuses were able to organize a rally of 1,500 people on Boston Common, protesting the escalation of the war in Southeast Asia. Yesterday's march was initiated by the Student Mobilization Committee and the Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition and endorsed by the May 4 Moratorium Committee, a coalition of many trade-union, religious, and Black groups in the Boston area.

Feeder marches from Boston University and Harvard were organized for the rally. Speakers included John Kerry, Vietnam veteran and Democratic congressional candidate; John Mitchell, Meat Cutters union vice-president; and former Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition coordinator Don Gurewitz. Gurewitz is presently the Socialist Workers Party candidate

for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts.

At the end of the rally, hundreds of participants were dispatched to all parts of Boston to leaflet for the May 4 moratorium and the May 6 antiwar demonstration scheduled for the Boston Common.

Wash., D.C.

By CALVIN GODDARD

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A lively, militant group of 400, including a large number of high school students, marched on the Pentagon April 29 to protest the continuing escalation of U.S. bombing in Indochina. Marching a mile and a half from the Lincoln Memorial to the Mall en-

The decision must be approved by the university's board of regents, and a demonstration is being organized at the state capitol in Annapolis to urge the regents to end the ROTC program.

The next round of local antiwar activities were announced. These include a candlelight memorial service for the war dead on Capitol Hill on May 3, and an evening "town meeting" at All Souls Church on May 4.

Other actions

As we go to press, plans for the May 4 antiwar moratorium are moving ahead at full speed. Teach-ins, vigils, literature displays, rallies, and march-



Four thousand march in Salt Lake City, April 24

Photo by Larry Monroe

trance of the Pentagon, their shouts of "stop the bombing, out now!" were greeted by "V" signs and cries of "right on!" from passing motorists. The demonstration had been called only five days before by an emergency meeting of the Washington Area Peace Action Coalition (WAPAC).

At the rally, Jerry Gordon of the National Peace Action Coalition pointed out that Nixon's excuse for the escalation of the war is based on the "absurdity that the Vietnamese are invading Vietnam." Nixon's April 26 TV appearance was "an ultimatum to the Vietnamese to give up or else," said Gordon.

"We can't rely on elections," he continued. "We have to rely on ourselves to end the war. If enough people take to the streets, it doesn't matter who sits in the White House."

Local Black activist Julius Hobson asked rhetorically, "What's the difference between a gook and a nigger?" He concluded by urging, "We'd better get to the streets in a hurry."

David Elsila, a member of the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild and representing Washington Labor for Peace, said that "war-caused inflation and taxation is contributing to a more vocal opposition to the war among workers." He said that the National Labor Antiwar Conference to be held in St. Louis in early June will organize labor protests, possibly including work stoppages.

Mike Priddy of the University of Maryland Strike Committee and the Young Socialist Alliance told of a victory won by the recent large-scale antiwar protests at the U of M. The university senate, composed of students, faculty, and administrators, voted to terminate its Air Force ROTC program by the end of the school year.

es are being organized in practically every major city in the country. The following are some of the actions planned.

In Chicago, Professor Noam Chomsky of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Fred Halstead, a member of the national coordinating committee of the National Peace Action Coalition and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for senator from Illinois, will address a rally at the Federal Building. The Chicago rally is jointly sponsored by the Chicago Peace Council and the Chicago Peace Action Coalition. On April 29 these groups, together with the SMC, turned out 350 people for a march and rally despite intermittent rain.

San Francisco, which also turned out about 350 people on April 29, is planning a city-wide rally, in addition to campus activities.

In San Diego, a rally at Balboa Park has been called by the SMC and the San Diego City College strike committee.

A candlelight rally is planned for Atlanta May 4.

Five hundred marched in Minneapolis in the rain on April 29. Another march is planned for May 4, this time from the University of Minnesota to the Minneapolis Federal Building.

About 300 demonstrated in Cleveland on April 29, and on May 4 there will be two rallies in Cleveland, one at noon and one at 4:30 p.m. in Public Square.

A candlelight march followed by a rally at Portland State University is being organized for May 4 in Portland, Ore. More than 300 marched there on April 29.

About 150 demonstrators picketed Philadelphia's City Hall on April 29

antiwar actions

and afterwards distributed 15,000 leaflets in the center of the city for May 4.

On April 24, 4,000 people marched against the war in Salt Lake City, Utah, in an action organized by the United Front to End the Bombing.

Int'l actions

By DAN ROSENSHINE

PARIS, May 2—The European antiwar movement responded to Nixon's bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong on April 16 with large protests in six countries last week. The biggest antiwar action took place in Sweden on May 1, where, according to the Paris daily *Le Monde*, 50,000 people marched against the war. This was the largest antiwar demonstration in Sweden to date. The Lands Organization, the main Swedish trade-union federation, and various radical groups decided to cancel scheduled May Day activities to unite in one May Day action calling for an end to the war in Southeast Asia.

In France more than 30,000 people turned out on April 25 in an antiwar action organized on just eight days' notice. The demonstration was called by the Committee of 48, a broad antiwar coalition, and was endorsed by the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT—General Confederation of Labor), the largest trade-union confederation in France. In the past the CGT, which is led by the French Communist Party, has refused to participate in united-front actions against the war. Supporters of the Front Solidarité Indochine (FSI—Indochina Solidarity Front), one of the most active coalitions organizing against the war in France, marched in a contingent of 5,000 in the April 25 demonstration.

Five thousand antiwar demonstra-



Photo from Tribune

Sydney, Australia, April 22. More than 20,000 demonstrated throughout Australia April 20-22 in opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Vietnam Committee, which called the antiwar march of 10,000 on April 15, and Vietnam '69, another Danish antiwar group, organized the April 26 protest.

On April 29 between 500 and 1,000 people marched against the war in Luxembourg, a country with a population of only 350,000. This was the biggest antiwar action in Luxembourg's history. The antiwar movement in the Netherlands also scheduled protests for April 29 and 30.

Berkeley strike

By BRIAN WILLIAMS

BERKELEY—The University of Cal-

munity to shopping centers and schools to build the city-wide moratorium rally scheduled for 5 p.m. in Provo Park in downtown Berkeley. A march is being organized from the U. C. Berkeley campus to Provo Park as one of the building actions.

A student strike was called April 20 to protest the escalation of the war, to support the demands of campus workers engaged in a work stoppage, and to back striking Black, Chicano, and Asian law students fighting administration attempts to reduce minority enrollment in Boalt Hall, the law school. Most strike activity has since subsided.

The Black and Asian Boalt Hall students voted to end their strike after their demands on admissions policies were won. The Chicano Law Students Association, however, has decided to continue its boycott until law school admissions are on a par with the percentage of Chicanos in the population of California.

The union work stoppage is entering its third week and shows no sign of being settled. The Alameda County Superior Court issued a restraining order against the union on the basis that it is illegal for public employees to strike. The workers contend that they are not striking, just "withholding services."

The Alameda Central Labor Council is distributing a leaflet attacking the university for its antilabor policies. The leaflet states:

"The university has maintained a pleasant facade in the more than a year of what it calls bargaining. . . . Run by regents, a governor and a president who have assumed absolute power, the university this week presents the same face to the world as the captains of industry of the last century. Big industrial management has learned the hard way that no matter how much power it has, it cannot stop its employees from organizing, bargaining and withholding their labor as a last resort. It has learned that it cannot bar workers from union representation and union contracts to improve their pay and conditions. The university will learn too."

Union representatives have been invited to speak at the city-wide moratorium rally on May 4.



Photo from La Gauche

Teach-in of over 2,000 held April 20 at the University of Brussels in Belgium.

tors, according to the April 26 *International Herald Tribune*, marched in Oslo, Norway, on April 24. This was the second large Norwegian antiwar action in the last 10 days. More than 4,000 demonstrated at the American Embassy in Copenhagen, Denmark, on April 26. The Danish

ifornia at Berkeley Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) is organizing local moratorium activities for May 4. At 10 a.m. in Pauley Ballroom, a commemorative meeting in honor of the martyrs of Kent, Jackson, and Augusta will be held. Antiwar activists will then be sent into the com-

Unions to march on May 4

DETROIT, May 2—A news conference held here today to announce plans for a May 4 picket line outside the Federal Building featured Tom Turner, president of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO Council; and Jim Lafferty, coordinator of the Detroit Coalition to End the War (DCEW) and a national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition.

The action is being cosponsored by the Detroit AFL-CIO and the DCEW. Last September the AFL-CIO in Detroit organized a picket line of 7,000 against the war and the wage freeze. This is the first time, however, that it has formally cosponsored such an action with an antiwar group.

One hundred thousand leaflets printed by the Detroit AFL-CIO have already been distributed, and another 50,000 are being printed.

The leaflets, which are going out under the name of both groups, are headed by the demands of "End the Wage Controls," "End Unemployment," and "End the War." The text of the leaflet reads as follows:

"The Nixon administration in 1969 promised to control inflation without an increase in unemployment. As a result of this original game plan we have suffered increases both in inflation and unemployment. Now the Nixon administration's wage-price controls gouge the American people at the supermarket and squeeze them in the paycheck. We protest!

"President Nixon promised in 1968 that he would end the war in Southeast Asia. The war in Indochina has again been escalated by the Nixon administration. . . .

"The American people can end this war. The American people can bring the troops home and force the reallocation of the war budget for jobs at a living wage for all. It is time that we all unite and tell the Nixon administration that we have had enough. Join us in a massive, peaceful picket line at the Federal Building on May 4."

Minn. teachers

By JIM CARSON

MINNEAPOLIS—The state convention of the Minnesota Federation of Teachers, meeting April 21-22, voted by a 5-to-1 majority to condemn the war in Indochina. Labeling "the war, not wages," as "the major cause of spiraling inflation," the 300 assembled teachers charged that "Wage controls are an attempt by the Nixon administration to shift the burden of the war more heavily onto the backs of working people. . . ."

The resolution had overwhelming support from the state executive board of the union. It called for the total and immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Indochina and supported the peaceful and legal assemblies for peace called by the National Peace Action Coalition, including any called for the fall of 1972.

In addition, the resolution called upon AFT delegates to the next AFL-CIO convention to support this position on the war.

Communications between AFT affiliates in many states have been opened in an effort to gain the greatest possible support for this resolution at the AFT national convention, which will be held in St. Paul, Minn., in August.

Origin of May 27 protest action on Africa

The following are major excerpts from a speech given at the Washington, D.C., Militant Labor Forum, April 14, by Mark Smith, director of operations of the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee. The ALDCC has called for demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco on May 27 to protest imperialist domination in Africa and show solidarity with the struggles of the oppressed people in Africa. He spoke along with Florence Tate, information coordinator of the ALDCC, and Herman Fagg, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for D.C. congressional delegate.

What I would like to do first is give everyone a little bit of background on the development of ALDCC, on the reasons that people have come together around this particular effort, and a little bit about the types of positions the group we're working with has taken on the question of southern Africa.

The African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee came about largely as the result of a trip by Owusu Sadaukai, who is the head of Malcolm X Liberation University in

North Carolina, to Mozambique last fall. In talks with leaders of FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) and other liberation organizations, they told him that along with things that a number of people have been doing in this country to support those movements—namely raising money, medical supplies, and other immediate material aid—it would be of tremendous support to them if Black people in this country could come together and provide a political support group for those movements.

So in the process of trying to put that kind of political support group together, we have tried to span as broad a cross section of the Black community's political beliefs as we possibly can. To illustrate that slightly, I am going to briefly run through the names that are now on the national steering committee of ALDCC: Owusu Sadaukai is chairman; Brother Ralph Abernathy; Kwadwo Olu Akpan of the Pan-African Congress in Detroit; Imamu Baraka of the Committee For a Unified Newark; Julian Bond; H. Rap Brown; Angela Davis; Stokely Carmichael; Congressman John Conyers (D-Mich.); Congress-

man Charles Diggs (D-Mich.); Rosie Douglas of the Toronto Black Student Union; Roy Innis of CORE; Jessie Jackson of PUSH; Penny Jackson, who is George Jackson's sister; Nelson Johnson of the Student Organization for Black Unity; Gene Locke of Africans in America for Black Liberation from Houston; Doug Moore of the Black United Front in Washington; and George Wiley of the National Welfare Rights Organization.

At this point there are two or three things that we consider to be our primary objectives. The first is the massing of as many Black people as possible in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco, Calif., on May 27. The second is between now and that time the dissemination in whatever ways of information about the struggle in southern Africa through churches, through local PTAs, through school boards.

One of the things we felt was very, very important in talking about the question of southern Africa was to make certain positions clear so that they could not be coopted by the barrage of propaganda that the South Africa government, the Rhodesian government, and the United States government have been putting out lately—most of which is in cooperation with South Africa's new dialogue program.

So we felt at first that it was necessary to say to everyone that we talked to about African Liberation Day that in our minds the question in southern Africa was not one of apartheid, was not one of parliamentary participation in European-run governments, was not one of concessions granted through European-controlled state apparatuses, but that the question in southern Africa was really who was going to control the land and who was going to control the distribution of goods and services. The question was essentially one of majority rule, African rule.

And so we felt that that was one point it was very necessary to say, because in our opinion the South African government is prepared to relinquish apartheid at any time if it

fits into a larger, overall design to retain control of the state apparatus in South Africa.

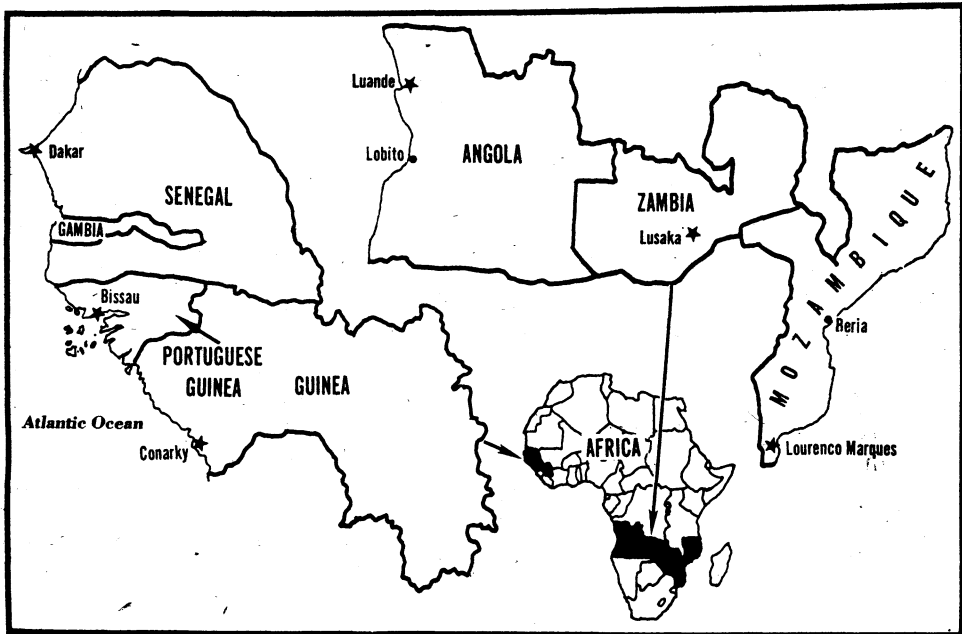
We also felt that it was very, very necessary to say that the United States government plays a large part in what is going on in southern Africa... (that their) policy until this time has been very low key. And by that I mean that their involvement has not had the kind of profile that it has in Vietnam or even the Dominican Republic or a great many other areas.

Their involvement has been first, on an economic plane, the support of those governments either by direct governmental aid or by loans made by banks or by industrial support through a number of U.S. corporations that work there. Their other avenue of support has been supplying NATO with United States war materials. (Portugal is a member of NATO.)

And because that policy has been very low key, we don't find very many people in this country who know about that. If you talk about FRELIMO being bombed by French planes and being shot at with bullets and shells that were made in the United States, most people have no knowledge of that because it's something that the United States government tries to keep very quiet.

So those are basically our aims and objectives. The continuation of ALDCC after May 27 is still up in the air. It is a decision that will be made by the steering committee. I would hope personally that after the 27th people see fit to continue something of a coalition nature that begins to propagandize Black people in a popular kind of way—rather than a kind of screaming, ranting, raving kind of way—about first, the problems in southern Africa, and second, the interrelationships between those problems and the problems our people face in this country.

(For information and literature, contact: African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee, 2207 Fourteenth St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. Telephone: (202) 462-3411.)



Portuguese colonies of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique, and adjoining countries.

NYC Black teachers hold convention

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—More than 300 teachers, students, and parents attended the first New York City convention of the African-American Teachers Association (ATA). The convention, held April 21-23 at the Alexander Hamilton Vocational and Technical High School in Brooklyn, was marked by discussion on two major topics. One was the struggle for Black control of Black education as it is manifested in community control of the public schools on the one hand, and the establishment of independent educational institutions on the other.

The second topic concerned the \$1-million law suit that has been filed against the ATA by the United Federation of Teachers, headed by Albert Shanker, in the name of four UFT members.

The first topic was dealt with in addresses to the convention by Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) of the Committee For a Unified Newark and Roy Innis of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality). Both speakers saw no contradiction between fighting for control of the public schools and organizing independent Black educational institutions.

Baraka talked of the Newark African Free School, an independent setup, and how it is used as a model in the struggle for control of the public schools.

The final speaker at the convention, Minister Louis Farrakhan, national spokesman for the Nation of Islam (or Black Muslims), expressed a preference for independent institutions. Workshops during the convention were devoted to both approaches.

One convention workshop dealt exclusively with the UFT suit. The suit arose out of two alleged meetings of the ATA at Junior High School 57 on Feb. 16. On that day Black teachers in the school met twice, once in the morning and again in the afternoon. Four white teachers sat in on the first meeting. But at the second meeting four other white teachers who tried to gain entrance were barred.

Following the incident, the four white teachers charged that they were subjected to "discrimination" on public property and sued the ATA for \$1-million in "damages." The white teachers are using the 1964 Civil Rights Act as the basis for the suit.

This use against Black people of a law that was ostensibly passed to protect Black people is absurd. The suit is but another in a long train of abuses directed by the UFT against the advocates of Black control of Black education. This is illustrated in the actions of the UFT officialdom, which has provided the lawyers and other backing for the "aggrieved." The plaintiffs were apparently acting out of deliberate design and as provoc-

ateurs under the direction of the UFT bureaucrats.

Thus the UFT leadership is once again on a collision course with the Black community. Given that the majority of the students in the New York City public schools are Black and Puerto Rican, the suit will not help the union win their support or that of their parents in the upcoming contract talks with the board of education.

If the UFT wins the suit, the ATA stands to suffer irreparably. For the past three years the ATA has conducted a college-placement program with funding from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The aim of the program is to help students in the Brooklyn ghetto of Bedford-Stuyvesant obtain admission to college. Also, during the past two years, the New York Urban Coalition has funded an ATA effort to recruit Black teachers to the New York school system. Both of these programs would go overboard if the UFT wins.

But more than this, the fundamental right of Black students and Black teachers to organize as Blacks would be placed in severe jeopardy. For this reason, the UFT suit is an attack on the whole Black liberation movement.

The ATA is just beginning the process of educating and mobilizing the community against the UFT suit. The convention was part of this effort.



Albert Vann, president of the African-American Teachers Association.

TO THE YWLL CONVENTION:

Why socialists should not support the Democratic Party

The following is an open letter from the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance to the delegates and participants attending the second national convention of the Young Workers Liberation League.

At your second national convention, to be held in Chicago May 5-8, one of the main topics of discussion and decision will be the orientation of the Young Workers Liberation League to the 1972 elections.

The quotation on this page from your magazine, *Young Worker*, summarizes the approach that will be proposed at your convention as opposed to the approach taken by the "Trotskyites," i.e. the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. Essentially the same position is outlined in the "Draft Resolution" prepared for your convention.

Basically, the YWLL argues that the Young Socialist Alliance is sectarian in its refusal to support and work within the Democratic Party. You say there is a mass struggle going on between the "progressives" and the "reactionaries," led by "progressive candidates" in the Democratic party. Socialists, you assert, should be in the Democratic Party, participating in this struggle and preparing to lead a mass breakaway from that party.

In addition, the YWLL says that since the YSA opposes the Democratic Party, we must also be opposed to united front struggles to win immediate, democratic reforms, including representation for Black people and other oppressed nationalities.

On a few points the YSA would agree with you. We agree that the Democratic and Republican parties are both "dominated and controlled by monopoly capital and can never be reformed." We also agree that the main goal of socialists should be to promote a mass break from the parties controlled by big business.

But although the YWLL claims to want to encourage American working people to break from the Democratic Party, your strategy is contradictory to that aim.

First of all, when you say there is a mass struggle going on in the Democratic Party over issues like the war, racism, and the economy, you are wrong and help delude people about the real nature of the Democratic Party.

The Democratic Party is not a mass party except in the sense that masses of Americans pull the lever for it on election day. It is not set up to involve those who vote for it in making the decisions that determine its policies but rather to exclude or minimize their participation in and control over the party.

The Democratic Party is also set up in a way that discourages or eliminates debate over issues. It is a vote-catching machine that operates on the basis of personalities, favors, patronage, false promises, and corruption. The ITT scandal illustrates standard procedure not only for the Republicans but for the Democrats as well.

Unlike a labor party, where unions elect delegates and determine policy, the Democratic Party has no genuine mass base with decision-making power.

By painting the Democratic Party as a mass party engaged in a serious struggle over issues, the YWLL is misleading American youth and

helping to strengthen their illusions about the effectiveness of supporting the Democrats.

What you are probably referring to when you speak of a "struggle" within the Democratic Party is the emergence of such formations as the National Women's Political Caucus, the Youth Caucus, and the Black Congressional Caucus.

These caucuses are based on and appeal to the various independent movements that have arisen in the 1960s and are challenging the government policies of war, national oppression, and oppression of women. Although they are primarily oriented toward the Democratic Party, there have been important discussions within these caucuses over whether the Democratic Party can in fact represent their interests. And in these discussions the YWLL position puts you on the wrong side—the conservative side—telling these activists to continue supporting the Democratic Party.

At the March 10-12 National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., for example, a discussion took place on whether the 8,000 assembled Black people should break from the Democratic Party to form an all-Black political party based on and controlled by the Black community. YWLL members at the Gary convention did not support forming an independent Black party.

Black party 'divisive?'

In the March 11 issue of the *Daily World*, a newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party and the YWLL, Ted Bassett calls the idea of a Black party "divisive" and says it would "play into the hands of the white ruling class." At the same time, he praises the Congressional Black Caucus, the organization of Black Democrats in Congress, as the best vehicle for representing the interests of Black people in the elections.

Similarly, support to the Democratic Party has come up for question within the Women's Political Caucus. At the March 10-12 statewide meeting of the Texas Women's Political Caucus, Chicanas proposed that the caucus support candidates of La Raza Unida Party, the independent Chicano party in Texas. The YWLL has never come out in support of an independent Chicano party as the best strategy for Chicanos in the elections. Your position would put you on the side of the conservatives in this Texas women's convention—arguing for support to the Democratic Party.

And what about the trade unions? While you are urging support to the Democratic Party, the YSA urges young workers to press their unions to quit giving their money and support to the Democrats, since virtually all the Democratic politicians have gone along with Nixon's wage controls. The YSA urges working people to launch their own party based on the trade unions.

The fact is that the mass struggles occurring today are *independent* struggles—in the streets, in the factories, on the campuses—and they are directed *against* the policies of war, class exploitation, and racist and sexist oppression that have been maintained and enforced by the Democrats and Republicans.

It is becoming clearer to many activists that independent action maximizes the impact and effectiveness of

THE YWLL VIEW

"... the Trotskyites have a one-sided, mechanical view of the process at work within the two party-system, in particular the Democratic Party, and how revolutionaries should relate to struggles within the Democratic Party.

"While it is true that the Democratic, as well as the Republican, Party is dominated and controlled by monopoly capital and can never be reformed, still millions of people today, including large numbers of Black people, workers, and youth, believe that change can be won by working within the Democratic Party. Hence there is a struggle going on within the Democratic Party on the issues of war, racism, the economy, etc. This struggle moves in the direction of alienating the mass base of the Democratic Party from the reactionary, monopoly forces which control it. . . .

"When progressive candidates run within the Democratic Party

and mobilize masses of people around issues that run counter to the interests of the monopoly corporations, they help to heighten the contradiction between the interests of the masses that vote with the Democratic Party, and the interests of those that control the Democratic Party. This helps lay the basis for a mass breakaway from the two monopoly-dominated parties.

"But the Trotskyites, not seeing the importance of the democratic struggles to improve the lives of the people, not seeing the importance of the struggle against racism and for Black representation, and seeing only their own narrow, sect-like party as the sole alternative to the Democratic and Republican Parties, oppose all genuine united fronts and all steps toward electoral independence."

[From the March 1972 *Young Worker*, published by the Young Workers Liberation League. Emphasis in original.]

any movement. Liberal and conservative Democrats alike will bend further to our demands if there is an independent movement pressuring them from the left than they would if all those for social change are inside the Democratic Party, trusting in those liberals as their leaders and representatives.

The role of liberal Democrats, such as Bella Abzug, Shirley Chisholm, Ron Dellums, George McGovern, and Richard Hatcher, has not been to lead the more radical supporters of the Democrats in the direction of breaking with the Democratic Party, as the YWLL implies. Their role has been precisely the opposite: to attempt to convince those who are becoming fed up with the Democratic Party to "give it one more chance." They have served to *hold back* young people who are beginning to

tically nothing. In return, the Democrats supported the Economic Stabilization Act, which laid the basis for the wage freeze controls.

The truth is that the "progressives" and the "reactionaries" in the Democratic Party have more in common than they have differences because they are all committed to upholding the capitalist system. This fact is illustrated when the liberals get elected to office. They become part of the state apparatus that upholds the privileges and inequalities the capitalist system is based on. For example, former mayor of Cleveland, Carl Stokes requested that the National Guard be called in against striking teamsters in 1970 and against the ghetto uprising in 1968 to uphold capitalist "law and order."

Despite the miserable record of the



YWLL leader Tony Monteiro (r.) with Marilyn Markus of the YSA and Spencer Coxe of the ACLU at March 1 news conference protesting Pennsylvania's undemocratic election laws. The YSA would like more of such united actions.

look for alternatives to the Democratic Party. And by supporting these liberal politicians, the YWLL is helping prevent, rather than further, a mass breakaway from the Democratic Party.

Labor officials have played the same role by urging trade unionists to keep giving the Democrats "another chance." After more than 30 years of support to the Democratic Party, what have the unions received? Prac-

Democrats, however, it is true that masses of Americans still have illusions that Democratic politicians will bring about desired reforms. How then can we reach out to these people and encourage independent struggle for social change?

The YWLL's advice is to join them in their support to the Democratic Party—thus contributing to the very illu-

Continued on page 22

Interview with deputy chief of PRG delegation in Paris

A number of Americans in Paris met April 25 with Nguyen Van Tien, the deputy chief of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam's delegation to the Paris peace talks. The following account of the exchange that took place was provided to **The Militant** by Diana Johnstone, one of the participants in the meeting. The Americans' questions are in bold-face.

How important do you consider it to defeat Nixon in the elections?

Nguyen Van Tien: The presidential elections are an internal problem of the United States. What we pay attention to in an election period is public opinion—whether public opinion has any impact. In regard to Vietnam, the policy of Johnson the Democrat and Nixon the Republican are not very different, and the policy of the two parties are not very different from each other. We do not have any illusions about the coming election campaign. It is only rumor that says that Vietnamese have put their hopes on the coming election. My opinion is that the most important factor is public opinion, and whether the president, Republican or Democrat, must take public opinion into account.

Don't you think Madame (Nguyen Thi) Binh's (PRG Minister of Foreign Affairs) letter to members of Congress could produce a backlash?

Nguyen Van Tien: Our problem is just to inform the American people and their representatives of the reality in our country. We desire an early end to the war and so do a certain number of members of Congress. So we call on them to act in that direction for the good of the American as well as the Vietnamese people. We show our good will. It is natural that the White House should react. Pro-Nixon congressmen reacted, and this is not hard to understand. It indicates that the White House is afraid of public opinion in the U.S. and in Congress.

Representatives (Bella) Abzug (D-N.Y.) and (Patsy) Mink (D-Hawaii) recently met with Madame Binh. Do you think such meetings are useful, and if so, how?

Nguyen Van Tien: It is useful because the discussion contributes to an understanding of each other's points of view. And we can explain the situation in our country, which they often do not understand clearly. It is not their fault that they do not understand—it is the fault of the Nixon administration, which covers and systematically distorts reality. The propaganda machine is in the hands of the administration and serves their aims. Nixon's policy has been "Vietnamization," and the aim of the propaganda has been to convince people that "Vietnamization is working." Some Americans, of course, have seen through this but could not be heard over the noise of the propaganda machine. Even if after meeting with us, members of Congress still do not have a very realistic view, they then have at least been informed by another logic, another way of seeing things. Thus, these meetings are useful to some extent.

What are the aims of the current offensive? Why this timing?

Nguyen Van Tien: The U.S. propaganda portrays the uprising of the masses in an unreal way. They suggest big demonstrations in the cities as an uprising of the masses,

and nothing else. This is to mislead opinion, so that if this doesn't happen then there is no uprising of the masses. Now the situation in South Vietnam is very different from the situation anywhere else in the world. At the moment when the Saigon regime is in its death throes and the U.S. is ready to act in a demented way, demonstrations in cities are unwise—the U.S. might drop bombs and kill many people. Big demonstrations against the war can take place now in the United States. In South Vietnam, mass uprising is taking place in the following form: the people in villages and hamlets rise up and smash the control mechanism of Saigon and win back control village by village, hamlet by hamlet. That is happening now in South Vietnam. Nixon and Saigon are very afraid of this situation and, perhaps because of their fear, are not speaking about it. But the press has mentioned it. The heavily populated areas in the Mekong Delta and the coastal plains now have favorable conditions to rise up and free themselves. U.S.-ARVN must deploy almost all their forces in the battle areas, on the three fronts in Quangtri province, Binhlong province, and the central highlands. This



Photo by Walter Lippmann

L.A. April 22 Out Now rally. Nguyen Van Tien stresses need for large U.S. antiwar actions to answer Nixon's new escalation of the war in Southeast Asia.

provides the people in the Mekong Delta and the coastal plains with favorable conditions to chase out the Saigon control units, and the situation there is changing greatly. Concerning speculation as to the intention to capture a city to set up a PRG capital, it is as one of you suggested—the U.S. is imposing on us false aims in order to be able to say later that we did not succeed in that aim. That is just a stupid sort of psychological war, unfortunately often applied by the U.S. We have never declared the capture of any city or town as our aim. Nixon does not even know our aims. This offensive is just a continuation of our fight beginning with the landing of U.S. forces in Vietnam. Of course there are periods of step-up and periods of apparent lull. This is just part of our struggle for a peaceful, independent, democratic, and neutral South Vietnam. Our specific purpose is to advance the struggle for that goal. As to timing—the struggle will be stepped up whenever there are favorable conditions. As usual, you will notice, the offensive takes place in the dry season.

What about the danger of commando raids, mining Haiphong harbor, or the use of tactical nuclear weapons?

Nguyen Van Tien: I think you are well aware of the policy pursued by Nixon. He is a president who has made a lot of military adventures. That is why we do not exclude any possibility of military adventure coming from Nixon. We have to be prepared for all possibilities. But we are sure of one thing: Nixon cannot retrieve his situation even by recourse to the worst. And I think the American people will take active measures to stay Mr. Nixon's hand. Americans also share responsibility in this regard.

But what about nuclear weapons? How can you prepare. . . ?

Nguyen Van Tien: At present, the tactical nuclear weapon is used as a threat. But as I told you, the Vietnamese people are not frightened by such a threat. Such a threat cannot weaken the will of our people.

What about students' and workers' strikes and demonstrations in the cities?

Nguyen Van Tien: The students in the cities are working in a very difficult situation. Recently there have been very large demonstrations in Hue and Danang. The students in Saigon are carrying out a continuous struggle in many ways. But very many people are arrested. About 50 leaders of the student movement are jailed. Students know that in the present situation they face even harsher repression. That is why there is a certain limit to big demonstrations and strikes, and people are resorting to other forms of political protest. People are creating the conditions for future steps of the struggle. They will turn out in large numbers when the conditions are favorable.

Although the two American parties are much the same, don't you think that some of the candidates for the Democratic nomination, notably McGovern, are better than the others?

Nguyen Van Tien: Of course people have different opinions on how to end the war. Basically, their point of view and policy are not very different from each other. Tactically, there may be some difference, but basically their line is not very different.

What do the South Vietnamese people think about, and what is the PRG reaction to, Nixon's visits to China and Russia?

Nguyen Van Tien: In the present conditions, we have to think about this, but we are busy with the war. We make no open expression on this matter at this time.

Is it going to take another Dienbienphu to get the U.S. out?

Nguyen Van Tien: At present, when our offensive is developing very favorably, we are asking the U.S. to come back for a peaceful solution, on the reasonable and realistic basis of the seven points. We launched the offensive to reach the goals set forth in the seven points. We don't want another Dienbienphu if we can avoid it. The best and most honorable way for Nixon to get out of the war is to accept the seven points.

Corona speaks in Tijuana on 'illegal aliens'

By MARIO T. GARCIA

TIJUANA, Mexico—At a news conference here on April 8, several Chicano organizations based in California explained their views on "illegal aliens." At issue is state and federal legislation designed to punish employers of undocumented Mexican workers and to deport such workers. The main speaker was Bert Corona of CASA (Centro de Acción Social Autónomo—Autonomous Social Action Center).

The purpose of the news conference was to reach the 10,000 Mexican "green carders" who cross daily into California to work. Because of their unfamiliarity with English and the immigration laws, these Mexicans are victims of discrimination and harassment by employers and immigration officials.

Corona explained that the harassment of Mexicans in the U.S. and along the *linia*—the border—is not new. It has gone on for many years, as has the portrayal by the mass media in the U.S. of the Mexican as an inferior person, which has caused Chicanos to have an "identity problem."

Corona pointed out how racism is used in the U.S. to keep Mexicans "in their place" and to put Anglos in positions of superiority. He put the blame on the capitalist system in both the U.S. and Mexico. That is why Mexico is so bad off, Corona insisted, not because Mexicans are inferior.

U.S. corporations use Mexican immigrants as a massive source of cheap labor, Corona said, and these same firms use Mexico as an area for the exploitation of raw materials.

But the capitalist system is under severe pressure, as can be seen in its inability to defeat the Vietnamese people. The war and such projects as the space program, Corona went on, "have not worked the way the capitalists desired." Instead of blaming the capitalist system for the economic downturn, they put the blame on the "illegal aliens" from Mexico.

"They can no longer sell us this lie," Corona stated. Chicanos and Mexican nationals in the U.S. are organizing to defend their legal rights to live and work in the U.S. The march of several thousand Chicanos and Mexicans in Los Angeles on March 4 to protest the deportation of "undocumented Mexicans" is proof of this.

Corona cautioned against the legislation sponsored by Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts. Kennedy's law would have the effect of "federalizing" California's Dixon Arnett law, declared unconstitutional by a California supreme court in February. The Dixon Arnett law prohibited employers from hiring undocumented workers. Kennedy and other Democrats, as well as Republicans, will attempt to "trick us," Corona explained. Kennedy will come to California, and even to Mexico, and explain that his legislation will benefit Chicanos. "This is nothing but a trick, and Chicanos and the Mexican press should confront Kennedy with it!"

Corona concluded by saying that a new *mecha* (match) has been lighted that will unify all Mexicans on both sides of the *linia*, for they must unite to fight the common enemy.

Moscow's treacherous Indochina policy

By DICK ROBERTS

MAY 2—Speaking to tens of thousands of Russians at the May Day celebration in Moscow May 1, Soviet President Nikolai V. Podgorny denounced U. S. aggression in Indochina and pledged support to the Indochinese Communists.

At the same time the prestigious Soviet monthly academic magazine *U. S. A.* published an article looking forward to President Nixon's visit to Moscow scheduled for May 22. *New York Times* reporter Theodore Shabab commented, "The article in *U. S. A.* magazine, in effect setting the stage for President Nixon's visit, was intended to show that Moscow would not let the developments in Vietnam stand in the way of agreements with Washington on other major issues."

And while Moscow was taking these contradictory public stands on the war, it apparently arranged in secret meetings with Nixon's top diplomatic envoy, Henry Kissinger, for renewed Paris negotiations between Washington and Hanoi. Meanwhile, there have also been reports that Moscow is stepping up its military aid to North Vietnam, as minimal as that is.

What is Moscow really trying to do? As perplexing as these movements appear on the surface, they are the logical consequences of Moscow's overall strategy of "peaceful coexistence." This two-faced policy stems from the two-sided character of the Moscow regime itself.

On the one hand, the Soviet bureaucracy defends the nationalized property relations that resulted from the 1917 Russian Revolution. As the head of the world's most powerful noncapitalist state, they must also give the appearance of supporting revolutions in other countries. On the other hand, the privileged bureaucracy under the leadership of Stalin usurped power from the Soviet Union's revolutionary leadership in the 1920s, during a period of intense isolation and demoralization.

These parasitic bureaucrats are of

a far different stripe from the revolutionists who toppled the Czar. In place of the international revolutionary strategy of Lenin and Trotsky, the Stalinist regime has adopted a narrow, self-seeking strategy aimed at curtailing the world revolution in order to curry favor with imperialism.

A case in point was the 1954 Geneva Conference, which partitioned Vietnam. In this conference Moscow (and Peking) played leading roles in persuading the Vietminh to accept a division of Indochina. Even though the revolutionists were close to toppling French rule, they were forced to allow world imperialism to maintain influence over the southern part of the country. This division of the land paved the way for Washington's establishment of the puppet regime in Saigon and the later reescalation of the counterrevolutionary war.

At Geneva, Moscow and Peking bartered with the gains of the Vietnamese revolution in order to assuage the imperialist powers. Their respective delegates to Geneva, Molotov and Chou En-lai, settled for regroupment zones that left the colonial butchers in control of the South. The result of Geneva was two-sided. It left the revolution in power in Hanoi, but it denied victory to the Vietnamese revolution as a whole. This is the contradictory logic of "peaceful coexistence."

Kissinger's trip

Christian Science Monitor correspondent Joseph C. Harsch made an unusually candid observation on the present-day realities of "peaceful coexistence" between Moscow and Washington on April 29. "The safe, almost routine, return of Henry Kissinger from Moscow to Washington this past week underlines a point we have noticed before about the emerging shape of the new post-cold-war world," said Harsch. "It is the tolerance of the great powers for damage done to their clients."

"American bombs dropped on or around Hanoi and Haiphong have

put a chill on Moscow-Washington relations, but not enough to interfere with plans for Mr. Nixon's trip to Moscow.

"We presume that it would be a very different matter if Washington were trying to overthrow the regime in Hanoi. But since this is a reprisal for an offensive launched from North Vietnam against the American client to the south, Moscow makes appropriate noises but, like Peking, does not break off relations with the United States in protest."

Harsch is either ignorant or deliberately falsifying the record when he pronounces this as "new" to the "post-cold-war world." It was expressed by the Geneva Accords in 1954. The Pentagon papers show that Washington's entire escalation of the attack on Southeast Asia following Geneva took place within a framework determined by probing how far it could go before either Moscow or Peking would make a significant intervention on behalf of the Vietnamese revolutionists. The pitifully low levels of military and economic aid supplied to Hanoi were dismissed as insufficient to deter Washington's attack.

Nevertheless, without meaning to do it, Harsch's remarks amount to a devastating critique of Moscow's policies. "South Vietnam," he stated, "has been Washington's 'property' for 17 years, and that too confers rights, even to dropping bombs on the other person trying to take that property away."

"The retaliation may be embarrassing in both Moscow and Peking. It may be deplored and resented. But it does not seriously disturb the tenor of great-power relations."

Who benefits from this policy of "peaceful coexistence?" The reason Moscow "deplores" the renewed escalation goes beyond mere embarrassment at Washington's ability to escalate the counterrevolutionary war. There are Soviet ships in the Haiphong harbor. Not only have Moscow's policies failed to stem the massive U. S. attack on Indochina, they

have failed to alleviate the danger of world war, which is supposed to be the whole point of "peaceful coexistence." Will a new indignant speech by Podgorny be sufficient to answer the mining or blockade of the port of Haiphong and the destruction of Soviet ships, if Nixon takes this step, which his renewed bombing policies clearly threaten?

It hardly needs to be stated that the Vietnamese people themselves, the victims of seven years of murderous bombing, are also the victims of "peaceful coexistence."

Only Washington benefits from "peaceful coexistence." President Nixon's ability to reescalate the air war in North Vietnam, the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, with its implicit threat of world war, is the clearest proof of the bankruptcy of this narrow, bureaucratic policy.

To the question raised earlier—what is Moscow really up to?—the probable answer was given in the top-secret memorandum of the Nixon administration revealed April 25. This document noted in 1969 that "the Soviets have employed their influence over Hanoi in a generally constructive direction both as to timing and substance. From all indications they will continue to stake out tough Hanoi bargaining positions, to explore U. S. thinking and, whenever they consider it warranted, to utilize their leverage upon Hanoi in measured, highly selective and carefully timed fashion."

In other words, while continuing to support the revolutionists with minimal military and economic aid, Moscow will search for avenues of negotiation and ways of pressuring Hanoi into agreeing to a new settlement. They would like to get the embarrassing revolution out of the way and get on with consolidating the balance of world power.

The farthest thing from their minds is a meaningful defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

The Militant gets around...

THE MILITANT HAS NOW RECEIVED A TOTAL OF 1,484 RENEWALS THIS SPRING, almost 5 percent of the 32,580 subscribers from last fall's subscription drive. Last week was officially the final week in this spring's renewal drive, although renewals will continue to come in through the mail.

In the last 14 weeks *The Militant* has also received 2,240 new 10-week, 38 new six-month, and 251 new one-year subscriptions.

This spring's renewal drive was an experiment for *The Militant*. It was designed to enable *Militant* representatives to talk to people about the '72 Socialist Workers Party election campaign, to spread the word about the antiwar, abortion, and other actions this spring, and generally to gauge subscribers' response to *The Militant* after reading it for 10 weeks.

Areas that started early and systematically organized teams to visit groups of subscribers found that although they had difficulties locating people who had moved or were not home, many of those subscribers they talked to responded positively. In addition, the teams found roommates, neighbors, and friends of subscribers who were interested in discussing radical politics and subscribing to *The Militant*.

The renewal campaign presented the opportunity of introducing the *International Socialist Review* to *Militant* readers, who were often eager to subscribe to the *ISR* because they liked *The Militant*. Renewals to the *ISR* this spring totaled 399, or more than 10 percent of the 3,325 subscribers from last fall. The *ISR* also gained 327 new three-month, 134 new six-month, and 160 new one-year subscribers this spring.

One of the most tangible results of the renewal drive was the number of SWP campaign endorsers obtained. Hundreds of people signed cards

endorsing the Linda Jenness-Andrew Pulley campaign as a result of having *Militant* representatives visit them, and hundreds more indicated an interest in receiving more information about the campaign.

When a team of supporters from Atlanta went to the University of South Carolina, for example, they were able to find only one subscriber at home (who renewed). But in the process of canvassing the campus, they signed up more than 30 people as endorsers of the campaign. Similarly, as a result of renewal teams there are now about 15 Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley at the University of Georgia and West Georgia College who are building the antiwar and abortion movements there.

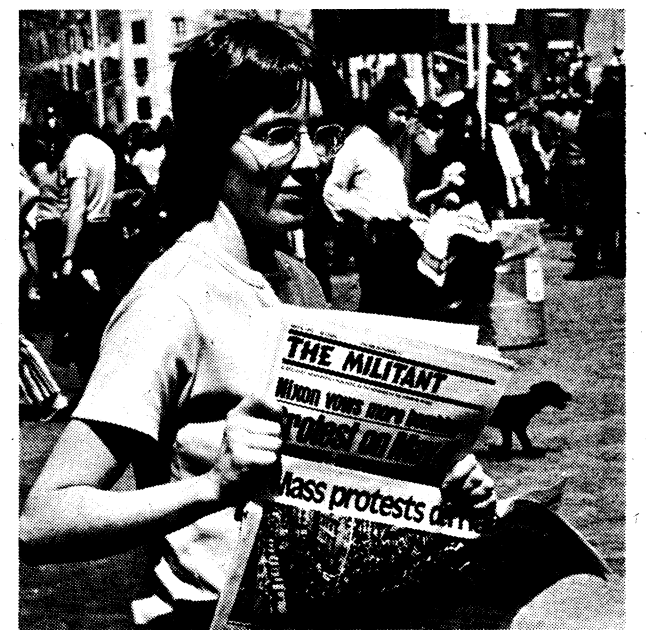
From the Oakland/Berkeley area, which is at the top of the renewal-drive scoreboard, renewal-drive directors John Naubert and Christopher Rayson write, "It is fair to say that we have made an impact. In the course of the drive we got out hundreds of pieces of campaign literature. Toward the end a lot of April 22 leaflets were distributed. . . . For many subscribers in the region, we are the only radical tendency they know of."

ANTIWAR COVERAGE RESULTS IN SALES AT UAW CONVENTION: During the United Auto Workers convention held in Atlantic City, N.J., April 23-28, 136 *Militants* and 12 copies of the *International Socialist Review* were sold. Salespeople report that the majority of *Militants* were sold on the basis of its coverage of the war in Vietnam. Syd Stapleton, who sold more than 60 *Militants*, reports that the Black delegates were especially attracted by articles on the National Black Political Convention and the Angela Davis trial. Twenty-three copies of the pamphlet

"The Wage-Price Freeze Swindle" by Les Evans and Linda Jenness were also sold.

THE MILITANT GETS TO EAST NASSAU AND TABOR CITY: We received a bundle order from East Nassau, N.Y. and one from Tabor City, N.C. this week. The one from Tabor City was accompanied by the following letter: "I've recently located near the Carolina beaches and hope with great effort that I can distribute *The Militant* thoroughly. I guess you hear little from North Carolina, but I hope to draw much attention for the socialist movement. I hope to order a larger bundle of *Militants* in the near future, but for now, send me 25 each week."

—NANCY COLE



Militant sales go well April 29 Photo by Mark Satinoff

Where the socialist candidates stand:

On pollution

The following represents the views of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the 1972 presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

The growing crisis of pollution and destruction of our environment is one of the clearest proofs of the need for socialism in order to prevent the complete disintegration of human society.

The capitalist system is based on naked plunder and exploitation for profits. By its very nature, this system cannot plan for or provide the needs of society as a whole.

Industrial wastes choke our air. Our food is contaminated with mercury and other poisons. We are slowly being poisoned by chemicals used in pesticides, cosmetics and toiletries, and detergents. We are bombarded with noise, lying commercials, and ugly billboards. We are sold products designed for quick obsolescence. Slum children are poisoned by lead paint. Oil spills contaminate our oceans and shorelines.

Scientists know that the long-term effects of many current industrial practices can be disastrous. Some say the disruption of natural chemical balances by capitalist production is approaching "a point of no return," when it will be too late to reverse these processes.

On top of everything else, the gov-

ernment pours our tax money into creating even greater instruments of calculated destruction for use in Vietnam and possibly elsewhere. This country and the world are constantly threatened by stockpiles of nerve gas, deadly germs, nuclear bombs, nuclear wastes, and by nuclear tests like the one at Amchitka.

Capitalism has created continuous technological innovation, constantly revolutionizing and automating the methods of production. It has developed complex international economic ties, making people and industries interdependent on one another.

But control of this powerful technology and productive potential rests in the hands of private owners, such as the Rockefellers, Morgans, duPonts, etc. This means that economic decisions are made on the basis of private-profit considerations, not social concerns.

Individual capitalists will not voluntarily carry out antipollution measures because such programs are an expense that would cut into their profits. When they are forced to adopt antipollution measures in a particular plant or industry, it helps alleviate the problem. But this is insufficient for totally solving it.

Full protection of our environment and of the lives and health of the masses of people can only be achieved

through drastic changes in U.S. production affecting the whole economy.

The control of productive facilities and technological advances must be taken out of the hands of the individual capitalists and taken over by the working people.

Social ownership and democratic control of industry rather than private ownership would mean that: 1) economic decisions could be made solely on the basis of what is best for all people; and 2) the entire economy of this country (and of the world, under a world socialist system) could be rationally planned in such a way that the raw materials and waste products of each sector of the economy could be coordinated in an efficient, nonpolluting manner. This will be necessary to prevent harmful disruption of the earth's ecological balance.

There is no reason why the tremendous technology that is now used to send people to the moon cannot be used to create a beautiful world for human beings—a world not threatened by instruments of nuclear, biological, or chemical warfare; a world with pleasant, uncrowded housing arrangements; a world with pure air, oceans, and streams; a world with fast, clean mass transportation available to everybody. This is part of what socialism is all about.

Important concessions can certainly be won, however, prior to the victory of socialism. A powerful struggle could—as the antiwar movement has done—force the government to bend at least somewhat to the demands of the majority, who are fed up with the ugliness, disease, and inhuman conditions bred by this system.

The Socialist Workers Party believes that the following must be demanded as immediate first steps to curb the polluters:

1) A comprehensive federal law requiring that all industries put into practice the most effective methods developed at the present time to reduce polluting effects of production. This law must have teeth—a system of inspection by elected representatives of working people and a 100 percent tax on profits of offenders.

2) Divert funds from military spending into research and development of effective antipollution measures.

3) No federal contracts to polluters.

4) Existing mass public transportation systems should be made free and should be enlarged to meet the needs of residents of every city.

5) Expropriation of any industries that refuse to comply with antipollution standards. These industries should then be run as public facilities under democratic management by those who work there.



German Trotskyists on Argentine kidnapping

The following statement on the kidnapping and killing of Oberdán Sallustro, the general manager of the Argentine division of Fiat, and the assassination of the Argentine general, Juan Carlos Sánchez, appeared in the April issue of Was Tun, the West German monthly publication of the Revolutionary-Kommunistischen Jugend (Revolutionary Communist Youth), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. The translation is by The Militant.

Argentina has yet to settle down since the workers' uprising in Cordoba in the autumn of 1969. During these events, and following them, the whole political scene was transformed. On the one hand, the limitations of the traditional workers organizations (particularly the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor]) became clear. On the other, the military regime was unable, despite its initial successes following the 1966 coup, to overcome the economic problems.

In this situation the revolutionaries were able to achieve important successes last year in the trade-union elections (at Fiat in Córdoba), strengthening their roots in SITRAC-SITRAM [Sindicato de Trabajadores de Concord—Concord Workers Union; Sindicato de Trabajadores de Materfer—Materfer Workers Union (two unions in the automobile industry)].

The regime replied with brutal repression: More than 50 union leaders were arrested, hundreds of revolutionaries were thrown in prison and murdered, and in Fiat in particular, hundreds of workers were fired.

The PRT (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers Party, Argentine section of

the Fourth International) was particularly hard hit. This organization, along with several others, saw itself confronted with an almost insurmountable problem: the alternative of either being rapidly liquidated, or of winning such a broad mass base that class solidarity could protect it.

Since legal revolutionary trade-union work was almost excluded and time was pressing, it was decided to attempt to win the sympathy of the masses through bold, and hopefully stimulating, revolutionary actions.

The ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary People's Army), founded by the PRT, had already successfully kidnapped the British consul, Stanley Sylvester, last year and—through distribution of large quantities of food, school materials, etc., won by this action—it had won a certain sympathy in Rosario. These actions were continued through various brilliantly organized bank robberies.

The Argentine comrades now hoped to strengthen class solidarity and thus effectively counter the repression through a new spectacular action.

On March 21 the ERP kidnapped the General Manager of the Argentine Fiat, Sallustro, and demanded the liberation of many imprisoned members and leaders of the SITRAC and SITRAM trade unions, the withdrawal of police units from the plant, distribution of school materials with a value of \$1-million, liberation of 200 revolutionaries, and the publication of ERP communiqués.

But the situation was no longer the same as in 1971. Only in very particular situations are such commando actions capable of strengthening the self-confidence of the masses and their readiness to struggle. By their very

nature such actions evoke the sympathy and perhaps support of the masses, but exclude participation by the masses. The masses are really reduced to the role of spectators.

If such actions were successful under particular conditions in Uruguay, the conditions in Argentina were much more unfavorable because the repression had drastically increased since the kidnapping of Sylvester, and the ties of the armed vanguard to the masses had thus been loosened.



Police hunt rebels in Buenos Aires following kidnapping of Sallustro.

The ERP was surely aware that in this situation the execution [of Sallustro] would not be understood by broad layers of the population. This realization, and the hope of achieving an agreement with Fiat, led the ERP to delay carrying out the execution order. However, when they had been tracked down they had little choice but to shoot Sallustro and flee.

A life and death struggle was then underway. It is thus clear why another commando of the ERP shot General

Sánchez shortly thereafter. He was the hardest and the most brutal of those who tracked down revolutionaries. He had controlled the 2nd Military District (Rosario-Tucumán) since 1970. He turned to brutal and escalating repressive measures after the kidnapping of Sylvester, earning the hatred of the inhabitants of Rosario, particularly the slum dwellers and the "immigrants" from North Argentina and Uruguay.

The repression struck at every oppositionist. Sánchez accused priests of betraying the church and had 47 of them arrested in September alone. Rosario became "the capital of torture." Toward the end of last year he could boast of having "put out of action" 85 percent of the guerrillas.

Thus the regime has been able to prevent a fusion of the vanguard with the masses—on the one hand through the complete physical elimination of large parts of the vanguard, and on the other hand, through the smothering of a new Córdoba (in Mendoza) [refers to recent strikes in Mendoza]. In this situation it is fully possible that a new military putsch (similar to that of 1966) will take place in the next few months, and the working class stands powerless before this danger.

The miserable failure of the attempt of the bureaucratic CGT to launch a general strike in Mendoza, and the effect on the workers of the decision to temporarily delay the price increases (particularly of electricity) shows what a great intimidation and confusion prevails in the Argentine working class today. The partial success (liberation of some trade-union leaders, replacement of a governor)

Continued on page 22

What is May Day?

By CAROLINE LUND

Most Americans today probably think of May Day as some sort of Communist holiday that doesn't have much to do with them. The fact is that May Day originated in a momentous struggle of the American labor movement for the eight-hour day. The traditions of May Day belong especially to the American working class and are particularly pertinent today.

The eight-hour movement culminated in a nationwide general strike called for May 1, 1886. Although the strike was not totally effective, it had a tremendous impact, and won significant concessions for working people. It paved the way for winning national legislation for the eight-hour day.

The movement for the shorter workweek arose following the Civil War during a time of tremendous industrialization, expansion of the working class, and worsening of working conditions. Although the government did not keep statistics at the time, the Knights of Labor estimated that unemployment reached between 1.5 and 2 million in 1885.

It was in this context that an upsurge of the eight-hour movement in 1886 occurred. Workers felt that a shorter workweek would reduce unemployment (the standard workweek then was 10 hours a day or 60 per week) and would give them a more just compensation for what they produced.

The goal of the eight-hour movement of the 1880s was a united, national movement involving all unions, unorganized workers, and political groups—despite their many differences on other questions—as well as support from the general population.

At its 1884 convention, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada officially launched a movement for the eight-hour day. During the year preceding May 1, 1886, unions were to prepare for a general strike through mass educational meetings, demonstrations, and negotiations with employers.

Some conservative trade-union officials, such as Terence Powderly of the Knights of Labor, resisted this strategy. Powderly counterposed legislative action as the way to win a shorter workweek. In addition, conservative and more militant workers were divided over whether the shorter workweek should mean a cut in the worker's pay by maintaining the same hourly wage, or whether the demand should be for an eight-hour day at the regular 10-hour wage.

Despite these differences, the move-

ment began to spread like wildfire among rank-and-file unionists and unorganized workers. By May 1, 1886, many employers had already agreed to make concessions to the workers in their factories. In Chicago, one of the strongholds of the eight-hour movement, some 30,000 struck on that day, about two thirds of them demanding eight hours work for ten hours pay.

The employers, the ruling class, and the capitalist press responded with a vicious attack on the labor movement, using as their excuse the events on May

ican Federation of Labor set May 1, 1890, as the date for resuming the eight-hour movement. In 1889 an international congress of socialists (which later became the Second International) called for worldwide mass demonstrations by workers for the eight-hour day on the date set by the AFL. May Day has subsequently been celebrated internationally as a symbol of united, mass political action by the working class and of workers solidarity in response to ruling-class attacks.

There is an obvious parallel between



May Day, 1917, in Washington State witnessed a massive memorial meeting for victims of the 1916 Everett Massacre. This was an armed attack by employers' vigilantes against members of the Industrial Workers of the World. Five were killed, 31 wounded.

4 in Chicago's Haymarket Square (described by Mother Jones elsewhere on this page). The jails were filled with militant workers, socialists, and anarchists who had built the eight-hour strike movement.

The workers movement responded with a powerful, united defense campaign for the Haymarket martyrs, first demanding clemency and then demanding amnesty for those who received the sentence of life imprisonment rather than death. A quarter of a million people lined the route of the funeral cortege for Albert Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, and August Spies, the four who were hanged. Louis Lingg, 22 years old and also condemned to death, blew himself up in his prison cell before they could hang him.

Following the execution, the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor set May 1, 1890, as the date for resuming the eight-hour movement. In 1889 an international congress of socialists (which later became the Second International) called for worldwide mass demonstrations by workers for the eight-hour day on the date set by the AFL. May Day has subsequently been celebrated internationally as a symbol of united, mass political action by the working class and of workers solidarity in response to ruling-class attacks.

The spirit and traditions of May Day are already being expressed in this country in the massive movement of the American people opposing U.S. imperialist aggression against the people of Vietnam. This internationalist movement, accompanied by the general radicalization that is sweeping this country, is an indication that powerful workers struggles like that of May 1, 1886, will once again arise and challenge the capitalist exploiters.

Mother Jones tells of May Day, 1886

The following is from the Autobiography of Mother Jones, a foremost leader of the early American workers struggle.

The first of May, which was to usher in the eight-hour day uprising, came . . . All over the city there were strikes and walkouts. Employers quaked in their boots. They saw revolution. The workers in the McCormick Harvester Works gathered outside the factory. Those inside who did not join the strikers were called scabs. Bricks were thrown. . . .

The police without warning charged down upon the workers, shooting into their midst, clubbing right and left. Many were trampled under horses' feet. . . .

On the evening of May 4th, the anarchists held a meeting (to protest the

attack on the McCormick workers) in the shabby, dirty district known to later history as Haymarket Square . . . the chief of police sent mounted policemen in large numbers to the meeting.

One of the anarchist speakers was addressing the crowd. A bomb was dropped from a window overlooking the square. A number of the police were killed in the explosion that followed.

The city went insane and the newspapers did everything to keep it like a madhouse. The workers' cry for justice was drowned in the shriek for revenge. Bombs were "found" every five minutes. Men went armed and gun stores kept open nights. Hundreds were arrested. Only those who had agitated for an eight-hour day, however, were brought to trial and a few months later hanged. . . .

The leaders in the eight hour day movement were hanged Friday, November the 11th (1887). That day Chicago's rich had chills and fever. Ropes stretched in all directions from the jail. Police men were stationed along the ropes armed with riot rifles . . .

The Sunday following the executions, the funerals were held. Thousands of workers marched behind the black hearses, not because they were anarchists but they felt that these men, whatever their theories, were martyrs to the workers' struggle.

In the cemetery of Waldheim, the dead were buried. But with them was not buried their cause. The struggle for the eight hour day, for more human conditions and relations between man and man lived on, and still lives on.

Forum on Latin America

AUSTIN, Texas—A symposium on "Political Repression and Terror in Latin America" sponsored by the local chapter of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA Justice Committee) drew 100 persons on the University of Texas (UT) campus here April 18. Most were from Latin America, but students and teachers from other countries also attended.

The meeting was chaired by Cheche Garcia, a Chicana activist and professor at Huston Tillotson College. Other speakers were Dr. Richard Sinkin, a UT history professor; Chaca Ramirez of the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO) at UT; and Diane McConkey and George Cox, representatives for the USLA Justice Committee.

The audience participated in a lively discussion that took up the 1968 Mexican student revolt, the Lanusse regime's current campaign of repression in Argentina, and the USLA Justice Committee's activities to publicize the cases of victims of political repression throughout Latin America.

The forum concluded with the viewing of *La Lucha*, a film about the 1968 upsurge in Mexico.

Afterward, one Brazilian student commented: "I had no idea anyone in the U.S. cared about what is going on in Latin America. Thank you." A large number of the USLA's bi-monthly newspaper, the *USLA Reporter*, were sold.

Revueltas speaks in Oakland

By DAVID WARREN

OAKLAND, Calif.—José Revueltas, Mexican revolutionist, writer, and artist, spoke to more than 90 people at the East Bay Militant Forum here April 14. His talk, "The 1968 Mexican Student Struggle: Its Relevance for Today," was delivered in Spanish. José Pérez, who chaired the meeting, translated Revueltas' remarks into English for those who did not understand Spanish.

Revueltas described the student-led rebellion that shook Mexico just prior to the opening of the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City. The revolt was brutally crushed. Following the bloody massacre of several hundred students at Tlatelolco in October 1968, Revueltas was one of the many participants in the revolt who were arrested and imprisoned. He was just released last year.

The 1968 events, Revueltas said, marked the beginning of more independent organization among students and workers—independent of both the capitalist class and the reformist social democratic and Communist parties.

The Mexican movement, Revueltas told the forum audience, has been deeply influenced by struggles in the U.S. He singled out for specific mention the 1964 Free Speech Movement in Berkeley, the antiwar movement, and the Chicano movement.

Revueltas said that more information about the Chicano movement is needed in Mexico, and he promised that he would make education about the Chicano movement in the U.S. a major task for himself when he returns to Mexico.

In Review

Theater Black community and drugs



The Long Black Block. Written and directed by Roger Furman. With the voice of Novella Nelson. Appearing at the New Heritage Repertory Theatre, Inc., New York.

The Long Black Block offers a glimpse into the lives of the residents of one block in the Black community. As the program indicates, this play could take place in "any Black ghetto, USA."

The play consists of a series of vignettes presenting a typical day in the life of residents on the block. This technique allows the author to define a character or situation briefly and adds to the intensity of the message. Accomplished directing weaves the vignettes into a fluid composition.

The overriding theme of the play is drug addiction, an ever-growing threat to the Black community. The play is not, however, an explicit examination of addiction. The playwright's treatment of this issue is but part of the process of presenting his thoughts on the Black community. The prominent role drug addiction has in the play is due to the increasing presence of it in the lives of that part of the Black community outside of the theater setting.

The play's critical treatment of drugs does not draw upon pious bourgeois morality. Neither does it attempt to draw specific conclusions on how to curb the epidemic or about the effects on the Black community of prolonged exposure to the killer. It merely makes a statement of what is. But in its portrayal of the residents' reaction to drugs, *The Long Black Block* at times becomes an example of the best of Black theater as well as doing some deep prodding in the minds of its viewers for a lasting method for combating this cripple.

The play centers on a middle-aged woman named "Super," played by Claire Leybe, who owns an old brownstone apartment building. Most of the other characters are tenants in this building.

"Super," who appears in most scenes, is cast as a protective person, who wants to take responsibility for most of what is going on in and around the building. She is especially mindful of youngsters and fears their attraction to drugs and "fast" living.

One of the best scenes in the play occurs when the local pusher, Inez, comes to the building to solicit a young brother's help in distributing some dope. Several of the tenants who are outside on the steps question her hustling dope among the younger brothers and sisters on the block. But during the heated confrontation that follows, Inez, even as a loathed pusher, defending herself, launches a bitter attack on capitalist society's inability to free people from the need to depend on drugs to escape the reality of conditions around them. "Just what do you think is going on in this country, anyway? All you niggers are serving time on this block, and if you had any sense you'd burn it down!"

One tenant attacks the government for its feeble effort to control the drug flow. "They can catch Angela Davis, but they can't catch the people who are bringing that stuff in."

An outstanding aspect of the play is its astonishing degree of reality. Each scene gives the viewer the feeling that she or he is actually across the street from the building, observing what is going on. This feature is a tribute to the skill of both the author/director and the cast.

Brother Furman expects the play to run at the New Heritage Repertory Theatre through June. In the fall he plans to take it to an off-Broadway theater. The play has been nominated for the upcoming Black academy awards and may also be made into a motion picture.

Tickets can be obtained from the theater box office at 43 E. 125th St., New York, N. Y. 10035. Telephone: (212) 876-3272.

—BAXTER SMITH

Poetry Antiwar vets

Winning Hearts and Minds/War Poems by Vietnam Veterans. Edited by Larry Rottman, Jan Barry, and Basil T. Paquet. 1st Casualty Press. Brooklyn, N. Y. 119 pp. Paper \$1.95.

In their introduction to this emotion-packed volume of poetry, the editors put forward the idea that these poems, coming out of American GIs' experience in Indochina, differ from the antiwar poems of soldiers in earlier wars in "their progression toward an active identification of [the poets] themselves as agents of pain and war—as 'agent-victims' of their own atrocities." Certainly one hears the cry of an anguished conscience in many of the poems, as in "A Visit" by one of the editors:

"You don't look bitter,"
she said.
He thought,
"Bitter is a taste,"
feeling her words
scrape across
memory's slow healing
like a slow knife.
Did she think she could see
how he felt?
"It don't matter,"
he said, and heard
outside—voices
in the wind
in humming tires
voices running against
the window in a heavy rain. —Basil T. Paquet

The introduction also states: "It is primarily urgency, rather than guilt, that moves these poets to tell others that the war has not ended simply because there are fewer U. S. casualties." This urgency can clearly be sensed, for example, in "The Longest War" by another of the editors:

The longest war is over
Or so they say
Again
But I can still hear the gunfire
Every night
From
My bed.

The longest nightmare
Never seems to
Ever
Quite come
To
An end. —Jan Barry

The use the editors and the 30 other poets whose work is collected here see for their poetry is an essential aspect of their view of the urgency of its publication. The reader who would simply read this collection and file it on the shelf is admonished by the editors in notes at its conclusion to instead:

"Read it aloud
"Recopy it
"Dramatize it
"Give it as a gift
"And sing it!"

"Poetry is a human gift," they write. "Use it." Readers are also encouraged to invite "one or more of these poets to address your group, your next rally, meeting or other event." (While welcoming and encouraging the reproduction of material from the book, 1st Casualty Press does ask that permission be requested.)

The publishing company was formed by members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War "to create a forum for writings coming out of the Indochina experience." *Winning Hearts and Minds* (the title is taken from a government euphemism for "pacification and relocation") is the company's first book.

Not only are the poems deeply moving on an individual, human level, but their application in the manner suggested by those who crafted them gives them potential for significant political impact. To confirm this, one only need recall the effect of the veterans' actions prior to the April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstrations—the dramatic shock that brought home to many for the first time the question put in "What kind of War?" by the book's other editor:

Ask what kind of war it is
where you can be pinned down
all day in a muddy rice paddy
while your buddies are being shot
and a close-support Phantom jet
who has been napalming the enemy
wraps itself around a tree and explodes
and you cheer inside? —Larry Rottman

Poems reprinted with permission of 1st Casualty Press.

—LEE SMITH

...UAW

Continued from page 3

view Board proposal" as a means of making controls fair.

The most obvious new development at the convention represented a step backward for the UAW in relation to the antiwar movement and other social movements. This was the defeat in the western Region Six elections of Paul Schrade, who had been regional director for 10 years. Schrade was defeated 238 to 307 by Jerry Whipple, president of Local 509, an amalgamated local of some 7,000 members in Los Angeles.

While Schrade had always lined up with Reuther and Solidarity House in matters of collective bargaining and internal UAW business, he stood out from his counterparts in the UAW bureaucracy because of his active endorsement of movements such as the antiwar movement. His early opposition to the war in Southeast Asia put him at odds with Reuther's then prowar position. It also earned him the enmity of right-wing forces in the UAW. These right-wingers, largely concentrated in the UAW's aerospace department, mounted an opposition to Schrade based on red-baiting him for his role in "outside" movements. Despite their differences on the war and other questions, Reuther rewarded Schrade for his loyalty to Solidarity House in union affairs by actively backing him against the right-wing opposition in Region Six.

Woodcock, however, did not give his backing to Schrade. In fact, Norman Pearlstine suggested in the April 25 *Wall Street Journal* that Woodcock actually supported the red-baiters backing Whipple. While Woodcock repudiated the charge, he made it clear that he was not backing Schrade either. The fact that Woodcock and the UAW's international leadership took a hands-off attitude in the Region Six election makes it clear that what was at stake was not any fundamental challenge to the bargaining policies of Solidarity House. The issue was right-wing opposition to Schrade's positive role as an activist in social movements, not a militant opposition to his role as a bureaucrat.

In fact, no alternative was offered to the UAW international leadership at the convention on the key issue of the need to map out a fight against the combined attack by employers and government on the rights and living standards of American labor. A small

formation called the United National Caucus (UNC), which drew about 40 to 50 delegates, observers, and press to its meeting, had minority status at the convention. But while the UNC publishes a militant program, it chose not to fight to bring any programmatic issues to the floor. Instead it focused its energies on the organizational question of electing the union's international officers by referendum vote.

The UNC leaders, Pete Kelly from Local 160 in Warren, Mich., and Jordan Sims from Local 961 in Detroit, claimed that the referendum vote issue is a key question of democracy. The truth is, however, that the referendum vote is a fake issue. There is a certain history behind the issue in the UAW, and a certain amount of support can always be found for it. Thus, when the UNC got the chair to take a standing count to see if there were the necessary 400 delegates to bring the referendum vote onto the floor, about 200 delegates stood up. The real strength of the UNC is considerably less than that, but by choosing the referendum as their issue, they appear to amount to more than they really do.

Apart from the purposes for which it was used by the UNC, the referendum vote cannot be considered by itself as any magic formula for making a union democratic. The United Steelworkers has elections by referendum and is one of the most bureaucratic unions in the country—even more bureaucratic than the UAW.

The lack of formal democracy is not the problem in the UAW; most of the forms that made it the most democratic union in the CIO still remain. But the forms have been divested of any real content. Such content can be restored when significant support is organized for a militant program, but it cannot be brought about through a gimmick such as elections by referendum vote.

A resolution calling for the kind of program the UAW needs was submitted to the convention by Local 719, a GM local of about 7,500 members in LaGrange, Ill. Entitled "Convene a Congress of Labor," the resolution pointed out that the UAW convention was taking place "when the working people of our country, including members of the UAW, are faced with mounting problems of crisis proportions," and it listed among the problems unemployment and "a continuing barbarous war." It called for the UAW to "take the leadership in

organizing a Congress of Labor to adopt a program of action," listing as demands a 32-hour workweek with 40 hours pay, an end to the war, repeal of the Economic Stabilization Act, and preferential treatment for Black, Spanish-speaking, and women workers to help correct the inequality of their situation.

In order "to put this program into life," the resolution stated, "such a Congress of Labor should organize mass demonstrations . . . mass rallies in all of the major cities . . . one-day stoppages, and huge delegations to Congress. . . ." The resolution, however, was not reported out by the resolutions committee.

Terry Kendal, head of the delegation from Local 719, said of the res-



Leonard Woodcock

olution, "I'm for everything in it 1,000 percent—but I don't think it's very realistic. Our union and the Teamsters couldn't even get together on a program to do less than what's in [the resolution]." Kendal said that while his local had adopted the resolution virtually unanimously, it had been done in a routine fashion along with a number of other resolutions and without discussion.

Kendal told *The Militant* he didn't see much of a prospect for any significant support to such a program in the UAW in the near future. "When you go to a peace march," he said, "you can count the auto workers there on your hands. It's a shame, but that's the way it is now. There was a time when this was an exciting union to belong to, but now the UAW is sort of like a person that's grown old and a little too comfortable."

Roy Wilkins of the NAACP spoke to the convention on April 25: He talked about racism in South Africa and charged that Nixon's policies

were bringing the U.S. closer to a system of apartheid. After his speech, Wilkins was presented with the UAW's Social Justice Award, and the convention adopted resolutions calling for Martin Luther King's birthday to be declared a national holiday and condemning Nixon for his failure to enforce federal civil rights legislation. On the previous day, debate had flared up around the issue of school busing.

A passage in a resolution on education declared the UAW's support for busing as one measure that could be used to help achieve quality, integrated education. Three white delegates took the floor to vehemently oppose school busing. Three Black delegates—one of whom, Richard Days of New York Local 259, said he was "both for and against" busing—made it clear that they understood racism was behind the opposition to busing. Woodcock, Terry Lint from the resolutions committee, and two white delegates also spoke for the resolution. And UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, who was chairing, added his two cents worth after the debate was closed. The resolution passed overwhelmingly with perhaps 100 delegates voting against it.

The dominant theme of the convention was the need to "dump Nixon" in 1972. The statements and resolutions were all calculated to be acceptable to Nixon's Democratic challenger. All the convention speakers stressed opposition to Nixon, including the speaker from the Ontario New Democratic Party, Stephen Lewis. The NDP is Canada's labor party, but Lewis played down its essential difference from capitalist parties, telling the delegates that "any left-of-center Democrat from the U.S. would feel at home in the NDP."

After Kennedy's speech, Woodcock took a straw vote to see whether Kennedy "can count on our support if he decides to run." The vote was overwhelmingly in favor. Woodcock's early endorsement of Senator Edmund Muskie for the Democratic nomination was being reconsidered by the UAW leaders in light of Muskie's performance in the primaries. Woodcock told reporters April 26 he was considering switching to South Dakota Senator George McGovern. But no matter who wins the nomination, there is little question about which party will get the UAW's official endorsement and most of the UAW members' votes in November.

The National Picket Line

WE RECEIVED a most interesting mimeographed newsletter from a St. Louis reader this week. Entitled **RAFT**, it is published by rank-and-file members of Teamsters Local 688 in St. Louis.

The story of this local of 14,000 is a real-life demonstration of the almost total bureaucratic control now held by the international officials of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). Local 688 falls under the autocratic direction of Harold Gibbons, area director and international vice-president of the IBT.

Gibbons once thought of himself as a socialist. He actually never was. "An opportunist who made good" is the best way to describe him.

Here is what he has done to Local 688—most recently. An elected recording-secretary of the local vacated his office. Gibbons immediately stepped in and appointed his own man to the job.

RAFT cites this appointee, Ron Borges, on several counts. He has never worked in a shop for an hourly wage. He has never been a shop steward. He has been a formal "member" of Local 688 for less than two years. He was a participant in recent area-wide negotiations that took rights away from the drivers in exchange for a few pennies more pay.

He plays golf with the bosses.

He now gets \$28,000 a year, plus a generous expense account. (How else could he afford to play golf with the bosses?)

He ignores growing unemployment in the industry, while United Parcel, a national corporation, gobbles up small package-delivery firms and

takes over their territories but refuses to hire more men for its own operation. He has stood by as shop stewards have been fired by UP.

Many workers have signed petitions demanding that Borges keep out of their shops. Yet Gibbons claims that Borges is the only person he knows who has the "expertise" to handle Local 688's affairs.

Whatever Borges' "expertise" is, it apparently does not include fighting for the workers under his jurisdiction. They want him out.

They also ask, "Why is IBT President Frank Fitzsimmons still on Nixon's phony 'public' pay-price board?"

They should ask, in their next issue, if Fitzsimmons is repaying a debt to Nixon for letting Hoffa out of prison on parole. They might also ask why Fitzsimmons is supporting Nixon for reelection and going all-out in favor of his foreign policy, including the continued bombing of North Vietnam.

RAFT describes itself as a "coalition of rank and file teamsters including Local 688 and friends of labor from various shops and industries striving to improve our local by giving the rank and file control of their union and places of work and stopping the exploitation of labor. . . ."

Their program includes establishing the right of the rank and file of Local 688 to make policy; requiring union representatives and staff members to implement the program and policies laid down by the membership; adjusting union dues to the national level; eliminating all forms of oppression

of women in society, in the unions, on the job, and in their homes; and eliminating all forms of racism within the union and on the job. They are also demanding the election of all executive-board members, staff, and employees of Local 688 by the members; no shop to be kicked out of the union without the approval of the workers in the individual shop or industry; officers and staff members' salaries to be restricted and made known to the membership; anything "negotiated into a contract" can be "negotiated out" by individual shops, regardless of Local 688's policy; and the elimination of speedup, compulsory overtime, and unsafe working conditions.

Whether they know it or not, the several points in this program touch the IBT leadership where it hurts most—right in the pocketbook, where their hearts are. Restricting the salaries paid to any local officers and employees and publishing those salaries and expenses is a heavy blow at what any bureaucrat considers his own sacred privacy.

The clause demanding that "union dues be adjusted to national levels" will jar everyone, from Fitzsimmons on down.

They won't like any other part of the program either, but those two will hurt the most. Especially the possibility of this local lowering its dues.

There is nothing the IBT national office loves better than those monthly checks for "honest per capita tax." (Nor any other international union head-office, for that matter.) The higher the dues and initiation fees, the higher the amount raked in by the top bureaucrats. —MARVEL SCHOLL

Calendar

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.

BOSTON

ZIONISM AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION. Speaker: Peter Buch, author of *Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis*. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (opposite South Station). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

VOICES OF DISSENT. Abortion: The Fight for a Woman's Right to Choose. Wed., May 10 at 8 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sat., May 13 at 8 p.m. on WBUR-FM, 90.9.

HOUSTON

IN DEFENSE OF THE AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE. Speaker: Raymond Wicks, Africans in America for Black Liberation, representing the Pan-Africanist ideology. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m. 6409 Lyons Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

ACADEMIC FREEDOM: A RIGHT UNDER ATTACK. Speakers: Professor Morris Starsky, teacher at Arizona State U whose contract was not renewed because of antiwar activities, and Ronald Merlino, attorney for the Committee of 1,000, which is working for reinstatement of Starsky and other professors. Fri., May 12, 8:30 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (213) 463-1917.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE SUFFRAGIST MOVEMENT AND TODAY'S WOMAN—A COMPARISON. WHAT WE'VE WON AND HOW. Speaker: Dianne Feeley. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (at 4th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

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.

TWIN CITIES

WOMEN AND THE FAMILY. Speaker: Kathleen Stewart, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., May 12, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. NE, Minneapolis. Donation: \$1. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum. For more information, call (612) 332-7781.

...YWLL

Continued from page 15

sions that deter masses of Americans from independent struggle.

The YSA says it is self-defeating for socialists to support the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party stands for capitalist oppression. It stands for imperialist war, exploitation of the poor by the rich, repression of Black people, and second-class citizenship for women.

For socialists to give their support to a party based on upholding capitalism is contrary to the whole tradition of the Marxist movement. It means lying to the American people and helping the ruling class pull the wool over their eyes.

But, you will object, the YWLL not only works within the Democratic Party, it also supports the Communist Party presidential ticket of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner. Although the CP presidential campaign is independent in form, the program Hall and Tyner are speaking for is not one of independent political action. The message of the Hall-Tyner campaign is the same as that of the YWLL: to encourage people to work within the Democratic Party as one effective method of struggle. The way to reach out to the masses of Americans who still have illusions about the Democratic Party is not by supporting that party, but through promoting and building independent struggles of the oppressed, both in the streets and in the elections.

A good example of such an independent struggle is the antiwar movement. The antiwar movement can reach out to masses of Americans—whether they vote for Democrats or Republicans or neither—and mobilize the power of the massive antiwar sentiment against the government of Democrats and Republicans.

The YSA supports all such struggles

against the policies of the Democrats and Republicans and in the interests of the masses of American people.

Such mass struggles can unite all those who are willing to fight on a particular issue, thus encouraging and giving voice to the most radical sentiments of the masses of people.

The YWLL is dead wrong when it equates united-front struggles with working in the Democratic Party. The tactic of the united front, as developed by Lenin, means unity in action against the ruling class. It does not mean unity in support of a ruling-class party, such as the Democratic Party.

The YSA and the YWLL have joined together in united action in the past, such as in building April 24 and Nov. 6, 1971, antiwar demonstrations as well as on suits challenging discriminatory election laws. In Pennsylvania, for example, we both support the joint suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, and three other parties against the undemocratic election law there.

We hope to continue and increase such common struggles with you in the future. The YSA is ready to join with the YWLL and all other groups to fight on issues we agree on, building united mass movements, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties, that can win victories.

We also urge you to scrap your perspective of supporting the Democratic Party and support instead the formation of a labor party, a Black party, and Raza Unida parties.

...German

Continued from page 18

cannot obscure the fact of the difficult situation.

But the conditions described here do not mean that the situation in Argentina has been stabilized. On the contrary, the economic difficulties have increased in 1972, the working class is not integrated, despite the treacherous stand of the CGT, although it lacks a leadership and a correct strategy.

In such a situation, renewed and fierce clashes can break out at any

moment. The question will be whether the Argentine working class will then be armed or will suffer a decisive defeat.

The Argentine working class deserves our full solidarity.

Struggle against the repression in Argentina!

Down with the military dictatorship!

...Davis

Continued from page 24

marks that in May or early June of 1970 she had requested Thorne to represent her in regard to a book she was planning to write and also to act as her attorney in regard to her dismissal from the faculty of the University of California in Los Angeles because of her membership in the Communist Party. Davis also indicated that she had been employed as a legal investigator for Thorne on behalf of George Jackson.

When Thorne was again questioned by the prosecution this afternoon, he denied having received a phone call from Davis in August 1970, but refused to answer in more detail because of his attorney-client privilege. Harris began to badger the witness, claiming that Thorne had given him a different statement in September 1970.

"Yes and no," Thorne hedged, reluctantly explaining that at the time of that statement he had been misinformed by the attorney general's office, causing him to place the date of the phone call on Aug. 5 rather than the actual date, sometime before July 21.

Harris spent the remainder of the afternoon trying to obtain details of the telephone conversation by concealing his questions within the "general subject" category that Judge Arnason had ruled does not violate the attorney-client privilege. But Harris's chicanery was too embarrassing even for Arnason, who had admonished the prosecutor "to listen for awhile."

Harris sputtered and wiped the perspiration from his neck and finally moved that Thorne's testimony be disregarded because it differed from his earlier statement. The court will rule on this motion May 11.

Socialist Directory

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

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

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

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

Claremont: YSA, c/o Andrea Weissberg, 247 Oberlin Ave., Claremont, Calif. 91711. Tel: (714) 624-2294.

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

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

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

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

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

San Jose: YSA, c/o Greta Schiller, 685 Menker #4, San Jose, Calif. 95128. Tel: (408) 275-8453.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Ann Hyink, 344 Barneson Ave., San Mateo, Calif. 94402.

Santa Barbara: YSA, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-4086.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Jim Sarsgard, 1020 Kent St., #114, Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 443-9923.

Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Randy Erb, 114 Huntington St., Hartford, Conn. 06105.

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

FLORIDA: Miami: YSA, c/o Murray Baker, 800 W. 47th St., Miami Beach, Fla. 33140.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Bill Boyd, 514 N. Bronough, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

Tampa: Socialist Workers Campaign '72 c/o David Maynard, P.O. Box 702, 4100 Fletcher Ave., Tampa, Fla. 33612.

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THE MILITANT

Abortion rights bill in Congress

WASHINGTON, D.C., May 2—The Abortion Rights Act of 1972, which if passed would effectively repeal all state and federal restrictions against women's right to abortion, was introduced into the U.S. Congress today. At a news conference here, Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.), sponsor of the bill, and Matilde Zimmermann and Dr. Barbara Roberts, national coordinators of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), explained the importance of the bill for the fight to repeal all anti-abortion laws.

The Abortion Rights Act states in part that: "The constitutional right of privacy embodied in the First, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Ninth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States and applicable to the states through the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment thereto includes the

right of any female to terminate a pregnancy that she does not wish to continue."

The bill further states that: "it is necessary to prohibit the United States and the several states from enacting or enforcing any law, state constitutional provision, regulation, policy or other device which infringes upon the said right [to terminate a pregnancy] in any way, or which deprives any female of access to adequate medical assistance in the exercise of such right."

By asserting the fundamental, constitutional right of women to obtain abortions, this bill can have a tremendous impact on the struggle to repeal all anti-abortion laws. If enacted, the bill would invalidate all state laws restricting the right to abortion, as well as federal laws making it illegal to distribute abortion information and devices and preventing

the use of federal funds for abortion services.

At the news conference Zimmermann pledged that "The Abortion Rights Act of 1972 affirms a right we know is ours, and women will not stop fighting until every court, legislature, and authority in the nation acknowledges and guarantees this freedom." WONAAC has endorsed the bill and is making support of the Abortion Rights Act a focus of the May 1-6 demonstrations and other activities around the demands of repeal of all abortion and restrictive contraception laws and no forced sterilization.

Zimmermann promised that "Every incumbent and candidate who claims to support women's issues will be asked to take a clear stand in favor of women's right to abortion and in support of the Abortion Rights Act."

Representative Abzug stated to the

press that "If enacted, [this bill] would guarantee the woman's right to choose her biological destiny. . . . a woman has an absolute right to choose whether or not to terminate a pregnancy." She cited the California Supreme Court decision *People v. Belous*, which reads: "The fundamental right of the woman to choose whether to bear children follows from the [U.S.] Supreme Court's and this court's repeated acknowledgment of a right of privacy or liberty in matters related to marriage, family, and sex."

The introduction of the Abortion Rights Act into Congress provides women with a vehicle to unite their efforts against individual state abortion laws. Activity in support of this bill can also become an important way of focusing the abortion law repeal struggle against the federal government.

Threat to abortion in N.Y.

ALBANY, N.Y., May 2—Pressured by right-wing opponents of abortion and recent statements by Governor Nelson Rockefeller, the New York State Assembly Codes Committee voted today to report out the anti-abortion Donovan-Crawford bill. This bill, which calls for a return to the state's old law prohibiting abortion except to save the life of a woman, is expected to be debated on the Assembly floor this week. An escalated campaign in support of the bill by reactionary forces, including an April 16 New York City march of 10,000 against abortion organized by the Knights of Columbus, has projected the abortion issue into the public spotlight across the state.

In an effort to appease the right wing, Rockefeller announced on April 25 that he would support a bill cutting back to 16 weeks the time limit for legal abortions. Under the present New York law, abortions may be performed through the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy.

These threats to the most liberal abortion law in the country have elicited outrage from supporters of women's right to abortion. The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) held a news conference in New York on April 28 to call for a united response to these attacks on May 6, when demonstrations will take place in New York and cities around the country for repeal of all anti-abortion laws. Representatives from WONAAC condemned both the Donovan-Crawford bill and Rockefeller's compromise bill and urged an end to all restrictions in the present New York abortion law. Other speakers at the conference were Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) and spokeswoman from the Women's Political Caucus and the National Organization for Women.

The *New York Times* has recently run three editorials in support of the present state law. Its May 1 editorial warned that a dangerous national precedent would be set if the former restrictions were reinstated in the New York law: "It would tend to condemn women of the other states as well as New York's citizens to further pro-

longation of the deadly harms and heartbreaks of a medieval form of coercion."

Irish protest set

NEW YORK—The Anti-Internment Coalition, an alliance of Irish and American organizations and individuals, has called for a demonstration here on Saturday, May 13. The action will demand an immediate end to the internment without charge or trial of hundreds of Irish citizens and the immediate withdrawal of all British troops from occupied Ireland.

Marchers will assemble at noon at Columbus Circle (59th Street and Eighth Avenue) and march to the midtown offices of the British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) at 44th Street and Fifth Avenue. Speakers from Ireland have been invited to appear at the rally as well as a range of Irish and American figures.

The Anti-Internment Coalition is part of a growing international movement to defend Ireland's right to self-determination.

Judge: Davis diary irrelevant

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER
SAN JOSE, Calif., May 2—Chief prosecutor Albert Harris has been visibly shaken since the court ruled April 25 that he could not submit to the jury an 18-page document written by Angela Davis. Harris said May 1 that if he is not permitted to submit the document, "We might as well all pack up and go home."

The prosecutor admitted in a closed session on April 27 that this document, written a year after the Aug. 7, 1970, events with which Davis is charged, has caused the state to alter its entire strategy in the case. Before retrieving the document from the belongings of George Jackson after he was murdered in August 1971,

the state claimed that Davis had acted from political motives rather than from "passion." Harris's admission implies that the state kept Davis in jail for nearly a year without the evidence to substantiate its case against her.

In the closed hearing April 27, Harris displayed an edited seven-page version of the 18-page document. Harris referred to a paragraph—which Davis had written July 8, 1971, soon after visiting George Jackson in San Quentin—as indicating "A state of mind by which she would undertake a conspiracy, and would undertake violent means to bring about the freedom of George Jackson."

The paragraph begins, "A scene frozen in my mind. I am standing in that little cubicle downstairs, standing, waiting, loving, desiring, and then hot and cold rage when the chains begin to rattle as you slowly descend the stairs surrounded by the small army of mindless but armed automatons."

Defense attorney Leo Branton protested before walking out of the hearing, "I consider this entire session an obscenity . . . in which we are attempting to pry into the most intimate, the most personal expressions of another human being because the prosecution in this case feels that without doing that he cannot get a conviction." Judge Richard E. Arnason indicated that he would rule within a week on the admissibility of the edited version of the letter.

In the closing minutes of today's trial session, prosecutor Harris frantically moved to impeach his own witness, civil liberties attorney John E. Thorne. For the better part of two days, Harris had attempted to force Thorne to verify the state's contention that he had received a phone call from Davis two days before the Aug. 7, 1970, Marin courthouse shooting. Davis allegedly reported in the call that she was on her way to Santa Cruz with Jonathan Jackson.

The prosecution's encounter with Thorne began April 26 when Harris asked if he was the attorney for George Jackson. "Don't answer that!" cautioned Charles Garry, Thorne's attorney. Garry acknowledged that Thorne had been the attorney for both George Jackson and Davis, but stated that Thorne was prohibited by law from giving testimony that would breach the confidence he shared with his clients.

Earlier today, the jury was sent out of the courtroom as Davis took the witness stand for the first time in the trial. Davis substantiated Garry's re-

Continued on page 22

This week's highlights in the Angela Davis trial

APRIL 26. Dr. Klaus Steinegger, covering the trial for the German Democratic Republic newspaper *Neues Deutschland*, is refused an extension of his visa. Authorities in Washington, D.C., indicate that their action is partly in retaliation for unspecified poor treatment of U.S. newspapermen in East Germany. Steinegger was the only correspondent from a workers state covering the Davis trial at this time.

APRIL 27. In closed chamber session the prosecution asks that an expurgated version of the "critical" 18-page document be submitted into evidence.

MAY 1. Lieutenant Robert West identifies Davis as the woman he spoke to in the San Quentin visitors' waiting room while Jonathan Jackson was visiting his brother George Aug. 4 and 5 of 1970.

MAY 2. Robert Ayres, a San Quentin guard, identifies Davis as the woman he saw in the prison waiting room August 4 and 5, although his written report of Aug. 31 did not mention Davis. Ayres testifies he recognized Davis from a newspaper photo on Aug. 10 or 11, and immediately contacted Lieutenant West. This statement contradicts the testimony of West, who said he first realized the woman was Davis while watching a television news program on Aug. 14.

Five supporters of Davis are convicted of violating a law against picketing in front of a courthouse. Members of the all-white jury, who deliberated about three hours, say that they might have acquitted the five if 19 others had not been convicted on the same charge the previous week. Sentencing for both groups is set for May 15.