

THE MILITANT

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

'The whole world is watching you'--Nixon

March on Washington May 21

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

When President Nixon went on TV May 8 to announce his decision to seal off North Vietnam's supply routes and to launch all-out genocidal bombing of both the North and South, he made a special plea to the American people to support him in this bloody escalation. He said "It is you, most of all, that the world will be watching."

The world is watching the American people—to see whether we will allow Nixon to get away with this dangerous new escalation that contains within it the possibility of world war and nuclear destruction.

On the very night of Nixon's speech, and on the following days, students and others spontaneously took to the streets to express outrage at Nixon's action. These protests, and the demonstrations May 13, must be only the beginning. We must continue and deepen this revolt against the war by building antiwar actions everywhere.

In May 1970 massive antiwar protests forced Nixon to end his invasion of Cambodia. The antiwar movement has forced Nixon to withdraw hundreds of thousands of ground combat troops. The American people have the power to stop this new escalation as well if they act to end it. And Nixon knows this. That is why he said that the whole world is watching what the American people will do.

Nixon virtually admitted in his speech that the majority of Americans want immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. This fact has been proved time after time in polls and referendums.

These are the people that must be reached in order to

stop Nixon and end the war. The goal of the antiwar movement should be to involve the massive numbers of antiwar Americans in protest action. And we can only do this if we go out into neighborhoods, shopping centers, schools, work places, and military bases, passing out leaflets, placing ads in newspapers, talking to people, and organizing dem-

United actions called

NEW YORK CITY, May 10—The National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice decided at a meeting here today to join forces in calling for a massive march and rally against the war in Washington, D.C., on Sunday, May 21, and for sustained antiwar action in Washington and around the country after that date.

Representatives of other groups also participated in the meeting, including national Americans for Democratic Action, SANE, Business Executives Move for Peace, the New York Peace Parade Committee, the Student Mobilization Committee, Philadelphia PAC, Greater Boston PAC, Women Strike for Peace, and others. The meeting was chaired by Distributive Workers District 65 Vice-President Al Evanoff after David Livingston, District 65's president, welcomed the gathering.

The Student Mobilization Committee is serving as a national antiwar information center for student activities. Its address is 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 911, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 741-1960.

onstrations, rallies, and picket lines that these masses of Americans can participate in. We must give powerful, visible expression to the majority antiwar sentiment in this country.

As the war continues, more and more people are beginning

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 36/NUMBER 19
MAY 19, 1972
CLOSING NEWS DATE—MAY 10, 1972

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

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n.,
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486.

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$6 a year; foreign, \$7.50. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$22; all other countries, \$24. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$26; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

PING-PONG PROTEST: While the Chinese table tennis team was visiting Nixon a couple of weeks ago, Hanoi and Haiphong were being bombed. Nixon said the visit would promote "peace for all the world." But four of the six American interpreters for the Chinese delegation boycotted the meeting with Nixon to protest the bombings. One of them was quoted in the *Los Angeles Times*: "I really identify with the purpose of this visit, the friendship part, but I feel the friendship part is being used to an ugly point by the United States." The *Times* said, "But it didn't seem to bother the Chinese."

ZAP ZAP GENERAL BACK IN THE NEWS: Major General James F. Hollingsworth gained notoriety a few years ago when he was deputy commander of the 1st Infantry Division in Vietnam. As the *Los Angeles Times* put it recently, "he would often fly by helicopter into the thick of battle on missions he referred to as 'zapping Charlie Cong.'" Later he had the misfortune to be commanding general at Fort Jackson, S. C., when Joe Miles, Joe Cole, Andrew Pulley, and other antiwar and socialist GIs (the Ft. Jackson 8) fought for and won the right to voice their opposition to the war.

Now the zap zap general is back in Vietnam and in trouble with U. S. commander General Creighton Abrams. Abrams reprimanded Hollingsworth for expressing publicly his innermost feelings. The zap zap General had told a news conference: "When you can kill the hell out of them out there, goddammit, you feel real good."

WAR GUILT: Some three million U. S. servicemen have gone to Vietnam and returned, supposedly with a very low rate of "psychiatric casualties." But according to the May 3 *New York Times*, reports at the recent annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association told of psychiatric problems called the "post-Vietnam syndrome . . . a sense of shame and guilt for having participated in a war that the veteran now questions and the deeply felt anger and distrust of the government that the veterans believe duped and manipulated them."

ITS NOT VERY ABSTRACT FOR THE VIETNAMESE: About a month ago U. S. pilots based in Danang, South Vietnam, told reporters about their gruesome work. Joseph B. Treaster wrote in the April 9 *New York Times*: "The pilots generally regard themselves as pure professionals, divorced from political and moral questions and concerned strictly with technical excellence. 'What doctor wouldn't want to operate on the President?' Colonel Waddell asked by way of analogy."

Treaster reports the officer "had done a lot of thinking about the moral issues of bombing. But, he said, 'its almost impossible to relate to it. I don't think anyone here thinks about blowing in and dropping bombs and killing a person. It's all very impersonal. You don't hear the bombs. It's all very abstract.'"



ANOTHER SUMMIT

THE GOVERNMENT'S ANSWER TO MAY DAY: The May 1 *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported on the 22nd Annual Loyalty Day Parade there. "It was a parade for a generation that lived in a world with different ideals and goals. . . ." As the contingents of police, World War I vets, the Marine Corps League, American Legion, Twirling Sweethearts, and Boy Scouts marched past the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument, "also a tribute to past

loyalty, heroism and ultimate sacrifice, few people were gathered to cheer them on. . . . There were no politicians or dignitaries on the (reviewing) stand, no one to solicit the presidential vote and no generals with medals on their chests."

A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE ABORTION



Photo by Lora Eckert

AS WE GO TO PRESS

The New York State Assembly has passed a bill that would abolish the two-year-old abortion law permitting women to have abortions on demand through the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy. The bill would reinstate the restrictive law that preceded the liberalized measure. The State Senate will now discuss the question. Governor Rockefeller has said he will veto any outright repeal of the current abortion law, but he supports a bill that would not permit abortions beyond the eighteenth week of pregnancy.

These threats to the right of women to decide whether to bear children follow weeks of demonstrations and lobbying by the Catholic Church and so-called right to life groups. Even Nixon got into the act with a highly publicized letter to a Catholic cardinal opposing the current law.

This hysterical atmosphere was carried into the Assembly, where one legislator displayed a fetus in a jar and said it "feels cold, feels heat, feels pain—don't kid me, you know life is there."

G. Oliver Koppell (D-Bronx) opposed the reactionary law. He referred to Nixon's letter and said the man who "put into jeopardy the lives of every citizen of this world by his actions in Vietnam cannot come and talk to me of life."

FELICIANO GOES TO TRIAL: Puerto Rican independence fighter Carlos Feliciano has withdrawn his plea of guilty on "reckless endangerment" charges and went to trial on May 9. The plea was withdrawn after Manhattan Assistant District Attorney John Fine and Bronx DA Burton Roberts reneged on a deal they had offered to drop all the serious charges relating to the use or possession of bombs or weapons. Feliciano maintains that he is innocent of the charges of bombing and burning buildings in New York.

CHANGING TIMES IN THE IVORY TOWER: A John D. Rockefeller 3rd-funded survey of college students was published recently. It is based on interviews held a year ago with 1,244 students on 50 campuses. Thirty percent would prefer to leave this "sick society" and live in Canada, Australia, or Western Europe. The students polled "are more uneasy and worried than in 1970. Only a handful believe our national policies will lead to peace or economic well-being." They believe that big business "really runs the country" and are for the "drastic reform" of such institutions as the Democratic and Republican parties, the military, the penal system, and the corporations.

The *New York Times* report on the survey said, "The greatest single erosion of relations to authority is in the 'boss' relationship. In 1968, 56 per cent of the students 'did not mind the prospect of being bossed around on the job; in 1971 the figure was 36 per cent.'" And, "Belief in organized religion is now rejected by two-thirds of the students. . . . students generally want even more acceptance of sexual freedom. . . . In 1968, 69 per cent of students believed that 'hard work will always pay off'; in 1971, only 39 per cent, the report said."

NIXON LOSES SUPPORT OF POW FAMILIES: Since the Mad Bomber took office with his secret plan to win a military victory in Vietnam, the emotions of the families of American prisoners of war have been cynically manipulated to further the war effort. And with some success. The National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia has consistently supported Nixon's war policies. Not so anymore. A national convention of the group in Washington has denounced Nixon's Vietnamization policy. One wife expressed "disgust" with the situation and said, "we must either compel Nixon to end this war by negotiation or go out and actively support another candidate who will."

—JOEL BRITTON

Eyewitness report from Albuquerque

Cops shoot three student protesters

By JIM BOGGIO

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M., May 9—Albuquerque city police opened fire on a crowd of 500 antiwar demonstrators today, wounding three people, all believed to be students at the University of New Mexico. One of the victims, Carolyn Babb Coburn, received multiple shotgun wounds in the chest and abdomen. The 22-year-old UNM law student, a staff writer for the school newspaper, the *Daily Lobo*, was rushed to Presbyterian Hospital in critical condition. The school administration has withheld information on the other two.

The following eyewitness account was given to me by Gary Davis, a student at UNM.

"This morning a few students began passing the word that an antiwar rally would be held on the university mall. It was a spontaneous action, but about 400 to 500 people showed up.

"Discussion on possible antiwar action lasted for nearly an hour, finally ending with the consensus opinion that students should continue their protest along Central Avenue. Many felt that the antiwar movement could gain public attention by stopping traffic on the main thoroughfare that runs alongside the campus.

"The demonstrators held up traffic for about 20 minutes before deciding to move the blockade onto the Interstate-25 freeway that runs near the campus. As the students marched west toward the freeway on-ramp, others joined the march, which grew to about 500.

"En route to the freeway, we passed a construction area where drainage pipes were being installed beneath the street. There, marchers picked up wooden road blocks, metal signs, and conduits, eventually using them to erect barricades across the north- and

south-bound lanes of I-25.

"The roadblock had not been up for more than 15 minutes when the Albuquerque chief of police appeared at the scene. The top cop, unescorted, talked with TV and newspaper reporters for about half an hour before his troops arrived. I would guess that there were at least two dozen patrol cars with four heavily armed cops in each vehicle.

"At that point, Chief Donald Byrd approached the students on the roadblock. He told us that I-25 was 'a public highway, and it's our duty to keep the traffic moving.' He told us that we had made our point and that he was as much against the Indochina war as we. Then he told us that he would be happy to march with us back to the campus, an offer that drew a loud chorus of boos.

"We told him that we were not going to hurt anyone, but that we were not leaving. That's when Byrd ordered tear gas to be used. I think about eight or nine canisters, at least, were shot at the demonstrators.

"As the crowd began moving down the freeway on-ramp, we were met by another fleet of cop cars on Central Avenue.

"I was walking up Central when, all of a sudden, I heard two shots. The next thing I knew, a woman was lying in the street, covered with blood.

"I ran up to her, and it looked like the whole front part of her body was torn apart. A squad car pulled up beside us and three cops jumped out, all carrying shotguns. They ordered us to get out of the way as they lifted their victim into the squad car. They drove away, and I imagine they took her to the hospital."

Davis told me that he witnessed only the shooting of Carolyn Coburn. He was aware that two others had been wounded, but he did not know their



University of New Mexico students demonstrated on Interstate 25 after Nixon decision to mine ports of North Vietnam. Cops teargassed and fired into them.

identity.

Later I interviewed a student who did see one of the other shooting incidents. He saw one demonstrator hit in the back. The man screamed, grabbed his back, and ran off.

The witness reports that he saw four cops jump out of their vehicle and shoot point-blank into the crowd. "There was pistol brass everywhere, all over the street."

In all, three people were wounded by shotgun blasts, and at least seven were treated for other types of injuries. One witness gave the badge numbers of the cops who had shot Carolyn Coburn as 203 and 169.

Carolyn's husband, Steven, a military policeman at Kirtland Air Force Base, told me that the medical officer

at Presbyterian Hospital claims Carolyn was shot from only 50 feet away. She was hit with heavy number four shot, and incurred multiple wounds across the chest and abdomen, each wound ranging from two to three inches apart. Coburn says his wife's right lung had collapsed, and a tracheotomy has been performed.

Meanwhile, an Albuquerque-based group called Kirtland GIs Against the War has secured a parade permit for a GI-led antiwar march on Saturday, May 13. Coincidentally, the monthly UNM faculty meeting was also held today. It passed a resolution calling for the impeachment of President Nixon, and demanding the resignation of all senators and congressmen who support the war.

Immediate, angry protests answer Nixon

By DAVE FRANKEL

May 9—Twenty-four hours after Nixon's announcement that he had ordered the mining of all ports of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, it is clear that a massive, nationwide upsurge of the student antiwar movement is taking place. Many areas have already called city-wide demonstrations for Saturday, May 13, with various other actions scheduled in the next few days.

Antiwar activists in the offices of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) in New York reported that as soon as Nixon finished speaking last night their switchboard lit up and people started calling in, asking when the next demonstration was and what the antiwar movement's plans were. Denver, Chicago, and other areas report similar experiences.

In Chicago, one person who called in explained that he had recently dropped out of political activity and was living on a farm, but "this is just too much to take. I want to do something."

At the University of Wisconsin in Madison, 8,000 to 10,000 people participated in a candlelight march tonight, and later about 4,000 marched on the state capitol.

Meetings convened and protests flared around the country as soon as Nixon was through speaking. At the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia an antiwar meeting in progress grew from 20 to 150 in the half hour following Nixon's speech. At the University of Colorado at Boulder, 3,000 students blocked the main highway into Boulder all night long and

into the next day. A demonstration of 3,000 was also held at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. At Harpur College in Binghamton, N.Y., a meeting of 1,000 was held, while at the State University of New York at New

Internat'l protests

Immediate revulsion against Nixon's newest and most dangerous escalation of the war in Indochina was reflected in Europe on May 9 when 4,000 to 5,000 marched in Copenhagen, Denmark, in a demonstration called by the Danish Vietnam Committee and the Socialist Youth League. In Frankfurt, West Germany, 1,500 demonstrated, and a May 10 demonstration has been called in Sweden.

The two major sections of the French antiwar movement, the Front Solidarite Indochine and the Group of 48 (which was represented as the French delegation at the Versailles World Peace Conference), have agreed to hold a united action at the American Embassy on May 10.

Paltz, 2,500 gathered.

Today the actions spread and took on the character of a nationwide upsurge. Almost 5,000 students gathered at the University of California at Berkeley, while at Mills College in Oakland the entire student body of 900 women voted to strike until the activation of the mines at the port

entrances on Thursday, and to join with students from Laney and Merritt community colleges in a rally in downtown Oakland.

At the Berkeley rally one of the speakers was Mayor Warren Widener. He said that he would propose to the city council that there be a moratorium at noon on Friday and that city workers be released from work in order to take part. The city council is considering Widener's proposal tonight, and the SMC is holding a meeting in Pauley Ballroom on the Berkeley campus. The participants were scheduled to march from there to the city council meeting. A noon rally on Friday, May 12, is also planned in order to launch a community reach-out drive to build the demonstration scheduled for Saturday.

In Bloomington, Ind., the mayor opened the city council chambers for a student meeting, which called a mass demonstration for tomorrow. In Minneapolis about 200 angry students marched to Governor Wendell Anderson's mansion. Anderson agreed to meet with the students today, and at that meeting he indicated his support for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam. He said he would send a telegram of protest to Nixon and would poll the legislature on a statewide referendum on withdrawal from Indochina.

Three thousand students sat down in the main street of Mankato, Minn., and then returned to their campus to hold a mass meeting. Actions of about 2,000 occurred at the University of Washington in Seattle; the University

of California at Santa Barbara; San Francisco State College; the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis; and the University of Illinois Circle Campus in Chicago.

Hundreds of other demonstrations have been reported, many of them involving more than 1,000 people. Among the places to have actions were: Laramie and Cheyenne, Wyo., and Macomb, Ill. The New York SMC office had two walls covered with information on actions at schools in New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey. About 500 students from New York City met at New York University and called a moratorium for May 12 and a city-wide demonstration for May 13.

Fund raising has expanded to meet the increased activities. One supporter of the antiwar movement in Denver has agreed to pay for hourly radio spots on two major rock stations in Denver, a full-page ad in one of Denver's major newspapers, and for the sound system for the mass antiwar demonstration planned there this Saturday.

Although actions in some areas, particularly in the Southeast and Southern California, do not appear at this point to have gone beyond the point reached in the reaction to the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong on April 16, activists in most other places felt that the current reaction was considerably stronger and that a larger number of people were involved. One Seattle antiwar activist summed up his impressions by saying, "The mood is much sharper, and things are moving faster. Today people just wanted to go, to do something."

U.S. escalation risks world war

By DICK ROBERTS

MAY 9—President Nixon's decision to blockade North Vietnam is a desperate gamble that could precipitate world war. "The move—never before attempted in the long Indochinese fighting—risks a direct confrontation with the Soviet Union," *Wall Street Journal* staff reporter Robert Keatley declared May 9. Such a confrontation would threaten nuclear holocaust.

Nixon is gambling that the saturation bombing and sealing of North Vietnam's supply routes will save the disintegrating capitalist-landlord regime in Saigon. In his national television address on May 8 he said he undertook this drastic escalation of the war because "The risk that a Communist government may be imposed on the 17 million people of South Vietnam has increased, and the Communist offensive has now reached the point that it gravely threatens the lives of 60,000 American troops who are still in Vietnam."

This is an admission of the complete failure of Nixon's "Vietnamization" scheme. Only naked United States power can now save the dictatorial regime in Saigon.

'Vietnamization' exposed

Newsweek magazine describes the collapse of "Vietnamization" in its May 15 issue: "Since the current offensive began, Saigon's forces have failed

the esprit and determination necessary to take on Hanoi's highly motivated and tightly disciplined troops."

This is one way of saying that the soldiers in the Saigon army can find no reason whatsoever to give up their lives in defense of the corrupt generals and politicians who rule their country. The victorious advance of the revolution is not only a question of military successes. It testifies to the profound support for the revolution among the Vietnamese masses and their no less profound hatred of the capitalist-landlord Saigon regime and its imperialist backers.

As Nixon declares that there is no area in Indochina safe from U. S. bombs and steadily escalates the bombing sorties in North and South Vietnam, a horrifying report has been printed on the bombing devastation South Vietnam had already suffered by 1971. Entitled "The Cratering of Indochina," the report appeared in the May 1972 *Scientific American*.

"In the seven years between 1965 and 1971 the U. S. military forces exploded 26 billion pounds (13 million tons) of munitions in Indochina, half from the air and half from weapons on the ground. This staggering weight of ordnance amounts to the energy of 450 Hiroshima nuclear bombs," *Scientific American* authors Arthur H. Westing and E. W. Pfeiffer declare.

incendiary bombs which inflict hideous suffering. Antipersonnel bombs include: Pineapple bomblets, each bearing 250,000 steel pellets; Guava bombs, with each sortie releasing 400,000-500,000 ball bearing pellets; and Flechette or nail bomblets, each of which contains several hundred 1-inch barbed nails capable of shredding muscles and tissues and difficult to remove.

"Incendiary bombs include not just the infamous napalm, but white phosphorous and NPT as well. White phosphorous continues to burn slowly inside the body and can usually be extinguished only when it reaches the bone. Needless to say, the pain is unspeakable and totally unjustifiable."

For seven years the Vietnamese have suffered this horrendous bombing, the destruction of the countryside it has caused, the displacement of more than six million refugees, police dictatorship in the cities, and harsh repression in those areas of the countryside controlled by the Saigon regime. Their anger, along with the strength of the revolutionary forces, constitutes an offensive before which the Saigon dictatorship is totally defenseless.

Reread the descriptions of the cratering of South Vietnam and the antipersonnel bombardment above, keeping in mind that Nixon is *more than doubling this past bombardment*, as is depicted by the chart on this page. And these figures must be still further supplemented. "Early in the week," the May 15 *Newsweek* declared, "four more squadrons of F-4 fighter-bombers were sent to Indochina, bringing the total of American planes there to more than 1,000. In addition, the aircraft carrier *Saratoga* was ordered to join the Seventh Fleet task force off the coast of Vietnam. With the *Saratoga's* arrival, the U. S. now had a record total of six carriers and roughly 50,000 men stationed in the Gulf of Tonkin." It is the largest assembly of U. S. warships since World War II.

The May 6 *New York Times* carried the description of B-52 bombing missions in support of Saigon troops. "An allied official who has been flying his helicopter over the target areas within five minutes after the B-52 strikes said: 'They have been the most lucrative raids made at any time during the war.'"

"Every single bomb crater is surrounded with bodies, wrecked equipment and dazed and bleeding people. . . . At one such hole there were 40 or 50 men, all in green North Vietnamese uniforms but without their weapons, lying around in an obvious state of shock. We sent in helicopter gunships, which quickly put them out of their misery."

On May 9 the Hanoi radio reported that U. S. bombers "deliberately struck at the dike system in Namha Province" of North Vietnam, south-east of the capital. Although the Pentagon denied this, numerous official statements, including Nixon's own speeches, have made it clear that Washington considers the dikes fair game for its murderous bombardment—along with the rest of the cities, towns, villages, and peoples of Vietnam.

The dikes constitute a vital system of irrigation and flood control in the Red River Delta, which is the most heavily populated and fertile region of North Vietnam. Destruction of them is entirely in keeping with Nixon's genocidal policies.

The attempt to seal off Vietnam from outside support and the declaration that there are no limitations to the bombing of Indochina constitute a qualitative change in the imperialists' war policy and a major escalation of the attack on Vietnam. It marks the end of the four-year "Vietnamization" period. Mining of the port of Haiphong is a step long considered by the Pentagon but one which Johnson refused to take even at the previous peak bombing of North Vietnam in 1967-68.

U. S. combat troops

There is tremendous pressure on Nixon from the people of this country, most of whom are opposed to the war, not to introduce more U. S. combat troops. But this measure cannot be ruled out as Nixon desperately thrashes out to save the Saigon government. In discussing options open to Nixon for escalating the war, *New York Times* Washington correspondent Tad Szulc revealed May 8 that one possibility "would be rotation of the American units still in Vietnam—there are about 65,000 United States troops in the country—to replace housekeeping units with combat units. . . ."

Evidence that this process is already underway was reported in the May 4 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. "According to well-informed sources," it stated, "1,200 soldiers from the Americans' Clark base in the Philippines have been



The "craterization" of Anloc

to score a conclusive victory in any major battle. The best they have been able to do is hold tenuously to the provincial capital of An Loc north of Saigon. . . . But even at An Loc, the ARVN has had to abandon its attempts to destroy the North Vietnamese troops that are still besieging the town."

Newsweek fails to point out that whatever success the ARVN troops have had so far in preventing the revolutionaries from taking An Loc has been solely a result of the intensive U. S. bombing in the area. The newsweekly continues, "Somewhat surprisingly, Pentagon officials now openly admit that the Vietnamization program 'hangs by a few threads.' Perhaps the fatal flaw in Vietnamization has been the inability of the United States to instill in the South Vietnamese soldier

"Craters pock every area of South Vietnam: forests, swamps, fields, paddings, roadsides. Certain areas, notably zones 'free fire,' of 'specified strike,' zones, show severe cratering. . . . we estimate that the number of craters produced in Indochina by the bombardments from 1965 to 1971 totaled some 26 million, covering a total area of 423,000 acres. . . . The area of missile-fragment spread totals 23.6 million acres, if we disregard overlap."

Further testimony to the genocidal destruction of Vietnam by U. S. bombing came in a speech by Senator Alan Cranston, (D-Calif.), April 19: "While the air war is becoming more and more impersonal and remote for Americans, the same cannot be said for those on the receiving end of the bomb delivery system," Cranston stated. "Planes are still routinely armed with antipersonnel and

sent to Vietnam for 'temporary duty.' Most are maintenance personnel from the 405th tactical fighter-bomber squadron. 250 other soldiers are to insure the defense of Danang. The special status of these troops allows them not to be counted as part of the American forces officially allocated to the South. On the other hand, an undetermined number of marines stopped over in the Philippines—en route to Vietnam—on April 21. A battalion of 500 more marines had been sent to Danang prior to this. . . . It has also been learned that 900 airmen have left the base at Yokota in Japan for Thailand. At Yokota, *training exercises in the handling of nuclear weapons are going on. . . .* (Emphasis added.)

Moscow-Peking response

It is evident that the Vietnamese revolution is in grave danger as Nixon escalates the U.S. attack. On top of this, the assertion that Washington would feel free to bomb any ship in the Gulf of Tonkin after the three-day warning is a blatant challenge to both Moscow and Peking, which have been providing minimal economic and military aid to Hanoi.

"Although the Soviet Union has supplied North Vietnam with complicated radar and surface to air missiles for air defense and has equipped Hanoi's air force with some advanced MIG-21s, genuinely sophisticated equipment for the ground forces has been withheld in the past," *Los Angeles Times* correspondent George McArthur wrote from Saigon May 3.

"In fact, American officers have long been puzzled that the Soviet Union did not use the Vietnam war to test some of its equipment," McArthur continued.

"The fact that most Russian equipment was standard hardware was also known to cause some chagrin in the North Vietnamese military establishment.

"Even the massive supply of tanks from Moscow did not alter that policy substantially. The tanks were also mostly of World War II vintage."

While it doled out these inadequate military supplies with an eyedropper, Moscow continuously exerted pressure on Hanoi to agree to a settlement of the war that would leave Washington a foothold in Saigon. Nixon and his top assistant Henry

Kissinger have made it abundantly clear in the past two weeks that Moscow's diplomatic pressure against the revolutionists is a key aspect of Washington's war plans.

Moscow's policies are consequently far from what the Vietnamese revolution needs: a united front of the workers states that guarantees it will defend Indochina by any means necessary against the imperialist attack.

The bind that Nixon's new escalation puts Moscow and Peking in shows the utter bankruptcy of their policies aimed at appeasing the imperialist aggressors. The minimal aid to Hanoi encouraged Washington to escalate the war. When Nixon bombed the port of Haiphong April 15-16, and even sank a Soviet destroyer, as it was later revealed, the mild criticisms from Moscow and Peking encouraged Washington to mine the port of Haiphong, a move that threatens any Soviet and Chinese ships that might be present.

American response

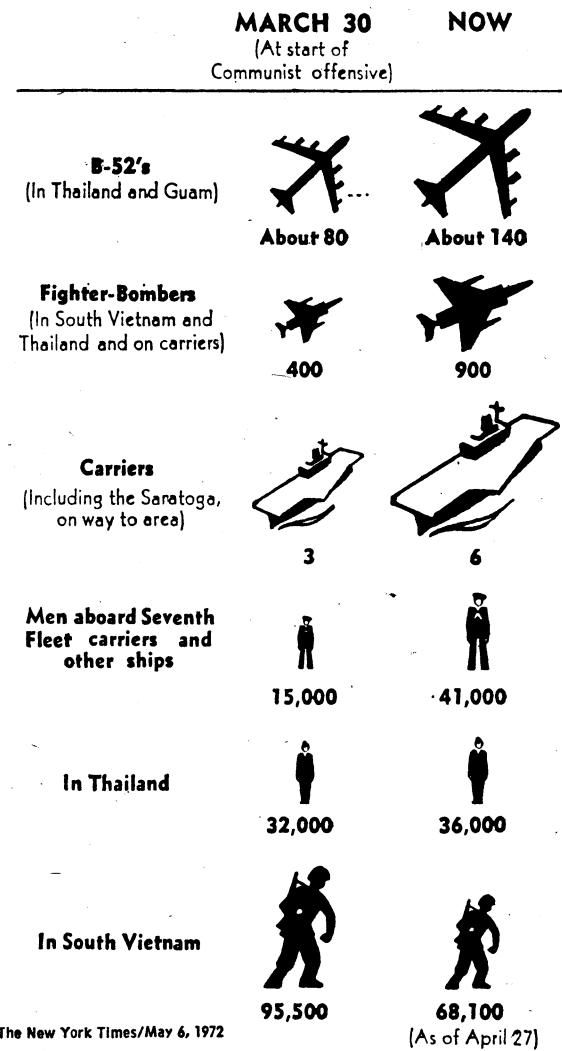
More than in any previous speech, Nixon's May 8 declaration revealed the Washington strategists fear of the response of Americans themselves. It was to Americans that Nixon addressed the end of his war ultimatum. "It is you, most of all, the world will be watching," Nixon declared. "With your support we will accomplish that great goal [of winning the war]," Nixon ended.

There is a crucial truth to this demagogic appeal. The people of Vietnam have made it clear to the whole world how they stand on the war. They have shown that they desire an end to the Saigon dictatorship and that given the chance, they will press on to revolutionary victory and freedom from U.S. imperialism. They have, indeed, put the question of the war to the American people.

Nixon and the strategists in Washington are well aware of this. Throughout the entire war, as the Pentagon papers showed, they cautiously probed the response of Americans to each escalation of the war. Today, with the impending collapse of the Saigon regime, that response is particularly critical. *The only force that can maintain dictatorship in Saigon is Washington. It is above all the responsibility of Americans to see that this does not happen!*

It is urgent that every opponent of the war go on a sustained mobilization to rally the millions of Americans who hate the war into forceful demonstrations of this opposition. The fate of the people of Vietnam is at stake. A horrendous escalation of the war is taking place, and world war is threatened by Nixon's bombing terror. Now more than ever before is it necessary to cry "Stop the Bombing!" "Out Now!"

U.S. Forces in Vietnam War



Saigon army crumbles under attack

By DICK ROBERTS

"The South Vietnamese troops just wouldn't do anything offensive—no patrolling, no going out to meet the enemy, nothing.

"The North Vietnamese out there, of course, were just the opposite. Once I saw one of them standing on a hill while an F-4 Phantom was coming down on him, and he stayed there, face to face, firing his rifle at it."

These remarks were made by an American to *New York Times* reporter Malcolm W. Browne in Pleiku, April 20. Both the remarks and Browne's dispatch reflect a changing tone. Many Americans are beginning to come to grips for the first time with fundamental facts about the war.

The forces arraigned against the U.S.-Saigon military machine are fighting to free their country from a corrupt capitalist dictatorship. Only a few businessmen, landlords, and militarists benefit from the Saigon regime. And even this gang is not putting up much of a fight to defend itself, relying mainly on U.S. firepower.

It took the renewed offensive of the revolutionaries and the collapse of the Saigon armies on three fronts to begin to raise these questions.

Newsweek magazine, for example, admitted in its April 17 issue, "In the long run, however, the ARVN's [Army of the Republic of (South) Vietnam] most serious problem may be the one that has plagued it from the beginning of the conflict: the simple lack of a will to fight on the part of the average peasant soldier. The war has done little to change the class structure of Vietnamese life, and in a country where even high-ranking commissioned officers are scorned, the common soldier is a pariah. Uniformly poor, unable to advance through the corrupt and rigid ARVN hierarchy, and—unlike his North Vietnamese counterpart—not particularly mo-

tivated by ideology, the South Vietnamese soldier typically sees little harm in running home to see his family or to harvest the crops, and seldom exhibits much enthusiasm about risking his life for the Saigon government."

The same magazine stated May 1, ". . . signs of apprehension and uneasiness were beginning to crop up throughout South Vietnam last week. People began to hoard food, and peasants painted over the yellow-and-red government flags on their houses. Worse yet, the stress and strain were not limited to civilians alone. Army desertions soared, and in some areas soldiers reportedly took to carrying small blue flags in their pockets—to signal the Communists that they want to defect."

"Now it's suddenly dawning on higher authority here that the South Vietnamese system is inadequate and has been all along," a "well-informed American" told *Times* reporter Craig R. Whitney in Saigon May 3.

"The South Vietnamese are up against a 20th-century army, where the troops are tightly disciplined, the leaders are highly trained and promoted on merit. These guys in the South are products of a system of traditional mandarism and French colonialism that just cannot hang together against it."

An American officer professed to be surprised—and perhaps he was—when the Saigon officials he had been advising for a year deserted their troops in face of the revolutionary attack. "I thought Dinh was all right, and he just went and left, so I'm pretty discouraged."

According to *Times* correspondent Whitney, "What happened when the district chief, Phong Dinh Su, and the regimental commander Col. Tran Hieu Duc, left the troops, of course,

was that they lost all incentive to keep fighting. . . ."

Whitney pointed out that high Saigon military officials receive their positions as political favoritism. "The post of province chief is accorded in many cases to men with patrons higher in the government. One of the executive privileges of a corps commander like Lieut. Gen. Hoang Xuan Lam, who was relieved in the five northern provinces today [May 3], is to appoint province chiefs. Though a province chief need have no special combat leadership qualities, an unusually large number have been given field commands in recent years."

Whitney quoted an American "expert" on the South Vietnamese Army. "These generals are a class apart from the ordinary people of Vietnam. . . . They send their children to French schools, often to Paris, and they are in a sense alienated from their own people. They do not know how to

deal with the Communists effectively."

Said Whitney, "The commander of Military Region II, Maj. Gen. Ngo Dzu, has been accused of corruption and even of involvement in illicit narcotics trade. His staff reported last month that he had suffered a heart seizure, which may be a prelude to his resignation before he too, is relieved—a distinct possibility now that his troops have lost half of Binh Dinh and Kontum Provinces."

Whitney also reported that "Many fleeing soldiers of the shattered Third Division—which apparently abandoned Quangtri city Monday [May 1] on the initiative of its commander, Brig. Gen. Vu Van Giai—were setting fire to buildings in Hue. They said their officers had cut and run."

And why not? With a little of the take in their wallets, they can join former Saigon emperor Bao Dai and a host of other clients of world imperialism on the French Riviera.

HELP FIGHT AGAINST NIXON'S DESPERATE WAR! SELL THE MILITANT

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In Our Opinion

...protests

Continued from page 1

to see through Nixon's claim to be "winding down the war." More and more people are sick and tired of this government's blatant lies. In Nixon's speech, for example, he used his standard technique of the BIG LIE—attempting to portray the U.S. war criminals as those who want "peace," and the Vietnamese—who have been the victims of decades of French and U.S. aggression—as the dangerous war criminals.

"By simply getting out," said Nixon, "we should only worsen the bloodshed." He makes this arrogant statement while, as he spoke, some 900 U.S. fighter-bombers and 140 B-52s were unleashing the most unspeakable bloodshed in Vietnam.

Nixon charges the Vietnamese with "insolence" and "arrogance" for refusing to "negotiate an end to the war." What right does the U.S. have to negotiate the future of Vietnam? None whatsoever! Nixon is attempting to bomb into submission a small country more than 10,000 miles away, and then he calls the Vietnamese peasants, workers, and students "insolent" for daring to fight back.

The stakes are very high in our struggle to end this war. The lives of millions of Vietnamese hang in the balance. Watching the news of the war on TV, we in this country get just an inkling of the horror that each day of this war means for the Vietnamese people. But also at stake is the very future of humanity. Nixon's latest move, or future escalations, could trigger a world nuclear war.

Nixon says that if these moves are not made, it would "jeopardize the lives of 60,000 Americans" still in Vietnam. This is disgusting double talk!

It is Nixon who is jeopardizing the lives of those GIs and the lives of the prisoners of war. If Nixon brought the GIs home and ended U.S. military action, the war would be over. North Vietnam would have no reason for continuing to hold U.S. prisoners of war.

The American people are not willing to sit back and let Nixon get away with prosecuting this war in their name. The power of the masses of the American people can be mobilized to force an end to the war.

All out in emergency protest actions!

Build the May 21 March on Washington!

Organize protest activities in every city, on every campus, in every high school!

Out Now!



"We must not falter. For all that we have risked and all that we have gained over the years now hangs in the balance . . ."

Al Capp show

Saw Laura Miller on the Al Capp show the other night and had to admire her patience! [Laura Miller is a national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.]

I don't know a single thing about socialism, but it's got to be better than the current mess. As the mother of six children, I owe it to my children to be informed.

M. C. K.

Albion, N. Y.

The war and Black people

To Black People, 1972:

As a group, as a people with nothing in common with Amerika and capitalism save misery and exploitation, we have no damn right by anyone's imagination to be participating in a war against the Indochinese people. So let's start today to think and then to do something about the shit that's coming down on the people of Indochina. We have been noticeably missing from anti-war rallies and demonstrations in the past—those days should be long gone. For during our absence the world changed and the forces of humanity and socialism struck blows against our enemy.

Not only are the Indochinese people dying from the unscrupulous, wanton, and imperialistic behavior of Amerikan finance and militarism—Black people are also dying. We are dying a dual death. While, as Black soldiers, we pave the way for fascism to consolidate itself in Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia, we are at the same time imprisoning ourselves by making war on the world's socialists, the left wing of the anti-imperialist, antiracist, and anticapitalist struggle, the people's combatants—we in effect are eating away at ourselves.

What agony and pain it must be to that Vietnamese Brother to see this Black man tearing away at his flesh, his hamlet, and his culture on behalf of General Motors, General Electric, and General Slaughter!

We do not need the blood of our Sisters and Brothers to prove that we are patriotic and worthy of becoming Amerikans . . . of becoming the bloodiest phenomenon of the 20th century . . . in short, soulless and empty.

The Indochinese people are fighting for life, liberty, and countryside. When the smoke clears, let it not be said that proud-Black-Double-O-Soul-Buckwheat-Jones was standing there—outta pocket—fucking with the lives of a people who never called him nigger, never put him on welfare, never overworked his pappa, and never misused his mamma!

We cannot afford another day of bombing of the people of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, or any other place in the world. You check the shit out and you'll see that we are the victim in each one of these warmongering profit ventures of Uncle Sam and his fascist corporations. We owe it to ourselves and to the people of Asia to stop this war.

Ray Eaglin

African Liberation Support Committee

Eugene, Ore.

No job

Who? Eligible work-study students.

What? No employment.

Why? Nepotism.

Where? Texas A & I University, Kingsville, Texas.

Letters

When? Now.

How? Relatives of highly paid administrators and faculty members use influence, get the federally subsidized work-study jobs, and leave eligible low-income students with no jobs and a sad story.

It won't hurt if you use my name, for I don't have a work-study job to lose. I need one.

George J. Gessner
Kingsville, Texas

Internees request books

The prisoners in Long Kesh concentration camp in Northern Ireland want to make the best use of their enforced "vacation." They have appealed to socialists everywhere to send them socialist books, periodicals, pamphlets, and records. Shipments can be sent to the Central Citizens Defense Council, 39 Falls Road, Belfast 12, Northern Ireland, along with a note saying that they are for the Martin O'Leary Republican Club.

Gerry Foley

New York, N. Y.

Picasso and realism

I agree with Dave Prince—in spirit—in his May 5 article on Picasso and on a Stalinist's review of Picasso. The Stalinist conception of art has been that "art" should serve Stalin (or Khrushchev or Kosygin) and the party line, or else. "Socialist realism" has never had anything to do with art, and it has even less to do with realism and truth.

But while I agree in spirit, I cannot agree with Mr. Prince further than that. Mr. Prince seems to attack the Stalinist review of Picasso the same as one would attack the advocates of realism, not socialist realism.

For example, there should be a distinction between what an artist says and what he or she intends to say. In Picasso's case, a whole "broad" aspect of his work (Cubism) has, for the vast multitude under awareness of his fame, said nothing. Part (not all) of Picasso's "fame" is due to this.

The bourgeoisie can look liberal, yet remain safe with him (and others). If Picasso painted like Jack London wrote (and there are many artists and writers in Spain and elsewhere—like Brecht—who have done that), Picasso's fame might remain only his dream.

I'm sure Mr. Prince would not believe the converse of his own argument: If immediate comprehension doesn't constitute the only technique of art, that therefore its presence in a work means that it cannot be art? An artist should try to be understood. Why not? Only if what one does is so deep, powerful, and meaningful that to be immediately appealing might cause a loss in profundity, could one have an excuse for ignoring a "mass" approach.

I see that *The Militant* itself, in layout and Madison Avenue-style ads, adheres to this mass approach. It is easy to understand what it is being aimed at. In fact, it is easy to the point of being art-less: few drawings, no poetry, little humor or satire.

I think *The Militant* and Mr. Prince have pretty good politics. But the "art" in *The Militant*, though easy

The Great Society

to understand, lacks depth—sort of Picasso-in-reverse. I hope *The Militant* will raise its artistic level to that of its politics.

Barbara Martin
New York, N. Y.

Christianity and conscience

In reply to Andrew Geyer (letter entitled "The Christian View" in the March 31 issue): After the Jackson State murders, Kent State murders, the Mylai massacre, U. S. genocide in Vietnam, and the murder of George Jackson—how can a Christian in good conscience call the criticism and accusations made against the Nixon administration "unfair?" Isn't Nixon and the oppressive liberal-bourgeoisie ruling class oppressive, unfair, unjust? Isn't President Nixon a war criminal and a warmonger, not a "peace-maker?" Is a war criminal due respect and honor?

Kathryn Murphey
Weatherford, Texas

Barbaric practice

The *New York Times* carried articles at the beginning of April on a Colorado man who underwent "voluntary" castration, allegedly to cure him of an insatiable desire to molest little girls. I want to say two things about this barbaric practice.

First, it does not prevent sexual arousal or ability to perform sexually, or to rape or molest. It is purely vindictive.

Second, while it was the case of this habitual heterosexual child-molester that has prompted some doctors to call for an investigation, this inhuman practice has been used by sadistic judges and doctors on homosexuals, most notably in California, without much hue and cry.

Bigoted judges have offered prisoners "voluntary" castration as an alternative to long sentences for sexual "crimes" such as sodomy, which in California can still bring up to life imprisonment. While California's "Asexualization of Prisoners" provision of the penal code (Section 2670) was repealed last year (!), the indeterminate sentencing for sex "crimes" (one year to life for sodomy) can still make involuntary castration possible on "mentally disordered sex offenders" (under Section 645 of the penal code).

Barbaric as the practice of "asexualization" is, it appeared on law-books in the U. S. and northern European countries mostly during the first three decades of this century. And while it is now falling into disrepute, it is doing so only after hundreds of thousands of persons, many of them innocent gays, have been mutilated in the interests of shoring up a psychopathic Judeo-Christian morality.

David Thorstad
New York, N. Y.

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

Fail-safe—Army investigators put the OK on a group of officers who reportedly cheated on exams that qualified them to control the firing of nuclear weapons. There is no cause for alarm, the probers assured, since if the officers really had flunked the test they wouldn't know how to fire the nukes anyway. Now if these guys could get promoted to the Pentagon, maybe we'd have a chance.

Progress report—The South African government has standardized the price for duplicating lost identity papers. Blacks previously paid four times as much as whites and mulattoes.

Fair standards favored—The Florida Supreme Court agreed that the \$3,000 a month alimony being doled out to the ex-wife of rubber heir Russell Firestone may well be insufficient. The court noted that when wed, Mary Firestone was allowed \$3,000 a month just for wagering on her eight horses, plus \$5,000 a month for clothing. "Cloth must be cut to fit the pattern," the court observed philosophically, "and if excessive indulgences, as a customary norm, accompany private wealth, they may very well establish a pattern."

No lion pit?—A group of spiritually oriented Alabama entrepreneurs are out to zap Disney World with a competing Holyland, USA. Features will include a 101-foot statue of J. C., a replica of the Wailing Wall (Where admissions are collected?), a 12-acre Sea of Galilee, and a coliseum with chariot races.

People's fashions—Designer Jerry Silverman says, "I design clothes for Mrs. America. For the woman who wants to be romantic, sexy, feminine, well-bred, fun and absolutely gorgeous." He sees a trend back toward such dress. "American women may go to extremes once in a while," he says, "but they still have to prepare for the club luncheon, business appointments, yacht club parties, trips to Europe and holiday party hostessing."

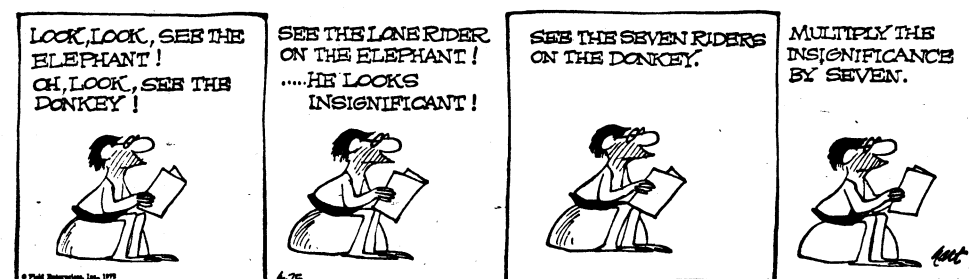
The capacity for relevance—A new cosmetics outfit, EcoloGel, is offering a cucumber face wash, a celery astringent, a lettuce moisture balm, and an avocado sleep cream. Any two items, \$5.

A wing and a prayer—Charter outfits are doing nicely with "religious tours" led by clerics. One sales manual tells recruiters to remind potential clerical guides that a trip to the Holy Land may inspire bequests to the church. "Always remember that a large part of the market that travels are people who already have one foot in the grave," the manual states. "So ministers do not have to wait too long to collect on these wills." Meanwhile, the good fathers collect up to \$70 a head for guide duty.

— HARRY RING

B.C.

BY JOHNNY HART



Women: The Insurgent Majority

COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS SUPPORT ERA—Opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment often falsely charge that its feminist supporters are "petty bourgeois" and unconcerned with the needs of working women. According to some AFL-CIO officials and the Communist Party, women workers will be betrayed by passage of the ERA because it would end state protective laws for women.

Recently the Communications Workers of America (CWA) published a statement in support of the ERA that undercuts the opposition's arguments. The CWA is an international union, 60 percent of whose 500,000 members are women. The statement emphasized that the CWA favors extending those protective laws that benefit women to male workers. It went on to say: "We want to make clear, however, that even without the incorporation of language specifically addressed to the state protective labor laws, we see the Equal Rights Amendment as a means



Photo from CWA News

ANOTHER FIRST—Patti Jo Watson is the first installer-repairwoman at Pacific Northwest Bell Company. She is a member of Communications Workers of America Local 9201 in Portland, Ore.

of asserting not an equal right to be abused, but equality of the right to protection. The Communications Workers of America has always supported the extension of existing protective legislation for women to men. We look upon the Equal Rights Amendment as a constitutional guarantee, a national commitment that will aid us in achieving that goal. If the safety and family commitments of women have been recognized as valid concerns in the past, why not today extend the same concern and compassion to men?"

The ERA must be ratified by 38 state legislatures before becoming law. New York is the fourteenth state to pass the amendment.

J. EDGAR HOOVER not only kept 200 million fingerprints on file, but he also kept close tabs on any improprieties on the FBI staff. During his entire 48-year reign in Washington, smoking by women employees in his offices was banned. In 1967 he dismissed a male clerk for allegedly allowing a woman to stay overnight in his apartment. Hoover thought women should be kept in their place way back when he was a high school student. In those days, according to the *New York Times* obituary, the director acquired a reputation as a formidable debater on the topic of "The Fallacies of Women's Suffrage."

NOW BLASTS ABC-TV—A petition filed with the Federal Communications Commission by the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) calls for revoking ABC-TV's license because of the station's sexist programming and employment practices.

More than 100 NOW monitors watched ABC programs over the last year and catalogued the networks coverage of women. The petition filed with the FCC cites some typical instances of ABC's discriminatory attitude toward women. For example, when the ERA passed in the Senate in March, ABC's "Eyewitness News" failed to report it. But two days later the program gave more than a minute's coverage to opponents of the amendment. "Eyewitness News" anchorman Roger Grimsby, says the petition, concluded his reportage on the Aug. 26, 1970, Women's Strike with the comment: "and now for another item of trivia." When women athletes won seven of the eight U. S. medals in the 1972 Winter Olympics, ABC gave them 40 seconds on the news. By contrast, the station gave two minutes and 15 seconds to a women's pancake-eating contest.

ABC has not yet responded to the charges.

WOMEN PRISONERS TO GET CONJUGAL VISITS—

The state penitentiary in Parchman, Miss., will soon allow conjugal visits for married women inmates. This is perhaps the first such program in the country for women, although several prisons permit conjugal visits for male prisoners. Undoubtedly the women's liberation movement has had an effect in forcing this step by Mississippi penal authorities.

Conjugal visits should be the right of all women inmates, however, not just those who are married. In addition, the Parchman prison will require that those inmates who have conjugal visits must take birth control pills. This is an imposition by state authorities on the right of women to control their own bodies. At the same time, women on the outside are told by their state legislatures that they cannot have access to abortion because child bearing is a woman's role. These contradictory standards simply point up another rotten aspect of this inhuman, irrational society.

— CINDY JAQUITH

By BYRON ACKERMAN
and JULIE SIMON

NEW YORK—On April 17 Columbia University students responded immediately to Nixon's bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. Fifteen hundred people, including students, staff, and faculty, took part in a demonstration that ended in a march through the streets of New York City.

A meeting of nearly 2,000 the following night decided to call a strike at Columbia around four demands: 1) U.S. out of Southeast Asia now; 2) Professors affiliated with the Jason Project (a group of scientists doing research for the Defense Department) should terminate their affiliation or

shutting down the university. Comparing the student strike to a labor strike, they said that workers shut down a plant and don't let scabs through.

These arguments, however, do not take into account the fact that the key to any strike situation is winning the majority of students or workers to the side of the strike. A trade union would not call a strike and set up picket lines to stop people from entering the plant if the majority of workers were not going to strike. That would pit a minority of workers against the majority, and the strike would be quickly lost.

The task at Columbia was to win over a solid majority of the students to support of the strike. Attempting to physically prevent students from

ed: "Last night's decision to vote for a continuation of the strike through the use of closed picket lines seems an exercise in futility. Rather than allowing anti-university efforts to cease gracefully, the activists seem determined to make it fail. Why not allow the University to hold classes as we turn our attention towards more pressing matters? Let us continue the strike, but against the oppressive forces that are responsible for the war."

This editorial began to raise the key questions that still face the campus today: What was the purpose of the strike? And where do we go from here?

The strike was called in response to the U.S. government's bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. Large num-

by a relatively small number of students had the effect of distracting attention from the central issue of the war and university complicity with the war and focusing it instead on the tactical question of building takeovers.

Closed picket lines and building takeovers, when they have mass support, can be effective tactics. But when they do not have mass support (at Columbia only some 300 students participated in the five building takeovers), they can be used by the government, the media, and the university administration to divide the antiwar students and obscure the protest against the war.

For example, the takeover of Pupin Hall by some 50 people was not the most effective way of exposing university complicity with the war. Mass pressure could have forced a public debate with the scientists involved in the Jason Project and with Andrew Cordier, head of SIA. Such confrontations could have involved many more students than those who sat in at Pupin Hall. Moreover, by educating thousands of people both off and on campus about the specifics of university complicity with the war, they could have had a longer-range effect toward forcing the university not to accept war-related government contracts.

There is another political danger in concentrating on closed picket lines and building takeovers when there is no mass support. Students who are serious about ending the war but who do not see such tactics as effective will have no way to get involved in independent, militant antiwar activities. This leaves the door open to those who urge students to instead get involved in working for Democratic Party "peace" candidates.

The rash of George McGovern and Bella Abzug buttons that began to appear on the campus during the second week of the strike is testimony to this danger. A faculty peace group that had been dormant since May 1970 did not participate in this spring's antiwar actions; but gave \$1,000 to the McGovern campaign instead.

What is needed

What is needed now is the projection of antiwar activity that can involve the greatest number of people, educate students and others on the role of the university in aiding the war, and reach out beyond the campus to involve those sectors of the community that have not been previously involved.

The tenuous situation in Vietnam means that Nixon might decide to escalate the war again at any moment. The upsurge that could follow such an escalation could be deeper and broader than that of the last three weeks.

Many departments and schools at Columbia started, and some have continued, to organize their own antiwar committees and meetings. Barnard College, General Studies, Teachers College, the law school, the graduate faculties, the medical school, and others began to organize strike headquarters in their own areas. With the next upsurge, this type of activity can be expanded and coordinated.

A leadership body is needed to represent all those organizing in the departments and schools, the political organizations, the campus newspapers, radio, student government, etc. Democratic decisions should be made at mass meetings where anyone can speak and present proposals. A steering committee of all segments of the campus could then see that the decisions of the mass meetings are carried out and coordinated.

Actions such as the march of 4,000 Columbia students through the center of New York on April 21, teach-ins like the one held at Barnard at the beginning of the strike, joint student-labor rallies in central working areas, marches involving the Black and Puer-

Continued on page 22

The debate on strike policies at Columbia



Columbia students march to demand that the university shut down

Photo by William Megalos/Daily Spectator

leave Columbia; 3) The School of International Affairs (SIA) should accept no more government contracts; and 4) Columbia should sever all ties with companies that do business with apartheid regimes.

The Columbia Student Mobilization Committee submitted a proposal to this meeting outlining actions for the next four days. This proposal, which was amended and then passed, included open picketing, noon rallies at Pupin Hall (home of the Jason Project) and at university senate meetings, marches on and off campus, workshops on the SIA contracts and the Jason Project, marshal training for the April 22 New York antiwar demonstration, and other actions.

In the following days some 5,000 people from the Columbia community participated in one or another of these activities. This was a significant portion of the total campus community of 15,000 to 18,000.

At the first mass meeting and at several subsequent mass meetings and rallies, the main point of debate was over open or closed picket lines—that is, whether the picket lines should attempt to physically stop students from entering buildings to attend classes. During the second week this debate shifted to whether students should take over buildings.

Hour upon hour was spent debating these tactics in the campus-wide mass meetings, in meetings of the different schools and departments, and in the three campus newspapers.

Closed vs. open picket lines

Closed picket lines were favored by Progressive Labor, Students for a Democratic Society, and the ultraleft Dien Bien Phu Family. These groups argued that closed picket lines would show that students were serious about

going to class could not substitute for mass support. Nor did this tactic help in winning over more students to support of the strike.

The Student Mobilization Committee and other students proposed instead holding informational picket lines to encourage students to join the strike and get involved in antiwar activities on the campus.

At first a significant number of strike activists supported the idea of closed picket lines as a way to demonstrate militancy and determination. For example, the Columbia *Spectator*, the daily campus newspaper, endorsed closed picket lines in its April 20 editorial. "This [closed picket lines] does not necessitate violent picketing," the editorial stated. "Fist-fights would be an outrage and an absurdity in an action performed for a humane purpose. But militancy is called for in preserving the strike."

The votes taken on closed versus open picket lines at the first mass meeting and noon rally were at first equally divided among the 1,200 people voting. Closed pickets finally received a slight majority, so the next picket lines set up were supposed to be closed.

In reality, however, confusion came about whenever students really wanted to force their way into a building. At most buildings the picketers simply attempted to persuade people not to enter, but did not physically attempt to stop them. Because of this confusion and because strikers did not want to get into fistfights with other students, the picket lines dwindled from a peak of 200-300 distributed at the various building entrances to around 50-60 on the whole campus.

After seeing the results of the closed picketing, the *Spectator* changed its position. On April 24 its editorial stat-

bers of people wanted to demonstrate their opposition to these bombings, and many of the strike activities provided a focus for this protest.

When the bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong were not continued, the intensity of protest decreased. Some students looked at what happened and began to criticize other students for not staying in the streets day after day and for not being "committed" enough. What these students did not see is that the massive student antiwar sentiment is still there. The entire student population is watching Nixon's moves very closely and is ready to respond once again if Nixon dares to commit ground troops or reescalate the air war.

The crucial task of the Columbia strike was to get the students, faculty, and staff to move in massive action against the continuation and escalation of the war, as well as against university complicity with the war. As in May 1970 when the antiwar movement helped force Nixon out of Cambodia, it is the power of mass action that can affect the government's policy in Vietnam.

Some political groups, like PL, SDS, and the Dien Bien Phu Family, lost sight of this primary goal of winning over and mobilizing the mass of students against the war and university complicity. They began to place the tactical question of closed picket lines above the overall considerations of the political nature of the strike. Instead of uniting to organize against the war and university complicity, people began to be divided over a purely tactical question. For example, both prowar and antiwar students formed a group on campus called the Majority Coalition, whose sole purpose was to oppose the closed picket lines.

Similarly, the takeover of buildings

Thousands in U.S. demonstrated May 4

By DAVE FRANKEL

MAY 8—Antiwar demonstrators across the country continued on May 4 their actions for an end to the U.S. bombardment of Vietnam and the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and matériel from Southeast Asia. In Detroit 750 people picketed the Federal Building in an action jointly sponsored by the Detroit Coalition to End the War and the Detroit AFL-CIO Metropolitan Council.

The demonstrators, carrying signs against the war, inflation, and unemployment, came from the Printing Pressmen's union, United Auto Workers Locals 156 and 160, the Lithographers and Photo Engravers union, the United Farm Workers, the Communications Workers of America, the Detroit Federation of Teachers, the Teamsters union, Michigan Federation of Teachers Local 2000, Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, Youth for McGovern, Communist Party, and the Socialist Workers Party.

The Detroit AFL-CIO's cosponsor-

ship of the May 4 picket line—together with the recent passage by the Minnesota Federation of Teachers convention of an antiwar resolution calling for the "immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. military personnel from Southeast Asia"—indicate the support that can be won from the labor movement.

Moratorium activities also took place in at least six high schools in Detroit.

● In Cambridge, Mass., 200 participated in a candlelight march from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to Harvard Square on May 4, and more than 5,000 gathered in Boston on May 6 for a rally sponsored by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ).

● At Yale University, three rallies of about 150 each took place on May 4. One of these, a peaceful sit-in protesting the arrest of a member of VVAW, was attacked by police, who used clubs and dogs. Some students were hospitalized, and a protest vigil that night drew 2,000.

● A rally in New York at Foley Square, sponsored by PCPJ and the New York Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, drew about 1,000 people. A later bilingual rally conducted in Spanish and English and organized by the New York Peace Action Coalition drew several hundred in New York's garment center.

Twenty-five New York campuses and high schools requested SMC speakers on May 4. For May 5, the New York SMC called a picket line against Henry Kissinger, who was scheduled to speak before the Asia Society in "an off-the-record talk on current relations with Southeast Asia to the corporate world." The May 5 *New York Post*, under the headline "Kissinger Scared of Pickets?" announced that he had cancelled his appearance.

● Seven high schools and 10 college campuses in the Los Angeles area had moratorium actions, and 1,000 people demonstrated at the West Los

Angeles Federal Building near UCLA.

● In Portland, Ore., a candlelight march of 900 and a rally of 1,300 were organized by the SMC. Speakers at the rally included Eugene McCarthy, Hawaii Congresswoman Patsy Mink, and Mike Kelly of the SMC.

Among other actions in Portland were a rally of 400 at Lewis and Clark College, a rally of 200 at Reed College, and an educational program at Portland State University that drew 200. In Vancouver, Wash., an SMC rally followed by a march and picket line at the draft board drew 150.

● About 300 people rallied May 6 at the Presidio Army Base in San Francisco in defense of Billy Dean Smith, a Black GI who is being framed up for the killing of two officers in Vietnam. The "evidence" against Smith is a grenade pin found in one of his pockets. The pin, however, does not match the type of grenade that killed the two officers.

● May 4 activities in Washington, D.C., included a rally of 500 at the Capitol sponsored by the May 4 Moratorium Committee, a rally of 1,000 sponsored by Federal Employees for Peace, and a town meeting of 150 at All Souls Unitarian Church sponsored by Washington Area Peace Action Coalition.

● More than 2,000 people rallied at the University of Colorado in Boulder in an action sponsored by the SMC, the Colorado Peace Action Coalition, the New American Movement, Young Socialist Alliance, United Mexican-American Students, and the *Colorado Daily*. Speakers included SMC national coordinator Fred Lovgren, and Father Neil McLaughlin of the Harrisburg Defense Committee.

● A May 4 rally in Philadelphia drew 1,500 people. Sponsors included the Philadelphia Peace Action Coalition, SANE, Resistance, the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, SMC, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Women Strike for Peace.

A city-wide high school rally organized by students from five high schools drew 200, and a march of 100 teachers and students was organized by the SMC and the Progressive Teachers Caucus.

● At Kent State University 1,000 people participated in a candlelight march, and in Cleveland, teach-ins and rallies were held in the downtown area, at Cleveland State University, and at Cuyahoga Community College. A memorial service for those murdered at Kent, Jackson, and Augusta was held at Case Western Reserve University.

● In Tallahassee, Fla., the SMC organized a candlelight march that drew 400 despite rain. The University of Georgia SMC also organized a rally of 400, and other actions were held in Atlanta and Nashville.

● In Reykjavik, Iceland, a demonstration was held May 3. According to the *New York Times*, 200 people protesting the war in Indochina confronted Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

● In other developments over the last week, the League of Women Voters, meeting at a national convention in Atlanta, went on record May 6 in favor of total and immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. One day earlier, the presidents of more than 60 private colleges and universities in the Midwest signed a joint statement also calling for the immediate withdrawal of all American military forces from Vietnam.

Finally, a conference of trade unionists has been called for June 23 and 24 at the headquarters of the Teamsters union in St. Louis to establish a new trade-union antiwar organization. The conference was initiated by David Livingston, secretary-treasurer of the Distributive Workers of America; Harold Gibbons, a vice-president of the Teamsters; and Clifton Caldwell, a vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, upon their return from Hanoi. Plans for the conference were discussed by a meeting of 22 labor officials from 13 unions.

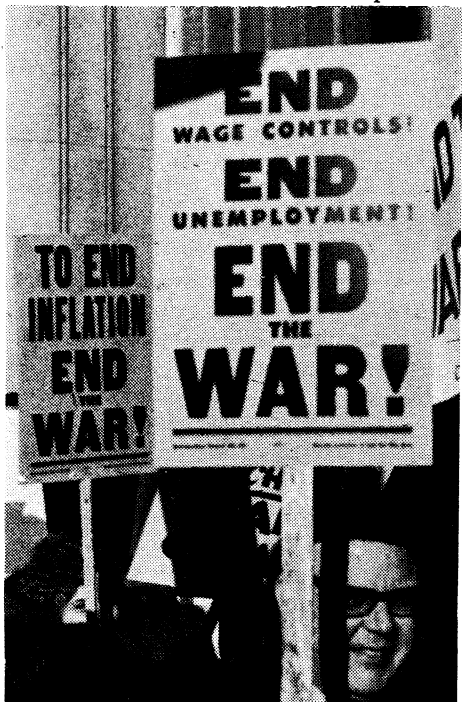


Photo by Dan Beesley

Pickets at May 4 action in Detroit

Firebomb wrecks 'Bird' office

ATLANTA, Ga., May 8—Just before dawn on May 6 the offices of *The Great Speckled Bird* were firebombed. The *Bird* is the largest underground paper in the South and has been published weekly for more than four years. Fire and water damage was quite extensive, leaving the *Bird* office unusable. Two firemen were injured putting out the blaze.

According to Lieutenant J. A. Bird of the Atlanta Fire Department, the damage and obvious cause of the fire indicate that someone used a bomb or gasoline to start the fire. Neighbors heard a noise they described as "like a shot" before seeing the flames.

The fire is the third serious threat to the paper's existence in the last three weeks. Three weeks ago vice-squad detectives conducted mass arrests of *Bird* sellers on the pretext that peddler's licenses were required. This came after four years of selling without licenses.

That same week a fire inspector came to check the building. The minor deficiencies he found had been corrected before the May 6 fire.

Comments from the mayor of At-

lanta and some of his staff indicate the harassment resulted from the *Bird's* critical coverage of Mayor Sam Massell and City Hall. At this time no proof has been found of any connection between the firebombing and the City Hall threats.

The next week's hassle was from the U.S. Post Office. On April 26 officials notified the *Bird* that they would not accept the paper if it ran its usual ads for abortion-referral services. Here again, it is not certain at this time whether the Post Office action is connected with the City Hall attacks, but the *New York Times* and several national magazines that carry similar ads do not face the same threat.

Temporary restraining orders have ended arrests of sellers and allowed mailing of the papers with the abortion ads, and court hearings are pending. The mayor and other city officials have been subpoenaed in the peddler's license case.

Extensive damage was done to the *Bird's* supplies and equipment. A news release from the *Bird* says, "We could barely recognize the remains of our addressograph and plate typer." The staff plans to put out the paper this Thursday as usual, operating out of three different houses. They are now looking for new offices.

The *Bird* is asking for contributions to help replace the office equipment that was destroyed.

The mailing address to which donations can be sent is: The Great Speckled Bird, P.O. Box 7847, Atlanta, Ga. 30309. Phone: (404) 874-1658.



Photo by Marjorie Jordan/Great Speckled Bird

Part of damage to the offices of Atlanta underground paper, the Great Speckled Bird.

Debate on China set for May 19

By STACEY JOSLIN

NEW YORK—On Friday, May 19, the *Guardian* and the Upper West Side Militant Forum will cosponsor a debate on "Nixon's Trip to China." Participants in the debate will be Jack Smith, managing editor of the *Guardian*, and Dick Roberts, staff writer for *The Militant* and associate editor of the *International Socialist Review*. Dr. Annette T. Rubenstein will chair the meeting.

Nixon's trip to China has been discussed in both *The Militant* and the *Guardian*, and a lively exchange of views has been carried on in the pages of the two papers.

The Militant's articles concluded that China's Maoist regime, which follows the policy of peaceful coexistence, made unnecessary accommodations to U.S. imperialism. The *Guardian*, however, took the position that Mao met Nixon from a position of strength and did not make any concessions to imperialism at the expense of revolutions in other countries.

The debate between Roberts and Smith will be held in Room 902 of Schermerhorn Hall at Columbia University (116th Street and Broadway) at 8 p.m.

By CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK—"Women unite—abortion is our right!" This was the chant of 1,500 militant demonstrators, mostly young women, who marched and rallied here on May 6 against attacks by President Nixon and anti-abortion forces on the right to abortion in New York. The demonstration here was one of more than a dozen spirited actions nationwide on May 6 called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) around the demands of repeal of all anti-abortion and restrictive contraception laws and an end to forced sterilization.

"Abortion is a national issue," declared Democratic presidential candi-

law had been passed in 1970: "It was passed because something new was coming onto the scene: Women by the tens of thousands were waking up to the full realization that our lives were distorted, denied, debilitated, discouraged, and destroyed by a fundamental oppression." She pointed out that the united power of women organized against their oppression was the only force that could defend the right to abortion and ultimately take control of women's bodies away from the state and church.

"We don't rely on one politician or on 100 politicians who say they will do it for us," said Joanna Misnik, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from New York's 20th C.D. She warned the women about looking to either the Democratic or Republican parties for guaran-

of building the May 6 actions and Abortion Action Week. This support was most evident in New York, where leaders of the Women's Political Caucus and NOW, faced with the renewed threats by anti-abortion forces, gave their endorsement to May 6. In addition, the *Daily World*, which reflects the views of the Communist Party, and the *Guardian*, a radical weekly, urged their readers to join the actions. Unfortunately, the endorsement, particularly by NOW and the Caucus, was not matched with efforts by these organizations to throw their considerable forces into building the demonstrations on an emergency basis. Had they done so, the answer to the attacks on the right to abortion by Nixon and the right wing in New York could have been many times larger.

The May 6 demonstrations were the

May 6 protests demand women's right to abortion

date Shirley Chisholm at the New York rally. "What gave Nixon the right to control what I do with my body?" she asked. "Is he qualified to act as a moral judge... while he's bombing Vietnamese villages?" She and many other speakers at the rally blasted Nixon's rejection on May 5 of the recommendations from the U.S. Commission on Population Growth for liberalized abortion laws and access to contraceptives for young people. Demonstrators also expressed their outrage that Nixon had intervened in the dispute over the New York abortion law. In a May 6 letter to Cardinal Cooke of the New York Catholic archdiocese, Nixon said he "would personally like to associate" himself with the moves by,

tees to their right to abortion, rather than using their own power as an independent force.

WONAAC national coordinator Dr. Barbara Roberts stressed that "Only a massive, independent women's movement can save our sisters from butchery. Only by uniting in spite of our differences will we win for all women the right to choose."

The New York demonstration began at Bellevue Hospital and marched down busy 34th Street, where hundreds of onlookers stopped to watch. One of the most popular chants along the march was "Not the church, not the state, women must decide our fate!" Women also shouted, "One, two, three, four—we want abortions, not the war!"



Photo by Lora Eckert

New York May 6 march for women's right to abortion enters Union Square, where 1,500 participated in a spirited rally.

the Catholic Church hierarchy and other reactionary forces to pass the Donovan-Crawford Bill. If passed, the bill would make abortion illegal except to save the life of the woman. Under New York's present law, abortions may be performed up to the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy.

A bill supported by Governor Nelson Rockefeller to cut back the time limit to 18 weeks was attacked by speakers as a blatant attempt to compromise with the reactionary forces behind the Donovan-Crawford bill.

Chisholm and other speakers at the rally urged support to the Abortion Rights Act, which if passed would repeal all state and federal restrictions against abortion. Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.), sponsor of the bill, addressed the New York demonstration and declared that the principle behind her bill is that abortion "is a fundamental right of women."

Carol Lipman, who had just returned from a WONAAC-sponsored tour of Europe, reminded the gathering of how New York's liberalized

The women came from campuses, high schools, women's liberation groups, the National Organization for Women (NOW), gay organizations, abortion law repeal groups, and as individuals. Two women marched with signs that read, "I am a Catholic who supports abortion." A large contingent of faculty and students joined the demonstration from Fordham University, a Catholic school, where anti-abortion leader Robert Byrn teaches.

Actions around the country, although smaller, reflected the same enthusiasm and militancy as the New York demonstration. In many areas demonstrators expressed their support for the struggle to defend the right to abortion in New York. Everywhere women felt they were part of a national movement that was just beginning to express the power women have to win the right to control their own bodies.

Organizers of the demonstrations reported that WONAAC and its local affiliates gained impressive support and were strengthened in the course

culmination of the May 1-6 Abortion Action Week events around the country. Highlights of the week's activities were:

CHICAGO: Debates with anti-abortion forces, films, a women's tribunal, and forums on five campuses in the Chicago area led up to a city-wide march and rally of nearly 500 people on May 6. Speakers at the demonstration expressed their solidarity with seven Chicago women who had been arrested two days before for allegedly performing and conspiring to perform abortions. Representatives of WONAAC, the Women's Political Caucus, Chicago Women's Liberation Union, the Socialist Workers Party, and other organizations spoke to the crowd.

BOSTON: Four to five hundred women from 40 cities marched on May 6. Following a rally, many joined a demonstration against the war in Southeast Asia sponsored by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ). During the week, 150 people attended a debate between supporters of abortion and right-wing opponents at Salem State College; more than 100 heard feminist playwright Myrna Lamb at Tufts University; and high school women held a rally of 60.

SACRAMENTO: A spirited demonstration of 250 women marched to the state capitol on May 6. On May 2 several dozen women picketed the state courthouse in San Francisco in support of the *Women v. California* class action suit filed that day against the state abortion law.

ST. PAUL, MINN.: Pro-abortion demonstrators, numbering between 250 and 300, rallied at the state capitol on May 6. Groups opposed to the right to abortion held an action of equal size just prior to the WONAAC-sponsored rally. On May 1, a rally at the University of Minnesota attended by 100 women heard speeches on the right to abortion and the struggle for decent gynecological care at the student health center.

CLEVELAND: More than 300 people at a May 6 rally were addressed by speakers from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the Women's Political Caucus, Sisters in Struggle, NOW, the Gay Activist Alliance, and the SWP.

SEATTLE: CBS-TV's "60 Minutes" filmed a debate between the Abortion Action Coalition of Women and opponents of women's right to abortion held at the University of Washington on May 5. Two hundred fifty people came to hear the opposing views discussed. The U of W campus newspaper turned over its editorial pages to the abortion law repeal movement

for the entire week of May 1-6.

DENVER: More than 100 women marched in pouring rain on May 6. At an indoor rally after the demonstration there were speeches from a lawyer, a woman working at an unwed mother's home, the SWP, and greetings from singer Judy Collins. WONAAC supporters gathered 3,000 signatures during the week for repeal of Colorado's anti-abortion law. The signatures were presented to Governor John Love on May 5.

DETROIT: Chanting "What do you want—repeal! When do you want it—now!" 150 demonstrators marched on May 6. A major theme of the rally that followed was organizing support for repeal of Michigan's abortion law in the statewide referendum to be held in November. Speakers included a representative of the Ontario, Canada, abortion law repeal movement, a Black high school woman, the SWP, and the Daughters of Bilitis.

ATLANTA: An inspiring rally of 150 concluded a demonstration on May 6. The march and rally, addressed by speakers from NOW, Planned Parenthood, Georgia Citizens to Repeal Abortion Laws, and the SWP, received excellent news coverage.

NEW YORK: More than 100 attended a debate at Brooklyn College between WONAAC and VIVA (Voices for the Innocent Victims of Abortion). CBS-TV's "60 Minutes" filmed the debate. Sixty-five women attended a teach-in at New York University.

PORTLAND, ORE.: One hundred women rallied at Portland State University on May 3 to demand passage of the Abortion Rights Act and repeal of Oregon's abortion law. A pick-



Photo by Lora Eckert

Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm et al at the federal courthouse followed. Demonstrators also protested the state's harassment of the Lovejoy Clinic, which performs abortions in Portland.

HOUSTON: A rally in Hermann Park on May 6 drew 75 women despite the fact that it was primary day. One of the most successful activities during the week was a massive leafletting campaign by WONAAC supporters. Reporters from KPFT and KAUN radio stations accompanied the leafletters to interview women and found only one woman who opposed the right to abortion.

PHILADELPHIA: A women's tribunal at a local hospital was attended by 100 supporters of the right to abortion. Right-wing forces sent 75 people to heckle the speakers and then left in the middle of the program. On May 6, some 40 women picketed the federal courthouse, where a smaller counter-demonstration of abortion opponents took place.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: More than 100 people participated in a day-long teach-in and tribunal on May 6. That evening a group of 50 women marched to the Capitol to demand passage of the Abortion Rights Act. During the week, health classes at Wilson High School discussed abortion and birth control with guest speakers from WONAAC and Planned Parenthood.

AUSTIN: Forty women marched to the state capitol on May 6 to demand the right to abortion. A panel on "Crimes Against Women" at the University of Texas earlier in the week drew 60 people.

Where SDS stands today

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — A National Convention Against Racism called by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) met at Harvard University here March 30 to April 2. About 1,200 attended.

The gathering reflected the evolution of SDS since the tumultuous gathering and split that occurred at the Chicago convention in June 1969. To understand where SDS stands today it is useful to review briefly its political history prior to and after the 1969 split.

After calling and organizing the first antiwar march on Washington, D. C., in 1965, SDS rejected the need to build a mass antiwar movement and instead proposed many substitutes for this key activity.

In early 1966 the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), then a Maoist organization, entered SDS and began to exert a significant political influence. In 1968 this helped lead to SDS's adoption of the view that Black nationalism is reactionary. The SDS leadership prior to this had no official position on the Black movement and accepted this antinationalist stand as being better than having no position at all.

Because PL was an organized political tendency within SDS and had a relatively clear perspective of what it wanted to do (which most of the SDS leaders did not have), it was able to win many SDS members to its views. The "new left" leaders in SDS, unable to answer politically the PLers, attempted to employ organizational measures to exclude them. At first they attempted red-baiting. Finally, they bureaucratically expelled PLP at the 1969 convention. Since the convention was about evenly divided, the expulsions really constituted a split.

The split led to the formation of the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) and the Worker Student Alliance (WSA). Shortly afterward, RYM split into RYM I (Weathermen) and RYM II, neither of which are visibly in existence today. The WSA faction, which was the PL-dominated group, is what remains of SDS.

Following the 1969 convention, the WSA faction continued to put out the SDS newspaper, *New Left Notes*, and began implementing PLP's sectarian line with all its Maoist rhetoric. The PLP-dominated group's sectarianism was so acute that it physically attempted to prevent the other factions of SDS from holding meetings in the name of SDS or participating in meetings that PLP organized in the name of SDS.

PLP attempted to apply the same policy to other groups it politically disagreed with. This was highlighted by its physical attack on an SMC national steering committee meeting in May 1970 in Boston. It also physically attempted to disrupt the National Peace Action Coalition convention in July 1971. These hooligan attacks helped lay the basis for SDS's isolation from radicalizing youth.

More recently, SDS has modified its approach and is now appearing less sectarian in an attempt to win greater support from student radicals. This new approach was evident at the Harvard convention, where the perspective was to remake SDS into the all-inclusive organization it once was.

On many key political questions, however, there was little change. For example, on the central question in world politics today—the Vietnam war—the convention had little to say. The antiwar movement was only men-

tioned in passing, and the nationwide April 22 actions were not even discussed.

PLP's opposition to Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican nationalism was reaffirmed by the convention. As they have done in the past, the PLP members counterposed "the fight against racism" to support of Black or Raza nationalism. Their hostility to the revolutionary dynamics of Black nationalism as expressed in demands for community control of schools, hospitals, and other institutions in the Black community was shown by their refusal to discuss politically their rejection of nationalism. However, in both the Black and Raza workshops, which were attended by 30 to 40 people, many of whom were nationalists, PLP members were the only ones defending their line.

The bulk of the discussion in plenary sessions and workshops was around the general question of racism. There were several resolutions on campaigns to fight racism in which SDS has been active recently. Two that have been somewhat successful are the fight to get rid of racist textbooks on campus and protests against professors who teach racist theories.

It is important to note that although PLP's line dominated the convention, most of those attending were newcomers who had not been around when SDS split in 1969. They were mainly interested in what SDS had to say about fighting racism. This diverse composition was particularly clear during the discussion around the upcoming elections.

SDS reaffirmed its position of boycotting the 1972 presidential elections. They proposed that a mass antiracist movement be organized instead. This proposal includes organizing demonstrations at the Democratic and Republican party conventions to agitate for antiracist planks. Not everyone at the convention was satisfied with this position, however, and someone asked why SDS wouldn't support parties or candidates independent of the two capitalist parties, such as those from the People's Party, the Communist Party, or the Socialist Workers Party.



Washington, D. C., April 17, 1965. SDS's calling of first mass demonstration against Indochina war marked beginning of antiwar movement. After many twists, turns, and splits, what remains of SDS barely mentioned antiwar movement at recent Harvard convention.

The PLP reply was that neither of the three could win. They also indicated that their boycott position didn't exclude supporting local candidates with "good" antiracist platforms. PLP didn't explain why there was any more basis for thinking their boycott of the

presidential elections would have a greater chance of victory than the SWP ticket. It is interesting to note that there was significant applause when the SWP campaign was mentioned.

There was no discussion on the character of the Democratic and Republican parties and the role they play in perpetuating the oppression of Black and Raza people. Nor was there any discussion on the National Black Political Convention held recently in Gary, Ind., one of the most significant conferences held by the Black movement.

Although there was little discussion of the women's liberation movement, the convention did endorse the abortion law repeal movement and the May 1-6 Abortion Action Week called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. Most of this discussion took place in the workshop on forced sterilization.

The only organized opposition to the convention leadership came from the Spartacist League-Revolutionary Communist Youth and the National Caucus of Labor Committees, small sectarian groupings. Spartacist-RCY walked out of the convention on the first night after denouncing it as a "liberal" gathering. They and their 50 supporters, as well as the Labor Committee and its 20 supporters, continued to intervene in the more than 40 workshops. Affronted by the Spartacist and Labor Committee's intervention, a PLPer in the final workshop put forth a motion to exclude them from the rest of the conference. It was amended to a motion of censure and passed by the workshop.

The convention concluded with the election of three "international secretaries" (two are Black) and 23 people to the "international interim committee."

Most of those attending the convention were in their early twenties. From 10 to 15 percent were Black and Raza, and nearly one-half were women. Most of the participants were new to radical politics and seemed to have come to the convention out of curiosity.

There was considerable interest in

the Boston Women's Abortion Action Coalition literature table, the Student Mobilization Committee table, and the SWP election campaign table. A number of convention participants were wearing April 22 antiwar and May 1-6 Abortion Action Week buttons.

'Model' prison just like all jails

By DYMPHNA FLAVIN

SEATTLE, Wash. — Purdy Prison for Women looks like one of the most attractive penal institutions in the country. An hour's drive from Seattle, it is situated on a wooded hillside. There is no sign on the road to identify it as a prison, just a sign that says "Treatment Center for Women." At first glance it resembles a small middle-income housing development surrounded by flowers and shrubbery. A closer look reveals the guards, steel-meshed windows, and electronically locked doors.

Purdy is one year old. Most of its 130 occupants are young and many are married. The women have sentences ranging from one to five years; the average imprisonment is two years.

This writer went to Purdy to interview an inmate named Patti, who subscribes to *The Militant*. Patti is 23 years old and is serving a two-year sentence for drug possession. Since Washington is one of those states that can indefinitely extend a prisoner's term according to the whim of prison authorities, how soon Patti will be released is in question. With "good behavior," she might get off with 16 months.

Purdy is considered a "model" prison for women. The inmates are referred to as "residents," guards as "counselors," the prison as a "campus," and maximum security as "intensive care."

Despite its outward appearance, however, Purdy deals with its prisoners in the same inhumane way as other prisons. Purdy has a "hole," but it is called a "stripped cell" by authorities. Rebellious inmates are given injections of thorazine and placed in solitary confinement. The drug makes them unable to think or move, essentially reducing them to zombies.

Inmates at Purdy either work or go to school. Many complete their high school education at the prison, but after that there is only one college-level course—English. Women on the work program live in an "open campus" and commute to their jobs in nearby cities. These women must pay for their cells, which are called "apartments." In essence, they become their own jailers, according to the prison authorities. Patti explained that this method of "rehabilitation" was not working. "Their star pupils are returning as fast as they become rehabilitated." Purdy doesn't change the prisoners, she said, it just makes them bitter.

Patti hopes to start a women's awareness group once she gets out of maximum security. She feels she has been confined there so long because she is a radical.

"It's a sick society we live in, and locking people up in places like Purdy isn't going to change them. People are forever trying to patch the system up," Patti explained. She feels that the public knows very little about the oppressive conditions in the prisons and the attitudes of inmates. One of the things she likes about *The Militant* is its truthful coverage on this subject.

'1905' by Leon Trotsky. Translated by Anya Bostock. Random House, New York. 488 pp. \$15. In paperback, Vintage Books, New York, \$2.95. 1972.

The following review of "1905" is reprinted from the April 10, 1972, Intercontinental Press. Minor deletions have been made for reasons of space.

By GEORGE NOVACK

Trotsky's 1905 is an eyewitness account of the first Russian revolution by one of its leading figures, the acting head and chief spokesman of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies. He analyzes the social forces that came to grips during that upheaval, which unsettled the decaying czarist regime but failed to overthrow it. That was done twelve years later.

Trotsky's interpretation of the "great rehearsal" for 1917 displays the same acumen that characterizes his subsequent masterful companion work, *The History of the Russian Revolution*. Whoever wants to understand the significance of the 1905 events will find ample enlightenment in its pages.

Trotsky here expounds the theory of permanent revolution that he first formulated in 1905-06 and, in several appendices, defends his views against the criticisms of other tendencies within the Russian social democracy.

This work can be viewed in a context even broader than that of the clash of political ideas in Russia between 1905 and 1917. It can also illuminate some of the major theoretical problems concerned with the interpretation of history.

Historians and philosophers have asked: Can we have real knowledge of the past? Do historical events have any intrinsic meaning; if so, how are they to be explained? Can history-writing be objective, and is political partisanship compatible with objectivity? Is there causation in the historical process? Is the future predictable?

In recent years a host of anti-Marxists, from professors Popper to Acton, have severely criticized the affirmative positions of historical materialism on these and related questions. They have sought to disqualify the scientific character of the Marxist method and relegate its con-



Trotsky, as head of the Red Army, organized defense of the Russian Revolution. The 1917 Revolution confirmed predictions in his book '1905.'

clusions to the never-never land of utopia. They do so at a heavy cost since, by denying lawfulness in history, they deprive historiography of any scientific validity and verifiability.

The first translation into English of Trotsky's 1905 provides a good occasion to counterpose the positions of the contending schools of historical interpretation on these theoretical issues, to see which stands up best under the test of the actual events. Trotsky is generally acknowledged (outside the Soviet bloc and China) to be as pre-eminent in writing history in the Marxist manner as he was in making it. As a representative product of the school of historical materialism, this work is well suited to serve as a standard for assaying the worth of the Marxist conception of history.

Trotsky's book, composed of materials written in 1905 and essays published in 1908-09 in Polish and German periodicals, was issued in an interlude between the crushing of the first Russian revolution and the outbreak of the second. It looked back upon past struggles the better to move forward upon their resurgence.

The author's appraisal of the character and motive forces of Russia's development was one among many theories and forecasts put forward by the journalists, statesmen, politicians, and historians around that time. His views differed not only from those of the spokesmen for the upper classes, from the defenders of czarist autocracy to the ideologues of the bourgeois constitutionalists, but also from all the other left tendencies, including the Social Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, and even Lenin's Bolsheviks.

His distinctive contribution was the affirmation that a victorious revolution could come about only as the result of the conquest of power by the working class, backed by the insurgent peasantry, and that the new revolutionary power would have to break through the limitations of bourgeois democracy, establish a dictatorship of the proletariat, and take measures that would abolish capitalism.

This conception of the dynamics of the revolutionary process in Russia and prognosis of the next stage was subjected to verification by the events of 1917, emerging fully vindicated. This much is admitted by most serious scholars, some of whom attribute the accuracy of the forecast to Trotsky's intellectual brilliance.

The keenness of his insight and foresight was not solely

a product of his exceptional personal gifts. His writings testify still more to the value and validity of the Marxist ideas, which were confirmed in action by the October revolution. The theoretical anticipation and the subsequent practical verification, linked together, can help clarify a series of problems connected with what used to be called "the philosophy of history."

Diverse schools of thought, from the existentialists to some positivists, contend that history in itself has no rhyme or reason. In their view, its processes are not governed by law and its course and causes cannot be made intelligible. History is essentially irrational and only a hopeless Hegelian idealist or Marxist dogmatist would talk about "the logic of history." By dint of investigation we might find out to some extent what really happened in history (though some skeptics question whether even so meager a portion of knowledge is obtainable). But we cannot discover or explain why things happened as they did and not otherwise.

Marxism takes exception to this skeptical or agnostic point of view. It teaches that although the laws of human development differ qualitatively from those belonging to physical or biological phenomena, they exist and can be deciphered. These are best formulated in the principles of historical materialism. According to this theory, the main factor governing the development of civilized society is the class struggle, which in the twentieth century has culminated in the mortal combat on a global scale between the procapitalist and the anticapitalist forces headed by the proletariat.

Trotsky used the ideas of the materialist interpretation of history as his guidelines in analyzing the contradictions of Russian society. He pointed out that the exceptional peculiarities of Russia's past had produced a national structure that was very different in type from the older capitalisms of Western Europe. Through a true knowledge and accurate estimate of the special correlation of social forces at work, he asserted it was possible to perceive, and predict a new road for the Russian revolution.

On account of the very different relations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the belated Russian revolution could not and would not duplicate the earlier democratic revolutions. The struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism, which up to that point had been separated, were inextricably intertwined. Since the weak and cowardly bourgeoisie could not shoulder or solve the tasks of the democratic revolution, these demands of national progress would be taken over by the working class, which had its own socialist interests to realize in the process.

Trotsky was first of all able to arrive at this bold and innovative deduction, which was not shared by some of the staunchest revolutionists of his generation, because of his insight into the past. He grasped before others the momentous consequences of the peculiar path of Russia's development compared with the more advanced countries. The fact that his conclusions turned out to be well founded demonstrated, among other things, that with a sound scientific method it was possible to acquire true knowledge of the past.

The skeptics do not merely argue that the past is opaque and incomprehensible. They further contend that the present is too elusive, ambiguous, and undetermined, too torn by multiple conflicting trends, for anyone to identify the principal strategic forces at work with any accuracy or ascertain whither these are tending. The existing situation, they say, contains all sorts of possibilities in suspension, so that no specific lines of development can be singled out as more determinative of the future than others. The totally open-ended character of the present precludes the possibility of telling what the future will bring; it is utterly unpredictable.

History and scientific inquiry

The purpose of scientific inquiry is to penetrate the chaotic and confusing appearances of the given in order to uncover the essential structural relations that generate them and the driving forces that will change them. That is what Trotsky sought to do in his work. He did not take the present as fixed and final nor the future as inscrutable. According to his analysis, the special alignment of social forces in Russia held out only two fundamental variants of political development in the event of another revolution. Either the reaction would triumph and reconsolidate its grip, if the revolution was again defeated; or the proletariat would come to power at the head of the insurgent masses, as it came close to doing in 1905. His assertions were quite categorical. There was no third option available to the country under the historically created circumstances of the class struggle.

The representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie disputed this prognosis and declared that a constitutional regime on the English or German model was the next predestined and desirable step in political progress. The SR's and Mensheviks argued that a democratic republic with the bourgeoisie in the driver's seat was the proximate goal. Even the Bolsheviks, who looked forward to a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," felt that Trotsky was going too far and too fast in skipping over the democratic stage and leaping to the socialist one.

The unfolding of the events in 1917 proved that the polar lines of development projected by Trotsky were the only real choices. After other variants were tried and

TROTSKY '19 THE UNITY AND P



University students demonstrating in

SKY'S 05' OF HISTORY POLITICS

cast aside, the alternatives came down to either the military dictatorship of Kornilov as a stage toward monarchical restoration or the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat based on the Soviet power headed by the Bolsheviks.

Positivists argue that however much the historian can learn about the past, such knowledge and its lessons are of little or no help in ascertaining what lies ahead. The future is in principle unpredictable and its outlines unforeseeable. Those who claim that the future is determinable to any significant degree are, they say, guilty of "historicism," or, still worse, are reverting to the theodicy of the providential or purposive schemes of history.

Trotsky, the Marxist, proceeded from entirely different premises in respect to Russian history. Though it ended in defeat, the 1905 experience cast considerable light on what was ahead, he wrote. It disclosed the vulnerability of czarism, the political feebleness of the bourgeoisie, the latent insurgency of the land-hungry peasants combined with their incapacity to take the center of the political stage, and, above all, the leading and decisive role of the working class. He predicted that the roles of the contending forces displayed during 1905 would be reenacted on a higher level at the climactic phases of the next revolutionary upsurge.

This extrapolation from the past to the future was borne out in 1917. It could be objected that the correspondence between Trotsky's prevision and the later course of events was not owed to any really scientific understanding of historic processes but was a lucky strike—while he happened this one time to hit the center of the target, there was no assurance that he would not go amiss on other occasions.

Trotsky replied to this argument against the scientific objectivism of the Marxist method in the introduction to volumes two and three of *The History of the Russian Revolution*. "When a mining engineer finds magnetic ore in an uninvestigated region by drilling, it is always possible to assume that this was a happy accident; the construction of a mine is hardly to be recommended. But when the same engineer, on the basis, let us say, of the deviation of a magnetic needle, comes to the conclusion that a vein of ore lies concealed in the earth, and subsequently strikes ore at various different points in the region, then the most cavilling sceptic will not venture to talk about accidents. What convinces is the system which unites the general with the particular."

Trotsky's prescience was not confined to the class dynamics of the revolution but extended to the agencies that were to carry it out. He saw that the soviets, which had first sprung up in 1905 as a spontaneous creation of the workers, were destined to be the central organ of their struggle against the possessing classes and in laying the framework and foundation of a new state power. His participation in the affairs of the Petersburg Soviet, which he headed, certainly reinforced this conviction.

Predictability is based upon the persistence of regularities in the historic process. If we credit the empiricists and existentialists, necessity and lawfulness do not characterize the course of human affairs—history is like a roulette wheel; what comes up next is pure chance.

Nonetheless the operators of gambling casinos are well aware that even random occurrences are subject to the statistical laws of probability, and they profit thereby. Some empiricists will admit that probabilities exist so that one outcome may be more likely to happen than another. But they stubbornly insist that necessities are ruled out. These are metaphysical entities that have no place in social science, as Professor Popper, the foe of historical determinism of any kind, declares. It is not the causal connections of historical facts in their development that decide the course of events and give meaning to history but only our individual decisions, he says. On this hypothesis there could have been no necessity for the proletariat to have come out on top in 1917. That was a sheer accident.

Trotsky thought otherwise. He would have conceded that the particular outcome was not foreordained. If all the conditions for the victory of the proletariat—from the war-weariness of the people to the intervention of Lenin—had not come together at that juncture, 1917 might have ended as disastrously as 1905. All the same it is true that whatever fortuitous factors contributed to that result, the proletariat did take power in 1917. Nothing can erase this fact from twentieth century history, and that is what makes that year so meaningful. It started a new era in world development.

As Trotsky explained at length and in detail in the three volumes of *The History of the Russian Revolution*, the objective necessities responsible for this result were lodged in the whole of Russia's past, crystallized in its peculiar alignment of social forces that gave birth to a proletarian revolution mightily reinforced by an irrepressible peasant uprising. The general direction of these necessities could be discerned in advance and knowledge of them consciously used to steer the class struggle toward victory, as the Bolshevik leadership did in 1917.

Academic historians incline to divorce theory from practice, past history from contemporary politics. In their eyes the two belong in separate compartments. History may be open to dispassionate scientific investigation, but politics has no scientific basis and is not the proper business of the historian.

Such an arbitrary disjunction between the struggles of the past and the present is unwarranted and even im-

possible to maintain since the ideological and political outlook of the scholar does affect the nature and results of his inquiries. It is foreign to the integrated procedure of historical materialism. For Marxists the purpose of studying history is to find out the meaning of the present in connection with the past in order to shape the future. History would be worthless if we learned nothing from it.

Historian as full-time revolutionist

Trotsky was not a mere journalistic commentator on the passing show nor a professor detached from public affairs and indifferent to them in pursuit of his specialty. He was a full-time revolutionist. He undertook his analysis of 1905 and used its conclusions to orient the cadres of the Marxist movement in the unfolding struggle. His theoretical work was inseparable from his political activity. From 1906 to 1917 the views he set forth in the theory of permanent revolution, the "Trotskyism" of that era, were restricted to a small circle even in the socialist movement. However, they were adopted in substance by the Bolsheviks after April 1917 and the perspectives of that theory guided them to the October insurrection.

The triumph of the October revolution under Lenin's and Trotsky's leadership is linked with two factors in the biographies of these individuals. In the *April Theses* that rearmed his party, Lenin took over the strategic conclusions of Trotsky's conception that the proletariat was obliged to seize power in order to realize both the democratic and the socialist program of the Russian revolution. Several months later, when his Interdistrict Organization merged with the Bolsheviks, Trotsky was irrevocably won over to Lenin's conception of party organization. If Lenin became "Trotskyist," as Kamenev charged at the time, Trotsky in turn became "Leninist." These two developments on the personal and ideological levels entered as essential preconditions for the successful conquest of power.

Here we can see how the decisions of individuals and their ideas form part of the process of historical determination in association with the more fundamental and weightier forces of the classes in motion. As Trotsky writes in 1905: "The logic of the class struggle does not exempt us from the necessity of using our own logic. Whoever is unable to admit initiative, talent, energy, and heroism into the framework of historical necessity, has not grasped the philosophical secret of Marxism. But, conversely, if we want to grasp a political process—in this case, the revolution—as a whole, we must be capable of seeing, behind the motley of parties and programs, behind the perfidy and greed of some and the courage and idealism of others, the proper outlines of the social classes whose roots lie deep within the relations of production and whose flowers blossom in the highest spheres of ideology."

Instead of disjoining historical theorizing from political practice and party affiliation, Trotsky fused these aspects of revolutionary work in an unbreakable unity. The Marxist system knits together the study of history with current politics, giving it practical value and preventing it from becoming a devitalized enterprise.

The eclectics and skeptics who feed on uncertainty and confusion are repelled by the clear-cut principles, revolutionary class standpoint, and firm conclusions of Marxism. In denying that past or present history lends itself to scientific analysis, they nowadays chiefly aim at discrediting the foundations of historical materialism, the consummate expression of scientific knowledge about the development of society. The analytical and predictive power exhibited in Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution, ratified by 1917, was a specific refutation of such critics through the higher criticism of the historical process itself. He wrote, he acted, he—together with the Russian workers and peasants—conquered.

Students of history in the universities are looking for models to imitate and teachers to learn from—in most cases in vain. In Trotsky they will find a superb teacher in the employment of the scientific method of comprehending historical processes. He combined expertness in the field of theory and literary artistry with a career of devoted service to the emancipation struggle of the oppressed.

The youth often ask: Is it possible for scientific inquiry and historical learning to be meshed with activity in a revolutionary organization? Trotsky, among others, showed that however difficult it may be to keep them in tandem, the one can go along with the other. To be sure, the demands of theoretical work can sometimes conflict with the exigencies of participation in the ongoing struggle. Which is to take priority in that event?

Lenin gave an excellent answer to this dilemma in the afterword to his work *The State and Revolution*. He, too, was concentrating upon setting down the lessons of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917 when the political crisis of the October overturn supervened and prevented him from completing that book. "Such a hindrance," he wrote, "can only be welcomed. It is more pleasant and useful to live through the experience of a revolution than to write about it."

However, revolutionary showdowns are not always on the agenda. Marxists spend most of their days preparing and organizing for them, not fighting them. This alternation of tasks makes it all the more important, as both Lenin and Trotsky recognized, to study the experiences of the past in order to make its processes intelligible and be most adequately equipped to deal with new problems of the struggle as they arise.



pathy with 1905 workers uprising.

Official retreats in Ohio ballot fight

CLEVELAND—Thousands of voters in the Cleveland area were turned away at polling places on May 2 when they attempted to vote in the Democratic and Republican primaries. A massive snarl-up of voting machines and personnel paralyzed at least 127 polling places in Cuyahoga County, according to the May 3 *New York Times*, and the polls at 20 locations never opened at all.

Cleveland TV stations reported on the eve of the primary that many machines did not work, some never arrived at the polls, some did not list the full slate of candidates in the primaries, and some were still programmed for the last election!

The incompetence of the Ohio secretary of state's office, which is responsible for organizing the elections, drew fire from angry voters and candidates. Secretary of State Ted Brown initially refused to keep the polls open late but was forced to do so when Democratic presidential hopeful Hubert Humphrey obtained a court order to extend the voting deadline.

Brown's mishandling of the state primary makes a sham of his attempts to deny ballot status to Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness. On March 2 Brown demanded an affidavit from Jenness by April 15 stating that she meets



Linda Jenness

Photo by Ellen Lemisch

the minimum-age requirement, 35, for holding the office of president. Jenness is 31. If she did not produce the affidavit, Brown said, he would not place her on the Ohio ballot.

Jack Marsh, chief of the Ohio Elections Division, admitted to Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CODEL) attorney Ben Scheerer that there was no basis in law for the April 15 deadline. However, Marsh said, the secretary of state wanted to rule on Jenness's qualifications before the state "wasted" the taxpayers' money checking the signatures filed on behalf of an "unqualified" candidate.

In the light of the botched primary elections on May 2, one might wonder if Brown is capable of ruling on the qualifications of any candidate running for office or of handling the technical job of checking signatures on nominating petitions. Undoubtedly many Ohio taxpayers are wondering if they will be able to find a place to register their votes in the elections next November.

In a telephone interview with *The Militant* April 28, Marsh revealed that the secretary of state had decided not to rule on Jenness's qualifications until the signatures she has filed have been checked. Under Ohio law, the signatures submitted on nominating petitions are checked in June.

Jenness has written a letter to Brown pointing out that the age requirement is for holding, not running for, the office of president. She also explained that because of the present provision for indirect election of the president, it is the Ohio presidential electors who are actually the candidates for office. Each of Jenness's electors meets the Ohio requirements for the office of presidential elector. Jenness maintains that if she were elected, the U. S. Constitution could be amended to allow her to serve.

Despite Brown's retreat on his demand for an affidavit from Jenness, the SWP is preparing to obtain a court injunction barring Brown from ruling the presidential slate pledged to Jenness off the ballot because of her age.

Pulley speaks in Ohio

By DEAN ELDER

CLEVELAND, May 6—A gala banquet and party held tonight at the Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters, Debs Hall, wound up Andrew Pulley's one-week tour of Ohio.

In addition to the SWP vice-presidential candidate, several campaign supporters and local leaders of the movements for social change spoke at the banquet. Judy LaCombe, a coordinator of the Abortion Project Coalition, noted that the only candidates for public office who had marched at the demonstration for abortion law repeal that day were those from the SWP. Nick Lin, chairman of the political committee of the Cleveland Gay Activist Alliance, welcomed the support of the socialist candidates to the struggle for gay rights.

Katie Baird, the coordinator of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition, urged people to support Jenness and Pulley as the only real alternative to the lying and deceitful capitalist parties. Greetings were also given by a representative of the local African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee. A fund appeal by Duncan Williams raised \$1,567 in cash and pledges from the 75 people in attendance.

Successful meetings were held for Pulley on many campuses throughout the state. At Hiram College, after speaking to a group of Black students, Pulley addressed an open meeting of 125. At Oberlin he spoke to a class on electoral politics, to a meeting of 30 Black students, and to a



Andrew Pulley addressing April 29 SWP campaign rally in Minneapolis.

public meeting of 40. In addition, Pulley spoke at Cuyahoga Community College, Case Western Reserve University, John Carroll University, Antioch College, and Ohio University.

Pulley taped statements and interviews for radio stations WJMO and WABQ, the most popular stations in

Cleveland's Black community, as well as for WGCL and WIXY. He also addressed the city-wide antiwar moratorium rally held May 4 in Cleveland's Public Square.

More than 60 new endorsers for the campaign were signed up during his tour, and 12 people asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

4,000 sign SWP petitions in Texas

By EVELYN SELL

HOUSTON—"Socialist Workers? That's my party!" exclaimed one University of Texas student as he signed the petition to place a revolutionary-socialist party on the Texas statewide ballot for the first time.

A minimum of 22,358 signatures is needed, but enthusiastic Jenness and Pulley supporters are aiming to collect twice that number in order to ensure ballot status for the Socialist Workers presidential ticket and 17 state and local candidates. Approximately 4,000 signatures were obtained in the first two days of the drive.



Mike Alewitz

Photo from the Daily Texan

Campaign supporters are so determined to place a socialist alternative on the ballot that many have gone to the extra trouble of becoming notaries in order to comply with the restrictive Texas election law requiring signatures to be witnessed at the time of signing by a notary public. A Vietnam veteran called from Arlington, Texas, on the eve of the ballot drive to say he had just become a notary and would be organizing a petitioning team in the Dallas area.

Austin petitioners obtained almost 3,000 signatures in the first two days of the petition campaign. Several hours of petitioning at the University of Texas campus resulted in 1,500 signatures. Houston petitioners, undaunted by severe thunderstorms, worked in university dormitories on the first official day for petitioning.

About 400 signatures were obtained in an hour at a University of Houston rock concert. One concert petitioner, who stressed the antiwar stand of the candidates, got 25 signatures in only 10 minutes. Other petitioners reported that many students at the rock concert had already heard of the socialist candidates. A number of Black signers knew of Andrew Pulley, SWP vice-presidential candidate, who will address the Texas statewide SWP convention on June 10.

"Oh, that's for Debby," one person said when petitioners mentioned the Socialist Workers Party at the rock concert. The statewide SWP ticket is headed by Debby Leonard for governor, Mike Alewitz for lieutenant governor, and Richard Garcia for U. S. Senate. This familiarity with the SWP ticket is the result of five months of campaign activity during which these candidates spoke to meetings, rallies,

demonstrations, and banquets in Austin, Lubbock, San Antonio, Dallas, Wichita Falls, Huntsville, Denton, Houston, San Marcos, and Beaumont.

To volunteer to help in the ballot effort, contact the SWP Campaign at: 6411 Lyons, Houston, Texas 77020; 611 West 29th, Austin, Texas 78705; or 619 Mulberry, San Antonio, Texas 78212.

Mass. petition drive gets good response

By JEFF POWERS

BOSTON, May 7—"Let me sign this in ink so I can be sure the crooks in the statehouse won't erase my signature," said an older member of the International Typographical Workers Union before signing a petition to place the Socialist Workers Party candidates on the Massachusetts ballot. He was one of the first to place his name on the petition as SWP campaign supporters canvassed participants in the Boston demonstrations for repeal of anti-abortion laws and for an end to the war in Southeast Asia on May 6.

A total of 56,038 signatures must be collected by July 11 to place the SWP on the Massachusetts ballot. The goal is to collect more than 90,000 to ensure ballot status. This will be the greatest number ever collected in one state by the SWP.

Petitioners Toba Singer and Steve Watson, who were scouting for good petitioning spots yesterday, reported an excellent response. They averaged between 30 and 40 signatures an hour.

"The majority of the signers were young," said Watson, "but that's because the average age of the demonstrators was around 24. Older persons we asked signed too."

Singer estimated that 95 percent of those asked to sign did so. "The number of signatures a person gets is not due to any magical ability but is a matter of how many people are approached," she said.

Both petitioners said that the unique thing about this campaign year is the number of people who have heard about the Socialist Workers campaign. The familiarity with the candidates and the effect of granting the vote to 18 year olds have had an impact on the petitioning for the Socialist Workers candidates this year, they report.

Anyone interested in helping with the ballot effort in Massachusetts should call (617) 482-8050 or write to SWP Campaign, 655 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass. 02111.



Photo by John Gray

In addition to petitioning for Jenness and Pulley, campaign supporters are collecting signatures to place Don Gurewitz, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate, on Massachusetts ballot.

'72 Socialist Campaign

Christian Science Monitor staff writer Gil Scott writes in the April 22 Monitor:

"Andrew Pulley began his political career four years ago while he was a high-school student in Cleveland.

"His probation officer gave him a choice: Join the Army or go to Jail. He chose the Army.

"It seems that police had charged Mr. Pulley with inciting to riot when he and other black students demonstrated against the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

"The product of a black ghetto, Mr. Pulley helped organize a GI movement against the war in Vietnam; then there was the 60 days in the Ft. Jackson, S.C., stockade, and later discharge from the military.

"Now 21, Mr. Pulley has traveled throughout the United States and the world as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president of the United States. . . .

"... he says a black political party ... would be 'the best thing that could happen to the black struggle.'

"The black political convention in Gary showed that there are many blacks who want to opt out of American politics as they know it, and who want to control their own communities, their education, and their destiny.

"Many black leaders reject the idea — for now — that a black political party is soon forthcoming, but many also see such an organization as a real possibility if the 1972 presidential elections offer little hope for the aspirations of minorities.

"We want to get the brothers and sisters out of the master's organizations," Mr. Pulley says. . . .

"He has no doubt . . . that minorities will not fare better, regardless of who is elected president."

Jeff Powers of the Boston Socialist Workers Campaign Committee reports:

"On WBZ-TV's coverage of the Boston April 29 antiwar demonstration, they showed about 30 seconds of the demonstration itself and then devoted about a minute and a half to what they described as a 'continuing debate going on within the antiwar movement.' They said, 'On the one hand there are supporters of the campaign of George McGovern and on the other there are supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.' They then cut to a debate between two YSJPers and a supporter of the McGovern campaign that happened near our campaign table after the demonstration was over. They showed about a minute of this, with the YSJPers clearly getting the best of the discussion."

The SWP national campaign office reports that since it became available in mid-April, more than 100,000 copies of the 1972 Socialist Workers Party Election Platform have been distributed by campaign supporters throughout the country.

If you would like to help distribute the election platform, send \$7.50 per 1,000 copies to SWP '72 Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Single copies are free.

Two new stickers are available from the national campaign office at \$1 per 100 stickers: "Vote Socialist Workers, Linda Jenness for President, Andrew Pulley for Vice-President" (in orange or green), and "Control Chicano del Barrio Chicano" (black, white and brown).

As of May 4, a total of 9,822 Jenness-Pulley endorser cards have been received by the national campaign office.

Laura Moorhead, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in California's 37th C.D., appeared at the Candidates '72 Community Forum sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the National Urban League on April 29.

Moorhead shared the platform with other candidates in the Los Angeles district race, including Yvonne Braithwaite and Billy G. Mill. The candidates were interviewed before a large audience of the Black community.

Moorhead spoke in support of Black control of the Black community. Following the interview, Moorhead was interviewed by the Los Angeles Sentinel, a Black community newspaper, and challenged Billy Mill to a debate.

The April 19, 1972, Collegiate Times (Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Va.) carried a front-page interview with Ernie Harsch, a member of the Mid-Atlantic YSJP team that visited Virginia, West Virginia, New York, and Pennsylvania this spring.

Harsch pointed out that many McGovern supporters are sympathetic to socialist ideas but "just want to give the system one more chance." He adds, "I used to think the system might work. In '68 I campaigned for McCarthy. I guess my illusions got shot down."

Claire Connelly, in the April 28 Campus Lantern (Eastern Connecticut State College) writes about the Socialist Workers presidential campaign:

"... both candidates are common workers (Jenness is a secretary, Pulley was a switchman in the Chicago rail yards — S.B.) and therefore understand and are qualified to represent the majority of the American people—in stark contrast to the professional politicians who will head the tickets of the two major parties. . . .

"The SWP opposes wage controls and calls for a national congress of labor to discuss and adopt a program to counter the attacks by the capitalist class (owners of production) on the working class (those who sell their labor power). The goals include automatic wage increases to meet the cost of living, a reduction in working hours to end unemployment, and launching a labor party based on the trade unions. . . .

"The SWP is often lumped with the Communist Party by its enemies, but there is little similarity. (The SWP believes that socialism and democracy are inseparable. They opposed the Stalinist repressions in the Soviet Union and other so-called 'Communist' nations and never subordinated the interests of the American working class to the interests of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. . . ."

— STEVE BEREN

McGovern retreats on right to abortion

By CAROLINE LUND

MAY 8—Now that 12 of the 23 presidential primaries have taken place, Senator George McGovern has a clear lead in the contest for Democratic Party convention delegates. According to a May 6 tabulation by the *New York Times*, McGovern has the votes of 312.5 delegates while Senator Hubert Humphrey has 223. The May 4 *Times* also reported that a "sudden flood of large contributions" was coming into McGovern's headquarters.

Now that McGovern sees he has a chance to win the Democratic Party nomination, he is beginning to move to the right to court support from powerful politicians and party bosses as well as from the more conservative segments of the population.

On May 5, in a series of news conferences in Nebraska, McGovern vehemently denied reports that he favors liberalized abortion laws, legalization of marijuana, and amnesty for draft evaders.

He made these denials in response to a half-page ad that appeared in *The True Voice*, the official newspaper for the Catholic diocese of Omaha, Neb. The ad, signed by the chairman of the local "Citizens Concerned for the Preservation of Life," quoted columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, and Joseph Kraft, implying that McGovern stood for "amnesty, abortion, and the legalization of pot."

In response to this ad, McGovern stated the following as his position on the right of women to abortion: "I simply don't think the federal government should be involved at all. I have proposed no action in this field. As President I would propose no action. This is an issue in which the state has sole jurisdiction. I don't propose to enter this area." (As quoted in the May 6 *Washington Post*.)

This slimy attempt to avoid the issue of abortion by relegating it to the states will not work. McGovern's stand is a tacit endorsement of the laws denying women the right to abortion that exist in the great majority of states. What it amounts to is saying that women should not have the basic democratic right to decide whether to have a child.

Apparently McGovern will not support the Abortion Rights Act of 1972, which was introduced by Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) in the House of Representatives May 2. This bill asserts that the right to abortion is a constitutional right that cannot be infringed upon by federal, state, or local governments.

In relegating the issue of the right to abortion to the states, McGovern is taking the same stand as President Nixon. As one of his reasons for denying abortion on demand to women in the military, Nixon said on April 3, 1971: "Historically, laws regulating abortion in the United States have been the province of states, not the Federal Government."

McGovern has pulled a slick maneuver on the thousands of women who have supported his campaign because they thought he favored full rights for women—which must include the right to control their own bodies. He has put out buttons with his name together with the women's rights symbol. The McGovern for President campaign headquarters at 605 Fifth Avenue in New York put out a printed leaflet with the headline: "The woman's case for McGovern." Under a heading "Abortion rights," the leaflet reads: "Senator McGovern believes that abortion, like all medical matters, should be between a woman and her physician. To Senator McGovern abortion is a woman's right. He is

in favor of repeal of all abortion laws and he condemns forced sterilizations."

When he was an underdog and needed women's support, McGovern led women to believe he stood for the right to abortion. But now, as his chances of winning increase, he is "clarifying" his position to make himself more acceptable to conservatives. Many women are going to be justifiably angry at this two-faced behavior.

Senator Hubert Humphrey, another Democratic contender who opposes abortion on demand, also says it is a matter for the states. Senator Edward Kennedy, whom some consider a possible Democratic nominee, also opposes the right to abortion—on the grounds of the "rights" of the fetus.

On amnesty, McGovern says he does not favor it until the war is over. "Once our prisoners and troops were home, I would then declare an amnesty," he was quoted as saying in the May 6 *Washington Post*. However, this would apply only to draft evaders, not to deserters. While he claims to believe the Vietnam war is immoral, he is in favor of compelling GIs to participate in the criminal slaughter as long as the Republican and Democratic party politicians who



Photo by Flax Hermes

George McGovern spoke at Nov. 15, 1969, antiwar rally in Washington, D.C. Shifting to the right, McGovern refused to support April 22 "Out Now" actions.

run this country keep the war going.

McGovern is also shifting to the right on the question of supporting antiwar protests and demonstrations. Asked whether he supported the April 22 antiwar actions, he told students at Ohio State University: "I used to participate in those demonstrations, as you know. 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.'" (As quoted in the April 20 *Ohio State Lantern*.) This was simply a weasel-like way of refusing to support mass antiwar demonstrations.

Again, many McGovern supporters had been led to believe that McGovern supported the antiwar movement. For instance, McGovern endorsed the Emergency Student Antiwar Conference held Feb. 25 in New York, and Youth for McGovern representatives endorsed a proposal there that students should build the April 22 demonstrations. Now, with the possibility of "winning the nomination in sight, McGovern is dissociating himself from antiwar protests in the streets. As McGovern reveals his true face, many of his supporters, who are active in the antiwar movement, are going to be upset.

New York Times columnist James Reston made the following comment
Continued on page 22

Attica massacre: 'That day tore from those guards the shreds of their humanity'

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—The Attica prison massacre was again brought back into the spotlight with the McKay Commission hearings in April. Although the commission brought to light some of the wretched conditions inside the prison, its main fire was concentrated on the brutality and mayhem committed by the 1,000 state police officers, national guardsmen, and prison guards who crushed the rebellion Sept. 13.

"That day tore from those guards the shreds of their humanity. For the first time I understood what had happened at Mylai," testified Dr. John Cudmore April 27 to the nine-member commission, which was chosen by five state judges at the request of Governor Rockefeller. Dr. Cudmore, a surgeon who is a major in the national guard, was describing the scene in "D" yard where more than 1,200 inmates were being "pacified" by the assault force. One out of 11 people in the yard were struck by bullets. Of the 130 people hit, 29 inmates and 10 guard-hostages were killed.

Dr. Cudmore and other national guard medical personnel who testified described how the subdued rebels were repeatedly beaten—after surrender—by the assault force. There were several instances in which wounded inmates on stretchers were snatched up by guards and savagely beaten.

Even upon arrival at the prison hospital, the wounded were not safe. There the inmates were subjected to a steady flow of obscenities from the mouth of the prison doctor, who told the medical personnel in reference to one of the wounded, "Don't treat him" because "he should have died in the yard."

The commission—which met for three days beginning April 12 in Rochester and then moved to New York City—also documented for the first time the weapons of death employed at Attica. The more than 400 rifles used by the assault force discharged "dumdum" or expanding bullets. These bullets have a soft nose that flattens on contact, tearing large holes in the flesh of victims. They have been outlawed in international warfare by the Geneva Convention.

Also in use were lethal shotgun shells containing from 9 to 12 pellets the size .38-caliber slugs, known as "0-0 buckshot." In addition, the assault force fired one-ounce shotgun slugs, ordinarily used for massive, shocking power such as reducing cement walls to rubble! Commission investigators, not the state, provided the testimony on the shells and bullets.

A glimpse of the brutality was captured in the first public showing of a state police film of the Attica assault. Although no part of the force was shown firing during the four-minute barrage in which more than 400 rounds of ammunition were expended, the beatings afterwards were clearly depicted.

The film demonstrates that the rebellion was crushed along the lines of "shoot first and ask questions later." Without warning, a helicopter swoops into view over "D" yard and lets loose dense clouds of tear gas. The "ground attack" follows. Only then does another helicopter take to the air, with a voice announcing over a loudspeaker, "Put your hands on your heads, do not hurt the hostages—surrender to an officer and you will not be harmed."

The inmates are rounded up and herded to a doorway that leads to another yard. As the prisoners enter they are told to crawl on their bellies. Since it was raining, this meant crawling through the mud. This humiliating posture was not enough

April 29 *New York Times*, Walter Dunbar, executive deputy commissioner of state corrections and one of the last to testify, said the force displayed "excellent self-discipline, excellent self-control and excellent response to commands." Governor Nel-



Attica aftermath. Photos were released by state commission on Attica.

so the assault force began beating and kicking the prisoners. A number of prisoners were told to strip naked.

In light of these disclosures, how do state officials view the work of the assault force? According to the

son Rockefeller said to the commission in private testimony April 5, "I am satisfied that these men [police and national guard], in their best judgment, used what they thought was necessary

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Black Dems retreat on Palestine stand

By TONY THOMAS

The basic demand raised by the various organizations of the Palestinian liberation struggle is for a democratic, secular Palestine in which all citizens, including Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews, would have equal political, economic, and cultural rights. This demand poses a grave danger to the imperialist rulers of the United States since it implies the destruction of the current Israeli state and could be accomplished only through the massive mobilization of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in revolutionary struggle.

It was a significant gain for the Palestinian liberation struggle and its supporters in the United States when the National Black Political Convention, held in Gary, Ind., March 10-12, took a clear position in favor of these Palestinian demands. The resolution on Palestine passed at that convention demanded that "the state of Israel be dismantled, and negotiations be entered into with the freely chosen representatives of the Palestinians to establish a secular state based on the historical right of the Palestinian people for self-government in their own land." This resolution also called for an immediate end to U.S. "economic and military support to the Israeli regime."

Since its passage, the resolution has been subject to attacks from Black Democratic politicians who were at the Black Political Convention. The source of these attacks is the fact that the Democratic Party is controlled by the imperialist forces that profit both from the oppression of Afro-Americans in this country and from the Zionist oppression of the Palestinians. Support to Israel is one of the com-

mon denominators of Democratic and Republican politicians.

The resolution on Palestine has been attacked by the Congressional Black Caucus and by Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary. Recently, Democratic Mayor William S. Hart of East Orange, N.J., a vice-chairman of the National Caucus of Black Elected Officials, demanded that the resolution be rescinded.



Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., is among Black Democrats who attacked Black convention resolution on Palestine.

ed. Hart is running for the Democratic nomination in New Jersey's 10th C.D. He is supported by Imamu Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones), who was one of the convenors of the National Black Political Convention.

Hart's statement was sent to Black elected officials. Its aim is to get a reversal of the resolution at the May 19 meeting of a steering committee

elected by the Gary convention to ratify and modify proposals passed at the convention. Hart's letter read, in part, "as black elected officials we cannot possibly permit this resolution to emanate from our convention. . . . We must stand by Israel, a democratic society in a sea of military dictatorships."

Still another result of the pressure of Democratic Party supporters on the Black liberation movement was announced at a meeting of the Black Political Convention's steering committee on March 28. This gathering rescinded the original resolution and substituted one that did not support the demand for a democratic Palestine.

The new resolution, quoted in the April 15 *African World* (a Pan-Africanist newspaper published by the Student Organization for Black Unity—SOBU), condemns "Israel for her expansionist policy" since the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, but does not call for Palestinian control of Palestine, including pre-1967 Israel.

Though the new resolution talks about Palestinian "self-determination," it indicates what it means by talking only about the areas seized since 1967. Unlike the original resolution, it makes no comment on U.S. political, military, and economic support to Israel. The aim of this "revised" resolution is to appear to be in favor of the Palestinian struggle while opening the door for Democratic politicians, such as Mayor Hart and the Congressional Black Caucus, to support their party's position on Israel.

This position is almost identical to the one adopted by the United Nations Security Council in November 1967, with U.S. support, and to the various U.S.-backed plans to set up

a Palestinian "mini-state" in the territories seized by Israel since 1967, leaving the rest of Palestine to the Zionists. The Palestinian resistance has labeled these proposals as "Palestinostans"—no different from the Bantustans set up by the South African regime.

The Palestinian people are oppressed as a nation by the Israeli settler state. This state was grafted onto the national homeland of the Palestinians with the aid of British and American imperialists. This laid the basis for the 1967 Israeli seizure of those parts of Palestine they didn't get in 1948 (the West Bank area near the Jordan River and the Gaza strip along the Mediterranean Sea), as well as the Sinai Peninsula area of Egypt and the Golan Heights area of Syria.

Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were exiled by the Zionists in 1948, confined to refugee camps in many cases. Those Arab Palestinians who remained in Israel suffered second-class citizenship politically, culturally, and economically. Now these same problems are faced by the Palestinians of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as well.

The National Black Political Convention passed its resolution on Palestine in support of the Palestinian demands because it supported the demands of all of the Palestinian people. For the steering committee to take a stand accepting the right of Israel to exist as it does—even within its pre-1967 borders—is to condone the basic forms of the oppression of the Palestinian people.

Afro-Americans, struggling for freedom from their own national oppression, should take a clear position in favor of the national liberation movements of all oppressed nationalities.

Black actions build support for May 27

By JOHN HAWKINS

NEW YORK, May 9—Plans for the May 27 African Liberation Day demonstrations in Washington, D.C.; San Francisco, Calif.; Toronto, Ontario; and the Caribbean were announced May 8 in Washington, D.C. Owusu Sadauki (Howard Fuller), chairman of the national steering committee of the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee (ALDCC), outlined details for the demonstrations during a news conference. Joining him were Imamu Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) of the Congress of African People and



Photo from Third World

March 20 press conference announcing African Liberation Day. Owusu Sadauki at microphone. Reverend Doug Moore of D.C. Black United Front on left. Ericka Huggins of Black Panther Party on right.

Rosie Douglas of the ALDCC in Toronto.

In Washington, D.C., there will be a march and rally. The march will assemble at 9 a.m. in Malcolm X Park, Euclid and 16th Street N.W. It will begin at 11 a.m. and proceed past the South African and Portuguese embassies, then along Massachusetts Avenue to the U.S. State Department, and end with a rally in the Sylvan Theater, renamed Lumumba Square for the day. Speakers will include Baraka, Congressman Charles Diggs (D-Mich.), poet Don L. Lee, and Sadauki.

In San Francisco the march will assemble at Raymond Kimball Park, renamed DuBois-Savannah Park for the day, proceed through the Black community, and return to the park for a 3 p.m. rally. Scheduled speakers include Nelson Johnson, national chairman of the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU); Angela Davis; the Reverend Charles Koen of the Cairo, Ill., United Front; and Congressman Ron Dellums (D-Calif.).

Demonstrations and rallies are also slated for Toronto and the Caribbean islands of Antigua, Jamaica, Dominica, and Grenada. There may be actions in the east African nation of Tanzania as well.

Local building actions are planned in several cities. In New York City rallies on several campuses will take place May 10-12. In addition, many Black student organizations will make building May 27 the focus of activities on May 19 commemorating the birthday of Malcolm X.

Moreover, protests continue over the recent importation of Rhodesian chrome ore. Students at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania demonstrated April 19 outside the headquarters of the Foote Mineral Co. in Exton, Pa.

Foote is the recipient of the imported ore as well as one of the corporations that did intensive lobbying to get the government to lift sanctions against the racist regime in Rhodesia. Similar demonstrations have been organized against Union Carbide in New York City.

In Norfolk, Va., several hundred demonstrators, mostly Black, protested the April 29 International Azalea Festival parade. Norfolk is the Supreme Allied Command of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the Festival and parade were in NATO's honor. Organizers of the parade, obviously unaware of the deep resentment their actions would uncover, named as "azalea queen" the grandniece of Portuguese Premier Marcello Caetano, Maria Teresa Sanchez. Her float in the parade was singled out for special attention.

The demonstrators, chanting "NATO must go!" "NATO out of Africa!" and "Mozambique will be free!" gave the "queen" somewhat less than a royal welcome, heaping trash, bottles, and stones upon her float and forcing the frightened "queen" to abdicate under cover of police protection.

The all-Black Booker T. Washington High School band, forced by school authorities to participate in the parade, registered their opposition to the farce by refusing to play for the dignitaries assembled on the reviewing stand.

City officials, embarrassed and dismayed at the protests, have vowed to prosecute those involved.

MAY 9—The Socialist Workers Party 1972 National Campaign Committee announced May 4 that a team of Afro-American supporters of the campaign will conduct a tour of Black college

campuses in the South to help build the May 27 African Liberation Day action.

Public meetings for the team are planned. Through their speech, entitled "Africa: The Next Vietnam?" they hope to not only win support to May 27 but help build protests against the escalation of the U.S. war in South-east Asia.

The tour includes much of the same territory that an Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley team covered earlier this spring. Starting their three-week tour at Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn., the team will also visit Tougaloo College in Tougaloo, Miss.; Southern University in Baton Rouge, La.; several campuses in New Orleans; and Hampton Institute in Hampton, Va. The tour ends in Washington, D.C., on May 27.



Mozambique freedom fighter. Photograph by Robert Van Lierop, a Black photo-journalist who visited liberated areas last fall.

¡La Raza en Acción!

CHICANO MOVEMENT MAKES IMPACT IN MEXICO: As recently as three years ago, many Mexican citizens looked upon Chicanos as those who preferred to live with the gringo rather than with their own people. Today, however, La Raza living in the U.S. has a new image. A March 5 article in the *Houston Chronicle* datelined Mexico City states, "Chicanos are now 'in' in Mexico City. Rock 'n' roll stations advertise 'the best in the Chicano wave.' Boutiques advertise 'Chicano styles' and newspapers run front page headlines when Chicanos make big news in the United States."

The article points out that the Chicano movement "is bringing subtle changes into Mexico—a new way of looking at 'la raza' not only in Mexico but in all of Latin America." This has resulted in part from the increasing number of Chicano activists who are visiting Mexico in search of their cultural roots.

Mario Cantu, owner of Mario's Restaurant in San Antonio, Texas, and a Raza Unida Party supporter, recently visited Mexico. "We have been culturally oppressed," he is quoted as saying. "We have lost a great deal of our traditions. . . . You can't win on the political arena without a sense of your roots, which in our case includes the Mexican culture and language." He pointed out that Chicanos "have to move as a force, as a group with a single identification. . . . We don't want to assimilate. A people excluded from the system for a long time ceases trying to participate. Besides, if even those people who have been inside the system don't think it is any good—and the majority of the U.S. youth doesn't—then why should we want to join it?"

The appearance in Mexico of theatrical groups such as the California-based Teatro Campesino has helped give Mexico a better picture of who the Chicano people are and what the Chicano struggle is about. But the single most important factor in changing the attitudes of Mexicans toward La Raza in the U.S. was the National Chicano Moratorium and the events following the brutal police assault on that massive antiwar action of 30,000

in East Los Angeles on Aug. 29, 1970. The major Mexican dailies carried banner headline stories on the struggle that ensued, and for several weeks the newspapers and magazines were filled with page after page of news on the plight of the Chicano people. That major confrontation between the Chicano community of East L.A. and the capitalist power structure of Los Angeles catapulted the oppressive conditions under which Chicanos live to international recognition. This recognition is bringing about greater interest on the part of Mexican revolutionaries in the plight of their brothers and sisters here in Aztlan.

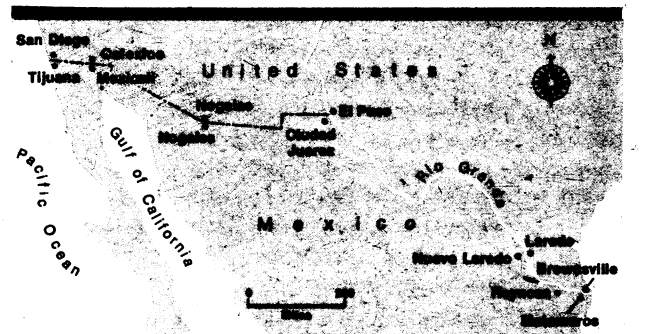
RUNAWAY U.S. INDUSTRIES EXPLOIT MEXICAN WORKERS: While government officials decry the influx of *mexicano* workers as a cause of job loss for U.S. workers, another movement—the transporting of entire factories into Mexico—has apparently escaped the sensitive moral instincts of these same capitalist politicians.

Over the past six years, U.S. corporations have built 280 plants—employing up to 1,800 workers—along a 1,856-mile-long and 12-mile-deep border zone designated by the Mexican government for foreign industries, especially those of the U.S. What attracts these corporations to Mexico? Low taxes and cheap labor. The Jan. 22 *Business Week* described the arrangement. "Like similar U.S. operations in the Far East, the border plants import U.S. materials and components duty free, employ low-cost labor to assemble them, and ship the products back, paying a duty only on the value added." According to estimates by the U.S. embassy in Mexico City, U.S. corporations employed 40,000 Mexican workers last year, 80 percent of whom were women between the ages of 16 and 24. Electronics companies account for about 40 percent of the plants; garment apparel accounts for another 30 percent. One of the largest factories, however, is owned by Mattel and produces "Barbie" dolls.

Relocating in Mexico has many advantages. *Business Week* points out that "With government-dominated unions and high unemployment in the

area, strikes are little problem; turnover and absenteeism amazingly low. . . ." The huge unemployment and consequent competition for available jobs allows these companies to exact tremendous production quotas from workers. Companies report productivity levels 20 percent to 40 percent higher than in the U.S. Jim McCoy, manager of the Electronic Control Corporation's Mexican plant, indicated the extent of speedup when he told *Business Week*, "We hit up to 4,000 units a day per girl in Matamoros [Mexico], compared with 2,500 a day in our plant in Eules, Tex."

Returns on investments are also impressive for these capitalists. The Los Angeles-based Olga Company, which makes foundation garments, reported a profit of \$500,000 on an investment of only \$40,000 in Mexico over a three-and-a-half year period.



Runaway U.S. industries profit from exploitation of Mexican labor in border zone.

That these same capitalists shed crocodile tears and protest that "illegal aliens" are taking jobs away from "the good Mexican-American people" and other U.S. workers is only testimony to their hypocrisy. The real cause of growing unemployment in the United States is not due to workers, whether they are with or without visas. It is due to the capitalist system of production for profit and the resulting periodic layoffs by corporations in the interest of maximizing those profits no matter what the cost in human suffering.

— ANTONIO CAMEJO

Argentine Socialists on kidnapping

The two articles on this page present the position of the Argentine Socialist Party headed by Juan Carlos Coral on the recent kidnapping of Italian industrialist Oberdan Sallustro by the ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—People's Revolutionary Army). Under the title "Neither Perón's restraints nor isolated guerrilla action—For a fighting program and a socialist pole," they appeared in the March 29 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*. This is the newly launched weekly newspaper of the Argentine Socialist Party, following the establishment of a working agreement with the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (La Verdad).

The first echoes of Perón's order to the CGT [Confederación General de los Trabajadores—General Confederation of Workers] to cease using

comes from a leader like Perón, who still has great influence in the working class, makes it doubly dangerous.

All the traitorous leaderships have used the same argument to justify their big sellouts. For example, when the Communist Party or watered-down socialists³ called for support to the Democratic Union,⁴ they did it in the name of the most heart-felt demands of the people and by invoking their moral authority over the masses.

In the same way, when this old "left" called for support to the right-wing military coup in 1955, which clamped down on the trade unions and turned the country over to the monopolies,⁵ they did so in the name of trade-union democracy and anti-imperialism.

Because of these experiences, Perón's instructions (backed up by his trade-

of leadership—concretely by the CGT's rejection of a fighting approach and Perón's appeal to support the GAN (alias "Citizens" front)—the recent actions by armed groups in no way constitute a correct alternative for the masses. And there is a basic reason for this: Instead of clearly calling for the organization and mobilization of the masses against the real dangers—the government's strategy and the treacherous bureaucrats—they persist in the erroneous view that the make-shift action of a small armed vanguard, isolated from the workers and their struggles as a whole, can represent the workers and win their goals.

For example, the nationalist, or Peronist, guerrillas of the Montoneros, by attacking the headquarters of the New Force, the stronghold of the anti-nationalist and antiworker monopoly interests, have greatly missed giving the masses a clear picture of the real trap, GAN, in which Alsogaray's party [New Force], plays a minimal role because it has no influence among workers.

Such actions not only sow confusion as to who is the immediate enemy, they also fail to provide the workers with a political instrument with which to confront the major bourgeois parties and the New Force itself.

The same analysis is applicable to the kidnapping of Sallustro. Even when the socialist guerrillas of the ERP demand the rehiring of the fired Fiat workers and a billion pesos to indemnify "the people," experience teaches us that the bosses will in a few weeks be able to regain their money with interest through the simple expedient of a speedup. They can also soon turn around and once again fire the militants that give the bosses trouble.

Unless the workers as a whole learn to defend themselves through different means from those indicated by the guerrillas, such will be the case.

In this sense the experience gained from the kidnapping of Sylvester,⁷ the manager of Swift, is quite revealing. The meat-packing company agreed to the demands, but within a short time the bureaucracy won the trade-union elections and the bosses reestablished, intensified, and expanded all the vicious norms of exploitation.

The reason they could get away with it is quite simple: As long as there is no organized, tested vanguard inside the Swift plant—or Fiat—capable of mobilizing the entire work force behind it on a continuing basis (as has begun to be done in many places by the newly arising vanguard), there is nothing and no one to block the boss-bureaucrat combination.

The worst result is that a worker at Swift or Fiat might mistakenly expect that he can overcome his enemy through the providential intercession of some armed group instead of by his own daily activities. What we say for one factory or for trade-union demands applies even more to the political struggle against the bourgeoisie and imperialism: As long as the vanguard is not solidly organized into a mass revolutionary party, it is impossible to defeat the bourgeoisie.

Even the ERP's demand that the government free 50 imprisoned guerrillas indicates a wrong approach. Our party consistently fights with all its strength to free all political and class-struggle prisoners, including and especially, the guerrillas. That is why we have made the demand for Comrade Santucho's⁸ freedom a regular part of our public propaganda. In our opinion, Comrade Santucho as an indi-

Fiat and Sallustro

We have little to add to the charges leveled against Sallustro by the ERP. The whole hypocritical campaign of the government, the church, the Peronist leaders, and other political parties cannot hide the undeniable facts.

Sallustro, as a Fiat executive, is responsible for the persecution, firing, and jailing of the best worker activists who were fighting for the exploited workers' "bread and dignity." He is responsible for forcing men and women, sweating for Fiat's millions in profits, to work under the muzzles of police and army rifles. He is responsible for posting in the Fiat plant the troops who mowed down the militants who sought to take up the task of defending the workers.

The great "humanitarian" campaign in defense of Sallustro now being carried on by the regime cannot hide the open use of police in the service of the exploiters, in this case a voracious international monopoly that starves workers in half the world.

But the workers' real enemy is not a Sallustro, who can easily be replaced by Fiat. The real enemy is the capitalist and monopolist system and the government of the monopolies. It will not be possible to defeat them through isolated actions; that can be done only by the joint mobilization of the workers and the people.

vidual is symbolic of all the Argentine fighters.

Of course we want to win the release of all hostages of the regime as quickly as possible—some 3,000 (according to figures we cannot readily verify). In face of this situation we must continue to tell the masses that the task of freeing our 3,000 comrades from the jails will require a massive mobilization as part of a fighting program of the workers and popular masses.

In this area also we cannot expect miraculous solutions. Only by organizing and mobilizing, circumventing traps laid by the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie, will we be able to free the prisoners and return them to our class so that they can continue their fight against the exploiters.

The guerrilla actions have performed the service of clearly showing the close brotherhood formed by the Argentine bourgeoisie with its armed forces, its religious leaders, its press, and its propaganda apparatus, in order to advance the perfidious governmental scheme. Now they have come up with a new and macabre argument to help the GAN: the exploitation of the grief of the Uzal and Sallustro families.

In their condemnation of violence and their propagandistic utilization of its victims, Perón, Caggiano,⁹ and the government display calculated self-interest and hypocrisy that must be denounced before the masses.

Argentine socialists sympathize with all who suffer and do not wish grief to any family. But we declare that the main cause of all the tragedies that stir human sympathy lies in the bloody system of exploitation of man by man, which converts some into exploiters and police, and others—the exploited—into victims.

We declare, at the same time, that the rebellion of the oppressed compels them and will continue to compel them to employ violent means.



Above: Oberdan Sallustro (l) with Fiat head d'Agnelli and Argentine President Lanusse (r). Below: workers on roof of Fiat factory. Sign reads 'Long live the workers of Fiat.'

class-struggle methods had barely died down when two guerrilla groups took direct actions that have resulted, so far, in the death of Uzal¹ and the young member of the Montoneros, Rossi,² and the kidnapping of Sallustro, manager of the Argentine division of Fiat.

There is an obvious relation between the order to slow down the class struggle and the guerrilla actions. Emanating from polar opposites, with utterly different objectives and even with opposing impact on the workers, they are comparable in one decisive aspect: They each offer a false perspective to the Argentine masses.

Perón's order is an appeal to the workers to stop their struggles and give a blank check to the oppressive military dictatorship and its political-electoral scheme. That this "tactic" is presented as an intelligent way to achieve the goals of the masses, and that it

union agents, the CGT bureaucrats, posed in the sharpest way the deep leadership crisis in which the Argentine workers are caught.

These workers are super-exploited by a government that serves the international monopolies and giant corporations. They are being dragged into the electoral trap of the GAN⁶ [Great National Accord] by their leaders.

This crisis of leadership is all the more evident in view of the fact that throughout the country, in factories, offices, schools, and universities, new leaderships are appearing that are not willing to capitulate and that are conducting battles by the thousand, threatening the plans of the government, the bourgeoisie, and the Peronist bureaucracy to stifle the mass struggle.

Guerrilla war: false alternative

In the vacuum formed by the crisis

Still no word of Chinese Trotskyists in Mao's jails

We declare that this is the painful price that must be paid in order to initiate a new era for humanity.

Meanwhile, the political exploitation of personal suffering is motivated at bottom by class interests. The many who filed before the house of Uzal or Sallustro did not file before the bier of the youthful militant Rossi, nor the others who have been executed, persecuted, kidnapped, and tortured by the police, nor have they expressed anguish for the thousands of tragedies befalling those who endure grinding daily poverty.

For a fighting program

The armed action road subscribed to by the Montoneros and ERP is the wrong way of confronting the exploiters; it does not educate nor help the working class.

It follows that our opposition to the methods of the Montoneros and the ERP is not based on a class difference, for we have a common enemy, imperialism, the government, the bourgeoisie, and the bureaucracy; our opposition is political, it is opposition to the false path they ask the workers to follow.

The Argentine Socialist Party invites all the *compañeros*, especially the worker, youth, and student leaders, to think over these two paths that, each from a different angle, have been offered to them in recent days—the path of Perón, with his appeal to suspend the struggle, and the path of the guerrilla groups, who insist on carrying out actions isolated and separated from the mass mobilizations and struggles.

We believe that with careful thought one fact will emerge as a certainty: Neither of these two paths offers an economic or political way out for the masses.

On the other hand, the Argentine workers themselves have already given the proper answer. The memory is still fresh of the Cordobazo,¹⁰ which contains all the keys to what must be done. The Argentine Socialist Party calls upon everyone to gain inspiration from the Cordobazo and through a Rank and File Congress of the CGT to confront the bureaucratic union leaders and demand a real program of struggle for the workers and popular masses; for an increase in salaries, against the inflation and unemployment, and for the release of the political prisoners.

At the same time the Argentine Socialist Party urges all the worker and socialist forces to unite in a pole of political opposition, to forge the tool necessary to challenge the GAN and lead the struggle towards a government of the workers and the popular masses and toward a socialist Argentina.

1. Mario Roberto Uzal, a leader of the New Force, a party headed by a former minister of economy, Alvaro Alsogaray. Uzal was fatally wounded March 18 when commandos of the Montoneros, a Peronist guerrilla group, raided his home. He died two days later.
2. Jorge Guillermo Rossi, 22, was killed in the raid on Uzal's home.
3. The right-wing socialists who favor a bloc with sectors of the capitalist class.
4. A capitalist party.
5. "Monopolies" usually refers to foreign corporations.
6. GAN is the plan of the military dictatorship to gain nationwide support for its program for "class peace."
7. Sylvester was kidnapped by the ERP on May 23, 1971.
8. Santucho is a leader of the ERP and of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Combatiente).
9. Caggiano is a cardinal in the Catholic Church who was involved in attempting to settle a strike.
10. Cordobazo refers to the mass uprising that took place in Córdoba in May of 1969.

The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International April 16. It is reprinted from the May 8 issue of Intercontinental Press.

Since December 1952-January 1953, when they were arrested in the People's Republic of China, a number of Chinese Trotskyists have been held without trial.

Their incarceration without trial is completely illegal. According to Article 87 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, "Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of procession, and freedom of demonstration. The state guarantees to citizens enjoyment of these freedoms by providing the necessary material facilities."

Among these political prisoners are the following:

Chen Chao-lin. A founding member of both the Chinese Communist party (CCP) and the Chinese Trotskyist movement, he was born in 1901. He worked in Paris with Chou En-lai and Chen Yi (the late minister of defense of the Chinese People's Republic) at the end of World War I, and after the Bolshevik revolution went to Moscow where he studied at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East. Chen returned to China in 1925 to work in the Central Committee of the CCP. Having become proficient in English, French, German, and Russian, he translated Communist textbooks into Chinese and engaged in the training of revolutionary cadres of the youth. During the high tide of the 1925-27 revolution, he played an important part in party work in the Wuhan area.

Following the defeat of the revolution, Chen became a Trotskyist. Arrested by the Kuomintang police, he was sentenced to fifteen years in prison. With the onset of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, he was released, having served seven years. Chen spent most of his time during the next few years



Chen Chao-lin, imprisoned Chinese Trotskyist leader. Photo believed to have been taken in 1941.

translating the works of Trotsky into Chinese. With Japan's surrender in 1945, he edited a semimonthly magazine, *The New Banner*, until it was proscribed by the Kuomintang.

When the People's Liberation army took the city, some of the Trotskyists left for Hong Kong to continue political activity from the outside. Chen and others remained in Shanghai, continuing their work until they were arrested. Chen has lived as a political prisoner for twenty-seven years—seven years under Chiang, twenty

years under Mao. He is now about seventy-two.

Chiang Tseng-tung. As a worker-communist, this comrade had a leading activist role in the Shanghai labor movement. He took part in the general strike and uprising in that city in 1925, continuing his work as a proletarian revolutionist under the Kuomintang dictatorship and, as a Trotskyist, upholding the banner of the Fourth International. He was arrested in the sweep by Mao's police in December 1952. If alive, he is now about sixty-two years old.

Chou Jen-sen. A revolutionary intellectual. A teacher by profession, he taught in middle school (high school). Arrested by Mao's police in the Fukien port city of Amoy. Is believed imprisoned in Shanghai.

Ho Chi-sen. Student leader in Peking in early 1920s and joined the CCP shortly after its formation. During the Northern Expedition of the Kwangtung revolutionary army that set out from Canton to wrest the country from the grip of reactionary warlords (1925-27), he played a leading role in revolutionary activity, together with Mao Tsetung, first in Wuhan, later in Hunan province. After Chiang Kai-shek's counterrevolutionary coup at Shanghai in April 1927, Ho worked in the underground to revive the prostrate CCP.

In 1929, following the lead of Chen Tu-hsiu, he became convinced of the falsity of the CCP's Moscow-dictated political line and became a Trotskyist. He represented the "Proletarians," one of four Trotskyist groups that fused in 1931 to form the Communist League of China. The unified organization became the Chinese section of the Fourth International when it was formally launched in 1938.

In poor health when his old colleague Mao had him put behind bars, Ho is now about seventy-five years of age, if still alive. Nothing has been heard of him for many years. There is reason to fear that he may have died in a forced-labor camp.

Ling Hwer-hua. This veteran of the revolutionary struggle was a member of the executive committee of the Printers Union of Canton when arrested by Mao's police at the end of 1952. He was sent to Wuhan with other Trotskyists arrested in the "Southwestern Administrative Area" and sentenced to work in a hard-labor camp for an indefinite term. If alive, he is over fifty years old. No word of him has reached the outside world.

Ling Sun-chi. A lecturer at Sun Yat-sen University in Canton. Arrested by Mao's police some time in 1953, after the mass roundup at the previous year-end. There has been no word of his fate.

Wang Kuo-lung. A middle-school teacher like Chou Jen-sen, Wang was arrested in Wenchow (Chekiang province) during the big roundup and is believed to be imprisoned in Shanghai.

Ying Kwan. Was with Chou En-lai as a student in France in 1920. In 1923 was active in the branch of the Chinese Socialist Youth in France together with Chen Yi and Li Fu-chwang (a member of the Political Bureau of the CCP), serving as chairman of the Planning Commission. He also served as secretary of the Chinese Socialist party organization in Europe. Later in the year he went to study in Moscow. In 1924 he was the CCP secretary for Shan-

tung province. In 1925 he became secretary of the Shanghai regional committee in which Chen Pi-lan was also a member.

Took part in the 1925-27 revolution as a leading CCP activist in the central China province of Anhwei,



Mao Tsetung. His bureaucratic regime has jailed revolutionists and denied freedom of political expression.

where he was born. Embraced Trotsky's ideas in 1929 and worked to unify the four Trotskyist groups then in existence.

Arrested by the Kuomintang police in 1932, he spent two years in prison. Released in 1934, he was later re-arrested and again set free shortly before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937. During the war years he worked among students.

After Japan's surrender, Ying Kwan resumed political work in Shanghai and continued after the Communist take-over until his arrest by Mao's police. If still alive, he is about seventy-two years old. No word of him has reached the outer world.

These are only a few of the Trotskyists held as political prisoners in China. In addition to the veterans of the movement, many of the younger Trotskyists were seized. Some were sentenced to hard labor for terms ranging from five to ten years. It may be that some have been released, but the circumstances remain unknown.

In addition, members of the families of these political prisoners were likewise arrested, to disappear from public knowledge.

The Mao regime should be pressed to provide information on the fate of these political prisoners. Are they still living? Have some of them been submitted to secret trials? What crimes or infractions of the law were they charged with?

The secretiveness surrounding their incarceration does not speak well for the way in which the constitution is observed in China. On the contrary, it indicates that they were imprisoned in flagrant violation of a constitution that "guarantees" the right of free speech. If this were not the case, why hasn't the government granted them a public trial?

Demand that the Mao government respect rights guaranteed in the constitution! Demand the observance of proletarian democracy in China! Demand the release of the Chinese Trotskyists!

We ask all the organizations that have defended the People's Republic of China against its foes, that have supported the Chinese revolution, to take a stand on this issue to help break the wall of silence.

Theater Gold Watch



Gold Watch by Momoko Iko. Inner City Cultural Center, Los Angeles, through May 28.

An extraordinary theatrical event is in store for viewers of *Gold Watch*, Momoko Iko's play about a Japanese-American family at the time of America's entry into World War II.

On entering the theater from the bustling streets of 1972 Los Angeles, one is immediately swept back to the prewar era, surrounded by posters, photographs, and a juke box playing popular music of the period.

The play unfolds in the home of Masaru Murakami, a truck farmer and in many ways a typically Americanized immigrant. His radio is tuned to Amos 'n' Andy. The family decorates its Christmas tree just like any other American family.

But Murakami, powerfully portrayed by understudy Clyde Kusatsu when I saw the play, is atypical as well. He speaks out bluntly, directly, without evasions. A self-made man, he came to America by choice. He has no illusions about the aggressive designs of the Japanese or any other government. "All governments lie," he says.

Throughout the play a pair of white-masked soldiers direct the continuous movement of sets about the stage, silently, inexorably.

Murakami argues with everyone on how to deal with the sea of racist hatred threatening to engulf the entire Japanese-American community. One suggests returning to Japan to help force China to "respect Japan's territorial integrity."

The church and the reformist Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) counsel support of America's war aims, including acceptance without resistance of their own internment in the concentration camps set up by the U.S. government as part of the "war for democracy against fascism."

To them Murakami responds, "The vultures will eat well." If no one re-

sists, "Our melons will become our gravestones."

Action on the stage comes to involve the audience in the scene of a community meeting called to debate how the Japanese-American community will respond to Executive Order 9066. (This order led to the "relocation" of more than 100,000 people into the camps.) The actors spread themselves among the audience so that we all appear to be participating in the momentous debate.

A ringing climax to the play comes as Murakami is brutally struck down and killed by self-appointed vigilantes as the family prepares to leave for the camps.

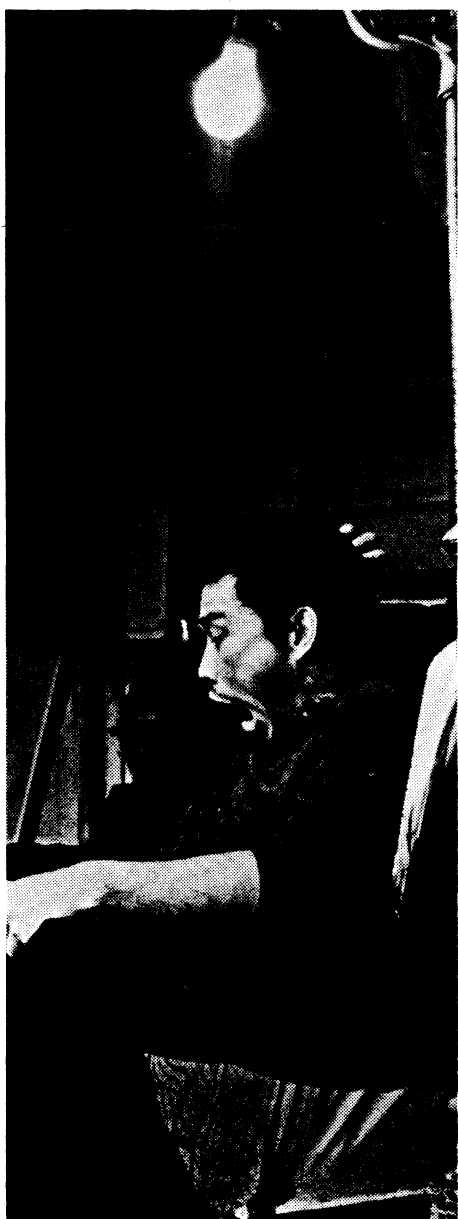
As the audience files out of the theater, the white-masked soldiers, stationed at the exit, hand everyone a copy of the "Instructions To All Citizens of Japanese Ancestry" issued by the U.S. Army May 3, 1942.

A short play, *There Is No Place for a Tired Ghost*, precedes *Gold Watch*. Taking place "somewhere between here and heaven," it presents a fantasy discussion between different members of the Japanese-American community, reflecting on their lives, the camps, and the meaning of the holocaust that has swept them up. It was written and directed by Mako, star of *Gold Watch*.

The Inner City Cultural Center provides the audience with the publication *Inner City: Here and Now*, which includes essays on the politics of the Japanese-American community and on the mass media's racist stereotyping of Asians—from Fu Manchu through Charlie Chan and the most recent movies and TV programs.

Playwright Momoko Iko was born in the state of Washington in 1940. She spent the years 1942 to 1945 in Heart Mountain Concentration Camp in Wyoming. A full-time author and critic, she has written two novels and another play, and is editor of the newsletter of the Asian Liberation Front.

—WALTER LIPPMANN



Books 'Massacre at Derry'

Massacre at Derry. Compiled by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. Distributed in the United States by the National Association for Irish Freedom. 48 pp. paper \$1. 1972.

The recent release of the report of the British government's inquiry into the events of "Bloody Sunday" makes the publication of *Massacre at Derry* particularly timely.

On Sunday, Jan. 30, British paratroopers shot dead 13 men in Derry, Northern Ireland, in the massacre that became known as "Bloody Sunday." The shooting came near the end of a civil rights march of about 30,000. British paratroopers, in combat dress and carrying rifles, attacked the demonstrators as the mass rally began.

The British army claimed that its troops fired only "at seen gunmen and nail bombers" and that a nail-bomb attack as well as "a total of well over 200 rounds" were aimed at the soldiers (*New York Times*, Jan. 31). But no soldiers were wounded, none of the hundreds of pictures taken have disclosed the presence of anybody armed with guns or nail bombs, and literally hundreds of witnesses have testified to the unprovoked attack by the army on that day. In attempting to defend its case in the inquiry set up by the British government following the outcry over the massacre, the army was forced to rely almost wholly on the testimony of British soldiers and officials of the Northern Ireland government, against which marchers were protesting.

The British army was forced to admit that none of the 13 men it had killed were suspected of being members of the illegal Irish Republican Army, although it had earlier claimed that four of the 13 had been on its wanted list. (*New York Times*, March 14.)

No arms were found with the 13 dead or with any of the nine people who were wounded. The report of Lord Widgery, the Lord Chief Justice of England, who conducted the inquiry into the killings, concluded that "none of the deceased or wounded is proved to have been shot whilst handling a firearm, or bomb."

Despite these facts, Lord Widgery, a former lieutenant-colonel in the Royal Artillery and a brigadier general in the Territorial Army, exonerated the paratroopers and the British military command from all blame in the Derry massacre. With the calm and self-righteous hypocrisy developed over the centuries by the English ruling class, Widgery pontificates that "There would have been no deaths in Londonderry on January 30 if those who had organized the illegal march had not thereby created a highly dangerous situation in which a clash between demonstrators and the security forces was almost inevitable."

As usual, the blame is placed not on social injustice and its defenders but upon those struggling against injustice.

The bitter reaction among the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland to the Widgery whitewash was to be expected. Even the most moderate know well where the responsibility for the savage massacre on "Bloody Sunday" lies. As the Feb. 4 issue of the moderate bi-weekly *Hibernia*, published in Dublin points out:

"The most significant factor in the army's Derry conduct is that it was

quite obviously a planned operation. It is well to remember that by Northern standards the troops had had a relatively easy day. The main part of the massive demonstration had been well marshalled and peaceful. Those that confronted the troops at the army barricades were effectively repulsed by CS gas and water cannons. The army swoop into the bogside was not part of their normal role in repelling the crowd or halting the march. That job had already been completed. . . ."

. . . two important points should be noted. The first is that, while the paratroopers may be a brutal lot of men, they are not undisciplined. They would not have opened fire in Derry last Sunday, if they had not been ordered to do so. The second is that the whole action took place while the Commander of the Land Forces in the North, General Robert Ford, was actually on the spot. . . .

"Quite obviously the shooting was a calculated, punitive, retaliation."

The treatment meted out to the Derry marchers sharply contrasts with that accorded to the right-wing Unionists, who are permitted to carry out demonstrations without military or police interference.

Massacre at Derry tells what happened when the "security forces" did intervene. Most of the material in it consists of statements of participants in the march or of other witnesses to the shootings. This eyewitness testimony, which to my knowledge is collected in no other source, gives an inkling of what it must have been like in Derry on January 30. Statement after statement mentions people running, crawling, trying somehow to get away. Many detail incidents in which people were shot while waving white handkerchiefs, with their hands in the air, or while trying to help others.

Massacre at Derry would be valuable if it only contained the eyewitness statements, which are so convincing in their unanimity and detail. However, it also includes sections on the aims and policies of the NICRA, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, and some useful material from the press. One announcement, printed in a number of Northern Ireland newspapers on the day of the Derry march, concerned the cancellation of a Unionist rally planned for the same time and place as the NICRA rally. The Reverend James McClelland, vice-president of the Londonderry Democratic Unionist Association, which had planned the counter-demonstration, is quoted as saying, "We were approached by the Government and given assurances that the Civil Rights march will be halted—by force if necessary."

"We believe wholesale riot and bloodshed could be the result of the Civil Rights activities tomorrow and we would be held responsible if our rally takes place. We have appealed to all loyalists to stay out of the city centre tomorrow."

The publishers of *Massacre at Derry* extended their appreciation to District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, for helping to produce the book.

The book deserves wide circulation. It will be a powerful aid in discrediting the British government and in building support for the struggle in Ireland. Copies can be ordered from the National Association for Irish Freedom, 799 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Newspaper guild president criticizes Militant story

The following letter from Charles A. Perlik Jr., president of The Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO, is in response to an article in the March 10 Militant entitled "Working reporters begin to radicalize." In this article our reporter, John Spaulding, discusses new demands that are being made by working reporters for greater control over editorial and other policies of their newspapers.

President Perlik's letter of April 18 is followed by a reply from John Spaulding.

Both letters refer to demands proposed by the Chicago local of the Guild for their new contract being negotiated with Field Enterprises, owner of the Chicago Sun-Times and the Chicago Daily News. These demands were for one-third representation of editorial employees on all editorial boards with the right to publish dissenting editorials and union veto power over department heads. The "option to buy" demand referred to was that Guild members have first option to buy if their newspaper was to be sold, and that if no Guild member wished to buy, the Guild would have veto power over sale to an unacceptable publisher.

To the editor of *The Militant*:
Your story by John Spaulding headlined "Working Reporters Begin to Radicalize" contains exactly the kind of inaccurate reporting which is going to make much more difficult The Newspaper Guild's effort to obtain a voice in the content of the product of the modern press.

I refer principally to its description of the procedures followed in placing before the Chicago Sunpapers managements the proposals described in Spaulding's article.

First of all, the Guild's Contracts Committee did not reject the new demands, as Spaulding writes. It informed the Chicago Newspaper Guild, as the constitution of The Newspaper Guild contemplates it should do, that the demands were far-reaching enough to warrant a decision by the full International Executive Board as to their inclusion in the Chicago proposals.

The Contracts Committee's view was, and has been and will remain so long as the policy of the Guild is as it is, that no local, nor the Contracts Committee, nor even the International Executive Board in the most extreme cases, has the authority to commit the Guild and all of its resources to achieve a demand which does not have popular and majority support among the membership. Since the Chicago proposals rested clearly in this unsettled area, the Contracts Committee's decision was not to reject the demands proposed, but to advise the Chicago Local that the authority of the International Executive Board would have to be placed behind them before made, and as a consequence the Chicago Local was not authorized to make the proposals in advance of that authorization by the International Executive Board. The Contracts Committee invited the Chicago Guild to present its case for the demands to the International Executive Board.

The foregoing makes inaccurate

Spaulding's next statement that the "Contracts Committee subsequently approved the demands." It was the International Executive Board (which includes two members of the Contracts Committee, I might add) that approved the demands. This inaccuracy is immediately followed by another one: "it (the Contracts Committee) turned down two other proposals put forth by the Local."

The fact is that when the proposals were placed before the International Executive Board, a Chicago Local representative was there to explain and defend them. It was the Chicago Guild's representative who withdrew the proposals regarding ownership of the publications and neither the Contracts Committee nor the International Executive Board disapproved those proposals. They were not placed on the bargaining table in Chicago because the spokesman for Chicago decided they should not be.

To the extent working newspaper people are going to be able to develop and exercise a voice in the journalist product being sold on the newsstands of America today, they will have to rely upon the unified strength of The Newspaper Guild to give collective bargaining weight and muscle to their demands. Inaccurate reports of what the Guild is doing in this area, such as that carried in *The Militant*, is going to hamper and hinder, not advance, that effort.

Sincerely yours,
Charles A. Perlik, Jr.
President

In reply...

I'd like to thank President Perlik for his corrections concerning my story on the Field Enterprise papers' fight for the voice in the product proposals. At the time that I filed the story, the information concerning the status of the proposals was drawn from an article in the February issue of *The Newspaper Guild Memo*, the local's monthly publication. The article points out that while the voice in the product proposals had been approved, The Newspaper Guild's approval on the "option to buy" proposals had been "withheld." My mistake was substituting "rejected" for "withheld."

Subsequent checking with the Chicago representative who traveled to Washington verified that the "option to buy" demands had been withdrawn, and this fact, along with the reasons for the withdrawal, had been reported back to the rank and file.

I would like to take issue, however, with President Perlik's statement that my article on the fight for the voice proposals "is going to hamper and hinder, not advance, that effort." The main thrust of the article was an analysis of the demands, their importance to the reporters in the newsroom, and the conditions that caused the demands to be put forth.

The article was greeted with enthusiasm by the staffs of both the *Chicago Daily News* and the *Chicago Sun-Times*, and copies of the article were posted on the Guild's bulletin boards in the shop.

I take note of the needed corrections but do not believe that these minor inaccuracies detracted from the central thrust of the story, which is that reporters are demanding a say in what is printed in their newspapers.

John Spaulding

The National Picket Line

THE COAL BARONS' GOVERNMENT has won another round in its legal battles against the United Mine Workers Union (UMW). W.A. Boyle, president of the union, is the ostensible target, but the actual bulls'-eye the government is aiming for is the union itself.

There can be no doubt in anyone's mind that this union needs a thorough housecleaning. But it is the task of the rank and file of any union to do that job. Such a task can only be accomplished with a program for genuine union democracy and a leadership dedicated to that end. Unfortunately, neither component exists in the UMW today. Nor can one be built overnight.

Let's look at the last four legal maneuvers, three of which have already been won by government prosecutors.

On May 1, Federal Judge William B. Bryant set aside the 1969 election in which Boyle defeated Joseph Yablonski. This was the first time in many years that an incumbent leader had been

challenged. Judge Bryant found that evidence of "wrongdoings by Boyle and other incumbents was 'too strong to resist.'" He ordered a new election.

The court, however, refused to take action on other charges: the refusal to allow Yablonski forces into balloting places as poll watchers; the exclusion of opposition campaigners from meetings of local unions; and the removal of Yablonski from the national executive board "as a direct reprisal for his running against Boyle."

On March 31 a federal jury found Boyle guilty of misusing union funds—making direct contributions from the union treasury to political campaigns. Use of union funds for such purposes is illegal under the Corrupt Practices Act. Boyle plans an appeal of this criminal conviction, which carries with it not only a 32-year prison term and a \$120,000 fine but also excludes Boyle from holding a union office for five years.

Boyle and Co. lost their first case in 1970 when a damage suit for \$75-million was brought against all of the trustees of the health and pension fund and against the union-owned National Bank of Washington, D.C. This suit was brought by the Disabled Miners and Widows Association. As a result, Boyle was forced to resign as a trustee of the fund, as was Josephine Roche (a life-long friend of John L. Lewis). In addition, union pension funds were taken out of non-interest bearing National Bank checking accounts and distributed among several other banks in interest bearing savings accounts or investments. The court has ruled that the pension fund must be reimbursed.

The latest, and still conjectural, move against Boyle himself came on May 3 when Silous Hudleston, president of a small Tennessee UMW local and on trial in the Yablonski murders, changed his plea to guilty. In a 25-page confession, Hudleston named a UMW international executive board member, Albert Pass, and a field representative, William Prater, as two of the original conspirators. He did not name Boyle but said he was sure the money came from the union.

Government prosecutors immediately announced that they have "certain information that the fund (the murder money) was set up at a conference

between Tony Boyle and Albert Pass." (*New York Times*, May 4.) Both Pass and Prater have already been arrested.

How has the Boyle-Lewis machine managed to get such a stranglehold on this once militant union? The UMW was born in struggle between the Appalachian miners and the Iron and Coal Police, the army the coal operators organized to stop unionization in the coal fields. Hundreds of miners and company cops died during the fight, which lasted many years. But finally the union won and the UMW was born. John L. Lewis became president in 1918 and held that post until he resigned in 1960. An interim caretaker, Thomas Kennedy, served for three years while Lewis decided between his two chief lieutenants—W.A. Boyle and Joseph Yablonski. Lewis decided Boyle was closest to his own image and Boyle was elected president without opposition in 1963.

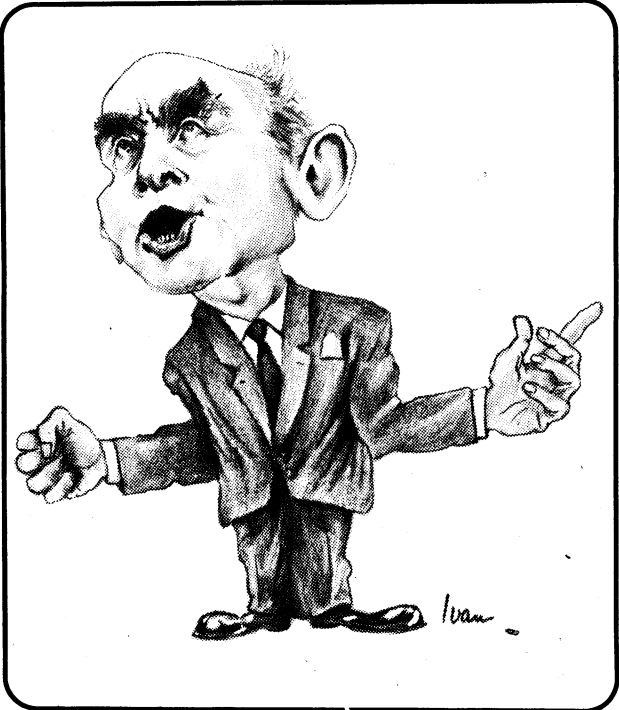
Lewis was a contradictory figure—a man who fought the bosses and their government for the miners with one hand while he used the other to keep a tight rein on his own membership. From the time Lewis gained control in 1918 until today, democracy for the membership has not existed.

Boyle learned his lessons from Lewis well. His absolute control of the union can be seen in the following:

There are 24 districts within the international. Of these, **only four** are completely autonomous, two are semiautonomous, and **18 are under trusteeships**. In a district under trusteeship, the members have only one right—to pay dues. They cannot elect their own officials or control their own money.

In addition, unlike most unions, UMW members on pension retain their voting and speaking rights. Nearly half of the union's 200,000 members are pensioners. These old miners know that if they dare speak out against Boyle or vote against him, they may lose both their pensions and their medical-care cards. There aren't many issues on which union members can vote, but some minor items still remain about which they can register their preferences. The pensioners almost always support whatever Boyle proposes.

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Mine Workers president Tony Boyle

Calendar

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

CAMPAIGN CONFERENCE: FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA, May 19-21.

Fri., May 19. 8 p.m.: Women's Liberation and Socialism. Speaker: Debby Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas.

Sat., May 20. 10:30 a.m.: The Significance of African Liberation Day. Speakers: Representatives from African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee, and Ken Milner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the 7th C.D. 1:30 p.m.: Two Views of the 1972 Elections. Speakers: Alvin Duskin, ecologist, and Susan Vass, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the 5th C.D. 3:30 p.m.: The New Stage in Vietnam and the Coming American Revolution. Speaker: Peter Camejo, national chairman of SWP. Campaign Committee. 7:30 p.m.: Party. 9 p.m.: Film: To Make a Revolution. Party and film at 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland.

Sun., May 21. Picnic at Redwood Park, Oakland. Debby Leonard's talk will be at the University YWCA, 2600 Bancroft, Berkeley. Admission: \$1. All other sessions at Pauley Ballroom, U.C. Berkeley, 75c each session. Ausp. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. For more information, call 658-6205 (Oakland) or 864-5056 (S.F.).

PORTLAND, ORE.

SOCIALIST ACTIVIST WEEKEND, May 19-20.

Fri., May 19. 7:30 p.m.: Revolutionary Prospects in 1972. Speaker: Peter Camejo, national chairman of Socialist Workers Party '72 Campaign.

Sat., May 20. 1 p.m.: Women's Liberation in '72. Speaker: Debby Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas. 3 p.m.: McGovern vs. Jenness. Speakers: John Wolfe, Oregon McGovern coordinator; and Debby Leonard. 6:30 p.m.: GALA CAMPAIGN BANQUET with Oregon socialist candidates.

For all sessions, \$2. For banquet, \$3. Room 327, Smith Memorial Center, Portland State University. Ausp. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, Young Socialist Alliance, and Militant Bookstore. For more information, call (503) 226-2715.

In Portland, Ore., May 23, write in Philip Hardy for mayor of Portland and John Linder for Board of Education, Position No. 1. Nonpartisan positions endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party. Vote "No" on ballot measure No. 21—Tax the war profiteers, not the workers. For an antiwar Portland, for a socialist America.

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST ACTIVIST CONFERENCE, May 19-20. HUB Building, University of Washington.

Fri., May 19. 8 p.m.: The Gary Convention and Black Liberation. Speaker: Ken Milner, who attended Gary Black Political Convention.

Sat., May 20. 10 a.m.: How to Make a Revolution in the U.S. Speaker: Peter Camejo, author of Is Chile Going Socialist? and How to Make a Revolution in the U.S. 1 p.m.: Should Biology be Women's Destiny? Speaker: Helen Meyers, coordinator for Washington Women's National Abortion Action Coalition.

3 p.m.: How Students Can Change Society. Speaker: Lisa Potash, organizer of Seattle Young Socialist Alliance. 8 p.m.: **SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Featured speaker: Debby Leonard, feminist and Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas, speaking on Socialist Strategy for 1972.

Admission: \$3 for U of Wash. students for entire weekend, \$1 for h.s. students, and \$5 for all others, or 75c per session. Ausp. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, Young Socialist Alliance.

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

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM. Speaker: Greg Guckenberg, national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., May 19, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Minneapolis. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum. For more information, call (612) 332-7781.

...strike

Continued from page 8

to Rican communities, and rallies held on the campus but publicized in the entire community are some of the many actions that can help win broad support for effective struggle.

Such activities can lead to strengthening our base on the university and lay the groundwork for transforming the university from an agent of the warmakers into an antiwar university, where the entire resources of the institution are turned over to building a movement that can end the war in Indochina.

Thirteen people have been arrested and many others have been threatened with arrest or suspension during the course of the strike activities at Columbia. It is now important that everyone come to the defense of these people against the attacks by the state of New York and the possible attacks by the university. Even though there are political and tactical differences, we must stand united in defense of those who have come under attack.

...McGov

Continued from page 15

on McGovern in his May 5 column: "It should be noted that, whatever George McGovern proposes, he is no zealot but a very hard-minded practical politician, and if he gets the nomination by being definite and even radical, he will no doubt adjust to

the realities of fighting Nixon for the center, but this will not be easy."

It will not be easy because many of his supporters will refuse to water down their positions. While McGovern is being "practical," and adjusting to "the realities of fighting Nixon for the center," many of his supporters will consider supporting the Socialist Workers Party ticket of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley—the campaign that gives its wholehearted, active support to the antiwar movement, to women's right to abortion, and to amnesty for draft resisters and deserters.

...Attica

Continued from page 16

to minimize lives—to minimize the loss of lives—and to save to the maximum degree possible the security and well-being of the hostages and the prisoners."

Rockefeller's testimony is of particular significance. In the first place he refused to testify in public. And his testimony wasn't released until April 30. But more than this, Rockefeller tries to paint himself as the "civilian political personality" who left the assault plan to the "professionals in the State Police." Thus, every effort is made to give the impression that he did not play a crucial role in suppressing the revolt.

Nonetheless, it was Rockefeller who gave the order to crush it. And when he speaks of leaving it to the "professionals," what he is actually saying is that he gave the police a blank check.

The McKay Commission, headed by Robert McKay, dean of the New York University Law School, will issue its final report in June. It will be based on the hearings, which were televised, and the more than 3,000 interviews that the commission obtained with inmates, guards, state officials, and others connected with the Attica prison rebellion.

But this report will not contain a most important piece of testimony—that of the inmates who acted as spokesmen and leaders after the rebellion spontaneously broke out. Most of them, about 80, are in Housing Block Z—solitary confinement—at Attica. One of them, Richard X Clark,

was released and is out building a defense campaign, since eventually the all-white and rural Wyoming County grand jury now meeting will hand down indictments in connection with the prison rebellion. Clark, and many of the men in HBZ, expect to be on the receiving end of these charges.

The fact that the McKay Commission was not able to give these men enough assurances about protecting their testimony points up a serious flaw in the commission. Its connection with the state places a question mark in many people's minds about its work, for despite the intentions of the commission's nine members, they will not be able to serve up a "full and impartial" report.

Their limitations only underline again the need for an investigation by an independent body, constituted by the Black and Puerto Rican communities, to disclose and educate the public about what really happened at Attica, mincing no words about who were the victims and who were the criminals.

...Boyle

Continued from page 21

Boyle himself, like Lewis before him, conducts man-to-man contract negotiations with whoever happens to be president of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association at contract time. The membership takes whatever Boyle offers (or gives away).

Lewis's record for swift retaliation against local unions is too extensive to go into here. But Boyle learned that lesson too. He is quick to expel individuals or whole locals for violating his dictates. Once a member is expelled, he is also blackballed from the industry.

No one denies that the UMW leadership has to be cleaned out. But it will take far more than what the Miners for Democracy, a dissident caucus in the union, offers. This organization hails as a victory every legal battle the coal operators and the government win against Boyle and Co. What they fail to recognize is that government intervention in the internal affairs of any union can only mean the changing of one set of dictators for another.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

Socialist Directory

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THE MILITANT

Pay Bd. cuts E. Coast dockers wages

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, May 9—The 6-to-1 decision by the government Pay Board yesterday to cut the negotiated wage increase for East Coast longshoremen from about 12 percent to 9.8 percent was another sharp blow against the right to collective bargaining.

The dissenting vote was cast by Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, the only remaining labor member of the board after the other four labor members walked off in March. Their walkout was in response to the board's ruling to slash a negotiated wage increase for West Coast dock workers from 20.6 percent to 14.9 percent. Both rulings are part of Nixon's attempt to drive down the real wages of American workers.

The wage scale of the International Longshoremen's Association, an AFL-CIO affiliate, in the Northeastern Atlantic ports had been \$4.75 an hour

straight-time. ILA members in South Atlantic and Gulf ports get less. The negotiated settlement, allowing for a 70-cent hourly increase the first year and 40 cents more in each of the second and third years of a three-year settlement, was widely publicized as a 12.1 percent first-year wage hike—far exceeding the 5.5 percent Pay Board guidelines.

The Pay Board cut the negotiated 70-cent first-year raise to 55 cents.

Arguing for the 70-cent raise before the Pay Board, ILA President Thomas W. Gleason had sought to win approval of the negotiated settlement by reminding the board that increased productivity under the new contracts would more than offset the wage increases.

Some here had thought that a deal was in the making between the ILA and the Nixon administration involving a tacit agreement by the ILA officialdom to work all ships from the

Soviet Union and Eastern European countries—which the ILA has refused to do in the past—in exchange for approval of the new agreement as negotiated between union and management.

This seemed more plausible when the Pay Board on May 4 suddenly cancelled an announcement on the ILA wage settlement following a meeting between Fitzsimmons and President Nixon.

Whatever happened at that meeting, however, was of little help to longshoremen.

On the West Coast, despite threats to strike if the ILWU's (International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union) negotiated contract were denied, ILWU President Harry Bridges did nothing. However, the conflict between the ILWU and the Pay Board continues.

After the Pay Board cut the ILWU's negotiated wage increase from 72

cents an hour to 42 cents, the union proposed to the shipowners that the deleted 30 cents be placed in escrow, to be paid to each man when the Pay Board ceased operations. The Pacific Maritime Association checked this out with the Pay Board's lawyers, who said no, that is illegal.

The ILWU then sued the Pay Board. A San Francisco federal judge ruled in favor of setting up the escrow agreement, subject to future tests in the courts.

Involved in negotiations is \$20-million. The question is, will the workers get it, or will the shipowners get a \$20-million plum that they had already figured they could do without when they negotiated the contract?

In the meantime the West Coast longshoremen and ship clerks continue to work under the terms of the old contract, which officially ended when they first struck last July 1, 1971.

Prosecution to rest case against Davis

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN JOSE, Calif., May 9—Today the prosecution embarked on the final phase of its case against Angela Davis. The present testimony, which concerns Davis' supposed flight from California after the events of Aug. 7, 1970, will probably take several days to complete.

This afternoon Marcia Brewer, a ticket agent at the San Francisco airport, recalled that she had sold Davis a ticket to Los Angeles Aug. 7, but acknowledged that Davis identified herself openly at the airline window.



Angela Davis Photo by Michael Schreiber

Although Brewer yielded to the ominous contentions of the prosecution that Davis seemed to be in a great hurry, she agreed just as readily when the defense pointed out that the defendant was in a hurry because she was late for her plane.

The prosecution presented what was to have been the core of its conspiracy case with a tedious display of witnesses who allegedly saw Davis and Jonathan Jackson together in the vicinity of the Marin County Civic Center in the days preceding Aug. 7. However, the prosecution's case may well have become discredited in

the eyes of the jury because of obvious inconsistencies and the racial prejudices of its witnesses.

On May 4 Aldon Fleming stated that a "colored man" and a "colored girl" had come to his service station Aug. 6, 1970, to obtain help for their yellow Hertz van, which had stalled across the street by the Marin County courthouse.

Fleming mutely pointed to Davis in court as the "girl" he had seen that day. Defense attorney Leo Branton referred to the fact that Fleming had assumed that his two customers were brother and sister. "Don't you think that all 'colored people' look alike?" Branton asked softly. Fleming replied that Davis "doesn't have as strong or heavy a face as most colored people. The ones I have dealt with—their faces are flatter." Nevertheless, when Fleming was asked to identify Davis from several photographs he included a photograph of Fania Jordan, Davis' sister, among his choices.

San Quentin lieutenant Robert West, on May 1, and prison guard Robert Ayres, on May 2, identified Davis as the woman they saw in the prison waiting room while Jonathan Jackson was visiting his brother George on Aug. 4 and 5. Neither of the guards, however, mentioned Davis by name in their written reports of the incident, although they testified that by that time they had learned her identity.

Undaunted by the muddled statements of his previous witnesses, prosecutor Albert Harris brought to the stand yesterday, May 8, Louis "Bob" May, an exconvict at San Quentin who was given parole last February—three years before his scheduled date. May volunteered that he saw Davis accompany Jonathan Jackson to the prison Aug. 3, 4, 5, and 6 of 1970. However, previous testimony has indicated that Davis did not arrive in the San Francisco Bay Area until the evening of Aug. 3.

Today May brought his testimony more in line with that of other witnesses by saying that he no longer believes that it was Davis whom he saw Aug. 6—although, he hesitated, "it could have been." May also denied a statement that he had made several moments earlier that he had seen Jonathan Jackson in a rented Hertz van Aug. 5. This statement would

have conflicted with the testimony of previous witnesses that the van was not rented until Aug. 6.

May's bumbling was more than matched by the next witness, Lois Leidig, whom defense counsel Branton politely suggested was also not telling the truth. "Don't call me a liar... I have a very good visual recall!" Leidig snapped. She went on to give a description of Jonathan Jackson as he observed the courtroom trial of James McClain on the day before the Aug. 7 events.

Leidig's description of Jackson's hair, skin color, clothing, etc., contradicted every other witness to the incident. Branton told the witness, "I am not so interested in what you have to say as why you are saying it."

Branton referred to a letter Leidig had written Jan. 11, 1971, to a friend who is an official court observer. In a reference to the death penalty, which had just been abolished in Leidig's

home state of Oregon, she wrote, "I am hoping for this verdict for all those anarchists involved. Our national courts need a verdict like this." Leidig admitted that she was referring to the Davis case in the letter.

At the halfway mark in the trial, the courtroom remains full of spectators, who must arrive around 6:30 a.m. to assure themselves a seat. San Jose will be the site May 20 of a rally against war, racism, and repression, cosponsored by the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis (NUCFAD). The rally is a counterpart to the one held April 1 in Harrisburg, Pa., at the trial of the Harrisburg defendants. NUCFAD has asked that people write Judge Richard Arnason at Superior Court #1, 190 West Hadding St., San Jose, Calif., demanding that bail restrictions on Davis be lifted so that she can speak at the rally.

This week's highlights in the Angela Davis trial

MAY 3. San Quentin guard William Twells testifies that he saw a "colored girl with an Afro haircut" with Jonathan Jackson in the prison waiting room Aug. 5, 1970. He identifies Angela Davis in court, although he only saw the "girl" for three or four seconds.

Frank Blumenthal states that he sold Davis a 12-gauge shotgun on Aug. 5, 1970. His sole employee, David Lissen, states that he can identify Davis because "I asked for her autograph."

MAY 4. Service station operator Aldon Fleming identifies Davis in court as being one of his customers Aug. 6, 1970. His son, Peter, and an employee, Dennis Bosch, also identify Davis. Peter Fleming says he is "pretty sure" about his identification but admits that he was unable to identify photographs shown him by the attorney general's office Aug. 17, 1970, and again by the grand jury Nov. 10, 1970.

MAY 8. Michael Vonada of the Ma-

rin County Fire Department recognizes Davis as the woman he saw for two or three minutes Aug. 5 at Fleming's service station.

James J. Kinnegan, a security agent for Pacific Telephone Co., presents an operator's record of a collect call by Jonathan Jackson at Fleming's station to the Hertz rental company in San Francisco. He also testifies that a certain phone number (which the prosecution alleges was found in Jonathan Jackson's pocket after his death Aug. 7) is the number of the coin phone in the American Airlines wing of the San Francisco airport. The phone is in a different building from the one from which Davis departed on a flight to Los Angeles Aug. 7, 1970.

MAY 9. M.K. Batel testifies that a person named Jonathan Jackson registered for two people at his motel Aug. 6 in San Francisco, but he doesn't remember seeing either Jackson or his companion.