

THE MILITANT

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Antiwar forces gird for April action

—see pages 4, 5—

Socialist campaigns move ahead

—see pages 11, 14, 16—

New information bared on escalation in Laos

By DICK ROBERTS

MARCH 12—The U. S. air war against Laos has been escalated to include areas of that country outside of the so-called Ho Chi Minh Trail. Bombing of Laos now exceeds the bombing of North Vietnam two years ago.

High-ranking politicians in Washington have expressed grave warnings that the Laotian war will develop into another Vietnam, with full use of U. S. ground combat troops, despite Nixon's repeated promises to the contrary.

These facts emerged in a week that caught the Nixon administration lying in every detail about the real nature of U. S. involvement in Laos.

From Key Biscayne, Fla., March 6, Nixon issued a statement supposedly explaining the stepped-up bombing of Laos. Hanoi, according to the Nixon statement, has "poured additional troops into Laos during the past few months, raising their total in Laos to over 67,000."

"Thirty North Vietnamese battalions from regular division units participated in the current campaign in the Plain of Jars . . . The indigenous Laotian Communists, the Pathet Lao, are playing an insignificant role."

And Nixon's statement also said: "There are no American ground combat troops in Laos . . . No American stationed in Laos had ever been killed in ground combat operations."

As to the assertion that the battle in the Plain of Jars last month was primarily against North Vietnamese, that contention has already been disputed by reporters on the scene and contradicted by the U. S. Embassy in Laos itself.

On Feb. 23, the authoritative British London Times carried an Agence France Presse dispatch on the Plain of Jars battle: "It is a hard life for the 30 correspondents in Vientiane," the AFP dispatch stated.

"Yesterday we were told that the Plain of Jars had been 'swamped' by the Communists. Today we were told that the attackers numbered no more than 400 . . . The sole fount of knowledge about the battlefield is the U. S. Embassy in Laos."

But Nixon has seized on the story of a massive North Vietnamese troop movement in northern Laos to "justify" intensive bombing of that nation's interior. An article in the March 1 Washington, D. C. Sunday Star, later revealed to be a "leak" directly from the White House, gave bombing details:

"Upward of 200 combat sorties a day are being flown by U. S.-marked planes against North Vietnamese armed forces which have overrun the Plain de Jars and threaten the military and political balance in Laos.

"More than 200 other missions are flown against the Ho Chi Minh infiltration trail . . . In all, there are from 400 to 500 sorties of U. S. Air Forces planes over Laos every day."

(Continued on page 12)



"Combat? Laos? . . . What combat?"

Tributes to Vincent Raymond Dunne

From Italian Trotskyists

Rome, Italy

The death of Comrade Vincent Raymond Dunne has caused deep sorrow among the comrades of the Italian Section of the Fourth International. We remember his role in the 1934 strike in Minneapolis, his contribution to the founding of the American Trotskyist movement, his revolutionary activity until recently.

The vacuum left in the American Trotskyist movement by the death of Vincent Dunne can only be filled by a new wave of youth joining the revolutionary movement. To them Vincent Dunne will always be an example.

*S. Di Giulio Maria
for the Political Bureau*

From San Francisco YSA

San Francisco, Calif.

The loss of Comrade Vincent Raymond Dunne was felt throughout the movement. Those of us in the YSA are just beginning to understand the meaning of Ray Dunne's contribution to the American socialist revolution. We know that the best tribute we could pay to Ray Dunne is to emulate his fighting spirit and determination, and to follow his example in building the revolutionary movement to carry the American revolution through to its conclusion.

*Barry David
for San Francisco YSA*

"His example lives after him"

Monmouth, Ill.

It was sad news indeed to learn of the death of Vincent Dunne. Our acquaintance with him began a decade ago when he strongly influenced a group of Carleton College students to socialist commitments. Years ago the radical scholar F. O. Mathiessen commented that Vincent Dunne impressed him as the closest America had come to producing a revolutionary leader of Lenin's stature. Comrade Dunne maintained a lifetime of active commitment to revolutionary socialism as the only hope for mankind's survival. Though we will miss him greatly, his example lives after him and will most certainly continue to inspire new generations of revolutionaries to achieve victory over the system he fought.

George and Gretchen Tselos

Ecological movement creating confusion

Minneapolis, Minn.

The capitalist establishment is now trying to turn student wrath on to the ecological pollution problem. Perhaps their media hopes to create as much

Letters from our readers

This 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. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

division and confusion as possible inside the relatively solid antiwar front. All of which points to the fact that the environmental problem, as a popular issue, is to be used for the establishment's ends; in this case to be used only as a cloak with which to smother the antiwar movement.

Many militant students will get sincerely worked up over our stinking and putrid environment which the capitalist system has created for us; only to learn that under this system nothing really significant can be done about the problem. Like with the other problems of war, the ghetto, substandard health and actual starvation, every form of racism and injustice, etc.—like with all these—environmental matters too will be found to be in conflict with profit itself. Pollution certainly is a problem facing our revolutionary youth—but only in so far as it relates to the whole problem of capitalism itself and its abolishment.

J. A. E.



DeBerry begins Upstate N.Y. tour

Clinton, N. Y.

Clifton DeBerry began his upstate tour yesterday [March 2] with a press conference at Utica College. He was filmed by WKTU and was put on the 6 p.m. Utica newscast.

In the afternoon, Mr. DeBerry was on the Brad Clay talk show on WIBX.

Many of the callers could not understand how a \$3.00 minimum wage, 30-hour work week without reduction in pay, and 100 percent tax on all incomes over \$25,000 could be implemented. Mr. DeBerry dispelled the myth that wage increases are responsible for inflation.

Mr. DeBerry then spoke to a group of 30 students at Colgate University, and this afternoon he spoke to about 120 students at Clinton High School. He explained how the problems facing this nation today are relevant to the lives of young people and how the Socialist Workers Party campaign supports the radical independent political movements of the youth.

Mr. DeBerry will be speaking at Utica College tonight, at Hamilton College on Wednesday night, and at Syracuse University on Friday night.

Brian Williams

Support urged for Tennessee professor

Johnson City, Tenn.

The present situation here at Eastern Tennessee State University concerning Mr. Serron is one of confusion, although some hope is beginning to glimmer. [Professor Serron was fired by the ETSU administration after he spoke at an October 15 Moratorium rally. See Feb. 13 *Militant*. — Editor]

Letters and petitions have been pouring in, and the petition that the students here are circulating is gaining more strength every day. We recently received the photostat of a letter written by Professor Starsky from ASU condemning the administration here for their reactionary tactics.

There are many of us who are finding the situation between Professor Serron and the Chicago "Conspiracy Seven" very similar; in both cases the defendants have been denied a fair trial.

Support, both financial and through letters, is desperately needed. Letters demanding reinstatement should be sent to Dr. D. P. Culp, president, ETSU, Johnson City, Tenn., with copies to the Luis Serron Defense Committee, P. O. Box 7668, ETSU, Johnson City, Tenn.

Sheldon Lawrence

GI requests subscription

APO New York

Enclosed is \$1 for a GI subscription to *The Militant*.

I am well pleased with your publication and plan to contribute articles which your editors may wish to publish at their discretion.

I am presently a staff member of a recent subterranean publication which has arisen here in Germany, *The Witness*.

B. P.

Women's liberation and The Internationale

Seattle, Wash.

In the spirit of the women's liberation movement, I recommend that *The Militant* publish a revised version of *The Internationale* different from our present version so that the line which runs "let each stand in his place . . ." be changed to read "let each stand in their place . . ." or "let all stand in their place . . ." While the grammar might suffer, the revolutionary implications would be greatly improved.

Bill Massey

The slaughter of Brazilian Indians

Berkeley, Calif.

The alleged mass murder of Brazil's Indians has received very little notice.

THE MILITANT

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Closing news date—March 13

The Indians live on and legally own jungle land that is rich with minerals and rubber resources. As a result, they have been systematically slaughtered with the full compliance of the government's Indian Protection Service. In 1968, the government promised that the officials responsible would be properly dealt with, yet just three months ago a Swedish documentary showed that the accused officials were still free and the massacres continuing unabated.

Let us not allow the same gruesome and inhumane mistakes to be repeated. It happened in this country, it happened in Germany. Organize and protest to the Brazilian consulate.

Harriet Kane

McCarthy sells out

Pittsburgh, Pa.

At the end of January, Senator McCarthy gave a poetry reading at Carnegie Music Hall as part of a series of readings by the International Poetry Forum. Tickets for McCarthy's appearances sold quickly, and the night of the reading the sign outside said:

"Senator Eugene McCarthy—SOLD OUT."

J. A.

From a former Peace Corps volunteer

Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Militant is a fine paper. Having spent 2 years as a Peace Corps volunteer in Peru, I especially appreciated the discussion by revolutionary leaders of Peru. I heard much of Hugo Blanco when I was there between '65 and '67.

M. B.

JOIN THE YSA

IF YOU SUPPORT THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT, THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, A SOCIALIST AMERICA, YOU BELONG IN THE YSA. . .

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Reveal secret U of Calif. files

Camejo was barred for political views

By DAVID WARREN

BERKELEY, March 9— Documented proof that the University of California at Berkeley keeps secret political files on students, faculty, employees and other Berkeley residents was revealed here last week in articles in the campus paper, the *Daily Californian*, and in the underground paper, *Berkeley Tribe*.

In a hard-hitting article entitled "U. C. Redlist," the *Tribe* scored the collection and use of these files, particularly in the case of Antonio Camejo. Camejo, an activist in the 1969 strike by Third World students and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party, had applied to the graduate school's College of Education to continue his bilingual education in the fall of 1969. His application was turned down.

Copies of documents from a university file on Camejo prove that the dean of the Graduate Division, Sanford Elberg, went out of his way to recover Camejo's application from Education where it was to be evaluated, and, in a highly irregular procedure, "evaluated" it himself. Elberg then wrote Camejo a special letter informing him that a "careful review of your application materials indicates that you do not have the academic qualifications required for

admission to a graduate program at Berkeley."

Antonio Camejo, who is now SWP candidate for superintendent of public instruction against Max Rafferty, charged political discrimination because his application was singled out for special treatment. Elberg, whose field is chemistry not linguistics, based his "judgment" on a mere calculation of a grade-point average, while ignoring recommendations from a professor in the department of La Raza Studies, Osvaldo Asturias, highly recommending him for admission and rating him as a "truly exceptional" student.

Standard evaluation includes not merely grades but recommendations, test scores and previous experience as well. Copies of Elberg's memorandums prove that he wrote, "I would strongly doubt his commitment to study" before even seeing Camejo's academic records.

Camejo also charges the university with racism, as it failed to give him extra consideration as a member of the Spanish-speaking community. In his application he wrote: "It is imperative that the universities prepare an ever-growing number of bilingual teachers to begin to tackle the immense educational problems confronting the large Spanish-



Photo by Ron Payne

ASSAIL REDLIST. Revelations about University of California political screening of student applicants was assailed at Berkeley press conference. Participants included Caryl Towner, student body vice-president, Cal. State, Hayward; Antonio Camejo; and Dan Seigel, student body president, U of California, Berkeley.

speaking population in California. . ."

Dean Elberg's response is to deny political discrimination in the face of the documented evidence. Moreover, he is trying to turn attention away from his acts by calling on the police to investigate the "outrageous theft" of the secret file. Camejo responded with the statement: "His attempt to turn attention away from the issue is pathetic. His outcries about the 'theft' of files is ludicrous. . . Anyone, whoever he or she may be, who makes public documents revealing the violation of another's constitutional and civil rights

can only be considered a 'thief' by a person with a twisted moral sense. The guilty party here is none other than Dean Elberg and those he represents, no matter how much he attempts to change the subject."

Those declaring support for the case are Professor Asturias; Dan Seigel, Associated Students (ASUC) president; Conn Hallinan of AFT Local 1570; and others. Preparations for a full and independent investigation of the matter and for legal action to sue for the abolition of the university's "redlist" are now being made.

Militant subscription drive

We're almost back on schedule

By FLAX HERMES
Business Manager

Sell a sub today . . . it works. As one new reader put it, "Trotskyists are a small ultraleftist lunatic fringe group who try and ruin the hell out of every attempt to improve this society, or at least that's what I be-

lieved before I started reading your paper." The reader, Bruce J. McMorland of Trenton, N.J., enclosed \$4 for a one-year subscription.

This week 716 new readers will also have the opportunity to become convinced of our ideas. Although the subscription drive isn't back on schedule yet, we had our best week so far and

more than doubled last week's subscription sales.

We've sold a total of 1,737 subscriptions to *The Militant* since the drive began, or 23 percent of our goal of 7,500 new subs by April 15. But to be on time, we should have filled 40 percent of the quota by now.

The top six areas on this scoreboard—Albany, N.Y., Portsmouth, N.H., Yellow Springs, Ohio, Hamilton & Clinton, N.Y., Boston, Mass., and El Paso, Texas, are doing a good job of sending in subs regularly and as a result are on time or ahead of schedule.

Last week's pace-setter, Albany, N.Y., wasted no time in sending in eight more subs this week. That makes our proud Albanians the first to go over the top with 112 percent of their quota already filled.

Two new areas have been added to the scoreboard this week. Worcester, Mass., has accepted a quota of 50 subs. A supporter in Portsmouth, N.H., has asked to be listed with a quota of 15 subs and has already sent in 11.

Another supporter in Knoxville, Tenn., feels that he will be able to sell 10 new subs. And from Glen Ellyn, Ill. we hear that, "Hopefully a Young Socialist campaign group will be started later this week, and one of our first activities will be to accept a sub quota. If so, count the enclosed as sub number one."

Other campaigners for SWP candidates are finding it easy to sell subs. A note from California advises: "The California campaign is proving to be one of the best ways for us to sell subs and also to get endorsements for the campaign. Many of the endorsers and subscribers have been Third World people, particularly Chicanos who are interested in all of the Chicano news *The Militant's* been covering lately."

A feeling common to several areas this week was well summed up in a note from Boston: "Right now I am confident that we will surpass our quota, especially if *The Militant* continues with its present excellence." It plans to.



"Gee, Dad, just because I have contempt for your politics, social standards, religious beliefs, and moral code doesn't mean I don't like you. I really like you a lot."

The New Yorker

SALES TIP. New York YSA subscription director Judy Bauman advises: "A little bit of butter/ and he'll come up with bread/ for a Militant subscription/ (which could also help his head)."

Subscription scoreboard

City	quota	new subs
Albany, N.Y.	25	28
Portsmouth, N.H.	15	11
Yellow Springs, Ohio	40	28
Hamilton & Clinton, N.Y.	16	7
Boston, Mass.	350	140
El Paso, Texas	20	8
New York, N.Y.	1100	375
Ann Arbor, Mich.	50	17
Atlanta, Ga.	225	70
Paterson, N.J.	30	9
Detroit, Mich.	350	104
Twin Cities, Minn.	250	74
Oxford, Ohio	25	7
Hoboken, N.J.	30	8
Columbus, Ohio	60	15
Houston, Texas	100	25
Tacoma, Wash.	25	6
Philadelphia, Pa.	325	75
San Francisco, Calif.	475	111
DeKalb, Ill.	100	23
Providence, R.I.	80	18
Chicago, Ill.	450	100
Gainesville, Fla.	50	11
Los Angeles, Calif.	500	102
New Haven, Conn.	10	2
Milwaukee, Wis.	40	8
Kent, Ohio	75	14
Newark, N.J.	75	14
Austin, Texas	150	27
Phoenix, Ariz.	75	13
Bloomington, Ind.	50	8
Logan, Utah	25	4
Berkeley, Calif.	375	58
Madison, Wis.	200	29
Twin Ports, Minn.	40	5
Cleveland, Ohio	350	35
Worcester, Mass.	50	5
Boulder-Denver, Colo.	120	10
Champaign, Ill.	25	2
Lexington, Ky.	40	3
Seattle, Wash.	200	15
Kansas City, Mo.	60	4
St. Louis, Mo.	30	2
Hayward, Calif.	75	4
Washington, D.C.	125	6
San Diego, Calif.	100	4
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	1
Binghamton, N.Y.	120	4
Lawrence, Kansas	30	1
Portland, Ore.	30	1
Mansfield, Pa.	40	1
Athens, Ohio	25	0
Chapel Hill, N.C.	25	0
Eastern Washington State	25	0
San Joaquin Valley, Calif.	25	0
General	235	85
TOTAL	7561	1737

Steering committee meets

Extensive SMC activity under way

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Plans for the April 13-18 Vietnam Week—which will be highlighted by mass demonstrations and student strikes on April 15—are well underway. The first national Student Mobilization Committee steering committee meeting since last month's SMC national conference in Cleveland was held in Philadelphia at the University of Pennsylvania on March 8.

More than 140 SMCers, representing over 60 high schools and universities from 16 states—some as far away as California, Minnesota, and Georgia—participated in the meeting.

Don Gurewitz, whom the steering committee elected April 15 project director, led the general discussion of the week of activity. Emphasis was placed on the importance of combining the power of the mass student strikes with the mass marches later in the day.

Reports from around the country indicate that the High School Bill of Rights and issues like campus complicity will be the focus of the student strikes.

Some areas, such as Atlanta, have already scheduled a full week of activities. There, the week will begin on Sunday, April 12, with mass leafletting of GIs at nearby bases. Women's actions will take place on the 14th. The 15th will be tax day, when there will also be leafletting of factories. GI day is scheduled for the 16th. There will be high school and college strikes on the 17th, followed by citywide marches and rallies on Saturday, the 18th.

First coalition against the war is formed in Fla.

By JOHN SUGG

GAINESVILLE, Fla.—More than 100 antiwar activists from 30 organizations gathered here March 7 and formed Florida's first statewide antiwar coalition.

The conference, which formed the Florida Antiwar Coalition (FAC), called for a mass march and demonstration in St. Petersburg on April 18, with local areas building a week of antiwar activity April 13-18.

The conference began with a report on the national SMC conference in Cleveland in mid-February. Attempts to derail the FAC conference by steering it toward a vague "multi-issue" orientation and making the planned demonstration a small, sectarian confrontation with police were soundly defeated by a substantial majority of the conference.

Following adoption of the resolution calling for the mass demonstration, major disagreement arose over the issue of organization. Joseph Waller, chairman of the Junta of Militant Organizations (JOMO), a Black nationalist group in St. Petersburg, called for the FAC steering committee to be identical with a series of JOMO and Community Liberation Movement (CLM) meetings scheduled to be held during the coming weeks. The FAC steering committee would be then composed of anyone who came to the meetings, and the organization of the demonstration would be largely left to JOMO.

This faction was supported by RYM, Yuppies, Weathermen and Newsreel.

The JOMO proposal was defeated by a majority of the conference in favor of the more democratic concept of a steering committee composed of one member from each organization and regional coalition in FAC.

A women's caucus was formed at the conference and will march as a contingent in the April 18 action.



Don Gurewitz

Most cities—such as Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, Washington, D. C., and Cleveland—have chosen April 15 as the day for massive citywide actions. Other cities have decided that Saturday, April 18, best suits their needs. These cities include Atlanta, San Francisco, and Madison, Wis.

Many areas have planned special women's actions, like women's teach-ins led and organized by and for women on the war and its relationship to women's liberation.

Mike Weisman, of New York High School SMC and a leader of the New York High School Rights Coalition, was elected high school project director for the national SMC. He will help coordinate high school rights and high school antiwar actions nationally. The New York SMC regional office, 857 Broadway, New York City, will function as the national coordinating center for these high school projects.

Chicago and Philadelphia reported on the initiation of high school rights campaigns.

The High School Bill of Rights, as adopted by the Cleveland conference, is now available in poster form from the national SMC office.

Mirta Vidal, a staff coordinator for the New York SMC Third World committee, led the discussion on Third World liberation and the fight against the war. In Philadelphia, Detroit and New York, the SMC Third World committees have begun building the National Black Referendum.

A southeast tour by YSA traveler

The December 1969 national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance laid out plans for a considerable geographical and numerical expansion of the YSA in the coming months. In line with these plans, Rich Finkel, national field secretary, is currently on a YSA-building tour that takes him to a number of important cities, primarily in the Southeast.

His complete schedule is: Buffalo, N. Y. (March 3-14); Pittsburgh (March 15-28); Louisville, Ky. (March 29-April 6); Johnson City and Knoxville, Tenn. (April 7-15); Nashville (April 16-30); Birmingham and Tuscaloosa, Ala. (May 1-11); New Orleans (May 12-26) and Fayetteville, Ark. (May 27-31).

During the tour Finkel will be available to speak on "The Coming American Revolution" and on "Israel and the Arabs." Speaking engagements may be arranged by contacting the national office of the YSA at Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

The steering committee decided that the New York SMC Third World committee would coordinate the nationwide organizing of SMC Third World activity.

The committee heard a report that a group of Asian Americans against the war are now actively circulating a petition for the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Vietnam, which will be published in the *New York Times*. The SMC will help to circulate this petition on campuses.

The SMC periodical, *GI Press Service*, which will begin appearing this week in a new format, will initiate a GI antiwar petition. The petition reads in part:

"We believe that many of our fellow servicemen and service women share our view that the war must be ended by the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all American troops from Vietnam in order that the Vietnamese people may settle their own affairs.

"We the undersigned, members of the armed forces of the United States, hereby petition the U.S. government for redress of grievances as provided in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States."

Allen Myers, elected project director for the GI organizing project of the SMC, also reported tentative plans for a national GI conference called by the GI Caucus at the Cleveland conference. The GI conference probably will take place in the Midwest, either on the weekend of May 30 or July 4. The *GI Press Service* plans to support and build this conference.

Other topics covered during the meeting were campus complicity and the draft.

A full range of materials for the April 13-18 spring antiwar offensive is available from the SMC national office. These include posters, buttons, stickers, bumper stickers, leaflets and brochures. Order now from the SMC national office, 1029 Vermont Avenue, N. W., Suite 907, Washington, D. C., 20005. Write for an order blank today.

State conference maps activities in Washington

By TED STEVENS

SEATTLE—A week of antiwar activity, culminating in a mass march, was planned by a statewide conference at the University of Washington here March 7. The conference, called by the Washington regional Student Mobilization Committee, was attended by more than 130 people representing 12 organizations, 22 schools and 14 cities around the state.

The first plenary session considered general perspectives for the spring antiwar offensive. Stephanie Coontz reported on the recent SMC conference in Cleveland. A motion to adopt the Cleveland resolution and to set April 18 as the date for mass marches in Spokane and Seattle was overwhelmingly passed.

The second plenary session heard workshop reports and a community task force report on statewide trailblazing plans. The session adopted an orientation toward involving GIs in the spring offensive, and it designated April 14 as a day to focus on the relationship of the war to ecology. April 16 was chosen as a day of high school opposition to the war, and April 17 was set for a statewide student strike. Plans were also made for one day to focus on the relation of the war to the oppression of women.

Unionists' ad opposes war

A full-page ad entitled "A rich man's war. And a poor man's fight." was placed in the Feb. 25 Washington Post by 125 trade unionists. Most of the signers of the ad, which was sponsored by the Washington, D. C., Labor for Peace Committee, are union officials from the D. C. area.

Included in the list are Victor Reuther, international affairs representative of the United Auto Workers, and Russell Leach, executive director of the Alliance for Labor Action. The ad, while making no mention of the upcoming April 15 antiwar actions, urges "all trade unionists to join with their fellow Americans to demand an immediate withdrawal of troops and cessation of hostilities in Vietnam and to begin putting our money where it counts . . . at home."

Oberlin students vote for ban on war recruiters

OBERLIN, Ohio—Students at Oberlin College voted in a campus referendum March 5 to bar all military recruiters from college facilities. The antiwar victory was the result of a door-to-door campaign conducted by the Ad Hoc Vietnam Day Committee, a coalition of campus antiwar groups.

The single-question referendum was conducted by the Student Senate and asked: "Should the Office of Placement and Graduate Counseling be made available to military information officers?" More than 60 percent of the student body voted—more than in this year's Senate election, and more than in any other referendum held this school year. Of 1,532 ballots counted, there were 1,080 against (over 70 percent) and 452 for.

The Oberlin community has been debating the issue of on-campus military recruitment for several years. Demonstrations of various kinds occurred when military recruiters visited Oberlin in 1967 and 1969. The Office of Placement and Graduate Counseling was closed by the college administration for most of 1968 to avert demonstrations.

It remains to be seen whether the administration, the faculty, or the trustees will respond to the student referendum in time to avert protests scheduled for March 23, when U.S. Navy recruiters are scheduled to appear on campus.

2,000 pickets protest Agnew in Phoenix

By JIM ROWLAND

PHOENIX, Ariz. — Spiro Agnew's Feb. 27 visit here was the occasion of one of the Southwest's largest and most militant antiwar demonstrations in the past five years. A crowd estimated by the press at 2,000 marched and chanted for four hours outside the Phoenix hotel where Spiro Agnew, Barry Goldwater and their cohorts were dining at a \$75-a-plate Republican fund-raising dinner.

Speakers at the demonstration included Prof. Morris Starsky, Phoenix Young Socialist Alliance adviser, whose teaching post at Arizona State University is threatened because of his socialist ideas; Joe Gerson of the Phoenix Resistance; and Joy Chamberland of Tucson Women's Liberation. The demonstration was called by the Phoenix Student Mobilization Committee, YSA, and the Arizona State Revolutionary Youth Movement.

Detroit Black students planning antiwar poll

By JOHN HAWKINS

SWP candidate for Mich. sec'y of state
DETROIT—Black students at Detroit's two major college campuses, Wayne State University and Highland Park College, have laid plans to build the National Black Referendum on Vietnam on their campuses.

Abortion action set in Michigan

By ELAINE ROBIN

DETROIT, March 10—Following on the heels of a vigorous intervention into state senate hearings on the abortion law, MORAL (Michigan Organization for Repeal of Abortion Laws) held a conference last week at Wayne State University attended by more than 250 people.

The conference voted to hold a demonstration in the state capital in Lansing on March 18 to manifest what was termed a "public expression" of the fast-growing sentiment for total repeal of the law.

Evelyn Kirsch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lt. governor, chaired the workshop which brought that proposal to the body, as well as others for a petition campaign, attendance at environmental teach-ins to be held shortly at three nearby universities, and a letter-writing drive directed at legislators.

The morning education panel presented some important information. In a study done in Sweden of children who were born only because of their mother's inability to secure an abortion, a high degree of mental illness was discovered. As to the psychological effects on women who receive abortions, Dr. Helen Anis, psychiatrist at Detroit's Lafayette clinic, cited many studies showing them to be nil.

Another attack in Chicago by Legion of Justice thugs

CHICAGO—Near midnight, March 7, members of the Legion of Justice, a paramilitary, right-wing group represented by attorney S. Thomas Sutton, attacked a fund-raising party in an apartment at 1046 N. Rockwell here. The party was sponsored by the Young Socialist Campaigners, a youth support group for the Socialist Workers Party Illinois election campaign.

The attackers hurled a defused tear-gas canister through a living-room window of the apartment, causing shattered glass to spray into the room. It narrowly missed a campaign supporter.

The next night, a Legion of Justice card, imprinted with its cross-hair and guillotine insignia, was taped on the door of the same apartment with the following note:

"Dear Traitors: We proved it could be done. When the time comes, we'll use nerve gas, and you can be sure it

At Wayne State an initial meeting sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee, the Association of Black Students and Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, established an Ad-hoc Committee for the Black Referendum.

In addition to building the national referendum called by SCLC, the National Council of Black Churchmen and others, the Wayne State Ad-hoc Committee plans to poll the student body on the question of the drafting of Black youth.

The Detroit Referendum on the Drafting of Black Youth contains two propositions. Voters will be asked to vote for one of the two: "for an immediate end to the drafting of youth from the Black community" and "for the continued drafting of youth from the Black community." The draft vote will be conducted along with the vote on the national referendum.

A petition is being circulated at Wayne State to establish a broad base of support for the committee. The committee plans to use the signatures gathered as a basis for approaching the university administration for funds.

At Highland Park College the Student Mobilization Committee, along with the Student Council, is planning a March 18 mass convocation of the student body to discuss "The War and Black America."

Although a referendum was held at Highland Park College during the fall antiwar offensive, in which a majority of the 90 percent Black student body participated, the school administration has not yet gone on record in opposition to the war. The Black Referendum will serve as a basis for the demands of the Highland Park SMC that all scheduled classes be suspended on April 15 and that all classrooms be turned over to the student body for workshops and seminars on the war in Vietnam and the antiwar movement.

won't be an intentional dud. We're waiting for the revolution too."

This is one in a series of attacks by the Legion of Justice on various antiwar and socialist organizations here and in DeKalb, Ill. In light of the refusal of the Chicago police department to respond to these illegal and dangerous attacks, the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks, along with many victims of the Legion of Justice, have demanded a grand-jury investigation of S. Thomas Sutton and his group.

A registered letter demanding that the state's attorney's office begin proceedings for the investigation has been sent to State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan. If no action is taken by Hanrahan within a week, a delegation of victims and concerned citizens will confront him personally.

Following the most recent outrage perpetrated by the Legion, Naomi Allen, SWP candidate for U. S. senator, issued a statement reading in part:

"The Legion of Justice attacks on our campaign, as well as its attacks on other organizations, expose the real intentions of these fascist-like elements to forcibly abridge the rights of those with whom they disagree. The refusal of police authorities to in any way stop these criminals from further endangering Chicago residents provides a clear example of the role the police play in encouraging right-wing elements to break the law."

Ralph Featherstone was longtime militant activist

Ralph Featherstone and William Payne, the two men who were killed March 9 when a bomb exploded in their car in Bel Air, Md., were both long-time fighters in the struggle for Black liberation. Both were veteran Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) activists who had come to Bel Air for the trial of SNCC chairman H. Rap Brown.

Ralph Featherstone was active in the early civil rights campaigns throughout the South. As a project director during the 1964 "Mississippi Freedom Summer," he was one of the SNCC cadres who stayed with the organization after the turn toward Black power. In 1967 he was elected national program director of SNCC, and in 1968 he was one of the SNCC cadres who visited Cuba. Most recently he has helped in the operation of Drum and Spear, a nationalist bookstore in Washington, D. C.

Authorities in Bel Air have implied that the explosive device which killed Featherstone and Payne was being carried by them and went off accidentally. Attorney William Kunstler said that he has known Featherstone a long

time, and that his own feeling is that the explosion was "caused by people not friendly to Rap Brown and the cause of Black liberty in the United States."



Ralph Featherstone

Boston antiwar coalition is rebuilt for April action



Boston antiwar conference

Photo by Goodman

By MICHAEL KELLY
SWP candidate for governor of Massachusetts

BOSTON—A new, broad, nonexclusionist antiwar action coalition is forming here. The new group will give all organizations which favor immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam and nonexclusion in the antiwar movement full rights to participate at all levels, regardless of their specific ideological viewpoints.

The call for the new coalition came from a nonexclusionary caucus meeting held on March 8 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

At an antiwar conference the week before, a few groups—primarily the Progressive Labor Party (PL), Worker-Student Alliance-SDS (WSA-SDS) and the November Action Coalition (NAC)—had engaged in disruptive tactics and rammed through a motion calling for exclusion of liberal speakers.

The first post-conference meeting was packed by PL and WSA-SDS with "delegates" from every paper SDS chapter they could conjure up. PL-SDS found a motion to make the coalition nonexclusionary unacceptable. Trying to avoid the political issues involved, they

concentrated on abusive slander, especially of the Moratorium, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

They then attempted to keep the motion from coming to a vote by making a series of procedural motions. The question that finally came to a vote was whether the meeting could question a resolution the ultralefts had rammed through at the end of the antiwar conference! The vote was 100 that the meeting could not, and 96 that it could.

The minority immediately announced a caucus meeting, and all the groups that had built the massive Oct. 15 and Nov. 15 actions in Boston joined in. Remaining in the PL-SDS-dominated meeting were almost exclusively those groups that have never done anything to help build any mass antiwar action.

The caucus meeting reaffirmed the basic principles of democracy and nonexclusion in the antiwar movement, as well as the demand for immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam. There was unanimous agreement that if any of the exclusionary groups agreed to these principles, they would be welcome in the new coalition.

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N.Y. Panthers tell their story (II)

NEW YORK—This is the second of two installments of excerpts from a letter written by the New York Panther 21 to Judge John M. Murtagh. The occasion for the letter was Murtagh's decision to indefinitely recess the pretrial hearings in the Panther case—unless the defendants signed a statement agreeing to abide by the "American system of justice."

Since the Panthers have been repeatedly denied reductions in bail—all 13 now in jail are being held in lieu of \$100,000—and are unable to raise the required sums, Murtagh's ruling amounts to an indefinite jailing of the defendants without trial, or without going through even the normal contempt procedures. The Panthers have now been in jail for close to 11 months—yet under Supreme Court rulings a person cannot be kept in jail on a criminal charge for more than six months without jury trial.

While legal experts across the country are debating all the constitutional issues involved, lawyers for the defense have appealed Murtagh's ruling, demanding once again that bail be lowered and the punitive detention of the Panthers ended.

This installment of the Panthers' statement explaining why they cannot respect the American system of justice begins with item J. Items A-I appeared in the first installment.

* * *

J) You, Murtagh, you came into the case in May 1969. You were informed of these conditions. You could have righted these blatant violations of your own law, the laws you have "sworn" to uphold. But you did not. You refused to do this . . . and remained silent. You tried to rush us pell-mell to trial, knowing full well that we were not, could not, be prepared. We remained silent.

We filed motions that are guaranteed to "citizens" by the 14th Amendment of your federal Constitution. You denied them all. You denied us the right as guaranteed in your laws in the 6th and 14th Amendments of your own Constitution, to conduct a *voir dire* of the grand jury in these proceedings, knowing full well that they did not comprise members of our peer group. We remained silent.

You denied us a hearing with which to be confronted with the witnesses against us, as is guaranteed by your law in the 6th Amendment of your Constitution. We remained silent.

You denied us a Bill of Particulars which is guaranteed by your laws in the 6th and 14th Amendments of your Constitution. We remained silent.

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Two "suspects" were kidnapped in November 1969 under the modification of the Fugitive Slave Act. You gave them no bail (no sense pretending anymore, it seems). We remained silent.

You denied us every state and federal constitutional right, and remained silent. You substantiated Mr. Marks' "the law does not apply" to us. Yet, we remained silent.

K) Lee Berry. Lee Berry is a classical example of how you and your cohorts conduct the "American System of Justice" when dealing with Black people. On April 3, 1969, Lee Berry was a patient in the Veterans' Administration Hospital where he was receiving treatment as an epileptic, subject to grand mal seizures, which can be fatal. Lee Berry is not mentioned particularly in the "indictment." Yet, on April 3, 1969, your "police" dragged him out of the hospital. These "police" stood him up before your cohort, "judge" Marks. Lee was "arraigned" without counsel. Bail: \$100,000. He was thrown into an isolation cell in the Tombs [the Manhattan House of Detention for Men] without even a mattress. In July 1969, he was physically attacked without provocation and without warning, while he was in a drugged stupor.

You were aware of his condition—you were quite aware. Numerous motions were put forth in your "great court system." It took four months to even get him medication, and only in November when he had become so ill, so progressively worse, that it was frightening. He finally got consent to be transferred to Bellevue Hospital. Because of the courts' decisions under your "American System of Justice," Lee Berry has had four serious operations within the last two months. Because of the courts' decisions under the great "American System of Justice," at this precise moment Lee Berry is lying in the shadow of death with a possible fatal case of pneumonia. At the very least, your great court system is guilty of attempted murder, and D.A. Hogan should be named as a codefendant. Lee Berry is our Brother, and what is done to him, has been done to us all. And we remained silent.

L) In November 1969, four white persons were arrested for allegedly "bombing" various sites in New York

City. They were arrested allegedly with "bombs in their possession," but they were white. For three of them, bail was reduced 80 percent in two days, because "the presumption of innocence is basic among both the statutory and constitutional principles affecting bail"—if you are white. (The political climate is such today, even this hardly matters anymore if one is dissident.)

Two days after that decision, we were brought in front of you and given a superceding "indictment." We could be silent no longer. We had been insulted enough—more than enough. We had been treated with contempt, in an atmosphere of intimidation for too long.

We must reiterate—we are looking at the situation objectively. Object reality.

At the pretrial hearings we are confronted with a "judge" who has admitted—in fact, been indicted and arrested for—ignoring "police" graft and corruption . . . a "judge" who by his record shows an unblemished career of "police" favoritism and all-American racism. In your previous dealings with Black people, you have shown yourself to be totally unjust, bloodthirsty, pitiless, and inhuman. We are confronted with a district attorney machine which has shown itself to be vigilant and unswerving in its racist policies. Ninety percent of the inmates convicted are nonwhite and poor. This machine has shown itself to be unethical in its techniques and practices—even in front of our eyes—tactics which include going up and whispering to the witnesses on the stand, signalling and coaching them. . . .

You have implied contempt charges. We cannot conceive of how this could be possible. How can we be in contempt of a court that is in contempt of its own laws? How can you be responsible for "maintaining respect and dispensing justice," when you have dispensed with justice, and you do not maintain respect for your own Constitution? How can you expect us to respect your laws, when you do not respect them yourself? Then you have the audacity to demand respect, when you, your whole great system of justice is out of order and does not respect us, or our rights.

You have talked about our counsel

inciting us. Nothing could be further from the truth. The injustices we have been accorded over the past year incite us, the injustices in these hearings incite us, racism incites us, fascism incites us. In short, when we reflect back over history, its continuation up until today, you and your courts incite us.

But we will not leave it there for you and others to distort, as some are inclined to do. There will be left no room for your courts and media to distort and misinterpret our actions. We wish for a speedy and FAIR trial, a just trial. But—we must have our "alleged" Constitutional rights. This court is in contempt of our Constitutional rights and has been for almost a year. We must have our rights first. The wrongs inflicted must be redressed. . . . When we have our constitutional guarantees redressed, we will give the court the respect it claims to deserve—precisely the respect it deserves.

In light of all that has been said, in view of the collusion of the federal, state, and city courts, the New York City Department of Correction, the city police, and district attorney's office, we feel that we, as members of the Black Panther Party, cannot receive a fair and impartial trial without certain preconditions conforming to our alleged constitutional rights. So we state the following: we feel that the courts should follow their own federal Constitution, and when they have failed to do so, and continue to ignore their mistakes, but persist dogmatically to add insult to injury, those courts are in contempt of the people. One need not be Black to relate to that, but it is often those who never experience such actions on the part of the courts, who believe they, the courts, can never be wrong.

So, in keeping with that, and the social reality in which that principle must relate, we further state:

1) That we have a constitutional right to reasonable bail, and a few would, if they were white, be released in their own custody. We demand that right, and the courts' consistent denial of that right, in effect, is in contempt of its own Constitution.

2) We demand a jury of our peers, or people from our own community, as defined by the Constitution.

3) We say that because the grand jury system in New York City systematically excludes poor Black people, it cannot be representative of a cross-section of the community from which we come. So in effect, it is unconstitutional, and nothing more than a method wielding class power and racial suppression and repression. We demand to have a constitutional and legal indictment, or be released, for we are being held illegally, by malicious and racist unethical laws.

4) We demand that the unethical practice of the police and D.A.'s office, in its production of evidence, lying, and misrepresentation be strictly limited by the introduction of an impartial jury of our peers of all pretrial hearings, to judge all motions and evidence submitted, subsequent to a new constitutional indictment. Therefore, since you have effectively denied by your ruling of Wednesday, Feb. 25, 1970, our right to a trial, and since this ruling will affect the future of Black and white political prisoners, we have directed our attorneys to do everything in their power to upset this vicious, barbaric, insidious and racist ruling, which runs head-on in contrast with the promise of the 13th and 14th Amendments of your U.S. Constitution.

Let this be entered into all records pertaining to our case.

All power to the people!

Lumumba Abdul Shakur, Richard Moore (Analye Dharuba), Curtis Powell, Michael Tabor (Cetewayo), Robert Collier, Walter Johnson (Baba Odinga), Afeni Shakur, John J. Casson (Ali Bey Hassan), Alex McKiever (Catarra), Clark Squire, Joan Bird, Lee Roper, William King (Kinshasa).

International Socialist criticism

Holds YSA sees workers as 'just another mass'

By DAVID FRIEDMAN
National Action Committee,
International Socialists

Nelson Blackstock (*The Militant*, Feb. 20th) correctly views the IS position as a challenge to "the basic character of the antiwar movement." We are not alone in recognizing the impotence of the single-issue, mass-march approach. The futility of hundreds of thousands of people periodically strolling along a parade route, has led the mass base of the antiwar movement to frustration despite growing numbers. The point is not to stop demonstrating. Rather, mass demonstrations must be linked to a political perspective which can transform the antiwar movement from a powerless middle-class protest to a struggle rooted in the working class.

The YSA seems to view workers as just another mass of people to be added to the antiwar body count. Blackstock agrees that "labor is the decisive force in society and has real potential power that the students lack." But there is little or no conception of class consciousness developing among the workers, together with militant action at the workplace as well as in the streets which would put the antiwar struggle on an entirely new footing, i.e., transform its social base and class character.

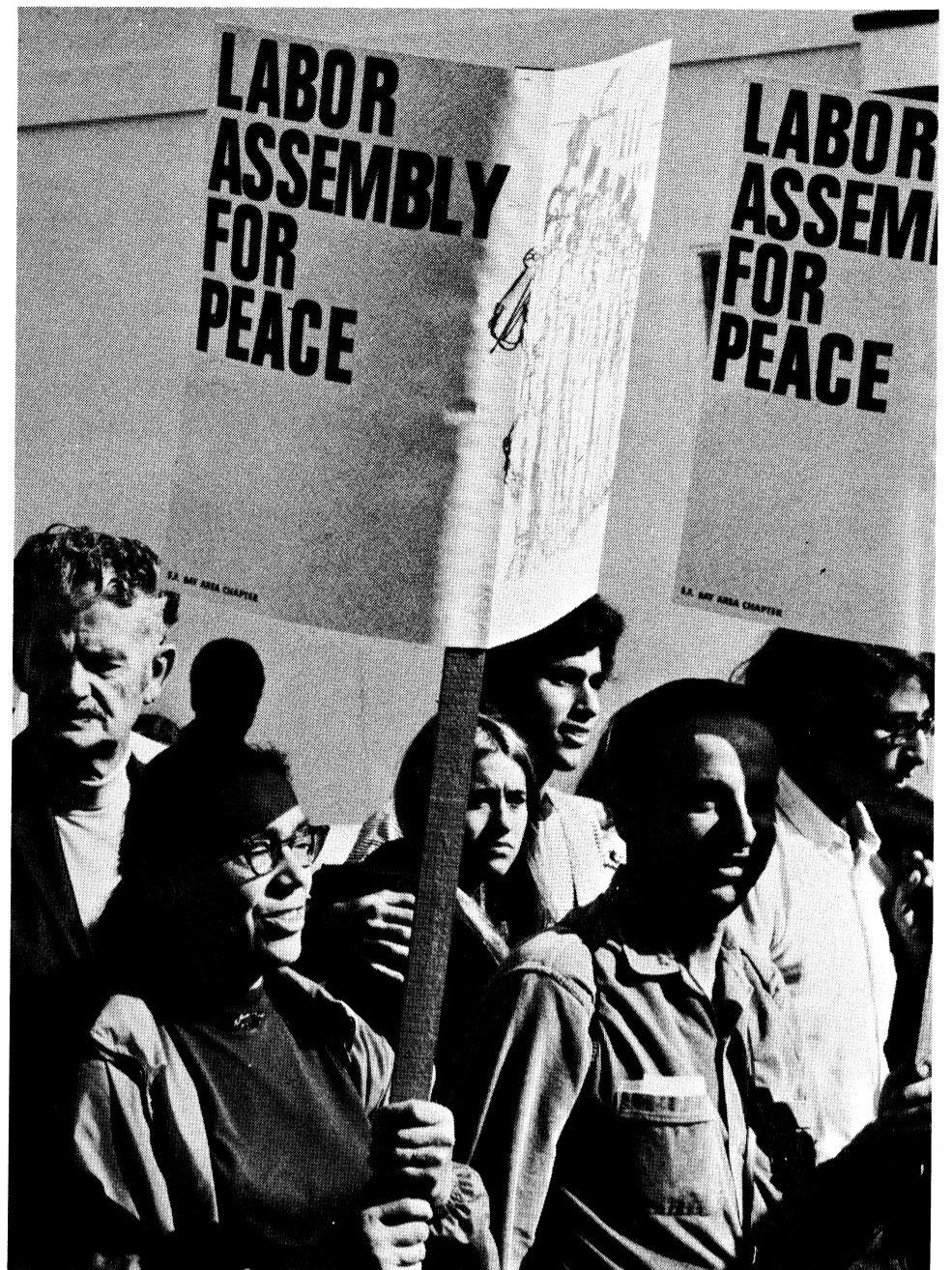
Blackstock says that "Immediate withdrawal is the central demand which can win the widest acceptance from the working class." How can a socialist be content with merely winning "the widest acceptance" of a single demand? Can such a movement seriously cope with a sophisticated imperialist ruling class?

The YSA has little to say about how to counteract co-optation. Mass marches can serve liberal ends as well as anti-imperialist politics. By itself, the Big March cannot force a withdrawal from Vietnam, let alone prevent future wars. The people who go on and sympathize with those marches, will be easily co-opted into supporting liberal candi-

dates. Who were McCarthy's supporters if not the same mass base that opposed the war in 1968?

It is not enough for the SMC to simply *be* independent. Part of its political message to the broad antiwar movement and to the massive working-class struggles must be the necessity of *opposing* capitalist candidates. That is, the SMC should project a political analysis of this society and the imperialist, class role of the two parties. It is the link-up of a working-class program and the need for all mass movements to oppose the capitalist parties, that constitutes our notion of independent political action. We do not urge the SMC to form a political party, rather to lay the groundwork through its public educational work, during demonstrations, for the emergence of such a party with a working-class base. We call for a workers' party perspective, as a guide to the political activity of the SMC, and *within this context* the SMC should advocate as a tactic along with marches and other mass actions independent political action by the antiwar movement. It may be polemically convenient for the YSA to interpret this as "the transformation of the antiwar movement into a political party, much like . . . the Peace and Freedom Party." Since the space for this reply is limited, I cannot really go into that distortion.

Blackstock seems to think that the SMC *is* the broad antiwar movement, composed of "people who support rival political organizations . . . (including) liberal or dovish major party candidates." Actually, the SMC is in the left wing of the movement and, as an organization, is perfectly capable of adopting a program and politics which can offer coherence and direction to the broader movement. By holding the SMC to a "single-slogan program," the YSA is maintaining it at an artificial stage of political development. It is no an-



Unionists in San Francisco Nov. 15 march

swer to say that SMCers can join the YSA or the IS if they discover a second issue, or realize that Immediate Withdrawal is not the be-all and end-all of a struggle against U.S. imperialism. This is a sectarian notion, which can only benefit YSA recruitment, not the left wing of the antiwar movement, which desperately needs political development in an organized fashion.

As for the IS trying to win SMC to

our socialist program, we would consider that a vast step forward, for the SMC would then advance programs, politics and organizational proposals that would carry the broader movement forward as well. Our current SMC perspective document is far short of a full socialist program, but for us this is just one step in the direction of socialist consciousness and an active orientation toward the working class.

Nelson Blackstock replies

Question is not 'whether' but 'how' to win workers

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK
YSA National Organizational Secretary

The following seem to be the main elements of Friedman's argument:

The antiwar movement must win a working-class base. The SMC can contribute to this, as Urquart and Gilbert put it in their IS position paper in the Jan. 21 *Student Mobilizer*, "by putting forward a whole program of pro-working-class demands" and by beginning "to campaign against the war machine as a whole." This program must include, IS insists, SMC's declared opposition to all capitalist-party candidates and SMC's advocacy within the antiwar movement of "independent political action by the antiwar movement," including, according to Urquart-Gilbert, "electoral actions."

IS argues that the SMC, as the left wing of the antiwar movement, has sufficient political homogeneity to be able to adopt such a program. It does not do so because the YSA is "maintaining it at an artificial stage of political development."

Consider these elements one by one. The working class: Of course, to end the war large sections of the working class must be engaged in the struggle against it. The question in dispute is not *whether* the working class is crucially important both to the struggle against the war and for the revolutionary transformation of society, but what approach by the SMC can contribute most to ending the war—including maximizing working-class participation in the struggle—and at the same

time make the greatest possible contribution to "class consciousness developing among the workers."

Program: Friedman, Urquart and Gilbert give no hint as to *why* they think that the piling up of "pro-working-class" demands by a predominantly student organization is going to bring the workers en masse into the antiwar movement. On the other hand, there is every reason to believe that the immediate-withdrawal demand in itself speaks just as much to workers as to any other section of the population. And it is an objectively anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist—i.e., "pro-working-class"—demand. The problem is hardly one of trying to "limit" the working class to one demand—immediate withdrawal. Rather the task is to directly involve it in the struggle around this demand.

Workers, in addition, are drawn to the antiwar movement when they see an antiwar organization, in action, supporting their specific struggles on economic demands in the arena where that organization can be effective—in the case of the SMC, for example, on campus. In conjunction with such support actions to the workers it becomes possible for the SMC to explain that the war makes the demands that workers (or any other group, for that matter) are fighting for more difficult or impossible to win. And this was precisely the approach of the SMC to the GE strike.

Of course, it is crucially important that American workers overcome the

illusion—shared by the overwhelming majority of them—that the Democratic Party is the most effective possible instrument for defending their interests. An independent, mass working-class party is an essential prerequisite for fundamental social change.

But the YSA believes that the main contribution the SMC can make to the development of working-class political consciousness among the workers is to help engage them in the struggle, independently of capitalist politics, for an anti-imperialist objective: the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. In the context of the experiences of that struggle, the conscious revolutionary elements within the antiwar movement will be in a position to explain the necessity of totally breaking with capitalist politics. But to demand consciousness of that necessity as a precondition for participation in the antiwar struggle—or even its organizationally left wing—would simply narrow, not broaden, the base of the movement and limit its effectiveness.

Homogeneity: I assume Friedman was at the Cleveland SMC conference, that he witnessed the plenaries and workshops and talked to people informally. What he saw there was practically every organized and disorganized radical tendency in the country—each with a distinct, more-or-less definite conception of what constitutes a "full program of pro-working-class demands"—and a very large number of politically unaffiliated antiwar activists,

many of whom don't know or think much about the working class yet and who are still prepared to vote or work for one or another capitalist "dove."

These disparate elements are agreed only on the need for nonexclusionary, militant, independent mass action in the streets to demand the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. from Vietnam. That is the program of the left wing of the antiwar movement. If, by some miracle, what one or another tendency might regard as "a full program of pro-working-class demands" had gotten a 51 percent majority at a plenary, the other 49 percent simply wouldn't have been there the next day.

The YSA: Far from "maintaining [the SMC] at an artificial stage of political development," the YSA has sought, in cooperation with independent antiwar activists, to build the SMC as a viable, militant, mass student antiwar organization in which and through which large numbers of youth have been profoundly radicalized and which has made and will continue to make a vital contribution in support of the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination.

We are not ashamed of the large numbers of antiwar activists who have joined the YSA as a result of their political development in the antiwar movement. If the International Socialists feel it is a "sectarian notion" for *them* to recruit from the antiwar movement, it can only be because they regard themselves as—a sect.

About this discussion

The Feb. 13, 1970, issue of *The Militant* featured a review of Hector Bejar's book, *Peru 1965: Notes on a Guerilla Experience*. Bejar's work, which received the 1969 Casa de las Americas prize, is an attempt by the imprisoned Peruvian guerrilla leader to analyze some of his own experiences, and, as he puts it, "open a discussion" on a number of the complicated problems of revolutionary strategy in Latin America.

The following letter from Militant-reader John Moran, and a response by Joseph Hansen, editor of *Intercontinental Press* and author of the review published by *The Militant*, take up an additional question referred to only in passing in the review—the nature of Stalinism, the causes of the degeneration of the Russian revolution, and the historical prospects for a similar development following future revolutions.

Reader poses the issue of Stalinism

Feb. 23, 1970
Bronx, N. Y.

Joseph Hansen's review of Hector Bejar's *Peru 1965* poses some crucial difficulties for Bejar in an admirably concise form.

However, I wonder whether Hansen has not passed over a difficulty for himself in a way that amounts to a begging of the question. I refer to the problem of timing with respect to formation of a "mass revolutionary-socialist party." (Presumably he does not mean that a party which enrolls all the masses and claims their loyalty must be formed as a precondition to revolution; rather, a party which in some way represents the interests of the masses—a "vanguard.")

Having suggested that Bejar seems to favor a tactic of guerrilla struggle on the Cuban model (which Hansen says became socialist only after it was well under way), he says "Bejar's theory that a party formed at any time except in the hour of armed struggle is almost certainly doomed to degenerate because it has its own group interests . . . was already refuted in practice by Lenin."

Hansen then recounts and stresses the importance of "a Marxist explanation of why Stalinism succeeded in smashing the Bolshevik party built by Lenin!"

In short, why should not Bejar favor the (successful?) Cuban model over the (unsuccessful?) Russian model?

As far as I can see, Hansen does not really deal with Bejar's question concerning how Stalinism "could arise and triumph in the struggle for leadership of Bolshevism." Put another way, he gives no indication of how a transition from "a Leninist-type party" to "a Stalinist-type party" could have been avoided in the USSR nor how it might be avoided in the future.

Hansen's recounting of (Trotsky's) "Marxist explanation" of the transition would seem to preclude any such preventive agency other than the most exceptional goodwill of the leadership, which still might or might not prevail against enormous material odds; in which case, it seems, Hansen would have shifted, in emphasis at any rate, from a "Marxist" to a "voluntarist" account.

John Moran

Hansen replies to reader's query

Bolshevik experience still key

Feb. 26, 1970
New York, N. Y.

It appears to me that in the main Hector Bejar discusses the question of the degeneration of a revolutionary party within a different frame of reference from the one indicated by John Moran.

Hector Bejar is of the opinion that if a revolutionary political party is formed too soon, it will become diverted from its avowed aim, the conquest of power. Evidently he had in mind the examples of the Social Democratic parties in Europe in Lenin's time (and later) and the Stalinist parties (particularly in Latin America and perhaps above all in Cuba).

I argued that against such examples, we have the example of the party built by Lenin which did succeed in achieving the aim for which it was designed—winning power.

I do not think it can be reasonably argued that the success of the Bolsheviks is ascribable to Lenin's having delayed construction of the party until the moment most propitious to avoiding degeneration in the Social Democratic sense.

Lenin succeeded for different reasons than delaying his work. So far as timing was concerned, his *early start* in building the *type* of party required was probably decisive.

John Moran raises the question of the degeneration of a revolutionary party *after* it has succeeded in taking power. I agree that Hector Bejar also has this in mind, but it appears to me that he does not view it as primary, while I have the impression that John Moran does consider it to be primary.

I should like to make it clear that I agree on the importance of the question. It has preoccupied many persons who have become aware of the decline of capitalism and the necessity for a better system, but who insist—and rightly so—that the new system must be genuinely superior to the capitalist system at its best, both in what it offers materially and in what it offers culturally, above all in freedom of opinion and its expression.

Outside of the direct power of the rulers of the capitalist system, and their influence (particularly in the form of the labor bureaucracies), one of the biggest single obstacles to the advance of socialism for some decades has been the fear among thinking sectors of the masses that what happened in the Soviet Union, i.e., the rise of Stalinist totalitarian rule, might happen in a country like the United States if it went socialist.

In my opinion, the issue must be faced squarely, and the truth is that

it has been faced that way. A considerable body of material exists on it, the basic work having been done by Trotsky.

John Moran is accurate in noting that I did not go into this question in my review of Bejar's essay. The reason was lack of space and my impression that Bejar is concerned primarily about the means of winning power. In addition, Trotsky's writings are readily available.

Trotsky maintained that the "transition" from "a Leninist-type party" to "a Stalinist-type party" in the Soviet Union was a consequence of the low economic and cultural level of the country in which the Bolsheviks came to power.

The concepts and practices of the Bolshevik party—that is, its program—derived from the most advanced political thought of Western Europe. A party built on such a program knew how to direct the energies of the insurgent Russian masses in such a way as to defeat Czarism. They had prepared for years for precisely this moment.

On coming to power, however, they faced a different set of problems. Their task was no longer that of absorbing and developing Marxist theory and building a political party within the framework primarily of the international revolutionary socialist movement so as to be able to topple czarism, but of dealing with the severe crises of an extremely backward country in relation to definite and powerful social forces on a national scale and in an international context that proved to be unfavorable.

In backward Russia, the material conditions—famine, epidemics, armed invasion by the imperialist powers, an economic blockade, the breakdown of industry—coupled with the losses of cadres in the civil war, as well as the failure of the pseudorevolutionary parties in the West to win power anywhere, made it impossible for the Bolsheviks to maintain their leading position. They lost power. They lost it, however, not in the form of a brief, violent counter-revolution mounted directly by capitalism, but in the form of a protracted degeneration under the influence of world capitalism.

The Bolshevik party was liquidated. It was displaced in power by a privileged social layer, the bureaucratic caste, headed by a *former* Bolshevik, Stalin.

The privileged position of the bureaucratic caste derived from Russia's poverty and the privileges were relative to that poverty.

If this is a correct analysis, as I

think it is, then it follows that a similar situation will not occur in the advanced capitalist countries after a socialist revolution. In these countries it is obviously possible to eliminate poverty itself rather quickly by ending such items as war expenditures and introducing rational planning. In fact, it is hardly debatable nowadays that productivity could be raised to such a high level in a few years as to assure fantastic abundance.

Consequently, with poverty eliminated, there will be no material basis for a privileged bureaucratic caste in the United States or in a combination of the industrially advanced capitalist countries such as can be foreseen in Western Europe.

This is the reason why, from the Trotskyist point of view, it is false to see Stalinism as inherent in Leninism, or the Stalinist "end" in the Leninist "means." Such a view leaves out the qualitative difference in the conditions faced by Lenin's party before and after taking power, not to mention the qualitative difference between the industrially advanced capitalist countries and those that are underdeveloped (or "developed" in monstrous ways by imperialism as colonies or semicolonies).

Trotsky's analysis of this question is completely consistent with his theory of "permanent revolution" through which he successfully predicted the pattern of the 1917 Russian Revolution some twelve years before it occurred. This theory also indicated the reasons for the greater ease with which the proletariat could come to power in the industrially backward areas of the world than in the advanced.

It also indicated why it can be expected that in the advanced countries the proletariat, while facing far greater obstacles in winning power than in the backward countries, will face incomparably less in maintaining power.

In short, it is not the "goodwill of the leadership" that will serve as a "preventive agency" against Stalinist-type decay. The material conditions of the industrially advanced countries will make it possible in the coming period for the parties constructed by the Lenins and Trotskys and their kind of today to maintain power and put into effect the program of emancipation they took as their final goal in the struggle for victory.

We are now in position to better appreciate a rather surprising statement in Moran's letter: "In short, why should not Bejar favor the (successful?) Cuban model over the (unsuccessful?) Russian model?"

If Bejar actually holds this view, consistency would require him to argue that Lenin did indeed go wrong either (1) by constructing a revolutionary party too soon, or (2) by failing to rely on guerrilla war as a means of winning power.

This may indeed be the logic of Bejar's critical attitude toward party building, but possibly he is not that logical on this point.

In any case, it is highly dubious that the October 1917 revolution would have occurred or would have achieved victory if Lenin had not begun timely construction of a revolutionary-socialist party or had relied on guerrilla war.

But for the purposes of argument let us imagine such a situation—a party much weaker than the Bolsheviks or a heroic guerrilla band comes to power in Russia in 1917. Would that have altered the material situation substantially enough to have changed the objective conditions that gave rise to Stalinism? I doubt it very much. In fact I am of the opinion that the degeneration—if not worse—would have occurred at a much swifter pace.

Is the Cuban revolution immune to



Fidel Castro and companeros in the Sierra Maestra



Trotsky and staff inspect Red Army troops

degeneration because it won victory along the road of guerrilla war?

I am reminded of a speech which I heard Fidel Castro give at Gran Tierra on July 27, 1967. The Cuban leader said with the greatest forcefulness that it was wrong to consider, as some revolutionaries did, that the most difficult task is to win power. The most difficult tasks, he said, come after power is won. His words on this point

sounded like something taken from Trotsky's writings, but this, of course, was not its source. Castro cited the practical experience of the Cuban revolution.

The truth is that the Cuban revolution can degenerate if it remains isolated, without a new socialist victory somewhere else in the world, particularly in Latin America, to bring fresh encouragement to the Cuban people and

relief from the imperialist blockade and the domestic strains that are inevitable in a besieged fortress.

In fighting the tendency toward degeneration, the top Cuban leadership is, of course, in position to profit from the lessons to be drawn from the Russian experience. This was apparent in Castro's alertness to the danger represented by Anibal Escalante. But this is not sufficient in the final analysis.

Would a successful revolution in Peru face the same danger of a Stalinist-type degeneration? Is this to be the fate of further revolutions in the "third world"?

If they were subjected to conditions comparable to those encountered by the Bolsheviks, the answer is yes. At this point, however, speculation becomes quite barren. A more substantial answer is already to be found in the real world.

The Stalinist monolith has been shattered. The Soviet bureaucracy, the fountainhead of Stalinism, is caught in a crisis from which it cannot escape. The upsurges in East Germany in 1953, in Poland and Germany in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968, point to a political revolution that will regenerate the Soviet Union. The consequences of that can easily be forecast.

In the imperialist centers, too, profound stirrings are visible. The most spectacular of these was the revolutionary situation that suddenly appeared in France in May-June 1968.

Our own country is hardly a model of Victorian decorum any longer.

But the political revolution in the So-

viet sphere, the deepening trend toward revolution in the imperialist centers, and the rising colonial revolution interact with remarkable ease and forcefulness in the world of today.

In short, a successful revolution in Peru, or any similar country today, can act like a detonator on a world scale. The chances of a revolution in a country like Peru becoming isolated for a sufficient period to induce a Stalinist-type decay are not nearly as great as they were in 1917. I would say that this is an elementary fact of world politics today.

Let me conclude by returning to Hector Bejar's essay. His aim was to critically analyze the guerrilla struggle of 1965 in Peru so as to arrive at a correct understanding of why that struggle ended in a defeat instead of the conquest of power. His main concern was not the problems the guerrilla fighters would have faced had they succeeded in their objective.

In my criticism of Bejar's book, which I consider to be an extremely important contribution from a leading practitioner of guerrilla war, I sought to point out the advisability of bringing into consideration the Bolshevik experience in overthrowing czarism.

Lenin's successful application of the concept of a combat party may prove suggestive to those revolutionists who are now seeking to ascertain what has been going wrong in their efforts to emulate the Cubans and how it can be remedied.

Joseph Hansen

THE SWISS AIRPLANE EXPLOSION

Palestine resistance groups state stand

By ROBERT LANGSTON

In the late morning of Feb. 21, an Austrian Airlines Caravelle took off from the Frankfurt airport en route to Vienna. It carried mail bags labeled for transshipment to Israel. A couple of hours later, a Swissair Coronado left Zurich for Tel Aviv. There were 14 Israelis among its 38 passengers and crew members. As each craft approached an altitude of 14,000 feet, it was torn open by an explosion in the baggage compartment. The Caravelle limped back to Frankfurt and landed safely; no one was hurt. Ten minutes after the Coronado's pilot radioed an SOS to the Zurich tower, the plane and its human cargo lay mutilated in the woods not far from the Zurich runways.

Shortly after news of the disaster was released, newsmen in Beirut received telephone calls from a man who identified himself as a spokesman of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (General Command) [the General Command is a 1968 split from the PFLP]. His organization, he said, was responsible for the Swissair explosion. Attempts to verify the report with the GC's headquarters in Amman at first yielded nothing but cryptic references to a statement issued the week before, promising to avenge the 80 Egyptian civilians killed in a Feb. 12 Israeli air raid on a scrap-metal processing plant at Abu Zabaal. A few hours later, a G. C. official declared categorically that the group had nothing to do with either explosion.

In the days that followed, spokesmen for the Unified Command of Palestinian Resistance — formed in Jordan three weeks ago by 11 fedayeen groups, including the GC and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which

had previously remained aloof from joint organizations—denied that any of the guerrilla groups had any connection with the explosions. They also stated that the entire question of attacks of any sort on civilian airliners—which the PFLP has specialized in—was under review.

Muhammad Rashid reiterated the Fateh rejection of any such attacks. According to John K. Cooley in the Feb. 26 *Christian Science Monitor*, Rashid said the Swissair disaster "really serves our enemies and does not in any way



Klaus Albrechtsen/Copenhagen

Israel's Gen. Dayan

help the Palestine cause. We have tried our best to stop others from using these tactics.

"Our major attacks are on military outposts and economic installations. But attacking civilians in Israel is quite different from attacking them outside or attacking Swiss people. Israel is based on the assumption that the Palestinian Arabs can be uprooted, thrown out of the country, and made to live the humiliation of exile and denied their right to go back to their land, and that this can make a happy life for the civilians in Israel who have adopted Zionism. . . .

"We do, once in a while, make a reminder to these civilians. We tell them, you cannot enjoy the security of occupied land when you deny that security to the Palestinian citizens who were ousted from it. . . .

"We must tell tourists who come to

our country that they must realize they are coming to our land. They cannot possibly come to a 'land of milk and honey' and enjoy it when our people are being thrown out of it.

"It would be really ridiculous for people to go to Vietnam today and enjoy tourism. This is the comparison that ought to be made."

George Habash, leader of the PFLP, also condemned the attack on the Swissair plane. He stated, however, that PFLP attacks on El Al planes would continue. "This is part of our strategy," he declared at a Feb. 23 news conference in Amman, "because El Al planes are part of the Israeli air force." He also hinted that U.S.-based airliners would remain targets of PFLP diversions. (It was a PFLP commando that hijacked a TWA Tel Aviv-bound flight to Damascus last August.) But, he stressed, the PFLP would continue to take all precautions to avoid creating "innocent victims." "In the course of eight operations in Europe," he said, "no European has been injured. Our enemy is Israel and Zionism. We have no right to strike any other objectives."

Marxists have always rejected the tactic of indiscriminate terror. The task of revolutionaries is to win support for the revolution from the masses of people throughout the world. This requires that revolutionary violence be concentrated on, and as far as possible limited to, the men and things that are the immediate and obvious instruments of the repressive violence of the ruling class.

But terrorism has preceded and accompanied every revolution. It is a spontaneous response to oppression. It tends to be most widespread when the revolutionary wave is ascending but the revolutionary movement has not yet gained political maturity, or when the revolution has suffered a severe defeat and the ranks of the movement a pronounced demoralization.

It is minimized where there is a strong leadership and a coherent, clearly thought-out program around which the great majority of the revolutionary fighters can rally. It can only be eliminated completely when the goals of the revolution are achieved.

There will be Palestinian terrorism

as long as there is Zionist and imperialist terror, as long as the Palestinians are denied their homeland, as long as U.S.-supplied Phantoms—behind which stands the most immense accumulation of economic and military might in the history of the world—attack Arab civilians with napalm and bombs, and as long as the fedayeen must face this technical-social monster with nothing but submachine guns, dynamite and an occasional artillery piece grudgingly provided by the Arab states.

Palestinian terrorism will continue to be criticized, above all from within the Palestinian liberation movement itself. But the last people in the world who are in any moral position to say anything about it are Golda Meir and the U. S. State Department.

Prime Minister Meir presides over a state that was founded on, and is the continuing instrument of, the exile of the Palestinians, a state that carries out its colonialist aggression in firm alliance with world imperialism—while presuming to speak for a people that was as nearly decimated as any by imperialism. Yet it is Golda Meir who essentially read the Palestinian fedayeen out of the human race: "These organizations have put themselves outside the laws and morality of human society," she is reported to have told a cabinet meeting, and she appealed to the conscience of the "civilized countries" to support Israel. The State Department, while continuing to direct the assassination of the Vietnamese people, called upon world opinion, too, though it was a bit more guarded about the question of fact than was Golda Meir. "It is certain," the communique from Washington said, "that the conscience of the civilized world will be shocked and repelled" if it should turn out that one of the fedayeen organizations was responsible.

The truth, though, is that if in fact a Palestinian individual or organization had anything to do with the crash of the Swissair liner, the 47 people who died were as much victims of imperialism as the 80 Egyptian workers of Abu Zabaal, the 400 Vietnamese men, women and children of Songmy, and the 6,000,000 Jews of Central and Eastern Europe.

revised third edition

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM

By Doug Jenness

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Gov't squeezes rail craft unions

By PAUL CHELSTROM

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Negotiations ordered by the government to settle the nationwide rail dispute were boycotted by the key union involved, the Sheet Metal Workers. Railroad shopmen walked off the job in at least two major cities when it was announced that Congress had acted on March 4 to freeze wages and working conditions on the 128-line rails system for another 37 days.

Here in St. Paul, 200 shopcraft workers at the Burlington-Northern Railway's Dale Street maintenance shop went out, called early-morning meetings Friday, March 6, and again Saturday in their hall two blocks from the shop to discuss the action of the Congress.

Vern Oszman, secretary of the International Association of Railway Machinists District 3, was the spokesman. Expressing the feelings of all, he charged that "Congress is playing football with our negotiations."

"We've been negotiating for 16 months and have given a number of voluntary strike delays ourselves. But every time we act to show good faith, we're rewarded with something like this 37-day strike delay," he said.

In Cleveland, the Penn Central yards were closed. Southern Railway yards in Chattanooga, Tenn., the Norfolk & Western, and the Chesapeake & Ohio lines all reported tie-ups in the Midwest, Far West, and South.

In Louisville, Ky., pickets were posted at the Louisville & Nashville line yards.

In most cases court orders forced the shopmen back to work.

The typical attitude of shopmen everywhere as they voted to comply with court injunctions and return to work was expressed at the meetings here.

More than anything else, there was a holiday spirit and feeling of class solidarity in the union hall the first day. It was the machinists who pulled the pin and led the action. They have more to gain from crossing craft lines than



Nixon

any other craftsmen, but like everyone else they find it increasingly hard to live on the 1968 wages.

Lacking support from the union heads, they were forced to comply with the court order, but not without some strong works of opposition by younger

men who had begun to feel the power of strike action and wanted to continue.

The new contract is no great gain, even in terms of the money. Railroad craftsmen now earn only \$3.60 an hour, and the two-year contract, which has been stalled so long in negotiations that it will end Dec. 31, only allows for a 19 percent increase. This means an over-all raise of 68 cents, doled out in small drips, until the scale finally comes up \$4.28. That is hardly more than half of what tradesmen in the construction industry earn.

There is a general feeling throughout the railroad industry that the workers have no choice but to strike. The problem is how. The lack of any support from the top union officials makes it difficult to coordinate the actions and strike together. The union leaders are really dis-union leaders.

The latest action of the Congress, coming as it does at the end of a long haul which has seen the hopes of the shopmen shattered at every turn, shows how quickly this government can act against workers who have been kept for years at the mercy of the employers and the self-seeking union "leaders."

The latest "emergency measure," passed by Congress, signed by the President, and enforced by the courts is designed to tie the hands of the unions and pressure the workers to accept a company-inspired agreement, while leaving the carriers free to operate under no constraints to concede a single point or even seriously negotiate further.

Nixon had originally submitted a somewhat different scheme. He had asked the Congress on March 3 to enact special legislation imposing upon the workers the provisions of an agreement first initialed by the negotiators of the shop craft unions, Dec. 4, 1969.

This agreement provided for the change in work rules allowing shop bosses to order craftsmen to work wherever needed, regardless of craft. Members of the machinist, electricians, and boilermakers unions tentatively accepted this. The sheet metal workers turned it down.

Demagogically arguing that the sheet metal "minority" was thwarting the will of the "majority" represented by the other unions, Labor Secretary Shultz tried to use this development to promote the idea that union members should not be permitted to vote on contracts agreed to by their officials.

"There is a need for responsible fellowship," he said. "Once you've selected your negotiators, you have a kind of representative-democracy situation where there ought to be authority on the part of the leaders to reach an agreement."

This is what Nixon asked the Congress to impose upon the railroad workers. But, conscious of the November elections, Congress voted instead to block strike action but to urge further negotiations.

William W. Winpisinger, vice president of the Machinist union and chief negotiator of the shop crafts, had high praise of the Nixon scheme. "Those of us who have already agreed to accept this settlement are hardly in a position to be critical of the President for trying to enforce it, though I'm sure the sheet metal workers will feel differently," Winpisinger said.

When the railroad workers are able to express their real feelings about this kind of settlement, they will also tell leaders like Winpisinger, as well as Nixon and Congress, what they think of them.

The national picket line

Mine Workers union faces federal probe

Gov't against mine union

The federal government moved against the miners' union March 5, seeking to set aside the challenged victory of incumbent president W. A. Boyle in the Dec. 9 union election.

The Boyle machine announced his re-election over challenger Joseph A. Yablonski by a 2-to-1 margin. Yablonski's supporters charged at the time that the election was a fraud but the Labor Department refused to investigate, claiming there was no clear evidence of irregularities.

It was only after the Dec. 31 assassinations of Yablonski and his wife and daughter that government agencies began investigating. Now Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz says that investigations by 200 of his sleuths have revealed that the charges of a crooked election made by Yablonski against Boyle were true.

Boyle's attorney, Edward Carry, who serves officially as general counsel of the United Mine Workers, says the government move is "engineered by lower echelon government people who have been in there for 20 to 30 years of prior Democratic administrations."

Seeking to curry favor with those presently in power, Carry said, "They may be trying to embarrass President Nixon by making him seem antilabor."

This statement is a measure of how far removed the bureaucracy of the Mine Workers Union is from the rank and file. It is the end result of a union policy that seeks to curry favor with political representatives of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Auto negotiations

The UAW International (Reuther and staff) continuously confer with their counterparts in the big-three auto corporations. As formal negotiations of the 1970 auto contracts approach, both sides begin to exchange views about what are the "reasonable" rates of pay and conditions of work for the period ahead.

The auto union has sent out an "Administrative Letter" to all members — "Highlights of the UAW International Executive Board's Thoughts and Suggestions for the UAW 1970 Collective Bargaining Program." Herein Reuther indicates that he would like some correction in the escalator clause, severely weakened in the 1967 negotiations. A Detroit auto worker says, "Walter is asking for everything but Socialism." It is generally understood in the union that most of this is put out to pacify the members in preparation for the UAW convention in April.

The real issues that UAW president Reuther expresses most interest in even now are, typically, "profit sharing" (an old demand handed down from previous bargaining rounds, traditionally



Walter Reuther

a favorite of company unions, never seriously meant, a thinly disguised speedup scheme), and "early retirement," after 30 years of service. The "profit sharing" this time takes the form of year-end bonuses "to provide equity for the workers out of the profits of the company as is now provided for executives."

Squeeze on working people

Down in Bal Harbour, Florida, where the AFL-CIO Executive Council holds its winter meeting and gets reports from well-paid advisors who know what is going on, Nathaniel Goldfinger, their

chief economist, brought the following information: "layoffs and cutbacks in the work week . . . prices continue to rise at a fast clip . . . many workers in the economic bind of smaller paychecks because of the reduced work week and higher prices due to inflation . . . a real decline underway . . . unemployment shot up in January with the biggest increase in nine years . . . it's scary."

AFL-CIO President George Meany, who received this report, is not scared. For a long time now he has felt the government will probably have to institute controls over wages and prices. Meany agrees with Labor Secretary Shultz that union members should not vote on contracts. With government wage control there would be no great need for union bureaucrats to negotiate union contracts either. But just in case anyone is interested, Meany thinks a 10 percent wage hike now will satisfy most workers' needs.

What's good for GM. . .

Rising unemployment always encourages the boss to take a tougher stand against those on the job "who can always be replaced." In Detroit, GM has announced that in negotiations with the UAW it will seek "a better balance between productivity and wages." In other words, "speedup."

Another GM announcement: earnings of \$160-million on overseas operations in 1969, up from \$128-million the previous year. The 1969 overall profits were reported at \$1,711,000,000. That is more than anyone can count without an adding machine, and most adding machines don't go that high.

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Photos by John Gray

FOR PEACE AND CHICANO POWER. Some participants in Los Angeles Chicano demonstration carried names of relatives and friends who died in Vietnam war. Marchers demanded U. S. get out of Vietnam and voiced insistence on right to control their community.

Atlanta students prepare dual socialist campaigns

By JOHN VOTAVA

ATLANTA—Young Socialists for the Socialist Workers Candidates in 1970 announced its formation here Feb. 26 in the lounge of the Student Activities Building at Georgia State University. The group is a campus coalition geared toward building support for the SWP ticket of Jenness, Grinnon and Cole in the coming elections. The group will be working closely with the statewide campaign committee.

The first activity of the group was to announce that it was presenting a Young Socialist ticket for the executive board of the Student Government Association at GSU.

For president the Young Socialists are running Ginny Osteen, a member of the YSA and the leading representative of the GSU Student Mobilization

Committee and the Atlanta SMC. Sam Manual, a member of the Black Students United and an at-large member of the steering committee of the Atlanta Mobilization Committee, is running for vice-president. Teresa Blount, a YSAer who was one of the initiators and major builders of the first women's liberation group at Georgia State, is running for treasurer. Phil Lambert, a Vietnam veteran and news correspondent who has been active in organizing an antiwar veterans' group, is the candidate for secretary.

The blatantly discriminatory requirements for student government elections limit to only 12, out of a student body of more than 12,000, the number of students eligible to run for the offices. The Young Socialists will therefore be forced to wage a fight for their right to be on the ballot.

Women's action held in Atlanta

By ILONA STANTON

ATLANTA—About 100 women and 20 men picketed in front of Grady Hospital here March 7 and then marched to the State Capitol with signs calling for "Free and Voluntary Abortions," "Equal Work for Equal Pay," and "24 Hour Day Care Centers." The demonstration was Atlanta's first major women's liberation action.

Speakers at the Capitol rally included Jeannette Rankin, veteran of the women's suffrage movement and the first U. S. congresswoman; Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia; Jane LaRue; Louise Watley, a Black candidate for Atlanta board of aldermen last fall; Felita Goodman; and Tisha Tee of the Vine City Breakfast for Children Program.

The action was sponsored by the Atlanta International Women's Day Committee, a broad coalition of women's organizations.

A socialist woman tells off Massachusetts lawmakers

By PHILLIS SAWYER

BOSTON—Augusta Trainor, a member of the Socialist Workers Party active in the women's liberation movement, was the main speaker among those testifying on March 4 before the Social Welfare Committee of the Massachusetts legislature on behalf of a bill to repeal the state laws controlling abortion.

An audience of 300, mostly women, listened as she testified to the misery and death among working women caused by the restrictive "Crimes Against Chastity" statute.

When she endorsed abortion as the right of all women, one of the legislators asked if she believed in legalized prostitution. The audience was stunned.

She replied in great anger: "I don't believe in *any* kind of prostitution. No woman should have to sell her body



Chicanos hold mass march in L.A. despite downpour

By DELLA ROSSA and JOHN GRAY

LOS ANGELES—Some 2,000 Chicanos marched for more than an hour through a drenching downpour here Feb. 28 to protest the war in Vietnam and to demand Chicano power. Although most of them were without hats or raincoats, spirits were high and shouts of "Chicano power" and "Chicano si, Vietnam no" rang out continuously as the crowd marched down Whittier Blvd.

Contingents from all over California participated in the march: farm workers from Delano, members of the Chicano studies department at Merritt College in Oakland, and groups from San Francisco, San Jose, and San Diego. There were also representatives of the Crusade For Justice in Denver, the Alianza in Albuquerque, N. M., and MAYO in Texas.

The response of the community to the march was generally favorable. Individual demonstrators walked the sidewalks to convince onlookers to join in. Many did; others apologized for not joining.

At the open-air rally following the march, while the rain continued intermittently, the demonstrators heard Rosalio Munoz of the Chicano Moratorium; Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzalez of the Denver Crusade for Justice; Sal Castro, a militant Los Angeles high school teacher; Alicia Escalante of the Welfare Rights Organization; David Sanchez of the Brown Berets; attorney Oscar Acosta; Froben Lozada, head of the Chicano studies department of Merritt College and Socialist Workers Party candidate for state attorney general; Santiago Anaya of the Alianza land-

grant movement; Woodrow "Nino" Diaz of the New York Young Lords; and Ernest Cebada of the Biltmore Six.

In addition to denouncing the war in Vietnam and stressing the fact that Spanish-surnamed GIs are dying at about twice the rate of other service personnel, several speakers insisted on the need for Chicanos to break with the capitalist Republican and Democratic parties and develop independent political action.

"The first thing Chicanos should do is organize our own political party," Lozada said. "We are sick and tired of playing in the ball park of our oppressors."

And Woodrow Diaz said, "This social system is killing our brothers in Vietnam. We have one enemy, the capitalist system and their agents in the Democratic and Republican parties. We must organize independent political parties along with Puerto Ricans including poor working whites in a political coalition.

The Third World must lead the way because it is most oppressed. We must control every aspect of our lives. Something beautiful will be happening in Denver March 25 when we begin to organize our own political party. I say this is right on!"

A conference of Chicanos set in Denver

The Second Annual Chicano Youth Liberation Conference of Aztlan will open in Denver on Wednesday, March 25 and run through Sunday, March 29. It was at the first Chicano Youth Conference, held a year ago in Denver, that the Plan of Aztlan, a Chicano liberation program was adopted (see *The Militant*, Feb. 27).

This year's conference, which is being hosted by the Crusade for Justice, a Denver-based Chicano civil rights and cultural organization, will include numerous workshops on topics ranging from poetry, art and theater to organizational techniques, political philosophy and self-defense.

The first three days, March 25-27, will be devoted to a youth conference. On Saturday, March 28 the conference will take up the call for the formation of a Chicano party, which is part of the Plan of Aztlan. The formation of such a party has been widely discussed among Chicano activists. The final day, March 29, will be a National Chicano Congress of Aztlan to which all Chicano organizations are invited.

Housing will be arranged by the Crusade for Justice. For more information and to register write the Crusade at 1567 Downing St., Denver, Colorado 80218, or phone (303) 222-0825.

to a man for food, shelter, clothing and luxuries."

The audience responded to her defense of women's dignity with cheers and thunderous applause.

"If I were to become pregnant now and abort the fetus," she said, "you would call me a murderer. Yet, you take my son and other young men in the springtime of their lives, when the whole world is opening up to them and they are learning to understand and try to control their own destinies, and you send them to Vietnam to be killed. *You* are the murderers.

"You drop napalm on women and children, murdering human beings. Don't tell me they're the enemy. No woman is my enemy. No child is my enemy."

The audience responded with cheers and applause.



Photo by Hugo Hill/LNS

Laotian civilians herded from Plain of Jars

... escalation in Laos

(Continued from page 1)

The *New York Times*, which had originally cooperated with Washington in describing the revolutionary forces in Laos solely as North Vietnamese, changed its line March 6: "The North Vietnamese have about 25,000 troops in northern Laos," the *New York Times* maintained. "They are backed by about the same number of Pathet Lao troops . . ."

Two days after Nixon's claim to the contrary, the administration itself admitted that 26 Americans had been killed in Laos as a result of "hostile action," i.e. "combat." March 10 the Pentagon revealed that U.S. military men in Laos have been receiving "hostile-fire" pay.

A strong warning about the grave consequences of the U.S. war in Laos came from Senator George McGovern in a speech on the Senate floor March 3.

"For many years we have been trying to convert [Laos] into a powerful modernized military bastion to turn back some kind of great imaginary

Communist combine . . . This enormously costly and foolish effort, which we have financed and directed, has been enough to have killed, wounded, or made homeless a third of the three million population." (Emphasis added.)

McGovern stated that "reporters are carefully prevented from reaching the northeastern military region II, where most of the American military activities are occurring."

He asked, "Why does anyone suppose that conducting massive air raids over Laos at the rate of several hundred sorties a day is not war?" And he demanded that Nixon tell the truth about the administration's Laos plans. (*Congressional Record*, p. S. 2804.)

Responding to McGovern's inquiries, Senators Symington and Fulbright, both members of the Foreign Relations Committee, disclosed that they had conducted hearings on Nixon's Laos-war plans last November, but that the transcript of these hearings had been bottled up by the State Department. Fulbright and Symington contended, however, that the March 1 *Sunday Star* article previously cited represented the thinking of the administration as it had been expressed in those hearings. "This is not a question of what the subcommittee [on Laos policy] can or cannot release," Symington said. "It is being released in bits and pieces by the executive branch . . ."

Fulbright pointed to the key sentences in the *Sunday Star* article. They state: "There is little doubt in informed circles that the North Vietnamese can . . . threaten to wipe out Souvanna Phouma and his capital if he refuses to stop American bombing of the Ho Chi Minh Trail."

"The sources here claim that such an order would be catastrophic to the American war effort in South Vietnam. They contend it would destroy all hope of turning the war over to the South Vietnamese and withdrawing American ground forces."

These words have a familiar ring. It was six years ago that Lyndon Johnson claimed North Vietnamese troops threatened to wipe out the Saigon regime of Ngo Dinh Diem, that it would be catastrophic for the future of that nation, that it would destroy all hopes. And Johnson responded at first by ordering a massive bombing of North Vietnam. The results are well-known.

And, it must be added, the administration's actions in Laos underscore the patent phoniness of Nixon's claims to be "scaling down" the war in Vietnam and eventually withdrawing from the area.

Meeting maps expansion plans

SWP nat'l committee sees major opportunity

NEW YORK—The national committee of the Socialist Workers Party, meeting here in plenary session over the weekend of Feb. 27-March 1, discussed major new developments in the various arenas of political struggle nationally and internationally, and mapped plans for the significant expansion of virtually every branch of the party's activities.

The plenum heard, discussed and adopted reports on the international revolutionary movement, the general political situation in the United States today, the women's liberation movement, the antiwar struggle, the youth movement, and the party's organizational perspectives. But it was the series of reports that fell under the final topic that took up the largest single bloc of time during the national committee's deliberations and provided the most graphic proof of the party's growth and prospects for further expansion.

The framework for the organizational projections and reports on other areas of work was set by the international report of Barry Sheppard, and the central political report to the plenum given by Jack Barnes, SWP national organization secretary.

The political report stressed the basic perspectives facing the revolutionary movement as it enters the decade of the 1970s. "The very things American imperialism must do at home and abroad in order to try and maintain its rule are precisely the things that keep upsetting the equilibrium and deepening the radicalization taking place. That is why the outlook for the '70s is one of broadening mass struggles and an increased tempo of radicalization."

Barnes discussed the fact that the Trotskyist movement today has the opportunity to become the very center of the radical movement in this country, and based the party's prospects on three objectively favorable factors: the political climate developing in the U.S. today, in which socialist answers to society's problems make sense to increasing numbers of people; the relationship of forces within the radical movement, in which the Trotskyist movement has a significant edge over major opponents in many fields; and the stable, politically homogeneous internal situation within the SWP which maximizes the party's ability to take advantage of all the openings before it.

Aside from the new developments in the women's liberation movement, antiwar struggle and youth movement—which were the subjects of separate reports and discussion—the political report paid special attention to the growing militancy and political consciousness of the Chicano liberation movement and to the continued importance of struggles carried out by Black student organizations on campuses across the country. The plenum voted to support the perspective put forward by Chicano militants of building a mass independent Chicano political party.

Finally, the report took note of the growing dis-equilibrium inside the labor movement between the class-struggle mood, especially of the younger workers, and the class collaborationist union bureaucracy. Within the labor movement too, the prospects are for greater struggle against the integration of the unions into the capitalist apparatus.

The report on the women's liberation movement, given by Mary-Alice Waters, managing editor of *The Militant*, outlined the basic reasons for the emergence of the movement in the last few years and the revolutionary implications of the radicalization of women on a large scale. It also dis-



Joel Britton

cussed the major political questions that have arisen within the women's liberation movement and where the different political tendencies stand on them.

The youth report was given by Susan LaMont, national secretary of the YSA. She concentrated on the large-scale growth of the YSA in the last period and discussed the reasons for the progressive disintegration of the former SDS, while the student movement itself continues to deepen and grow.

The antiwar report by Gus Horowitz outlined the recent development of the war itself and the favorable prospects for mass antiwar struggle in the coming months. He stressed the significance of the tremendous growth of the Student Mobilization Committee since last September. "The SMC conference," he pointed out, "was probably as large as any in the entire history of American student radicalism."

The main organizational report was given by Joel Britton, and was supplemented by additional reports on finances and expansion plans for various departments. What became clear from all the organizational reports was the fact that the party was organizing its resources to take maximum advantage of the exceptional opportunities opening up. Geographical expansion, growing circulation of the party's press, increasingly successful and important election campaigns in a growing number of states—such were the main themes of the reports and discussion.

In order to facilitate the kind of growth taking place, and provide an opportunity for party members all over the country to meet and exchange experiences in the most fruitful manner, the plenum projected a national conference of party activists—an "active workers conference"—to take place toward the end of the summer.

The sense of the plenum was perhaps best summed up by a veteran of the movement who stated that, if anything, the openings and opportunities in the in the next few years would be even greater than those outlined in the optimistic plenum reports.

CALENDAR

ATLANTA

BIAFRA: WHAT HAPPENED? WHAT NEXT? Speaker Dennis Edge. Fri., March 20, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 W. Peachtree (at 14th St.). Ausp: Militant Bookstore.

BOSTON

1970 MASSACHUSETTS SWP CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF RALLY with the candidates: Peter Camejo for U.S. Senate; Michael Kelly for governor; Toba Leah Singer for attorney general. With mixed media films and the New Feminist Theater. Fri., March 20, 8 p.m. Boston University School of Public Communications Auditorium, 640 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$1.

CHICAGO

REVOLT IN CHAMPAIGN: EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT AND ANALYSIS. Speaker: Fred Lovgren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for University of Illinois Board of Trustees. Fri., March 20, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker, Rm. 310. Tel: 641-0147. Ad: 75c, students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION AND THE ARTS. Speaker: Kamal Boullata, Palestinian Artist. Fri., March 20, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Cont: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Dinner: 6:30 p.m., \$1.25.

SAN FRANCISCO

ZIONISM AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION. Speaker: David Frankel, SWP candidate for Lt. governor of California; and **SLIDES ON THE MIDEAST** by Colin Edwards, international correspondent. Fri., March 20, 8 p.m. 2338 Market. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

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Newark teachers pact proves a mixed bag

By NAT LONDON

NEWARK — The Newark teachers' strike, the longest in New Jersey history, is over. The courts are still turning out sentences in wholesale lots. Union officials are receiving six-month jail terms and \$500 fines. Sentences are already being handed down to some of the 198 rank-and-file teachers who were arrested during the struggle—10 days in jail beginning July 1.

The settlement was something of a mixed bag, a little bit for everyone, with no one completely satisfied. About a quarter of the 2,000 teachers at the contract ratification meeting voted against the settlement.

Teachers received a 20 percent raise, to a new starting salary of \$8,000. This is the amount offered by the board of education the day before the strike was called.

Permanent substitutes got an 18 percent raise, bringing their pay to \$6,800.

Clerks got a 15 percent raise—to \$4,575 starting salary—on a 10-month basis.

Aides received a 25 percent raise, all the way up to the federal poverty guideline level of \$3,000. They had previously received a per diem wage, with no

paid holidays or snow days. Now they are paid on a salary basis with at least the minimal security of a regular paycheck.

With the teachers and the Black community split on the question of the strike, it is not surprising that the "promotion board" resulting from the strike is dominated by the board of education. Three of the five members are administrators, and the community has been cut out completely.

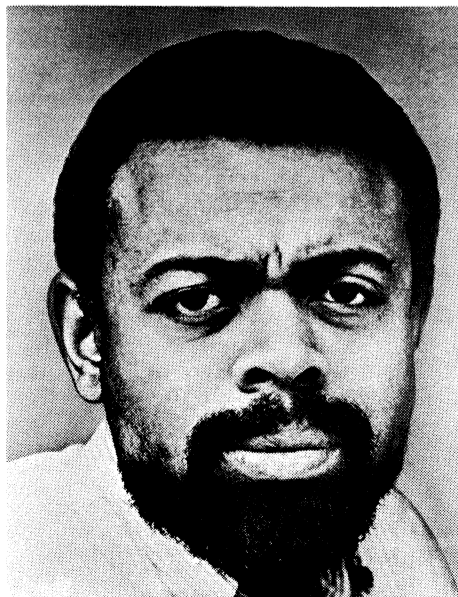
On the side of the Black community, some leaders sided with the board of education. LeRoi Jones, for example, in a television interview, openly proclaimed his alliance with Franklyn Titus, the superintendent of schools, and claimed that the teachers' action was a strike against community control.

Other Black leaders, however, were actually concerned about the quality of education in Newark but felt that the union was not willing to collaborate with them. Take, for instance, the following statement by Donald Tucker, candidate of the Black and Puerto Rican Congress for councilman-at-large: "The teachers' union is wrong—not in seeking higher wages, but in allowing itself to be separated from its natural allies—parents and children with whom they share a common cause. It is wrong because it has allowed the system to use the union to create disunity . . . Instead of joining with the community to force the board of education to educate and liberate our city's young people, it has allowed the board to assume the false pose of 'friend' of the community . . .

"Had Newark's teachers helped to establish meaningful cooperation with the community, had the majority of Newark's teachers joined with the parents in the fight for quality education and dignity for our students, the parents might have led the fight to raise teachers' salaries . . . I urge Newark's teachers and parents to unite and fight together the real culprit . . ."

What Tucker's statement indicates is a certain uneasiness on the part of Black militants about the alliance that had been forged between the board of education and some of the Black leaders. By offering the alternative of a united struggle with the teachers, they have opened the door for a double strategy on the part of the newly-formed Black Caucus of the NTU.

This caucus, which emerged during the strike, was initiated by Black rank-and-file militants and has expanded to include a few of the Black members of the executive committee of the union. It is based on the concept of community control of the schools to be achieved by a joint struggle of the union and the community. It rejects the idea that community control can somehow be "smuggled into the contract" without an open struggle involving the Black community at all levels, from formulating the demands to negotiating the contract itself.



LeRoi Jones



Photo by Derrick Morrison

New York tenants march to block a new rent hike

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—Nearly 1,000 tenants marched up 1st Ave. here March 7 and rallied at Gracie Square, which is a couple of blocks away from the home of Mayor John V. Lindsay.

The demonstration was sponsored by the March 7th Tenants Demonstration Committee, a coalition of such groups as the Chelsea Save-Our-Homes Committee, the East Harlem Tenants Council, East Side Tenants Moratorium Committee, Lenox Hill Democratic Club, Veterans Ad Hoc Committee on Housing, and many others.

The tenants, of whom there are six million in New York City, were protesting threats by the Lindsay government to "modify" the 27-year-old rent control law in order "to strengthen the owner's economic base." The law expires March 31 but Lindsay plans to extend it to June 1, so as to give him-

self time to prepare the modifications.

The rally featured a variety of speakers, including several city councilmen, state assemblymen, and a spokesman from the Social Service Employees Union, Local 371. Ron Wolin, a representative of the Vets Ad Hoc Committee, pointed out that "Mr. Lindsay's 1970 capital budget allocates a puny ten million dollars for housing. Compare that to the nine billion of our taxes going to military spending! Ten million wouldn't even buy decent housing for those of us at this rally."

Lindsay's threat to implement the Rand Corporation Report, which recommends that the landlords get a minimum of \$25 per room, is in great contradiction to his campaign statements last year about rejecting any change in the rent control law.

The March 7th Committee plans further actions on this issue.

Peace and Freedom Party holds small convention

By LEW JONES

LONG BEACH, Calif. — The Peace and Freedom Party, once seen by its initiators as the mass radical organization of the future, held its 1970 convention at California State College here Feb. 20-22. About 200 people registered for the opening session, and only a few more appeared during the next two days. Between 120 and 150 people, mostly over 25 years of age, attended each session.

Formally, the convention had no authority at all. Peace and Freedom has ballot status in California, and under the election laws, anyone who is registered Peace and Freedom and who pays a filing fee may run for office in the June primary election.

All the previous participating organized political tendencies, including the International Socialists, Progressive Labor Party and the Communist Party have abandoned the PFP to a handful of unaffiliated radicals. One speaker noted that there are "no really functioning groups except in Long Beach and Venice."

A straw vote of participants decisively affirmed PFP's original program—a hodge-podge of radical-sounding formulations aiming at a reform of capitalism—and, sensibly for such a conglomeration, rejected the idea of becoming a revolutionary party.

(During the "revolutionary party" discussion, the Socialist Workers Party was frequently mentioned. Antonio Camejo, SWP candidate for California su-

perintendent of public instruction, requested and received special permission to address the convention on the SWP's campaign and its attitude toward PFP. He was well received.)

Most interest was generated by the discussion of possible candidates in the forth-coming elections. Supporters of Robert Scheer (he wasn't there) let it be known that he might consent to run if PFP met his demands: no campaigning in Berkeley, no opposition within PFP, the party to pay his filing fee. The convention not only accepted his demands but also endorsed a slate of candidates put forward by Scheer supporters.

Ricardo Romo provisionally withdrew as candidate for governor, saying he awaited proof of the party's seriousness. He went on to declare, "I have a commitment to the Chicano people and a responsibility to form a Chicano party to go after power in this state."

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Wash. socialist campaign moving into high gear

By BILL PERDUE

SEATTLE, March 5—Bill Massey, Socialist Workers Party Washington State senatorial candidate, began a state-wide campaign tour last week with five meetings, a major news conference and participation in a Spokane antiwar demonstration in opposition to Democratic incumbent Senator Henry M. Jackson.

At Washington State University in Pullman, Wash., Massey's appearance at the university's "Popcorn Forum" and at a political science class evoked wide discussion on questions of the war, the Black struggle, women's liberation, etc.

At Pullman High School, Massey debated John Ogden, a Democratic Party committeeman. One of the issues raised by Massey which drew special interest

was the High School Bill of Rights passed at the recent Student Mobilization Committee conference in Cleveland. The sale of over \$125 worth of socialist literature by YSAers and other campaign supporters at Pullman reflected the interest of the students in socialist ideas.

In Seattle, Massey spoke at a meeting of 300 called at Washington State University to protest the Chicago Conspiracy trial.

An issue which has evoked some discussion on the tour is Massey's attitude toward the campaign of Carl Maxey, a Black lawyer who is running for senator on the Democratic Party ticket. Maxey is supported by the Washington Democratic Council and the *Peoples World*, the West Coast organ of the Communist Party.

At a news conference in Spokane Massey was asked the difference between the SWP campaign and that of the Democratic primary candidate. Massey explained that he did not believe the Democratic Party could bring about the changes needed in this country and commented, "Carl Maxey, according to the *Peoples World* of Jan. 31, 1970, stated that he thinks Nixon is making an effort to wind down the war. I say that is obviously untrue. In fact, the reverse is true, Nixon is widening the war into Laos. . . .

"On the question of inflation and unemployment, where Washington State is one of the hardest hit areas, Maxey recommends government-imposed wage and price controls. I totally disagree. The war in Vietnam has imposed this inflation. The Socialist Workers Party recommends profits control, not wage control. . . .

"Maxey does not call for Black control of the Black community, which is one of the central demands being raised in the Black struggle."

Massey and other supporters of the SWP campaign in Spokane joined 200 others in picketing the Spokane Hotel where Massey's main opponent, prowar Senator Henry Jackson, was speaking. After the demonstration, about 50 participants met with the candidate at Gonzaga University where a good discussion of the SWP campaign took place.

Meanwhile, Bill Massey was found guilty of interfering with a "peace" officer this week by a Seattle district court. The charges stemmed from his participation in a demonstration for Black jobs last Nov. 6. Massey is the second SWP candidate to be found guilty and fined for supporting the right of Black workers to jobs. Harriet Ashton, SWP candidate for state senate, was convicted and fined earlier.

Funds are urgently needed to pay the court costs and fines of the two socialist candidates. Donations should be sent to SWP Campaign Committee, 5257 University Way N. E., Seattle, Washington 98115.

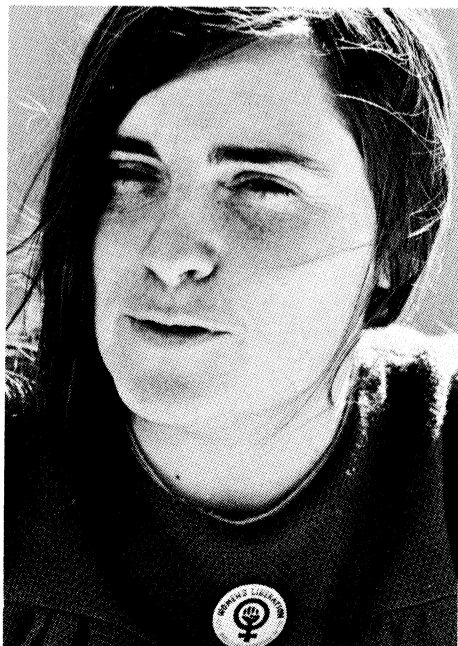


Photo by John Gray

Dianne Feeley

Kipp Dawson confronts Rockefeller at Vassar

By DAVE HALDANE

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y. — Kipp Dawson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate from New York, began an upstate speaking tour here March 4 by confronting Governor Nelson Rockefeller before approximately 2,000 students at Vassar College.

The meeting had been planned as a small conference for the governor with selected student "leaders." Campus radicals got wind of it, however, and widely publicized the event as a public "teach-in" on Latin America. Eventually, the administration was obliged to move the event to the chapel which seats 2,000. The building was filled to capacity with students from Vassar and several nearby schools.

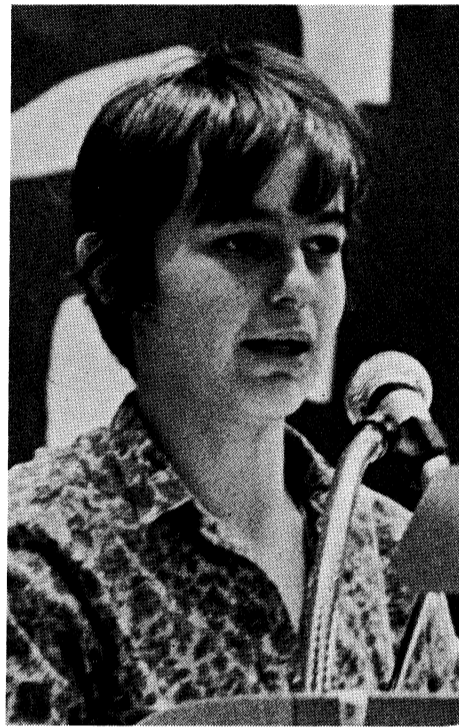


Photo by Priscilla Ring

Kipp Dawson

San Diego State faculty firings spark big protest

By BERNIE SENTER

SAN DIEGO—The firing of four professors at San Diego State College led to a mass open hearing here on March 5, where 2,500 students gave the administration until March 10 to respond to four student demands.

The dismissals followed a statewide pattern in which 150 faculty members have been refused tenure for political views and teaching methods.

On March 3, 1,500 students heard the views of different professors and students on the issue and called the open hearing for two days later. After the fired teachers, the tenure committee, and the administration spoke at the open hearing on March 5, the four demands of the Support Committee were voted on and ratified by the overwhelming majority of people present.

The demands are: 1) That the four faculty members be reinstated and that another professor, who was denied advancement, be promoted; 2) That a system of student evaluation of faculty be established; 3) That the student evaluation should be used as the number one criteria in the evaluation of professors by the tenure committee; 4) That voting student membership be instituted on all departmental and college-wide tenure committees.

Following the open hearing, 1,500 students marched to the administration building and pinned the demands on the door.

On March 10, a large rally will be held to hear the administration's response, following which further tactics will be discussed.

One of the first questions Mr. Rockefeller was asked was whether he had trouble sleeping at night knowing that he is responsible for starvation and oppression throughout Latin America. The governor refused to deal with such questions, saying instead, "I am not governor of Venezuela, only New York State."

Unable to elicit any response to questions on Latin America, the audience began concentrating on "New York State questions."

Kipp Dawson received a round of applause when she introduced herself as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. senator. She took up the two main points Rockefeller had made in earlier remarks: That he was proud of being a representative of the capitalistic system and that New York's problems stemmed from lack of money.

She pointed out that there was plenty of money in New York, but that it was in the pockets and bank accounts of people like Rockefeller who get it through profiting from the war in Vietnam, from exploiting Third World people and women by paying them lower wages than white men, from exploiting working people in the U. S. and Latin America.

She said that she was running on a ticket with Clifton DeBerry, Black activist and candidate for governor, precisely because the system Rockefeller and his fellow Republicans and Democrats represent has denied people the right to control their own lives.

She pointed to Rockefeller's imposition of a state office building on a hostile Harlem community; to his complicity in the war in Vietnam despite the fact that millions of New Yorkers have shown they want all the troops home now; to the deaths of more than 1,000 N.Y. women from abortions since Rockefeller took office, while he opposed giving women the right to have legal abortions; and to his complicity in the frame-up and conspiracy against the Black Panther 21. She said that the SWP's campaign was being run to offer an alternative to this sham. This drew sustained applause from the audience.

A discussion of abortion law repeal and the Harlem state office building question dominated the rest of the session. Black students exposed Rockefeller's claim to have consulted with "Harlem leaders" and walked out in disgust with his hedging on the question.

Throughout the afternoon, tempers were high and more than once the governor seemed to be having difficulty retaining his "cool." Those present generally agreed that it would be unwise for Governor Rockefeller's career for him to discuss political issues on any more campuses.



Rockefeller

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by Mary-Alice Waters

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The Great Society

The big brain—If you've ever had doubts about the validity of I. Q. tests, you'll be reassured by the fact that Vice President Agnew has confirmed a Republican national committee report that he has an I. Q. of 135, five points short of genius.

American genius—That report on Agnew reminded us of the response of a European friend to the observation that an associate was a genius. "Maybe by American standards he is," the European commented. "After all, here you call a barber school a college."

Primacy of policy—We're late in reporting this item from the Willmar, Minn., *Daily Tribune*: "SAIGON, Jan. 15 (UPI)—The United States Army will forbid newsmen to speak with American war prisoners released by the Viet Cong because some have spoken well of their captors . . . Sources said the remarks were exploited by Communist propagandists and were not in line with United States Defense Department statements about the bad treatment American prisoners receive."

Making do—A usually reliable informant advises that after it was reported that microwave ovens used at University of Minnesota canteens caused sterility in mice, a letter appeared in the campus daily complaining that the ovens were being monopolized by long lines of coeds denied contraceptive aid by the school health service.

Equal denial of rights—Apparently concerned with parity in such matters, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled

a husband could not seek damages for the loss of service by his wife when she has been injured in an accident. The court noted previous rulings had denied damages to wives for loss of husbands' services.

Highest state of alienation—We used to think the commercial dating bureaus were the ultimate expression of alienation. Then we read that the 20-year-old Helen Leeds Introduction Service has gone bankrupt, knocked out by the computer matching services.

Don't beg when you're big enough to steal—"I don't like welfare programs. I am getting damn tired of farmers crawling into Washington on their hands and knees, asking for handouts." —Kenworth E. Frick, Nixon's farm stabilization chief, as quoted by Jack Anderson in the Washington Merry-Go-Round. Mr. Frick, according to Anderson, received more than \$160,000 in farm subsidies in 1968 and 1969.

And without a union card—Mrs. Mary Wilson, wife of Britain's Labour prime minister, confided to a TV audience that her most unnerving experience came when guests arrived at 10 Downing St. and found her nailing down a loose carpet.

To celebrate the resurrection—If you're looking for a whimsical Easter gift, how about an 18 karat gold egg from Tiffany's that opens to reveal an ivory perfume bottle. \$1,650. Or if you prefer to bestow practical gifts, the egg is available with a sewing kit inside. \$1,750.

—HARRY RING



Photo by Robert Broedel

Meet Socialists in Your Area

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o David Murphy, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-9334.

Hayward: YSA, Gerald Clark, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hillary St., Hayward, Calif. 94544. Tel. (415) 537-3656 or (415) 537-3657.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.

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

San Diego: Alan Stancliff, 4143 Georgia, San Diego, Calif. 92103.

Turlock: Valley YSA, Michael Klein, c/o Associated Students, Stanislaus State College, 800 Monte Vista Ave., Turlock, Calif. 95380.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Lyle Fulks, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Col. 80302.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Jack Lieberman, 509 W. Jefferson, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Bill Maffett, P.O. Box 166, Carbondale, Ill. 62901. Tel: (618) 549-6214.

Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Sta. A, Champaign, Ill. 61820. Tel: (217) 359-1333.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 641-0147.

DeKalb: YSA, Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Ill. 60115.

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KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Fred Murphy, 1510 Kentucky, Apt. G. Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Sta., Lexington, Ky. 40506.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981 (HQ), 547-8557.

Worcester: YSA, Box 406, Clark U., Worcester, Mass. 01610.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE 1-6135.

Ypsilanti: YSA, Box 156, Charles McKenny Union, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

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Kent: YSA, P.O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Duncan Williams, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Tonia Porter, 6770 S. W. Taylors Ferry Rd., Portland, Ore. 97223. Tel: (503) 246-9245.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, c/o Jeff Powers, 15 Creighton St., Providence, R.I. 02902.

TEXAS: Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, TEXAS

Houston: YSA, Campus Activities, University Center, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, c/o Sterne McMullen, 763 E. 9th North, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 1319 F. St. NW., Rm. 1010, Wash., D.C. Tel: (202) 638-0610 or 965-1943.

WASHINGTON: Cheney: E. Wash. State YSA, Sub Box 1040, EWSC, Cheney, Wash. 99004. Tel: 235-6749.

Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

Tacoma: YSA, c/o John Naubert, P.O. Box 309, Tacoma, Wash. 98401. Tel: LO4-3765.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wisc. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.

Milwaukee: YSA, U of Wisconsin—Milwaukee, Student Union, Milwaukee, Wis. 53201. Tel: 228-4006.

MALCOLM LIVES. Nearly 300 young people, about 90 percent Black, marched through Tallahassee, Fla., Feb. 21 to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the death of Malcolm X and to honor jailed Black Panther leader Huey Newton. Most of the participants are students at Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College. The action, which began with a rally at the A & M campus, was organized by the Malcolm X United Liberation Front of Tallahassee, a community action group which has organized street patrols in Frenchtown, Tallahassee's Black ghetto. The demonstration was supported by the YSA and A & M Black Student Alliance.

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Illinois SWP slate planning broad, militant campaign



ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED. SWP candidates for public office in Illinois at recent press conference. From left to right: Fred Lovgren, Deborah Notkin, Willie Petty, Naomi Allen, and Kim Allen.

By RICK FEINBERG

CHICAGO — The Illinois Socialist Workers Party has announced its slate of candidates for the 1970 elections.

Confronting Adlai Stevenson III in the race for U.S. Senate will be SWP candidate Naomi Allen, an antiwar leader and recent coordinator for the Chicago Student Mobilization Committee.

Willie Petty, SWP candidate for Cook County sheriff, will be running against City Corporation Counsel Richard Elrod, the official who was injured in the Weatherman demonstrations this fall and who is now trying to convert his injury into political capital.

Willie Petty grew up in the Chicago ghetto and became a revolutionary nationalist as a result of listening to Malcolm X. Over the past three years he has been active building Black antiwar and community movements.

Petty sees his campaign as helping to educate people about the true purpose of the police and the law in this society. He will focus on such things as how law enforcement agencies have been more than anxious to clamp down on the Black Panther Party and the Conspiracy, while they systematically refuse to take any action against the fascist-like Legion of Justice.

Deborah Notkin, SMC activist and leading participant in the University of Illinois Circle campus Women's Liberation movement, is the SWP candi-

date for University of Illinois Board of Trustees. She will give particular stress to linking the campaign up with the struggle for women's liberation as a means of supporting that struggle.

Other candidates include Kim Allen, long-time student activist who is running for Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Fred Lovgren for University of Illinois Board of Trustees.

Abortion march wins supporters in New York

By RUTHANN MILLER

NEW YORK — On March 28, thousands of women will demonstrate here against the state abortion law, demanding it be declared unconstitutional because it denies women their right to life, their right to control their own lives and decide for themselves when and if they want to bear children.

People to Abolish Abortion Laws (PAAL), the coalition calling the demonstration, is composed of women's liberation, medical, community, and other groups interested in seeing the law declared unconstitutional.

The response to the demonstration has been very good. In the Albany-Schenectady area, a demonstration is planned for March 21 as a build-up for the mass New York City demonstration. The women's liberation groups at Columbia University and Barnard have plans for a rally on the upper west side for March 26 in order to reach as many students, faculty and community people about the March 28 action as possible.

The organization of a medical contingent is planned by the Medical Committee for Human Rights. There will also be a contingent of women artists which is being organized by Women Artists in Revolution of the Art Workers Coalition. Any groups interested in working on these contingents should contact the PAAL office at 135 W. 4th St., 254-4488.

To help publicize the demonstration, radio station WBAI and Nanette Rainon, who has a program called "Woman-kind," have offered PAAL their air time from midnight on, March 26 and 27. We will have a marathon against the systematic murder of women by abortion laws, and we invite all women's liberation groups, other groups and interested women to join us during those hours. Come down or call in at 826-0880.

Phila. socialist ticket to challenge state laws

By MAREEN JASIN

PHILADELPHIA, March 8 — "This election campaign is different," Pearl Chertov, SWP candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, told a campaign kickoff banquet here today. "In previous campaigns, we have found it difficult to convince people of the need for a change in America, but now the facts of life are making it clear that a change is what is called for."

Pearl Chertov is one of five Socialist Workers Party candidates who were introduced to over 100 campaign supporters at the banquet. Robin Maisel, antiwar leader and recent national field secretary for the YSA, will be opposing Senator Hugh Scott in the race for U.S. Senate. Arnold Terry, a long-time activist in the Black liberation movement here, will be SWP candidate for state representative in the 198th District. Women's liberation and antiwar activist Carol Lisker will be running for state representative in the 187th District, and candidate for Lt. governor will be Mark Zola, former civilian staff member of the antiwar GI paper, *Ultimate Weapon*.

Special guest speaker at the banquet was SWP 1968 presidential candidate Fred Halstead. A collection of over \$1,000 was made to help finance the petition drive for 21,000 signatures necessary to get on the ballot.

An important part of the SWP campaign in Pennsylvania will be a challenge of the undemocratic state election laws. At a press conference March 4, candidate Carol Lisker explained, "There are many sections of the Pennsylvania election code which are plainly discriminatory and in our opinion highly illegal. One such law requires candidates to sign a so-called loyalty oath. Another section of the code is quite unfair as it prevents two parties from having similar words in their names on the ballot. The Socialist La-



Pearl Chertov

bor Party also runs in Pennsylvania and depending on who files first, that 'socialist' party gets to use its real name.

"Another law which is blatantly discriminatory against minority parties requires that we file petitions with a minimum of 12,259 signatures of Pennsylvania voters in order to appear on the ballot. Millionaire industrialist candidate for governor on the Democratic Party ticket, Milton Shapp, will have to file only 500 signatures to appear on the ballot!"

The SWP is challenging in the courts the sections of the election law on the loyalty oath and on the restriction on ballot designation. Spencer Coxe, a representative of the ACLU, was present at the press conference and explained the ACLU's support for the challenges as a civil liberties issue.

Seething discontent erupts in New York high school

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK — The subterranean rumblings of discontent in the public school system erupted here at George Washington High School. Centering around the right of the parents to set up a student-grievance table, the school, which is about 50 percent Black and Puerto Rican, was shut down for a week.

On March 10, classes resumed with the grievance table manned by the parents.

GW, a high school in upper Manhattan, has a student population of over 4,000, but a capacity of only 3,000. One of the consequences of this is inept counseling of the students by counselors and teachers. Another consequence is that the program or class schedule cards of many students are messed up. Some students wind up sitting in the auditorium for over a month just waiting for the schedules to be untangled.

But this month, the students and parents decided not to wait any longer. They shut down the school on March 1 because the administration refused to hear about any grievance table.

The school chapter of the United Federation of Teachers, instead of backing the parents and students — which would allow them to deal with the issue of overcrowding — came out against the proposed table. The teachers considered the move a threat to their right of "con-

trol," and they complained about the lack of "safety" in the building. When the board of education finally buckled under the pressure of the parent-student actions, the teachers thought this to be "surrender." The acting principal resigned.

To accommodate themselves to the reality of the table, when the teachers started back to school on March 11, they refused to admit that it existed. However, some of the teachers began to go over to the side of the parents and students.

GW is just a harbinger of what will become a spring of discontent. To convey this situation to the board and to provide a constructive channel for action, the High School Student Rights Coalition is planning to picket the offices of the board on March 20 and April 14. The HSSRC is calling for a high-school-wide strike on April 15. And the demand of the HSSRC is simply that the board begin negotiations on its Bill of Rights.

Birthday party for J. P. Cannon

LOS ANGELES — James P. Cannon's 80th birthday will be celebrated at a banquet at 1702 E. 4th St. on March 21. Featured speaker to be Joseph Hansen, editor of *Intercontinental Press* and former secretary to Leon Trotsky.

Cannon personifies the continuity of the revolutionary movements of the past half century with today's struggles. An IWW organizer and strike leader, a leader of the left wing in the old Socialist Party, a founder and leader of American Communism who was expelled from the Communist Party for Trotskyism in 1928, James P. Cannon is today national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party.

You can help

If you think more people should be reading *The Militant*, you can help. For details see page 3.