

Stop the killings! No more Augustas! No more Kents!

May 12—Just one week after the Kent State massacre, seven more young people are dead at the hands of the cops and national guardsmen, this time seven Black youth murdered in Augusta, Ga. Six were killed when state troopers and guardsmen attacked residents of the Black community protesting the killing of the seventh victim, a teen-age Black youth, in the local jail.

News of the Augusta events was just coming in as we went to press and only the barest facts are available.

The official police version was that Charles Oatman, 16, died after two Black teen-age cellmates hit him with a belt and shoe and knocked him against the wall. The Black community, properly contemptuous of such a story, marched in angry protest. In front of the municipal building demonstrators burned a Georgia flag, a modified ver-

sion of the Confederate banner. Governor Lester Maddox, who announced that "... they'd better be prepared to meet their maker," unleashed the troopers and Guard.

The victims were: Sammy McCullough, 20; William Wright, 18; Charles MacMurphy, 39; John Stokes, 19; John Bennett, 28; Mack Wilson, age unknown; and many others wounded.

Coming on the heels of Kent, this latest monstrous deed will certainly evoke massive protest. All opponents of racism, of war, of capitalist violence must organize and act to call a halt. Antiwar-university forces must link up with the Black and Third World communities and join with them in massive protest actions. No more Augustas! No more Kents! Nor more Vietnams and Cambodias! Stop the killings!

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Nixon's Cambodia gamble; why it's doomed to failure

— see analysis page 2 —

Antiwar universities keep spreading across country; focus on May 30 actions



Seattle May 6 demonstration of 25,000

The reports in this issue demonstrate the frequency with which universities and colleges across the country are being turned into generators of antiwar activity able to effectively reach out to and help mobilize other sectors of the community.

As we went to press, a Columbia University convocation of some 4,000 voted by acclamation to "continue to utilize the university as a center for effective antiwar activity" in the months ahead. The university-wide student-faculty meeting pledged to devote its energies to bringing about the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina, an end to racism and political repression, and an end to the involvement of universities in war research.

This decision added another important school to the list of those that are already using university facilities to deepen the strike and mobilize support in the Third World communities and the labor movement for the struggle against the imperialist war.

The next major actions they are focusing on are massive demonstrations on May 30.

Nixon's Vietnam gamble; why it's doomed to failure

By JOSEPH HANSEN

In opening his May 8 press conference, Nixon said that he had made his decision to send U.S. troops into Cambodia because it would "serve the cause of a just peace in Vietnam."

He did not explain what he meant by a "just peace in Vietnam." This was indicated, however, by his argument that after carrying out his promise to withdraw 150,000 troops "by the spring of next year," this "would leave the 240,000 Americans who would be there a year from now without many combat troops to help defend them in an untenable position. That's why I had to act."

From this it is clear that Nixon's view of a "just peace" is one in which 240,000 U.S. troops would remain in Vietnam in a tenable position for an indefinite period of time.

Nixon also said that he wished to continue "negotiations" with the North Vietnam government with the objective of securing the "just peace" he has in mind.

This is precisely the kind of settlement that Johnson sought to come up with after he had become convinced that it was impossible to achieve an outright military victory despite the scale and ferocity of the war waged by the Pentagon and its Saigon puppets against the Vietnamese people in their struggle for national freedom.

It should be added that the Kremlin has done what it could to help secure this kind of "just peace" for U.S. imperialism. Material aid has been doled out to the Vietnamese with an eyedropper. Brezhnev and Kosygin have done their utmost to avoid opening up any "second fronts," or to help insurgent actions underway in various parts of the world that could relieve the pressure on the Vietnamese. And all the evidence indicates that they have done their best to collaborate first with Johnson and then with Nixon in seeking to persuade the North Vietnamese to "come to the negotiations table."

In face of these multiple pressures on the Vietnamese, why has Washington been unable up to now to secure a settlement of the kind that brought the Korean war to a close, leaving a puppet regime in power supported by a permanent U.S. army of occupation?

To answer this question, a number of elements affecting the relationship of forces must be considered.

1. *The depth and extent of the revolutionary upsurge in South Vietnam.*

This is the key. The insurgent people in South Vietnam would have disposed of the Saigon regime long ago had not the U.S. intervened on a massive scale militarily. The Thieu-Ky dictatorship would go down within

days, were the U.S. armed forces to be withdrawn.

The driving force in the South Vietnamese revolution is fed from many sources. These include the insufferable nature of landlord-capitalist-imperialist rule in South Vietnam, the general realization that it is possible to overthrow this rule and take the road to socialism as shown by a series of examples, including North Vietnam.

Despite the most savage terror and mass slaughter, the revolutionary hopes of the insurgent Vietnamese are continually rekindled by the knowledge gained in experience that only invading foreign armed forces block an immediate victory. They are further inspired by the sympathy and solidarity of all the ordinary people in

break of local fighting anywhere would provide a convenient excuse. The label covering such drives would be "pacification."

Viewed from the military standpoint, which is the standpoint taken by Nixon like Johnson before him, such a settlement would signify the successful establishment of "enclaves" in Indochina.

In 1966 there was considerable discussion of this in the U.S. press. Enough was revealed to show what the Pentagon had in mind. For instance, Hanson W. Baldwin wrote in the February 8, 1966, issue of the *New York Times*:

"In its various interpretations, the enclave concept is actually as old as military history. It involves a recog-



Photo by Michael Hardy

the world. Not least in inspiration has been the mounting antiwar movement in the United States itself.

In addition, the material aid granted by the Soviet Union and China, even though inadequate, is still sufficient to supply sizable fighting contingents. These play a substantial role in keeping up morale among the people. In turn, they are continually renewed from the layers of the population in which they operate.

2. *The incapacity of either Moscow, Peking, or even Hanoi (if Hanoi so desired) to convert the insurgent forces into mere pawns.*

It follows from this that it is not easy for Moscow or Peking to actually deliver the goods in a treacherous deal with Washington at the expense of the South Vietnamese insurgent forces.

Considerable evidence indicates that whatever the limitations of the leaders of the South Vietnamese fighters may be, they do tend to stand on their own feet and to exercise an independent role.

3. *The obvious instability of any conceivable settlement of the kind sought by Nixon (and Johnson before him.)*

A "coalition" government, in which the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam would be granted a few token posts, would constitute window dressing for the reality.

That reality would be the huge bases held by the U.S. armed forces plus a powerful army of occupation.

From these bases, the U.S., in conjunction with Saigon's mercenaries, could mount powerful drives in any direction whenever the Pentagon or White House felt inclined. The out-

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4. *The incapacity of the Saigon puppets or their U.S. backers to grant any genuine concessions to the masses.*

The fraudulent nature of the "just peace" which Johnson and Nixon have sought to impose might be covered up somewhat if real concessions could be granted.

Real concessions would include genuinely free elections, an agrarian reform, massive outlays to repair the damage inflicted by the war, and so on.

But free elections would doom the Thieu-Ky clique; an agrarian reform would finish off the landlord-capitalist ruling class. The U.S. intervened precisely to prevent such an outcome.

The very nature of U.S. involvement thus excludes making a political opening to the left that could build up support for the Saigon regime and its foreign backers.

The U.S. is on the side of reaction and despotism.

That is why Washington is incapable of offering the smallest guarantees to the mildest kind of opposition to Thieu-Ky and why leaders of such opposition, no matter how loyal they are to the U.S., find themselves in prison without much being done in their behalf by the U.S. embassy or the CIA.

5. *The incapacity of the U.S. to give up seeking a military victory in Vietnam.*

This is a consequence of all the foregoing. The White House has no other means of maintaining U.S. presence in Vietnam except through military force, and this makes no sense whatsoever unless this force can be stabilized through achievement of a military victory on such a scale as to paralyze and subdue all resistance.

The experience since 1965 has demonstrated the staggering costs of such an effort not only in terms of the suffering, deaths, and devastation wrought on the peoples of Indochina but in terms of deaths, casualties, economic burdens, and rising social tensions for the United States.

A sector of the American bourgeoisie, growing uneasy over these unexpected results, began to wonder if the objective was not beyond the capacities of even the United States. Their worries were heightened by the deepening radicalization of the American youth. They welcomed Nixon's ostensible turn to withdrawal from the morass.

But Nixon still believes that by military means it is possible to snatch a "just peace" from the jaws of defeat. His decision to invade Cambodia was a desperate gamble in accordance with this view.

However, a sober assessment of the relationship of forces in Indochina, in the world as a whole, and inside the United States enables us to forecast that Nixon will lose this throw of the dice.

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM

By Doug Jenness 35c

GIs AND THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR

By Mary-Alice Waters 25c

IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL VS. NEGOTIATIONS

By Caroline Jenness 25c

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EDITORIAL STATEMENT

The ongoing fight for antiwar universities

The social and governmental crisis triggered by the Cambodian invasion and the Kent State massacre was no temporary flareup. Given an effective political perspective, organization and direction, a vastly strengthened and expanded student antiwar movement now has an excellent chance to advance much further, striking powerful blows at the warmakers and their social system.

Describing the force that has shaken the American political structure so dramatically, *New York Times* correspondent John Kifner, who was on assignment in Ohio and saw the Kent State massacre, wrote May 10:

"The peace movement, hundreds have been writing, was dead, outmaneuvered by such administrative programs as 'Vietnamization' and 'withdrawal.' But the movement is not a set of organizations that often engage in fierce doctrinal disputes or cannot pay their bills. By now it is something close to a generation that, in varying degrees of intensity, feels a revulsion toward the war and a bitterness and disillusionment toward the government."

That all-too-justified revulsion, bitterness and disillusionment were expressed last weekend in the massive, nearly spontaneous demonstrations in Washington and other cities across the country.

The continuing attempts to establish antiwar universities are another expression of the revolt. With an uneven tempo of development, with more or less success, the student movement to assume control of university facilities, and to use those facilities to organize against the war, is continuing despite efforts from a variety of sources to thwart it.

In the first days of the crisis, administrators led by California's Governor Reagan tried to shut down entire school systems in order to prevent

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the student strike movement from spreading from campus to campus, and to try to halt the strong tendency of the strike to develop into actual student control of campus facilities and to expand this into the establishment of antiwar universities.

Now that these schools are reopening, the question is again posed: On what basis will they function? Will it be business as usual, or will the schools become antiwar universities, carrying on functions organized by the students—centers of meaningful, student-faculty-defined education and organized antiwar activity? At those schools which have remained open, the same questions continue to be posed daily.

The fight for conversions of the universities into antiwar institutions requires a serious educational process. The students must reach conscious political understanding. They must be politically convinced that a concerted effort to win full, or in most cases partial, control of the university and to turn it into an antiwar organizing



University of Washington strike meeting, May 6

Photo by Shelby Harris

center is far more meaningful and effective than efforts to simply shut down the schools for relatively brief periods, with the added handicap that the student body is dispersed by the shutdown.

In order to build an antiwar university, it is also necessary to wage a political and ideological fight against those on the right who would destroy the movement by coopting it into capitalist "peace politics." The struggle must also be waged against those of the ultraleft who give the right-wingers an assist with their increasingly discredited, ineffectual, isolated "confrontations" by small groups of "plate-glass revolutionaries." The only realistic course is campus antiwar education and organization, an orientation of reaching out to involve the labor movement, Third World communities, and the GIs.

The attempt of the capitalist politicians to coopt the movement testifies to its mounting power and potential. Rarely have these politicians spoken with such urgency in trying to persuade student antiwar activists to get into "positive," "effective" antiwar activity—namely, hustling votes for one or another office-hungry capitalist "peace" politician.

The ultralefts who oppose the development of antiwar universities and persist in their opposition to mass antiwar mobilizations out of fear that they will be submerged by them thereby testify to their inability to wage an effective ideological struggle against the would-be capitalist coopters. If it were up to the ultralefts, the movement would be handed to the capitalist politicians by simple default.

Genuinely revolutionary opponents of the war, however, will work energetically to spread the concept of the antiwar university. They will do their utmost to win control of what facilities they can, to build antiwar universities where they do not yet exist, and to organize the fight to maintain and extend them.

A prerequisite for such a fight, under conditions of a massive spontaneous student upsurge, is a central target around which to organize action, as well as a full program of activities for the antiwar universities themselves.

Such a focus is offered by the growing support for mass demonstrations on Memorial Day, May 30, to increase the pressure for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia. Preparing and building for May 30 demonstrations can provide a field of common endeavor for the forces of the

antiwar universities, as can the effort to reach out to the noncampus communities to bring them into the May 30 demonstrations. A campaign to win endorsements from unions can prove especially fruitful.

Development of the antiwar university is based on clear-cut opposition to the war. As it progresses, the dynamic of the struggle points more and more toward sharp opposition to the imperialist system that breeds war, racism, poverty and repression. The

growing political consciousness of hundreds of thousands of students is a historic development in the American revolutionary process.

The student action of taking control of the institutions most relevant to their lives will not be lost on the working people and the oppressed national minorities in this country. In the struggle for a socialist America, it will stand as an example for layers outside the universities.

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a revolutionary socialist
newspaper, which not
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information about the
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Trade union support for student strikers

By DAVID THORSTAD

MAY 12—When the student strike committee set up an informational picket line at the Portland docks, many longshoremen refused to cross it. Even those who did were willing to carry on political discussion with the pickets. One longshoreman later came down to strike headquarters and contributed one week's paycheck.

This was one indication among many that the escalation of the war into Cambodia and the student reaction to it were having an impact on the labor movement.

At a Chicago May Day rally, Charles Hayes, international vice president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, disputed AFL-CIO president George Meany's claim to be speaking "for 13 million unionists" when he supported Nixon's invasion of Cambodia.

In a news release commenting on Nixon's speech announcing the invasion, Robert Holmes, international vice president of the Teamsters Union, said it represented "a form of deceit which the American people will not accept." "We of labor must add our voices and pressure of our members," he continued, "to lead a fight against this Nixon foreign policy, because it sure isn't the American people's foreign policy."

Union leaders were present on the platform at several rallies. Speakers on May 8 in Boston included John Mitchell, international representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, and Charles Lowell, president of United Electrical Workers Local 205. Lowell thanked students for their help in the recent strike against General Electric.

Sam Pollack, president of Meat Cutters Local 427, and Leo Fenster, secretary of the UAW district council in Cleveland, were speakers at a May 9 protest rally at Case Western Reserve University.

The president of the Retail Clerks Union in Philadelphia, Wendell Young, addressed a rally there May 8.

A special meeting of the Akron Retail Clerks Union on May 10 heard a delegation of the Hiram College strike committee present a resolution calling for immediate withdrawal from Cambodia and Vietnam, and opposing the gunning down of the students at Kent State University by the National Guard. A straw vote showed the majority in favor of the resolution.

California's Contra Costa and Alameda County Central Labor Councils have passed resolutions against

Livingston hits N.Y. hooligans

David Livingston, president of District 65 Retail, Wholesale, Office and Processing Union in New York, speaking at the May 9 rally in Washington, told the participants:

I come today to offer the apologies of the decent people in labor for yesterday's storm-troop activities in New York City by the construction workers against the striking students. I plead with you, do not regard those storm troopers as typical of the working people who are members of organized labor. They are indeed following their leadership. When Nixon marched into Cambodia, his buddy, the one man in America who rushed to say "Right on" to him, was George Meany of the American Federation of Labor.

the war and the invasion of Cambodia.

Fred Rowlands, president of Seattle Local 1488 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, stated last week in Denver where he was attending the union's national convention that the union would "stand by and fight for" any union member who wished to stay away from work in sympathy with the student strike.

The Chicago strike committee has received messages of solidarity from leaders of a number of Chicago labor unions. One statement said: "The executive board of the Independent Union of Public Aid Employees is in total opposition to the invasion of Cambodia by U.S. troops and the murder of the students at Kent State University. The board supports the strike committee."

There were these further indications of support in Chicago.

Marion Calligorias of the Brotherhood of Airlines Clerks supported the strike council's demands and has extended greetings of solidarity to the council.

Murray Finley, international organizer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, has extended his support to the strike council.

Robert Herbin, manager of the International Meat Cutters Joint Board, sent his greetings to the strike council and affirmed his support for the three strike demands: U.S. out of Southeast Asia now; troops off campus, stop sup-

Walter Reuther statement against Nixon escalation

Two days before his death in a plane crash the night of May 9, Walter Reuther, president of the 1,800,000-member United Auto Workers union, issued a strongly worded condemnation of the invasion of Cambodia.

More alert to the moods of the workers than the fossilized, superpatriotic bureaucrats like AFL-CIO President George Meany, Reuther nonetheless shared their procapitalist, class-collaborationist views.

His telegram to Nixon, excerpts of which follow, can therefore be taken to reflect powerful pressures from the rank and file:

"Your decision to invade the territory of Cambodia can only increase the enormity of the tragedy in which our nation is already deeply and unfortunately involved in that region.

"You pledged to bring America together, yet by your action you have driven the wedge of division deeper. The bitter fruits of this growing alienation and frustration among America's youth have been harvested on the campus of Kent State University where the lives of four students involved only in an emotional protest against the war were ended by the needless and inexcusable use of military force.

"At no time in the history of our free society have so many troops been sent to so many campuses to suppress the voice of protest by so many young Americans. With the exception of a small minority, the American people, including our young people, rejected violence in all its forms as morally repugnant and counterproductive. The problem, Mr. President, is that we cannot successfully preach non-violence at home while we escalate mass violence abroad."

pression of political dissent; and ROTC off campus.

John Chico, secretary-treasurer of Local 65 of the United Steel Workers, backed the strike.

Ed Sadlowski, staff representative of District 31, Subdistrict 3, United Steel Workers, stated his support for the strike and said it was "imperative that the student and labor movements in this country get together. . . ."

Strike support has come from John Kailin, managing editor of *Labor Today*.

Bill Chandler, organizer for the United Farm Workers, backed the strike.

Eliseo Medina, Illinois regional director of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, has offered the strike council his support.

Patrick Gorman added his name to the strike supporters in the Chicago area. Gorman is international secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

The strike council received endorsement this week from W. F. Seltzer, secretary-treasurer and general chairman

of Local 351 of the Dining Car Employees.

Jack Spiegel of the Shoeworkers Union expressed his solidarity with the strike.

The strike was also backed by Bill Banta, international representative of AFSCME.

Students should do everything possible to escalate and deepen this trend. There are a number of steps that strike committees can take immediately:

- They can go to the unions seeking endorsement for the May 30 demonstrations.

- They can take to the unions the antiwar resolution passed at the AFSCME national convention last week and ask that similar resolutions be adopted.

- Unions should be invited to send speakers to rallies.

- The idea of job actions in support of the strike and against the war can be raised.

- Funds for radio and newspaper ads can be solicited.

- Unions can be asked to help supply defense guards for demonstrations.

- Leafletting of rank-and-file workers at plant gates should be organized.



Photo by Howard Petrick

Hooligans attack photographer in New York City Hall area demonstration, May 8.

New York right-wing attacks bring outraged reaction

NEW YORK, May 12—The several hundred construction workers who attacked peaceful antiwar demonstrators in the City Hall area here acted in direct collusion with members of the police force and were reportedly backed by some contractors and some officials of graft-ridden building trades unions. But the immediate impact of the hooligan attack was not what its organizers hoped for. Far from crystalizing support around the ultraright opponents of the antiwar movement, the reaction was overwhelming against the attackers.

The first attack occurred May 8. The police department was informed in advance by a construction worker that the attack on student demonstrators was going to occur. But, curiously, the huge New York police force had only a minimum of manpower on hand and then claimed they were "incapable" of controlling the "law and order" partisans who were beating up on anyone with long hair, a beard, or a camera.

Demanding a federal probe, Aryeh Neier, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, told newsmen: "Reports we have received make clear that police stood around passively and in some instances joined in the assault on antiwar demonstrators."

According to several businessmen who watched from their office windows, the attackers were apparently directed by two men not in workingmen's garb. One of them was subsequently identified as the editor of a small ultraright-wing publication.

On May 11, a crowd of several thousand, including construction workers, some longshoremen and others, staged a march through the same area and attacked a number of bystanders. This time police exercised some degree of control.

Mayor Lindsay, also under attack by the rightwingers in the police force and elsewhere because of his effort to associate himself with the widespread antiwar sentiment in the city, responded to the evidence of police collusion. Sensitive to the threat to his political status, New York's ambitious mayor vowed a probe and said he would ask the bar association to establish a panel of lawyers to oversee police performance at future demonstrations.

It has not yet been clearly established which forces actually organized and instigated the construction workers and whatever longshoremen may have joined them. There have been a number of cases in the past of cops dressed in workers' attire spurring attacks on radical and antiwar demonstrators.

Chicago strike council calls for May 30 action

By RANDY FURST

CHICAGO, May 11—A nationwide conference to project further moves in the national student strike was discussed here today by leaders of the Chicago Strike Council, which is a citywide apparatus representing nearly 30 colleges and universities, dozens of high schools and many of the Third World and radical organizations in the Chicago metropolitan area.

Such a delegated national conference of strike councils was felt to be a top priority in order to exchange experiences and discuss what next on a national scale—how best to further expand the largest student strike in U. S. history.

Meeting in the Palacio Theater, strike representatives from throughout Chicago voted by acclamation to throw their full weight behind the strategy to maintain the antiwar universities as organizing centers in the face of efforts by the government and university officials either to shut the campuses down or return to business as usual.

At the same session, chaired by radical historian Staughton Lynd, it was unanimously decided to back the May 30 Memorial Day demonstrations protesting the Indochina war and the Kent massacre. Carl Finamore, a leading figure in the strike council, predicted that the May 30 demonstrations would be the largest yet.

On May 9, a march through the Loop, Chicago's downtown area, drew 60,000 people, making it the largest antiwar action here to date. The march was sponsored by the strike council.

Third World people and labor are linking up with the students to form the broadest coalition ever assembled in this city. A Black Coalition, composed of 63 groups, has decided to build the May 30 antiwar demonstrations here. The Young Lords Organization has also endorsed the May 30 action. In addition, major union officials have thrown their support behind the new powerful formation (see story elsewhere this issue).

At the Chicago Art Institute School where the strike council is housed, visitors are directed by a student at the general manager's desk to whatever strike "department" they are looking for. The council's 20-person administrative staff, supplied by striking schools throughout the city, gives aid and advice to student strikers, provides office space to community groups, and puts out leaflets and posters in great quantity. The strike council turned out 10,000 posters and 20,000 copies of the strike newspaper for last week's downtown march.

A professor at the University of Illinois serves as treasurer for the strike council. The Art Institute's administra-

tion agreed to turn the school over to the council after the University of Illinois was closed by officials there on May 8.

Virtually every Chicago college and university has adopted the antiwar university perspective. At Northwestern, where regular strike meetings draw up to 8,000, students are canvassing door to door in a massive campaign to carry the issues of the strike to the community. At Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, the history department voted that the rest of the school year will be devoted to discussing the issues of the strike. Five schools in the Loop area used their facilities to run off leaflets for the May 9 march.

Faculty support remains massive. Before U of I was shut down, the faculty voted by acclamation to impeach President Nixon—then adopted by a two-to-one margin a motion to kick ROTC off the campus.

Among the colleges and universities represented on the strike council are: Lake Forest College, National College of Education, Northern Illinois University, Wright Junior College, Southern Illinois University, Jane Addams School of Social Work, Illinois Institute of Technology, University of Chicago, Chicago Art Institute School, University of Chicago Medical School, Loyola University, Mundelein College, University of Illinois at Circle, Northwestern University, Amundson-Mayfair Junior College, Elmhurst College, George Williams College, Chicago Theological Seminary, Central YMCA College, DePaul University, Rosary College, and Northwestern Law School. In addition, some 40 high schools are represented on the strike coalition.

There have been attempts to draw GIs into the movement. Servicemen are leafleted at bases surrounding the city. In one case, four seamen were stopped by a strike leader, coming out of a bar last Saturday. "We need money," said the strike organizer, "for the strike—to bring you guys home." The four reached into their pockets and handed the organizer fists full of change and dollar bills.

The citywide strike has also drawn most political groups into motion. Present at the strike council meeting yesterday were the Young Socialist Alliance, the Young Workers Liberation League, International Socialists, Youth Against War and Fascism, and some members of Revolutionary Youth Movement. Progressive Labor has become severely isolated as a result of several ultraleft adventures.

The Young Socialist Alliance is playing a leading role in the strike. The

columnist Jack Mabley blasted the YSA in *Chicago Today* on May 8. "The over-all strategy of the Communist-oriented revolutionaries who are trying to take control of the nationwide student demonstrations is becoming clear," Mabley charged. "... the strategy now is in its first stage, to take-over the university... physical occupation of the colleges give the revolutionaries a base from which to work. They have telephone lines, duplicating and printing equipment, offices and general headquarters..." Chief architect of this master plan, says Mabley, are Trotskyists (YSAers) who are active in the Student Mobilization Committee.

Some who have been active in the radical movement for a long time remain adverse to the antiwar university perspective. At the strike council meeting yesterday which was attended by 300 representatives, Clark Kissinger, former SDS president, backed opening the universities for antiwar work, but blasted as "chauvinistic" the idea that the antiwar movement should reach out to the Black community. Lee McSarthing of the Black Coalition responded by saying, "You're not being chauvinistic when you try to pull members of the Black community into the antiwar movement." He said the antiwar forces in Chicago "have the support of 90 percent of the Black community."

Every self-respecting student leader has endorsed the strike. In Evanston, home of Northwestern, which for many years was regarded as a relatively conservative school, one giant banner nailed over the porch of a local fraternity reads: "U. S. out of Cambodia Now. End the Murders of Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians."



Washington, May 9

Photo by Randy Furst



Over 100,000 in Washington

By RANDY FURST
and DICK ROBERTS

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 9— "Spread the Strike! Spread the Strike!" This was the main idea on the minds of the more than 100,000 young people who poured into Washington this weekend to demonstrate on the ellipse behind the White House.

They were fed up with the lies of the Nixon administration, totally opposed to the war, and deeply angered by the massacre of the Kent State students.

Many traced their "membership" in the radical movement to last week. Their mood was militant, calm, determined. They wore buttons that read, "Remember Kent State." Many had painted huge strike fists on the backs of their shirts.

They waved "V" signs at a unit of National Guardsmen. And they applauded when many of the soldiers waved the "V" sign back.

They wanted the antiwar mobilization sustained until the war in Southeast Asia is over, and they wanted to reach out to every layer of American society that can be brought into the struggle against the war.

The fact that so many thousands got here on such short notice is itself testimony to the massive sweep of radicalization that took place last week. Just a few months ago, the prior organizational work to build a demonstration of this size would have involved weeks of sustained activity.

This demonstration had been formally announced only a week ago—right after the invasion of Cambodia. The group which announced the rally, the New Mobilization Committee, is practically defunct and did not build it. Yet tens of thousands turned out, mobilized by their own anger and deep opposition to the war.

Despite the prediction of violence and sincere hope for confrontation by ultraleft elements, there were no serious incidents.

This was because the large contingent of hastily organized marshals worked hard to keep the demonstration peaceful—and because these marshals expressed the view of the overwhelming majority of the demonstrators. They were part of the demonstration. Close to one in three demonstrators wore a card—"For Non-Violence."

Government officials and bureaucrats, from Nixon down to the police lieutenants, were on best behavior. Some governmental agencies put on sidewalk displays to persuade people what the government is doing for them. It did not soothe the demonstrators at all.

Nixon's press conference, Friday evening before the demonstration, where the president "granted" the ellipse to the antiwar movement, apparently served only to raise the attendance here.

Howard Jones, 24, a professional auditor, listened to Nixon's press conference at his apartment in New York. At 10:55 p.m. a friend walked into Jones' apartment. At 11 p.m. they hopped in a car and headed to Washington.

Said Wayne Peck, 19, a student at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville and a member of Sigma Alpha Mu, "Twenty of the 33 fraternities at the school voted to strike. The rest will hopefully be meeting to vote this weekend."

There were no "official" rally slogans printed on signs by the demonstration sponsors. People hand lettered their own:

- "Vietnam. Cambodia. Ohio? Strike! Strike!"
- "It's Mr. Nixon's war, not ours."

- "Stop the Killing."
- "Government of the people, for the people, by the people, shall not perish, Mr. Nixon."
- "Support the Strike."
- "41,733 plus 4—how many more?"

The speakers platform erected at the north end of the ellipse gave the crowd a good view of the White House. "Don't give Nixon a chance to isolate us from America's working men and women," said Sid Finehirsch, a strike leader from the University of Massachusetts, who gave one of the best and most enthusiastically received talks.

"Use the strikes at your schools to organize against the war in the neighborhoods, factories and army bases,"

he declared.

The theme that the demonstrators must return to their schools and fan out in the communities was also taken up by Ron Young, a New Mobe coordinator.

The crowd was overwhelmingly students. It was the youngest assemblage in Washington yet, younger than October 1967, younger than last November 15.

But it rose to its feet in sustained applause when a member of another generation, David Livingston, president of District 65, New York distributive workers union, shouted from the microphone on the platform: "I want you to know that when we strike,

Speech by U of Mass strike leader

Extend the strike, organize

The following is the text of the speech delivered to the mass rally of over 100,000 in Washington, D. C., on May 9, by Sid Finehirsch, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, a strike leader at the University of Massachusetts, and chairman of the University Mobilization Committee.

The universities of the nation are on strike—the most massive student strike in American history. But these universities have not closed down, they have opened up. They have opened up to become real centers of learning both on campus and in the surrounding community.

On campus, education is still taking place, but it is education of a radically different nature than a week ago. People are learning without the coercion of grades, credits or diplomas. Education is taking place in strike classes called workshops which are attended out of enthusiasm to learn.

At the University of Massachusetts, there are few regular classes these days, since the strike is 93 percent successful. However, there were 51 jampacked workshops yesterday on topics like American Involvement in Southeast Asia, The Art of the Poster, Vietnam and Palestine, Women and the Strike, Chicanos and Third World, American Neocolonialism, The Black Panther Party, and What the Karamazov Brothers, Thomas Becket, Antigone and Hamlet would say and do at the U of Mass in May 1970.

The difference between today's universities and last week's is not just that students attend strike classes out of enthusiasm for knowledge, but the form of the university is radically different.

The administrations are withering away, and in their place are the strike committees consisting of students and faculty who are elected representatives. These strike committees have assumed the running of the universities.

At the U of Mass in order to insure nonviolence the strike committee ordered the police disarmed. So out of respect for legitimate authority, I assume, the police turned in their bullets. The strike committee also barred all cops from strike-held buildings. Since then no cops have entered such a building. The strike committees are the university's new dean, chancellor, president, and board of trustees all rolled into one—with one important difference. They were elected democratically.

Our strike committee at U of Mass also voted to turn the ROTC building into a medical center. The building was not occupied, stormed, burned, or bombed. The ROTC department moved out, and the strike medics moved in.

America's new antiwar universities do not stop at the edge of the campus. The universities have become staging areas for action to reach the working people of the United States in their neighborhoods, on their streets, and in their factories. We tell people the truth because they have had enough of Johnson's and Nixon's lies about peace. The truth we tell people is: the only way to bring peace is to bring all the GIs home now.

Nixon told us last night that he wanted the same things we do. Nixon is a liar, has always been a liar, and always will be a liar. If he wants to prove he's for the same thing we are, let him order today a complete and immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia, because that is what we want.

And that is what workers and other people want. Thursday night I spoke in a community college, and yesterday at a high school and in a factory. All of those I spoke to were ready to hear the truth about Nixon's war and were ready to take a position for immediate withdrawal.

We must reach people beyond campus because they are ready to listen. We must not lose the opportunity which exists now to organize a majority of Americans for immediate withdrawal and then demonstrate that

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Listening to the rally on the White House



Photos on this page by Howard Petrick

Listening to the rally on the White House ellipse, May 9

gton, May 9

we will strike effectively to end this war."

When Livingston ended his talk with the chant for "Peace Now! Peace Now!" it marked the high point of responsiveness for the audience, who returned the shout, calling it out to the White House.

Livingston read a statement from 1,000 District 65 stewards demanding that Congress recognize that Nixon has violated the Constitution and must be impeached. His call to "Dump Nixon—and we mean now," got a roar of approval.

The rally was slated to begin at 12 noon, but the speakers were delayed. Fred Halstead who, with Brad

Lyttle, was a chief marshal for the Washington action, held the crowd's attention with announcements of lost children interspersed with political quips.

At one point, Halstead spotted Senator Jacob Javits making his way toward the speakers' stand. "Well, look here," said Halstead. "Even Senator Javits is here. I hope he tells us he isn't going to vote for any more war appropriations. He and some of the others have been saying that they vote the money to 'protect our boys in Vietnam.'"

There were cheers and laughter and Senator Javits disappeared from the area.

Charles Palmer, president of the Na-

tional Student Association, called for mass national participation in demonstrations. Mike Alewitz, a leader of the Kent State Student Mobilization Committee, reported on the developments there since the murders.

Black Panther chief of staff David Hilliard had been invited to speak but did not come. New Haven Panther leader Douglas Miranda was introduced and relinquished his time to two members of the Panther Defense Committee, Robert Scheer and John Froines. Scheer advised the audience that this was probably the country's last legal rally. Froines' contribution was an attempt to get the crowd to join him in chanting, "Fuck Nixon."

Movie actress and activist Jane Fonda told the crowd, "Ladies and gentlemen, fellow bums, we are showing Richard Nixon that the silent majority is dead." She reported that People's Armed Forces Day is May 16—a day that antiwar GIs have slated for demonstrations. "Nixon may ignore Congress," Jane Fonda stated, "and he may ignore the people, but he cannot ignore thousands of GIs marching against the war."

The rally was chaired by Dr. Benjamin Spock. Other veteran activists who spoke included Beulah Sanders of the National Welfare Rights Organization and Coretta King. There was also a spokeswoman for the women's liberation movement, a student from Oberlin College in Ohio, and many others.

At midafternoon the rally became a massive peaceful parade up 15th St. past the White House. Ultralefts (and, no doubt, police agents) seized the opportunity to attempt to inflame the marchers and get their confronta-



tion going. They were unsuccessful. The demonstrators watched the exhortations to violence by a few helmeted youths with a certain bewilderment.

rganize, build to May 30

majority through mass actions in the streets, in the high schools, and in the factories. And when I say mass action, I certainly include the possibility of a general strike.

Use the strike, the strike at your school, to organize against the war in the neighborhoods, factories, and Army bases. Don't give Nixon a chance to isolate us from America's working men and women. He's going to try. He's going to red-bait us, youth-bait us, and violence-bait us. But if we are in the communities he can't succeed.

If he red-baits us—we tell the people that our movement is nonexclusionary. Anyone can join as long as he or she wants to end the war.

If he youth-baits us—we tell the people that the youth want exactly what they want: an end to the war and the only way to end the war is to bring all the troops home now.

Nixon, after calling us bums, now says he wants to talk to us. Well, of course we will talk. We will go anywhere, anytime, to talk with the president. But not behind closed doors. Let the debate be out in the open where America's working people can see and hear. We challenge you, Mr. Nixon, to a TV debate. We know we will win because the truth is on our side.

If Nixon tries to violence-bait us—we tell the people that it is the government which has caused the violence both in Southeast Asia and at home. The antiwar movement didn't order the National Guard to Kent State. We didn't supply the Guard with live ammunition. We didn't shoot Fred Hampton in cold blood in his bed. The only thing we did was to lose four of our brothers and sisters at Kent State, and many more Black brothers and sisters in Chicago, Mississippi, Orangeburg, and Oakland.

Our movement is peaceful precisely because we don't want to give Nixon a chance to divide us from the people. Some of us are not pacifists—we believe in the right of self-defense—but we will not initiate violence because it is by peaceful action that we have the opportunity to talk to America's wage and salary earners.

Students have the power to reach these people with the antiwar message, and these people have the power to end the war by mass action at the work place, simply by picking up their tools and going home.

America's workers are ready to listen. They've listened long enough to the politicians. For over seven years, the politicians have promised to end the war by victory or by negotiations, or phased withdrawal. But, they can't end the war. We can't rely on the politicians. We must rely on ourselves.

The United States can't win because the Vietnamese are not going to give up after a quarter century of struggle. And the American antiwar movement is not going to give up defending the right of self-determination of the Vietnamese and all Third World peoples. The only way to end the war is an immediate withdrawal. That would be a victory for the American people.

We must clearly demonstrate that a majority of Americans want an immediate withdrawal. We will demonstrate this fact through continuing mass actions in the coming weeks. May 30—Memorial Day—cannot be a day for glorification of the war, but it must be a day when millions of Americans—GIs and civilians, students and workers, Black, Brown, white, Asian-American, Native American—fill the streets demanding an immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia.

Spread the strike! Turn the universities into engines of antiwar activity!

Organize in the communities, in the factories, and at Army bases. And bring it all together on May 30, and beyond, with mass actions in all the towns and cities of America, demanding that the GIs be brought home NOW! The people do have power. We must help organize that power. We can win!

The Militant's extra effort needs your financial support

During the current unprecedented upsurge of the mass antiwar movement in the United States, The Militant has been publishing on a twice-weekly schedule, and we plan to continue that pace as long as is necessary to provide the kind of coverage needed in these historic days.

The size of our press runs has also been unprecedented: over 60,000 of the first special with an eyewitness report on the Kent massacre; and 75,000 copies of the second special issue telling the story which the regular press has tried to black out—the story of the emerging antiwar universities in which students have begun the process of taking control of university facilities and using them as centers for organizing the antiwar sentiment in the noncampus communities.

Our supporters across the country have pitched in to distribute these exceptionally large runs with great enthusiasm. On the second special issue, for example, the Bay Area took a bundle of 4,250; Boston took 4,000; Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles each took 2,000; Seattle and Atlanta, 1,000; and even places like Bowling Green, Ohio, and Knoxville, Tenn., took bundles of 200.

But The Militant cannot be published on energy and enthusiasm alone. We urgently need special financial support to enable us to continue this costly added effort.

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Photos on this page by Howard Petrick

rally on White House ellipse, May 9

Cambodia invasion: scorched-earth policy

By DICK ROBERTS

MAY 11—Nixon's massive seven-front invasion of Cambodia has all the bloody earmarks of the scorched-earth, search-and-destroy operations that Washington carried out in South Vietnam particularly in the pre-Tet offensive period.

Those operations included tens of thousands of U.S. troops and heavy bombing of the countryside; they displaced hundreds of thousands of refugees besides murdering untold numbers of the Vietnamese civilian population. They cost the lives of many thousands of American GIs. They did not bring the war any closer to an end.

That is because the strategy of scorched earth — i.e., terrorizing the population — long ago lost its effectiveness against the Southeast Asian revolution.

Already by the fourth day of the attack on Cambodia, the U.S. generals in the battlefield had begun to tone down the bloodthirsty optimism they expressed when Nixon first gave the go-ahead April 30.

"One of their preliminary conclusions is that the success or failure of the sweep will have to be measured in terms of supplies captured and facilities destroyed," *New York Times* reporter Terence Smith wrote from Saigon May 4. "The vast majority of the 7,000 Communists who were believed to have been in the area appear to have fled."

Casualties inflicted on the revolutionary forces were smaller than had been hoped. The "headquarters for the entire Communist military operation for South Vietnam" which Nixon promised to destroy in his Thursday night speech was nowhere to be found.

By the eighth day of the operation, Terence Smith found a positively gloomy mood in the U.S. command headquarters in Saigon. "The officers who were most enthusiastic about the operation at the outset had become defensive about it.

"Although none would admit it publicly . . . they had nothing in the way of results to justify the largest and most intensive operation launched by allied forces in at least two years."

They had, however, heavily bombed the rubber-plantation town of Snoul. *Wall Street Journal* staff reporter Peter R. Khan had seen the damage: "There are perhaps 200 people wandering around in the rubble of what once housed some 2,000. There are some fresh graves near the center of town. . . ."

"The survivors of Snoul say they haven't eaten for two days. They want rice. Some are covered only by shreds of clothing. Nearly all have lost their homes and possessions. There is no one to provide relief except the Amer-

icans. . . . 'We can't get involved in administering civil government in Cambodia,' later states Maj. Gen. Elvy Roberts, commander of the Cambodian theater."

And along the banks of the Mekong, U.S. and Saigon naval ships are conveying the residents of riverside villages away to South Vietnam. CBS-TV glimpsed a young woman weeping as she was taken from her home in the battle path. Soon she will exist in one of the disease and hunger ridden refugee camps, already housing several millions of those who fled from U.S. bombs, in the city outskirts of Saigon and other major South Vietnam cities.

There have been reports, obviously censored to the bare minimum, that some GIs refused to go along with this new monstrosity.

"Reporters who accompanied the 25th Division soldiers said several of them complained about going into Cambodia, saying at first they would refuse. Others said they lacked supplies for the assault, but after harsh words and threats of courts-martial from their commander, they went," wrote *New York Times* correspondent James P. Sterba, from Saigon, May 6.

There was also a report of at least six GIs who face court-martial in Saigon for refusing to go to Cambodia.

New York Times correspondent Terence Smith caught the Dr. Strangelovian atmosphere in the Pentagon East, U.S. military command, Saigon: "Colored slides were flashed on the screen in the chief of staff's briefing room and mimeographed sheets were distributed that read 'Cumulative results — Cambodian operations.' The sheets listed the total enemy killed. . . ."

"There was no discussion at the briefing of the destruction of the Cambodian town of Snoul, which was leveled on Tuesday by American tanks, or of the civilians displaced, or of the half-dozen American soldiers who, in frustration and fear, had refused to go into Cambodia and were facing possible court martial as a result. Instead, the emphasis was on disruption of the enemy supply system and the destruction of his 'base areas.'"

Calif. Black student unions in major planning session



Malcolm X

By HERMAN FAGG
SWP candidate for governor of California

PALO ALTO — Over 400 Black youth attended the "Black Unity" Conference here at Stanford University May 1-3 (*The Militant*, May 8). The conference called for mass demonstrations on May 19, Malcolm X's birthday, centering around these demands: Defend all Black political prisoners; Bring the Black GIs home from all bases abroad; No draft of Black youth; and Black control of the Black community. The call includes a high school boycott and job boycotts in the Black community that day. The entire week, May 12-19, will be "Political Prisoners Week."

A Black Community Defense Committee was established to coordinate these actions and work with various

defense committees already established by local BSUs.

The conference overwhelmingly endorsed "the need for a mass independent Black political party." The question of an Afro-American party was discussed extensively in the political workshop and in the plenary session. Would it be a mirror-image of the Republican and Democratic parties or a revolutionary party? The majority agreed that it would be a revolutionary party, based on Black nationalism, which could unify and lead the Black community in the struggle for Black control. The first step toward realizing this goal is for "all BSUs to begin immediately to forge a Black united front of all Black organizations in the Black community."

Education was a major topic of discussion at the conference. The education and Black studies workshops noted that many Black studies programs were coming under intensified attack. The plenary session approved resolutions to continue the fight for Black studies programs controlled by the Black students and faculty and to establish "all-Black institutions as soon as possible." Emphasis was placed upon recruiting more Blacks into the scientific and technological fields and bringing science courses under the aegis of Black studies.

Other resolutions adopted include:

1. The "demand that Black workers and contractors be given priority in any construction on the campus and in the Black community."

2. A call for "cooperative living in the spirit of collectives which is in diametric opposition to individualistic-capitalist ideology."

3. An unrelenting fight against the oppression of Black women within and outside of the Black Students Unions, including a condemnation of forced sterilization and support for the right of Black women to free abortion on demand. The resolution included the following: "Whereas the 'pill' poses a threat to the health of Black women, BSUs should demand that they be removed from the Black community and that alternative and safe methods of contraception for family planning, controlled by Black institutions, be made available."

The conference adopted the following guidelines: that the struggle of Afro-Americans is for the right of self-determination; that all Black students have the right to free thought and discussion within the BSUs; that the struggle is a local, national and international one; that BSUs should be accountable to the Black community; and that the right of armed self-defense is undeniable.

Another Black Youth Conference has been called for six months from now in order to further implement the decisions reached May 1-3.

The complete text of the conference, including all resolutions passed, may be obtained from: Black Students Union, c/o Black House, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

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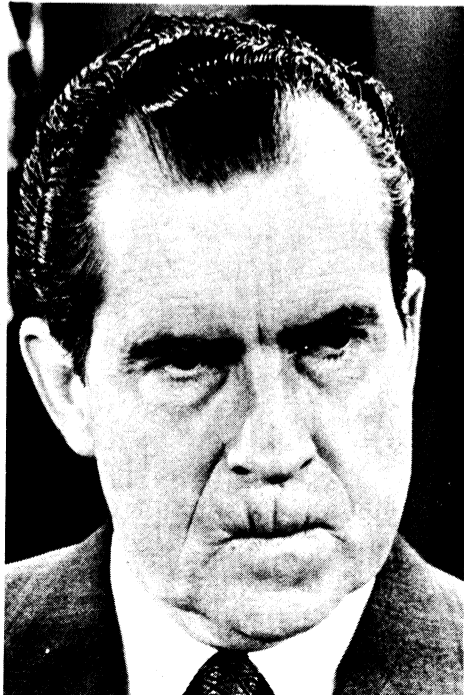
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Richard Nixon



Chicano Moratorium sets May 30 protest

By ANTONIO RIOS

SAN FRANCISCO, May 11—The Northern California Chicano Moratorium Committee has called a mass Chicano antiwar demonstration for May 30, beginning with a march through the Mission District, the barrio of San Francisco, to Delores Park where a rally will be held to demand an immediate end to the war in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and the withdrawal of all Chicano GIs.

Although Chicanos constitute only 10 percent of the population in Aztlan, the five-state area of the Southwest, we are 20 percent of the dead. And over 8,000 Spanish-surnamed GIs have died already.

The Chicano Moratorium has become the most dramatic and successful movement of Third World people against the war, mobilizing thousands in several states since the first Los Angeles Moratorium of Dec. 20 which drew over 2,000 Chicanos. A second moratorium was held in Los Angeles

Actions taken by Third World war opponents

By DERRICK MORRISON

In the wake of the Cambodia invasion and the Kent State massacre, Third World organizations are turning attention to the struggle against the Vietnam war. As initial reports show, strikes and protests by Third World students are taking place or being planned from one end of the country to the other. Indicative of events taking place are:

- New York: Black, Puerto Rican, and Asian-American students have helped shut down the high schools and participated in the campus strikes.

- Chicago: Third World groups and community organizations have added their support to the citywide strike. Representatives on the strike council from the Third World community include the Latin-American Defense Organization (LADO), the Young Lords Organization, the U of Illinois Latin-American Student Union (LASU), and the Latin Kings.

Also part of the council is the Black Coalition, which contains some of the groups that spearheaded the drive last year for the hiring of more Black construction workers. The Kenwood-Woodlawn Community Organization has endorsed the strike as well as Curtis Ceart, chairman of the West Side Organization, and the chairman of the Kenwood-Woodlawn Community Organization.

- Houston: On May 11, the first Black antiwar rally was held in an auditorium on the Texas Southern University campus. TSU, scene of the massive police riot three years ago, is all-Black.

Some 250 students attended the rally, including 50 that marched from the nearby University of Houston. This march was sponsored by the U of H Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Student Mobilization Committee.

Dwight Davis, chairman of the TSU Committee to End the War in Vietnam, organized and chaired the rally. Speakers included Curtis Graves, a Black city councilman, Mickey Leland, a TSU student, Ovid Duncatel of the Poor People's organization, Yolanda Birdwell of MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization), and Ann Springer of the SMC.

on February 28, and mobilized over 4,000 people in spite of a pouring rain. The rain could not silence the thunderous shouts of "Fuera Vietnam," "Chicano Power," "Raza Si, Guerra No." Since then, large moratoriums have

Antiwar GIs in opposition to Cambodia escalation

By ROBERT LANGSTON

NEW YORK, May 12—GIs, like the rest of the population, have reacted to the escalation of the war in Southeast Asia and the killing of the Kent students. One soldier at the Shelter Half, the GI coffeehouse in Tacoma, Washington, put it this way: "Like everyone else, we are outraged. Most GIs have an 'I told you so' attitude. We thought it was going to happen, and most of us are skeptical about any quick withdrawal from Cambodia."

In addition to the reported refusal of some GIs to fight in Cambodia (see article page 8), a number of things indicative of the attitude of many GIs have happened here in the U.S. also.

Immediately after Nixon announced the U.S. aggression in Cambodia, four recently discharged Vietnam vets who are now in the Manhattan Veterans Hospital for treatment of their Vietnam wounds began circulating a petition among their fellow patients. The petition was addressed to President Nixon, and it said simply: "We are against your presence in Vietnam and into Cambodia and against the shooting of the students. We ask the President to stop supporting the right-wing government of South Vietnam."

The four—Manuel Vitte, 24, David Jimenez, 22, Cruz Sandria, 19, and James Moses, 24—quickly got more than a hundred signatures on their petition. Then, however, they say, John Sheehan, the hospital's director, intervened and threatened to throw the men out of the hospital if they didn't stop circulating the petition. (Since the vets are no longer formally members of the armed forces, they can't be threatened with court-martial; all the brass can do is threaten to deprive them of the treatment their wounds require.)

Action supporting the four has been organized by the Vietnam Vets Against the War and the New York Vietnam Moratorium. Petitions defending them are circulated every day in front of the VA Hospital. A suit has been filed against Sheehan to enjoin him from trying to intimidate patients exercising their constitutional rights. A rally in front of the hospital is scheduled for later today, and the speakers will include one of the Kent State eyewitnesses, Dr. Howard Levy and several Democratic Party "doves."

Many GI actions around the country had been planned for May 16, Armed Forces Day, before the escalation in Cambodia and the Kent massacre. In many cases, these actions are now slated to be much more extensive than had previously been planned. At Ft. Hood, Texas, for example, the 10 days from May 9 to May 18 are days of activity. There will be a series of classes, held every day, at the Oleo Strut coffeehouse in Killeen, Texas, on all aspects of the war and politics. A major demonstration is planned for May 16.

In several areas, GI actions have already been slated for May 30 to coincide with the Memorial Day actions initially called by the Student Mobilization Committee and broad antiwar coalitions around the country, and endorsed in recent days by student

occurred in places like Fresno, California, and in the San Joaquin Valley. On May 3 in Austin, Texas, there was a march of over 300.

The Chicano Moratorium represents the first mass entrance of Third World people into the antiwar movement, but not the last. We call on our Black brothers to build Black Moratoriums. This is only the beginning.

The latest extension of the war into Cambodia and the massive upsurge this week has had a galvanizing effect on the Chicano student movement and the Chicano community, who see not

only the murder of four white students at Kent State, but recognize the fact that hundreds of Raza and Black brothers were sentenced to death the moment the Cambodia border was crossed. Chicanos have mobilized to build the May 30 Moratorium at Merritt College and the University of California at Berkeley. Spontaneous walkouts and demonstrations have occurred throughout California and Aztlan, with Chicanos declaring that we must cease to die for leaders who do not care whether we stoop in the fields of California or lie face down in the mud of Indochina.

A massive Chicano walkout, as part of the national student strike, has been called for Wednesday, May 13, in Oakland. Speakers at the rally will include Cesar Chavez or Delores Huerta of the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee, which has endorsed the Moratorium; Abe Tapia, president of MAPA (Mexican-American Political Association); Rosalio Munoz, national chairman of the Chicano Moratorium Committee; Froben Lozada, co-chairman of the Northern California CMC and Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general of California; Ricardo Romo, Peace and Freedom Party candidate for governor; Carmen Gario of Los Siete de la Raza; Chicano GIs; Teatro groups; and many others.

The NCCMC can be contacted at: 992 Valencia St., San Francisco 94110; tel.: (415) 282-8160.

strike councils in the major cities.

In Detroit, for example, a GI "peace picnic" is scheduled for that day.

Posts and cities where GI actions will be held on May 16 include Ft. Devens and Boston, Newport Naval Base, Groton Naval Base, Ft. Dix, Ft. Meade, Ft. Bragg, Ft. Gordon, Ft. Benning, Ft. McClellan, Grissom Air Force Base, Chanut Air Force Base, Grand Forks Air Force Base, Ft. Riley, Barksdale Air Force Base, Ft. Hood, Ft. Bliss, Ft. Carson, Mt. Home Air Force Base, Ft. Lewis, Ft. Ord, Oceanside and San Francisco, and San Diego.

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SWP candidates build movement

By DAVID THORSTAD

MAY 11 — The first week of the current student strike wave has already made clear to large numbers of people who really supports the strike and who does not. If the role played by the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party is taken as an indication, no other party comes even close to its level of participation in building the movement and organizing the antiwar universities.

While capitalist politicians are already attempting to divert the energy of this antiwar upsurge into the safe channels of their "peace" campaigns, the SWP candidates have been busy in every area of the country helping to deepen the strike and to organize the antiwar sentiment in other layers of the population. At dozens of schools, candidates and spokesmen for the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance are playing leading roles in the strike committees. And SWP candidates were on the program of almost every major rally in the country during the past week.

They addressed a total of close to 400,000 persons at rallies in that period, not counting those reached through radio and TV coverage of the antiwar actions.

The eight California candidates were featured speakers at more than 34 mass meetings, rallies, teach-ins and conferences throughout the state. They appeared on all major campuses. They voted for strikes, organized antiwar universities, walked picket lines and joined sit-ins.

Herman Fagg, candidate for governor, spoke at a May 8 march and rally of more than 10,000 at the state capitol in Sacramento.

In San Diego on May 9, Terry Hardy, candidate for controller, was a featured speaker at a rally that followed a march of 12,000. The march was organized by the Citywide Ad Hoc Student Strike Committee of which she is a leading representative.

Dave Frankel, the SWP's candidate for lieutenant governor, is a leader of the Cambodia Crisis Coalition in Los Angeles. He spoke there to another rally of 10,000 on May 9 organized by the Coalition.

The same day, Andrew Pulley, candidate for Congress from California's seventh district, addressed a rally of more than 50,000 in the Twin Cities.

Other California candidates are also actively participating in strike committees. Patti Iiyama, candidate for secretary of state, is helping to form United Third World Strike Committees on Northern California campuses. Froben Lozada, chairman of the Latin American Studies Department at Merritt College and candidate for attorney general, is working with Black and Chicano student unions to create an antiwar college at Merritt and Oakland. He is cochairman with Benny Munoz of the Northern California Chicano Moratorium Committee which has called a massive antiwar action for May 30 in San Francisco.

In Boston, Peter Camejo, who is running on the Socialist Workers ticket for U.S. senator from Massachusetts, spoke to a rally of 25,000 on

the Boston Commons May 5 and to a memorial rally of 50,000 at the State House three days later.

The *Harvard Crimson* reported on May 9 that "Camejo, speaking toward the end of the rally, told the audience not to 'play revolution but to be revolutionary.' Receiving loud and continuous applause, he urged the rally-goers to go into the communities today and 'reach out to the people' to gather support for an antiwar referendum on the November ballot."

Clifton DeBerry, running against Rockefeller for governor of New York, spoke to a crowd of more than 10,000 in Providence, R. I. at a May 8 memorial rally for the Kent State students.

A May 9 memorial meeting at the Georgia state capitol drew 6,000. Joe Cole, the SWP's candidate for Congress from the fourth district, was one of the speakers.

In Seattle, Stephanie Coontz, congressional candidate from the first district and one of the main leaders of the Seattle strike coalition, addressed a rally of 25,000 on May 6. The party's candidate for U.S. Senate, Bill Massey, was scheduled to speak to an even larger rally two days later but was not able to when the program had to be shortened due to rain.

At a statewide rally of 20,000 in Denver on May 9, Jim Lauderdale, a student at Colorado University in Boulder and a leading campus radical in the state, announced his candidacy for governor to enthusiastic shouts

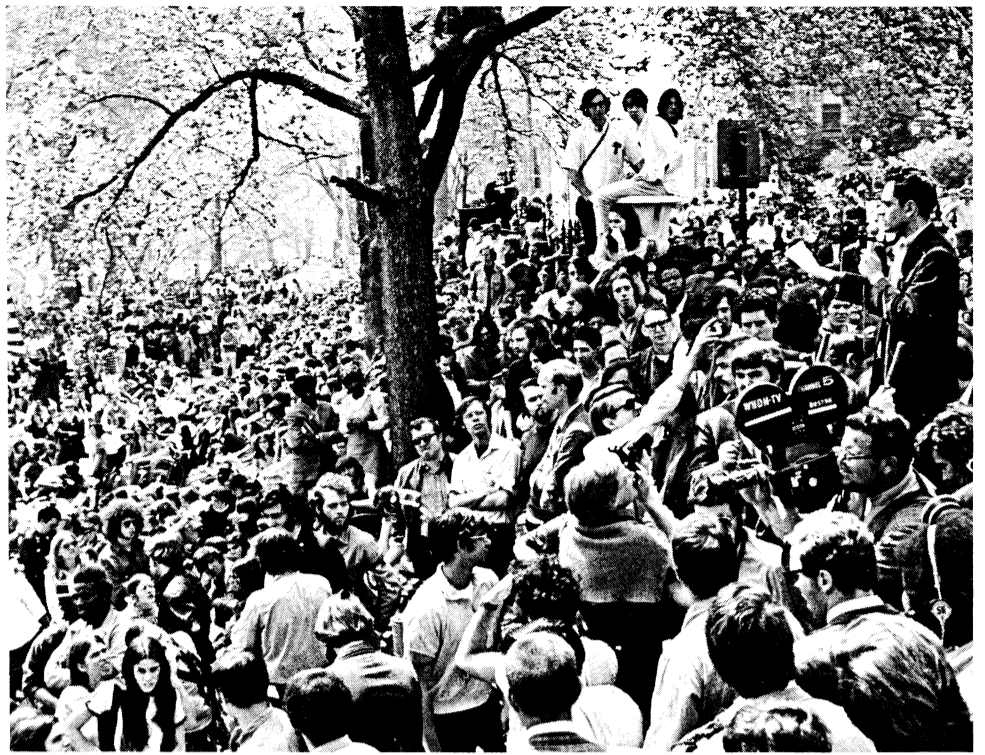


Photo by Shannon

Peter Camejo, Mass. SWP senatorial candidate, addresses antiwar rally of 25,000 in Boston.

of "Right on!"

Syd Stapleton, candidate for Congress from Ohio's 22nd district, and Bob Schwarz, candidate for Ohio state treasurer, are both active in the leadership of the strike at Case Western Reserve University.

Socialist Workers candidate for trustee of the University of Illinois, Debbie Notkin, is a leading activist in the strike council there.

Both the SWP's candidates for Wayne State Board of Governors in Michigan, John Porter and Susie Winsten, have played major roles in the strike. Porter is on the executive committee of the Black Action Coalition and Winsten is participating in the Women's United Caucus. Both groups are outgrowths of the strike. John Hawkins, SWP candidate for secretary of state in Michi-

gan, is also active in the Black Action Coalition and is on the Wayne State University strike steering committee.

Fred Halstead, national figure in the antiwar movement for years and the SWP candidate for President in 1968, was one of two chief marshals for the May 9 demonstration at the White House, and he also addressed the rally.

This summary, while far from complete, provides an eloquent indication of the serious manner in which the Socialist Workers Party candidates — unlike the capitalist politicians who try to cannibalize and destroy any genuine mass movement in this country — are using their election campaigns to help strengthen, broaden and build the mass movement against the war and capitalism.

U of Minn—closed down and opened up

Biggest U.S. campus, in struggle

By NANCY STREBE
Minnesota SWP candidate for U.S. Senate

MINNEAPOLIS, May 11 — The University of Minnesota has been on strike since noon Monday, May 4, when a rally of 6 to 8 thousand students voted to strike for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia. A strike headquarters was immediately set up in the student union. The entire student union building at this campus, the largest in the country with 43,000 students, has been turned into an antiwar university.

Thousands of students, most of whom are new to the antiwar movement, are involved in political discussion groups, fact-finding committees, and community-contact groups. The perspective is: "Close it down, Open it up." Close it down for business as usual, open it up for antiwar organizing.

With three days notice, the strike committee and the Minnesota Student Mobilization Committee organized the largest demonstration ever held in Minnesota. Fifty thousand marched Saturday, May 9, from the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis Campus, to the state capitol in St. Paul. The march began in heavy rain and the route was 12 miles long, passing by both the governor's mansion and Hubert H. Humphrey's house.

Speakers at the capitol rally included Clyde Dellacourt and Dennis Banks of the American Indian Movement, Andrew Pulley of the Socialist Workers Party, Victoria Wahlberg of a newly-forming union of civil service workers at the university, and Gerald Tilton, Minnesota Student Association Vice President at the University of Minnesota.

Such a large crowd on the steps of the capitol was irresistible to Governor Harold LaVander. He asked to speak to the crowd, and he wanted to be first. The strike committee put him seventh on the list, and because of the rain and cold, many people had left the rally by that time. He was not well received. When a Republican governor who has been hostile to the whole antiwar movement feels he must come out and make a speech saying, "I'm for peace, too," and smiling to a crowd yelling "Get out now," and "Bullshit," we can be sure the ruling class is worried.

In an action which helped build the May 9 march, on Wednesday, May 6, students from five private colleges in the Twin Cities area marched 3,500 strong from Macalester College in St. Paul to the capitol where they held a rally demanding a referendum on the war, and that Minnesota men and money be withdrawn from the war. Derrel Myers, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress (5th congressional district Minneapolis), addressed the rally as did a local "peace" candidate, Nick Coleman, who is aspiring to be governor.

Mass decision-making meetings attended by several thousand people are being held every day at the university. There is an open-ended strike steering committee, composed mostly of representatives from working committees, which meets daily to work out the programs for the mass meetings.

The demand for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia is the central demand of the strike, but there are several others: that the university, the Student-Faculty Senate, condemn the escalation of the war and call for immediate withdrawal of all U.S.

troops from Southeast Asia; that the Student-Faculty Senate endorse the strike and guarantee no sanctions against any student, faculty or worker involved in the strike; that the University cease all ties with ROTC; that Gov. LaVander call for a special session of the Minnesota legislature (they meet only every two years and are due to meet in January 1971) to withdraw all Minnesota men and tax money from the war; that the U.S. stop all political repression, free all political prisoners, including Bobby Seale. The striking faculty has recommended that students be given grades for work completed up to the time of the strike or that the students be allowed to grade themselves for the quarter.

The estimates of students striking vary from 10,000 to 30,000 at the University of Minnesota. The accurate number is probably about 25,000. Several hundred faculty and an estimated several hundred university civil service workers are also out.

There has been no coercion of non-strikers at the university. The speakers bureau has been sending out teams of speakers to classes still meeting and to the community and other schools to convince them to support and join the strike. Several high schools and junior high schools are also out on strike demanding immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia.

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Interview with Arie Bober (II)

Inside Israel today

The following is the second installment of excerpts from an interview with Arie Bober, a member of the revolutionary socialist, anti-Zionist Israeli Socialist Organization. Bober is currently on a speaking tour in the United States under the auspices of the Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East. In the first installment, which appeared in *The Militant* May 15, Bober discussed the status of the anti-Zionist left in Israel today and described the activities of the ISO. *Matzpen* is the paper of the ISO.

The interview originally appeared in the April 20 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. Anyone interested in information on Bober's tour should contact Berta Langston, secretary, Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East, 145 E. 16th St., Apt. 9C, New York, N. Y. 10003.

* * *

Q. What is the state of repression by the Zionist regime?

A. If you have a certain portion of the population that you have to oppress and some part of the oppressor nation shows sympathy for them, then you have to repress a sector of your own kind as well. That is what is happening in Israel.

Democratic freedom is curtailed in ways that were not manifested before the June war; censorship is strict and it encompasses not only questions of military security but also purely political opinions; there is harassment by police.

Harassment against us mainly takes the form of declaring us moral outcasts in the press, thus giving a green light to various fascist groups or just small-time punks to attack us physi-

cally. We've been attacked trying to sell our newspapers, and whenever we go to the university to sell our literature we have to defend ourselves actively against Israeli chauvinists. Our people have trouble getting jobs; they receive threatening letters.

Of course, the repression of Jewish dissidents is nothing compared to the persecution of the Arabs.

The problem is that whenever the question is raised — not only by *Matzpen* — of the torture of Arabs, it is quickly hushed up.

Uri Avneri raised in the Knesset [parliament] a specific case of an Arab who was arrested and afterwards his family was called to the Jerusalem jail and his body was handed to them. The family was told to bury it immediately, otherwise they would suffer. The sheet in which he was wrapped



Arie Bober of the Israeli Socialist Organization is currently on a speaking tour in the United States.

was covered with blood, and they didn't know what to do.

They asked to see a doctor but the police refused, threatening to bury him themselves if the family would not do as they said. So they buried him and went to Uri Avneri but his protest was ignored. According to Israeli law there should have been a court of inquiry and an autopsy to determine the cause of death.

People just take it in stride. I don't think they consider it important. Generally these things are known. Most Israelis are serving in the reserve army, and when they do their active turn of duty a big part of them are in the occupied territories. They see how the Arabs are treated. "We have to protect our security" is the answer to everything.

Q. Is there a youth radicalization in Israel as in other parts of the world; and in particular has the endorsement of the war in Vietnam by Golda Meir alienated young people from the regime?

A. The war in Vietnam has had a very small effect among the Israeli public, including the youth. We have had antiwar demonstrations of a couple of hundred young people, but a great deal of work went into even that turnout. The Zionists do not see the American intervention in Vietnam as a bad thing.

In the press it is stressed repeatedly that America should not "give in to the Vietcong because this is the same enemy." It is argued that if the United States extracts itself from Vietnam then maybe she will extract herself from the Middle East.

There has been some radicalization of Israeli youth, especially among high-school students. This is a result certainly of the radicalization of youth all over the world, as well as of the perspective of serving in the army in a very active role for three years or more, and the constantly growing oppressiveness of all aspects of Israeli society.

This has led to the formation of circles for free thought and democracy. There has been the growth of "underground" newspapers. These developments have been met with opposition from school authorities, etc.

In response many students have made contact with *Matzpen* and we work together.

The youth radicalization stems in part from the revolt against the old who wield authority, but because of the Israeli situation it has a particular aspect: to revolt you have to be against Zionism, or at least try to form a Zionism that would be liberal and humanistic — which, of course, in reality is a contradiction in terms — and against the war with the Arabs.

(To be continued.)



Palestinian refugees flee from their homes in Israeli occupied territory.

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National action roundup

Massive actions in dozens of cities

By ELIZABETH BARNES

May 13—As the largest nationwide student strike in history goes into a second week, hundreds of thousands of students are organizing to make it a mass ongoing effort, one which will continue to reach out and mobilize even greater numbers in the period ahead.

The following sampling of reports from campuses around the country indicates the scope of the activity.

RHODE ISLAND: Eleven schools on strike, with Rhode Island College, the University of Rhode Island, Rhode Island Jr. College and the Rhode Island School of Design shut down "indefinitely" or "as long as the war continues." At Brown, students are in control of the campus to the extent that the administration has to ask the strike committee for permission to use campus rooms. All students at Brown will pass their courses automatically. Campus employees can participate in the movement with no loss in pay.

AUSTIN: Over 20,000, mostly University of Texas students, marched in the largest antiwar demonstration ever in Texas. Antiwar activist Melissa Singler said of the march: "The spirit was terrific—passersby were greeted with shouts of 'Join Us!' And a good number of them did. When construction sites were passed, the chant of 'power to the workers' went up, and a number of workers responded with 'V' signs and fists."

SAN DIEGO: A whole week of events on the campuses culminated in a march of 12,000 through downtown San Diego.

DETROIT: Students at Wayne State University have printed 400,000 antiwar leaflets and thousands of posters, distributing them to every high school, plant gate, hospital and shopping center. An "Indochina Institute" has been

set up on campus to provide courses on the history of Southeast Asia and many other subjects. The students are demanding that the Indochina Institute become a permanent, accredited feature of the campus.

COLORADO: Demonstration of 20,000 held May 9—the largest in Colorado history. Large contingents of Chicanos, including representatives of the Crusade for Justice, participated. Many demonstrators marched from the rally to the police station to protest the macing of several Chicanos.

HOUSTON: A rally of 500 held at the University of Houston. In addition, there was a spontaneous gathering of 1,000 to 1,500 asking that the flag be lowered. Houston activist Ann Springer commented: "This may not sound very impressive to you, but for the University of Houston it was a very big thing."

DEKALB: Northern Illinois University, with a student population of 16,000, held a demonstration of 12,000 May 6. Said one student at a planning meeting: "This campus used to be Greeks and freaks—now we're united."

BAY AREA: Stanford, San Jose, the U of California at Berkeley, and others have constituted themselves as antiwar universities. Practically every campus in Northern California has been on strike. At Berkeley, the student government facilities have been completely turned over to the strike. The campus newspaper, *The Daily Californian*, has been turned into a strike daily. Most departments are on strike.

On May 11, a meeting of more than 12,000 approved a proposal "reconstituting the university as a center for organizing against the war in Southeast Asia and against oppression at home." The proposal called for an end to ROTC and university war re-

search, an end to the "undeclared war against the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords, Los Siete and other Third World groups," and for the creation of child-care centers on campus and for a women's studies department.

PORTLAND: Police attacked a gathering of 1,000-2,000 at Portland State University May 11, hospitalizing 20. As a result, support for the strikers is increasing. A group of campus athletes, who were just coming out of class at the time of the attack, is helping to build the protest against it. Members of the Black Student Union and the Black Panther Party have joined the picket lines.

ARIZONA: After the faculties of two departments at Arizona State University voted to go on strike, and after the majority of students went on strike, the school administration agreed to make teaching and attendance at classes optional for several days. According to strike leader Morris Starsky, "When we can force them to do this in Arizona, that is a big, big victory."

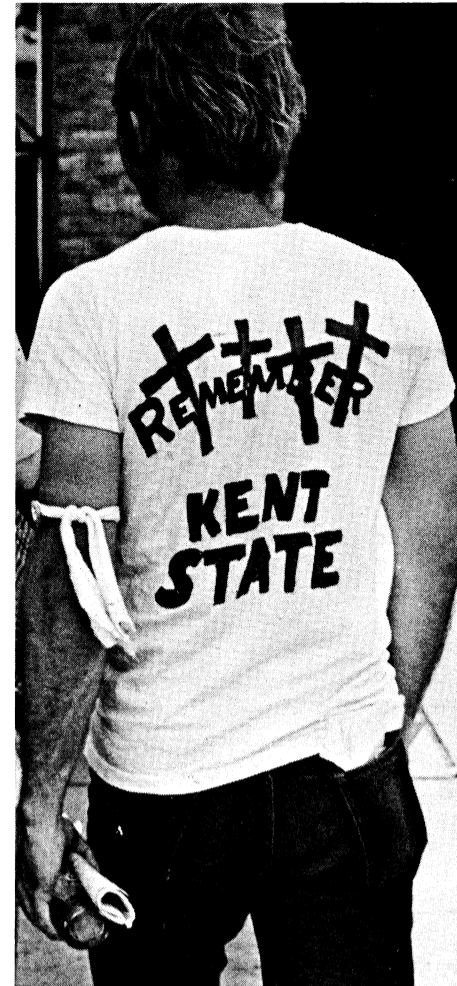


Photo by Randy Furst

Protest of Cambodia, Kent spreads around the globe

By ROBERT LANGSTON

MAY 12—All over the world, hundreds of thousands of people have taken to the streets to protest Nixon's intensified aggression in Southeast Asia and the killing of the four Kent State students.

In Australia on May 9 some 100,000 demonstrated. (Proportional to the population that figure is equivalent to more than a million and a half in the U.S.) Police sources in Sydney called the actions "the biggest public showing of political dissent in recent history." According to police figures, 70,000 were in the streets in Melbourne, 20,000 in Sydney and some 10,000 in Brisbane, Hobart, Adelaide, Perth and Canberra.

In London the same day, thousands of people, mainly students, marched from a rally in Trafalgar Square to the U.S. Embassy. The demonstration was generally orderly, though in a few clashes with police 12 demonstrators and 25 cops were injured.

Several cities in West Germany also saw demonstrations on the 9th. In Frankfurt, some 4,000 students and young workers demanded immediate U.S. withdrawal from Indochina. In Munich, a rally of 2,000 burned the American flag while singing the "International," and a few windows of U.S. companies were broken. Several thousand students demonstrated in front of the U.S. military government headquarters in West Berlin.

More than 10,000 Cuban students held a symbolic funeral in homage to the four Kent students in the streets of Havana May 7. The demonstration moved through the streets of the Cuban capital under banners bearing the slogans "Down with Yankee intervention in Indochina," "Nixon fascist," and "Long live the students, Black movement and the North American people." Four coffins were carried in the procession, one by Cubans, one by Vietnamese, one by Latin Americans, and one by Africans.

When the procession reached the spot in the center of the city where the first martyr in the struggle against the Batista dictatorship is said to have fallen, a member of the militia played "Taps" on a bugle. The names of the four students were then read, and the assembled people called out "Presente"

as each name was pronounced.

Also on May 7, two Venezuelan demonstrators were shot and killed by police during a protest action at the Central University in Caracas. It was the third day of anti-U.S.-imperialist demonstrations there, and the university was closed following the clash with the police.

In Tokyo on May 9, some 3,500 students and workers demonstrated against the U.S. escalation, the killing of the Kent students, and the Japanese government's support of Nixon.

The same day, police in Manila used tear gas to break up a demonstration of several hundred Filipino young people in front of the U.S. Embassy.

Even in Franco's police state, students took to the streets. Some hundred young people burned an American flag in front of the philosophy department of Barcelona University and unfurled red flags from the branches of trees.

In France, a demonstration called by some fifty left-wing groups and students' organizations was scheduled to take place on May 10 in the Vincennes forest near Paris. The organizers were expecting it to be "the biggest Vietnam rally ever in France."

Ohio ACLU on Kent massacre

MAY 6—Benson Wolson, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Ohio, told *The Militant* today that the ACLU has interviewed "just under a hundred" Kent State students and faculty who witnessed the Kent massacre.

He said that preliminary examination of the interviews indicated that 1) National Guardsmen fired a concentrated volley from an apparently organized military formation and 2) the theory that the gunfire was a response to prior gunfire from another source has not been substantiated.

The ACLU plans to continue the inquiry, interviewing as many people as possible who were present at the time of the killings. These interviews are being recorded on tape.



Columbia Strike Bulletin/LNS

Students demonstrate in Saigon, May 2. Sign reads "To Suppress Us is to Oppose the People."