

THE MILITANT

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

**We urge you to march
for peace April 24.
We'd do it ourselves,
but we're in Vietnam**

Members of the First Air Cavalry Division, U. S. Army *

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SP/4 William Hepler, SP/4 Bob Matteson, PFC Paul J. Forter,
SP/5 Jerry Johnson, SP/5 Leroy F. Parr, SP/4 Joseph W. Gibbs, Sr.,
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SP/4 Richard Liscomb, SP/4 Fred Malone, Jr., PFC Daniel Phillips.

* Organization listed for identification purposes only.

**Bring all the troops home now
End the war now!**

PARIS COMMUNE: 100 YEARS AFTER

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COVER: Text of ad, signed by members of the First Air Cavalry Division in Vietnam, urging participation April 24. Sponsored by NPAC, ad appeared in the April 11 and 14 *New York Times*.

THE MILITANT

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NEW YORK UNEMPLOYMENT UP: The Labor Department's Bureau of Statistics figures, reported in the April 1 *New York Times*, showed officially admitted unemployment for the New York-northeastern New Jersey area up from 3.2 percent in 1969 to 4.5 percent last year, an increase of 41 percent.

POPE PAUL'S LIBERATION: In a Lenten speech March 31, Pope Paul VI attacked "the temptations of the flesh." He lashed out at "almost all modern writers" for their fascination with "sensual folly" and advocated "gradual, limpid and chaste" sex education. Speaking of celibacy, he said, "It is very beautiful to be pure. It is not a yoke, it is liberation. It is not an inferiority complex, it is elegance. . . ."

CHRISTOPHER STREET MARCH JUNE 27: The culmination of programs, dances and other activities to take place during Gay Pride Week in New York City June 20-27 will be an all-day series of political forums and gay civil rights discussions on June 26 and the massive march and gay-in June 27. The Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee coordinating June 27 has functioning working committees for out-of-town coordination, public relations, graphics, march coordination, finances, gay liberation forum, and information distribution. Among other things, the April 11 meeting of the committee discussed producing a special leaflet about June 27 to pass out at the gay liberation contingent in the April 24 anti-war march. Anyone interested in working on one of the committees for the June action should call (212) 242-5273. Contributions can be sent to Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee c/o ISE, Central Station P. O. Box 3417, Hartford, Conn. 06103.

AEROSPACE AMERICANISM: In an article reporting on the plans of jobless space scientists to "camp in" as a protest at the state capitol in Sacramento, Calif., the March 29 *San Francisco Chronicle* quoted former systems engineer Thomas R. O'Neill, who favored the protest action: "I'm not a radical. I was a Republican leader in Connecticut and I believe I am a true American." But, he continued, "There has got to be a more equal distribution of wealth in this country—there has got to be a new Americanism."

FLAG FETISHISTS SUFFER SETBACK: On March 29, the U. S. Court of Appeals overturned Abbie Hoffman's 1968 conviction for "desecrating the flag" by wearing a shirt with red and white stripes and a blue field with white stars on it.

BLACK VETERANS FIGHT UNDESIRABLE DISCHARGES: A predominately Black, Chicago-based group called the Concerned Veterans from Vietnam is seeking to have the "less than honorable" discharges of 1,800 veterans upgraded to honorable discharges. So far, the group's tactics have consisted in letter writing and lobbying. Barry Wright, the group's commander, said the Defense Department has not yet responded to the eight-month campaign.

DOMESTICS ORGANIZE: The Professional Household Workers Union, Local 1, has been chartered by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO, according to the *New York Times* of April 9. The new union has one full-time organizer and 200 volunteer organizers in New York City, who are kicking off a projected national organization drive among domestic workers.

GREEK JUNTA FREES PRISONERS: With 400 victims still in prison for political crimes, the military dictatorship in Greece maintains that all political prisoners have been freed after letting 234 Communists and 27 monarchists out of jail April 7. In addition to the 400, there are 50 Communists still held under house arrest in remote villages throughout the country.

SACCHARIN LIKE CYCLAMATES: George T. Bryan, the man whose tests led to the ban on cyclamates, said early this month that the same tests had shown saccharin to be as dangerous as cyclamates. He said he didn't know why the Food and Drug Administration banned one and not the other.

STUDENTS FIGHT BRUTALITY, SUSPENSIONS: Several hundred predominately Black students marched out of classes at Nathan Hale Junior High School in New Britain, Conn., April 6 and demonstrated in front of the building for several hours. The following day, they boycotted classes. The students' actions came in response to the school's practice of slapping students around and suspending them when they tried to defend themselves. A leaflet drawn up by the students said, "We the students of Nathan Hale Junior High School want to be educated in the schools, not on the streets. We are against suspension because it deprives us of our right to a free pub-

lic education. We also don't want teachers imposing physical violence against us. . . ." Principal Thomas P. Cabelus got right to the root of the problem, telling the *New Britain Herald* he was looking into "the real reason" for the protest and mentioning "suspicious" people, "outsiders," and cars with out-of-state license plates.

Help sell Militants April 24

April 24 will be the occasion for a massive sale of *The Militant* in Washington and San Francisco. All our readers are encouraged to help us sell as many copies of our special issue as possible.

In San Francisco, there will be three dispatch centers for *The Militant* located at different points along the march route. The first one is three blocks north of the Embarcadero Plaza on The Embarcadero across from Pier 3 and in front of the Standard service station. The second is located half way along the march route. It is three blocks north of Geary Blvd. on the corner of Steiner and Bush streets at the Shell service station. For further information, call 626-9958, 621-3076 or 621-7207 in San Francisco.

As we went to press, the route of the Washington march was in the final stages of negotiation. Dispatch centers will be established along the route. For information in Washington call (202) 833-9560, or call the *Militant* business office in New York at (212) 243-6392. There will also be a YSA movement center in Washington from which *Militant's* will be distributed. For address, see ad on page 23.

CHICAGO STUDENTS WIN DEMANDS: A protest against similar suspension practices at Marshall High School in Chicago met victory March 22 when 350 students gathered to support a delegation of students, parents and teachers who presented the administration with three demands: 1) reinstatement of all suspended students, 2) removal of suspensions from students' records, and 3) due process for students in suspension cases. The school agreed to all three demands.

FREEDOM OF THE WIG: Three reservists, represented by the American Civil Liberties Union, filed a class action March 31 against the U. S. Army, arguing for the right to have long hair on the basis that wearing short-hair wigs should satisfy the "neat and clean" drill requirement.

TRIAL TO BEGIN SOON: The case of Labor Committee members Richard Borgmann and Steven Fraser, framed up on charges of "plotting to bomb" national monuments on the East Coast, is expected to come to court April 22 after nearly two years of delaying tactics by the Philadelphia district attorney, who understandably fears his trumped up case will be a bigger bomb than the explosives planted on the two defendants. The Fraser-Borgmann defense, relying on the prosecution's lack of evidence and on the "state of mind" argument that Labor Committee politics precludes acts of terrorism by its members, has been holding forums at area campuses. A theme of these meetings has been to counter false information about the Labor Committee that has appeared recently in the press, and which the defense feels is prejudicial to its case.

COP ENTRAPS COP: A police trial board recommended April 7 that Washington, D. C., police sergeant John Latin Jr. be fined \$900 and stripped of his rank because he had tried to solicit policewoman Marilyn Hershey while she was posing as a prostitute.

MORE FOOD: The neo-Malthusian Zero Population Growth advocates who identify people, rather than the antihuman social system of capitalism, as the source of hunger, should take note of the figures published in the April 2 *Washington Evening Star*: Food production has increased at a rate outpacing population growth for the last 30 years; at the end of the last decade, per capita food production in the world was 8 percent higher than at the end of the 1930s.

WOMEN'S MARCH ON THE PENTAGON: Chanting "Free Bobby, Free Ericka/Stop the war on Black America!", about 600 mostly young women from East Coast and Midwest cities marched April 10 on the Pentagon, "the enemy of women in this country and all over the world," demanding immediate withdrawal of U. S. forces from Indochina and women's "right to life." Many of the women carried NLF flags, as well as signs, such as, "No Viet Cong ever called me chick," "Avenge Janis," and "Bernardine Dohrn is here." One of the speakers at the Pentagon rally was Lirr Tu, a Vietnamese woman.

— LEE SMITH

Broad S.F. response to attack on NPAC

By CAROL LIPMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Organizing for the April 24 demonstration here is moving ahead at a rapid clip in spite of a recent attack on the new and expanded offices of the West Coast National Peace Action Coalition, Student Mobilization Committee, and Bay Area Concerned Officers Movement (BACOM).

As of April 13, four central labor councils, representing literally hundreds of thousands of workers in the Bay Area, have endorsed the peace march. On April 12, members of the San Francisco Central Labor Council overrode their leadership to endorse the April 24 peace march.

The 61-to-53 vote followed 20 minutes of heated debate. Council Secretary George Johns urged that the approval of AFL-CIO President George Meany be sought before the council endorsed the march here and in Washington, D.C. With the mention of Meany's name, shouts of "To hell with Meany!" were heard throughout the room.

Johns was countered by opponent's of Meany's longstanding support for the government's policies in Vietnam. "You want to evade the most crucial issue facing the nation," Ann Draper of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers charged.

"Quit being cop-outs!" Mike Schneider of the Electrical Workers argued. "A lot of us didn't speak out earlier and a lot of kids are dead because of it!"

The other three AFL-CIO central labor councils endorsing the march in the Bay Area are the Contra Costa, Santa Clara and San Mateo councils. Resolutions are pending before others.

At a news conference April 13, dozens of peace and civic organizations expressed their solidarity with NPAC and April 24 in face of the recent attack on the headquarters here in San Francisco.

Late Sunday night or early Monday morning, April 12, the Market Street offices of the organization were broken into and thoroughly vandalized.

Important files containing financial records and the names, addresses and phone numbers of volunteers were stolen.

The vandals then turned a one-and-one-half inch fire hose on the entire headquarters, ruining large quantities of April 24 literature.

Dan Rosenshine, West Coast coordinator of NPAC, made clear in his statement at the conference that "the vandalism has led to the redoubling of our efforts to build the action. Response from the community has been tremendous. People are walking in off the streets with donations. This attack has only increased support for the April 24 demonstration."

Among those expressing solidarity at the conference were the Downtown Peace Coalition, whose offices were ransacked a few months ago, Americans for Democratic Action, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), Vincent Hallinan, the San Jose Gay Liberation Front, Berkeley and San Francisco National Organization for Women, Business Executives Move for Peace, Fran Sherman of the University of California at Berkeley, BACOM, SMC, and others. Messages of solidarity were received from around the country from labor unions, antiwar organizations and individuals such as Ossie Davis, Sid Peck of PCPJ, Senator John V. Tunney, and others.

The conference also announced the plans for April 24. The April 24 march will begin at 9 a.m. at California and Market in downtown San Francisco. The rally will begin at 1:30 p.m. at the polo fields in Golden Gate Park.

BACOM has organized a contingent of active-duty GIs, veterans and reservists to lead the march. Frank Polk, of BACOM told the conference a memorial service will be held in a Unitarian church the evening of April 23 to coincide with the service in Washington, D.C. Contingents will hook up with the march at various points along the six-mile march route, which stretches the length of the city.



Photo by Harry Ring

CHALLENGE FBI: Former FBI employees Christine Hoopes (left) and Linda Janca at April 7 news conference with NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon. Both women were forced to resign clerks' jobs at FBI because of volunteer activity at NPAC. Rep. Richard H. Ichord, chairman of the House Internal Security Committee, asserted they had been ousted because NPAC is under "communist influence." An April 14 news conference responded to this attack. Participating were SANE executive director Sanford Gotlieb; Sara Trott, a spokeswoman for national ADA; Henry Womack of NPAC's Third World Task Force; and Jerry Gordon. They emphasized NPAC is open to all those sharing its aims and purposes, and that no one is or will be excluded for their political associations.

Unions help build antiwar protest

"The war in Vietnam," says a leaflet produced by the 40,000-member UAW Western Region Six, "costs workers their sons, their jobs, their dignity, The UAW believes that it must end now!" The union not only distributed this April 24 leaflet to each of its own members, but it provided an additional 50,000 for the use of the Los Angeles Out Now Coalition.

The UAW's Western Region is only one of a number of significant sections of the organized labor movement that are working to mobilize their membership for participation in the April 24 antiwar actions.

The literally hundreds of trade-union endorsers of April 24, the participation of trade-union officials on the Steering Committee of the National Peace Action Coalition, and the active mobilization of rank-and-file membership by many of the endorsers all mark a qualitative increase in labor's participation compared to any other national demonstration in the history of the antiwar movement.

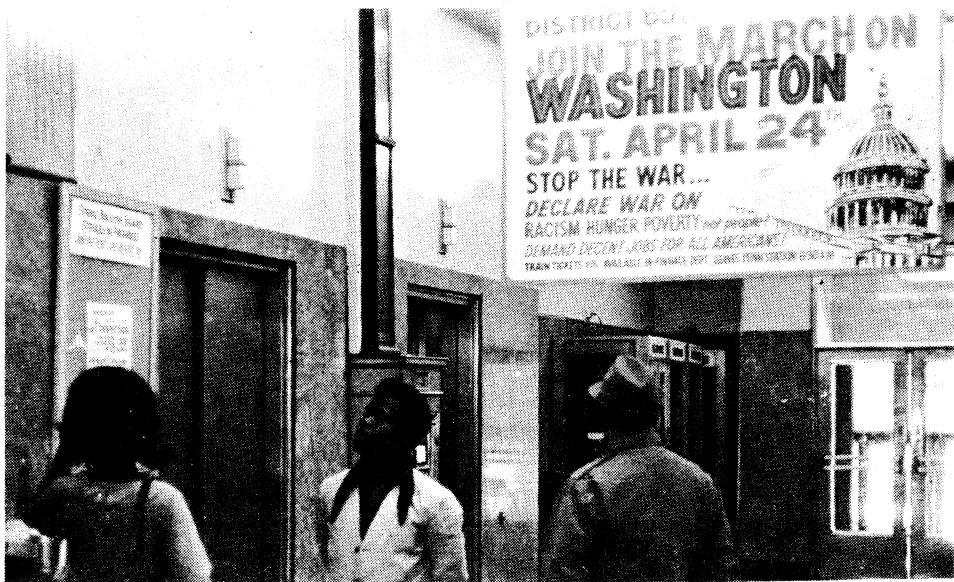
Sitting on the NPAC Steering Committee are such labor figures as David Livingston, president of the 40,000-member District 65, Distributive Workers of America in New York City, whose union has chartered an entire train from New York to Washington for April 24. Others on the Steering Committee include Stanley Greenspan and Sam Meyers of the UAW, Abe Feinglass and Hilton Hanna of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, United Electrical Workers international representative Ed Block, and Mae Massie, District Three civil rights director for the IUE.

Unions in New York City have donated 100,000 leaflets at no cost to the New York Peace Action Coalition for distribution to trade unionists. Thirty thousand of these had been distributed by April 13, with 10,000 of them going to AFSCME Local 1707 for its own membership. In addition to chartering a train, District 65 has printed up its own April 24 leaflet. Local 1199 Drug and Hospital union has done the same, pledging in its leaflet to bring at least 1,500 of its members to Washington on buses chartered by the union.

An ad signed by more than 50 New York area labor leaders is scheduled to appear around one week before the action on a full page of the New York *Daily News*, urging participation in April 24 and demanding the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia.

On the West Coast, in addition to the activities of UAW Region Six, four AFL-CIO central labor councils in California, including San Francisco, have endorsed April 24. Locals of the UE in cities like Erie, Pa., are organizing transportation. In Michigan, the state AFL-CIO has assigned two staff people to work on maximizing the participation of Michigan working people in the April 24 antiwar march in Washington.

The National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, a predominately Black union of some 40,000 members, which has a convention ending April 23, is urging delegates to stay over, and many will be serving as marshals on April 24.



Inside District 65 headquarters in New York

Photo by Jon Britton

Rightist harassment continues in Houston

HOUSTON, April 13—Despite widening protests against incidents of right-wing terrorism in Houston, there has been a stepped-up campaign of night-riding attacks in this city directed at individuals and businesses associated with radical activities.

Between midnight and 9 a.m. on Friday, April 9, four businesses that advertise in *Space City!*, a radical, underground newspaper, were the victims of attacks by night riders. Three days before, *Space City!* had been the target of a venomous attack in the

Rat Sheet, a publication distributed by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Houston, which singled out for harassment groups and individuals who have ideas repugnant to the Klan. (See *The Militant*, April 12.)

In each of the four businesses—Impulsive Waterbeds, Waterbeds Unlimited, Texas Rose Cafe, and the Brazos St. Newsstand—storefront windows were damaged by pellets and ball bearings evidently shot from a high-powered slingshot. Some of the pellets must

have reached the velocity of a shotgun pellet.

Friday afternoon following the attack, three of these enterprises received telephone calls threatening loss of more than windows if they continued to advertise in *Space City!*

The response of these new victims of terrorist harassment was to contact others who had suffered from similar attacks and the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston.

A press conference was organized to

protest the new incidents. Those in attendance included representatives from Texas Rose Cafe; Ron Jarvis, Brazos St. Newsstand; Dave Gerson, Waterbeds Unlimited; Mike Maggi, Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston; and Debby Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston.

Each victim gave the press a statement on what had happened. Jarvis and Gerson related the threatening phone calls they had each received

Continued on page 2.

Ceylon gov't launches repression

APRIL 12—After a week of fighting—and almost a month after a national state of emergency was declared—the Bandaranaike regime in Ceylon had not succeeded in suppressing an island-wide insurrection allegedly led by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front), called "Che Guevarists" by the press.

The government has mobilized all available army and police units, numbering some 25,000 troops, and has used tanks and planes against the insurgents. Western press reports have been scanty and most information seems to be based on government handouts, but the Associated Press estimated April 10 that as many as 1,000 persons had been killed by government forces since the fighting began April 5.

Troops were ordered on the alert following an "attack" on the U. S. embassy in Colombo March 6. Prime Minister Bandaranaike declared a state of emergency March 16 after weapons and homemade bombs were reportedly discovered in a room at Peradeniya University.

Hundreds of supporters of the JVP and of other left-wing organizations were jailed in the large-scale round-up that followed. This included members of the pro-Peking Communist Party, which has not supported the insurrection, according to the press.

The harsh emergency powers invoked by Mrs. Bandaranaike included such draconian provisions as the death penalty for persons involved in "unlawful assembly." Distribution of all literature or leaflets without military approval of the contents was prohibited. Trade-union rallies and meetings have been banned.

According to the government, resisters attacked some 25 police stations simultaneously the night of April 5. A nationwide curfew was imposed April 6 and the JVP was formally outlawed.

The curfew was extended around the clock April 9 as the Associated Press reported "some estimates" that put the number of those resisting the government crackdown "as high as 80,000." The death penalty was decreed for anyone "aiding" the JVP.

Despite the fierce repression and the reportedly heavy casualties, an April 9 AP dispatch said that outlying police posts were reportedly "being abandoned as officers fled to larger encampments."

The bourgeois coalition regime of Ceylon—which, in addition to Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), includes the reformist ex-Trotskyists of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the pro-Moscow Communists—is on the verge of bankruptcy and is courting the imperialist financial institutions. The coalition, which came to power in May

1970 in a landslide victory, has been moving sharply to the right in an effort to reassure potential investors.

The current emergency shows that the government's course is dictated not only by a desire to impress imperialist bankers with its respectability but also by a growing awareness of the rapid erosion of its own electoral and social base.

The "socialist" promises demagogically made by the coalition in its election propaganda remain unfulfilled. Unemployment stands at 750,000 out of a population of less than 13,000,000. Many of the jobless are university graduates who are beginning to organize against the regime they helped bring to power. The government has refused to nationalize the basic sectors of industry as it promised.

In an April 2 speech in Kandy, Prime Minister Bandaranaike frankly admitted that students as a group had turned against her government. Her comments were paraphrased by the April 8 Colombo weekly *Ceylon News*:

"The University students appeared to be against the United Front government which was set up to work towards a genuine socialist set-up, through the democratic process. They had collected and stored in the university thousands of hand bombs, dynamite, and a vast quantity of raw material for making hand bombs suf-

ficient to plunge the country into a blood bath. . . .

"Even the girls appeared to have played a vital role in the campaign for destruction and devastation of institutions. . . ."

Bandaranaike's coalition partners gave their endorsement to the army for whatever killing of radical youth was necessary to keep the capitalist government in power. Leslie Goonewardene, Mrs. Bandaranaike's minister of communications and a long-time leader of the renegade LSSP, at a meeting in Kurunegala on March 18 called on the army to "wipe out" the rebel youth.

The Stalinist representative in the cabinet, Housing Minister Pieter Keuneman of the pro-Moscow CP, was quoted in an April 9 AP dispatch as calling the rebel youth "fascist terrorists."

The socialist pretensions of the Bandaranaike government have been exposed for what they are: lying claims similar to those of former Indonesian president Sukarno or of Yahya Khan in West Pakistan.

Bandaranaike's left-wing cohorts, of both the Stalinist and ex-Trotskyist variety, in assuming responsibility for the military's bloodbath have branded themselves as criminals and traitors in the eyes of working-class organizations and socialist-minded people throughout the world.

China backs Pakistan counterrevolution

By TONY THOMAS

APRIL 13—While it had been generally assumed that the Maoist bureaucracy in China favored the West Pakistani militarists in their struggle to crush the East Bengali struggle for independence, a formal letter from Chinese Premier Chou En-lai to Pakistani President Yahya Khan made it official.

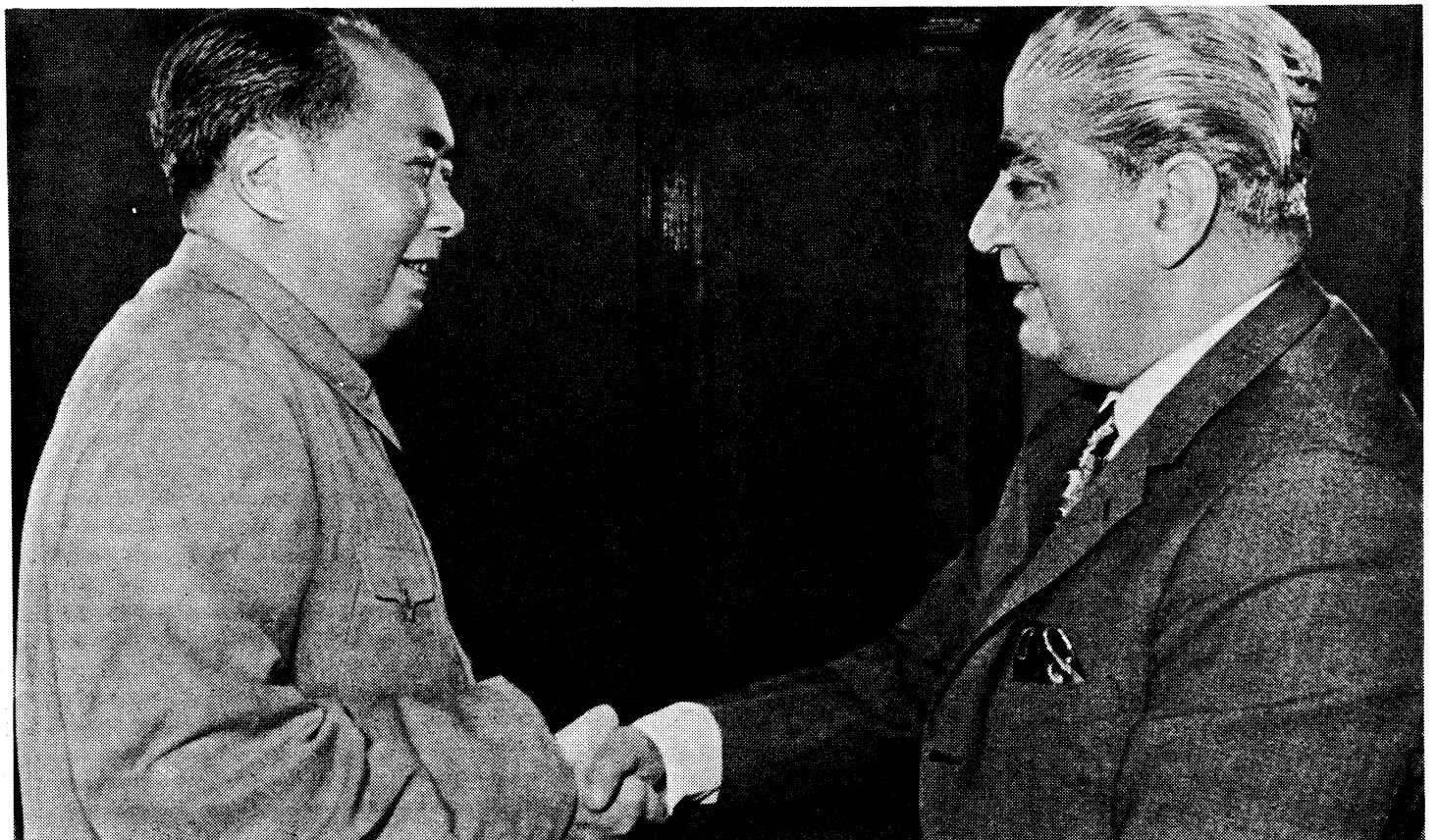
The letter, made public on April 12 by the West Pakistani government, is quoted in a Reuters dispatch of the same date in the April 13 *New York Times*. The letter stated that Yahya Khan and other West Pakistani leaders had "done a lot of useful work to uphold the unification of Pakistan and to prevent it from moving toward a split. . . ."

"In our opinion, unification of Pakistan and unity of the peoples of East and West Pakistan are basic guarantees for Pakistan to attain prosperity and strength."

By this statement, the Maoist bureaucracy is underwriting the genocidal murder of thousands of Bengalis, the burning of hundreds of villages, the destruction of the working-class districts of Dacca and other Bengali cities, and other crimes committed by the West Pakistani militarists.

This is not the first time the Chinese rulers have taken such an openly counterrevolutionary position in respect to Pakistan. Since the 1962 Sino-Indian border war, and especially since the India-Pakistan border war of 1965, the Chinese Maoists have had a military and diplomatic alliance against India with the Pakistani government.

While it is often necessary for a workers state to negotiate diplomatic agreements with capitalist states, the Chinese bureaucrats extended this alliance to a wholesale political endorsement of the Pakistani military regime and abandoned support for the revolutionary struggle against the Pakistani rulers.



Mao greets Pakistani dictator Yahya Khan during latter's visit to Peking last November

During the 1968-69 struggle that mobilized millions in Pakistan against the hated military dictatorship and threatened to overthrow capitalism, the Maoist regime continued its public support to leaders of the Ayub Khan regime. At the height of the 1968-69 struggle, while the Pakistani militarists were shooting workers, students and peasants down in the streets for simply demanding democratic government, Mao Tse-tung received Yahya Khan and other Pakistani leaders in China. Taking their cue from Peking, the Pakistani Maoists also supported the Ayub Khan dictatorship. The Chinese press to this date has not informed the Chinese masses of these revolutionary upheavals, though it has carried praise of the Pakistani neocolonialists.

The Maoist position of opposing the Bengali struggle for self-determination also hinders the defense of the Chinese revolution.

Yahya Khan's Pakistan is a member of the CENTO and SEATO alliances organized by U. S. imperialism against the Soviet Union and China, and is one of the U. S.'s most dependable allies in Asia. The fundamental interest of that regime is preserving capitalism in Pakistan and destroying all threats to it, including the Chinese workers state.

By refusing to support the Bengali workers and peasants, the Chinese Maoists are detaching themselves from a powerful ally—the 120 million people oppressed by the Yahya Khan

regime, including the 75 million people of the Bengali nation.

This reactionary policy of supporting bourgeois nationalist regimes against the struggles of workers and peasants—struggles that could bring an end to capitalist rule—flows from the Maoist acceptance of Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country." This is the narrow-minded notion of privileged bureaucrats that the best way to "build socialism" in their country and preserve their own interests is to form alliances and stable relations with capitalist governments, even if it means sacrificing the revolutionary struggles in those countries. Such policies can only undermine the defense of the Chinese revolution itself.

Giant bombs used in new Viet raids

By DICK ROBERTS

APRIL 13—The dropping of giant seven-and-a-half-ton antipersonnel bombs by U.S. planes supporting the besieged Saigon Army outpost of Fire Base 6 is a grim reminder that the Southeast Asia war is continuing in full force.

This first use of the heavy bombs against revolutionary troops is another attempt to make up with "improved" weaponry the increasing inability to use U.S. troops in combat, given the intense antiwar sentiment in this country.

The bombs were "employed in the past mostly to blast out heavy jungle growth and clear land spaces for helicopters," according to the April 13 *New York Times*. Photos on the front page of the *Times* showed the wide radius of destruction caused by the explosion of one of these bombs and a mushroom-like cloud rising over a South Vietnamese forest where another had been dropped.

The siege of Fire Base 6 further illustrates the failure of Nixon's invasion of Laos to achieve its main stated aim of undercutting revolutionary combat strength in northern South Vietnam. A general offensive is sweeping the area and the attack on Fire Base 6 is the heaviest on this base in the history of the war.

U.S. B-52 bombers were pounding the attackers for the sixth straight day April 13, in addition to the C-130 cargo planes dropping the seven-and-a-half-ton antipersonnel bombs. U.S. helicopters were having difficulty reaching the besieged South Vietnamese troops with needed supplies.

The battle had all the hallmarks of previous sieges in the region. It indicates that today, as throughout the history of the Indochinese war, no U.S. or pro-U.S. forces can for any long period maintain military positions in the vast mountainous region that stretches up the borders of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

Meanwhile, a series of news reports from other battlegrounds of the war also confirms that Washington and Saigon are still far from obtaining their desired military goals:

- In Laos, "North Vietnamese troops have been at the doorstep of Luang Prabang [the royal capital] for two weeks, in the longest, strongest and closest military threat to the city thus far in the war," a UPI dispatch from Luang Prabang stated April 8.

- "Pathet Lao forces in northern Laos are apparently moving to squeeze out the 100,000 Meo tribesmen who have long served as a buffer for government forces in the area," *Washington Post* correspondent D.E. Ronk wrote from Vientiane, Laos, March 24.

"The area in question—about 90 miles north of Vientiane—contains the CIA-supported base at Long Cheng," Ronk continued.

"The recent Pathet Lao seizures of strings of government bases east and west of Long Cheng has had the effect of driving barriers southward. These are now closing to the center and blocking the Meo's route to Vientiane."

- In Cambodia, "Enemy forces . . . are increasing their pressure on the 22,000 South Vietnamese

troops there, while the government forces still search for the momentum they lost seven weeks ago. . . ." *New York Times* correspondent Iver Peterson wrote from Saigon, April 12.

"An American military source here said today that the number of enemy shellings and attacks on South Vietnamese positions in eastern Cambodia has increased over the last six weeks. . . ."

- "American fighter and observation pilots who fly regularly over the Ho Chi Minh Trail report that traffic is moving freely along the enemy supply network now that the South Vietnamese have wound up their operation in Laos," *New York Times* reporter Henry Kamm wrote from Danang, April 11.

In South Vietnam itself, the current state of "pacification" programs most clearly indicates the continuing inability of the Saigon regime to crush the base of revolution in the South Vietnamese countryside.

As recently as April 6, a report released in Washington revealed that the U.S. was undertaking its "most ambitious and costly pacification program" in the history of the war. This hardly indicates a period when the South Vietnamese regime is supposed to have "won over" the support of the population to its counterrevolutionary drive.

The report on "pacification" was described by *New York Times* Washington correspondent Tad Szulc: "Acknowledging for the first time that the activities of the Vietcong apparatus remain a major problem in eight of South Vietnam's 44 provinces, including the allegedly pacified Mekong River Delta, and that the South Vietnamese forces often prefer to 'accommodate, rather than resist the enemy,' the plan provides for:

- "Expansion of the People's Self-Defense Force—the civilian antiguerrilla combat organization in rural areas—from 600,000 to four million. Women would be enlisted in combat units and children of both sexes over the age of seven in supporting units.

- "Establishment of an elaborate 'people's intelligence network' to inform on the enemy.

- "Elimination in the year starting last month, through killing or capture, of 14,000 Vietcong agents under expansion of the three-year-old Operation Phoenix, an intelligence-gathering program that is supported by the United States military."

The Orwellian jargon of this report does not disguise its obvious meaning and intent: to expand the military control of the Saigon regime in the countryside by attempting to force hundreds of thousands more people under police regimentation and by attempting to murder thousands of sympathizers and supporters of the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

Thus in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, the counterrevolutionary war continues on an ever-expanding battleground.

The immediate and total withdrawal of U.S. military forces from all of Southeast Asia is a dire necessity to end the long slaughter, to American and Indochinese peoples alike.

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Within the next few weeks, we need to raise \$5,000 for a photo typositor and a Cheshire labeling machine. The first will help improve the format of **The Militant** by placing at our fingertips virtually any style of headline type currently available. The second will automate a laborious part of the mailing process that must now be done by hand. Please respond generously. Send your contribution in today.

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Defense opens in N.Y. Panther trial

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK, April 12—The defense lawyers in the trial of 13 New York Black Panthers opened their case April 6. Testifying for the defense today was Clarice Bird, mother of defendant Joan Bird.

She related coming to a Bronx police station on Jan. 18, 1969, where she found her daughter trembling and in tears. Joan Bird's ankles were swollen, her eye blackened, and her lips puffed up.

When Assistant District Attorney Joseph A. Phillips was presenting his case, cops said the blackened eye was caused by Bird hitting the steering wheel of a car during an alleged shoot-out between Panthers and police. The cops claimed they were shot at by two male Panthers in the car

parked on Harlem River Dr. Bird says police fired first. In the area of the shooting, which was within a few yards of the car, only shells from police guns were found.

Bird was arrested, taken to the station, and beaten under questioning by the cops. The cops denied this on the stand. But Clarice Bird says when she and Joan were about to leave the station, they were told to leave by the back door, which led to a garage. From there police drove them home, telling Joan and her mother to lean over in the car so no photographs could be taken of them as the car came out of the garage.

Photographs of Bird were eventually taken, however. And these were submitted as evidence to the jury.

The Jan. 18 incident was part of the contention, set forth by the DA's office, that the 13 defendants and eight other Panthers were conspiring to kill policemen and blow up department stores and police stations. It was used to get a 20-count conspiracy indictment from a grand jury.

The conspiracy charges were so weak that in November 1969 the district attorney's office reindicted the 21 Panthers on a 30-count indictment, 18 counts of which were laid to illegal possession of weapons.

Phillips started presenting his case in late October. During more than five months of prosecution testimony, the jury heard police tell of their desire to wipe out the Black Panther Party, saw the film *Battle of Algiers*, and heard three Black undercover

agents give testimony from doctored-up notes.

The battery of seven defense lawyers opened up by first blasting evidence that pipe bombs were found in the home of one of the defendants during the April 2 raid. The testimony of a plumber revealed the pipe fittings were left over from installation of a shower drain. After dealing with similar falsifications, they got into the Bird incident.

No bail has been set for the defendants since two of them fled a couple of months ago.

Funds to carry on the defense are desperately needed. Contributions can be sent to: The Committee To Defend the Panther 21, 11 E. 16th St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: 228-7746, 228-7745.

In Our Opinion

Ichord and April 24

On April 6, Representative Richard Ichord (D-Mo.) opened up a red-baiting attack on the April 24 antiwar demonstrations, the National Peace Action Coalition, and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, charging them with being "dominated mainly by two Communist factions, the Communist Party and the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party."

Ichord charged that the conference in June 1970 at which NPAC was founded was a conference of the SWP, the Young Socialist Alliance, and what he calls "the YSA-dominated Student Mobilization Committee," and that the April 24 demonstrations will be violent because of the leading role of socialists in organizing them—despite the well-publicized fact that the demonstration is being organized as a peaceful, legal march. And finally, he attacks the April 24 demonstration because it has "foreign Communist support" from the Vietnamese NLF and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, who sent messages of support for the spring antiwar activities planned by NPAC.

This red-baiting attack on the antiwar movement by a congressman who has made such McCarthyite tactics his stock-in-trade was followed by another attack on the movement. On April 7, three young women from Washington, D.C.—Janice Bush, Linda Janca and Christine Hoomes—told the press that they were being forced to resign from their clerical jobs with the FBI simply because they did volunteer work at NPAC's Washington office in their evening free time. One of the reasons given for their dismissal was the charge that NPAC was "communist-dominated."

Red-baiting attacks on the antiwar movement have occurred on the eve of every major demonstration since the movement began in 1965. The purpose is always to intimidate the millions of Americans who are opposed to the Southeast Asian war and to try to prevent them from joining the struggle to end the war.

But the principled way in which the antiwar movement has consistently answered these attacks, including the latest one, has made them increasingly ineffective. To the red-baiters, the antiwar movement says: We will exclude no one from this movement who wants to work to end the war. We are building a mass-action movement for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia. It's a democratic movement with free, open discussion of all points of view, and decisions are made democratically by those who participate. To exclude anyone from the movement can only serve the interests of those who are carrying out the war.

The allegations made by Representative Ichord are a mixture of outright lies and false arguments. Ichord's charges that supporters of NPAC or the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice are being "dominated" or duped by socialists in the leadership only shows his contempt for these thousands of activists.

The real answer to Ichord and the FBI's attempt to divide and destroy the antiwar movement will be given in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco on April 24. Red-baiting does not have the effect now that it had in the 1950s. The entire antiwar movement has been built on the repudiation of red-baiting, and this movement has been decisive in undercutting the ability of the ruling capitalist class to use that tactic.

The American people's overwhelming repudiation of the war—a war against the "communist enemy"—is in itself a rejection of the red-baiting mentality. The Madison, Wis., referendum in which 66 percent of the voters demanded immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia is only the latest indication of this deep antiwar sentiment of the American people.

Ichord charged: "These militants (socialists in the antiwar movement) have absolutely nothing genuinely in common with the vast majority of those Americans who are interested in securing peace on an honorable basis." On April 24, the American people will speak for themselves regarding what kind of peace they are interested in: not Nixon's kind of "honorable peace"—which means endless war—but immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia. And that is exactly what NPAC and April 24 are all about.

Tactics

Sorry about the delay in renewing my subscription. I enjoyed getting your evaluation of what's happening in the world. There isn't a chance to read a radical evaluation of revolutionary tactics in the mass media so your view provides a deeply interesting and enlightening outlook into what's going on in America today. Thanks for spreading the word.

F. D.
Lockhaven, Pa.

'Anti-American'

The lengthy article condemning Evans and Novak for allegedly "red-baiting" the Spring Offensive further illustrates the reality of Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance domination of the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee, respectively.

I attended the SMC Winter Conference at Catholic University as a reporter for the *LaSalle College Collegian*. My suspicion of NPAC was confirmed by the proceedings of the conference, which were utterly unbelievable in their rhetoric and total anti-Americanism. How can you hope to establish a broad-based coalition of workers, students and women by deceiving them of your true perspective on the war?

I do not say this as a reactionary. In fact, I am a democratic socialist (YPSL) with a strong aversion to the brutality of the war in Indochina. But I find myself utterly bewildered when "peace" advocates begin shouting slogans for a Communist victory.

Mike Kerper
Philadelphia, Pa.

Debating

As a supporter of most groups that publish papers to increase political awareness of the mass populace, I cannot help but request the 10-week introductory offer I noted in your March 19 issue.

I have been doing a lot of soul searching lately and am debating whether to leave SDS and join YSA. I am in sincere hopes of seeing your paper help clear up numerous problems that PL-SDS theory does not answer.

M. J. S.
Wentworth, Wis.

April 24 speakers list

Your March 26 issue reports on a dispute at the March 13 National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) Steering Committee meeting: "A motion was introduced that invitations be issued only to speakers committed to immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. But the overwhelming majority of the meeting voted for a substitute motion to the effect that the program committee ensure that the preponderance of speakers be those favoring immediate withdrawal, but that other antiwar views not be excluded from the platform."

At the request of members of NPAC, inquiries of speaking availability had gone to McGovern, McCarthy and Muskie, all of whom are opposed to immediate withdrawal.

There is a policy split in the ruling class. McGovern and Co. don't think that Nixon can win his war, but they think they can win their war. Here is McGovern: "... a timetable leaves open the extent of United States assistance, short of manpower, to South Vietnam as an extremely important bargaining issue... it will pressure the other side to negotiate while the U.S., always more conciliatory than our Saigon ally, still has

a direct battlefield interest."— *Why We Are still in Vietnam*, Brown and Auckland, editors, p. 130., 1970.

The *Times*, March 20, states there is: "no pressure from Senator McGovern... for hearings on... his bill... that would set a withdrawal timetable..."

The NPAC meeting was informed that McGovern declined to speak. I have been reliably informed that he wrote NPAC that it was wrong to have a rally on the 24th.

Now he has endorsed the rally and his office says he is reconsidering speaking. He knows that he underestimated public support for the 24th and he is afraid of losing support for his candidacy if he doesn't pay lip service to the peace movement.

Frankly, the typical antiwar demonstrator is as naive as a buck private in the Children's Crusade, doesn't know why the war came about, reacts to it in fits and spurts, and has illusions as to how to end it. McGovern and Co. can't teach them and can only reinforce their illusions.

Since NPAC's avowed principle is immediate withdrawal, and since these imperialists do not accept this, they must be refused the right to speak on our platform. If the purpose of inviting them is the hope that they will draw people to Washington, then that is too high a price to pay for mere numbers. NPAC would do far better to expose McGovern and his ilk, and thus raise the consciousness of its ranks and the general public.

Leonard Brenner Glaser
New York, N. Y.

Puerto Rico

I recently visited my family in Puerto Rico. During the visit, I made many contacts with the MPI (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) and the PIP (Puerto Rican Independence Party) to get information for my Puerto Rican brothers and sisters here in Albany, N. Y.

After many months of massive protests against the U.S. Navy's bombardment of the island of Culebra, the PIP and the MPI, along with other independentistas, have begun harassing the naval outposts responsible for the destruction of Culebra.

Ruben Berríos, president of PIP, and 13 others were sentenced to 90 days in jail for defying a federal order and entering the Navy's firing range on Culebra. A demonstration was held outside the jail where Berríos and the others are imprisoned. Nearly 5,000 independentistas attended the rally.

Each day more people are arrested for trespassing on Navy territory, and each day the ranks of the independentistas grow. Each day the struggle against Yankee imperialism grows in Puerto Rico as it does in Vietnam and all over the world.

In Albany, we have formed a Puerto Rican student organization called PROLE. We'd like to see a feature on the Puerto Rican struggle in *The Militant*.

Rich Ariza
Albany, N. Y.

Stalin on women's liberation

I would like to add a note to Dianne Feeley's excellent review of Bolshevik vs. Stalinist approaches to women's liberation (*Militant*, March 19).

From the Bolshevik viewpoint, there could be no separation between the legal status of women and the goal of their liberation from the hearth. Marriage was freed from the obscurantist grip of religion and transferred into the hands of the state. By 1926, previous edicts re-

The Great Society

garding the family were systematized into the Family Codes, which, for one thing, made divorce a simple matter of sending a postcard to the bureau of marriage registration. The Codes also abolished the degrading status of "illegitimacy" by granting legal equality to unregistered marriages.

The counterrevolutionary essence of Stalinism in the realm of women's liberation is distinguished by two laws passed by the Soviet government in 1936 and later in 1944. The decree of June 1936 banned abortions and established the "strong Soviet family." The law of 1944 attempted to prevent a decline in the birthrate expected to result from the loss of 20 million men in World War II. It exempted men from any legal responsibility toward women with whom they had nonmarital sexual relations in which a child had been born. The stigma of "illegitimacy" was restored in order to stabilize the birthrate. The burden of child rearing was simply transferred onto the shoulders of a host of unwed mothers, carrying the status of women as mere breeders to its most oppressive extreme.

*Albion Urdank
New York, N.Y.*

Farm workers

The United Farm Workers of Florida is an organization in the initial stages of developing a cohesive force of agribusiness working-class people. UFWOF, based on the principle that freedom starts where people earn their bread, has been mobilizing Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and poor whites to act as a unified force to struggle for better working conditions on "Maggies' Farm." At this stage of the struggle, UFWOF needs movement help.

The people who comprise UFWOF are interested in securing better wages for agribusiness working-class people, better living conditions (day-care centers, for example), and protection from agribusiness chemical poisons, which not only destroy our food but disable working-class people.

In order to accomplish the above and bring freedom to the farm worker, UFWOF needs the help of all movement groups and people. We need money to rent offices throughout South Florida. We need mimeo and sound equipment to communicate with the people. We need individual movement people to come to this area and help us secure the rights and needs outlined above. If you can assist, please contact us at P.O. Box 988, Delray Beach, Fla. 33444.

*UFWOF
Delray Beach, Fla.*

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

Survived four-year bumper—Julie Eisenhower says she feels like a "new person" since she graduated from Smith College, where some apparently very heavy repression has been coming down. "There was so much emphasis on conformity," she reports. "You had to be involved in a strike; you had to be involved in a fast for peace. There was belligerence against those who didn't want to be part of this."

Ecumenical Dept.—Pope Paul and Yugoslav President Tito exchanged gifts after a 75-minute Rome meeting on international problems. The pope presented Tito with an eighteenth-century Roman landscape painting and Tito responded with a modern Yugoslav sculpture of Mary and Jesus.

Add a pinch of sour dung—It was disclosed that the Food and Drug Administration permits certain tolerances in its "pure food" standards. For spices and herbs, these include two parts rat excreta in each of two samples from one test lot; up to four dead

insects per sample; from .5 to 2 percent stone, dirt, wire or other extraneous matter. A spokesman philosophically explained: "If we took action against everything with filth in it, we wouldn't have anything on the market."

Gift item—Tiffany's is featuring a sterling silver coffee pot, \$285 (matching sugar and cream bowls, \$105 each). We hear the pot is excellent for freeze-dried.

Now hear this—According to the occasionally reliable *New York Inquirer*, Cleve Backster, head of the Cleve Backster School of Lie Detection, who reportedly developed the CIA's lie-detection procedure, is persuaded that he can measure the emotions of plants by hooking them into lie detectors. Backster assertedly reports evidence of a form of communication between people and plants. Which might explain the defoliation program.

But maybe it was high—The reader who contributed the above item sug-

gested this exchange: "Officer, how do you know that's a marijuana plant?" "It confessed."

Wrong hue—There was a bit of public ruckus when a gathering of the Mass. Rainbow Girls (whatever they are) was held in Springfield. Responding to objections over the outfit's exclusion of Black people from membership, a spokesperson said, "I wouldn't call it racial prejudice. We're just selective about who we let in." We hope they're equally selective about who they let out.

For temporary relief—This country needs something that will provide a safe, cheap high, opines Dr. Martin Katz, a mental health researcher. He says, "Man's general need to transport himself to another psychological state, to another—if somewhat temporary—reality, is not likely to abate. Only a very radical change in the world and in man could cause this to happen."

—HARRY RING

♀ The Insurgent Majority

Nearly 98,000 abortions have been performed in New York City in the eight months since the liberalized abortion law went into effect July 1, 1970. City health officials report that the trend is toward earlier, safer abortions, and that the drop in patients admitted to hospitals with complications from incomplete abortions indicates fewer women are having to resort to illegal abortions. A liberalized abortion bill in Michigan, approved by the state Senate, is presently being kept buried in a committee of the House by opponents of abortion. Sen. Gilbert E. Bursley, a proponent of the bill, has vowed that if the House does not act on the bill within six weeks, he will help organize a petition drive to have the abortion reform bill put to Michigan voters in a referendum in November of 1972. Bursley said, "This should be the easiest issue to collect the necessary number of signatures on (250,000) of any that I can remember."

duced and their eagerness for life and desire for independence are squelched.

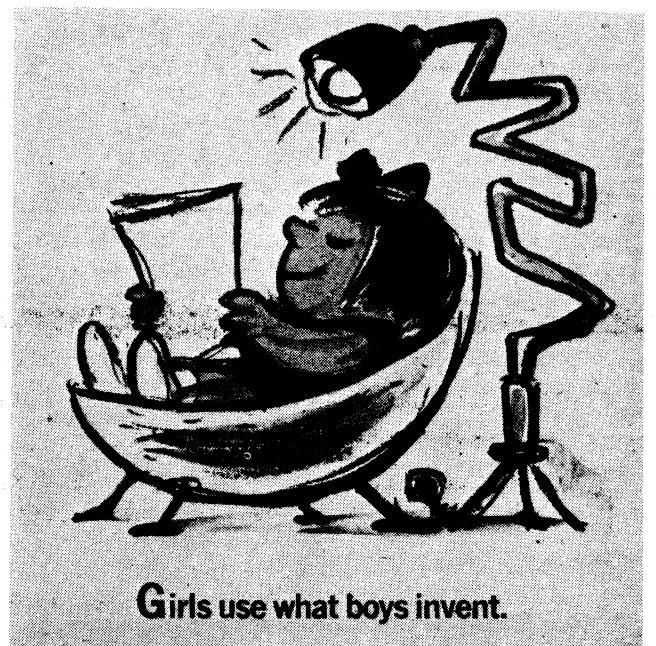
Abortion on demand could be eliminated in the Soviet Union in order to attempt to increase the Soviet birth rate, said the March 23 *New York Times*. Prominent Soviet officials are advocating this step. Legal abortions now cost Soviet women only about \$5.50. Other Soviet specialists have argued against outlawing abortions—not, however, on the grounds that women should have the right to control their own bodies, but rather because they do not think it will have the desired effect of raising the birth rate.

A woman member of the Irish Senate has introduced a bill that would legalize the import and sale of contraceptives. Spokesmen for the government have urged the

From "I'm Glad I'm a Boy! I'm Glad I'm a Girl!" (Windmill Books/Simon and Schuster, 1970).



Boys invent things.



Girls use what boys invent.

The following selection is taken from a book which won a children's book award: "For the millionth time, she was glad she wasn't a boy. It was all right for girls to be scared or silly or even ask dumb questions. Everybody just laughed and thought it was funny. But if anybody caught Joe asking a dumb question or even thought he was the littlest bit scared, he went red and purple and white."

This is just one example from a study on how children's literature promotes male and female sex roles, done by a group called Feminists on Children's Media (P.O. Box 4315, Grand Central Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10017). Their study involved analysis of 12 children's reader series from 10 different publishers, including over 160 books. This study is an indictment of the educational system in this country, concretely demonstrating how, from the very beginning of our lives, young girls are stunted and sub-

Senate to reject the bill, saying that the parliament should not allow itself to be pushed into action by pressure from women, and should wait to act until the big controversy around this question dies down. On Sunday, March 28, in every Catholic mass in the country, a letter was read from the Archbishop of Dublin, the Most Rev. Dr. McQuaid, saying that any contraceptive act was morally wrong and that if the legal ban on the sale of contraceptives were lifted, it would bring "a curse upon our country." In the Pro-Cathedral of Dublin, eight women and one man walked out of the church after protesting the letter as "absolute rubbish." Other members of the Women's Liberation Movement walked out of evening mass at Haddington Road Church. One of them, before walking out, said to the congregation: "This is a matter that should be decided by women alone. Why should men dictate to us how many children we should have?"

—CAROLINE LUND

By DAVE FRANKEL

The last two months have seen important new developments in the attitude of the American people to the war in Southeast Asia. With the fiasco of the Laotian invasion and the wide-scale revelations about U.S. war crimes in Indochina, public opposition has reached an all-time high.

Nixon's "Vietnamization" of the war has resulted in the bombing of four countries and the invasion of two, supposedly in order to withdraw from one. And Nixon himself attested to the impact of his policies when he said in an interview with C. L. Sulzberger, printed in the March 10 *New York Times*: "I am certain a Gallup poll would show that the great majority of the people would want to pull out of Vietnam."

In an attempt to offset his declining standing in the popularity polls and to drum up support for the war, Nixon has undertaken a Madison Avenue-style TV publicity campaign. As James Reston pointed out in the March 28 *New York Times*, "in his conversation with Howard Smith he spent over half an hour trying to explain why people didn't believe him, and . . . most of the television audience tuned in on a couple of two-bit movies."

Meanwhile, the antiwar movement is preparing for demonstrations to be held in Washington and San Francisco on April 24, and they could well be the largest ever held.

In the face of this growing outrage of the American people, significant layers of the bourgeois politicians, who have supported the war in the past, are now attempting to jump off the sinking ship, though in their own predictable way, which is designed to cede none of the "rights" of imperialism.

While there is truly massive sentiment in favor of immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from Indochina, the "dove" politicians are attempting to shift the demand of the antiwar forces to "set the date for the completion of withdrawal." Thus, Senate Democrats voted on Feb. 23 to work for withdrawal from Vietnam by 1973, and their cohorts in the House of Representatives followed suit on March 31. The Democratic Policy Council has urged a cutoff of funds for the war by the end of 1971.

The antiwar movement demands an accomplished action, the "doves" offer another promise. Moreover, it is a promise that implicitly accepts the maintenance of American troops in Vietnam until a certain date. Even if one were foolish enough to believe these liars and to tell others to take their word for good coin too, the set-the-date demand would still be a blatant violation of the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination. In effect, it would give the blessing of the antiwar movement to the occupation of Vietnam in return for a statement of when that occupation would be ended.

In light of these facts, it is unfortunate that there are forces within the antiwar movement who have given credence to the set-the-date demand, particularly as it is embodied in the "People's Peace Treaty," negotiated by a group of American students. Irena Knight, in an article called "A new upsurge of American youth" in the March 3 *Daily World*, the newspaper of the Communist Party, attacks the Young Socialist Alliance as ultraleft for not backing the treaty.

"YSA currently refused (sic) to organize antiwar sentiment around the slogan 'Set the Date for Withdrawal,'" she writes, "but instead raised the slogan 'Bring the Troops Home Now,' and 'Self-Determination for the South Vietnamese.'"

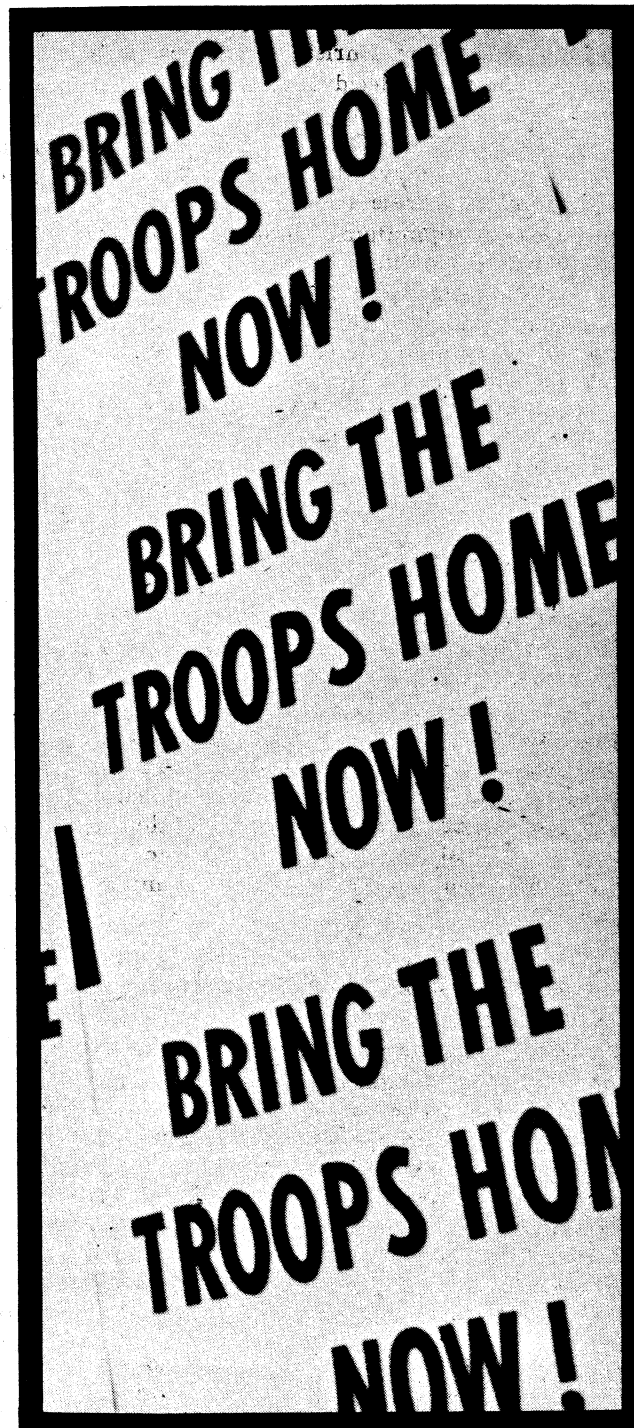
"These slogans were the past rallying cry of the peace movement. However, at a time when the NLF as well as broad sections of the peace movement have called for 'set the date', it is incorrect not to harness these forces in an effort to coerce U.S. imperialism to publicly declare its intentions as to withdrawal of forces."

Knight cannot understand why the YSA refuses to give up the "past rallying cry" of the antiwar movement. This is not surprising. The Communist Party didn't understand why the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party fought for the rallying cry of immediate withdrawal to begin with, and in fact the CP actively opposed that slogan in the early days of the movement. Now the CP is only too happy to drop the demand for immediate and unconditional withdrawal and join forces with the Democratic doves, themselves defenders of imperialism, to "coerce U.S. imperialism to publicly declare its intentions."

The Vietnamese demands

Knight also raises the argument that the Vietnamese fighters themselves have called for "set the date." Essentially, this argument boils down to the idea that the demands of the American

Vietnam: the time to get out is NOW!



antiwar movement should correspond to the proposals put forth by the Vietnamese at the negotiations in Paris. This conception is codified in the "People's Peace Treaty" and is also found in the *Guardian*, a radical newspaper that has supported the set-the-date slogan and the peace treaty. It is an idea that is totally wrong.

The Vietnamese negotiate in Paris under severe pressure. There are hundreds of thousands of foreign troops occupying their homeland. They are subjected to a powerful economic blockade and the most intensive saturation bombing in history. At one or another point, they may be forced to offer certain concessions to the imperialist invaders of their country. However, those of us within the aggressor nation must never recognize the legitimacy of any concession wrung from the Vietnamese people by the violence and terror practiced by the U.S. government.

Yet the People's Peace Treaty does precisely that. The whole structure of the treaty is an "agreement" between Vietnamese and Americans in which the Vietnamese "pledge" to do certain things within their own country *in return for* the pledge of withdrawal of U.S. troops by a certain date. Point four of the People's Peace Treaty states that: "The Vietnamese pledge that as soon as the U.S. government publicly sets a date for total withdrawal. . . they will enter discussions on the procedures to guarantee the safety of all withdrawing troops."

Suppose the Vietnamese choose not to guarantee the safety of American troops because the U.S. government claims they are going to be withdrawn? Some of the troops who participated in the Laotian invasion are scheduled to be withdrawn, but the Vietnamese have shown no intention of guaranteeing their safety, nor should they.

Point seven of the peace treaty contains a pledge by the Vietnamese to "guarantee the safety and political freedom of those persons who have collaborated with the U.S. or with the U.S.-supported regime." Yet it is entirely within reason that the Vietnamese people will demand that war criminals be brought to justice. Would this mean it would then be OK for the U.S. to keep its troops in Vietnam to protect its puppets?

Immediate, unconditional withdrawal

Massive numbers of people are totally disgusted with the war in Indochina. They are prepared to repudiate it completely; they need no half-hearted substitutes for the demand of immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. This fact was illustrated very clearly in the April 2 *New York Times* report that two Georgia congressmen, previously hawks, had reversed their position on the war. One of them, according to the *Times*, said that "he had detected a major shift in sentiment about the war among his constituents from an initial attitude of 'win the war' to 'win the war or get out' to an attitude now of 'get out.'"

Voters in Madison, Wis., provided further proof that this is the overwhelming sentiment of the American people. On April 6 they voted two-to-one in favor of a referendum calling for "an immediate ceasefire and an immediate withdrawal" of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia.

It is more necessary now than ever that the antiwar movement not let Nixon and the ruling class off the hook. Even if they "set the date," the antiwar movement must continue to organize the American people around the demand for immediate withdrawal, putting no confidence in phony peace plans. Certainly most of the supporters of the People's Peace Treaty would not want to stop their activity and rely on a promise of the government if the demand of "set the date" were met, but they put themselves in a difficult position when war supporters point out that Nixon's "schedule" too allows for a certain period of time before withdrawal is completed. After all, Nixon is withdrawing 12,500 troops a month!

Fortunately, regardless of the differences over the treaty, both those who oppose it and those who support it are working to build the April 24 actions for immediate withdrawal. Such joint efforts to mobilize the masses of Americans against the U.S. war of aggression in Southeast Asia can only strengthen the antiwar forces and hasten the end of the war.

The answer to all of the "peace offensives," phased withdrawals, partial withdrawals, "neutralizations," bombing halts, and other phony plans of the ruling class is the continued mobilization of the masses of the American people in the streets until every last soldier, sailor, airman, advisor, CIA operative, and U.S. AID person is out of Indochina. That is what the demonstrations on April 24 represent.

Support builds for gay contingent

By STEVE BEREN

The Student Mobilization Committee National Gay Task Force, set up in New York soon after the February SMC conference, enters the last week before April 24 with plans for an extensive publicity drive and sales of tickets for separate Gay Contingent buses.

The contingent has been endorsed by a wide range of groups and individuals in the gay movement, including: Chicago Gay Alliance, Detroit Gay Liberation Front (GLF), Tri-Cities (N.Y.) Gay Liberation, Hartford (Conn.) Gay Liberation, Bridgeport (Conn.) Kalos Society, Los Angeles GLF, Boston Daughters of Bilitis, Gay Alliance at Virginia Tech, Red Butterfly, Houston GLF, Louisville GLF, New Orleans GLF, the March 25-28 Austin Convention of Gay Liberation, Binghamton-Harpur College GLF, Lehigh Valley (Pa.) Homophile Movement, Knoxville GLF, Tallahassee GLF, Amherst (Mass.) GLF and Kutzman State College (Pa.) Homophile Movement.

Prominent individuals who have endorsed the contingent include Foster Gunnison, Institute of Social Ethics in Hartford and secretary-treasurer of the Christopher Street Liberation Committee; Frank E. Kameny, president of the Washington, D.C., Mattachine Society and a member of the Board of Directors of the Washington ACLU; and Jim Owles, president of the Gay Activists Alliance, a homosexual civil rights organization in New York. The April 26 issue of *Gay* (a newspaper with a circulation of 14,000 in the New York area) carries an editorial in support of the contingent.

The Task Force in New York has printed over 25,000 leaflets. Local groups have put out their own leaflets in Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Austin, and other cities.

Most areas plan to have separate buses for the gay contingent. Boston Daughters of Bilitis and Knoxville GLF plan to send buses to Washington. Los Angeles GLF is organizing transportation to San Francisco out of its offices at 4400 Melrose Ave. (telephone: 665-1881).

At an April 8 meeting of the New York Gay Activists Alliance, attended by over 200 people, 29 signed up as interested in going to Washington and working on the contingent.

On April 6, 20 gay people met at Washington Square Methodist Church for the first city-wide meeting of the New York Gay Task Force. The meeting heard reports on endorsements, on available literature, and on a High School Gay Task Force, which will carry its own banners in Washington. Ways of getting the word out in New York were also discussed. Finally, the meeting made plans for the movement center which will be set up in Washington for gay people for the April 24 weekend.

The task force has the following literature available: 5,000 each of gay contingent buttons, posters and brochures. These can be ordered from the SMC Gay Task Force, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone (212) 675-8465. Contact the same address for information on transportation to the Washington, D.C., demonstration.

April 24 countdown

April 24 will be a day of antiwar actions in countries besides the United States. Actions in Canada are being organized in communities from coast to coast through united front committees and promise to be broader and larger than ever before. A high point will be in the capital city of Ottawa, where the delegates will adjourn the session of the New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party) convention to join the demonstration. Once again Londoners will be rallying behind the banners of a reconstituted Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. Special efforts are being made to mobilize British youth. In France, following successful assemblies, one of which was honored by the participation of Vietnamese and Cambodian representatives, an Indochinese Solidarity Front has been organized. It plans appropriate action on April 24. In Germany, there have already been successful demonstrations and meetings at various points, and plans are afoot to bring this campaign to a successful climax on April 24. In Italy and many other sections of the globe, there have recently been meetings and actions in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution.

The San Diego State SMC chapter makes use of a bridge connecting dorms to campus for antiwar publicity.



Photo by Pamela Starsky

Three clerical workers in the FBI's identification division, Janice Bush, Linda Janca and Christine Hoomes, who are all opposed to the war, decided to become active in building April 24 after attending the SMC's National Student Antiwar Conference at Catholic University in Washington, D.C., in February. On April 2, the three women were called into separate rooms at the FBI offices and each given an ultimatum: "Stop working for the National Peace Action Coalition or leave the bureau." Janice Bush refused to resign and has taken a leave of absence. Linda Janca and Christine Hoomes both resigned. The April 7 Washington Evening Star published an interview with the three on its front page. The Militant spoke briefly to Linda Janca by phone at the NPAC office April 12. She said she had been contributing money to the SMC and NPAC for some time and receiving mailings from both groups. "But this time I wanted to become really active," she said. "That day (April 24) will be so important; I think it can really help to change things." According to the Evening Star interview, Janca evidently upset identification division official J. Allison Conley, who first questioned her about her antiwar work. She described the Chicago Seven case as a frame-up and Conley asked her, "You mean you work for us and you think our investigation was a frame-up?" Janca said, "I explained that when a person plans a demonstration, the last thing in the world they want is a riot or violence. . . ." Conley tried to argue that Janca was violating a regulation banning political activity by FBI employees. Janca said, "The war isn't political. It doesn't matter who's in office. . . ."

A recent letter from the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) reports that the group "has enrolled 9,500 active members since 1967 and our sense of urgency dictates the necessity for us to bring these demands to the Congress. We who have fought this war will demand that it end—NOW." The letter correctly calls attention to the "unique impact" veterans can have "to set the momentum" for the spring offensive, and points out that the expense of gathering 5,000 veterans in the Capital for five days of activity is "staggering." Those who want to keep the VVAW's important work going can send their contributions to VVAW, Ninth Floor, 1029 Vermont Ave., Washington, D.C. 20005. Or phone (202) 638-3294.

Campus Media, a network representing 431 radio stations across the country, will begin its regular and extensive coverage of the spring antiwar actions on April 23, the day before the giant marches in Washington and San Francisco, and continue it through the entire calendar of spring antiwar events.

The Washington Area Peace Action Coalition (WAPAC), had previously been limited in what it could do to mo-

bilize people in D.C. for national actions because of heavy responsibility for national coordination. Because NPAC has an adequate staff this spring, WAPAC has been able to concentrate on organizing the participation of D.C.'s Black community, federal employees, students, and others. WAPAC has already exhausted an initial supply of 500,000 leaflets to federal employees, addressed to the war's effects on the city of Washington.

Leaders of the National Peace Action Coalition announced April 9 that the assembly area for the April 24 march in Washington, D.C., will be the Ellipse behind the White House. The march will proceed up 17th Street to Pennsylvania Avenue and down Pennsylvania past the White House to the Capitol. NPAC representatives are negotiating with Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew for use of the Capitol's west lawn as the rally site. The assembly points for the different contingents are not yet decided, but each will be marked with large banners. The order in which the contingents will march will be as follows: rally speakers, active-duty GIs, veterans, members of Con-

gress and staff, draft resisters, pacifist groups, peace groups, Third World, United Women's Contingent, the Gay Liberation Contingent, federal employees, trade unionists, political groups, teachers, professional groups, religious groups, junior high and high school students, college students, and geographic areas—Washington, D.C., New England, New York, South, Mid-Atlantic, and Midwest.

Senators Edmund Muskie (D-Maine) and Harrison Williams (D-N.J.) and Congressmen Henry Reuss (D-Wis.), Louis Stokes (D-Ohio), and Jerome Waldie (D-Calif.) are among the members of Congress who recently added their names to the list of endorsers of April 24. Francis Sargent, Republican Massachusetts governor, also endorsed the April 24 action. And Congressman Thomas M. Rees (D-Calif.) who has marched in previous demonstrations, wrote to NPAC saying he will be marching again April 24.

The chief marshal for the D.C. April 24 action, Fred Halstead, reports that with half of the replies returned from a transportation questionnaire mailed to antiwar organizations in cities designated for the Washington action, he believes significantly more transportation has been arranged for April 24 than at a comparable point before the Nov. 15, 1969, March on Washington.

Seattle Mayor Wes Uhlman endorsed the local April 17 and the San Francisco April 24 antiwar marches, and, along with two city councilmen and one city councilwoman, signed a three-quarter page ad calling on the people of Seattle to participate. On April 11, 200 people, half of whom were in the Navy, took part in a demonstration in Bremerton, Wash., protesting the departure of the U.S. Constellation for Southeast Asia and calling for participation in April 24.

The Concerned Officers Movement, sponsoring a memorial service for war dead in the National Cathedral on April 23, expects around 5,000 armed forces personnel to turn out for it.

The United Women's Contingent held a news conference in Washington April 7 to expose the hypocrisy of Nixon's platitudes about the "sanctity of life" which he used to justify the restriction of women's right to abortion in military hospitals. Speakers linked the president's actions against women with the war in Southeast Asia. The United Women's Contingent will hold its final meeting before the action at All Soul's Church at 16th and Harvard St. N.W. on April 18 at 7:30 p.m. From the 19th to April 24, the Women's Center at 800 21st St. N.W. will be organizing marshals, leafletting and banner-making. Women's rallies will be held at noon on April 21, 22 and 23 in McPherson Square, 14th and K St. N.W., including guerrilla theater and speakers.

Poindexter wins N.Y. acquittal

NEW YORK, April 12—A big victory in the campaign to free Angela Davis was registered here today when David Poindexter, accused of "harboring and concealing" Davis last summer, and helping her to evade arrest under a federal warrant, was acquitted in federal court. The trial lasted only five days.

During that time, the prosecution brought 44 witnesses to the stand. Some of them had dealings with Davis and Poindexter between Aug. 7 and Oct. 13. Others were news media executives testifying about the extent of the publicity on the FBI search for Davis. The defense maintained that Poindexter had knowledge of the California State charges against Davis—that guns used in the attempted prisoner escape from the San Rafael courthouse on Aug. 7 were registered in her name—but no knowledge of the federal warrant for Davis. Judge John M. Cannella maintained that this was the crux of the case.

The prosecution could offer no direct proof of knowledge of the federal warrant. Hence, the jury freed Poindexter. The jury was composed of seven men and five women. Two of the jurors were Black and one Puerto Rican.

Important wiretap decision

By MICHAEL SMITH

LOS ANGELES, April 9—The Justice Department under Attorney General John Mitchell got its eye blackened by the U.S. Court of Appeals in Cincinnati when it was ruled yesterday that the Constitution forbids wiretapping without a court order in "domestic subversion" cases.

Mitchell, as part of the Nixon administration's sustained effort to erode civil liberties, had asserted his department's right to tap phones, claiming that the courts had no business hindering the collection of information on "subversives." Not so, said the second highest court in the country in a two-to-one split decision, although it did not rule out the executive power to wiretap without a court warrant in "foreign subversion" cases.

The case arose when three members of the White Panther Party, a "youth culture" organization centered in Ann Arbor, Mich., were charged with conspiracy to blow up the Central Intelligence Agency office in that city. The initial charge was widely viewed as simply a repressive move on the part of the administration.

Defendants Lawrence "Pun" Plamondon, Jack Forest and John Sinclair (presently serving a harsh, 10-year sentence on a marijuana charge) won an initial victory when liberal District Court Judge Damon Keith ruled two months ago in Detroit that the government must disclose eavesdrop records to the men and their attorneys, Buck Davis and William Kunstler; Kunstler had lost on a similar motion he had made on behalf of the Conspiracy Seven in Chicago. The government indicated at the time of

Keith's ruling that if such a disclosure were forced upon them, they would instead choose to drop the case against the three.

Writing in the April 9 *Los Angeles Times* on the recent decision, reporter John Mackenzie stated: "Unless reversed by the Supreme Court, the decision—backed up by the binding disclosure order—would cripple the administration's program of domestic surveillance on dissident groups, according to the Justice Department."

This may be an exaggeration. Nevertheless, given the decision and the protest now being raised by House Democratic majority leader Hale Boggs over the tapping of representatives' phones, the administration is getting its style crimped.

Cannon's birthday celebrated

By HAYDEN PERRY

LOS ANGELES—Seventy comrades and friends joined James P. Cannon, founder and national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, in celebrating his eighty-first birthday here March 27.

Cannon has had a long and distinguished career as a revolutionist. It goes back to the early part of this century when he was an organizer for the IWW and a leader of the left wing of the old Socialist Party. He participated in the founding of the American Communist Party in 1919 and was expelled from that party in 1928 for Trotskyism. He has been a leading figure in the Trotskyist movement since its inception at that time. During World War II, Cannon and 17 other leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis truck-drivers union were imprisoned for their opposition to the war in what was the government's first use of the anticommunist Smith Act.

Max Goldman, who has devoted 41 active years to revolutionary socialism himself, expressed the spirit of the occasion. The birthday gifts that a revolutionist appreciates most, he said, are advances and victories for the working class. He pointed to a number of recent events that have brightened Cannon's eighty-first birthday: the defeat of American imperialism and its puppet allies in Laos, the new upsurge of the antiwar movement at home, the freeing of Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco, and the



James P. Cannon

rapid growth of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance. The ultimate birthday gift, he said, will be the vic-

tory of the socialist revolution in America.

Barbara Peterson, the SWP's candidate for the Community College Board, made the most important announcement of the evening. A new book by Cannon entitled *Speeches for Socialism* is now at the printer's. The book, to be published by Pathfinder Press, is a selection of his speeches over the last 50 years. Peterson stressed the value of this distillation of the experience of more than half a century of revolutionary activity for the younger generation of revolutionaries, who are carrying on the struggle to which Cannon has devoted his life.



Protest at ERA hearings

WASHINGTON, D. C.—On March 31, supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution went to the House Judiciary Subcommittee hearings on the amendment to once again demand the right of women to equal opportunity and protection under the law.

Aileen Hernandez, testifying for the National Organization for Women, attempted to give the floor to representatives of George Washington University Women's Liberation, who had prepared testimony for the committee to hear, but she was unable to get the women to the rostrum. Hernandez pointed out that no young women had been allowed to testify in favor of the amendment, especially women who would be affected by the Ervin rider if the amendment passes. The rider introduced by Senator Ervin [D-N. C.] would contradict the whole spirit of the ERA by permitting special laws applying to women only that are "reasonably designed to promote the health, safety, privacy, education or economic welfare of women, or to enable them to perform their duties as homemakers or mothers." The rider would specifically exempt women from the draft.

Just as the hearings were about to end for the day, one woman from the audience demanded that draft-age women be heard on the question of the ERA. She was threatened with removal if she did not sit down, but the committee was finally forced to schedule another day of hearings for

women who wanted to testify but for whom there had previously been no time set aside.

Also testifying on March 31 were the Association of Women Attorneys, and Dr. Bernice Sandler of the Women's Equity Action League. Anti-ERA testimony was given by Myra Wolfgang of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers union.

In their prepared testimony for the committee, George Washington Women's Liberation stated: "We unequivocally and emphatically support the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution as it was passed by the House in the 91st Congress. . . . We come to demand justification for 47 years of denying us the Equal Rights Amendment and for centuries of denying us equality of rights under your law. We come to demand an explanation for the injustices women suffer. We come to demand a sane, moral reason for these hearings. We come because we are women and were born human beings. We do not recognize your power to give us our rights. There is no burden of proof upon us—it is upon you."

Abortion debated in Texas

AUSTIN—The Creighton-Kennard bill on abortion is scheduled to go before the Texas House of Representatives for open hearings on April 19. The bill, which would make abortion legal for women over 16 with their consent, and for women under 16 with the consent of their parent or guardian, has already had hearings before the Texas Senate.

The March 29 Senate hearings were packed by about 1,000 nearly evenly divided supporters and opponents of the bill. The audience was plentifully sprinkled with nuns' habits, indicating that opposition to the bill came in part from the Catholic Church.

Testimony for the bill included a film, as well as depositions from an attorney, a psychiatrist, a social worker, two doctors, a Catholic woman, ministers of the Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist churches, a representative from the Texas Committee for Abortion Education, and a representative from the legislature of the state of Colorado, who vigorously damned for its inadequacy the therapeutic abortion law now in effect in his state. Personal testimony from three women, including one who had tried to abort herself and one who was forced to have an illegal abortion, added dramatic support to arguments for legalization of abortion.

Speakers opposing the liberalized abortion bill discussed what they felt were the moral issues involved, and then went on somewhat hysterically to stress what a great boon a falling birth rate would be to foreign enemies of the U.S. They also suggested that doctors and nurses would be compelled to perform abortions against their consciences.

Statements against the right of women to abortion made recently by two top figures in the Republican and Democratic parties—President Nixon and Senator Edmund Muskie—have met with a strong protest from the pro-abortion movement and from women in the antiwar and women's liberation movements.

In New York City, women from a large number of organizations demonstrated against Nixon, as well as against recent antiabortion moves by Governor Rockefeller. And in Washington, D.C., the United Women's Contingent for the April 24 antiwar demonstrations held a press conference to denounce Nixon's hypocrisy in speaking of the "sacredness of life" while he is responsible for the slaughter in Southeast Asia.

In addition to citing the "sacredness of life," Senator Muskie on March 31 also stated: "We're not entirely sure of the psychological impact upon mothers themselves who become free or indiscriminate in the use of this way of avoiding the consequences of sexual relations. . . . It's the very nature of motherhood, you know, to shield and protect life, not to destroy it."

It is true that women are forced by this society to face the "consequences" of sexual relations—that is, the responsibility for bearing and rearing of a child. This is all the more reason why the woman should be able to make the decision whether or not to have the child, and no one else.

As Jane Lawson from the Alliance of Union Women stated at the press conference of the United Women's Contingent: "Despite the laws governing child support, the fact is that it is up to the mother to meet the daily needs of a child. The law is of little help in feeding and clothing a child when anyone legally responsible for its support is reluctant to do so in a regular, timely fashion. It is patently unfair to enforce laws requiring a woman to give birth to a child, and then put the burden of enforcing financial responsibility laws on her."

Senator Muskie's view is simply a variation of the religious concept that it is sinful for women to have sexual relations, therefore the threat of pregnancy is good because it keeps them fearful of sex.

At the press conference of the United Women's Contingent April 7, statements against Nixon's announcement of his antiabortion position were made by a wide spectrum of women's organizations, including Lucinda Cisler, president of New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal; Bella Abzug, congresswoman from New York; Sandy Knoll from the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Evelyn Idler from George Washington University Women's Liberation and the Metropolitan Abortion Alliance; Carol Rudolph of Women's Strike for Peace; and Barbette Blackington of the

Women protest Nixon, Muskie on abortion

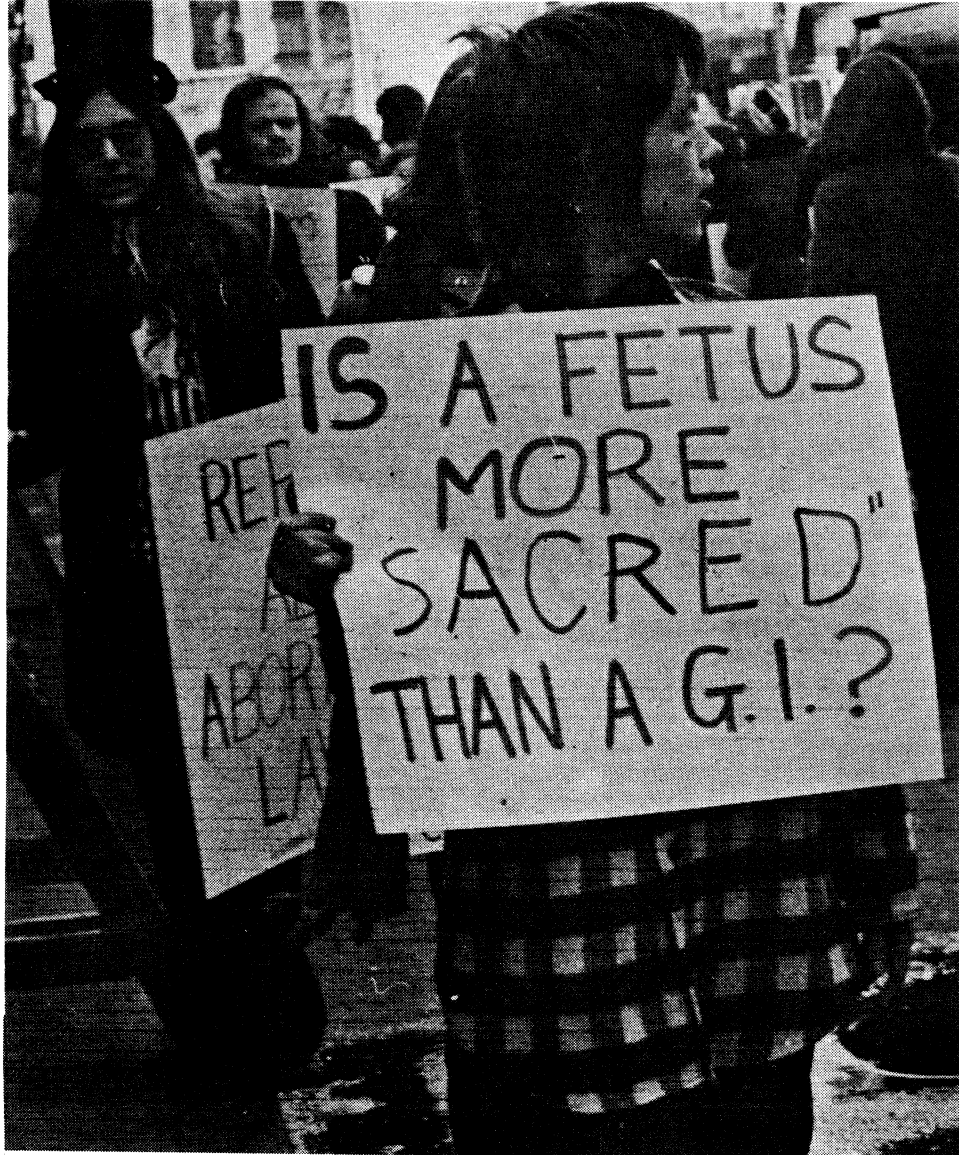


Photo by Caroline Lund

More than 100 New York women demonstrate April 8 in front of Governor Rockefeller's New York office, protesting Rockefeller's denial of state aid for abortions to welfare recipients. The demonstration, organized by the Women's Strike Coalition, also protested the weekend statements by Nixon and Senator Muskie against the right of women to abortion. Rockefeller's move was part of a deal to push his budget through the state legislature. Picket signs read: "Rocky trades women's lives for votes," "My Body, my life, my decision," "Is a fetus more sacred than a GI?" and "Money for abortions, not for war." Among the speakers at a rally concluding the demonstration was New York City Councilwoman Carol Greitzer. Two state legislators were also among the demonstrators.

International Institute of Women's Studies.

Representative of the points made in the protest statements read by each of these women was the statement of Jeanne Walton from the Washington

Teachers Union. She stated:

"As a union whose membership is predominantly female, as teachers who deal with young women faced with the problems of unwanted pregnancies, we must speak out against the

callous, chauvinistic remarks of the president. We demand for all women the right of self-determination over their own bodies. If the president is so concerned with human life, let him show it in regard to those already living children and mothers on welfare, the poor and hungry in our rural and urban slums, those denied adequate medical care and humanistic education, Black children who suffer and die of lead poisoning and sickle-cell anemia, oppressed Third World people here and abroad who are denied the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and most particularly now—the beleaguered Vietnamese people who have fought for 25 years for the sanctity of their lives!

"President Nixon—Will you open your heart and your home to the poor and the oppressed? [In his statement, Nixon said the problem of unwanted children created by banning abortions could be solved by people "opening up their hearts and homes" to these children.]

"President Nixon—Will you stop the destruction of human life in Southeast Asia?"

"President Nixon—Will you show for Angela Davis the same concern that you have shown for Lt. Calley?"

"When you do these things, we might be able to believe you when you say you believe in the 'sanctity of human life.'"

A press conference blasting Nixon's statement was also held by the American Association of Planned Parenthood Physicians. Dr. Richard Frank, president of the association, criticized Nixon for publicly stating his personal beliefs concerning abortion "when this matter is being considered in legislatures and courts." Frank drew a parallel to the way Nixon intervened into the Charles Manson case by remarking on Manson's guilt while the trial was going on. Nixon knew very well that this statement of his "personal beliefs" on abortion would give support to opponents of abortion.

The president's announcement may well have had such an effect in Connecticut, where the legislature voted 132-28 four days after Nixon's statement to reject a liberalized abortion bill.

Another dangerous development in the abortion struggle occurred in Tennessee, where a bill has been introduced into both sides of the legislature which would "offer" "voluntary" sterilization to women on welfare who have more than one "illegitimate" child. If the mother doesn't "volunteer" to be sterilized, her welfare payments will be cut off and the state will have the right to take away any "illegitimate" child born thereafter from its mother and treat it as an orphan. According to the April 10 issue of the *Guardian*, the bill, introduced by Rep. Larry Bates, passed the general welfare committee with only two dissenting votes: those of the only woman and the only Black persons on the committee.

Abortion reform defeated in Mass.

By PAM EDWARDS

BOSTON—On April 7, the Massachusetts legislature overwhelmingly rejected attempts to repeal the state's 125-year-old statute on abortion. After five hours of debate, the Senate voted 37 to 3 and the House voted 205 to 29 to kill the bills.

As quoted in the April 8 *Boston Globe*, Senator Joseph D. Ward explained his "no" vote by saying that the bill would allow the killing of a fetus "at the whim of some broad who got herself knocked up because she wasn't careful."

On the proponents side, Senator Jack Backman, originator of one of the bills to repeal the law, said his bill would leave the abortion question to a woman and her physician,

and that women have a right to decide what happens to their bodies. He maintained "there is no connection" between constitutional protections of life given a living person and those given to a fetus.

The vote by the legislature yesterday ends one phase of the abortion movement's struggle to abolish the Massachusetts law. On March 28 at the New England Congress to Unite Women, 800 women voted unanimously to continue the struggle for the right to abortion by initiating a class-action suit to challenge the constitutionality of the existing abortion law. The New England Women's Coalition has already moved toward getting a case underway.

Although 62 percent of the popu-

lation in Massachusetts favor repeal of the law (according to a poll published in the *Boston Globe* March 24), the Catholic Church has been successful in maintaining its control over the legislature on this issue. This year for the first time, the Catholic bishops of the state issued a pastoral letter condemning abortion.

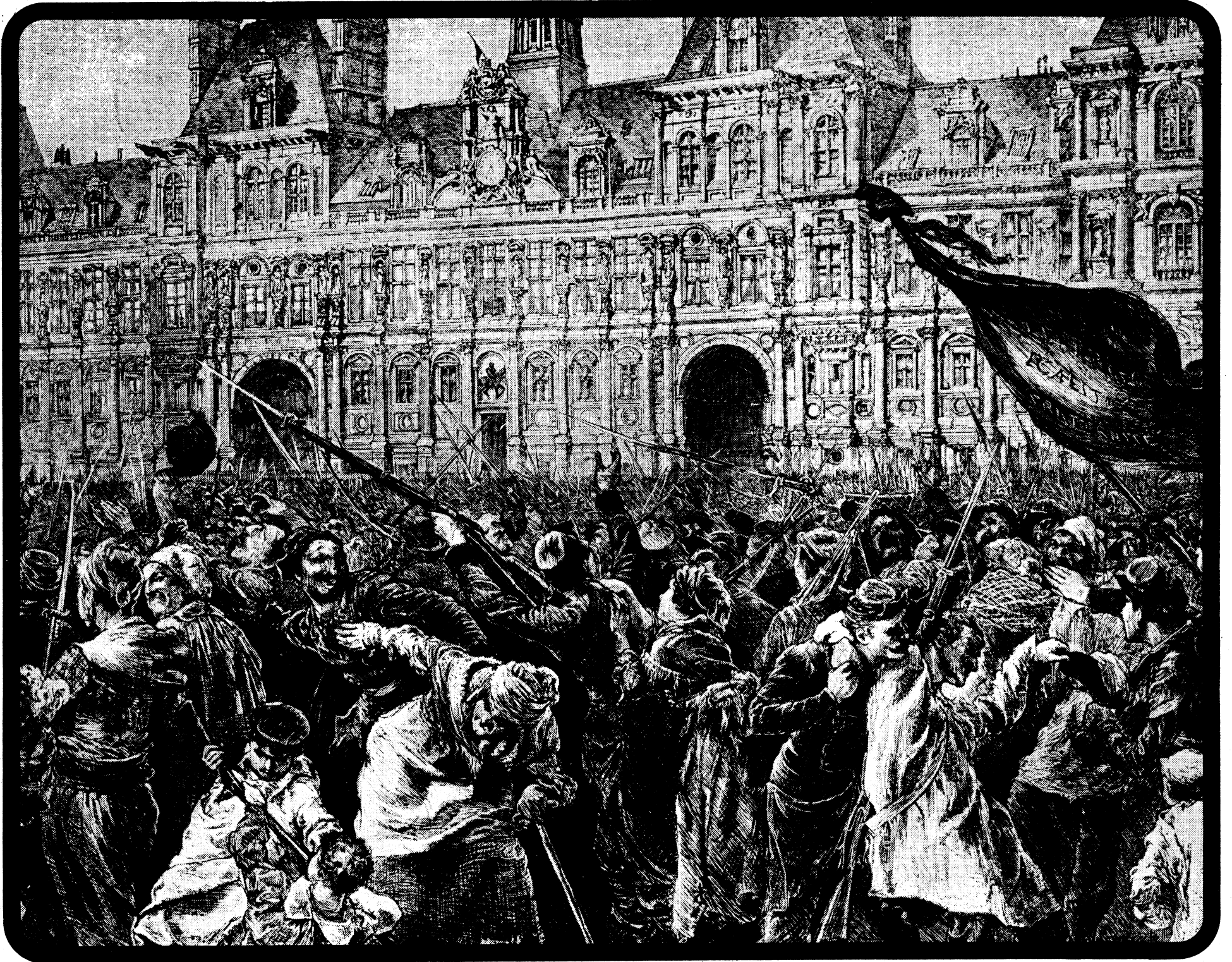
Joining the Catholic Church in opposing repeal is the Value of Life Committee—a national organization. This same group in Chicago successfully called for an injunction against a court decision granting abortion on demand. The abortion-on-demand ruling came as a result of a class-action suit.

In Boston, the Value of Life Committee claims over a hundred mem-

bers. They have purchased expensive billboard space to advertise against abortion, and organized effective opposition at the hearings held on the repeal bills, bringing in doctors, nurses, members of the clergy, and state officials to testify.

A growing number of women in the Massachusetts abortion movement who previously have been involved in lobbying are coming to the conclusion that the Catholic Church and Value of Life Committee cannot be out-lobbied—they simply have too many resources. More and more women are turning toward the perspective of involving masses of women to demand our rights. A class-action suit could be a focus around which to mobilize this struggle.

The Paris Commune: 100 years after



Paris workers rejoicing after proclamation of Commune.

By DOUG JENNESS

On March 18, 1871, the working class of Paris took political power into its own hands and established the Paris Commune—the first workers state in history. This attempt at workers' rule lasted only 72 days before it was drowned in blood. Nonetheless its rich lessons and heroic example left their indelible stamp on the history of the international socialist movement.

Marx, who wrote about the Commune while it was taking place, analyzed it, made useful criticisms of it, and learned from it.

When Lenin and Trotsky, the leaders of the 1917 Russian Revolution, wrote about the Paris Commune, they tried to relate its lessons to the struggles and political questions they were concerned with at the time. This, of course, also served to give a fuller understanding of the Commune as well. As Trotsky wrote in 1921, "Each time that we study the history of the Commune, we see it from a new aspect, thanks to the experience acquired by the later revolutionary struggles and above all by the latest revolutions. . . ."

The highest tribute we could pay to the Paris Commune on its one hundredth anniversary is to relate the experience of the Commune to current struggles in the United States.

Before doing this, however, it is worth briefly reviewing the history of the Commune.

Commune born out of war

Like many revolutionary uprisings, the Paris Commune grew out of war. The Second Empire

of France, headed by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, went to war against Prussia on July 15, 1870. The French army was no match for the Prussian forces and lost one battle after another until finally in early September Bonaparte was personally captured in a major defeat at Sedan. On Sept. 4, the Empire collapsed and a popular uprising of the working masses of Paris led to the call for a republic.

The Government of National Defense, as the new government was called, consisted of liberal capitalist politicians and monarchists, who promised to continue the war against Prussia. On Sept. 20, shortly after the government was installed, the French army was driven back to Paris. The Prussians laid siege to the city for 135 days, worsening the already existing starvation conditions of the workers.

In order to defend Paris, nearly all able-bodied men were armed and enrolled into the National Guard to supplement the regular army. This militia, primarily working class in composition, elected its own officers and became an organized armed force with increasing independence from the government. It helped initiate vigilance committees to safeguard the interests of the workers and elected a Central Committee with representatives from each of 20 districts. In addition, political clubs sprang up throughout the working-class districts. As Frank Jellinek puts it in his book *The Paris Commune of 1871*, "Paris had spontaneously reorganized itself into a provisional miniature of the federal body. Distrusting the central government,

the districts tended increasingly to take matters into their own hands. Committees abounded; some to attend to local matters. . . . They acquired some administrative experience which was to be useful in organizing the Commune. The germ of the federal system of the Commune, indeed, grew up spontaneously during the siege." Thus, several months before the Commune came to power, a form of dual power existed.

Workers refuse to be disarmed

In late January, the Government of National Defense surrendered to Prussia, with Bismarck imposing the harshest peace settlement ever made up to that time between two European countries. But the Prussian victors didn't attempt a triumphal march through Paris where an armed and hostile working class would have met them. The National Guard signed its own armistice with the Prussians, who continued their encampment outside the city.

After its humiliating surrender, the Government of National Defense resigned and called elections for a National Assembly, to be held on Feb. 8. Although the working class fielded its own candidates, the republicans and liberals won nearly all the seats from the Paris districts. The conservative monarchists carried almost all the provinces and won a majority in the Assembly.

The National Assembly government, headed by Louis Adolphe Thiers, established itself at Bordeaux and very quickly placed on its agenda the disarming of the National Guard, i.e., the armed working class of Paris.

After the armistice, the National Guard had prudently removed a number of cannons from the rich neighborhoods to the working-class districts for protection against possible invasion.

Meanwhile, hostility and exasperation grew in Paris as Thiers and his henchmen appointed reactionary ambassadors, imposed laws requiring immediate payment on back house rents and overdue commercial bills, and restricted freedom of the press.

Early on the morning of March 18, Thiers' troops entered the city to seize 400 cannons held by the National Guard. Women gathered around the soldiers and urged them not to fire. A statement by a Versailles officer, General d'Aureilles de Paladine, on this incident is particularly pertinent. "The women and children came and mixed with the troops. We were greatly mistaken in permitting these people to approach our soldiers; for they mingled among them, and the women and children told them: 'You will not fire upon the people.' This is how the soldiers of the 88th, as far as I can see, and of another line regiment found themselves surrounded and did not have the power to resist these ovations that were given them."

This fraternization, along with stiff military resistance by the armed workers, spelled defeat for this attempt to disarm the National Guard.

On this historic day, the Central Committee assumed the political leadership of Paris and called for Communal elections to be held on March 26. A few days later, revolutionary outbreaks also occurred in Lyon and Marseilles aimed at proclaiming Commune governments. These were quickly crushed.

The new workers government in Paris had little time to implement social reforms before it was forced to wage military defense against counter-revolutionary attacks from Versailles. But it did take some important beginning steps, which included among others: separation of church and state; transformation of all church property into national property; abolition of capital punishment; replacement of the standing army with a militia of the armed population; release of all citizens from payment of back rent retroactive to October 1870; statistical tabulation of factories which had been closed down by the manufacturers and planning for operation of these factories by workers unions; abolition of night work for bakers; closing of all pawnshops; and confirmation of the election of foreigners to positions in the Commune government.

Thiers was able to make an agreement with the Prussians, who still occupied forts just outside Paris, to release 100,000 French prisoners-of-war to help crush the Commune. As Marx aptly exclaimed: "Class rule is no longer able to disguise itself in a national uniform; the national governments are one as against the proletariat!"

The Commune was finally smashed on May 28 after a heroic resistance by the workers of Paris. Even after Thiers' troops entered Paris, men, women and children fought for another eight days. Prosper Olivier Lissagaray, historian and participant in the Commune, in his *History of the Commune of 1871* estimates that thousands were killed and tens of thousands exiled—over 100,000 victims in all—as a consequence of the bourgeois vengeance.

What meaning does the Paris Commune have for us 100 years later? What can we learn from it?

Initiative of masses

There are many aspects to this great event that are worthy of study but a couple of these have particular relevance today.

First was the independent initiative of the working masses who proclaimed the Commune. They acted spontaneously. Nobody gave them the order to take the reins of power, nor did they have a blueprint for what they did.

The forms that the struggle took, particularly the character of the new workers state and the programs implemented, bore the stamp of the workers' practical needs and hopes. Farsighted though they were, even Marx and Engels had not anticipated the forms the struggle would take.

Following the 1848 French revolution, Marx recognized it would be necessary to smash the capitalist state apparatus. He also pointed to the necessity for a workers' state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) until the threat of capitalist restoration was defeated—which would make the state obsolete and it would eventually wither away.

But nowhere in their writings did Marx or Engels indicate the forms this state would take. They learned this from the Parisian workers.

Marx, describing the Commune, wrote, "The Commune was formed of the municipal councilors, chosen by universal suffrage in the various wards

of the town, responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men, or acknowledged representatives of the working class. The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time."

It was the most democratic government that had ever appeared on the face of the earth up to that time, because it was a government of the working-class majority rather than a government of the ruling-class minority.

Safeguards were also taken to prevent the development of bureaucracy. Representatives of the Commune were not to be paid more than average workers' salaries and were subject to immediate recall by those who elected them. Like the rest of the public servants, magistrates and judges were to be elected and subject to recall. Marx commented that, "The Commune made that catchword of bourgeois revolutions, cheap government, a reality, by destroying the two greatest sources of expenditures—the standing army and state functionalism."

Struggle takes new forms

In September 1870, following the collapse of Napoleon's Empire, Marx wrote that it would be desperate folly and a hopeless cause if the workers attempted to take power with Prussian troops surrounding Paris.

But when the Commune was proclaimed, Marx didn't stand on the sidelines sniping at the Communards for following the "road to disaster" or creating forms of struggle unanticipated by himself.

On the contrary, he immediately and unhesitatingly supported the struggle. "What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians!" he enthusiastically wrote to his friend Dr. Kugelmann on April 12, 1871.

In May 1968, nearly one hundred years later, French students engaged in a struggle which triggered the largest workers' general strike in world history. Although many Marxists were conscious of the growing social weight of the student movement, few anticipated the concrete ways in which the student movement would relate to or even set off a workers' upheaval. This experience is still being absorbed today by young revolutionaries throughout the world.

In this country in May 1970, following Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the murder of students at Kent State and Jackson State, a massive nationwide student strike occurred. Spontaneously and unexpectedly, broad strike committees embracing dozens of organizations and individuals closed down hundreds of campuses. Some campuses reopened as antiwar universities. The strike committees utilized numerous university facilities for aiding the antiwar struggle and attempted to use these bases to reach other sections of the population, particularly the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and labor movements.

If the May events had occurred simultaneously with a wave of ghetto revolts, it would have presented the ruling class with a crisis of unprecedented proportions. The May events demonstrated that the road to a revolutionary situation in the United States will be even more variegated, rich and unexpected than previously anticipated by the radical movement.

The emergence of the Black, Chicano, women's, antiwar, and gay movements with their own organizations outside the organized labor movement already shows that the forms of struggle and the nature of alliances in the American socialist revolution are going to be different than expected by previous generations of socialists. There is no master plan for how all of these movements will come together in a common struggle against the capitalist class. What we can say is that we must learn to recognize and support genuinely revolutionary movements, regardless of the new forms they take, just as Marx wholeheartedly endorsed the Commune.

Women organize separately

One of the most noteworthy aspects of the Paris Commune was the formation of mass, independent, all-women organizations which fought for the special interests of women and mobilized women in defense of the Commune. Separate women's organizations first emerged during the siege by the Prussians, and there was considerable discussion then about establishing separate women's battalions.

After March 18, a number of women's organizations including the Union of Women for the Defense of Paris and Care of the Wounded (associated with the First International), the Montmartre Women's Vigilance Committee, and dozens of political clubs, won mass support and were respon-

sible for winning important reforms for women. These gains included equal pay for women teachers; pensions for any woman who asked for a separation from her husband even if it was a common-law marriage; pensions for women and children (including "illegitimate" children) of National Guardsmen killed defending the Commune; abolition of the hated Morality Police used to hunt down prostitutes; technical and professional education for women; and free, compulsory and secular education for everyone.

The women's organizations enforced the latter demand by forcibly removing priests, nuns and mother superiors from the schools when they refused to abide by this decision. Three women participated on the six-person Society for New Education, which in five days drew up a new educational program for presentation to the Commune.

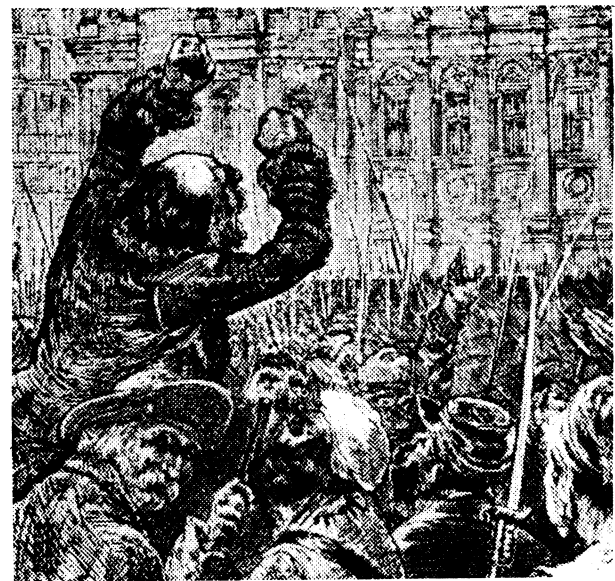
In addition to supplanting religious indoctrination in the schools with teaching methods that were "experimental and scientific," experimental schools were established.

The women's clubs usually met in churches they took over for their meetings. They discussed a myriad of questions relating to women, including child-care centers, nurseries, divorce laws, etc.

The extent of these reforms was limited by the harsh military necessities of defense. Women played a heroic role in this also. In addition to being nurses and canteen workers, many of them were soldiers on the front lines. There was a separate women's company commanded by women officers. Edith Thomas writes: "Armed women, whether canteen workers or soldiers—often they were both canteen workers and soldiers simultaneously—drew the attention of the Commune's admirers as well as its critics. With their chasspot rifles, their revolvers, their cartridge cases, their red sashes, and their fantastic Zouave, naval or infantry uniforms, they were the target of caricaturists; a woman wearing pants was a scandal in itself." Most of the women soldiers were very young, in their teens and early twenties.

It should be noted here for the benefit of those who attack today's feminist movement as divisive for forming separate organizations that such organizations did not divide but rather united the Paris workers. It was a unity, however, in which the independent organization of women helped guarantee that steps towards liberating women would be made.

There is nothing in earlier writings of Marx and Engels that foresaw this development—a development which showed the depth of this momentous social revolution. However, the role of women in the Commune must have made an impact on Marx, because in September 1871 he proposed to the London Conference of the First International the formation of separate working-women's sections of the International. From the minutes of this conference we learn that "... he [Marx] believes there is a need for the formation of purely feminine sections in countries where industry employs women in large numbers; they would prefer to hold their own meetings for discussion. Women, he says, play a great role in life: they work in factories, they take part in strikes, in the Commune, etc. . . . They have more fervor than men. He adds a few words to recall the fervent participation of women in the Paris Commune." (From *Writings on the Paris Commune* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, ed. Hal Draper, Monthly Review, 1971.)



Revolutionary leadership

The spontaneity and initiative of the Paris masses and their heroic sacrifices for a new society have already been described. But these essential attributes for a social revolution are not sufficient for winning victory unless there is also present a politically conscious, organized and well-prepared leadership. This the Commune did not have.

Trotsky wrote in 1921, "We can thumb the whole history of the Commune, page by page, and we will find in it one single lesson: a strong party leadership is needed." (*Trotsky on the Paris Commune*, Pathfinder, 1971.)

The majority in the Commune leadership were followers of August Blanqui. Most of them had revolutionary sentiments, but few had any theoretical understanding.

There was a minority in the Commune composed of members of the French section of the First International. Within this group, the followers of Marx were a minority—a majority identified with the reformist views of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.

With this leadership, it is amazing that the Commune accomplished as much as it did. However, there were several important mistakes, which Marx pointed out at the time, that a more conscious and resolute leadership would not have made.

Perhaps most important was the Communards' failure to pursue Thiers' army to Versailles immediately after taking power on March 18, and destroying it. Without this decisive move the counterrevolutionary forces were permitted time to mobilize to smash the Commune. The Central Committee of the National Guard, which assumed the leadership role in the first days following March 18, called elections for March 26 and waited for the elected Commune government to assume authority.

Another critical mistake was the failure to expropriate the Bank of France. This move would have deprived the Versailles counterrevolutionaries of important funds and also placed considerable political pressure on them. Engels wrote on the Commune's twentieth anniversary, "The bank in the hands of the Commune—this would have been worth more than ten thousand hostages."

These mistakes, resulting from an inexperienced, unprepared and vacillating leadership, were absorbed by Lenin and Trotsky and other leaders of the Russian Revolution. This is reflected in their writings on the Commune, particularly those that compare the experience of the Commune with the Russian Revolution.

Since the Russian Revolution, there have been numerous revolutionary situations where the masses have taken the initiative to challenge capitalist rule but have unfortunately failed due to the absence of a revolutionary leadership or to treacherous sellouts by reformist leaders. This is what happened in France in May-June 1968. Millions of workers and students were in action, mass demonstrations were the order of the day, broad action committees sprang up, and red flags waved from rooftops throughout the country. But the reformist French Communist Party—a mass party controlling a large trade-union movement—blocked the struggle by refusing to help lead it toward a showdown with the De Gaulle regime. Although the organized revolutionary forces were too small to overcome the CP's influence, they are considerably stronger today as a result of their participation in that great movement.

In this country, a revolutionary party prepared in advance of the mass revolutionary situation is also necessary. Not a party that thinks it will create the American socialist revolution by command, but rather a party that participates actively in the mass movements, that learns from them and helps to transmit to these movements the accumulated experience and generalizations of previous struggles.

Revolutionary socialists did not call the massive student strike last May nor determine in advance that broad strike committees would be organized. But they immediately recognized the significance and possible logic of this development and on many campuses helped lead the struggle beyond closing down the universities to opening them up as antiwar universities.

Though the Paris Commune preceded the events of May 1970 by nearly a century, a study of this heroic workers' revolt can help us to better understand the interconnection between such a spontaneous mass movement and the necessity of a revolutionary leadership.

Louise Michel: soldier of the Paris Commune

By DIANNE FEELEY

The life of Louise Michel, the most prominent woman leader of the Paris Commune, spanned a revolutionary epoch. Born in 1830, the year of major worker revolts in France, she died in 1905, the year of the first Russian revolution. She was a teacher, soldier, poet, scientist, and above all a revolutionary leader.

In the winter of 1870-1871, Paris was surrounded by Prussian troops. Committees were set up throughout the city for defending the workers' interests during the siege.

One of the strongest working-class districts, Montmartre, was the home of Louise Michel. In her *Memoirs*, Michel described the work of the committees there:

"We met every evening, the women in the hall of the justice of the peace, and the men at the Perot Hall, which were situated in the rue de la Chapelle. They both bore the name of "Club de la Révolution" of the Grandes-Carrières District. It was easy for me to attend both—women's committee closing at nine o'clock, when the men's meeting opened. . . ."

On Jan. 22, 1871, Parisians led by the National Guard demonstrated their determination not to surrender to the Prussian Army. After the workers' armed militia was dispersed, the government ordered the troops to open fire on those who were lingering, including passersby. Louise Michel, who was on the scene dressed in a National Guard uniform, recalled later in her book *La Commune*:

"Standing before those accursed windows, I could not take my eyes off those pale, savage figures who were emotionlessly and mechanically firing upon us, as they would have fired upon packs of wolves. And I thought: 'We will have you one day, you scoundrels, for you kill, but you believe. They haven't bought you, they've tricked you. We need people who aren't for sale.'"

Two months later, these thoughts were transformed into reality when the refusal of the government troops to fire resulted in the workers assuming power on March 18.

During the 72 days that the Commune lasted, Michel worked enthusiastically to build the new government. She seemed to be everywhere at once. She wrote up her ideas on the importance of a scientific education, she organized women in defense of the Commune and took her place among the fighters of the 61st Battalion of the National Guard.

She spoke before the political clubs, explaining concrete ways the society could be transformed. She spoke strongly in defense of the prostitutes and attempted to find constructive work for them in the new society. "Who, then," she wrote, "would have more of a right than they, the saddest vic-



tims of the old world, to give their life for the new one?"

When the reactionary Versailles troops entered Paris and fought the people in the streets in what later was called "The Bloody Week," Michel fought to the very end at the Montmartre cemetery.

With thousands of others, she was captured and marched to Versailles. After six months of imprisonment, she was brought to trial before a military court as one of the "ringleaders" of the Commune.

Refusing to deny her revolutionary activity, she told the court: "I belong entirely to the social revolution, and I accept full responsibility for everything I have done. Since it seems that every heart that beats for liberty has the right only to a lump of lead, I demand my share. If you let me live, I shall never cease to shout vengeance on you who have killed my comrades."

The court sentenced her to life exile in the penal colony of New Caledonia. Although thousands of Communards were beaten to death within the prisons and slaughtered in the streets and courtyards of Paris, and many went insane under the harsh prison conditions, Louise Michel survived.

When she arrived in New Caledonia, she began to organize committees to provide aid to the exiled Communards. And when the native Kanaka people attempted to overthrow French colonial rule on the island, she secretly aided them.

Freed by a general amnesty in 1880, Louise Michel returned to France. But she was soon jailed for leading a demonstration of hungry people on the eighty-second anniversary of Blanqui's birth. Sentenced to six years' imprisonment for "inciting to riot," she defended in court the right of the hungry to bread.

Public pressure forced the government to release her after three years and she spent the last years of her life writing and lecturing.

She watched with particular interest the swelling tide of revolution in Russia and wrote, "I see a revolution rising and growing which will remove the czar . . . and what will be most surprising will be the fact that in Moscow, in Petersburg, in Kronstadt, in Sebastopol, the soldiers will side with the people." Her foresight was accurately borne out in the 1917 Russian Revolution.

In her later writings, she recalled the tremendous determination of the women of the Paris Commune and how they linked the end of their oppression as women with the success of the Commune.

In tribute to this revolutionary fighter on the one hundredth anniversary of the Commune, we can best recall her words: "In rebellion alone, woman is at ease, trampling upon both prejudice and sufferings. All intelligent women will sooner or later rise in rebellion."

Trotsky on the Paris Commune

The history of the first time working people held state power provides a concrete lesson for revolutionaries. These four articles, written between 1905 and 1924, sketch in the main features of the Commune. In a 1905 article, Leon Trotsky examined the experience of the Communards in the light of his own, and began to outline the theory of the permanent revolution.

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Columbus antiwar groups threatened

By NANCY STEMMER
and DAVID SALNER

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Leaders of the antiwar movement here and at Ohio State University (OSU) have recently been the target of numerous and escalating threats of "political assassination" by right-wing terrorists using the name "Minutemen" and the cross-hair symbol associated with this group.

The Columbus Peace Action Coalition (COPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) have initiated a campaign to bring public pressure to bear on the city administration and police department, which have done little to investigate these threats to date.

The first threat came in the form of a leaflet listing 93 names mainly of student activists for "political assassination." The leaflet, which was found on the windshields of several cars outside of St. Stephen's Church (a church which houses the Free University) referred to the 93 as "traitors" who would be dealt with by means of "the knife, the garrote and the target rifle."

On April 8, the COPAC office received a bomb threat phoned in by an unidentified caller. The United Christian Center, which houses the COPAC office, was cleared and no bomb was found by police investigators.

Following this threat, COPAC and the SMC called a press conference at which Julie Bingham, chairwoman of the SMC and one of the 93, and Phil Schultz, cochairman of COPAC, announced their intent to step up their activity in building April 17 local and April 24 national antiwar demonstrations, called upon the city administration to step up the police department's investigations of those responsible, and denounced a statement made by investigating officer Lt. Waters. Waters was quoted by the OSU *Lantern* as saying, "most persons on the list are those who spout off anything to disrupt the university. . . . It's not beyond the possibility that someone on the list printed the list."

On a second-page article in the *Columbus Citizen-Journal*, Schultz was quoted as saying that: "Assuming Lt. Waters was quoted correctly, these accusations are potentially as damaging to the rights of those who oppose the war as are the threatened attacks

by right-wing terrorists."

Following the press conference, which was widely reported on radio and TV, Nancy Stemmer and Julie Bingham, two members of the SMC, met with Lt. Waters to ascertain what steps the police had taken to investigate the case. He commented that there were no Minutemen groups in the area capable of murder and that too many bomb threats were received every day to give very much concern to this one.

That night, new incidents occurred which indicated that the pattern of terroristic threats may be of a sustained and determined character. Bingham and a leading member of COPAC received death threats in the form of handwritten notes taped to their front doors. Both notes referred to their appearances on TV. The wording on Bingham's threat was as follows: "Rifled slugs can't be traced like rifle bullets so! you can't tell where they're from but there's no doubt when they arrive! See you in the funnies or on TV." These notes also bore the cross-hair symbol, but were unsigned. The note delivered to Bingham was written on the back of an advertisement for Stroeger-RWS-Brenneke slug shells. The fact that the note was hand delivered on a busy street at no later than 9:30 p.m. indicates the boldness and lack of regard for the law which point to the necessity for a full and open investigation leading to the discovery and apprehension of those responsible.

The case has already received extensive publicity in the Columbus area, indicating the potential for support that exists during this period of rising antiwar sentiment from antiwar activists and from all who support the political rights of others. As Bingham stated in the April 9 press conference, "The 46,000 Ohio State University students want to see their rights extended, not curtailed."

The prospects for isolating and defeating the individuals or group responsible for the right-wing terrorism are excellent. Such a victory would strengthen the antiwar movement and destroy the possibility for this tiny group to continue to carry out its terrorist activity. Statements of support should be sent to the Columbus Peace Action Coalition, 66 East 15th Ave., Columbus, Ohio 43201.

'Get out now,' say Madison voters

By PAT QUINN

MADISON—The antiwar referendum here won an overwhelming victory on April 6, with 66 percent voting in favor of immediate withdrawal.

The referendum read: "It shall be the policy of the people of the city of Madison that there shall be an immediate cease-fire and immediate withdrawal of all United States troops and military equipment from Southeast Asia so that the people of Southeast Asia can settle their own problems."

The referendum won in every single precinct and every single ward. There are 22 wards and 41 precincts. In the working-class wards, it won by an average margin of two and one-half to one. This was decisive for the referendum's victory.

The final vote totals were 31,526 for immediate withdrawal; 15,977 opposed. In 1968, a similar referendum was defeated with 44 percent voting for withdrawal.

In a rich suburb of Madison, the village of Shorewood Hills, an identically worded referendum also won. The vote was roughly 600 for, 400 against.

The high vote for withdrawal in Madison occurred despite the fact that a conservative Republican was elected mayor in the same election.



Berkeley election winners Ira Simmons, Warren Widener, Ilona Hancock and D'Army Bailey.

April Coalition wins in Berkeley

By FRED FELDMAN

BERKELEY—The municipal election campaign here ended April 6 with the victory of April Coalition or Black Caucus candidates in three of four City Council races in which they ran, the election of Black reform Democrat Warren Widener as mayor, and the defeat by a two-to-one vote of the community-control-of-police charter amendment. The vote total on the amendment was 33,712 no and 16,142 yes.

Antonio Camejo, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, received 983 votes (1.8 percent) running fourth in a field of nine candidates.

Elected to the City Council were: Ilona Hancock (April Coalition), Ira Simmons (Black Caucus), and D'Army Bailey (Black Caucus).

Rick Brown, the other April Coalition candidate for City Council, narrowly missed being elected. This has led to a widespread demand that Brown, a student activist at the University of California, be co-opted onto the City Council to fill the seat vacated by mayor-elect Warren Widener.

The 16,000 votes for the community-control-of-police amendment are particularly impressive in light of the opposition of the entire political establishment including Warren Widener, the expenditure of over \$150,000 by its opponents to defeat it, and the lack of any organized campaign for the amendment in the Black community. Fraudulent charges that the amendment would abolish integration in Berkeley also discouraged Blacks from voting for it.

The election results produced a wave of enthusiasm among students and radicalized community people who believe that Berkeley now has a "radical" government. Enthusiastic cheers greeted the announcement of the election returns at the Berkeley Community Theatre. Red flags and NLF flags were waved by groups of youth who chanted, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, the Coalition is going to win."

There were strong feelings among these persons that big changes are on the agenda in Berkeley. The *Berkeley Tribe* of April 10 stated, "We are going to take political control over Berkeley in the manner of Allende [recently elected president of Chile's popular front government]. . . . It is impossible to predict how far we can go in electing socialism in Amerika."

The April Coalition is a coalition of groups most of which are directly part of or support the Democratic

Party. These groups include the Berkeley Coalition, the April 6 Movement (a campus-based Democratic Party organization), the New Democratic Caucus, the Communist Party, and some radical youth organizations like the quasi-Maoist Red Family led by Tom Hayden.

Widener was the mayoralty candidate of the New Democratic Caucus, the April 6 Movement, and the Berkeley Democratic Caucus (the regular Democrats). The Black Caucus is openly a part of the Democratic Party seeking greater Black "representation" within it.

Although both the Black Caucus and the April Coalition supported the community-control-of-police charter amendment, they also privately backed Widener despite his opposition to the charter amendment. Widener's opposition was instrumental in defeating it in the Black community.

Widener made his victory statement at the April Coalition victory party, where he was greeted with wild cheers.

Since the election, Widener has tended to work with the newly elected April Coalition candidates on the now evenly divided Berkeley City Council. Widener has announced that he will begin to press for his own police reform plan, which involves an elected city-wide council to control the police. He has asked the city manager and the police chief to resign. However, the Berkeley city charter requires a two-thirds vote of the City Council to remove the manager, who is responsible for appointing the police chief. Since the council is now evenly divided between "liberals" and "conservatives," it is not clear yet whether Widener seriously expects to make these changes.

The following are the final vote totals:

Mayor: Warren Widener, 21,921; Wilmont Sweeney, 21,865; John DeBonis, 5,165; Camejo, 983.

City Council: Edward Kallgren (Democrat), 20,727; Bailey (Black Caucus), 19,742; Hancock (April Coalition), 18,891; Ira Simmons (Black Caucus), 16,776; Rick Brown (April Coalition), 16,753; Alan Leggett (One Berkeley Community), 16,496; Victor Acosta (Raza Unida Party), 859; Andrea Land (SWP), 698; Anita Bennett (SWP), 596; and Alan Wald (SWP), 365.

For school board: Carmen Alegria (Raza Unida Party), 7,223 or 12 percent of the vote; and Mary Lou Montauk (SWP), 2,084 or 4.7 percent.

Blacks in Congress present demands

By DERRICK MORRISON

On Feb. 18, 1970, the Black congressional representative from Missouri, William L. Clay, wrote a letter to President Richard M. Nixon asking that he meet with the nine Black representatives then members of the House. According to Clay, the purpose of the meeting was "to discuss a range of questions representing the concerns of 25 million Black Americans." But the president, through evasive action reeking of contempt for all African-Americans, regardless of their position, refused to hold such a meeting. It was only the subsequent organization of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) and the boycott of the presidential State of the Union address by all 12 of the current Black rep-

resentatives that forced Nixon to convene the much-publicized meeting of March 25.

However, even before the meeting—delayed for 13 months—began, the Black representatives were still the objects of Nixon's crackerism. Instead of limousines, the vehicles normally used for transport to the White House, Nixon sent a military bus! After strenuous objections, limousines were sent.

At the meeting, the CBC submitted a 32-page statement of proposals and demands.

The next day, the 12 held a press conference at which Clay said of Nixon, "He listened, but we don't know if he heard." Representative Parren Mitchell of Maryland reported the president making some very profound

statements. "He told us, 'If I were you, I'd be doing the same thing, I'd be over here fighting for the rights of Black people.'"

Charles C. Diggs Jr., representative from Michigan and chairman of the CBC, said that May 17 was the deadline set for administrative action on some of their demands. That day is the anniversary of the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public education.

Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, the newly elected nonvoting representative from the District of Columbia, was present at the meeting with Nixon and at the press conference.

The recommendations of the CBC ranged from a proposal that the federal government create over one million jobs in the public sector of the economy to deal with unemployment, to the demand for a massive increase in U.S. foreign aid to Africa.

Other recommendations call for a guaranteed income of \$6,500 a year for a family of four; more aid and funding of minority businesses; substantial increase in antipoverty funds; development of day care and other child development programs; more financial aid, not loans, to Black students and Black educational institutions; a declaration that drug abuse and addiction is a crisis of national proportions; appointment of more Black judges and other legal officials; repeal of "no-knock" and preventive detention measures used in D.C.; investigation of military justice meted out to Black GIs; and disengagement from Southeast Asia, "preferably by the end of 1971, and definitely within the life of the 92nd Congress."

This action by the Black representatives is a reflection, albeit a distorted one, of the nationalist awakening in the African-American community. Unlike Black congressional representatives of the past who lost themselves in abstractions about representing "all of the people," the present 13 at least talk of being the representatives of Black people.

One reason Nixon held off so long on meeting with them was that he could not predict just what they were going to say, unlike such sellout types as the late Whitney M. Young Jr. and Roy Wilkins, whom he met with in February of this year.

When he met with Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference on May 13, 1969, the president had a very "disappointing" experience. Abernathy at the time was leading a group of Blacks and other oppressed national minorities who had converged on Washington. They went from one government department to another confronting the administrators with a set of demands. Nixon thought he'd make some hay out of Abernathy's campaign by inviting him to the White House. But right after the meeting was over, in the presence of the president, Abernathy told news media that the White House meeting had been "the most disappointing and the most pointless of all the meetings we have had up to this time."

So Nixon approached the proposed meeting with Black representatives very cautiously, so cautiously that the whole affair snowballed into another confrontation.



Black Caucus at news conference following meeting with Nixon.

Cairo schools face possible shutdown

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK — The threatened closing of public schools in Cairo, Ill., has been averted, according to Rev. Manker Harris in a telephone interview with *The Militant*. Rev. Harris is the public relations director for the Cairo United Front.

In March, school board president Robert Simpson had announced the end of operations April 1 because of severe financial problems. But due to state intervention, the closing will not take place. The crisis is not over, however, since the state funds only allow operations to go on until May 1.

Of the 12,000 students attending the five public schools, 78 percent are Black. This racial composition, cou-

pled with the fact that white racists control the school board, has led the Front to charge school officials with mismanagement of funds.

The schools in Cairo were totally segregated into white and Black school systems until 1968. At the time of desegregation, Cairo whites moved to set up an all-white private school called Camelot. And because the school board, whose members have children attending Camelot, claimed the 400 Camelot students as attending public schools during 1969-70, it got \$243,000 in state funds over what it was entitled to. The state has found this out and is demanding repayment of the money.

In another development, Levi Garrett of the Front was arrested March

20 for the March 6 shooting of James Avery. Avery is a former Black tavern owner now working with the white vigilantes. He was shot on his way home after he had fired upon Garrett in a night club. Garrett, who is in jail on bond of \$1,500, denies shooting Avery. Rev. Harris related that the Front has gotten two Chicago lawyers to help out in Garrett's defense.

The Front won a victory in Alexander County Circuit Court March 17 when Judge George Oros declared illegal the search warrants used by state police in raids on the all-Black Pyramid Court housing project. This is a stronghold of support for the Front and was subjected to police raids in broad daylight on Jan. 21 and Feb. 12 of this year. Arrest warrants were "quashed" for Frank Hollis, James "Switch" Wilson and Deborah Flowers. The three were arrested and brutally beaten in the first raid.

The day before the warrants were declared illegal, Illinois governor Richard B. Ogilvie said that state police "were sent to Cairo to maintain law and order and are doing a good job of it."

A recent visit to New York City by Rev. Charles Koen, executive director of the Front, resulted in the formation of a New York United Front office. It is located right now at the headquarters of the National Committee of Black Churchmen, 110 E. 125 St., New York, N. Y. 10035. The Front phone number in New York is 427-2216.

While Rev. Koen was in the city, from April 6-8, he taped three radio shows and two television programs. He spoke to a small group of African-Americans at the Bedford-Stuyvesant

Theater in Brooklyn. Because of a court appearance in St. Louis on trumped up charges from several years ago, Rev. Koen had to leave New York early. Leon Page, another spokesman for the Cairo Front, came in to fill out the rest of the speaking engagements, including a meeting at Douglas College in New Brunswick, N. J., sponsored by the Black Student Union, the New York Militant Labor Forum, and a meeting of The East, an African-American cultural and educational center.

The Front has been sending speakers all over the country in behalf of the embattled Black community.

As part of the constant police harassment in Cairo, high bonds have been set on arrested Front members. This has placed severe strains on the Front's treasury, diverting funds from its economic, political and social programs. Rev. Koen related the situation in a brief conversation with *The Militant*.

These programs include a couple of cooperative stores that are of great aid in the Black boycott of the white merchants. A housing program is also being implemented. Cairo ranks second of 86 Illinois cities in substandard dwellings.

These programs, along with the political mobilization of the Black community, are being carried out in the face of white racist terror from state and local police and vigilante groups.

To help the Front continue these programs, funds can be sent to: Cairo United Front, P. O. Box 544, Cairo, Ill. 62914. Telephone: (618) 734-0736 by day, and (618) 734-0622 at night.



Rev. Charles Koen with flare cannisters fired into Pyramid Court by white vigilantes.

By TONY THOMAS

NEW YORK — On April 9, Tony Monteiro, a leader of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), spoke at the Center for Marxist Education in New York on "Trotskyism, Racist Voice on the Left."

By labeling the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party as "racist," Monteiro is employing the time-honored device of political slander. The Communist Party has, in the past, often found such attacks a useful way to prevent real clarification of political differences and to block the possibility of united action.

In order to help facilitate clarification of the differences between the YWLL and the YSA on how to fight racism, the New York Militant Labor Forum has offered to sponsor an open debate with equal time to speakers from both organizations. The YSA has accepted. Hopefully, the YWLL will do likewise.

The major part of Monteiro's talk was an attack on the SWP and YSA's support for Black nationalism. He stated several times: "Black nationalism is the other side of the coin of white racism — it must be fought."

Future issues of *The Militant* will take up Monteiro's claim that support to the nationalism of oppressed peoples is "anti-Leninist," that Malcolm X had no program for Black people, and other distortions of this character. This article, however, will center on Monteiro's charge that revolutionary socialists "refuse to fight racism."

Monteiro claimed that the YSA and SWP have the "defeatist idea that racism cannot be defeated under capitalism and therefore should not be struggled against. . . ."

If revolutionary socialists held this position, it would be a serious mistake. However, this assertion is false to the core.

In the past 10 years, victories in the struggle against racism (which the YSA and SWP have supported) include extended voting rights for Blacks in the South; growing acceptance of Black history and culture, including Black studies programs in schools and colleges; and a few concessions in employment and housing.

Revolutionary socialists believe that racist oppression of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asians, and Native Americans as nationalities is rooted in the political, economic and social structure of U.S. capitalism. Racist ideology flows from that oppression and is one of the foundations of the capitalist social order. This is why revolutionary socialists believe that the fight against racist oppression is one of the most important parts of the ongoing struggle against capitalism and why the end of capitalism is necessary for the final deathblow to racism.

However, the YSA and SWP do not believe that an educational struggle against racist ideas, although necessary, is sufficient for an effective struggle against racist oppression. Rather it is by supporting the concrete struggles of Blacks for liberation that concessions will be won against racist oppression and racist ideology can most effectively be fought.

Black nationalism

Monteiro erroneously stated that nationalism obstructs the struggle against racism rather than helps it, because Black nationalism does not center around "educating" whites to rid themselves of their racist ideas.

Monteiro turns the question on its head. It is precisely the power, determination and independence of the Black movement that has had the greatest influence in combating racist ideas.

Blacks, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, Asians, and Chicanos are no longer willing to beg white liberals

for a few crumbs. We are no longer accepting the racist distortions of our history and culture. We are no longer demanding integration into imperialist America, but the right to control our communities and the right to separate from white America if we choose to do so. The result of Black nationalism is the deepening, not the obstruction, of the struggle against racism.

Black nationalist students demanding open admissions and Black studies have won significant concessions on campuses around the country. The nationalist demand of community control of schools won the support of millions in New York City in 1968.

Mass mobilizations led by MPI (Movement for Puerto Rican Independence) the largest Puerto Rican nationalist movement, have forced the U.S. to stop drafting brothers in Puerto Rico.

Such victories against racism are the fruit of the deepening political consciousness of the nationalist struggle.

Black control

Monteiro also claimed that the YSA uses its support to Black nationalism as a means to dodge the task of involving whites in the fight against racism. Perhaps he believes whites will never support Black nationalist demands like community control of the schools, Black control of the police,

tion is through coming to understand in the course of their own struggles that despite differences, separate organizations, etc., they and the oppressed nationalities have a common enemy — the capitalist class. They will come to realize that in order to defeat this enemy a united struggle will be necessary.

Monteiro's continued use of the abstract slogan "fight racism" to cover up his reformist program for Black liberation becomes clear when he talks about the antiwar movement and the Democratic Party.

The antiwar movement

Monteiro intimated that the antiwar movement is racist and charged the YSA and SWP with supporting a racist policy for the antiwar movement.

The facts are that the antiwar movement has in its literature, meetings, demonstrations, and slogans exposed the racist character of the war and the draft to millions of Americans. It has linked the racist policies of the capitalist government to the Mylai massacre, the invasion of Laos, and the racist treatment of Black troops in Vietnam. It has done this not only implicitly but explicitly in its demands and slogans, and the YSA and SWP have continually fought for that perspective. A most significant development has been the increased participation of Blacks, Chicanos and

call for Black leadership in the Republican Party or even the Ku Klux Klan and demand Republican or Klan legislators as a way of fighting racism.

The error of the YWLL and Communist Party on this question is to forget that both the Klan and the Democratic Party have the same aim, though different strategies — to maintain the oppression of Blacks and the international capitalist system. The Democratic Party just happens to be more effective at the present time.

It was Democratic Party politicians, including the CP's favorite, F.D. Roosevelt, who put thousands of Asians in concentration camps in the 1940s; it was a Democratic president who ordered the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; it was Democratic officials that launched the Korean and Vietnam wars against Asian people; it was in Democratic-controlled cities that Bobby Hutton and Fred Hampton were murdered by city cops, and Huey Newton and Bobby Seale were framed up; it was Black Democratic Mayor Carl Stokes who backed the frame-up of Ahmed Evans in Cleveland; it was Black Democrat Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm and Puerto Rican Democrat Herman Badillo who convinced Black and Puerto Rican prison rebels in New York last fall that Mayor Lindsay's wardens wouldn't harm them if they surrendered. Following this advice

How to fight racism— a reply to the YWLL



Black studies programs, preferential hiring of Blacks, an end to racial discrimination in the Army, etc. and therefore believes "unity" should be achieved by adapting to the anti-Black-nationalist sentiments held by many whites.

The strength of racism in this country flows from the fact that whites have power and privileges furnished by this system that Blacks do not have. In jobs, in the police force, in education, in the capitalist parties and the labor bureaucracies, whites use their power to maintain privileges over Black people and keep them oppressed.

Black nationalists and revolutionary socialists do not call for just a verbal fight against racist ideology, but for recognizing the right of Black people to have power over their affairs. Winning whites to support this perspective is one of the most important ways that racist oppression and attitudes are being fought today.

The way most whites—including those with even the worst racist prejudices—will be won to recognizing the right of Blacks to self-determina-

Puerto Ricans in the antiwar movement precisely because it is a racist war and is contrary to our interests.

The antiwar movement attempts to unite the broadest coalition possible for mass action against the war in Indochina and has dealt heavy blows to the government's ability to continue waging this war. Victories against the government's racist war policies are also victories against racism in this country and help build the Black liberation struggle.

The Democratic Party

Monteiro's proposals for fighting racism became clearer when he discussed electoral politics. While opposing as "classless" the idea of an independent Black political party organizing actions and campaigns against the capitalist rulers, Monteiro advised Afro-Americans to support Blacks and other "progressives" in the party of the capitalist class — the Democratic Party.

Monteiro argued that it was fighting racism in the Democratic Party to get more Black Democrats in Congress. By the same logic they could

they were brutally beaten by the guards.

The Democrats are running more Black candidates today because of the increased pressure by the Black community for its own representatives. But they are trying to fool Blacks into thinking that the Democratic Party and the system of racist American imperialism offer a solution to the problems of Afro-Americans.

The failure of the capitalist parties to end the oppression of Blacks is leading many Blacks to reject the Democratic Party. This is why the massive nationalist struggles like battles for Black control over Black education are taking place independently of the Democrats and often against Democratic politicians themselves.

This is why the Communist Party, the YWLL, and other reformists who want to side up to "progressive" capitalist politicians oppose Black nationalism. This is why the revolutionary socialists see support for Black nationalism and opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties as central components of the fight against racism.

What the Ernest Mandel case means

From *Intercontinental Press*

By GEORGE NOVACK

The favorable federal court ruling in Brooklyn March 11 on the Mandel case was especially noteworthy for three reasons. First of all, it upheld the right of the internationally known Belgian Marxist to secure a visa to lecture in the United States, along with the right of the academic coplaintiffs to hear his views in person.

Two of the three judges declared that the government could not exclude an alien from coming to this country on account of his revolutionary ideas and affiliations. They granted a preliminary injunction against Attorney General Mitchell and Secretary of State Rogers, who had twice prohibited Mandel from fulfilling speaking engagements here in the fall of 1969.

Their decision also rendered unconstitutional and inoperative two sections [212(a) (28) and 212(d) (3) (A)] of the Immigration and Nationality Act, better known as the McCarran-Walter Act. Congress enacted this legislation at the height of the cold-war hysteria in 1952 and passed it over President Truman's veto. It has since been a cornerstone of the rampart erected by the forces of reaction against the free exchange of ideas across international boundaries.

The majority opinion has dealt the hardest blow to the McCarran-Walter Act since it was put in the statute books. Justice Dooling wrote in his thirty-page opinion: "The sole and effective effect of the statute is to operate as a means of restraining the entry of disfavored political doctrine, and it is a forbidden enactment." A March 22 *New York Times* editorial, acclaiming the decision, expressed the hope that "this reaffirmation of a nation unafraid of free traffic in ideas, even beyond the national boundaries, ought to set the scene for the too-long delayed elimination of the McCarran Act in its entirety."

These two victories by themselves give great significance to the decision. But a constitutional issue of a far more fundamental character was likewise clarified by the district court.

The plaintiffs' attorneys, Leonard Boudin and David Rosenberg, had argued that the right of Americans to hear the most diverse views from all quarters is an integral part of the First Amendment guarantee of free speech. The right to hear is inseparable from the right to know, the right of free assembly, and the right of free expression. The Mandel case presented this point for adjudication in the most clear-cut manner.

This was recognized by both parties in the case and by both the minority and majority of the three-judge panel. The government argued that it had unrestricted sovereign authority to exclude anyone from the United States—on any ground. This was necessary, it claimed, for the self-preservation of the existing system against the menace of Communist subversion. Thus "the Attorney General is not required to have factual support for or to justify his discretionary decision not to grant temporary admission since the power to exclude is absolute and waiver of exclusion purely a matter of grace." The dissenting judge, Bartels, agreed with this contention.

The Brooklyn court majority took the contrary position. While it acknowledged the validity of the country's concern with "the threat of international Communism" and doctrines aiming at the overthrow of the established order, it placed the First Amendment guarantee of free expression above any real or alleged apprehension about the dangers of subversion from without through the admittance of individuals preaching revolutionary ideas.

It interpreted the First Amendment as an independent and inviolable part of the Constitution. In Justice Dooling's opinion, "the First Amendment is not in its primary and most significant aspect a grant of the Constitution to the citizen of individual rights of self-expression but on the contrary reflects the total retention by the people as sovereign to themselves of the right to free and open debate of political questions."

The pertinent sections of the McCarran-Walter Act were proclaimed invalid because they imposed "a prior restraint on constitutionally protected communication." Neither Congress nor the executive can override the rights protected by the First Amendment.

"The prevention of the teaching and advocacy that is not incitement or conspiracy to initiate presently programmed violence is not in any degree a legislative objective but a forbidden one," Dooling wrote. "It is forbidden, in ultimate analysis, because the public interest—expressed in the First Amendment—requires that citizens as sovereign have access to evaluation and accept or reject that teaching as well as every other teaching and advocacy."

He pointed out that the Supreme Court had clearly distinguished between advocacy and acts, and had upheld the legality of the former. There is "a dichotomy between the protected freedom to preach the doctrines thus legislatively pronounced to be abhorrent to the nation's free institutions and the punishable illegality of taking signifi-

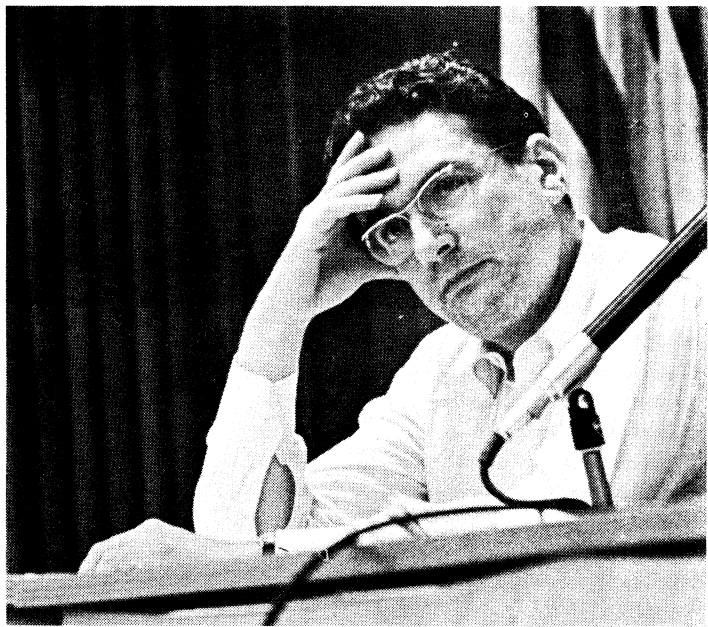
cant action to initiate subversion and revolution."

The majority emphasized that the First Amendment guaranteed "to the people as sovereign" their right to "an open and wide-ranging debate, publication and assembly, to review the government they have created, the adequacy of its functioning and the presence or absence of a need to alter or displace it." This is an unusually strong affirmation of First Amendment rights against attempts by the legislative and executive branches to restrict or deny them.

Most cases on constitutional questions brought before the federal courts hinge on the defense of the freedoms contained in the Bill of Rights. These are essential in view of the recurrent efforts made by the authorities, especially in periods of repression, to violate or pare them down.

It is not often that a decision in a constitutional case explicitly and positively affirms the *extension* of a right whose status has previously been moot and in a twilight zone. Such is the prime significance of the Mandel case. The majority ruling declares in unmistakable terms that the right to hear is a vital ingredient of the constitutional liberties of American citizens and that the government does not have unlimited power to impose restrictions upon its exercise. The court said that if Mandel's ideas can be introduced by mail, television, the press, and by tapes, they cannot be kept out by preventing his personal visit.

The issues at stake fully justify the initiative taken by the group of distinguished figures from leading Eastern universities who were coplaintiffs with Ernest Mandel in the suit. They are Professor Norman Birnbaum, department of anthropology-sociology at Amherst; Professor Noam Chomsky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Richard A. Falk, professor of international law, Princeton; Professor Robert Heilbroner, New School for Social Research; Professor Wassily Leontiev, Harvard, who is chairman of the American Economics Association; Professors David Mermelstein and Louis Menashe, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn; and Professor Robert Wolff, department of philosophy, Columbia.



Ernest Mandel

The court recognized that these scholars had a special interest in the free flow of ideas. It cited the 1957 case of *Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, showing that "the essentiality of freedom of debate within the community of universities has been repeatedly recognized and has drawn from the [Supreme] Court very strong expressions of the heightened importance of First Amendment rights in the field of education." The fact that Mandel's projected visit was largely centered in the academic community gave these professors "a specificity of interest in his admission, reinforced by the general public interest in the prevention of any stifling of political utterance," it concluded.

It remains to be seen whether the Justice Department will persist in its refusal to lift the ban on Mandel after the federal court ruling and the State Department's previous recommendation that it do so. The Attorney General is highly unlikely to acquiesce in a situation where the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act restricting entry of aliens with views abhorrent to the Nixon administration have been knocked out. Thus the lower court ruling will almost certainly be appealed to the Supreme Court.

If the high court should sustain the position enunciated by Justices Dooling and Feinberg, the Mandel case will be a landmark in recent constitutional litigation over the freedoms of the American people. In this connection it is interesting to note how many of the precedents mentioned in the majority opinion, such as *Lamont*, *Kent*, *Sweezy*, and *Zemel*, were actions taken to the Supreme Court by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee since its founding in 1951. The Mandel case is the latest in its twenty-year series designed to defend and reinforce our constitutional liberties.

March 29, 1971

Mexico releases 16 political prisoners

From Intercontinental Press

MEXICO CITY—Continuing its policy of "waiving" the sentences of small groups of political prisoners, the regime of President Luis Echeverría on March 9 released 16 more victims of the 1968 witch-hunt against the student and popular movement in Mexico.

The latest group included one of the most prominent critics of the regime, Manuel Marcué Pardiñas, former publisher of the oppositionist magazine *Política*; as well as Florencio López Osuna, director of the Escuela Superior de Ingeniería Mecánica y Eléctrica of the Polytechnic Institute; Félix Sánchez Hernández Gamundi of the same institution; and William Rosado Poblete, a Puerto Rican. All had been held in prison for more than two years.

Under pressure from world and domestic public opinion, the new government in Mexico has adopted more flexible tactics of political repression. By releasing a few political prisoners at a time, and trying to create the impression that the jails are being emptied, the government apparently hopes to demobilize the campaign for the release of all victims of the repression.

At the same time, facing a rise in popular struggles, the regime wants to maintain the level of political intimidation. Thus, the prisoners are being released on the basis of "waivers" by the prosecution. They have to put up a bond, report to court every eight days, and are liable to re-imprisonment at any time. Furthermore, releasing a few prisoners at a time has two other advantages for the regime. It makes it seem that the authorities are not giving way to popular pressure. It enables the government to carry on more effective, selective victimization of those prisoners considered most dangerous, or most useful as examples.

This method was used against the leaders of the 1959 railroad strike, for instance. Most of those arrested were released in a relatively short time. But Valentín Campa and Demetrio Vallejo were kept in prison for eleven years.

The psychological pressures that the

government can put on political prisoners by this method of arbitrary and selective releases were indicated by its latest action March 9. It was announced that Carlos Sevilla would be released the next day, March 10. He was not, and the government has given no reason why.

The courage of the released prisoners and the militancy of their supporters, however, are a powerful answer to the government's tactic. Upon walking out of Lecumberri prison, Manuel Marcué Pardiñas read a militant statement, stressing: "My release and that of these young students, teachers, workers, and peasants is not a big-hearted concession by the regime of Luis Echeverría. It is really and objectively a victory won by the struggles of the Mexican people."

Two days later, Friday, March 12, the prisoners held a press conference before a huge audience to denounce the repression and call for increased efforts to free their comrades still in jail.

The conference was marked by a contagious spirit of militancy and

combativity exemplified by the newly liberated prisoners. Despite the threat of being returned to jail, the speakers fearlessly attacked the government, to the applause of the almost 2,000 students who packed the Science School auditorium on the University of Mexico campus.

The main task of the student movement at present, said Professor César Molina Flores—one of the prisoners just freed—was to get rid of the gangsters that have taken over some of our schools. He was referring to the police-sponsored goon squads that have been especially active in the preparatory schools attached to the University of Mexico. These groups see their principal task as destroying the Struggle Committees. To this end, they have been trying to intimidate the students, robbing them and beating them up.

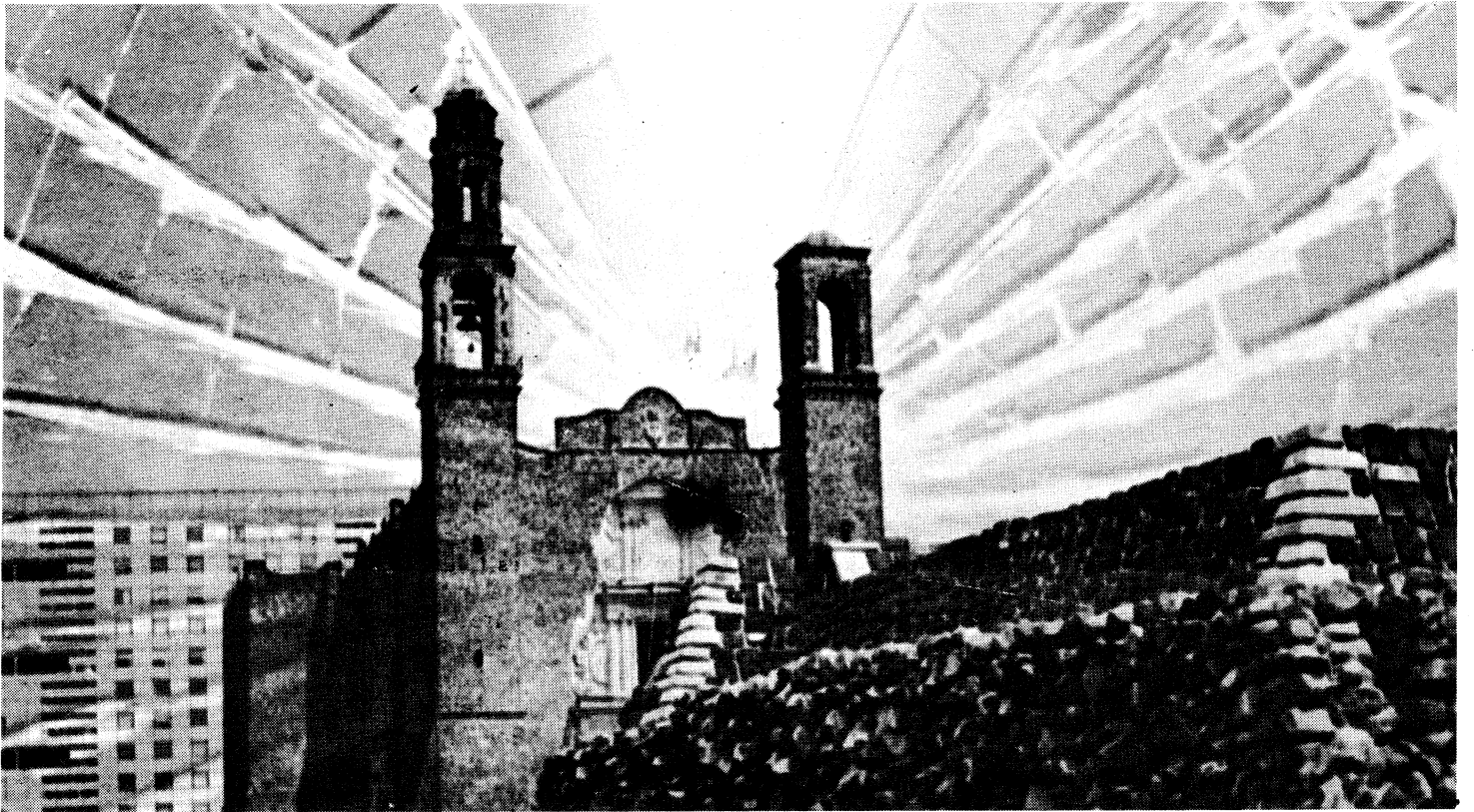
"It was stressed in the discussion," a special supplement to *La Internacional*, the organ of the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista [Internationalist Communist group] reported, "that

we are on the eve of profound and historic struggles in which the workers and peasants will put a limit to the arbitrariness and undemocratic procedures to which we are being subjected. The speakers pointed out that we must strive to build revolutionary and popular organizations capable of forcing respect for the rights of the masses.

Finally, they said that they were going to see the attorney general to ask him: 'Why are Gamundi, Osuna, and the others free and not Raúl Alvarez, Guevara, Heberto Castillo, José Revueltas, and all the other imprisoned compañeros?'

Plans for a mass rally in support of the political prisoners March 17 were announced at the press conference. Some 10,000 copies of the special supplement of *La Internacional* reporting the statements of the prisoners and calling for attendance at the rally are being distributed.

Letters and telegrams supporting demands for the release of the political prisoners can be sent to President Luis Echeverría, Palacio Nacional, Mexico 1, D. F., Mexico.



Tlatelolco, scene of the October 1968 massacre of 400 students. Photo was shot through bullet-shattered window.

'People's Assembly' formed in Bolivia

The Buenos Aires daily newspaper *Clarín* reported March 11 that on Jan. 12 in La Paz, Bolivia, "the powerful Central Obrera Boliviana [COB—Bolivian Federation of Labor] called a gigantic meeting of support for the government of President Juan José Torres, who came to power following an unsuccessful right-wing military coup last October. Political observers here estimated the crowd at 50,000 persons. All shouted for the revolutionary general to declare himself for socialism. A chorus of 50,000 persons shouted, 'Torres, socialism, socialism, socialism.' President Torres replied, 'I will do what my people want me to do.' This answer was greeted with vivas and applause by the entire crowd."

In mid-February, such powerful working-class mobilizations gave rise to the People's Assembly, a body that the newspaper *Clarín* has called "a kind of 'little soviet.'" The People's Assembly is an outgrowth of the Popular Command, a united front of workers', students', and left organizations that sprang up in response to October's attempted right-wing takeover led by General Rogelio Miranda.

The body is composed of 220 delegates. According to the rules it has adopted, 60 percent of these delegates

must come from the working class; 30 percent from the salaried middle classes and the agricultural sector; and 10 percent from the political parties.

Organizations involved include the workers' organizations affiliated to the COB, the two Communist parties (pro-Chinese and pro-Soviet), the Revolutionary Christian Democrats, the Spartacus group, the MNR (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement) led by Víctor Paz Estenssoro and Hernán Siles Suazo, the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party), and the PRIN (Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left), the organization led by veteran labor leader Juan Lechín.

According to the Feb. 23 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, the People's Assembly, "which has no legal status, proposes to 'keep a check' on the government, to prevent it from making concessions to the right, and to propose laws designed to 'deepen the anti-imperialist process' going on."

According to the same article, the Popular Assembly has not yet clearly defined its attitude toward the Torres government.

"Some in the assembly want official recognition by the government, which would give the new organization the

facilities to function and would permit it to meet in the old legislative hall, where the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate have met since the founding of the Bolivian Republic.

"Others, more radical, have thought that the assembly must remain 'on the outside' and impose its decisions on the government by mobilizing the workers."

As the Argentine newspaper *Clarín* noted, the Popular Assembly is like a "sword of Damocles over President Torres." *Clarín* reported March 11: "The head of the Bolivian government has just taken bold steps in domestic policy. These have undoubtedly enabled him to fully consolidate his power. How long will this consolidation last? Perhaps only until the COB, the peasants and the students turn their backs on him."

Almost immediately after the formation of the People's Assembly, Torres attacked it, centering his fire on its most discredited component—the MNR. This demagogic party was raised to power by the revolution of 1952, but by the time it was ousted by a military coup in 1964 it was totally discredited in the eyes of the Bolivian people. Torres has attacked the MNR as a sell-out to imperialism, and claimed that the MNR was im-

plicated in conspiratorial and subversive actions against his regime.

The "subversive" actions seemed to be two attempts at revival of guerrilla warfare, which came to light in February. On Feb. 8, the government announced that it had discovered and occupied a guerrilla training camp allegedly occupied by Oscar Zamora, leader of the pro-Chinese Bolivian Communist Party. The government apparently did not feel strong enough to hold trials of guerrillas captured, and reported that it had exiled three of them to Chile.

Late in February, there were reports of renewed activity by the ELN (National Liberation Army), the guerrilla force led by Che Guevara in 1967.

Despite the weakness of the Torres regime, there have been no indications as yet that guerrilla activity represents a serious political or military challenge to the authorities. But Torres' inability to establish a strong and stable government has inspired the right wing to continued activity.

On March 3, for example, a right-wing peasant organization, in conjunction with the right wing of the officer corps, attempted a coup in the city of Santa Cruz. As in other at-

Continued on page 22

In Review

Pamphlets

Leon Trotsky on the Paris Commune. Pathfinder Press. New York, N.Y. 1971. 64 pp. 95 cents.

The best and most useful way to commemorate the heroic struggles of the past is to study and learn from them in order to better struggle in the future.

A good way to do that on the centenary of the Paris Commune is to read *Leon Trotsky on the Paris Commune*, a collection of five articles relating the Commune to the theory of the permanent revolution, the 1917 revolution in Russia, and the need for a revolutionary party. The recent publication of this pamphlet, part of Pathfinder's program of publishing Trotsky's most important works, includes five articles he wrote over a period of 16 years, from 1905 to 1921.

In his introduction, Doug Jenness places each article in its historical context, showing how Trotsky related the experience of the Commune to political questions of his time.

The first article, "Thirty-Five Years After: 1871-1906," was written while Trotsky was in a czarist prison awaiting trial for his role in the 1905 revolution in Russia. Previously unavailable in English, it appears here in an excellent translation by George C. Myland. It was written while a debate was taking place among Marxists over the road to a socialist revolution in Russia. The Mensheviks and liberals assumed there had to be an anticzarist democratic revolution led by the capitalist class, which would lay the basis for a period of development along capitalist lines, before the working class could assume power and overturn capitalism.

Lenin and Trotsky both opposed the notion that Russia's weak capitalist class, servile to imperialism, would be capable of leading a revolution that would establish a bourgeois republic, carry out land reform, and develop a national economy along capitalist lines. However, until 1917 they disagreed on the relationship between the social forces that would lead the revolution.

Because of the small size of the working class relative to the huge peasant majority, Lenin believed the most likely line of development was for an alliance of the working class together with the peasants to lead the bourgeois-democratic revolution and establish a "democratic dictatorship of the working class and peasantry." He did not see this "democratic dictatorship" going beyond the bounds of bourgeois democracy.

Trotsky, however, developed the theory that explained what he termed the "permanent revolution." With this theory he correctly predicted that the working class supported by the peasants would lead the Russian revolution, overturn capitalist rule, and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. He saw the working class leading the strug-

gle for demands historically associated with the bourgeois revolution, as well as for anticapitalist working-class, or socialist, demands.

Trotsky first elucidated this theory in its most complete form in *Results and Prospects*, written shortly following "Thirty-Five Years After" (and incorporating many paragraphs from the latter work). But only in "Thirty-Five Years After" does Trotsky show how the Paris Commune displayed the characteristics of the "permanent revolution."

The fact that Trotsky drew not only on the Russian experience but on the Paris Commune as a model in constructing his theory is not widely known. "The Parisian workers took power in their hands . . . not because the productive relations had matured for the dictatorship of the proletariat nor even because it then appeared to the workers that these relations had 'matured,' but because they were forced to take power by the betrayal of the bourgeoisie in the matter of national defense," Trotsky writes.

The second selection in the pamphlet, "The Paris Commune," is a short commemorative article detailing the achievements of the Commune, written in New York just after Trotsky had received news of the beginning of the Russian revolution in February 1917.

The third and fourth selections are two chapters from the book *Terrorism and Communism*, Trotsky's sharp, polemical reply to Karl Kautsky, who had published a book of the same title attacking the Bolshevik revolution as "violent" and "bloodthirsty," and using the example of the Commune against it. Here Trotsky's analysis and argument follow closely those in Lenin's *State and Revolution*. The Commune, the first living workers government, led Marx and Engels to correct the *Communist Manifesto* on the way in which

a workers state must come into being: not by seizing the machinery of the old state and wielding it for new ends, but by dismantling the old state machinery entirely and replacing it with structures which are suited by their form and content to the defense of a workers state.

The two articles, written while Trotsky was heading the Red Army during the 1918-1920 civil war, refute Kautsky's "facts" point by point and expose his fraudulent attempt to use the Commune as an example of "pure democracy" against the dictatorship of the working class.

The final article in the pamphlet, "Lessons of the Paris Commune," written in 1921, approaches the history of the Commune from the vantage point of later experience. The contrast between the success of the Russian revolution and the defeat of the Commune at each stage of development is clear: the Commune was headless. It lacked a strong, politically conscious leadership, prepared in advance for the rush of events. The Russian revolution succeeded because it had at its head a revolutionary party tempered and tested in the battles of a quarter of a century, ready to take the decisive action necessary to prevent a bloody counterrevolution and consolidate the new workers government.

The Commune was drowned in blood. It was avenged by those who had learned its lessons well, the leaders of the Russian revolution. And since historical lessons have to be relearned by new generations, this pamphlet detailing all of the lessons of the Commune is no mere anniversary volume, but a most welcome and significant publishing event for those struggling to topple capitalist rule in the United States.

—MERRY MAISEL



A barricade on the Avenue Jean-Jaures during the Paris Commune.

Theater

Six Shades of Black, an anthology of six plays. Performed by Touring Artists Group. Produced by Frank Greenwood. Afro-American Cultural Center, Los Angeles.

The Touring Artists Group, a drama group headed by Frank Greenwood, is currently staging six playlets by five authors portraying various aspects in the lives of Afro-Americans. Greenwood, a playwright and instructor in Black history, produced the anthology, which includes two of his own plays, *Malcolm X: Crazy Like a Fox* and *Liberty and Justice For All*.

The program also includes two vignettes about Simple, a renowned character in Langston Hughes' writing, entitled *That Word Black* and *The Question Period*. *That Word Black* is a humorous dialogue between Simple and Langston Hughes about white culture's perennially baneful use of the word black—black magic, black cat, black heart, etc. *The Question Period* is another comical dialogue between Simple and Langston Hughes over never hearing any news about Black people on the radio and questions the motives of a white news commentator.

"For My People" is a poem about the stark and often grim character of ghetto life and other depressing aspects of Black people's struggle for survival. Although the poem was written many years ago, it is still a timely and accurate portrayal of life today for most Afro-Americans.

Malcolm X: Crazy Like a Fox is a brief glimpse at an often obscure part of Malcolm X's life. It portrays Malcolm's successful attempt at avoiding service in the armed forces. Malcolm, in a hilarious scene, convinces the Army doctor that his only reason for wanting to enlist is to get his hands on a gun and shoot some Southern crackers.

The President, written by Ann Shockley, and *Liberty and Justice For All* are both contemporary portrayals of Black students' struggles for a meaningful education and institutions devoted to the truthful teaching of history and Black people's role in it. *The President* is an emotional work about the Black president of a Black college who is unable to meet the demands of his students. The president reflects on his role in building up the college in the past and yet he's faced with the reality that he may now be failing to relate to the expanding needs of its students.

Liberty and Justice For All is the graphic story of today's Black youth, who confronts the public educational system's racist and distorted view of Black history. This particular dramatic work throws into bold relief the educational system's role in maintaining racist myths and propaganda about Black Americans. It also shows the especially crippling manner in which Black pride, dignity and identification are thwarted in these so-called "educational" institutions.

Greenwood has made a good selection of topics for this anthology. His choice gives a rounded picture of Black America's struggle for survival and recognition and brings out the cruel roles that many Blacks have been forced into to try to make it in this society—the Uncle Tom, the hustler, the pimp, etc. All of the playlets reflect the bitter feelings and the often inarticulate but sometimes conscious nationalist aspirations of Afro-Americans. This expression of growing nationalist pride and consciousness is the anthology's strong point.

Six Shades of Black will be playing Friday and Saturday evenings until April 24 at the Afro-American Cultural Center, 4309 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif.

—BAXTER SMITH

Unemployment rises and may get worse

By DICK ROBERTS

The job situation is continuing to worsen. Unemployment is rising and the number of Americans who have given up looking for jobs is also rising.

This was the import of the figures for March released by the Labor Department April 2. These showed that the unemployment rate, which had fallen slightly for two months, rose back to 6 per cent last month.

This meant that altogether 5.2 million Americans were "unemployed." But an additional 800,000 people had given up looking for jobs, according to the Labor Department. The government does not regard such people as unemployed.

As to the future, President Nixon's press secretary, Ronald L. Ziegler, defying all logic, said that the figures "substantiate that unemployment is on a downward trend. . . . We never felt that the unemployment figures would be in a straight line."

But *Business Week* magazine, April 3, declared: "The rate of unemployment could even worsen in the late spring. . . ."

This is true, according to the weekly financial magazine, despite the fact that the economy is beginning to improve. "But is there enough of a surge to insure the kind of advance that will cut into jobless rolls?" asked *Business Week*. "Unfortunately, the answer to that question may be no nearer resolution in several months than it is now."

But there is one answer to this question which can be made now, despite all the variables in the economy and despite all the double-talk that emanates from the bourgeois financial press.

Only under war has the U.S. economy even come close to full employment in the past 30 years. Look at the overall unemployment figures for the last two decades:

1951	3.3%	1961	6.7
1952	3.0	1962	5.5
1953	2.9	1963	5.7
1954	5.6	1964	5.2
1955	4.4	1965	4.5
1956	4.1	1966	3.8
1957	4.3	1967	3.8
1958	6.8	1968	3.6
1959	5.5	1969	3.5
1960	5.5	1970	4.9

Only between 1951 and 1953 during the Korean War and between 1966 and 1969 during the height of war production for the Vietnam war did unemployment figures drop below 4 per cent.

Comparable figures for Black unemployment reveal the same trend, only more sharply:

1951	5.3%	1961	12.4
1952	5.4	1962	10.9
1953	4.5	1963	10.8
1954	9.9	1964	9.6
1955	8.7	1965	8.1
1956	8.3	1966	7.3
1957	7.9	1967	7.4
1958	12.6	1968	6.7
1959	10.7	1969	6.5
1960	10.2	1970	8.2

Thus, for Blacks, the unemployment levels only fell below 5 percent once in the last two decades, during the Korean War. Neither for Black nor for white workers did this economy ever bring full employment.

This is because the private-profit system of capitalism requires and continuously reproduces a permanent "reserve army" of unemployed workers. This mass of unemployed workers is pitted against those who are employed to keep the wages of the latter down and to enforce discipline on the job.

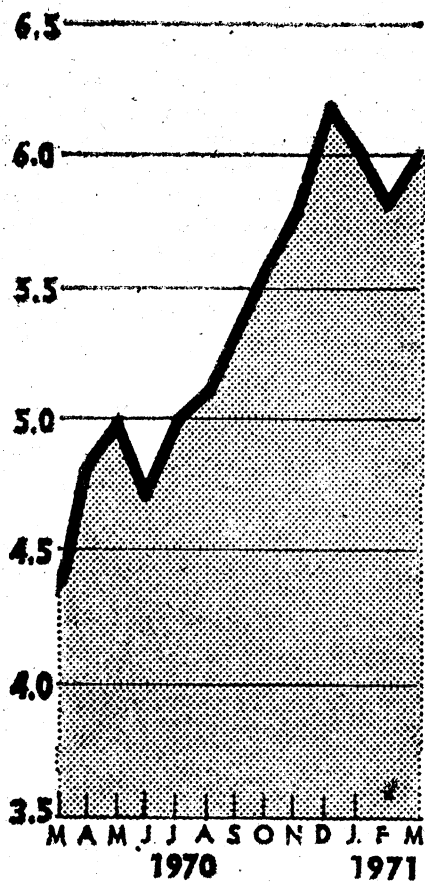
Because of the ups and downs of

the capitalist economy and the continuous replacement of labor by machines, there is a permanent job instability. Over the long run, this situation of economic insecurity for workers allows the strongest capitalists to beat out their competitors and to maintain high profits.

War production can temporarily reduce unemployment, particularly when it is financed by large government deficits on top of the billions of dollars of tax money that go to the manufacturers of weapons. The capitalists "tolerate" lower unemployment—for a time.

But huge budget deficits, such as those produced by the Vietnam war, generate unbridled inflation. Such an inflation weakens U.S. industry vis-a-vis its foreign competition (very stiff these days) and threatens to upset the delicate mechanisms of the international monetary system, which are dependent on a stable dollar. Because

Unemployment in U.S.
in percentage of work force



Source: U.S. Department of Labor
The New York Times April 3, 1971

of this and because the high employment levels put workers in a better position to fight to maintain their living standards, the capitalist government seeks ways to induce a recession, even in the midst of war, as Nixon began to do in 1969.

It further underlines the inhuman nature of this system to contrast the expenditures of the capitalist government in Washington on war to its expenditures on unemployed workers.

A bill was passed by the Senate on April 1 which is designed to provide jobs for 150,000 workers at the cost of \$800-million. Nixon may veto this bill—he vetoed a similar bill last year.

But take it at face value: The bill provides for 150,000 jobs when officially 5.2 million are out of work, or only 3.6 percent of the total. And this does not count the 800,000 people the government says have given up looking for jobs.

Yet the government spends about \$80-billion a year—100 times as much as the \$800-million suggested in the unemployed bill—for the manufacture of weapons and support of U.S. imperialism's military machine.

The National Picket Line

The secretaries and office workers of the United Auto Workers Solidarity House went back to work after a three-week strike for higher wages—a strike during which all but a few of the upper echelon UAW labor fakers crossed their picket line every day.

One of the members of the strikers' bargaining committee was Jeanne Fraser, daughter of Douglas Fraser, a UAW vice-president. The women were called "blackmailers, selfish and greedy" by the UAW officials who crossed the lines.

Miss Fraser said, "It will never be the same again."

Kuppy Scott, who headed the strikers' bargaining unit, said, "They treated us like children; we should behave and they know what's best for us." She also recalled that Emil Mazey, UAW secretary treasurer, had at first denied any paternalism and then reminded the strikers of the union picnics, the Christmas parties, and the fact that they were allowed to go home early when it snowed.

The office workers had been earning about \$165 a week. They asked for a \$10.85 weekly increase and a \$100 vacation bonus. The union offered \$8.05 a week and no bonus.

The settlement finally arrived at included an \$8.05 weekly raise retroactive to February 1 and \$1.75 additional as of April 5, with a \$50 vacation bonus and 3 percent increases for each of the next two years, plus a cost-of-living pay hike.

One of the guards in front of Solidarity House, in summing up the animosity between the office workers and their bosses commented, "If you think there's trouble now, wait until they come back to work."

It seems that paternalism is distasteful no matter who practices it, and it certainly does not pay the rent.

The March 30 *Wall Street Journal*, in an article on the use of child labor as a cost-cutting device by employers, said:

"Times are tough and some companies are turning to an effective cost-cutting device. It is called child labor."

More than thirty years ago, Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act, part of which prohibited the use of children under 16 in industry or agriculture, and under 18 if the jobs were hazardous. Yet today, the trend toward employing children as young as 6 years old is increasing.

The use of minors is indeed a cheap way to earn more profit. Even when such employers are caught, they are let off with either just a slap on the wrist in the form of an injunction demanding that they cease and desist such practices, or a fine—the maximum paid so far is \$6,000.

The American Friends Service Committee, in addition to its revelations reported in the April 2 *Militant National Picket Line*, has reported the following cases:

A Maine log-driving company has been using 33 underaged youths to roll logs down the Kennebec and Dead rivers. The boys took the jobs after the employers advised them to falsify their ages.

A Southern tobacco farmer was discovered employing 28 children in what amounts to an outdoor oven. The children ranged in age from 7 to 15. They were out of school, working under cheesecloth canopies over rows of tobacco. The boss said he hired them because his tobacco rows were too narrow for either adults or mules.

A Detroit motel-restaurant was caught using 72 minors under 16 as dishwashers and maids and in other domestic capacities. The youngsters represented half the work force.

No one keeps track of the number of young people killed in industry. Last year a Tennessee 17-year-old was killed when he drove a fork-lift off a loading ramp. A 14-year-old youth employed by a Wauweta, Nebraska, cooperative was unloading a railroad car of fertilizer and jumped into the boxcar to force the fertilizer out of the bottom. He was sucked in, and suffocated before three other boys could rescue him.

The Department of Labor claims it is almost helpless to stop the increasing use of underaged youth. And even when these ruthless employers are caught, the penalties are almost meaningless. The last time there was a conviction was in 1968 when a Chicago construction company was fined \$6,000 for employing 152 underaged youths on construction jobs. The maximum penalty would have been six months imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine. The \$6,000 fine they did pay was chicken feed compared to the profits they netted from the low wages they paid the youngsters in just one month.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

Calendar

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CLASSES ON MARXIST THEORY: Tufts University on Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m. at Eaton 201. Harvard University on Thursdays 7:30 p.m. at Harvard 102. Classes will run through the end of April and will feature Marxist economics, the Cuban revolution, Black nationalism, feminism, etc. For further information, call 536-6981.

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COME RAP AND LISTEN. Tapes and discussion every Thursday at 7 p.m., **1004 Filbert St.** (Open to Third World people only.) Thurs., April 22: **High School Rights (Panel).** Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance Tape Library. For further information, call Pam Newman at WA 5-4316.

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THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND THE WEATHER-MEN. Discussion leaders: **Irv Hall** and **Roy McKnight.** Tues., April 27, 7:30 p.m., International Lounge (University Commons area), **U of California at Riverside.** Ausp. Revolutionary Socialist Forum.

...Bolivia

Continued from page 19

tempts by the right wing to seize power since October 1970, the putsch was blocked by the decisive action of a united front of workers, students and the left parties. The Santa Cruz COB, strongly supported by the students, called a general strike, and in La Paz the COB issued a call for a nationwide general strike. President Torres finally sided with the workers, while making certain concessions and promises to the right-wing peasant organization.

On March 14, the La Paz daily *Hoy*—which was seized by students and workers during the October 1970 mobilization—published disclosures extremely damaging to extensive sectors of the military caste. The paper accused former president General Alfredo Ovando Candia of having mur-

dered his predecessor, General René Barrientos, as well as a number of other people. Ovando's motive, reportedly, was to cover up his involvement in an international arms racket, selling weapons to Israel, which had all the earmarks of a CIA operation. *Hoy* stated it had the documents to support these accusations.

By discrediting the armed forces, the Barrientos scandal may have temporarily reduced pressure on Torres from one side, giving him a freer hand for maneuvering. But the exposure of the principal governmental representatives of the capitalist system in the country as a band of gangsters murdering each other in shady deals involving imperialist money can only strengthen the demands of the masses for an entirely different type of system. And an alternative popular government, although embryonic and deformed, already exists in the People's Assembly.

...Newark

Continued from page 24

Westbrooks, and Ramon Rivera of the Young Lords Party.

But these are not the people in control of the Newark city government. Gibson and the white City Council majority are in control. Gibson appointed Jesse Jacob, the most vehement opponent of the union to the school board. And Gibson is behind the board's suspensions of 347 striking teachers. He did this because he considers the strike "illegal."

Baraka, Westbrooks, Rivera, and other community leaders are wrong for supporting the Gibson administration against the NTU—an administration that remains loyal to the insurance companies and bankers that run Newark. The insurance companies and bankers are the ones responsible for the deteriorating school system. To blame the NTU only sidesteps the question of who really controls Newark.

The true character of the Gibson administration was underlined this past week when a number of Black and Puerto Rican community leaders

called for the dismissal of white police chief John Redden, who was appointed by Mayor Gibson. The incident that triggered the call for dismissal was the roughing up of a number of Black persons at a school board meeting on April 7.

Redden issued an ominous statement blaming the current tensions in Newark on militant Blacks and drew a parallel with the Newark revolt in 1967 where he as much as blamed Blacks for the 23 Black persons murdered by cops.

Mayor Gibson unashamedly rallied behind Redden, stating that he "was one of the most able police officials in the country."

...Houston

Continued from page 3

and the lack of interest on the part of the Houston police. The police were puzzled when they could not find bullets, which they presumed made the holes in the windows. Jarvis later found the pellets, and phoned the other victims to see if similar pellets would be found. They were. The police were phoned and told of the new evidence. They said they were not interested in the pellets, and implied that it would be all right to throw them away. Instead, the victims turned the pellets into the police station and protested the police negligence.

On the afternoon of April 8, the day before the attacks, two men subsequently identified as Jesse Johnson and Mike Lowe, members of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, entered the Pathfinder Bookstore and Socialist Workers Campaign Committee headquarters here, asked questions about the March 12 bombing of those offices, purchased a copy of *Space City!*, and left.

That night, a Klan meeting was held, and early Friday morning the attack occurred on the four advertisers in *Space City!*

The *Houston Chronicle* obtained an interview with Frank Converse, the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan in Texas, which was published in the April 11 issue of that newspaper. In

the interview, Converse admitted the Klan distributed the *Rat Sheet*, but denied knowledge of the *Sheet's* contents before mailing.

Converse attempted to blame the terrorist attacks on "maverick" Klansmen, kicked out "because they were bent on terrorism and violence." He stated that these types would "just as quickly take your life as slash your car tires." He also said he knew of acts of violence committed by former Klansmen.

Despite Converse's attempt to disassociate himself from the terrorists, it is clear that he does have knowledge concerning those behind the acts of terrorism in Houston. However, policemen and Treasury Department agents have continued to question members of the Socialist Workers Party, giving support to the right-wing charge that Debby Leonard bombed her own campaign headquarters for publicity.

On Monday, April 13, Leonard presented a letter to Lt. Singleton of the Houston Police Department, which highlighted the admission by Converse that he has knowledge about terrorism in Houston. Before Leonard mentioned the two Klansmen who entered the SWP campaign headquarters Thursday, Singleton interrupted to confirm he already knew Johnson and Lowe had been in the headquarters. However, Singleton offered no indication that the Houston Police Department would undertake any definite action in light of this new information.

The Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, in response to the increased right-wing violence and the public statement by Converse that he knows some of the Klan terrorists, has stepped up its efforts to publicize information about night riders and harassment. The committee plans to mount even more pressure against the city administration by continuing to appear before the City Council with supporters, demanding an end to the right-wing violence. The committee is expanding its list of endorsers, and plans to begin a newsletter that will regularly update information on right-wing attacks and publicize efforts to bring the criminals into the open.

For additional information or contributions, call or write the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, 4334 Leeland, Houston, Texas 77023, or call (713) 921-3293 or (713) 741-2577.

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THE MILITANT

Raza Unida wins in Crystal City

By MIRTA VIDAL

CRYSTAL CITY, Texas—La Raza Unida Party once again won a sweeping victory in the municipal elections here on April 6. The three positions on the City Council were won by a 2-to-1 majority, giving LRUP control of all five seats on the Crystal City council. Previously, LRUP held three of these seats.

Of the 3,700 registered voters in the city, Francisco Benovidez, LRUP candidate for mayor, received 1,649 votes. Roberto Gamez and José Talamantez, the other Raza Unida candidates, received 1,626 and 1,622 respectively. Paulino R. Mata, running under the "For Better Government" ticket, got 911 votes, the highest total for any candidate opposing LRUP.

Elections held on April 3 for the Crystal City school board gave LRUP a 5-to-2 majority.

For the first time in the history of *Cristal* [Crystal City], Chicanos, who constitute 85 percent of the population, were able to participate in a fair and democratic election. Raza Unida city officials appointed all the personnel who ran the elections and gave voters their full democratic rights, which they had never before been able to exercise. Whereas before they were harassed and intimidated by gringo officials, Chicanos who ran the elections this time allowed registered voters to accompany those who requested help into the polls. This was purposely denied in previous elections to handicap the many Chicano voters who cannot read or write.

Two mass rallies were held by LRUP on April 2 and April 5, the nights preceding each election, with over 1,000 at each one. Among the list of speakers at the Friday night rally was María Hernández, a 75-year-old Chicana activist from San

Antonio whose son was killed in the Second World War. Speaking of the thousands of Chicanas whose sons have died in the war, she said: "We are going to be repaid for that sacrifice by rising up and demanding our rights."

José Angel Gutiérrez, LRUP chairman and president of the Crystal City school board, announced that a school to be named after María Hernández would be constructed before the two remaining years of his term in office are up, providing that LRUP candidates got elected.

Stressing the significance of the developments in *Cristal* for all of La Raza, Gutiérrez said: "*Cristal* is a symbol of the Chicano movement—of being able to take the reins of our own lives—that's what this is all about."

The national implications of the developments in *Cristal* were also the theme of the speech given by Roberto Mondragón, lieutenant governor of New Mexico. He said: "The people of Crystal City will be a great example for all our people and all the people in the U.S."

For more than an hour following the election returns, car horns celebrating the victory resounded throughout the city—evidence of the extremely high spirits. But there had been little doubt in the minds of Chicanos that these elections would be won.

Ever since the high school walkout in the spring of 1969 around demands for Chicano control of education, which was largely successful and laid the groundwork for the formation of La Raza Unida Party, *Cristal* has been clearly polarized.

The opposition there still controls the only "official" newspaper in *Cristal*, the *Zavala County Sentinel*. But de-

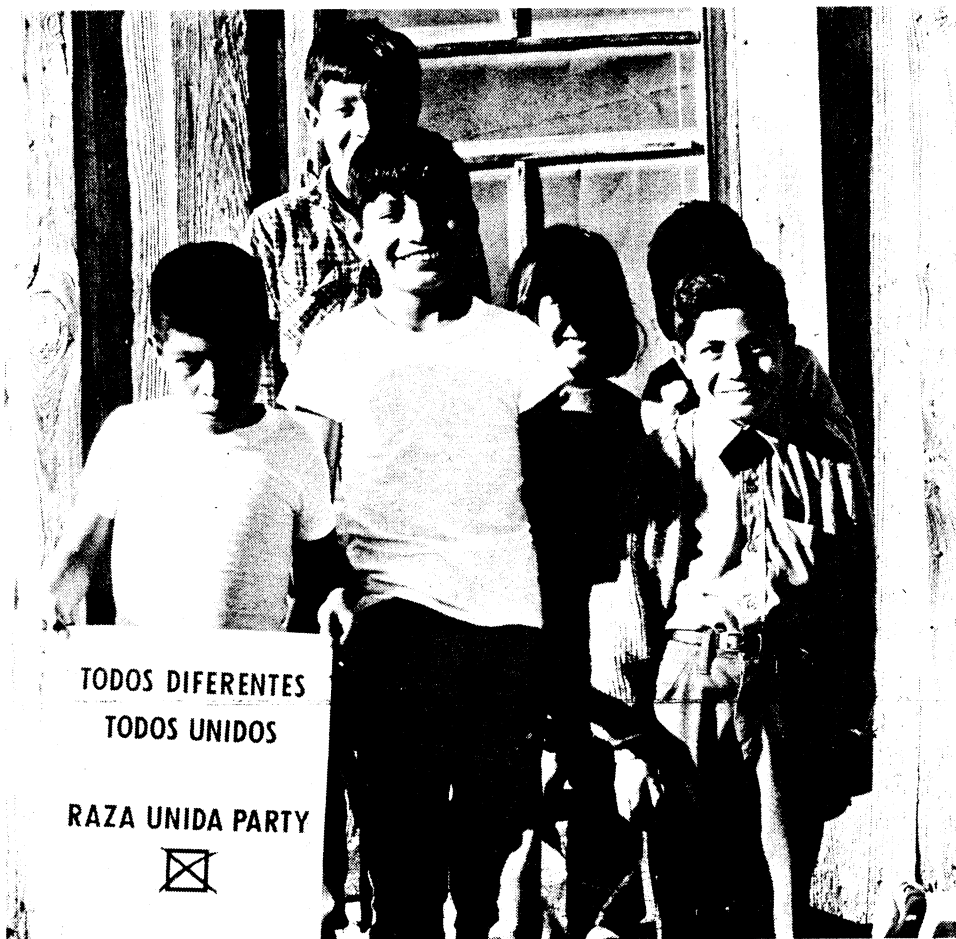
spite a slander campaign waged against LRUP, mainly through this publication, the Chicano community remained solidly behind the party.

This overwhelming support flows from the party's consistent and active participation in struggles for Chicano community control and its understanding of the need to educate and mobilize the Chicano community.

A number of important programs have been instituted in *Cristal* since LRUP took office last year, including free breakfast and lunch programs for all students on the high school

and junior high school level. Other programs for students will provide many new teaching jobs for young people who were formerly deliberately channeled out of school and into the labor force.

One of the most significant features about *Cristal* is that it is fast becoming a model for similar developments throughout the Southwest by laying the groundwork for LRUP campaigns for the '72 county elections and for putting the party on the ballot statewide in the near future.



Newark teachers' strike in eleventh week

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEWARK, April 13—The Newark teachers' strike has now dragged into its eleventh week, making it the longest teachers' strike in U.S. history.

This past week the school board in its campaign to destroy the union dealt another heavy blow to the Newark teachers when it voted down a settlement agreed to by the union. At the same time, the continuing refusal of the Newark Teachers Union leadership to support the struggles of the Black and Puerto Rican communities and repudiate the blatant racists who have rallied behind the union has facilitated Mayor Kenneth Gibson's attack on the union.

Negotiations between the NTU and the board broke down on March 25, forcing the state-appointed mediator to withdraw from the talks. Then, on March 30, the board suspended 347 teachers. This virtually amounted to firing them, because the state commissioner of education quickly moved to notify the teachers of "decertification" hearings. If a teacher is decertified, he or she can't teach.

In addition to demanding binding arbitration, no exercise of nonprofessional chores, and a pay hike—which the mediator agreed to as guidelines for ending the strike—the NTU demanded that the suspensions be rescinded. Binding arbitration means an

independent and supposedly impartial arbitrator steps in and decides disputes which cannot be resolved between union and board. To rid themselves of nonprofessional chores, the NTU, which is 30 percent Black, demands the board hire more teachers' aides. The aides, people from the community, belong to the union.

At a meeting on Tuesday night, April 6, the board held a public hearing on the mediator-proposed guidelines. The meeting grew so large that the board moved to a bigger hall the next night. Some 1,000 people attended, 98 percent of whom were Black. Several dozen policemen were in and around the meeting, searching people as they entered the hall. Most of the speakers expressed deep opposition to the proposed contract, seeing binding arbitration and no nonprofessional chores as amounting to a teacher takeover of the schools. Speakers often referred to the fact that 60 percent of the teachers live outside Newark.

Following the discussion, one Black board member, who had supported the contract in a straw vote, switched, defeating the contract by a 5-to-4 vote. The four Blacks and one Puerto Rican on the board voted against the contract, the four white members voted for it. Now the NTU is waiting for the board to make another proposal

in order to begin negotiations once again.

The NTU bureaucrats continue down the blind alley of defining the situation as simply a "labor-management" dispute. However, this position is more and more clearly a cover for refusing to support and fight for Black and Puerto Rican control of Black and Puerto Rican education.

Because they see the possibility of using the union as a battering ram against the Black community, the strike has won the enthusiastic support of the most notorious racist—and antiunion—elements in Newark.

At an NTU rally on April 4, members of the Ironbound Citizens Committee, from the East Ward, showed up. They were singled out by NTU leaders and applauded by the several hundred teachers present. The members of the ICC were all white and were dressed up in red jackets with American flags (!) sewed on the sleeves.

They are associated with Anthony Imperiale, white racist leader of the vigilante group called the North Ward Citizens Committee. Imperiale has addressed rallies in the North Ward backing the teachers. He also addressed a labor-support rally for the NTU in downtown Newark.

Anthony Imperiale and other reactionary racists of this ilk are not only

the enemies of the Black and Puerto Rican people of Newark, they are also enemies of the labor movement and the NTU. They aren't backing the strike to help advance what's progressive in the teachers' conflict with the school board or to defend the right of the teachers to unionize, but to take advantage of the NTU leadership's racist policy of refusing to support the struggles of the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

With "friends" like these, the NTU is inviting its own destruction.

Mayor Gibson, who attempts to maintain the pretense of a balancing act between the school board and the NTU, bears the heaviest responsibility for the situation in Newark. He wants to smash the union and demagogically plays on the strong sentiment within the Black community for control over Black schools to drive a wedge between the Black community and the NTU. But he has no intention of allowing genuine Black control of the Black community.

This past week Gibson said that the prolonged teachers' strike was caused by "self-appointed community leaders making a lot of noise." He was referring to such community leaders as Imamu Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones), head of the Committee for a Unified Newark, Black councilman Dennis

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