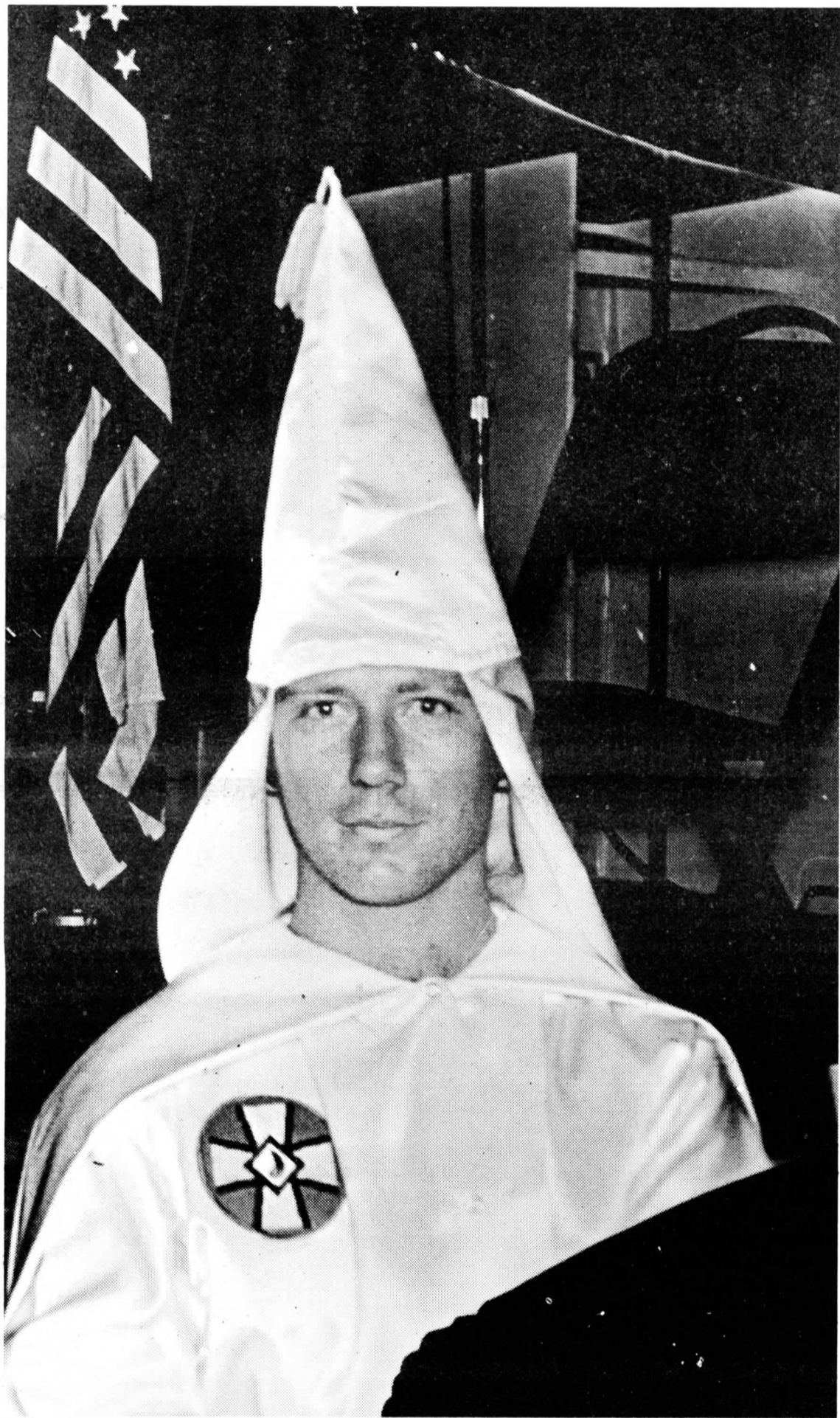


THE MILITANT

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



Michael Lowe, Houston Klansman indicted June 3 for possession of bomb. Photo taken at Klan rally near Houston, October 1970.

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BRAD LYTTLE: Brad Lyttle, a Quaker and a committed pacifist, is facing frame-up charges of "assaulting an officer" stemming from his role in the Mayday antiwar protests in Washington, D. C. On May 3, cops arrested Lyttle near the Washington Monument for "disorderly conduct." He was held for a week and then charged with the other offense on the basis of lies from police witnesses. A defense committee has been set up. While modest contributions which do "not interfere with financing the antiwar movement" will be appreciated, the committee is mainly appealing for support in publicizing the case. To find out how you can help, write to the Brad Lyttle Defense Committee, 1029 Vermont Ave. N.W., Room 900, Washington, D. C. 20005.

KENT STATE SUITS DISMISSED: Three wrongful death suits, filed by the parents of Allison Krause, Jeffrey G. Miller and Sandra L. Scheuer, three of the four students slain at Kent State May 4, 1970, were dismissed by a federal judge in Cleveland June 2 on the basis that the court had no jurisdiction because former Ohio governor James A. Rhodes had acted "in his capacity as a public official" in sending the National Guard to the Kent State campus.

ANTIWAR OFFICER RESTRICTED: Air Force Capt. Thomas S. Culver, one of the organizers of the largest GI antiwar action yet held overseas—the presentation of a petition signed by 1,000 service personnel to the U.S. embassy in London May 31 by 300 GIs—was placed on restriction June 3. Culver was scheduled to depart for the United States June 4 to be discharged, but now he has been threatened with court-martial. "If I am court-martialed, this will be an important test case," Culver is quoted as saying in the June 8 *New York Times*. "A verdict of not guilty would mean that American servicemen all over the world—Vietnam, Thailand, Germany—will be joining in antiwar marches."

CHRISTOPHER STREET: The Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee, a coalition of gay organizations and individuals organizing the June 27 Gay Pride march and celebration in New York City, expects more than 25,000 people to assemble from noon to 2 p.m. to march from Christopher Street up Sixth Avenue to Central Park. The march, which will be the second annual commemoration of the 1969 Stonewall "riots" when gays massively fought back against an arbitrary cop raid, is the culmination of activities during Gay Pride Week, June 21-27. Gay Pride Week activities are also being organized in Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Detroit, Chicago, Denver, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Austin, Atlanta, Houston, London, and Stockholm. For more information, write Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee, 247 W. 10 St., N. Y., N. Y. 10014 or call (212) CH2-5273.

STEELWORKERS RALLY: On May 23, between 400 and 500 persons participated in a rally held in Chicago by United Steelworkers Local 1033 (AFL-CIO) to commemorate the 1937 "Memorial Day Massacre," when cops gunned down strikers at the Republic Steel mill in South Chicago. The rally, which was militant in tone, was organized with upcoming contract negotiations in mind. The old contract expires at the end of August and the rally organizers are conscious that the government and steel industry will go all out to hold down wage increases. Speakers hailed the militancy of today's student movement and compared it to labor militancy of the past. Lindsey Jones, a former steelworker who is now the union's attorney, said it is "not the laws, but our own strength that protects us."

BERKELEY YOUNG SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN: Young Socialist Alliance candidate Marilyn Winch was elected to the student senate in campus elections at the University of California, Berkeley, this month. The YSA candidates for president and three vice-presidential seats received 7 percent of the vote. Winch and the others ran on a program that called for turning the school into an organizing center for the antiwar, Black and Chicano liberation, women's liberation, and other mass movements.

NEW YORK'S FINEST: When stage director Alan Schneider asked New York cop Leslie J. Harvey to "at

least talk to me like a human being" after the latter barked an order to leave an intersection near the site of a construction accident May 25, the cop decided to arrest the director and beat him up on the way to the station. Harvey's denial of Schneider's charges has the ring of honesty one expects from cops. Three bystanders, unknown to Schneider or each other, who complained to the 14th Precinct desk after witnessing Harvey brutalize the director, must coincidentally share Schneider's active imagination. So must Schneider's physician, who examined him later the same day and found bruises and swelling. Patrolman Harvey clinches his case against all this evidence with an argument that can't be contradicted—"How could I do this? This isn't 1920." Schneider, who is famed for his direction of plays by Pinter, Albee and Beckett, says his encounter with Harvey was "real theater of the absurd."

PINNING DOWN THE PENTAGON: Jeanne Bellamy, writing in the June 2 *Miami Herald*, relates the story of a military warehouse that cataloged a shipment of two-inch cotter pins as 1,181 items instead of one shipment. The retired Army colonel who told her the story maintains that such a practice is not at all uncommon. A 1952 inventory listed 2.5 million items when there were actually only one million. Total listings today number four million, and Bellamy's colonel says the duplication persists. The colonel claims this kind of inefficiency costs \$5-billion annually, but misses the point that all the money spent by the Pentagon, even that which efficiently accomplishes its antihuman ends, is worse than wasted.

PHILANTHROPY CAN BE DULL: Stewart R. Mott, son of the largest stockholder of General Motors, is a "full-time philanthropist" who donated \$365,000 to campaigns of capitalist dove candidates in 1968. Currently occupied with growing his \$50,000 vegetable garden on the terraces of his Park Avenue apartment in New York, Mott told the *New York Post* early this month that his "volunteer work" has had "a certain sameness to it" for the past seven years. This is one reason why he started his garden—"to get into a more creative way of life." Since Mott is only 33, we may hope he will see the day when those whose creative work created the wealth ripped off to make his family's \$800-million fortune will relieve him of the boredom his money causes him.

HIGH SCHOOL HAIR: High school students may not choose what length to wear their hair, according to a reactionary decision by federal district judge Robert W. Hemphill, handed down May 17. Because the length of a person's hair is not in the judge's opinion an expression "of political or social thought," he ruled that school officials have a right to dictate to high school students how they will wear their hair.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY'S "ANTI-IMPERIALISM": When on June 2 a group called the American Youth for a Just Peace, supported by the local chapter of the Young People's Socialist League and the moribund Socialist Party, tried to stage a rally on Sproul Plaza at the University of California, Berkeley, a spontaneous antiwar demonstration broke out among students and others gathered on the plaza. The spontaneous action called for immediate, total U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia in opposition to the other rally, which had been called to "support the struggle of the Indochinese people against North Vietnamese imperialism."

NIXON'S COUSIN: The June 3 *New York Post* reported that Kathy Timberlake, a 24-year-old second cousin to the president, has written her powerful relative asking him for help because her "life is becoming harder and harder to bear" on the \$27 a month from County Aid in Cotati, Calif., which is her sole income. She is the second of Nixon's relatives disclosed in recent months to be living on welfare. Last February, it was reported that another of the president's cousins, Philip Milhous of Grass Valley, Calif., was living on \$270.10 a month in social security plus \$57 from welfare between him and his wife.

—LEE SMITH

Houston Klansman indicted for possession of bomb

By PAUL McKNIGHT

HOUSTON—Michael Lowe, a well-known Klansman, has been indicted by a Harris County grand jury on two felony charges of possession of a bomb and possession of bomb-making materials. This indictment was returned June 3. At that time, the grand jury recessed until June 7.

On the afternoon of June 7, Warren White, the assistant district attorney conducting the probe, said that the grand jury was through hearing witnesses and that he was preparing 10 additional indictments, which he would ask the grand jury to return on June 10. He refused to give the press any details but said that it would cover several of the terrorist attacks and involve several persons.

When the grand jury convened on June 7, it heard two Klan members. One of those testifying was Paul Moratto, public relations man for the United Klans of America. Moratto was arrested last month on the charge of placing a fake bomb in the offices of Pacifica radio station KPFT last Jan. 16. Before entering the grand jury room, Moratto told newsmen he would tell the grand jury all he knew about the series of terrorist attacks in Houston. After his appearance before the grand jury, he was taken to the police headquarters to take a polygraph test. This was the second time Moratto testified before the grand jury.

On June 7, Frank Converse, Grand

Dragon of the United Klans, revealed that his gunshop had been raided by U. S. Treasury agent Richard Brooks. Converse claimed that Brooks had seized 20 "illegal weapons." He told the press that Brooks indicated the federal government would press charges against him. The raid took place on June 3, at the same time that Converse was "invited" to testify before the grand jury. He was not subpoenaed. Converse said he took the Fifth Amendment on all questions, since he was not allowed to have a lawyer present with him in the grand jury room. Converse asserted that one of the alleged illegal weapons was left in his shop by a Houston policeman only hours before the raid.

Converse also produced a letter signed by Sgt. Lynn Fowler of the Criminal Intelligence Division of the Houston Police Department, which stated that Klansman Jimmy Hutto was a paid informer who had infiltrated Students for a Democratic Society on a police assignment. Hutto is now in jail awaiting trial on federal charges of conspiracy to blow up Pacifica radio stations on the West Coast.

This notarized letter provides an additional link between the Klan and the Houston Police Department.

Richard Atwater and Sherwood Bishop of *Space City!*, a Houston radical newspaper, issued public statements detailing their knowledge of complicity between the police department and the Klan.

Atwater's statement said, "At 6 a.m., Sunday, April 12, 1970, Louis Beam's car pulled up in front of the office [of *Space City!*]. From the second story window, I saw a man in the passenger's seat holding a cross-bow. The car drove slowly down the street and turned the corner. I was talking to the police when the car came back around the block in front of the office. I gave the dispatcher the running account of the incident, as they shot a hunting arrow through the front door of our office. I gave him a complete description of the car, the license number, and the direction it was traveling. Twenty minutes later, two policemen came to take a report. They looked at the arrow, and gave it to me for a souvenir. No arrests were ever made. . . ."

Louis Beam is a well-known member of the Klan and is one of those subpoenaed by the grand jury.

Other victims of attacks are preparing statements for the grand jury.

The public pressure on the city administration demanding the arrest of the terrorists has continued to grow. One example is a recent letter from U. S. Congressman Bob Eckhardt to Debby Leonard, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston.

Eckhardt's letter stated: "I was deeply horrified to learn of the bombing of the Houston campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. This senseless act of terrorism against

a group attempting to work within the political process is inexcusable.

"I enclose a copy of the letter I have written to Secretary of the Treasury John Connally on your behalf. . . ."

Eckhardt's letter to Connally stated: "The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee has sent me a copy of their letter to you of April 7, concerning the conduct of one Agent Richard Brooks who was sent to Houston with the ostensible mission of investigating the bombing of their campaign headquarters on March 12, 1971. I enclose a copy of the letter and hope that steps have been taken to turn the investigation in the right direction. . . ."

Agent Richard Brooks was very hostile to the members of the Socialist Workers Party and harassed them at home and at work. Brooks indicated he thought the bombing was done by a member of the SWP or another left-wing group. The SWP mayoral candidate had written to Connally as Brooks' superior, demanding an end to Brooks' harassment of the SWP and that he look into the right wing in the city and seriously attempt to apprehend the terrorists.

The spotlight on the city administration and the right wing finally forced the city administration to arrest Klansmen and to convene the grand jury investigation. Without continued public pressure, however, the indictments may still not end with convictions.

Alaska GI court-martial referred to Pentagon

By ANDREW PULLEY

FT. GREELY, Alaska, June 6—Pvt. Ed Jurenas, an antiwar, socialist GI who is facing harassment by the brass here for his role in publishing and circulating a GI newspaper, the *Arctic Arsenal*, has had court-martial charges against him referred to the Pentagon. The charges now being considered by the top brass in Washington, D. C., are based on alleged violation of Articles 89, 92 and 134 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, concerning disrespect to an officer, disobeying a regulation and promoting "disaffection" and "disloyalty" in the

Hollingsworth was the commanding general who brought charges against me and seven other GIs in the Fort Jackson Eight case for organizing GIs United Against the War at Ft. Jackson, S. C., in 1969. (At that time, Hollingsworth, who "loves nothing better than killing Cong," had been in charge of bases in the Southeast.) The fact that the campaign waged then to defend the Ft. Jackson Eight forced the Army to drop its charges might help explain why Hollingsworth hesitates to move against Jurenas without consulting his bosses first.

I asked Jurenas how he happened

ized Jurenas meant it, and they shipped him to Alaska instead.

The same thing had happened to Joe Miles, another one of the Ft. Jackson Eight GIs. Miles was first transferred to Ft. Bragg, N. C., but after he helped organize another GIs United group there, he was shipped to Ft. Richards near Anchorage.

The radicalization's penetration of the Army has advanced a long way even since the Ft. Jackson Eight case, something I could see as I walked around the base June 4. Talking to Black GIs about racism in the Army and about the war, I felt kind of like I was walking on the University of California, Berkeley campus. I had a stack of *Militants* with me, and the GIs really went for them. I talked to men where they were working, sitting in the service club and all around the base. Nobody hassled me at all.

One of the GIs I talked to was Pfc. Russell Warren, a Black GI who has contributed an article on racism in the Army to the *Arctic Arsenal*. Warren, like Jurenas and several of the other GIs who work on the newspaper, is an MP. I never thought I'd be talking to MPs about the antiwar movement and Black nationalism, but the attitudes of these men are as radical as those of any other draftee.

Warren said "a lot of Black GIs feel that they are constantly harassed by racist officers. One example is that an Article 15 was given to a Black private here when an officer just told the clerk to find something to charge the brother with."

Warren said he didn't believe Black people could be liberated without "total revolution." Although he didn't belong to any party, Warren said, he liked the "ideas of the Black Panther Party." "I believe in self-determination for Black Americans; I'm a nationalist," he said.

Warren favors the idea of "organizing demonstrations of Blacks for im-



Gen. James Hollingsworth

The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee is handling the case of Pvt. Ed Jurenas in his fight against trumped-up court-martial charges. The GICLDC urges that messages be sent, protesting the Army's violation of Jurenas' and other Ft. Greely GIs' rights, to Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor, Department of the Army, Washington, D. C., and Gen. James Hollingsworth, Commanding General, United States Army Headquarters, Alaska, APO Seattle 98749. Copies should be sent to the GICLDC. Contributions to help defray legal expenses are badly needed. Send them to GICLDC, Box 355, Old Chelsea Sta., New York, N. Y. 10011.

armed forces.

When I arrived at this isolated Army post in the evening of June 3, Jurenas told me he had been informed that same afternoon by his company commander that the Pentagon was considering the charges. Two days earlier the company commander had told Jurenas the Army planned to court-martial him. On June 3, he personally delivered to Jurenas a bundle of 200 *Militants* that had been torn open and repacked in a plastic bag. After he handed the papers to the GI, he read the articles under which the Army is considering his court-martial and said the case had been referred to the Pentagon by Gen. James Hollingsworth, commanding general of the U. S. Army in Alaska.

to be stationed at Ft. Greely. He told me he belonged to the Young Socialist Alliance before he was drafted. When he was ordered to report for induction, he got a leave of absence from the YSA. A demonstration was held by antiwar activists at the induction center, where Jurenas affirmed his intention to exercise his constitutional rights to organize against the war while in the Army.

Jurenas attended the YSA convention in New York City in December 1970, while on leave after his initial training. At a news conference there, he told reporters he had received orders to go to Vietnam. "I told them I'd go," Jurenas said, "and continue to speak out against the war when I got there." Evidently the Army real-

mediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam." He added that "a lot of senseless killing of Black people back in the states must be stopped too," and said he considered the fight to free Angela Davis to be of prime importance.

Later on in the day, I met with six Black GIs in the base gymnasium. That evening I attended a meeting in the service club of about 25 GIs, 10 of whom were Black. The informal discussion centered on the need to form a group for organizing effective antiwar activity and the most effective defense for Jurenas.

The GIs all recognize that the court-martial charges against Jurenas represent an attack on their constitutional rights. There was general agreement that by forming an organization, they could hope to insure continued publication of the *Arctic Arsenal* and antiwar organizing in the event Jurenas gets transferred or discharged from the Army.

As one step toward organizing a group, the GIs decided to draft an open letter to General Hollingsworth

Continued on page 22

German abortion campaign



Der Spiegel photo

Women demonstrating in Frankfurt for right to control their own bodies.

A campaign is well under way in West Germany to force the government to repeal its antiabortion law. So far, 374 women have signed a public statement declaring that they have had an illegal abortion.

The campaign was inspired by a similar one by French women (see *The Militant*, April 30, 1971). It was given a special boost when 24 well-known West German women—among them actresses, journalists, singers, film stars, and fashion models—had their photographs published on the front page of the June 2 issue of the weekly news magazine *Stern* along with the confession, "We have had an abortion." The most prominent among the signers included the film star Romy Schneider; stage and television actress Hanne Wieder; and fashion model Countess Veruschka von Lehndorff.

The German campaign against the abortion law is causing quite a stir. Besides the *Stern* article, it was the cover story in the May 31 issue of the weekly magazine *Der Spiegel*. It is also placing the German authorities in an embarrassing legal dilemma. According to German law, not only could the women receive five years in jail as punishment for the illegal abortions they have had, but state's attorneys have no choice but to proceed against them even if they are their own accusers.

The campaign, according to *Der Spiegel*, is being carried on both by individual women and by various women's groups, such as Women's Action '70 in Frankfurt and the Socialist Women's League in West Berlin. Younger women members of the Social Democratic Party and the Free Democratic Party are also joining the campaign, the magazine reports.

"Women, doctors and jurists all know that there is hardly a law that is violated as often as this one—thousands of times each day in the German Republic," says *Der Spiegel*. "And hardly any law skirts social reality or is reduced to the level of farce the way the law against abortion is."

Support for Bangla Desh

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK
SAN FRANCISCO—On June 2, 50 Bengali and American students demonstrated here in opposition to the genocide in East Pakistan and in sup-

port of self-determination for Bangla Desh. The demonstration was called by the Bay Area chapters of the American League for Bangla Desh, an organization initiated by Bengalis in this country to oppose U. S. backing of the military regime in West Pakistan and to support the newly declared nation of Bangla Desh.

The demonstration began with a 1 p.m. rally at the Federal Building in downtown San Francisco. Professor George B. Kleindorfer of the University of California School of Education, who recently visited East Pakistan, described the systematic policy of mass murder being carried out in that country. Kleindorfer visited the University of Dacca shortly before it was destroyed. The university facilities consisted of a collection of structures built by tedious manual labor. After crossing the border into India, Kleindorfer heard accounts from refugees of the methodical destruction of every last building and the execution by firing squad of all the students.

Judy Carnoy, from the Pacific Studies Center in Palo Alto, Calif., outlined the extent of U. S. aid to West Pakistan. Mark Schneider spoke for the Socialist Workers Party.

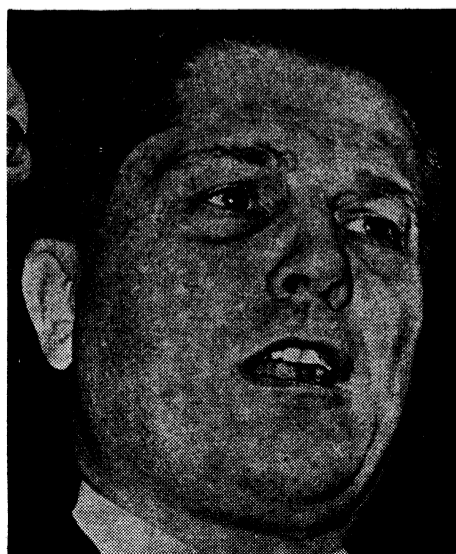
After the rally, the demonstrators marched over a mile to the Pakistani consulate. They carried two large banners reading: "30,000 dead—4,000,000 refugees—stop genocide in East Pakistan" and "U. S. guns, tanks, and planes perpetrate genocide in East Pakistan."

At the Pakistani consulate, Professor Rafiqur Rahman, from the Stanford Medical Center and the American League for Bangla Desh, read a statement demanding that "Pakistan withdraw its troops and allow East Pakistan to decide its own future." Then Rahman and two other demonstrators entered the consulate to deliver their protest to the representatives of the West Pakistani government. A Bengali student climbed the flagpole before the consulate and tied to it the flag of Bangla Desh.

Hoffa bows out of race

James R. Hoffa announced on June 3 that he will not be a candidate for president of the Teamsters union for another 5-year term at the union's July convention. He requests members of the union to support Frank E. Fitzsimmons, executive vice-president and the functioning director since Hoffa was sent to jail in 1967.

The Hoffa announcement coincides with publicity about a confession by Edward Partin, who was the chief prosecution witness at the 1964 Chattanooga jury-tampering trial where Hoffa was convicted and sentenced to eight years in jail. Partin now confesses that his testimony was dictated by the FBI and that he gave it in ex-



James Hoffa

change for freedom from a kidnapping charge.

William Loeb, publisher of the Manchester (N. H.) *Union Leader* and influential in New England Republican Party politics, first published parts of the Partin confession. Loeb reportedly visited Attorney General John N. Mitchell on June 2.

Hoffa's announcement that he will not seek the presidency of the IBT appears timed to insure his release on the basis of the Partin confession, which removes the grounds for his conviction. His stated reason for bowing out of union politics is "because of my present legal problems." These include an additional five-year prison sentence on other charges.

These developments indicate the extent of government intimidation and pressure in union affairs.

French CP down on abortions

From *Intercontinental Press*

By RUTH SCHEIN

Early in April, 343 Frenchwomen, among whom were prominent writers, actresses and TV personalities, as well as members of the Women's Liberation Movement of France and the Movement for Freedom of Abortion, signed a statement "confessing" to having had an abortion (an offense punishable under French law by up to two years in prison) and demanding free access to contraceptive methods and freedom of abortion.

A month and a half later, as if in answer, the political bureau of the French Communist party issued a statement on the subject and called for new legislation based on the following five points:

"1. Abrogation of the repressive legislation concerning abortion.

"2. Termination of pregnancy may be practiced in cases where the woman's life is in danger; when there is a marked risk of fetal malformation or congenital anomaly; in cases of pregnancy resulting from criminal or violent acts; when carrying the pregnancy to term would endanger the woman's mental or physical health; when the pregnancy would cause a serious social problem, without immediate solution, for the mother or the family.

"3. Competent agencies should be established to interview women and couples contemplating recourse to abortion for reasons attendant on such social problems. These agencies should then explore all avenues leading to an immediate solution of these problems.

"4. Abortions must be performed under hospital conditions, and costs should be borne by Social Security.

"5. Passage of the law should be accompanied by construction of the necessary hospital facilities and the necessary means to implement the law."

According to the Paris daily *Le Monde* of May 22 from which the above five points are translated, they were preceded by a statement rejecting "theories which make of the right to abortion one of the essential means of women's liberation. . . ."

In addition to deliberately and carefully, and on a theoretical level, divorcing the liberation of women from its *sine qua non*, control over their own bodies, nowhere does the French CP's statement call for free abortion on demand or free dissemination of contraceptive information and devices.

This despite the results of a recent public opinion poll, indicating that about 55 percent of French people believe a pregnant woman has the right to a legal abortion if she does not want her future child, and 87 percent consider that the couple respon-

sible should decide together whether they want the pregnancy to be terminated.

It may well be asked why the CP is so singularly unresponsive to the needs of so large a section of the population. The answer may very well lie in Moscow, where the regime is considering declaring abortion illegal. (See "The Position of Soviet Women," *Intercontinental Press*, May 3, page 406.)

It would never do for the French CP, one of the Kremlin's most slavish voices in the West, to place the needs of ordinary people, no matter how urgent, over those of the Soviet bureaucracy.

But the French politburo's effort to straddle the issue, the mild abortion reform it proposes (which amounts to no more than the "therapeutic abortion" already an accepted fact in many European countries and in most of the United States), will hardly satisfy supporters of the burgeoning French Women's Liberation Movement, who are unequivocally demanding the right to control their own bodies.

Women blast Muskie

By MARY GARRETT

MINNEAPOLIS—"Women must control their fate, not Ed Muskie, not the state," chanted some 40 demonstrators, mostly women, who gathered June 5 outside the Raddison Hotel where Senator Edmund Muskie was the keynote speaker.

The occasion was a fund-raising dinner for the Democratic Party.

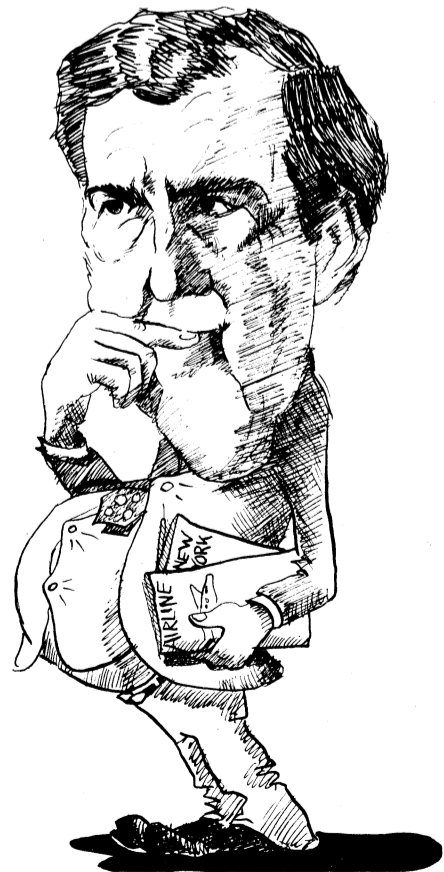
Protestors distributed leaflets blasting Muskie's opposition to abortions. Muskie contends that "the nature of motherhood is to protect life."

Women here answered that women have the right to decide for themselves whether or not they want an abortion.

A sketch of a pregnant Muskie on the protest leaflet drew laughter from many dinner guests, and a number of people, mostly younger women, expressed support for the demonstration.

One of the picket signs read, "Sen. Muskie, what about respect for women's lives?" Another sign read, "Not everyone wants five children."

One woman carried her baby and a quote from Margaret Sanger: "Every child deserves to be wanted."



"If he were pregnant . . ." (Leaflet distributed at Minnesota protest against Muskie.)

Chicago right-winger found 'not guilty'

By JERRY DIPPOLD

CHICAGO—The jury in the burglary trial of Legion of Justice member Thomas K. Stewart returned its verdict of "not guilty" June 8, following the half-hearted prosecution of the case by the city of Chicago and a defense based on red-baiting and slander that went unanswered in the courtroom.

The trial, which began on June 2, grew out of the identification of Stewart's fingerprints on a cash box following a predawn raid on the Chicago Socialist Workers Party headquarters on June 27 of last year.

Stewart still faces trial on three other felony charges, stemming from a Nov. 1, 1969, attack on the Chicago SWP headquarters in which four persons present were maced and beaten; from an attack on Our Lady of the Mount Roman Catholic Church; and from the assault of another Legion member, allegedly because the victim tried to quit the organization.

The events leading to Stewart's indictment and trial on these charges began with the Nov. 1, 1969, raid on SWP offices. Following that attack, which was carried out by a dozen men armed with tire irons, clubs and chemical mace, S. Thomas Sutton, a reactionary and racist attorney known in the area for his role in organizing racist provocations against the Black community during Martin Luther King's open housing drive here in 1967, called a news conference at which he boasted that the attack was the work of the Legion of Justice. He also displayed material stolen from the SWP offices, but police at the scene ignored the demands of SWP members that Sutton be arrested until reporters pressed them about their reluctance. They finally agreed to book Sutton for "possession of stolen property."

The following month, further incidents of harassment and violence, including the macing and beating of several Young Socialist Alliance members at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, spurred the formation of the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks (DATA).

DATA united a broad range of sponsors behind a campaign to expose the Legion of Justice and Sutton's role in it and to spotlight the inaction and complicity of the Chicago cops and city government in the terrorist activity of the group.

During the year and a half since its formation, DATA has uncovered

much of the record of Sutton's gang's hooliganism, beginning months before the November 1969 raid on the SWP. It includes attacks on coffee houses, churches, private homes, underground newspaper offices, bookstores, and the offices of antiwar and radical groups.

Through the publication of articles and its own material, speaking before groups and calling news conferences, DATA attempted to get this information out as widely as possible and put pressure on city authorities to crack down against Sutton and his thugs.

While DATA's main demand for a special grand jury investigation into these terrorist actions and the Legion's role in them has not been met, the committee did succeed in motivating the Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI) to conduct its own investigation of the Legion. (IVI is an independent, liberal organization; it found connections between the Legion and a number of criminal acts, and its findings received wide media coverage.) The IVI investigation, along with other publicity, compelled the city government and the state's attorney's office to get grand jury indictments against Stewart.

The current trial presented a stark contrast to the vehemence with which the antiwar defendants in the Chicago Seven frame-up trials were prosecuted by the government and to the energetic

ic frame-up prosecutions of Black Panthers and other nationalists or radicals.

SWP members Lynn Henderson, Kim Allen and John Studer, as well as this reporter, were called by the prosecution to testify that Stewart had been told he would not be allowed to enter the SWP's offices, and that he therefore had no legal access to the headquarters. Chicago police witnesses testified that fingerprints taken from the cash box on the morning of the attack were those of Stewart, and they described the condition of the vandalized offices.

Sutton, acting as Stewart's attorney, relied on slander and red-baiting of the SWP to discredit the testimony of SWP witnesses. Stewart testified that he had discussed with Lynn Henderson the SWP's bombing of buildings and killing of police officers. When his account of these discussions was challenged under cross-examination, Stewart finally admitted not being able to remember any discussions with SWP members about such terrorist activity.

But for the most part, the prosecutor declined to challenge red-baiting smears of the SWP made by Sutton and Stewart.

Assistant state's attorney James Boback summarized the prosecution's case by saying that whether or not the jury agreed with the politics of the SWP, the "stormtrooper tactics" of

Stewart must not be tolerated.

Aside from the distortion and misrepresentation of the SWP as a terrorist organization, the defense case crumbled during the trial. Stewart, for example, asserted that his fingerprints had been put on the cash box in January 1970, when he put his money in after purchasing some pamphlets. Boback pointed out in his cross-examination of Stewart that in January 1970, the offices were under construction, were not open to the public and contained neither books nor the cash box.

Despite the evidence against him and his inability to present a plausible defense, Stewart was found "not guilty" by the jury. This can only be seen as the result of the indifference with which the state prosecuted the case, including the failure to allow for a refutation of the red-baiting smears used by the defense and its lax attitude in preparing the case against Stewart.

DATA is redoubling its efforts to create the pressure necessary for a vigorous prosecution of the charges still pending against Stewart and for further police action against the Legion for a whole range of other criminal acts of violence. For more information or to make financial contributions, write to Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks, Box 11660, Chicago, Ill. 60611.



Reactionary Legion of Justice attorney S. Thomas Sutton (center) leading a gang of his goons in a "March for America" in November 1969.

Setback to Chicano students in San Diego

By JESSE SMITH

SAN DIEGO, June 8—The Chicano student movement suffered a setback when Chicano students at San Diego State College lost a fight to control the Chicano studies program and the struggle to retain a popular Chicano studies professor.

Richard Garcia, Chicano activist and a revolutionary socialist, had been teaching political science in the Chicano studies department at SDSC since last September. In recent weeks, he came under attack by Chicano studies administrators and several faculty members for playing a major role in supporting an attempt by Chicano students to take control of the Chicano studies department.

The Chicano studies department and the various U.S. government and foundation-funded programs connected with it (collectively known as Centro de Estudios Chicanos—Center of Chicano Studies) are administered by a central board known as the Junta Directiva (Board of Directors).

Although in theory students have the major voice in decision-making, in practice, decisions have been determined by Chicano administrators and faculty members. Student representa-

tives were given less than half the seats on the Junta. The campaign for student control focused on efforts to have all administrative decisions of the Junta submitted to MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil de Chicanos de Aztlan—Chicano Student Movement of Aztlan), the Chicano student organization.

Student activists also raised the issue of who should control the hiring and firing of faculty members and salaried administrators of the various Chicano programs on the campus.

During the spring semester, the demands for more student control gained wider and wider support within MECHA, and the Junta began to grant a few concessions. On May 4, the Junta formally declared that MECHA was the ultimate authority over all Chicano programs on the campus. Subsequently, on Garcia's initiative, it referred some of its decisions to MECHA for final ratification. Under pressure from the students, the Junta unanimously passed a resolution on May 25 changing its own composition to include 10 students and four representatives from the community.

The administrators and faculty who

really didn't support this resolution and opposed student control intervened in a MECHA meeting May 27. They declared student control to be unnecessary and divisive since all Chicanos are equal, thus arguing against their own resolution.

In an attempt to divert the issue from student control, the opponents of student control resorted to red-baiting tactics, accusing Garcia of being divisive and having "Anglo ideas." They also charged that the issue was merely a personality conflict, which should be decided by physical combat!

In this atmosphere of demagoguery and threats of physical violence, the students retreated from asserting their control over the Junta.

Previous to this meeting, these administrators and faculty members had initiated red-baiting and name-calling tactics against Garcia. Garcia charges that at an emergency meeting of faculty and administrators May 19, called to discuss the student control controversy, a faculty member and two administrators threatened him with physical reprisals for his support of the student demand that the sources and allocations of funds coming to

the Chicano programs on campus be made public.

This was a key demand because large sums of money from capitalist foundations or government sources go through the programs, with the Chicano administrators drawing large salaries and deciding on the allocation of funds. Though many of these administrators began as nationalist militants fighting for Chicano studies, their current status tends to set them apart from the students and in opposition to student demands for democratically run Chicano programs.

The Junta, at its May 25 meeting, voted down a resolution introduced by Garcia condemning the use of violence in the movement to settle political differences. They also passed a resolution barring Garcia from discussing the matter of physical violence at his classes and at the next MECHA meeting.

The stage was set for a showdown between the students and the Junta leadership when it became generally known that the opponents of the student control effort were moving to deny his teaching job for next year.

The move was countered when stu-

Continued on page 21

Cold facts

Government statistics for the month of May show another rise in the officially admitted rate of unemployment--6.2 percent overall unemployment, 10.5 percent for Blacks. The total number of unemployed was given as 4.4 million. The sharpest increase was for women aged 20-24, 11.5 percent of whom are now unemployed--the highest number in more than 10 years. May statistics also registered a significant rise in long-term unemployment. There are now close to two million persons who have been out of work for 15 weeks or more.

As always, the unemployment totals do not include those who have given up hope of finding work and stopped looking. According to some experts, if such uncounted unemployed are taken into account, plus those who have accepted part-time work only because they cannot find full-time employment, an accurate unemployment figure would be closer to 10 percent.

At the same time, the war-induced inflation is still pushing prices up. The wholesale industrial price index for May rose by 0.4 percent, the equivalent of an annual rate of 4.8 percent. Increases in the wholesale price index show up in higher prices for food, clothing and other consumer goods in subsequent months. Already, the real purchasing power of the typical worker is 1.9 percent less than in September 1968, according to official statistics.

Particularly hard hit by unemployment have been the oppressed national minorities; youth, even including college graduates; and the veterans returning from Vietnam.

Official figures indicate that unemployment for "non-white" youth, 16-19 years of age, is almost 33 percent. Unemployment for white youth 16-19 runs close to 20 percent. But a Labor Department study of unemployment in the 100 largest cities revealed that in the most depressed areas, unemployment among Black teen-agers averaged 44.9 percent. Such figures simply help document what lies behind the pent-up anger of the ghettos, which government officials fear may explode during the long, hot summer to come.

Since early 1970, the gap between employment for vets and non-vets of the same age bracket has been widening. Today, 10 percent of all vets between 20 and 29 are unemployed (as opposed to 8.4 percent of non-vets in the same age range), while over 15 percent of all Black veterans in that category are unable to find work. For those vets under 24 the situation is even worse.

Students graduating from colleges and universities this spring, or even seeking summer employment, are finding the openings extremely slim. The College Cooperative Registry Service, for example, reports only 29 openings for the 539 Ph.D.'s in history graduating this year. It reports 10 openings for the 476 new Ph.D.'s in chemistry.

All these cold statistics translate into misery, hunger and insecurity for millions and millions of Americans, a majority of them young and Black. And as the rulers try to push through measures to force American workers and oppressed national minorities to pay the costs of the war in Vietnam, the anger, resentment and resistance will express themselves more forcefully.

Intead of mickey-mouse measures which are hopelessly inadequate to make even a dent in the rising unemployment or meet the needs of millions unable to find work, Congress should immediately enact legislation providing full compensation at union wages for all unemployed, for the entire period of unemployment, and regardless of whether a person has previously been employed or not.

To combat inflation and unemployment the unions should fight for contracts which guarantee that wages will be automatically adjusted upward to keep pace with any increases in consumer prices. And when unemployment threatens, the length of the workweek should be reduced for everyone, with no reduction in pay, thereby spreading the work equally among all rather than some being thrown out of work altogether.

Instead of budget cuts and firings, the government should provide hundreds of thousands of new jobs at union wages by immediately initiating a massive program to build the hospitals, schools, child-care centers, parks, public transportation facilities, and low-cost housing so desperately needed.

To pay for these and other programs, we need only take the billions of dollars now spent to staff, train, equip and maintain the largest imperialist army in the world, putting an immediate end to the most detested war in U.S. history.

Such measures could begin to provide a real answer to the problem of unemployment in the U.S. today.

Antiwar coverage

The coverage of the April 24th demonstration and other antiwar activities was indeed excellent. Always much information of importance.

Opposing, I wish to say it would be better not to criticize other sincere antiwar publications, as we need unity of all at this most important point in history. If the present peace forces hold together, and gain in strength, there is some hope of stopping the madmen in the Establishment from continuing their present policy.

P. E. R.

Lancaster, Calif.

Demonstrations 'irrelevant'

Your entire coverage of the April 24, Mayday, May 5 "antiwar demonstrations" has been pitiful. Doug Jenness has obviously lost contact with the young revolutionaries who will struggle in the coming revolution.

The Militant glorifies giant pot parties in D. C. and San Francisco on April 24 and puts down the smaller more revolutionary struggles during the Maydays. Both of these demonstrations are irrelevant to hungry poor people. They are irrelevant while factories are boring, unsafe, and profit-oriented. They aren't changing antiquated American educational processes. They aren't providing food, shelter, clothing, jobs or pride for the 30 million Americans trapped in poverty or the billions of brothers and sisters in the rest of the world.

I can't understand how militants could be interested in Senator Vance Hartke or a notorious bourgeois trade unionist or any of the other supporters of the expensive, opiating antiwar demonstrations. It is insane and counterrevolutionary to waste time and talent on the absurd demonstrations that don't expose corporations, unions, universities and other institutions of racism, capitalism and repression. *The Militant* could better spend its time reporting the findings of Nader's raiders or the NWRO or the NTO. The community organizing in Alabama to demand basic human rights for poor people is so much more revolutionary than the demonstrations that don't accomplish anything more than writing to Strom Thurmond or Hubert Humphrey would have.

Your appeal for Black and other Third World people will not be heard as long as women's lib and gay lib are more important than human lib. You have got to be pretty damn bourgeois to care about sexual liberation. You can't sell that to a woman who breaks her back across town and then comes home to an environment we should call colonization.

I'm sure you won't print this letter but I thought you might be interested in hearing another point of view. It is frustrating to try and work for the end of poverty, which is a fairly radical thing to try to do, and then see "militant" and "revolutionary" and "socialist" so abused by a newspaper which is very far away from the lower stratum of American life.

Robert K. Whitney
Miami, Fla.

Size of April 24 action

The "Talk of the Town" column in the May 8 issue of *The New Yorker* carried a very perceptive item on the size of the April 24 Washington demonstration that I'm sure will ring true to those who participated.

"Strangely, after so many decades of trying to assess the weight of a public event by counting the number of people who attend it, nobody has figured a way of accurately gauging the size of a crowd. . . . This country can photograph a piece of paper from an orbiting satellite, listen to conversations through walls, see enemy soldiers in the dark with infrared devices, and monitor the phone conversations of thousands of suspicious characters all over the country, but it can't figure out how many people attended a planned demonstration on a sunny spring day in the national capital. . . .

"We went to Washington, too, and tried to put together a picture of the crowd's size in our own way. We also failed completely. First, we tried walking from the back of the crowd to the front. We walked for about an hour in the middle of a steady flood of people heading down Pennsylvania Avenue toward the speakers' stand, but the crowd jammed up before we could get within earshot; in fact, most of the people who went to Washington that day never got within earshot of the speakers.

"Then we escaped sidewise; took a long cab ride around its vague edges, which extended into the side streets of Washington; got off somewhere near the front of the crowd; and tried to walk to the back. After an hour or so, we gave up in exhaustion. And it was just as well we did, because we learned later that the crowd was backed up in buses and cars almost all the way to Baltimore. . . .

"One friend of ours set off at four in the morning in a chartered bus from New York City, and the bus got stuck 40 miles outside Washington at 11 o'clock and had to head back to New York at four in the afternoon, after the would-be demonstrators had had a picnic on the highway.

"The words 'crowd' and 'demonstration' only begin to suggest the mass of people that moved in on Washington on April 24. . . . There was no point from which the whole gathering could be seen at one time. There was no single moment when its elements were all gathered together. To a participant, it was inapprehensibly huge. There was no way to grasp its size. Humanly speaking, it was measureless."

J. M.

New York

Australians support Davis

We would like to inform you of activity in Australia concerning the campaign to free Angela Davis and other political prisoners held in the U. S.

On International Women's Day, 1971, five women communists issued a mass distribution leaflet about the frame-up of Angela Davis. The response to this leaflet led to the formation of a committee which agreed to work for the freedom of Angela Davis and all other political prisoners.

This committee has issued material to the press and received good coverage in a national daily, several weekly journals, and the student press. When one of the women who originated the leaflet raised the question in the Union of Australian Women (Queensland Branch) it was agreed to (a) hold a demonstration and deputation to the U. S. Consul in Brisbane (this received good media coverage); and (b) to produce a card suitable for mailing to Angela Davis. This card is being dis-

The Great Society

tributed via our committee and directly by the UAW in Brisbane.

Already antiwar groups and trade unions are circulating the cards. Hundreds have been posted to Angela.

Perhaps the most interesting response in Australia to date was that of the Federal Conference of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, held at Easter. This conference of Australians who themselves suffer persecution decided to protest the treatment of Angela Davis by U. S. authorities.

We will keep you informed of other actions we will take.

Sydney Committee to Free Angela Davis

c/o Mrs. K. Buckley

143 Goodlet St.

Surry Hills, 2010, Australia

More on Sweetback

In the June 11 *Militant*, Sister Maxine Williams wrote a letter attacking my review of the film *Sweetback's Baadasssss Song*. She said that the film was derogatory in relating to the image of Black women, showing them as "either whores or washed out old women." Sister Williams ended up by calling the film nauseating.

But as I thought about her letter, about the numerous arguments and debates engendered by the film, I became more intoxicated and ecstatic about the monument that is *Sweetback*.

Seeing the film is akin to reading the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*. Melvin Van Peebles spares nothing. He doesn't attempt to glorify, stereotype, prettify, or romanticize the condition of the African-American woman and man. He just let's it all hang out.

You see, I think Van Peebles does exactly what Sister Williams attacks him for not doing. That is, Brother Van Peebles exposes the racist, sexist, and exploitative nature of capitalist society through the characters in the film. *Sweetback*, the sisters, and sex between the Black man and woman become commodities, things to be bought and sold.

All of the sisters in the film, from the one who seduces young *Sweetback*, to the one who berates the cops in no uncertain terms, to the older sister sitting in the rocking chair recalling how her sons were ripped off by the Man, are indictments of capitalist society. And because of the magnitude and profoundness of those indictments, bourgeois public opinion ran decidedly against the film.

In fact, contrary to Sister Williams' charge that the film degrades Black women, it shows us the depth of the wells from whence will spring the revolutionary nationalist, feminist, and socialist consciousness of Black women.

Derrick Morrison
New York, N. Y.

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

Ah, those Yankee traders—Manufacturers of products recently swept off U. S. shelves as unsafe are recovering nicely by peddling the stuff abroad. Cyclamate-laced pop is doing well around the world, and Europe is proving a healthy market for the antibiotic cloromycetin, which is being offered as a sure cure for ailments ranging from measles and chicken pox to gonorrhea. Which it may sometimes be, since it occasionally leads to fatal blood diseases.

No messin' around—A reader asked the Vatican weekly *L'Osservatore della Domenica* if it was OK for a priest to cultivate a "pure and honest sentimental relationship" with a woman. The answer was an unambiguous "No." Such a relationship, the magazine explained to the unworldly reader, "even if . . . in a pure state, already has in itself a hint of sex." The risk is always there, it was noted, and the relationship could turn passionate "at the most unpredictable moment."

Social scientist—Robert Brokaw is an enthusiastic salesman of the allegedly nonlethal Stun-Gun now being used by cops for crowd control. The gun fires a three-inch beanbag at a speed of 200 feet per second. Says salesman Brokaw: "You cannot build a nonlethal weapon that won't permanently injure or kill someone under certain circumstances. But, if used properly, it's a highly socially responsible weapon."

Keeping it clean—Judith Martin of the *Washington Post* suspects the White House barred her from covering Tricia Nixon's wedding because when Miss Nixon conducted a televised tour of the White House, Martin wrote the following: "She might have seemed rather refreshing if she hadn't overplayed it by looking a bit like a waxen Debby Reynolds doll, all wrapped up for Mother's Day in a white lace dress with pastel ribbon sashes. A 24-year-old woman dressed like an

ice cream cone can give even neatness and cleanliness a bad name."

New sports entry—Now that they've given local dissidents the bloodbath treatment, the Indonesian dictatorship is reported considering improved relations with China. Foreign Minister Adam Malik suggested it might be good for Indonesia to send one of its athletes, a world champion badminton player, to China.

Sensitive sentinel—Reporters scoffed when Detroit police staged a mock holdup of a service station to demonstrate a new alarm system, the Silent Sentinel. With one cop acting as attendant, another played the role of robber. Taking the bread, he drove slowly away. When police failed to show, he diminished his speed even more, finally waiting at a curbside until the law appeared. What the laughing reporters didn't get is that the Silent Sentinel knew it was a cop pulling the job.

—HARRY RING

The National Picket Line

The disregard of health standards by both industry and government—which usually act in collusion on these and other matters—was exposed by officials of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (AFL-CIO) at a Washington, D. C., news conference June 2.

Workers at the Moundsville, W. Va., chlorine plant of the Allied Chemical Corporation in May 1970, complained that the plant was a health hazard.

The Department of Labor finally got around to investigating and discovered concentrations of mercury vapor that presented "the substantial probability that death or serious physical harm could result."

A public relations man for the company was quoted in the June 3 *New York Times* as claiming, "We have never had a case of mercury poisoning diagnosed in our plant."

Dr. Sidney M. Wolfe Jr., hired by the union, found that tests conducted by the company were highly unsatisfactory, that some workers were subject to at least three and a half times the safe limit of chlorine exposure, and that 34 workers interviewed show symptoms of mercury poisoning.

The union demanded that the plant be closed until safe working conditions prevail.

The Labor Department investigation failed to note the danger of chlorine. Ignoring the union demand that the plant be closed, the Labor Department simply warned Allied Chemical that a \$1,000 safety violation penalty will be levied against it unless it corrects the danger of mercury vapor.

The company denies violation of any law.

Meanwhile the plant will continue operations until the workers whose lives are endangered walk out or are carried out.

The U. S. Supreme Court handed down a 5-4 decision on June 1 against the United Transportation Union (AFL-CIO) and in favor of the railroad companies. The decision interpreted the 1926 Railway Labor Act to allow federal judges to issue antistrike injunctions if, in their opinion, a union has failed to make "every reasonable effort" to settle without striking.

This ruling also further restricts the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act of 1932, a process begun by other recent Supreme Court decisions.

The issue in dispute in this latest decision was between the UTU and the Chicago & Northwestern Railway over the size of train crews. Two brakemen are needed and traditionally have been part of every train crew. But in 1965 the Chicago & Northwestern decided to operate with only one. The union objected.

For six years the union has been negotiating. The dispute has gone through all the stages of negotiation prescribed by the Railway Labor Act and was taken to the courts by the carrier, which sought an injunction to prevent a strike.

Even the majority opinion concedes that the court decision "could provide a cover for free-wheeling judicial interference in labor relations."

Justice John M. Harlan, who wrote the majority opinion, concluded with the following observation for further delay: "If we have misinterpreted the Congressional purpose (of the Railway Labor Act), Congress can remedy the situation by speaking more clearly."

This is in the tradition of government intervention against railroad workers and for the railroad companies.



'I'm an unemployed electronic nuclear digital data computer micro-systems engineer, and if I say that hot dog is done, lady—it's done.'

Another roadblock has been put in the way of the rail unions. Congress is preparing more.

The unions can remedy this situation by speaking more clearly—and acting more decisively—in defense of their right to strike.

The automated communications systems developed by Western Union have thrown thousands out of work, all but eliminated the old telegram delivery service, and put the monopoly corporation in a position to declare a virtual lockout against the unions that are demanding a wage increase and job security.

The Communications Workers of America (AFL-CIO) and the United Telegraph Workers Union were forced to strike Western Union June 1 when the company broke off negotiations. The two unions represent 20,000 operators, repairmen and maintenance workers. CWA represents 3,000 in New York City and northern New Jersey. The other 17,000 are members of UTWU.

Average wages are \$3.47 per hour. The company offered a 16 percent increase over two years, raising the average pay to about \$4 in 1973. The promise of an additional 4 percent was held out, contingent upon Federal Communications Commission approval of a request by the company for higher rates.

Neither union is asking for a cost-of-living allowance in its wage demands, nor for shorter hours to stop layoffs.

All workers answered the strike call and established militant picket lines. Western Union has refused to budge, announced plans to continue its automated communications systems with supervisory personnel, and urged the public to call in "mailgrams," which they say will be delivered by the U. S. Postal Service.

—FRANK LOVELL

Jose Yglesias joins defense of Cuban poet

Jose Yglesias is a prominent American intellectual and writer who has publicly defended and supported the Cuban revolution for many years. His works include *In the Fist of the Revolution: Life in a Cuban Country Town*, and *Down There*. The following report on an article by Yglesias on the case of Heberto Padilla appeared in the June 7 *Intercontinental Press*.

Novelist José Yglesias, writing in the June 3 *New York Review of Books*, has joined other prominent defenders of the Cuban revolution in condemning the imprisonment and "confession" of the poet Heberto Padilla.

"... there is more to be said about Padilla's confessions than that they are false," Yglesias wrote. "One must ask if the faults to which he confessed are the charge for which he was imprisoned. Are these crimes? Is not writing often an act of egoism which is accompanied by the desire to be published abroad? Even if his confessions were true—and they are patently false—Padilla had a right to his views and to impart them to whomever he wished. The revolution does not prosecute the counterrevolutionaries living in Cuba who are not shy about complaining to foreigners. . . . Does it need to be said to the Cuban leaders that a socialist society particularly needs to encourage criticism and open discussion?"

Yglesias chronicles the gradual shift in the attitude of the Cuban leadership from the encouragement of free expression in the early years of the revolution to the Padilla case, in which supporters of the revolution have been compelled to protest "the contempt for human dignity" exhibited in the treatment of the poet.*

In 1965, for example, Fidel Castro told the U. S. journalist Lee Lockwood:

"I especially am a partisan of the widest possible discussion in the intellectual realm. . . . I believe that ideas must be able to defend themselves. I am opposed to the blacklist of books, prohibited films, and all such things."

In 1968, Padilla was awarded the national prize for poetry over the protests of the Union of Artists and Writers (UNEAC).

"I was in Cuba at the time," Yglesias wrote, "and the most pessimistic of the Cubans I talked to expected that Padilla's book would not be published and that he would be sent to a work farm for rehabilitation. Neither happened; the book was published, with an introduction condemning it as counterrevolutionary by the Executive Committee of UNEAC, and Padilla was not arrested. He was without a job for a long time, however, and it was not until about a year ago, when

he appealed directly to Fidel, that he was given one at the University of Havana."

The UNEAC statement, he added, was ". . . impervious to literary irony, deaf to poetry, and quick to quote out of context lines that any reader could see were prorevolutionary."

Castro's present position contrasts remarkably with his earlier remarks to Lockwood. Yglesias commented on Castro's April 30 speech to the First National Congress on Education and Culture, in which the prime minister attacked "brazen pseudoleftists" in an apparent reference to the signers of an April protest against Padilla's arrest:

"It would have been interesting if Fidel had said to those young educators he was addressing at the congress that he was referring to, among others, Sartre and de Beauvoir and to the four major Latin American novelists, Julio Cortázar, Gabriel Garcia Márquez, Carlos Fuentes, and Maria Vargas Llosa, whose works have made the face of that continent visible throughout the world. And, closer to home, that one signatory of the letter was Carlos Franqui, who as organizer of the clandestine press for the 26 of July Movement ran risks as great as the fighters in the Sierra Maestra faced, and who at the moment finds himself in Rome."

Yglesias considers the pressure exerted by the Soviet bureaucrats as one cause of the shift in the Cuban leadership's position:

"The Cuban people are both the means and measure of socialism's success. This is something the Cuban revolutionary leaders know, but after so many reverses—not all of their own making—the leaders may have their doubts. And so they cling now to the Soviet Union and its ways because that seems a less chancy road out of their troubles. Or because the pressure from the USSR that Anibal Escalante so much favored has been really applied at last. It was not always so. The Cuban people may still find a way of making their own leaders recant."

This attitude of the leadership, Yglesias added, will not solve any of the problems of the revolution:

"The battle that the Soviet-oriented Cuban leaders—and they now seem to include Fidel—have recurrently fought with the Cuban intellectuals is a false one. It is a substitute for, a distraction from, a more difficult battle—to solve the nation's economic problems. It is false too because the leaders try to believe that the recalcitrant artists are one thing and the people another. But if you silence one group it is very likely that you are not listening to the other."

New books expose Mexican repression

From *Intercontinental Press*
By RICARDO OCHOA

MEXICO CITY—In the intellectual community, President Echeverría's anti-Communist campaign has won no support. Under the impact of the 1968 events, this sector has shifted strongly to the left and has accepted the lead of the student movement.

Since intellectuals make up a considerable part of the book-buying public, the large sales and influence of a number of books dealing with the 1968 movement and its repression indicate the prevailing opinion in these circles.

In particular, two books published in March have already found an extensive audience and had a strong effect on the attitudes of the intellectuals—*Los días y los años* [Days and Years] by Luis González de Alba; and *La noche de Tlatelolco* [The Night in Tlatelolco] by Elena Poniatowska.

These two works were the first—except for the speeches of three political prisoners published by the Mexican Trotskyist magazine *La Internacional*—to popularize the basic ideas of the 1968 movement on a mass scale and expose the government's brutal repression. After appearing in *La Internacional*, the court speeches of Raúl Alvarez, José Revueltas, and Eduardo Valle were collected in a pamphlet entitled *Tiempo de Hablar* [Time To Speak Out], 15,000 copies of which have been sold, an extraordinary figure by Mexican standards.

La noche de Tlatelolco is going into its fifth edition, with 20,000 copies published; and *Los días y los años* has gone into its second, with 8,000 copies published.

Another work should be mentioned here, although its purely legal format restricted its circulation. The book *Los procesos de México 68—Acusaciones y defensa* [The Trials of Mexico '68—Accusations and Defense] contains a voluminous documentation of the trials of those jailed for their involvement with the student movement. It clearly exposes the feebleness and absurdity of the government's claim that the 1968 movement was "organized" through Prague (by the International Union of Students) and through Havana (by the OLAS).

González de Alba's *Los días y los años* is a fictionalized essay on the 1968 events written from the standpoint of a chief of the CNH [Consejo

Nacional de Huelga—National Strike Council], the leading body of the student movement. This book is the most important of all, because it expresses the character of the independent vanguard who built and led the 1968 movement and lost their lives or their liberty for its sake.

The honesty and discernment of this magnificently written book make it outstanding in contemporary political literature.

The narrative is enlivened by descriptions of CNH assemblies, demonstrations, the meetings of CNH representatives with government envoys, and of the Tlatelolco massacre, which is the real climax of the book. But the unifying theme is the emerging picture of the formation and maturing of a new vanguard, a vanguard that clashed violently with the Communist party bureaucrats and subjected them to criticisms as harsh as the revolutionary Marxist critiques originated by Trotsky.

Although the book *La noche de Tlatelolco* by the journalist Poniatowska is less important from the political standpoint, it has all the qualities needed to make an impact. It is certainly the best seller of the year, if not a number of years.

The book is a compelling montage, a "collective testimony" about the student movement, and especially about the atrocities of October 1-2. The statements of students, workers, fathers and mothers, professors, clerks, soldiers, politicians, and the press in those days make up a deeply moving and powerful composite.

La noche de Tlatelolco is a book that records the collective voice of the movement. It is a book of realization, of insight. Such a book is a prerequisite for a theoretical, political work to focus the indignation it expresses.

These two books by Poniatowska and González de Alba have been compared with similar documents in other countries. In the April 7 issue of *Siempre*, Castillo likened them to Sartre's prologue to Henri Alleg's book *La Question*, which testified to the practices of the French command in the Algerian war.

He added at once, however: "The Mexican books in great demand at the bookstores tell a much more sordid, much more horrifying story; they highlight brutal facts engraved in the memory of millions of Mexicans."



Mass demonstration in Mexico City during student protests in fall of 1968.

By DAVID THORSTAD

"The civil rights movement in the North brought about a strong conscious feeling among ordinary people throughout Ireland," Sean O'Cionnaith, a leader of the republican movement in Ireland recently told *The Militant*. O'Cionnaith is a joint general secretary of Sinn Fein, the political arm of the republican movement. He was in the United States to speak to the Irish Republican Clubs that are being established to carry out actions in solidarity with the struggle in Ireland.

One of the effects of the civil rights struggle in Northern Ireland has been to boost the morale and combativity of Irish people in both parts of the country. "From the civil rights struggle in the six counties of the North, sections of the ordinary Irish people have come to realize that they have great power in organized groups," O'Cionnaith said. "The young people in particular have come to realize that there is power in an organized group if they are demanding something which they are entitled to and if they fight hard enough. The civil rights struggle in the North has taught them this and that people throughout the world are willing to listen and give support and solidarity." It taught them that something was "drastically wrong" with the system, not only in the North, but throughout the whole country.

Another by-product of the civil rights struggle has been to strengthen the republican movement, consisting of Sinn Fein, as its political wing, and the military wing, the Irish Republican Army. The heightened activity which has resulted from the growth of the republican forces and the increased political consciousness of the Irish people is evident in the variety of campaigns the republican movement is involved in in both parts of Ireland. It was on these campaigns that most of our discussion centered.

One of the most important issues in Ireland today, O'Cionnaith said, is whether or not the country enters the Common Market. The IRA and Sinn Fein oppose entry into the Common Market "because we believe it will insure that domination will come not just from Westminster but from Brussels." Not only would Ireland in all probability be forced to join if England did, but the partition of Ireland into North and South would become permanent, since the Treaty of Rome, which founded the Common Market, guarantees all existing boundaries. Entry into the Common Market would bring about "the destruction of the Irish nation culturally, economically, and in every other way." It would do this with huge increases in prices, by bringing non-nationals into Ireland who would "buy up more of the Irish people's land," by directing the exodus of Irish workers no longer just to England but also to Germany, Belgium and France, and by driving the small farmers along Ireland's west coast off the land.

For the 26 counties to enter the Common Market, passage of a referendum to change the constitution will be necessary. Anti-Market forces hope to defeat any such move by rallying opposition among trade-union, cultural, political, and religious groups.

Fish-ins

One campaign which continues to draw many people into action applies a technique developed in the United States. This is the fish-in campaign. "I think it's run on the same lines as the fish-ins the Indians had here in America, in the state of Washington. Those fish-ins gave us some inspiration." The reason for the fish-ins is that the rivers in Ireland are privately owned by absentee landlords. Before the fish-ins began, people could be jailed as poachers simply for fishing in these rivers.

The fish-in movement is demanding that the rivers and lakes be run on a cooperative basis and that they be taken away from the present landlords without compensation. "If there is any compensation," O'Cionnaith explained, "we say it is due to the Irish people for the fact that these people had our natural resources for so long."

One such privately owned river in Galway City is owned by an English businessman who bought it in 1952 for around 30,000 pounds. This businessman has been the object of republican agitation. "About six months ago, he offered to sell it to us for around 50,000 pounds," said O'Cionnaith. "But we're not buying any river. We just want it to be taken away from him. You know, it's hard to get it into rich people's heads that you want to take from them what they took from you. They didn't give you compensation, and you're not going to give them compensation."

In the cities, the republican movement has been very much involved in housing struggles. In Dublin, O'Cionnaith estimated that there were 10,000 families without adequate housing. He called housing conditions there "atrocious" and said they were "similar to areas that I've seen in Spanish sections of Brooklyn." Before the republicans became in-

involved, the morale of the people had been worn way down. "They were tired of going to their members of parliament, they were tired of charitable organizations coming and taking up surveys; they wanted action and they were afraid to take it themselves because they were poor people."

Today the republicans are actively aiding the tenants, whether it be with legal advice, or with technical know-how such as printing up leaflets, or even if it is to "supply the paint to daub the landlord's houses."

One of the more recent struggles to arise in Ireland, and one in which the republican movement takes an active part, is the movement for women's liberation. Many republican women play leading roles in the movement. "The women's liberation movement started in Ireland about six months to a year ago," O'Cionnaith reported. "Its main demand is a very strong one: One family, one house."

Electoral policy

The recent convention of Sinn Fein in January of this year adopted a rather important change in the electoral policies of the organization: It voted to run candidates who, if elected, would take their seats in parliament, thus abandoning its previous abstentionist policy. The main goal

International solidarity

The Irish republican movement also takes an active part in solidarity demonstrations with struggles abroad. Two months ago, for instance, seven of its members, including O'Cionnaith, were among a dozen activists arrested outside the American Embassy in Dublin while demonstrating in solidarity with the Vietnam veterans' protest in Washington, D.C. "Our trial comes up on June 13," he said, "and we can get six months for showing solidarity with the veterans and be fined 100 pounds."

"We're involved too in giving support to the Welsh people," O'Cionnaith went on. "They have been demanding that Welsh be the official language in Welsh-speaking areas. They've been taking down signposts and throwing them into the sea or presenting them to the police station, and many of them are in English jails. As Celts, we give support as much as possible to Celtic people, because if they can organize resistance to English imperialism, it will also help with the Irish struggle."

In all of its campaigns, the republican movement is aided by the university republican clubs that exist in all of the universities in Ireland. "Their job is to run debates, sell the *United Irishman*, take part in street demonstrations for better housing, better conditions for students and for

Interview with an Irish republican



New York demonstration in solidarity with civil rights struggle in Northern Ireland held outside BOAC offices July 3, 1970. Another protest on June 19 will demand release of Irish political prisoners.

of this change, O'Cionnaith said, is "to extend our agitational activities into parliament." This will be done by running candidates who speak for specific struggles, such as representatives of the struggle to strengthen the Irish language and culture in the Gaeltacht areas; or homeless candidates in Dublin; and so on. If Sinn Fein's candidates win, they will operate in the same way as Bernadette Devlin, "agitating on the streets, throwing rocks behind the barricades in Bogside, going to Westminster and fighting it out on the floor of parliament, agitating both within and without."

Among the other campaigns the republican movement is helping to organize are those to defend the Irish language, to obtain jobs for the unemployed, to secure the release of Irish political prisoners in England, to fight for the destruction of large estates and run them on a cooperative basis, and to "highlight oppression or atrocities being committed at present in Belfast by the British Army against Irish working people, irrespective of their religion." English troops, he explained, have "shot at and jailed and beaten up" people on Shankill Road, a Protestant working-class area, as well as Catholics in the Falls Road area.

the working class." Many of these students remain in the republican movement after leaving the campus.

The strategy of the Irish republican movement, O'Cionnaith explained, is to "insure that all of the agitations on a local and national level are all knitted together for a national revolution in Ireland." While he acknowledged that this "may take time," he said the time was past when the IRA and Sinn Fein were "plowing a lonely furrow for national independence." Today, he said, people who want to do something to eliminate their problems are coming more and more to accept the republican movement. "They want us to help them, and we want them to help us, because their help and our help together will go someplace."

The first public protest of the newly formed Irish Republican Clubs in the United States will be on June 19 outside the BOAC offices at 530 Fifth Avenue. Its purpose will be to demand the release of Irish political prisoners in English jails. For further information on this demonstration or on the republican movement, write to New York Irish Republican Clubs, P. O. Box 336, Jerome Avenue Station, Bronx, N.Y. 10468. Tel: (212) 546-9641.

Progress in the struggle against abortion laws

By KIPP DAWSON

Every state in the United States has laws on the books limiting or denying altogether a woman's right to abort an unwanted pregnancy. And every day countless women face the terror and the frequently deadly consequences of illegal abortions.

Under the pressure of the burgeoning women's struggle for the right to abortion, legislatures and courts around the country have recently had to reconsider, and in some cases modify, these statutes.

Most state abortion laws have been on the books since the 1850s. They vary widely in their provisions and in their prescribed punishments. In 31 states, abortion is legal only when the pregnant woman's life is judged to be endangered by the pregnancy or by the prospect of giving birth. In other states, laws permit abortion under one or more specified circumstances, including pregnancy resulting from rape or incest, danger to the physical or mental health of the pregnant woman, and the possibility of fetal deformation.

During the last four years, legislatures in 15 states have liberalized their laws, 10 of them acting in 1969 and 1970 alone. The most far-reaching of these liberalizations to date has been in New York where a 1970 law, passed almost simultaneously with the state's first massive women's abortion demonstration, removed nearly all restrictions against legal abortion. However, in New York City, and in several other areas in New York State, city and county governments have passed regulations limiting abortions to hospital facilities. Since these governments have taken no steps to expand the grossly inadequate hospital facilities, their action severely limits the availability of abortion, and raises its cost substantially.

In several states women and supporters of women's right to abortion have taken cases to the courts in an effort to have the abortion laws declared unconstitutional. One of the most recent of these suits, *Women v. Connecticut*, currently has more than 1,500 plaintiffs.

Such court cases are presently underway in 23 states. Two of them are scheduled to be heard by the U. S. Supreme Court this fall.

So far the courts have differed widely in their response to the constitutional challenges.

Most suits have challenged the laws on legalistic grounds, especially on the grounds of unconstitutionality. These suits challenge the laws that deny a woman the right to abortion unless it is "necessary to preserve the life" and/or health and/or mental health of the mother. In 10 of the major lower court rulings on the vagueness question since 1969, seven of the courts generally agreed with the decision of the pace-setting case on this question, *People v. Belous* (California, 1969). There the U. S. District Court concluded that the term "necessary to preserve" is unconstitutionally vague.

Other questions, such as violation of the cruel and unusual punishment or due process provisions of the Constitution, have also been raised in court challenges.

There have been a number of suits that raise the more basic question that the antiabortion laws violate women's right to decide what happens to their own bodies, and deny women equal protection of the law (permitting wealthy women to obtain abortions while poor women cannot).

These challenges have been based on the rights guaranteed by the Ninth and Fourteenth Amendments.

The lower courts have been almost equally divided on these questions. Three courts in California, as well as courts in Wisconsin and South Dakota, have found that abortion laws violate women's constitutional right to privacy, while courts in Texas, North Carolina, Louisiana and Ohio have found that they do not. Two California courts have ruled that abortion laws violate

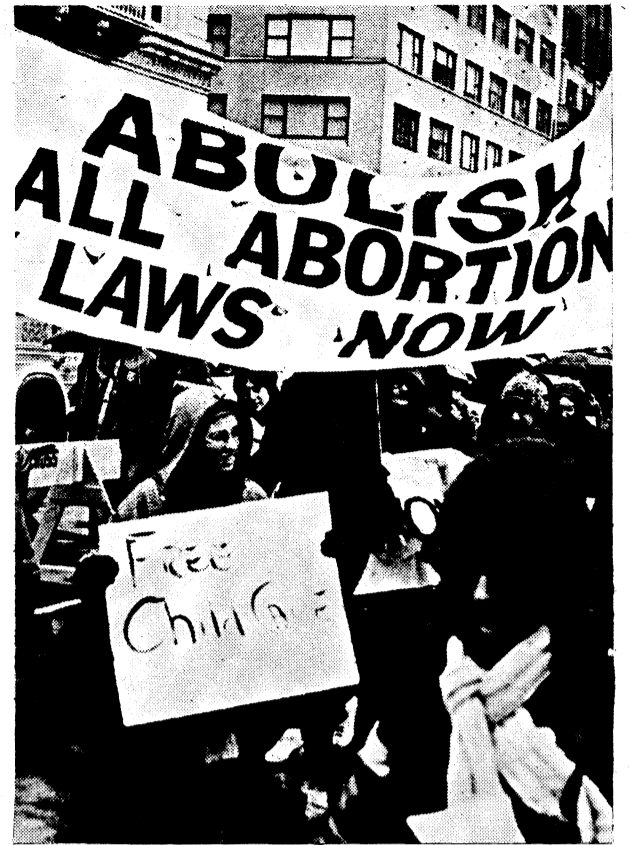
equal protection of the law, while courts in Wisconsin, Ohio, and Washington, D. C., have ruled that they do not.

It is difficult to believe the pompousness of the judges who have ruled against women's right to abortion. For example, the following statement is part of the U. S. District Court's 1970 decision in the *Rosen v. Louisiana State Board of Medical Examiners* case: "We do not recognize the asserted right of a woman to choose to destroy the embryo or fetus she carries as being so rooted in the tradition and collective conscience of our people that it must be ranked as 'fundamental.'" In a 1970 Ohio ruling, the U. S. District Court there used the most common reasoning in denying this right: "The question resolves itself into whether or not the state has a legitimate interest to legislate for the purpose of affording an embryonic or fetal organism an opportunity to survive. We think it has and on balance it is superior to the claimed right of a pregnant woman or anyone else to destroy the fetus except when necessary to preserve her own life."

Two California municipal courts, in Orange County and in San Leandro-Hayward, have taken the most liberal stances so far. In separate 1970 decisions, both courts not only ruled the law unconstitutionally vague, but went on to discuss the more basic questions. "This brings us to the primary underlying problem. Does a woman have a constitutional right to make a free choice whether or not to bear children, i.e., whether or not to have an abortion? . . . This Court rules that unless the state has a compelling state interest which permits it to interfere in this area, that the total freedom of choice as to whether or not to bear children, including the unrestricted right to have an abortion, is a fundamental right. . . . The primary contention of compelling state interest advanced on this issue is that the law is necessary to preserve the life of the unborn. This argument will not stand the test of logic, however. . . . We cannot permit a legislative theory which decrees that life begins at conception. To do so would be to blandly adopt the philosophy of one of the country's major religions, an act which clearly would be in violation of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution. Thus, the Court can find no compelling interest of the state, and concludes that the right to choose to bear or not to bear children is a fundamental right of the individual woman to be exercised in any manner she chooses and which may not in any way be abridged by law." In the San Leandro-Hayward decision the judge added, "I might say that I belong to the religion that was just referred to, and I dislike to render this opinion. I must follow the law under my oath as a judge."

In October, the U. S. Supreme Court will rule on Texas and Georgia cases that raise these constitutional points. To date, the Supreme Court has ruled only twice on abortion cases, both within the last few months, and in both unfavorably to women. In *U. S. v. Vuitch* the Supreme Court reversed a lower court finding that the law was unconstitutionally vague, and refused to consider the more basic constitutional questions. Following that, in *McCann v. Babbitz*, the court vacated a federal court decision that found the law interfered with the constitutional right of privacy.

Thus, while women have begun to win some victories against the anti-abortion laws, the battle is far from over. Our struggle for our rights has shown itself to be a powerful one, but our adversaries have shown themselves to be stubborn. On June 1 the Massachusetts House of Representatives defeated an attempt to repeal the 126-year-old law making it illegal to distribute birth control devices or information to unmarried persons, even though the law has been declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Court of Appeals. We have a long way to go.



Michigan women's abortion suit

By CAROL MEZO

DETROIT—On June 3, in Hilberry Lounge at Wayne State University, the Michigan Women's Abortion Suit (MWAS) held a news conference to announce the launching of a legal suit that challenges the constitutionality of Michigan's restrictive abortion laws.

Michigan Women's Abortion Suit was formed at a statewide meeting May 22 that decided to undertake a class action to get rid of all Michigan abortion laws through the courts.

Louise Goodman, coordinator for the suit, announced that 100 women have been signed up so far as plaintiffs. With this suit, Michigan women are joining women in nine other states who are bringing similar actions to demand women's right to decide when and if to have children. During the next month MWAS will coordinate efforts to sign up as many as 1,000 plaintiffs in the suit. The organization aims at reaching high school and college women, women workers, housewives, professional women—all women who want the decision to bear a child to be their own.

Lorraine Beebe, a former state senator, pointed out in speaking for MWAS that "for a very long time, women have been forced to undergo sterilization in order to get an abortion." She referred to a "reform bill" currently before the state legislature. Because the bill does not get rid of all restrictions on women's right to abortion, Beebe said, it offers more reason for women to get behind the legal suit aimed at the total elimination of the restrictive laws.

Attorney Barbara Robb, who, along with attorney Claudia Morcum, will be coordinating the legal work on the MWAS suit by a team of women lawyers, also spoke at the June 3 news conference.

Among the 100 plaintiffs gathered so far are Pat McEllaght, National Organization for Women; Janet Wingo, Westside Mothers of the Detroit National Welfare Rights Organization; Barbara Kurtz, University of Michigan Women's Advocate; Margaret Neldrid, United Auto Workers Abortion Task Force; and members of women's liberation groups in Detroit, Flint, East Lansing, Bay City, Dearborn, Grand Rapids and Mount Pleasant.

MWAS is encouraging women to become plaintiffs, to discuss the suit with other women, organize rallies and contribute money. The group has scheduled a meeting for June 19 at 1 p.m. in the downtown YWCA, open to all women. For further information, those interested should contact MWAS at Box 26, UCB Room 331, Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich. 48202, or call (313) 577-3409.

By HOWARD REED

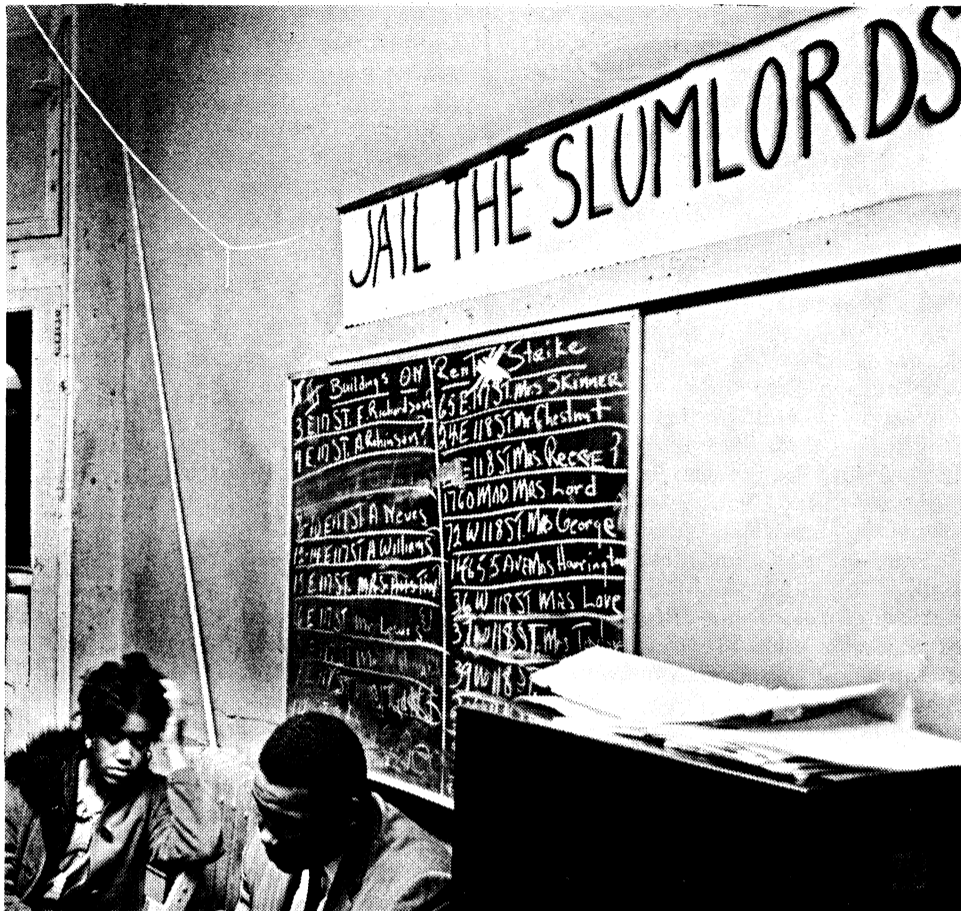
NEW YORK — On June 2, New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller signed into law a bill that will speed up the elimination of rent control in New York City. The main provision of the new law is that starting June 30, 1.7 million apartments under various forms of rent control will be removed from all controls when they are vacated "voluntarily." Under former legislation, rent increases were limited to a maximum of 15 percent and could be imposed only when apartments were vacated and a new tenant moved in and signed a new lease.

The new state law comes in the context of a series of major attacks on the Black and Puerto Rican communities. Welfare payments have been cut 10 percent in spite of rampant inflation, and a one year's residency requirement has been imposed in welfare. The overwhelming majority of the services that Lindsay and Rockefeller project cutting, such as health, housing, education and welfare, affect poor people, and a disproportionate number of these are Puerto Rican and Black.

The harassment of tenants in New York, however, like other forms of harassment, isn't anything new. New York's rent control laws have been under attack since 1943 when they were enacted, and have never given tenants the protection that has been claimed for them. There were numerous provisions in the old laws under which rent could be raised by designated amounts, such as when new tenants signed a lease or when the landlord made "improvements" in the building like installing a new boiler. Also, since there has never been effective enforcement of the rent control legislation, many landlords have blatantly violated the laws.

The old laws didn't prevent the demolition of decent low-cost housing all over the city to make way for luxury apartments, stores or office buildings, and more people have been forced to leave apartments than new units built to accommodate them. At the same time, large numbers of buildings were "abandoned" by their landlords, who didn't want to pay maintenance costs. There have been estimates that there are as many as 150,

New rent law hits New York tenants hard



1964 rent strike in Harlem

000 vacant apartments in these buildings.

To make things worse, two years ago the city welfare department stopped providing money for furniture, thus forcing thousands of people to live in squalid hotels, which in many cases are death traps.

Mayor Lindsay has shed crocodile tears over the new state law attacking rent control, demagogically giving the impression that he is concerned about the plight of affected tenants. However, many of the provisions of Lindsay's own legislation of last summer remain in effect.

The most odious such provision of Lindsay's new law is that tenants who presently live in rent controlled apartments will still have their rent raised 7.5 percent every year, beginning in January 1972. This yearly rise is to continue until the rent reaches a computerized ceiling to be determined by maintenance costs, with the proviso that the landlord will be guaranteed an 8.5 percent yearly profit. Lindsay's law uses the landlord's estimate of maintenance costs.

One provision of the Lindsay legislation, superseded by the new Rockefeller law, is that if a tenant moved,

the rent would immediately have gone to the computer-determined ceiling. In practice, however, this would have been little different from the current provision of Rockefeller's law, which simply removes rent ceilings from apartments vacated after June 30. Another provision of Lindsay's law, one which has not been superseded, is a 15 percent rent hike for all apartments that haven't had a lease increase since 1953. This will have a crushing impact on older people who have been living in their apartments for many years, and are already in many cases paying one-third or more of their income for rent.

The state legislature tries to justify the new law by saying that it will encourage new housing construction, since landlords will have increased incentives. It isn't specified who could afford this new housing.

The law obviously provides an incentive to landlords to use whatever measures they can get away with to force tenants to move. Once a tenant moves, the landlord can raise the rent without limitation. It is widely projected that rents in vacant apartments will be raised immediately by \$50 or \$100 or more. Penalties are provided in the law for landlords caught harassing tenants out of their apartments, but damages can be awarded only after the tenant moves out and harassment is officially certified by the city or state.

Lindsay's own Commissioner of Rent and Housing Maintenance has admitted that he doesn't have a large enough staff to deal effectively with abuses of the law. In addition to this, the Office of Rent Control has had its budget cut by \$2.1 million this year.

One of the main objections Lindsay has expressed to the new law is that it would "create an exodus of the middle class from the city." This pious concern for the middle class is obviously designed to distract attention from the devastating housing problems that the Black and Puerto Rican communities have always faced in New York, and which are intensified by this law. The new law is simply one more burden added to the intolerable living conditions that the overwhelming majority of New Yorkers have to put up with day after day.

Women: The Insurgent Majority

Another male bastion bit the dust with the introduction of three women Senate pages. Congress spent months fretting about the "problem" of women as pages. Could they do the job? Was it proper to have a woman perform the job? Would the women be "safe" as they went about their errands? The Congress finally worked out a compromise: each supporting Senator is responsible for the safety of the female page. As for the women, as Ellen McConnell, 16, remarked, "My ideas on women's liberation have changed a good deal since this experience. Before all this delay, I guess I wasn't too sympathetic because I hadn't found any discrimination in my life. But now I understand why women are so angry."

A bill setting sterilization as a requirement for welfare eligibility was defeated in the Tennessee House of Representatives in late May. This victory was won after a three-month struggle by a broad spectrum of organizations.

Women's liberation may lead to female baldness, a New York dermatologist suggested at a recent international symposium on hair and scalp troubles. Dr. Irwin L. Lubowe, with a straight face, explained, "Loss of femininity might be evolving from assuming male duties and demonstrating in the streets. These changes may have neurohormonal consequences that are perhaps upsetting the ratio of male to female hormones."

A detailed survey of top-level government jobs illustrated how firmly women are blocked from high-paying policy positions. Of the 10,000 federal jobs that pay \$26,000 a year or more, fewer than 150 are held by women.

In a column in the May 25 *Christian Science Monitor*, Rep. Bella Abzug states her support for the women's Equal Rights Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. She noted that: "The amendment would have two basic effects: laws that confer a benefit would be extended to both sexes, and laws that restrict opportunities would be declared unconstitutional." Abzug drew attention to another bill, the Women's Equality Act, which complements the ERA, and is presently before the Congress. Says Abzug: "It would ban discrimination in all federally assisted programs, in state and federal employment, in public accommodations, in educational institutions' employment, and in the payment of wages for professional, executive and administrative jobs."

On May 17, Bella Abzug (D-N. Y.) and Shirley Chisholm (D-N. Y.) jointly

introduced a bill into the House of Representatives providing for \$5-billion in federal funds for child-care services in the 1973 fiscal year, and \$10-billion by 1975. Another more modest child-care bill has been introduced by Sen. Walter Mondale of Minnesota, allotting only \$2-billion in 1973 and \$7-billion by 1975.

The April 10 *Business Week* carried an article on the influence of women's liberation ideas in Japan. A major reason for this is the great increase in the number of Japanese women leaving the home and entering the work force. Japan has a severe labor shortage, so women are slowly being accepted as workers despite prejudices against women working. The average wage of a Japanese woman worker is only 48 percent of the male average wage. In addition, all fringe benefits go only to male workers, because they are supposedly "heads of households." So far women are only employed in the bottom rungs of factory and service jobs. Often they are hired as "officeflowers," which means they are only supposed to be "gracious" and pour tea around the office.

Business Week says these flagrant injustices are being challenged by "Japan's homegrown and growing women's lib (sic) movement."

Development of the Japanese women's movement will probably be spurred on by a recent decision of the Japanese education ministry reported in the *Far Eastern Economic Review*. The decision involves a new high school curriculum to take effect in 1973, which would make homemaking compulsory for every girl. "Everyday manners" will be taught to girls to break "the trend of argumentativeness." An education ministry spokesman said "Women should be motherly mothers and womanly women," and therefore their curriculum will stress parenthood and the nursing of infants.

The Canadian government asks sexist questions on its 1971 census. It defines the husband as the "head of the household," traces ancestry along the male line, and specifically excludes housework when asking the number of hours per week one worked without pay. Even as unpaid labor, housework is not considered worth anything. The women's liberation groups have challenged the government's census form. They noted that the work of Canadian housewives amounted to 11 percent of the gross national product in 1968—or about \$8-billion. The women have called for a demonstration in early June to hand in blank forms.

— CAROLINE LUND AND DIANNE FEELEY



Debby Leonard, SWP candidate for mayor of Houston.

Because of interest generated by the campaign against Klan terrorism in Houston, a local station, KHOU-TV, invited United Klan Texas Grand Dragon Frank Converse and Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Debby Leonard, a target of terrorist activity, to be guests on a half-hour talk show hosted by announcer Steve Edwards May 2. The broadcast aroused such interest that the station arranged a second program, one hour in length, that was broadcast without commercial interruption from 9 to 10 p.m., June 1. What appear below are excerpts from this June 1 broadcast. The program, again hosted by Edwards, was billed as "Confrontation II—Another Evening with Debby Leonard."

The United Klan, with which Converse, a gun store owner, is associated, is reputed to be the strongest Klan organization in the United States today.

The Rat Sheet, referred to in the debate between Leonard and Converse, is a publication that identifies itself as an "information and action bulletin" of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, although, as Leonard points out, it carries the same box number used by the United Klan. The issue referred to appeared in late March of this year.

Edwards: Let me open this up by asking both of you this, Mrs. Leonard first, "What do you think is wrong with our country and do gentlemen like Mr. Converse and his people have to do with whatever is wrong?"

Leonard: One of the main things wrong with our country is the policy that allows a war in Southeast Asia aimed at the total destruction of a country and the invasion of a foreign country and the sending of American troops to die there. This country perpetuates racism and encourages violence with the foreign and domestic policies pursued by the government. Concretely, I would like to bring this down to Houston and talk about Mr. Converse's role and the role of the United Klans of America and other terrorist organizations. . . . Very briefly, I'd like to run down . . . an incomplete history of terrorism in Houston over the last two years. In July 1969, a concussion bomb was thrown through the window of the office of *Space City!* while two staff members were in the office. October 1969: on October 2 a group of men threw a brick through the window of the Pacifica Development Office. These men were later picked up and identified as Louis Beam, a well-known Klansman, and an older man named Leopold. They were never booked, even though they were taken in by arresting officers. In the same month, the Houston headquarters of Students for a Democratic Society was ransacked and the office equipment and files stolen. In that month, Fred Brode's home was shot up during the night for the first time. (Brode is

an antiwar activist.) Also that month, a car carrying GIs from Killeen to Houston for an October 4 antidraft march was riddled with bullets. The car was destroyed, but none of the GIs were injured, fortunately . . .

Edwards: Mrs. Leonard, let me interrupt you here. . . . I think you've already established what you're trying to establish. There might be a little more contemporary . . . just a few days ago, the Socialist Workers Party headquarters was shot up. Now, Mr. Converse, you were questioned about that by the press and you said you knew absolutely nothing about that. What about these other events she's talking about?

Converse: Well, certainly sir, I have no knowledge other than the news media knowledge of it . . .

Leonard: . . . I wish I weren't the only person here today. I think the people here confronting you today should be people like Bobby Joe Connors, should be people like Lee Otis Johnson, like Carl Hampton, like Cesar Agular, Frank Hunt, Albert McKinney, and countless others. I think it is your type of ideology, your method of operation, the things you advocate that have created the kind of atmosphere in Houston that makes possible and encourages the Houston Police Department to harass and intimidate, shoot up and, in some cases, murder individuals like those I have mentioned. . . .

Edwards: This is a pretty large series of things you're talking about. . . . Now, you did say his ideology. . . . you have a Bobby Joe Conner or a Carl Hampton, the results of what happened to them? Are you putting the blame on him and the way he thinks?

Leonard: I am saying I think that the Klan's racist and sexist ideology creates an atmosphere that allows these things to happen. And I'd like to put it in context of the fact that Mr. Converse openly states and boasts of the fact that there are Klan members in the Police Department, in the Sheriff's Department, in City Hall. . . .

Edwards: Sir, do you have any response?

Converse: I'd like to say, certainly there is Klansmen in every walk of life. . . . If she strongly believes these things, I would suggest that she file a charge or make a statement that the United Klans did do these things.

Leonard: What is your explanation for all these acts of terrorism, Mr. Converse?

Converse: Do I have to give an explanation?

Leonard: You are a citizen of Houston. I think you owe it to the people of Houston to explain your opinion on this matter. . . .

Converse: Frankly, ma'am, I have said and I'll say again, any time a person publicly announces theirself as a Communist in this country, well they're going to have many, many enemies. . . .

Edwards: The other day, when the Socialist Workers Party headquarters received about 20 30-caliber bullets through the window, I was on the scene and I talked to you, and you said it was like the Klan, and I asked what Klan. And you said, "Well, the United Klan, the Ku Klux Klan, whatever you want to call it." Now, are all these organizations the same to you?

Leonard: Well, I think the basic ideology is the same. They may have tactical differences. But I think basically these organizations represent the same kind of mentality. I'd like to

just take a quote from the *Rat Sheet* and just make it clear. . . .

Edwards: All right, before you read this quote, Mr. Converse, you know what the *Rat Sheet* is. Do you have anything to do with the *Rat Sheet*?

Converse: Yes. I have nothing to do with it, didn't even know it was out until someone called me and told me. . . .

Leonard: But this is your post office box on here.

Converse: That is exactly right, ma'am, and I could put your post office box on there. Would that make you guilty of it?

Leonard: No, except that you have admitted to the *Chronicle* that the Klan has distributed this publication, and you say you have no control over your own membership?

Converse: I have no control over this, whatsoever. I didn't know it was on the road.

Leonard: I would like to read what was written in here about myself and sent to me . . . and sent all over Houston, because I think it's a worthy document in terms of what we're discussing. It says: "Campaigning for city office in Houston is one Deborah (Debby) Leonard of 304 Avendale. She is the first female (we hesitate to say woman) candidate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, and is running for the mayor's position. Debby's telephone number is 522-5776. Why not call her up and ask her for more details about her platform? You'll have a good chance of catching her at home around 3:30 to 4:45 a.m. on weekday mornings. Debby is linked with the women's liberation movement as a staunch advocate of legislation for the Texas Abortion Coalition's legalized child murder proposition. A hard-core leftist and a proponent of the Gay Liberation Front, (sounds sort of queer to us), Debby is said to engage in unnatural and quite shocking sex acts with other women(?) of the liberation movement in Houston. When she was accused of accessory to the left's blowing up of their own buildings for the sake of publicity, and asked if she would submit to a polygraph test, she refused to do so. We don't blame her." Now what is your comment on that kind of a comment that is attributed to your . . .

Converse: Ma'am, when I first read it, I thought that maybe the editor of *Space City!* news wrote that. You know, that's the kind of trash that they put out. . . .

Leonard: What about referring to Black people as "Jungle Bunnies," which this does? Is that a terminology that you think is appropriate?

Converse: Well, it would be appropriate as "kill whitey," I think.

Leonard: You know, Malcolm X, after he was bombed—and he was a very great man in my opinion—he said that the Klan thrives and feeds on fear and that really the Klan is afraid of Black people. . . . And he said that Black people, if they get together and decide to oppose the kind of things the Klan represents, that they can defeat the Klan. . . . I don't think the Black people in Houston are frightened of the Klan any more, sir. I mean, here is the *Voice of Hope*, a newspaper in the Black community, and it printed the entire *Rat Sheet*—"Jungle Bunnies, Mau-Mau," terrorism—all of this filthy garbage, on the front page. What is your comment about something like that?

Converse: What is your comment about these people calling our police officers "pigs?" Do you approve of this?

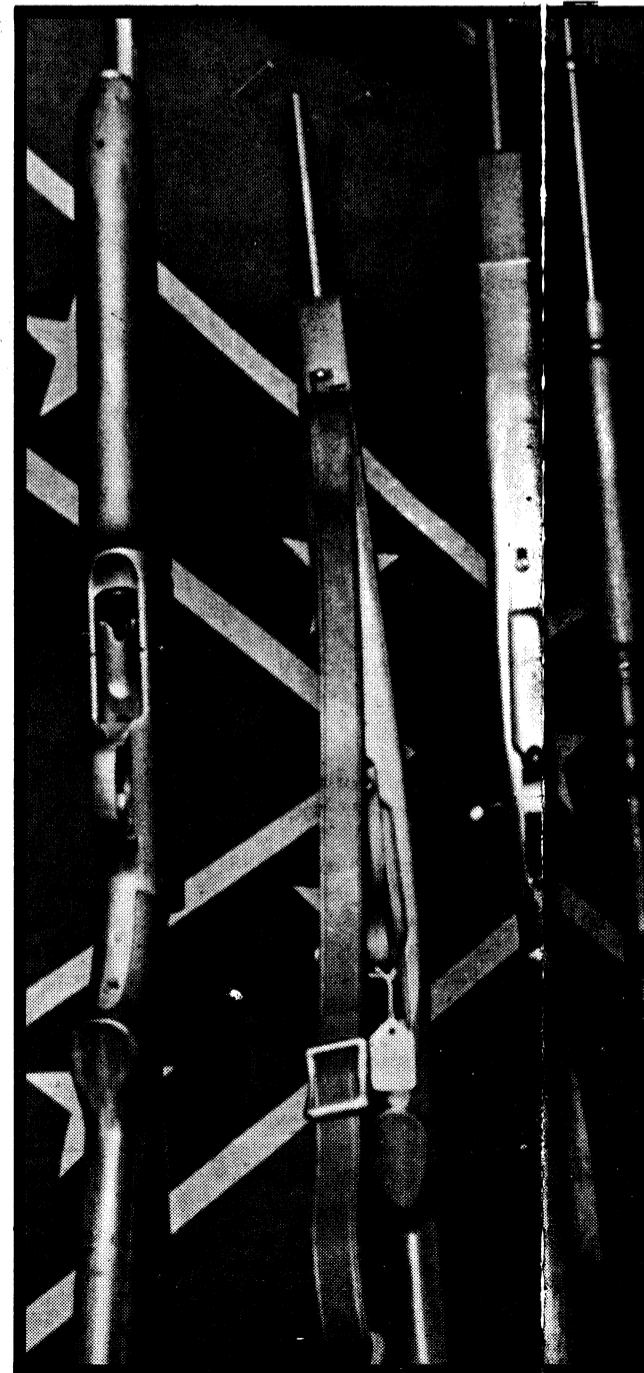
Leonard: I can understand the sentiment behind this when Blacks and Chicanos and students and hippies are being harassed, shot at, and murdered by some of these same police officers. . . .

Edwards: . . . Mr. Converse, you never did get a chance to answer my opening question. And that was, "What do you think is wrong with this country and what do you think people like Mrs. Leonard and the Socialist Workers Party have to do with this?"

Converse: Well, certainly, sir, I don't think there's anything wrong with our country. I think within the framework of our government there are some people that would try or endeavor to destroy this country and the form of government that has stood for so many years. . . . I believe that people who advocate belonging to the Communist Party or the people that are trying to create the turmoil that we're having today in our high schools, that are trying to create the turmoil that we've just had recently in Washington, and it has been proven, sir, by J. Edgar Hoover, that pretty near all of this is done by people from the extreme left. . . .

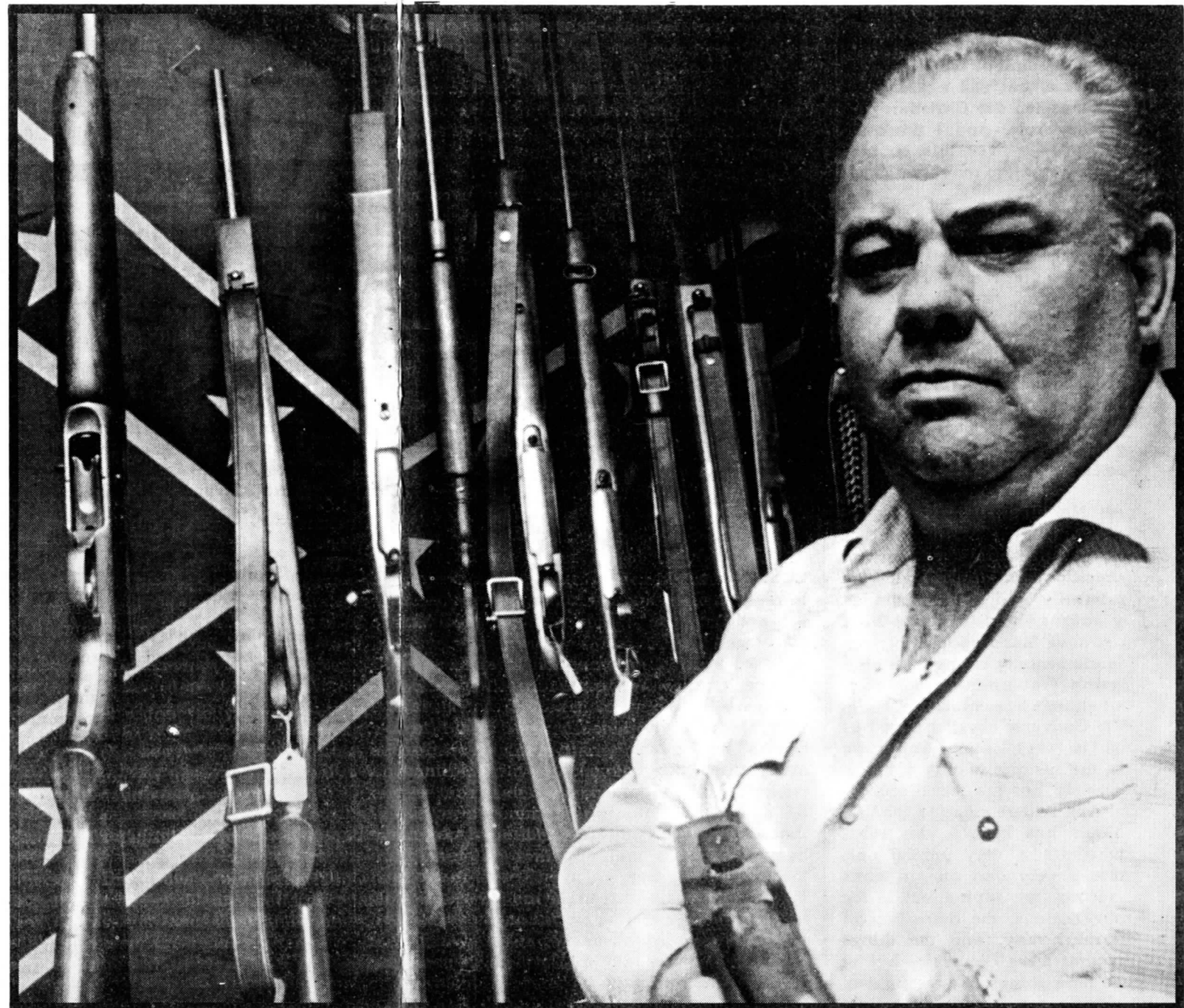
Edwards: You say that you like the

Houston candidate Klan



Frank Converse, Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America.

Houston socialist candidate debates Klan leader



Frank Converse, Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America, in his Houston gun shop.

country just as it is. What about the Supreme Court? Do you like it as it is now?

Converse: No sir, I'm not . . . I do not approve of the Supreme Court . . .

Edwards: So you would like to see change there?

Converse: Yes sir, I would.

Edwards: So to say that you support everything in the country as it is now would not be a true statement.

Converse: Well, sir, I'll say this, that it would be better to reverting it all to the Communist cause. . . .

Edwards: Is that what you'd like to see, Mrs. Leonard? A Communist form of government?

Leonard: I would like to see nationalization of the means of production. Now, that would not be communism. That would be a socialist form of government that would be an intermediate form of government. However, I don't think you can do that without having the support of the majority of the American people, the overwhelming majority. . . .

Edwards: Do both of you believe in

the elective process. Do you believe in the idea of a democratic vote to decide things?

Converse: I do, sir.

Leonard: Yes, I believe in democracy. As a matter of fact, that's one of the things being endangered in Houston right now because, contrary to Mr. Converse's assertions that somehow the left is perpetrating all this violence, right here in Houston it is the left and liberal elements—the antiwar people, the students, the hippies—that are the victims of the violence which is, admittedly, being perpetrated by right-wing elements, and it's not . . .

Edwards: Who, who is admitting this?

Leonard: Well, if you read the editorials in the *Post* and the *Chronicle*, if you read the, oh, even the accounts in *Newsweek* magazine, unless you're going to say that everybody is imagining things or that the left and liberal community gets its kicks out of shooting up each other, in which case we wouldn't need a Klan in Houston to do this kind of work or to advocate this kind of work be done, then you have to admit that the stifling of democracy in Houston is not coming

from these forces that want change. It is apparently coming from the right-wing, terrorist-type forces that want to oppose our very right to exist, advocate and peacefully protest.

Edwards: Mr. Converse, let me ask you this. If 90 percent of the people in the city of Houston—and this is hypothetical—were to elect Mrs. Leonard the mayor, would you accept that?

Converse: I'd move out of the city.

Edwards: What would you do if the tables were turned and Mr. Converse were mayor?

Leonard: . . . I would be very surprised if Mr. Converse were elected, frankly. I think his ideology wipes out the support of over 40 or 50 percent of the people in this city by the fact that he says he believes in white supremacy, and Blacks and Chicanos are cut out right there. The whole question, to me, is something that's a little preposterous.

Edwards: Do you think white supremacy is kind of a dated, obsolete thing now?

Converse: She keeps saying white supremacy and talking about the Chicanos as though they were Black people. I'm sure that they realize that they are classified as white people.

Edwards: Do you think white supremacy is a dated concept? Do you think it's still valid now?

Converse: Well, certainly not in the minds of most people, but there is still some that believe this way.

Edwards: Do you think Mr. Converse has the right to feel this way in a democracy?

Leonard: I certainly think he has the right to advocate it. What I'm questioning is the night-riding and terrorism, the arming and the . . .

Edwards: (shouting) He's not admitting to any of that!

Leonard: . . . the Klan in its publications does advocate! Now I'm not saying that the United Klans of Houston or of America or of anything else, in its own name or as an organization, engages in these acts. However, individuals who are known Klansmen have not only been discovered a number of times, but, as a matter of fact, two of them were identified as the men who shot up that carload of GIs, for example. . . .

Edwards: Would you, under any circumstances, throw a bomb?

Leonard: No, I certainly wouldn't. . . . I think that there is no substitute for mass support. I don't advocate any kind of violence. I don't advocate throwing a bomb. I don't think our enemies are buildings. I don't think you solve anything by an individual act of terrorism or an individual act of violence—and our organization has never been charged with anything like this anywhere in the country.

Converse: (snorts)

Edwards: Mr. Converse, do you have something to say?

Converse: You do believe in Marxist-Lenin's rules, do you not?

Leonard: That's right. I do, sir.

Converse: And you are familiar with the fact that they kill and they have killed thousands and thousands of people to prove their points. Is this not true in Russia?

Leonard: . . . If you want to study and discuss the Russian revolution, that is a very big subject. We have an open headquarters and an open

bookstore. We have plenty of material that is available. As a matter of fact, I have a couple of public campaign brochures that don't hide at all that we are socialists and what we stand for. They're available for distribution. That's one of the big differences between the way we operate and the way you operate. . . .

Converse: I'm not hiding my platform. I'm sitting right here beside you. We hand out literature, we hold rallies, we feel it is our right to keep our membership as a secret because we feel this is the strength of our order. This is how we come about getting information on people such as yourself and your order. . . .

Edwards: What do you do with that information?

Converse: Well, we feel that if there ever comes a revolution, we might know who our enemy is.

Edwards: Would the information for the *Rat Sheet* have come from your files, perhaps in an unauthorized . . .

Converse: No sir, this was written by somebody else, and I don't think that this will ever appear again.

Leonard: . . . I feel we can deal with the *Rat Sheet*. The *Rat Sheet* is so blatant that the reaction has been to let everybody know what you all stand for.

Converse: It's so bad, I really believe that the editors of one of these vulgar newspapers, like *Space City!* news . . .

Leonard: Do you think the last *Rat Sheet* was any better, that listed the names of Vista volunteers in long columns and said, "We should be informed that they are subversive"? Lists of names of ministers, of rabbis, students? Was that a better piece of literature than this, sir? Perhaps it didn't have as much vile language, but was it a better piece of literature?

Converse: It probably was if it didn't have that vile language.

Leonard: When it named people and asked for their harassment? On the basis that they were inter-racially dating.

Converse: Maybe these people need harassment. . . .

Leonard: Who do you advocate do that harassment?

Converse: Well, I would imagine, the general public—your enemies.

Leonard: I don't find the general public to be my enemies. . . . I believe you have alienated yourself from the majority of people in this city.

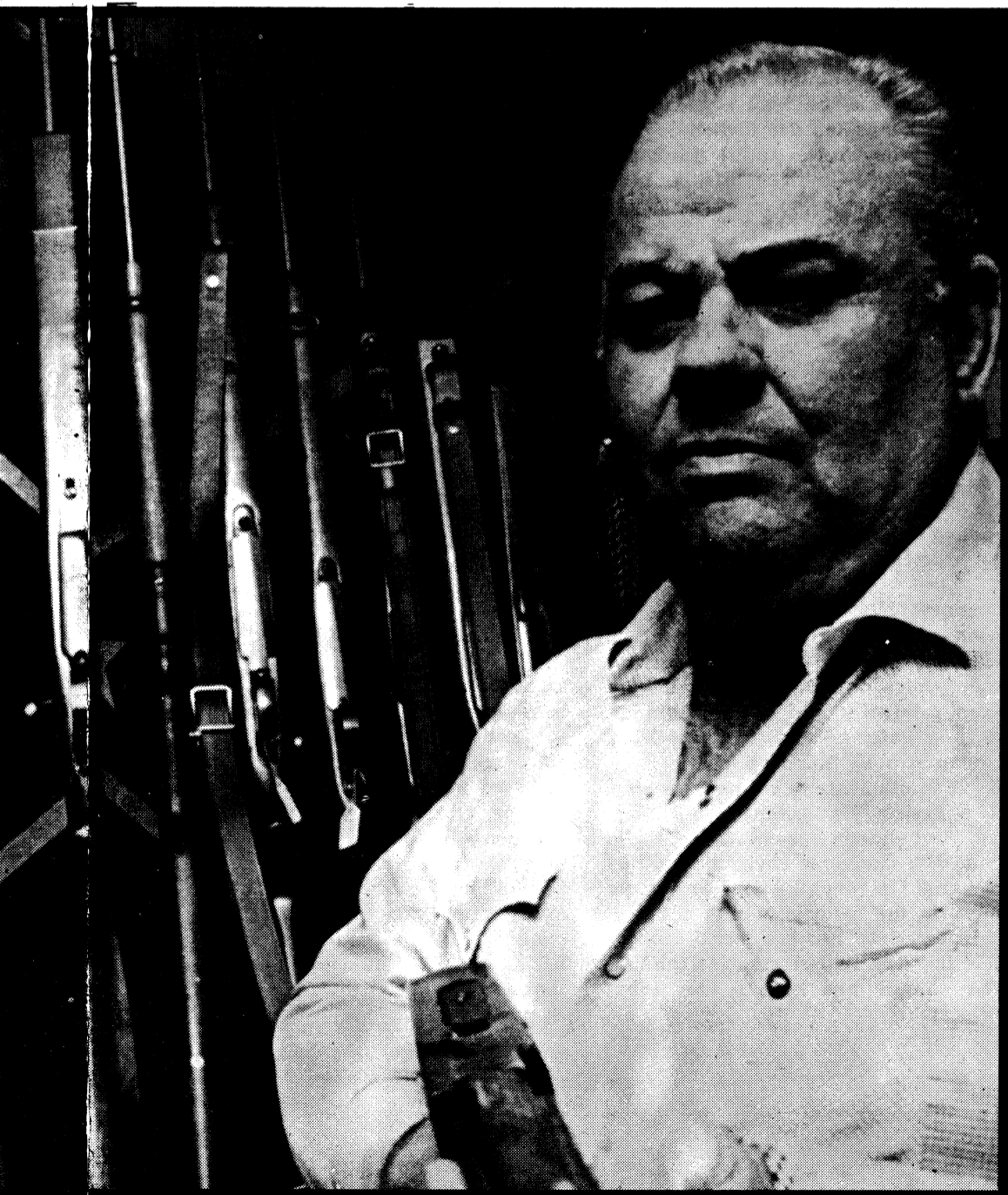
Converse: All of this is just your belief.

Leonard: Well, if you stand for the inferiority of nonwhites, then very clearly you have contempt for and despise a large part of the population of Houston.

Converse: This is not very true. We believe in white supremacy. We feel that, by the same token, they have a lot of Black orders. You yourself advocate having the Blacks manage and control their own communities, and yet you say they shouldn't be in their own communities. You say they should have their own laws and orders, that if a white man were to live in one of these Black communities, would he come underneath this law or would he come underneath the law that we have for the white man? Are you advocating two or three different sets of laws and orders?

Leonard: Sir, I think your whole basis for existence stems from your belief that Blacks are inferior. . . .

Houston socialist candidate debates Klan leader



leader of the United Klans of America, in his Houston gun shop.

Leonard: *I have much more optimism in the people of Houston. I don't think most of them are racists. I don't think most of them believe in white supremacy. I don't think they're terrorists. I don't think they're night-riders, and I don't think they go along with the Klan.*

Converse: *I don't have much to say about this lady except that I'm going to fight her just tooth and nail. I believe the Christian people of this town will soon see what she stands for is just no good.*

Converse: That's what you keep saying but I say Blacks can go their way and I can go mine.

Leonard: You say Blacks are not fit to hold posts in trade unions, not fit to have their own ideas . . .

Converse: That's what Abraham Lincoln said. He's the one that set them free.

Edwards: Would you throw a bomb under any circumstances?

Converse: Well, let's say I never have.

Edwards: Under what circumstances would you throw a bomb?

Converse: Oh sir, certainly if we had a revolution, I'd be, be willing, be the very first one to throw some of these bombs.

Edwards: What would you do in a revolution? . . .

Leonard: Well I would be fighting with the majority of people if it was a revolution . . .

Edwards: Revolution is a pretty scary word. . . .

Leonard: I don't advocate change by violence at all. I advocate very fundamental change, revolutionary change, if you will. What I see as very likely is that the majority of the people will want some very basic changes made—even elect some socialists or people with ideas like mine into office, and it will be the people now in power who will put up resistance. . . . It will be the vested interests of big business. If there is violence, I don't think it's going to be us who will initiate it. I think it will be initiated by people who want to prevent change. . . .

Edwards: Mr. Converse, do you think we are heading for a violent revolution here?

Converse: Certainly not, sir. Although your senators and your legislators different people like this in Congress, state that we're living in a state of revolution at this time. The attorney general of the United States made a statement that the only way a person could get justice was through a vigilante act.

Edwards: How much support do you have in the city of Houston, either overt or covert? . . .

Converse: Sir, I really don't know, but I've had a great deal of Christian organizations call us . . . thanking me for being on your program.

I don't know whether I've said the right thing or the wrong thing, but evidently they've liked what I've said, so I'd say that there must be thousands of people. . . . If you're asking how many Klansmen, of course, I have to decline and not answer this question.

Edwards: What about your people, socialists? I mean, there aren't very many socialists in Houston. . . . Right?

Leonard: Right. Let me say that as far as what Mr. Converse is saying that I have much more optimism and much more faith, I think, and confidence in the people of Houston and here in Texas. I don't think most of them are racists. I don't think most of them believe in white supremacy. I don't think they're terrorists. I don't think they're night-riders, and I don't think they go along with the fundamental operation of the Klan. Now, socialism and even my running as a candidate—the first time a woman has ever run for mayor in Houston—and the first time a socialist has ever run for mayor. We have many, many things we are active in. We're active in the antiwar movement, in women's liberation, we're active in supporting the Black and Chicano struggles. Therefore, we work with many people, many of whom do not agree with everything we stand for. . . .

Edwards: Let me interrupt you here. . . . Why would they necessarily want to vote for a socialist candidate?

Leonard: I don't think they necessarily would. Many of them are beginning to support my campaign as what they now see as the only alternative, feeling that they cannot possibly continue to support what is now going on in Houston. . . . As Mr. Converse mentioned earlier, it's mostly been the left that's been arrested and it's mostly been the left and Blacks and Chicanos and students that have been victimized. . . . One of the things we're doing, and we just gave depositions on it, is challenging the legal requirements which make it very difficult for many people to run. And we are hoping that this will open the way for many people who may not be socialists but may want to . . . run as independents, as Black candidates, will have the opportunity to do so.

Edwards: All right. We're just about out of time. What I want you each to do is say anything you might have wanted to say that you haven't had a chance to say. Mr. Converse?

Converse: Well, sir, I come up here with the hopes of answering the ques-

tions that you might ask. Also the ones that she would like to hear. But up to this point it seemed like it's been her program, she does most of the talking and I do a few answering of the questions. There's one thing that I'd like for this lady to know, and when I speak of white supremacy, I believe that any person—and I believe the whites and the Blacks can live together without intermarriage. I also believe that if one wishes to do so, then it becomes their personal prerogative. . . . As far as the job programs, as far as equal rights in schools, as far as equal rights on jobs and what have you, I think they should have the same rights. . . .

Edwards: Isn't this pretty—oh I don't want to use the word "radical"—but surprising talk coming from a member of the Klan?

Converse: Well, sir, I've been called so liberal that some of the Klansmen don't want me, but still again, most of these Klansmen are Christian people and they rule. And I think the Christian people over this country should always reign over this country and rule. . . .

Edwards: Now we've been talking about violence in Houston here, allegedly from the right—Houston's kind of unique, though, because across the country, it's not the right and we discussed this the last time, I mean it's been documented, and it's the left, it's the Weathermen . . . do you get scared that maybe some of the people who you are implicitly supporting may be going too far, have gone too far.

Leonard: No, as I said, I think the main responsibility for violence lies with this government and its foreign and domestic policies—not with the Klan primarily and not with the left by any means—and I don't think we can remove that responsibility until we fundamentally change the kind of a system that promotes violence. . . . And change has occurred, despite what Mr. Converse says, change has occurred in very many important ways in the history of this country. It is certainly not the same country that the first settlers came to inhabit. The change has been a very long, and sometimes a very painful one, sometimes a very bad one, in terms of the racism, the wiping out of the American Indians, the despoiling of the natural beauty, and the things like this that have occurred—but at the same time, things like the fight of Black people for freedom, the fight of women for the vote, the fight of Chicanos for a decent life, these things are things that have never been won

easily and they are very positive things and things that I support. . . . And I think that Mr. Converse, regardless of what he says, knows and is much more familiar with the right wing in Houston than he either admits or certainly than I am. And I would like to ask him to carry back to the right wing, whoever they may be and whether or not they are in your organization, that we will not be intimidated. I will continue my campaign, the antiwar movement will continue and will escalate; machine-gun bullets and broken windows are not going to stop us. . . . I think you will find a growing and mounting campaign of protest against this. . . .

Funds needed

Funds are urgently needed to finance the work of the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, which has been waging a powerful campaign to force Houston authorities into action against Klan terrorism. With indictments against some of the terrorists now being promised, it is more important than ever for the committee to step up its efforts in order to force city officials to arrest and convict those responsible for terrorist acts. Checks or money orders should be made out to the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, 4334 Leeland, Houston, Texas 77023.

Edwards: Okay, Mr. Converse. . . .

Converse: Well, sir, I've had a little harassment and I've had some paint thrown at my place and a few bullet holes put in it, but this is to be expected when you hold this position. I haven't cried out to a news media, nor have I called in the police department, but the evidence is still in the front of my building. I've had many, many threatening calls and if she is stating that I should take this back as a threat to these people, I think that maybe she's on the news media here, that she is making a threat to them, whoever they might be, again I don't feel that threatening people is a proper method—especially out in the public. I don't have too much to say about this lady except that as far as I'm concerned I'm going to fight her just tooth and nail. . . . I believe the Christian people of this town will soon see what she stands for is just no good.

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES— There was a certain delicate irony in Nixon's slanderous attack on the Mayday demonstrators as "hoodlums, vandals, and lawbreakers." Even if his charges were true, which they are not, the most that could be said on the basis of his record at home and abroad is that it takes one to call another.

In hurling his latest bucket of filth at antiwar protestors, Nixon joined with Mitchell and Agnew in publicly endorsing the brazenly unconstitutional mass jailings by Washington authorities. The frame-up "inciting to riot" indictment of Rennie Davis and others represents a like disregard for legal rights.

The fact that such unconstitutional measures are taken in the nation's capital and then publicly defended by the country's top officeholders indicates two things. The first is their deep compulsion to try to somehow curb the rising dissent generated by the Vietnam war. The second is an assessment that the forces represented by Mayday are, in terms of mass support, the most isolated sector of the antiwar movement, and therefore the most vulnerable to attack.

If we are to resist such attacks effectively—as we must—it is necessary, I believe, to recognize that this assessment of the relationship of forces is not without foundation.

I know that some people will argue that this is simply not so—that the reason the Nixon administration is singling out Mayday for special attack is because it sees it as the most militant and effective component within the antiwar movement.

The ruling class and its government will sometimes strike out at a particular force because they do consider it a major threat, either immediate or potential. The assassination of Malcolm X, in my opinion, was an example of this.

On the other hand, the decision to make the thoroughly reformist Communist Party the principal target of attack during the Joseph McCarthy era was based on the fact that the party was thoroughly discredited and isolated, and therefore a good beginning target. Similarly, I think, the course of attacks leveled at various times against such ultraleft organizations as the Progressive Labor Party or the Weatherpeople was based on the relative isolation of these groups, not the threat they posed.

I make this point simply to indicate that the effectiveness of an opposition is not the only criterion used by the ruling class in determining who to select as a given target of attack. I am not making the point in order to inferentially lump Mayday with the groups I have given as examples but to indicate that their ineffectiveness and isolation from the majority of antiwar Americans made them vulnerable to government attack. The principal spokespersons for Mayday can be characterized as ultralefts, but they have their own specific characteristics that have to be examined.

Also, it is necessary to recognize that those who participated in the Mayday actions, or those who feel that these actions were effective, are not a homogenous grouping with a thought-out, agreed-upon viewpoint. Some people, for example, saw Mayday as an effective complement to the mass demonstrations of April 24. They believed it was a more "militant" form of action for that smaller but more conscious constituency that sees the need to go beyond demonstrations and rallies. Others, of course, hold to the view that legal, peaceful demonstrations are futile, and that *only* "direct action" like that of Mayday has the potential for forcing an end to the war.

Mayday and Gandhi

Some in the movement argue that Mayday provided a significant justification for the tactic of mass civil disobedience. To weigh that argument,

it's worth examining briefly the concept of mass, nonviolent resistance or civil disobedience as it developed historically. The idea of using widescale, nonviolent resistance as a basic political strategy was first projected into world consciousness by Mahatma Gandhi, the principal leader of the Indian movement for independence from Great Britain.

Gandhi's political career, which extended from the beginning of this century until 1948, when he was slain by a Hindu fanatic, was based throughout on the concept of nonviolence, which he promulgated as an absolute principle.

In this country, the most prominent advocate of nonviolence was the late Dr. Martin Luther King, who was strongly influenced by Gandhi.

It's reasonable to assume that most of the people who participated in the Mayday actions or stand in solidarity with them do not consider themselves committed, philosophical supporters of Gandhian nonviolence. Many sim-

revolutionary, and that his philosophy was a revolutionary one, worthy of emulation.

Gandhi's tactics

What was the reality?

While Gandhi was the undisputed political leader of the Indian independence movement, he was not, by any socialist criteria, a revolutionary.

While rallying the masses of the Indian people in the movement to win independence from Great Britain, Gandhi was consciously and actively opposed to anything that would take the independence movement beyond the bounds of capitalism. His goal was an independent *capitalist* India, and his entire political strategy was designed with consummate skill to achieve that precise goal.

During the first two decades of the century, Gandhi was the principal spokesman for the Indian middle classes. His association with the spinning wheel and the simple virtues of

to mount the necessary pressure on the British.

The trick was to put the masses into action in such a way that they would not get out of hand—that they would not begin to project demands that went beyond independence from Britain, that aimed also at overturning Indian capitalism.

Gandhi's program for a united, mass, nonviolent campaign focused solely against the British provided the necessary lever for accomplishing this.

Gandhi insisted that the Indian masses accept the principle that all violence—whether it be aggressive or defensive—was evil and that there was no situation that justified recourse to it. Yet he made exceptions—but only when it came to the capitalist class. In one case he publicly assailed Indian troops who failed to act against members of his movement who had extended their anti-British civil disobedience to also opposing Indian forces. Even more telling was Gandhi's support to British imperialism during World War II and the compromising of the Indian independence struggle to the British war effort.

(It is interesting to note in this regard that Rev. King, who insisted that Black people must be nonviolent under any and all circumstances, publicly condoned the use of troops to quell the 1967 Newark and Detroit rebellions.)

Gandhi's nonviolent strategy was, from the Indian capitalist viewpoint, successful. Continuing to mount mass pressure, it forced Great Britain to grant formal independence after World War II, and it achieved this within the framework of the preservation of capitalism in that country. But the Indian masses are paying a terrible price today.

Lessons of Gandhism

One need only contrast the horrifying poverty that characterizes India with the advances made by China since 1949. The Chinese struggle for independence overturned capitalism in China, and because of that it has, despite bureaucratic mismanagement, been able to make singular economic and social gains while capitalist India stagnates.

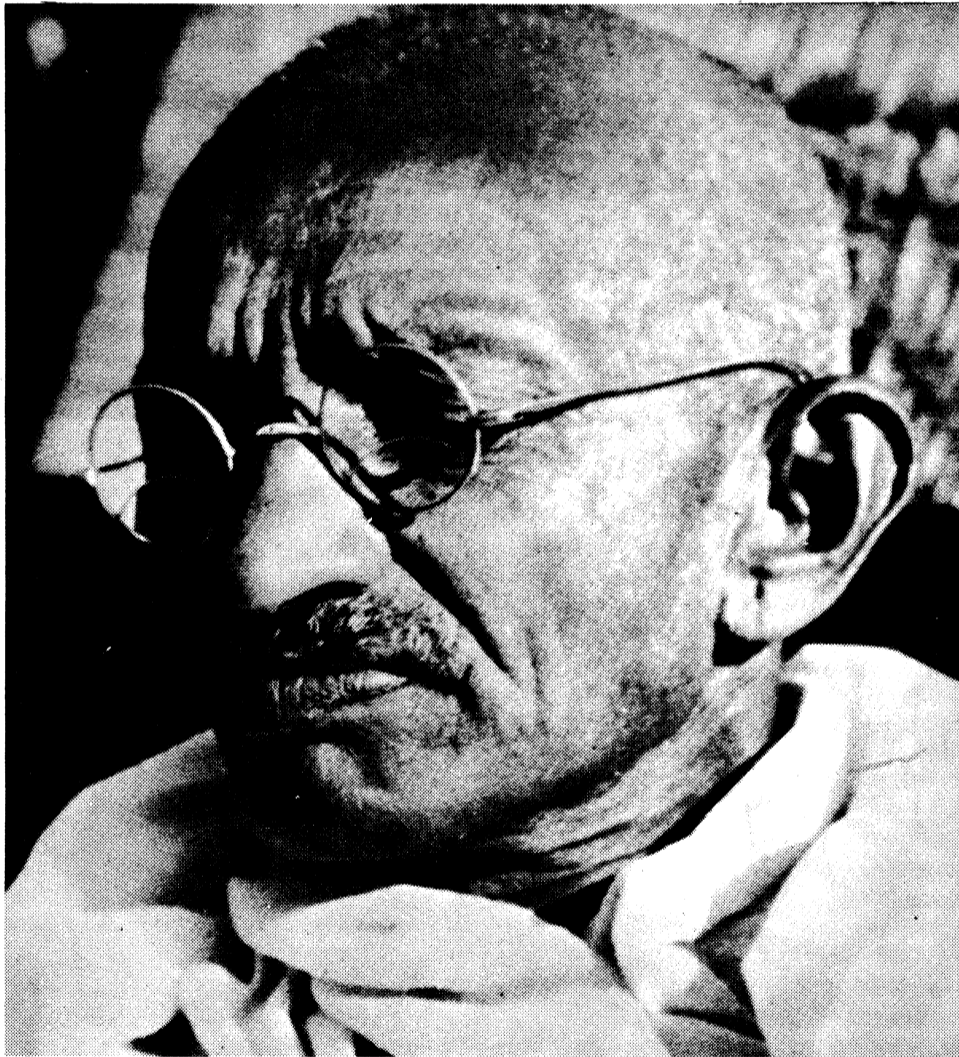
The costly experience of the Indian masses with Gandhism reinforced the traditional Marxist opposition to the concept that fundamental social change could be achieved through adherence to the principle of nonviolence. It confirmed the Marxist prognosis that the advocates of this principle invariably seek to impose it on the oppressed but can always find the rationalization to permit exceptions by the oppressor.

The lesson of the Gandhian experience is that even though the tactics may appear to be militant because they involve the commitment to civil disobedience—and in the case of India tens of thousands were involved—it is first and foremost the political goals those tactics serve that determine how "militant" an action or a strategy is. Gandhi's tactics served to subordinate the powerful Indian independence struggle to the Indian capitalist class.

But what does all this have to do with Mayday? The participants in Mayday were opponents of the war and the administration that is waging it. To the extent that they have a point of view on the issue of capitalism versus socialism, most of them are probably anticapitalist. However, the civil disobedience tactics that attracted many young people to the Mayday actions did not serve particularly "militant" political demands. One of the central demands was support to the "People's Peace Treaty," which includes the call for "setting the date for withdrawal," the same demand that the Congressional liberals are counterposing to immediate withdrawal.

The fact that nonviolent civil disobedience as a tactic can be used for reformist ends, however, doesn't preclude that tactic being used for progressive aims. We will discuss this in another article.

Gandhi's strategy of nonviolent civil disobedience



Gandhi

ply regard civil disobedience as a good tactic for the present stage of the struggle.

But Gandhism was not without influence among the initiators of Mayday. The principal poster and sticker used to advertise Mayday was built around a drawing of Gandhi. The *Mayday Tactical Manual* also included references to Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Gandhi's political movement, predicated completely on the philosophy of nonviolence, commanded the allegiance of literally millions of the Indian people. For many years their massive movement for independence was channeled through political organizations led by Gandhi.

Revolutionary Marxists of that period gave their full support to the Indian independence movement, but at the same time they firmly opposed Gandhi's strategy of nonviolent civil disobedience. Others argued, as some still do, that Gandhi was an authentic

artisan or peasant life articulated the sentiments of those layers of Indian society who saw themselves being ground down not so much by British imperialism as by the advances of civilization—machinery, participating in a broader, less profitable market process than an immediate village area, etc. Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence at that time expressed a middle-class aversion to fundamental, explosive social change.

By 1920, when he abandoned the gospel of the spinning wheel and took his political stand for the industrialization of India, Gandhi was a conscious representative of the Indian capitalist class. For different reasons, his philosophy of nonviolent resistance fitted their political needs even more fully.

The native bourgeoisie of India recognized that it could not wrest independence from British imperialism on the basis of its own extremely narrow economic base, and that it was necessary, therefore, to mobilize the Indian masses in the independence movement

Daley tries to quash Panther inquiry

By STEVE CLARK

CHICAGO, June 4—The Illinois Supreme Court is still trying to decide whether to order Judge Joseph A. Powers, a former law partner of Mayor Richard J. Daley, to stop interfering in the grand jury investigation of the events surrounding the Dec. 4, 1969, murders of Illinois Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

The infamous dawn raid by 14 policemen, inspired by State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan, created such widespread public outrage within the Black community, on the campuses, and elsewhere that federal and local authorities were forced to initiate investigations into the incident. That these inquiries were mere palliatives was amply illustrated by the results of a federal grand jury investigation last year which "criticized" the state's attorney's office for firing over 100 bullets into the apartment, yet returned no indictments against anyone.

When Judge Powers began making arrangements for the county special grand jury last summer, indications were that it too would fail to return indictments. On June 26, Powers appointed Barnabas Sears, a prominent Chicago lawyer, as special prosecutor for the case. The special grand jury was sworn in on Dec. 4.

According to the May 24 *Chicago Tribune*, "The county special grand jury worked in apparent peace and quiet until April 22, when rumors swept the criminal court building that the jury had voted true bills [indictments] against Hanrahan and others for obstruction of justice, and had named Police Superintendent James B. Conlisk Jr. as a co-conspirator."

The *Tribune* published an account on April 24, two days later, of a rumored "secret session" of the grand jury, during which, in the words of the *Tribune*, "the grand jury changed its mind, but decided to go ahead with the true bills after Sears and his aides demanded the move."

Judge Powers and other figures throughout Mayor Richard J. Daley's city and county organization were apparently quite alarmed by the rumor of impending indictments. Powers seized upon a number of totally un-

substantiated rumors as a pretext to harass the work of the special grand jury. He ordered Sears to call before the jury every witness who had testified before the federal grand jury, prior to handing down any indictments. Sears publicly responded that no one, including the chief criminal court judge, has the right to invade the secrecy of the grand jury or give it orders. On April 26, Judge Powers ruled that Sears was in contempt of court, fined him \$100 for his "contemptuous attitude," and also fined him \$50 per hour for every hour that Sears failed to comply with the court order to call additional witnesses.

On May 4, Sears' own lawyer, Don Reuben, filed an appeal with the Illinois Supreme Court to overturn both contempt citations.

On May 11, three attorneys, Thomas P. Sullivan, George J. Cotsirilos and John P. Coghlan, representing 12 of the 14 implicated policemen and three assistant state's attorneys, filed a petition arguing that biased news coverage and Sears' rumored "misconduct" had prejudiced the grand jury. According to the May 24 *Chicago Tribune*, they "asked that it [the grand jury] be dismissed, and that any indictments it might return be quashed."

On May 17, Judge Powers ruled that the petition had legal standing. According to the *Tribune*, he [Powers] said he had the authority to question grand jurors to determine if they had been improperly influenced, directed Sears to provide him a transcript of grand jury proceedings, and ordered that any indictments by the grand jury be kept secret until the whole dispute had been adjudicated in the courts." Powers gave Sears a Monday, May 24, deadline to produce the transcript. On May 18, Powers began to meet in private with individual members of the grand jury. Arguing that the jury foreman on May 13 had requested private conferences, Powers refused to allow the prosecutor to sit in on these interviews.

These maneuvers by Judge Powers and the three lawyers representing the police and the state's attorney's office, represent in themselves a rather poorly concealed conspiracy among



Fred Hampton

high officials in Mayor Daley's Democratic Party organization to obstruct the functioning of the grand jury's investigation; and—at the very least—to cast doubts on its findings if Judge Powers fails in his attempts to scuttle the investigation entirely. The arguments used by the three defense lawyers to discredit Sears' behavior before the grand jury are blatant attempts to obscure the central questions involved in the investigation. The May 13 *Chicago Sun Times* reported, "What Barnabas Sears presumably did as special prosecutor in the Black Panther Party case is exactly what prosecutors have been doing for generations, legal experts said Wednesday. Even one of the opposing lawyers, George J. Cotsirilos, has conceded in court that the technique Sears is charged with using with the special county grand jury is, and has been, accepted practice."

The Illinois Supreme Court will rule both on the earlier contempt citations and Sears' request for writs of prohibition and mandamus to stop Powers' interference with the work of the

grand jury. Joining in his petition to the high court are the Chicago Bar Association, the Chicago Council of Lawyers, the ACLU, Businessmen for the Public Interest, the Alliance to End Repression, and the Lawyers Council for Civil Rights under Law. Meanwhile, Sears has indicated that he will not turn over the transcript pending the ruling of the Illinois Supreme Court. Arguments before Judge Powers on the validity of the defense petition are scheduled to begin June 8.

In Chicago, the American legal system has backed itself into a most embarrassing corner. Either the court system will succumb to the pressure of Mayor Daley's powerful political machine and scuttle the entire investigation, or the two top law enforcement officers in Chicago will be exposed for their role in the murders of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Either way, in the eyes of many Chicagoans, the facade of moral integrity that shields the real workings of capitalist "justice" has become a little more tarnished.

A discussion with Hugo Blanco



Hugo Blanco

By DAVID THORSTAD

A series of two rather extensive articles on the Peruvian Trotskyist peasant leader Hugo Blanco appeared in the May 27 and June 3 issues of the New York weekly, the *Village Voice*. Written by *Voice* staff writer Marlene Nadle, the articles were based on a

discussion between Blanco and three young Latin American revolutionaries while Blanco was still in prison on the island of El Fronton. He was released last December after spending nearly eight years in prison.

Blanco was jailed for organizing peasant unions in Peru's La Convencion valley. The unions seized the land of rich landholders and then defended it with armed militias.

In view of the 1967 defeat of Che Guevara's celebrated guerrilla struggle in Bolivia, Nadle explains, there is new interest throughout Latin America in the experience of Blanco's peasant leagues. This thread runs through Nadle's articles, since the three revolutionaries who came to discuss their ideas with Blanco "were going through a time of doubt, of questioning, of searching for new solutions and trying on old ones."

The articles are friendly to Blanco, though they neglect to point out the rather important fact that Blanco is a leader of the Trotskyist Fourth International in Latin America. Entitled "A visit with the opposition" and "Alternatives for Cuba's Children," they focus on the conflicting strategies to

revolution reflected in Che's reliance on guerrilla warfare and Blanco's commitment to building a mass movement and a revolutionary party.

The conflict between the two approaches is not an idle one, Nadle explains, for the Cuban views on guerrilla warfare have had an impact on youth in the advanced capitalist countries too: They have "fathered the Weathermen," and they have "sent young radicals around the world smashing, trashing, bombing," she says.

Blanco explains one of the reasons for the failure of Che's guerrilla movement: "No political theory can afford to ignore the nature of the people it must deal with. The Indians have a very ancient distrust of strangers. The guerrilla bands arrived as strangers and remained detached strangers. Most of the Bolivian peasants didn't even know Guevara's guerrillas were fighting for them"

Blanco denies that he opposes guerrilla warfare in all cases. "I never said I was against guerrillas," he states. "I just don't think of them as the primary thing. For me they're only one part of a mass movement. More im-

portant, they must be the consequence, the fruit of the organizing, not the starting point."

Blanco states that he learned from his own experience that the existence of a revolutionary party was "crucial." What is needed, he said, is a party "of the best and most militant of the campesinos. . . . but I was so busy leading strikes and land invasions I never had time to organize one."

Even in prison, Nadle observes, Blanco "was still in action. Trying to convince these potential organizers of the need to work with the people before beginning the fighting. Saying guerrillas were not some miraculous magnet which would, as Che believed, automatically attract the peasants' support. Insisting that the fault in Bolivia had lain with Guevara's theories and not with the people. Urging that detached violence and rhetoric not understood by the people would lead to isolation and defeat of radicals in the United States and Europe as certainly as it had in Latin America."

Blanco, however, warned against sitting around and talking as a substitute for action. "Remember, you begin by beginning."

Efforts stepped up to free Davis

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN RAFAEL, June 5—As judicial arguments to free Angela Davis on bail begin, the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis has begun planning a mass support demonstration for July 4 at the California state capitol in Sacramento.

Supporters of her defense are accelerating their petition campaign demanding that the courts grant bail immediately. The petition states that since Davis meets the legal criteria for bail, she is being deprived of her freedom solely because she is a Communist and an outspoken Black activist. Davis has been in jail for over six months awaiting trial with Ruchell Magee on charges of murder, kidnapping and conspiracy.

The pretrial hearings have been recessed indefinitely pending a ruling on Magee's appeal to transfer the trial to the federal courts. Judge Richard E. Arnason admitted that the state courts might be divested of jurisdiction in the case. But as a separate matter, he agreed to hear Davis' petition for bail.

These proceedings on the petition took place June 2 and 3, and will begin again June 9. According to defense counsel, there are two aspects of the petition: If the court believes there is insufficient evidence to try Davis, she should be freed. If the court believes there is enough evidence to indicate a suspicion of guilt, she should be released on bail.

Chief counsel Howard Moore Jr. cited precedents in California law to show that the granting of bail should be automatic in all cases except in rare capital crimes where the presumption of guilt is great. In the case of Davis, he argued, there can be no presumption of guilt because the grand jury indictment was based solely on circumstantial evidence. The grand jury, according to Moore, was a "silk stocking" body with an average annual income of over \$15,000. Of its 19 members, only one was Black. Moore maintained that the grand jury rubber-stamped the indictment presented by State Attorney General Albert Harris without giving Davis an opportunity to testify before it.

Moore said that although the indictment concludes that Davis helped to engineer the Aug. 7, 1970, shoot-out that resulted in the death of a judge and three African-Americans, two of whom were San Quentin inmates, the grand jury transcript proves only her determination to free all political prisoners by legal means. Moore told the courtroom, "We see Miss Davis punished as if she were a convicted felon . . . with no end of punishment in sight."

Davis spends her time in two windowless cells without a watch or any other way of telling the time. She is not permitted any communication with other women inmates. Twice a week she is allowed to exercise in a solitary, concrete and barb-wired courtyard, while a TV camera scrutinizes her every move. When she leaves her cell, she must undergo a physical search surrounded by numerous guards, who can peek in to observe her at any time.

It was noted in an affidavit submitted by Dr. Tolbert J. Small that Davis' vision has suffered as a result of her confinement, dropping from 20-20 with glasses to 20-30.

Moore charged that Davis' detention is hampering the building of her defense. Intense security measures make it difficult to arrange interviews of potential witnesses with Davis, especially if the witnesses are themselves prisoners. Furthermore, the attorney general is getting an opportunity to learn of defense witnesses in advance of the trial and to visit them at their homes. During interviews with his client, Moore has noticed guards observing them and writing on a memo pad. There is an intercom in the cell, said Moore, and, "We have reason to believe there is some illegal listening."

Harris argued to the court against granting bail to Angela. Invoking the name of "the people of California," Harris began, "We are guided here not by what happens in Vietnam, or in the streets, or by the generation of public opinion . . . this is a court of law." Referring to her "flight" to New York City last August, Harris said that if bail were granted, "She might just as well be given an air-travel card with her belongings . . . we might then hear from her from Algeria."

In an interview to the press, however, Moore stated, "Miss Davis' political position is that to carry on the struggle to bring down racism and capitalism in the United States you must be in the United States." He indicated that he expects Davis to be acquitted.

Ruchell Magee was allowed to remain present during the petition of habeas corpus as a friend of the court. When Harris made references to certain "threats and intimidation," Magee objected, saying Harris' remarks were aimed at him. As Harris responded that Magee's federal court motions were "semi-illiterate," spectators bristled on the edge of their seats. Judge Arnason admonished the court to maintain a sense of decorum, presumably to be disturbed only by the shifting of Magee's chains.



Australian Free Angela Davis demonstration, spring 1971

Vietnam Veterans stage L.A. hearings on U.S. war crimes

By HAYDEN PERRY

LOS ANGELES—The brutality of the war in Vietnam, the quality of life in the armed forces, and the conditions in Veteran's Administration hospitals were brought home to civilians at the West Coast Winter Soldier Investigation held here May 29-30. Modeled on the Detroit Winter Soldier Investigation held Jan. 31-Feb. 2 this year, the hearing went beyond the atrocities committed in Vietnam to expose nearly all aspects of military life.

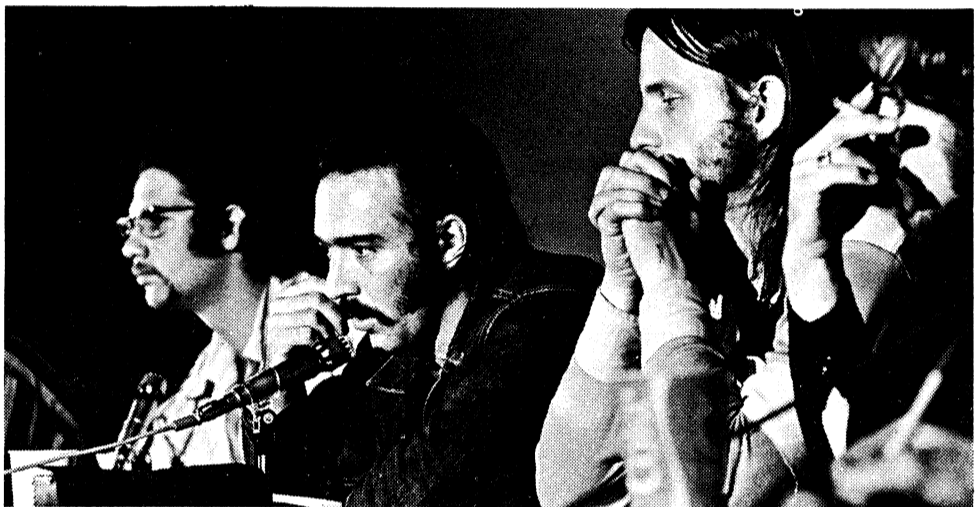
The inquiry was sponsored by the California Veterans Movement. Composed of Vietnam Veterans, the CVM was organized last February and, along with opposing the war, fights for the rights of GIs and veterans. CVM's principal spokesmen are Vietnam veterans Dave Shulman and Sam Schorr.

The investigation was conducted in

"gooks" were the enemy—something less than human. Two Japanese-American veterans told of being pointed out in basic training as examples of slant-eyed Asians who typified the enemy.

For those who resist the dehumanizing process of combat training, there is the system of "military justice." A panel of witnesses described the torments endured by those who ran afoul of military law.

Soldiers who oppose the war or assert their rights are considered far more dangerous than narcotics pushers, according to one veteran. He had been stationed at Ft. Bragg and sold narcotics to fellow GIs there without ever being bothered by MPs or the CID (Criminal Investigation Division). Then, he said, Joe Miles, a leader of GIs United at Ft. Bragg, persuaded him to become active in that



Witnesses at Los Angeles Winter Soldier Investigation

the auditorium of Pacifica radio station KPFK, which will broadcast the entire proceedings. Other stations covered some of the sessions.

For some 18 hours more than 60 vets—enlisted personnel and officers—testified. They limited themselves to incidents they personally experienced or witnessed.

One told of seeing four Vietnamese prisoners being loaded into a U.S. helicopter. The chopper rose 400 feet above the ground, he said, and four bodies tumbled out. The pilot radioed down that the four were "trying to escape."

Another witness testified that he had been wounded and was evacuated by helicopter. Two prisoners were put on the aircraft with him. While in the air the prisoners were interrogated by an ARVN officer. One did not respond and was shoved out of the copter to his death. The other, obviously terrified, gave answers that were taken down. When the officer had heard enough, he shoved the second prisoner out of the plane.

A Mylai-type massacre was described by combat veteran James Henry. He testified that on Feb. 8, 1968, his unit received orders from battalion headquarters to "kill everything that moved" in a suspected guerrilla area. As a result of this order, 19 women and children were rounded up and shot.

Henry said there was no point in reporting this atrocity to military authorities in Vietnam since the colonel in charge already knew of it and was taking no action. He did take the matter up with military officials on his return to the states and was threatened that he would be in trouble if he spread such stories. After discharge, he said, he took it up with other authorities but got nowhere.

Other witnesses showed how the seed of atrocities was planted in basic training. All Asians were "gooks" and

organization. He then dropped drugs he said, because "dope and politics don't mix."

Now that he was fighting for GI rights instead of selling drugs, the CID trailed and harassed him until the day he was discharged.

One panel, including several wounded veterans and two doctors, described the conditions in veterans hospitals.

Ron Kovak, a paraplegic veteran, confined to a wheelchair for life, gave a moving account of his experience from the moment on the battlefield when a bullet severed his spinal cord through the long, dreary months at Kingsbridge Veterans Hospital in the Bronx, New York.

Neither he nor any of the other veterans faulted the medics for the quality of medical care, but they all condemned the conditions under which they are forced to practice medicine. Kovak described Kingsbridge as a dirty, mice-infested place, plagued with a shortage of personnel. When he rang his bell for help, no one would appear for hours. There was only a wall phone in the ward and paralyzed patients couldn't get to it. He said the vets received some small improvements only when they formed ward patient groups to demand action.

This description of VA hospitals was confirmed by the doctors on the panel. On the staff of Wadsworth Veterans Hospital here, they described the situation as one of trying to practice 1971 medicine in an 1890 hospital. This is due, they said, to the lack of funds and the indifference of higher officials.

The California Veterans Movement has performed a significant service in conducting this investigation, and they intend to continue their activities. Veterans who wish to join them or have additional testimony to offer, and others who wish to help, can contact the CVM at 13609 Victory Blvd., Suite 229, Van Nuys, Calif. 91401.

By TONY THOMAS

What role will demands raised by Black nationalists for the establishment of an African-American nation either in Africa or in a part of the current United States play in the awakening of Black people? What attitude should revolutionaries take toward Black separatism?

Some reformists, such as the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League, a youth group associated with the CP, oppose Black separatism. For example, in his April 9 speech "Trotskyism, Racist Voice on the Left," Tony Monteiro, a spokesman for these groups, attacked Black separatism as reactionary while giving lip service to the right of Blacks to self-determination. He equated it with white chauvinism, saying, Black "nationalism and separatism are capitulation to chauvinism. It must be recognized that the two ideologies, chauvinism and nationalism, have the same bourgeois c'ass essence."

This position, like their position on Black nationalism as a whole, flies in the face of both the reality of the Black liberation struggle and the writings of Marx and Lenin.

A significant trend

The demand for Black separation, either by returning to Africa or by setting up a Black state in the current U. S. territory, has been a significant

the white racist state. The demand for a separate state has historically been one of the basic demands raised by oppressed nations. The traditional revolutionary-socialist approach to this question is to support the unconditional right of oppressed nations to separate if they so choose. Lenin said, "The right of nations to self-determination implies exclusively the right to independence in the political sense, *the right to free political separation from the oppressor nation.*" (V. I. Lenin, *Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism*, p. 127. Emphasis added.)

To deny this right to oppressed peoples is to prevent unity between workers, women, and other oppressed groups of the oppressor nations and the oppressed nations. Unity on the basis of Monteiro's position that the demand for a separate state is reactionary is a unity in which whites have the privilege of a state and society controlled by them, while Blacks and other oppressed people in this country lack this basic democratic right.

This can only lead to a collapse of any real solidarity: "The proletariat must demand freedom of political separation for the colonies and nations oppressed by 'their own' nation. If the reverse were true, the internationalism of the proletariat would be nothing but empty words; neither confidence nor class solidarity would be possible between the workers of the oppressed and oppressor nations. . . ." (Lenin, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130)

To be reactionary as Monteiro claims, Black

slaves *back to our own homeland* where we can live in peace and harmony with our own kind. But this government should provide transportation, plus everything else we need to get started again in our own country. This government should provide everything we need in machinery, materials and finance; enough to last us from 20 to 25 years, until we can become an independent people *in our own country.*" (As quoted in *The Last Year of Malcolm X*, by George Breitman, p. 57.)

In the same speech, he outlined how the variant of separation within the U. S. might be expressed: "If our people number one-seventh of America's total population, then give us one-seventh of this land. We don't want any land in the desert, but where there is rain and much mineral wealth.

" . . . we should not be expected to go back to our homeland *empty-handed.* After 400 years of slave-labor, we have some 'back-pay' coming, a bill owed to us that must be collected."

As we have pointed out in previous articles, Malcolm X and Marcus Garvey did not see a contradiction between fighting for better social, economic and political conditions for African-Americans now in U. S. society and their desires for a Black separate state. Both types of demands are challenges to the power U. S. imperialism exercises over Black people. Both require a mass movement that can overthrow capitalism if they are to be realized.

Self-determination and separatism

Monteiro attempted to give lip service to the idea of self-determination in general while denying any support for the demands being raised by Blacks to exercise that right. While Blacks may differ on the advisability of advocating separation at this time as opposed to other solutions to our problems, the duty of all revolutionaries is to support in action the *right* of African-Americans to separate, and if a majority chooses this path, to support them.

Monteiro, in his sharp attacks on Black separatists, fails in this revolutionary duty, trying to cover himself with quotations from Lenin torn out of context, which the CP and other reformists utilize to cover their anti-Marxist politics.

In Russia in 1913, the Cadets (capitalist politicians similar to the liberal Democrats Monteiro supports) attacked Dontsov, a Ukrainian capitalist separatist, for being utopian and unrealistic because he demanded separatism. Lenin replied: ". . . the issue was not whether one agreed or disagreed with Mr. Dontsov, whom many Ukrainian Marxists opposed, we said it was *impermissible* to hurl such epithets at 'separatism' as 'delerium' and adventurism. We said that this was a chauvinist approach, and that in criticizing any particular plan for secession, a Great-Russian democrat must agitate for *freedom* to secede, for the *right* to secede.

"As the reader will see, this is a question of principle. . . ." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 525). By attacking separatism rather than the refusal of white America to allow Blacks who wish to separate to do so, Monteiro adapts to the policies of the oppressors of Black people.

Just as socialists should at all times support the *right* to separate, the demand for separation should be raised by socialists only when the masses of Black people make the decision. Self-determination means self-determination by the oppressed people and nobody else. The CP's total exclusion of separation as a revolutionary alternative for Blacks means that it has already decided for Blacks the road to self-determination.

Just as its current attacks on separatists in the Black community reflect a total disregard for Black people, in the late 1920s and early 1930s, when masses of Blacks were not demanding separatism, the Communist Party, at the insistence of Stalin, raised as one of its principal demands "Self-determination for the Black Belt"—calling for an independent Black state in the South. The CP even drew maps charting the borders of this Black state. At the same time, they supported "full equality" as the principal demand for Blacks in the North.

The same question was involved then as now: The CP's refusal to support the right of Blacks to decide what path we will take toward liberation.

Now that Blacks in large numbers are receptive to the idea of separation, Monteiro finds Black separatism reactionary. This is because the demand of Blacks to separate from white America runs against the thrust of the liberal capitalist politicians, whom the CP see as a crucial part of their strategy for Black liberation. This is underscored by the fact that the thrust of Black separatism is not only to separate from America politically by forming a separate Black state but, like Black nationalism in general, to separate politically *now* by breaking with the racist political parties of U. S. imperialism.

Is separatism revolutionary?



The sentiment for Black separation "stems from the fact that Blacks are fed up with the racist, oppressive U. S. society in which every institution, every value held within the society is utilized to maintain the oppression of Black people."

trend in Black thought for at least 150 years. These demands stem from the fact that Blacks are fed up with the racist, oppressive U. S. society in which every institution, every value held within the society is utilized to maintain the oppression of Black people.

While the majority of Black people at this time do not actively support the demand for separation, there are obvious indications that large numbers of African-Americans are sympathetic to these solutions. A poll taken by *Newsweek* magazine in 1969 (when nationalist and separatist sentiment were on a lower level than today) indicated that 21 percent of Black people thought that Blacks should have their own nation and another 12 percent "quite seriously expect it." Organizations demanding separation and/or return to Africa, such as the Nation of Islam and the Republic of New Africa, have been an important part of the Black liberation movement since the late 1950s. In the early 1920s, Marcus Garvey was able to build a movement with at least a million active supporters around the demand that Blacks return to Africa.

Is separatism revolutionary?

The logic of Monteiro's statements attacking Black separatism as "reactionary," is that it is reactionary for anyone to have a government and society in this country on any basis, except on the basis already decided by the white racists.

This cuts across the whole struggle of Black people to overturn their forced oppression within

separatism would have to serve the interests of the ruling capitalist class. The most important element of capitalist oppression of Black people is the billions of dollars reaped from the special oppression of Black people, an oppression which is enforced by the capitalists' control over U. S. society. Would breaking tens of millions of Black people off from the United States, and taking a portion of the U. S. with it, help this process of exploitation? What would this represent as an example to Chicanos demanding their own nation of Aztlan, and to Puerto Ricans demanding independence?

It is obvious that a United States that won't allow Vietnam to be controlled by the Vietnamese isn't going to allow Black Americans to set up a state without a mighty struggle in which the total power of the U. S. ruling class is defeated. Thus, Black separatism like other proposals for Black liberation—community control, or full social, economic and political equality—challenges the basic underpinnings of U. S. capitalism.

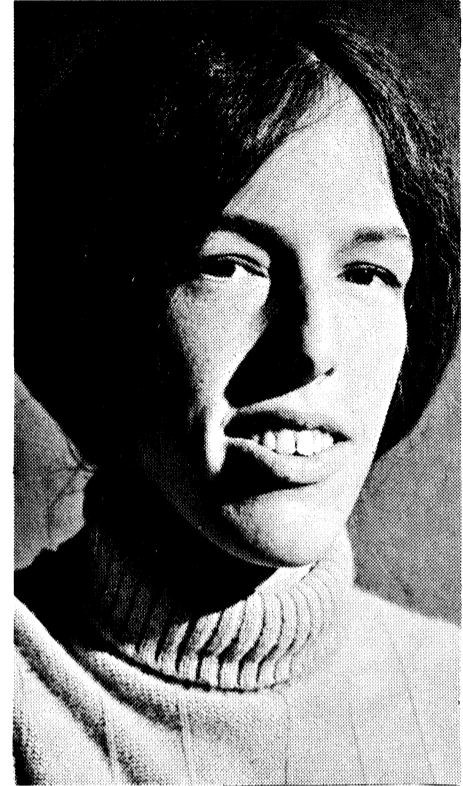
The revolutionary thrust of Black separatism is deepened by the fact that most separatists see the demand for a separate state as a clear demand on the U. S. capitalists for reparations for the 400 years of anti-Black brutality and super-exploitation.

While a leader of the Nation of Islam, Brother Malcolm X formulated his demand for separation in this way: ". . . the race problem can easily be solved, just by sending these 22 million ex-

Socialist Campaign '71

Cambridge

Joe Miles and Sarah Ulman, two Socialist Workers Party candidates seeking seats on the City Council, confronted those who presently hold those seats at a June 7 hearing attended by 300 young people. The City Council held the hearing to consider an ordinance proposed by City Manager Philip Cronin to make it a \$50 offense to pick up hitch-hikers.



Sarah Ulman

Photo by Lenny Goodman

Since public transportation in this college town is inadequate, unreliable and expensive, hitch-hiking is widespread and the proposed ordinance

had stirred strong opposition among students and other young people. The mood of those at the hearing was evident when no one but the council members stood to salute the flag during the pledge of allegiance.

Cronin argued that the widespread practice of hitch-hiking posed a danger of increased traffic accidents and possible rapes of young women.

The audience burst into applause when Ulman accused Cronin of "trying to make the victim into the criminal." If the City Council were genuinely concerned by the problem of rape, Ulman charged, "you could provide self-defense courses for women in the schools."

Miles' remarks also provoked enthusiastic applause from the opponents of the ordinance. He said, "If the City Council were really interested in improving the traffic situation, it could provide funds for free, public transportation." Anticipating the argument that no funds are available, Miles pointed out that "Harvard University is the biggest slumlord in Cambridge, but it doesn't pay one cent in taxes to the city government." Pointing out that a more basic problem facing the city's finances was the "\$30-billion wasted every year in Vietnam," Miles challenged the City Council to place an immediate withdrawal referendum on the ballot in the fall. He further suggested that the City Council pay for five buses to New York July 2-4 "so that residents of Cambridge can go to the important National Antiwar Convention and help make plans for antiwar demonstrations in the fall."

Responding to pressure from the young people at the hearing, Councilman Walter J. Sullivan introduced a resolution watering down Cronin's proposal and rendering it virtually

unenforceable. While the young people still opposed it, Sullivan's measure, prescribing a warning for the first two offenses and a \$5 fine for the third, passed the council by a vote of five to three.

SWP campaign supporters have been carrying out many activities, and in May more than 100,000 pieces of printed campaign material were distributed in Cambridge. Upcoming activities planned by the campaign committee are a June 12 banquet and a June 18 forum at Hill House on gay liberation.

Worcester

With the help of the American Civil Liberties Union, Eric Poulos has filed suit in federal court to reverse a Board of Registrars ruling preventing him from voting or running for office because his parents live outside the city. Poulos had been allowed to register before he announced his candidacy as a revolutionary socialist for City Council, but when he made the announcement, his registration was challenged. The case is expected to be heard by early July, in time for his name to appear on the fall ballot if the suit is successful.

Both Poulos and Brent Farrand, SWP candidate for School Committee, plan to appear at a June 8 School Committee hearing on the case of Gerald O'Conner, a teacher suspended from Chandler Street Junior High School May 4 for inviting Farrand to speak to his English classes. Kay Lydon, also an SWP candidate for City Council, plans to attend the hearing as well. At stake is whether or not O'Conner will be permanently dis-

missed.

The three SWP candidates have been invited to speak to classes and club meetings at Doherty High School on June 14, 15 and 16.

Cleveland

Gale Shangold, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cleveland City Council, told the House Judiciary Committee of the Ohio State Legislature June 7 that "an overwhelmingly male legislature not only does not have the right to decide the reasons for which a woman can have an abortion, but it is to blame" for the suffering and deaths caused by the state's 130-year-old abortion law.

The committee was holding hearings to consider revising Ohio's abortion laws. Shangold, in calling for the repeal of all restrictive abortion laws, also scored the racism of "population control" schemes being put forward in the legislature. "We will not submit to forced sterilization," Shangold said. Such measures, she charged, "try to make the victim into the criminal" by attempting "to lay the blame for racial oppression and poverty on poor, Black people themselves."

Shangold told the legislators that Ohio women will be mobilizing "by the hundreds of thousands to demonstrate in the streets" with their sisters across the country "as long as our rights continue to be denied."

"We will continue to fight for total repeal of all restrictive abortion laws," she concluded. "Our demand remains, 'Free abortion on demand—No forced sterilization!' We will settle for nothing less."

By Any Means Necessary

Nixon responded to the congressional Black Caucus on May 18 rather than May 17, the anniversary of the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public education, and the deadline urged by the caucus. This was in line with his attitude of procrastination. Nixon waited one year after the 13 representatives first asked for a meeting before he met with them on March 25.

The potentate in the White House issued a 115-page reply. Given the timid character of the 60 caucus recommendations, Nixon was able to dabble and dabble with the problem, alleging agreement in three "especially critical areas": welfare, revenue sharing, and expansion of job opportunities.

At a later press conference, the caucus denied this and expressed disappointment at the president's reply, although on aid to Black colleges, the drug crisis, and teen-age jobs, they cited "forward movement" on the part of the administration.

But substantive issues like the repression of Black militants, bringing the brothers home now from Southeast Asia, and the need for Black control of the Black community were not brought up in the dialogue with Nixon.

Reports have it that to counter the CBC, Nixon has formed his own Black caucus.

On May 24, in Detroit, the trial of 12 members of the former National Committee to Combat Fascism, now the Black Panther Party, began. They are charged with the murder of a Black cop, assault on two "mod squaders," and conspiracy to kill Detroit police.

Of the original 15 arrested last Oct. 24, two had their cases severed due to youth or physical incapacitation, and one turned state's evidence.

A brochure put out by the "Committee to Defend the Detroit 15" explains that: "The incident began with an attempt by two policemen in a patrol car to ticket two young Black Panther paper salesmen for 'obstructing pedestrian traffic.' . . . The episode, another of a long series of police-Panther confrontations, began at 5:40 p.m. on Oct. 24, 1970, at Fourteenth and Myrtle Streets in Detroit. It erupted when a police officer pinned one of the paper salesmen against the patrol car. Witnesses declare that the officers were starting to attack two youths. A crowd quickly gathered and the officer was set upon and beaten while his partner radioed for help.

"The first two police cars to answer the 'officer in trouble call' were unmarked and the officers were in plain clothes. The four patrolmen drew guns and ordered the crowd to disperse. They were met with a rain of rocks and bottles. In the ensuing melee, Patrolman Marshall Emerson was wounded in the hand and his partner, Patrolman Forest Harvey, was showered with glass.

"The two young paper salesmen were arrested and jailed. (Many weeks later, these two were tried and found innocent.)

"Patrolman Glenn Smith, in the second unmarked car, had by this time driven to a vacant lot within two houses of the NCCF building. As he emerged from the car, revolver in hand, he was struck in the head by a single bullet from a high-powered rifle. Witnesses say the man with the rifle fired from an empty house near the vacant lot. . . ."

The nationalist awakening is sharpening the contradictions even in the repressive apparatus of the state. The June 1 *New York Times* reported seven Black cops in Columbus, Ga., were fired May 31 for picketing police headquarters that day. The seven, members of the Afro-American Police League, say racial discrimination prompted the action. While conducting it, they tore American flag shoulder patches off their uniforms.

In another development, the newly formed Midwest Regional Council of Police, an organization of Black cops from several cities, met recently in Detroit. According to the May 22 *Michigan Chronicle*, they decided to launch an all-out war against racism within the police department. A very admirable goal, but they should draw from the experience in Columbus, i.e., that reform is not possible, leaving resignation from the force as the first step in the fight against racism.

A significant decision came down in Detroit, May 21. James Johnson Jr., a Black auto worker, who in a fit of rage last July 15 shot to death two foremen, one Black and the other white, and a white skilled tradesman, was found not guilty, on grounds of temporary insanity. The verdict was announced by an auto worker, who sat on a jury of eight Blacks and four whites.

The defense attorneys, Kenneth Cockrel of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and Justin Ravitz, contended, according to the May 22 *Detroit Free Press*, that "Johnson suffered severe mental illness resulting from his youth as a sharecropper on a plantation in rural Mississippi. . . . that unsafe working conditions in Chrysler's Eldon Avenue gear and axle plant coupled with harsh treatment by Chrysler foremen drove Johnson to a point where he could not control his impulse to kill the three men."

The spark causing Johnson to explode was an attempt by his foreman to shift him from the job at which he had worked for two years and replace him with someone with less seniority. Balking at the transfer, he was suspended. He went home, got his M-1 carbine, and came back to the plant looking for his foreman.

During the trial, the jury was taken to the factory.

-DERRICK MORRISON

Books

Abortion Rap by Diane Schuder and Florynce Kennedy. McGraw-Hill. New York, 1971. 238 pp. \$3.95.

A hard-hitting indictment of a system of abortion laws which perpetuates the butcher deaths, psychological impairment, ruined careers, and humiliation of women and the production of thousands of unwanted and abused children, *Abortion Rap* is a timely contribution to the struggle of women to control their own lives. Based upon the history and research of the women's suit initiated in 1969 challenging the New York State abortion laws (*Abramowicz v. Lefkowitz*), the book examines the alternatives and prejudices women confront when facing an unwanted pregnancy. The authors were both lawyers representing the plaintiffs in the suit.

The women's depositions expose the unnecessary psychological drama and the destructive morality-laden chauvinism of medical practitioners and politicians; the shotgun marriage; the adoption agency ("It had been two months since I had gotten pregnant and I had not spoken to one person in those two months who hadn't threatened me or tried to manipulate me, make my decisions for me"); the parasitic abortionist ("\$700 would be a conservative estimate"); and the aftermath ("I concluded the episode with nine days in a London hospital, a perforated uterus, peritonitis, and eight shots of penicillin, every day, for nine days").

The testimony of health experts and population researchers further substantiated the plaintiffs' argument that compulsory pregnancy damages the well-being of the mother as well as her relationship with the child. As one researcher explains: "Society has placed the burden on the woman for humanizing and socializing . . . the child. But it has not granted her the possibility of making a choice, of having control over her own body or

her own motherhood." The experts stressed, moreover, that liberalizing the current abortion laws would not eliminate the danger concomitant with illegal abortions; illegal abortions are performed as long as there are any restrictions at all on the rights of women to determine the circumstances of terminating a pregnancy.

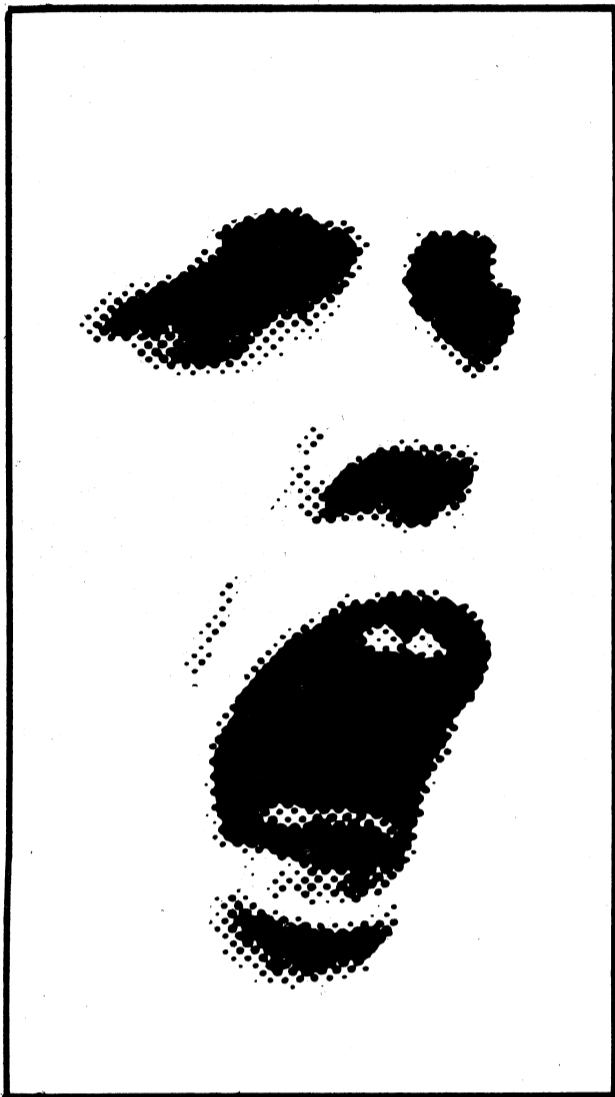
The intervenors in this case, the Friends of the Fetus, called six medical professionals as witnesses; they inadvertently corroborated the women's assessment of the reactionary role of religious institutions, particularly the tax-free Catholic Church, in fighting abortion law reform. These witnesses made it quite clear that their commitment, and that of the church, is to the Catholic hospital and their own medical careers, not to the right of women to control their own bodies.

Two highlights of the book include a chapter of theological summary by Rabbi David Feldman on the Catholic and Jewish positions on abortions and the rights of women, and a section devoted to clarifying the confusion concerning the fear that free abortion on demand would lead to genocide of Black people.

The *Abramowicz v. Lefkowitz* case was dismissed on July 1, 1970, when the reformed New York abortion law took effect. Schuder and Kennedy make it clear that this victory is only the beginning. Women must organize demonstrations as well as judicial and legislative action to express their sentiment for controlling their own lives. It is through the united effort of thousands of women that abortion repeal can be won—a real victory for the freedom struggle of all women.

This book does not pretend to be a dispassionate observation of the pros and cons of abortion reform. Rather, it records the suffering and the determination of hundreds of women who have fought in the courts and in the streets for liberation.

—LOUISE ARMSTRONG



Design by Su Negrin

Film

Ira, You'll Get Into Trouble. A documentary film, produced and photographed by Stephen Sbarge. Edited by Mark Rappaport. Running time 85 minutes.

Ira, You'll Get Into Trouble follows the leaders of the now defunct New York High School Student Union during their activities in opposition to the racist strike of teachers against community control of the schools in 1968. It continues with their activities to the end of the school year in 1969.

We see them in business meetings, at rallies, talking with parents, putting out a newspaper, negotiating with city officials, on a TV talk show, etc.

Sbarge has collected some good footage for this film. And he has a good sense of visual irony. One of the best examples of this is a shot of a newspaper headline, "Chicago Cops Blamed For Riots," in the front of a bus unloading cops on their way to brutally break up a high school student demonstration.

The events and personages in the film, however, go unexplained and unnamed. I assume that Sbarge's intention is to point out the interchangeability of particular events and personalities in certain broadly similar political situations. But, the result is that most people—especially those outside New York City—will simply have a hard time understanding what's going on.

While it is hard to be sure what Sbarge is trying to bring out in *Ira*, one point comes through clearly: Ultraleftism is as much a dead end in the context of the high school radicalization as it is anywhere else. The documentary shows the ultraleft High School Student Union to have been directionless and not quite serious.

At every point, the HSSU leaders seem to get out-debated. On a TV talk show, for example, Black high school students vigorously argue against them for being "against education." The HSSU was, of course, not against education, but they managed to get themselves cornered into this position by paying more attention to sounding militant than to clearly outlining a political perspective.

The infatuation with ultraleft rhetoric frequently makes the HSSU leaders look downright silly. At one point, for instance, a HSSU leader laughingly brags to a TV interviewer that he was suspended from school for causing riots without bothering to add that he had done no such thing.

By the end of the film, we see the leaders of the HSSU (who all appear to have been male) at the beach discussing future strategy. Student government campaigns, demonstrations and strikes are all unimportant, it is explained. What is really needed is something that can bring the mass of high school students to political consciousness.

In view of the fact that this perspective eliminates some of the main ways through which political consciousness actually does get raised, it is not surprising that the New York High School Student Union no longer exists. On the other hand, the high school radicalization has been growing, through demonstrations, student strikes, and radical campaigns for student government.

The film may be obtained by writing to Stephen Sbarge, 314 Eighth Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 11215.

—ARTHUR MAGLIN

Five Easy Pieces. Directed by Bob Rafelson. Starring Jack Nicholson and Karen Black. Columbia Pictures.

Five Easy Pieces has been having a certain vogue and there is no denying that it has some worth. It is well done and is never boring. On the other hand, it does not really say very much and never tries to show the roots of the problem it depicts. Its technical expertise and its socio-political superficiality may be the secret of its popularity with liberal film critics—that, and the current cult of actor Jack Nicholson, who plays the lead character, Robert Dupea.

The film deals with the identity problems of a discontented intellectual who doesn't know what he wants from life. Dupea is an unhappy drifter who goes from one odd job to another. The son of a family of cultivated and wealthy musicians, Dupea has dropped out of his milieu and is working as a rigger in an oil field.

Dupea is living with a waitress but also has sex with other women whom he casually picks up. He spends the rest of his time bowling and drinking.

The woman he is living with gets pregnant. His response is to get up the "courage" to abandon her.

After learning that his father is dying, he returns home for a visit. While there, he has an affair with his brother's fiancée. The waitress goes along with him, and after it becomes obvious that she does not fit into the pseudointellectual milieu of his family, they leave together. They stop in a gas station where he ditches her.

The movie derives its title from the way that Dupea plays with women and with music—in both cases unfeelingly. Thus, the "five easy pieces" of the title are three women and two piano selections.

Dupea is supposed to be an alienated intellectual, fed up with the phony sophistication of his family background. He is completely detached emotionally, thinks about very little, and stew in his own juice. The film shows him in conflict with his environment, but does not provide any insight into why or how these conflicts arose.

—A.M.

¡La Raza en Acción!

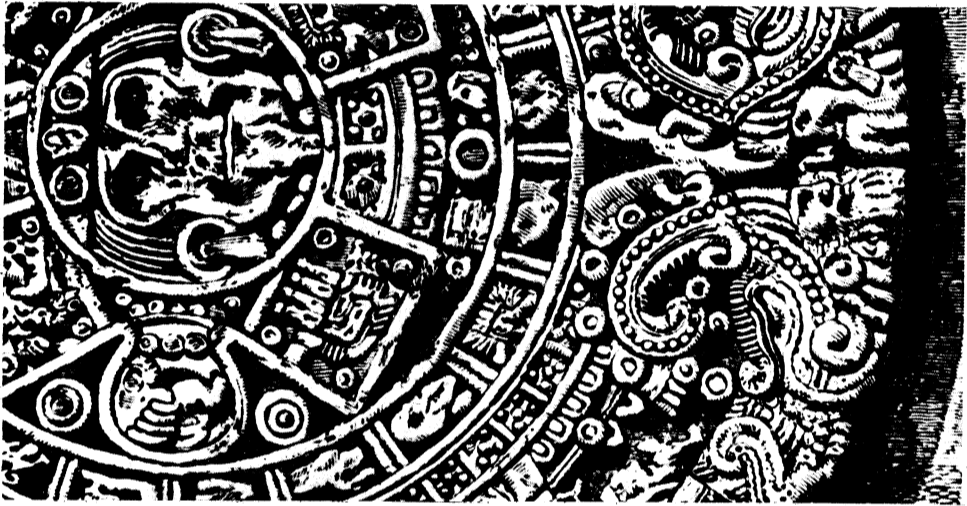
The National Chicano Moratorium Committee has launched a 750-mile protest march, *La Marcha de la Reconquista* (The March of the Reconquest), from Calexico to Sacramento, Calif., focusing on the Vietnam war, police brutality, welfare, immigration, and poverty program cutbacks, all of which are particularly discriminatory against *mexicanos*. The march, which began on *El Cinco de Mayo* (May 5), is expected to last two to three months.

At the same time that *La Marcha* was passing through Coachella, Calif., on May 12, Francisco García, a farm worker, was shot down and murdered by Los Angeles cops. The police claimed they had gone to Coachella, 140 miles from Los Angeles, in search of a "marijuana smuggling ring" and contended they accidentally killed García in the process.

The account of García's murder, published in *La Voz de La Frontera* in Mexicali, was given by his 18-year-old daughter, who witnessed the crime.

As García and his wife were driving off to arrange for their month-old child's christening, their truck was suddenly riddled with bullets. After the shooting, the policemen went over to examine the body and discovered he was not the person they were after. "They came back to where my mother and I were and all they said was they were sorry," she said. But even after admitting to having senselessly killed the "wrong" man, they went into the house and proceeded to search everywhere. All of the police were in plainclothes and none of their names have been made public.

The murder of García has caused such strong protest that a grand jury has been called to investigate, and Chicanos in California, including Congressman Ed Roybal, are demanding a full federal grand jury investigation.



The growing strength of Chicanas as a force within the Chicano movement was felt when they organized a women's caucus during a Texas Statewide Boycott Conference, called by the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. The conference was held in Castroville, Texas, on May 16 and 17.

A spokeswoman for the caucus addressed the conference and warned men that sexist attitudes and opposition to women's rights can divide the farm workers' struggle.

Raza women in Texas are playing an increasingly important role in the Chicano movement. In Pharr, Texas, Chicanas have organized actions against the racist mayor and against police brutality in that city.

On April 4, over 150 women marched in a heavy rain to protest the low bail set for the policeman accused of killing Alfonso Laredo Flores during a Feb. 6 demonstration held there. They then organized a picket line, which they have decided to continue until their demands are met. The demands are: 1) that a civilian review board of police activities be established, 2) that Police Chief Ramirez and two other officers be removed from the police force for their brutality against defenseless people, 3) that City Council meetings be held in the evenings rather than during the day, so that people who work can attend.

These actions by Chicanas are being carried out in conjunction with a boycott of southside businesses in Pharr, aimed at getting the businessmen to put pressure on the mayor to meet these demands.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics disclosed that "persons of Puerto Rican descent in New York are the most economically deprived in the city's major poverty areas." This report, appearing in the May 27 *N.Y. Post*, goes on to say that a survey done on Puerto Ricans in New York shows that Puerto Rican workers "were far more likely than others to be unemployed or to hold lower paying jobs." In other words, they are the last hired and the first fired.

The appointment of a Canadian-Irish bishop to the Brownsville, Texas, Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church, has caused a considerable stir among Chicano religious figures, according to the May 15 *New York Times*.

Expressing his opposition to this appointment, Rev. Ralph Ruiz, national chairman of PADRES, the organization of Mexican-American priests, sent a cable to the National Conference of Bishops, which said: "One out of every four Catholics in the United States is Mexican-American, yet we have only one bishop in the whole country. Why? You begin to wonder if the church is being fair or even loving." However, the Most Rev. Francis Furey, archbishop of the San Antonio Archdiocese, anxious to reassure Father Ruiz's faith in the church, commented: "It is not wise of them to talk like this. Of course the church loves them. They just have to wait."

— MIRTA VIDAL

...Chicano

Continued from page 5

dents garnered over 400 signatures of Chicano students on a petition demanding García's retention. They also appeared at a faculty meeting on June 1 to oppose a rumored dismissal action, which did not materialize. To end these rumors, faculty members sympathetic to García introduced a resolution, which was approved, calling for the retention of all current personnel.

The struggle over student control, including the right to retain García as a teacher, culminated in a long, emotionally charged MECHA meeting June 3.

The MECHA students told the administrators and faculty to leave the meeting, and then passed a resolution 38 to 18 to rehire all current faculty members for next year. They voted that this decision should be binding on the Junta.

The student decision was not allowed to stand. A large group of faculty members and administrators reentered the meeting in violation of the students' previous demands, and delivered an ultimatum threatening mass resignations if García kept his job.

The students again asked the administrators and faculty to leave and then, unable to make a decision in the face of the threatened mass resignations, invited them to return and state their reasons for wanting García fired. The meeting dragged on for a total of eight hours. García's opponents attacked him as divisive and distrustful of his Chicano colleagues. They accused him of being a CIA agent and deliberately plotting to split MECHA.

The meeting reached a climax when an administrator entered the meeting with 15 members of a barrio youth group and pointed out García to them in a clear attempt to intimidate the student-control militants. There had been a fist fight earlier in the meeting, and the presence of this group posed an additional physical threat to García and his supporters.

In this atmosphere, charged with verbal abuse and threats of violence, the students voted again — this time 40 to 29 against García.

Contacted by a *Militant* reporter the next day, García said that he does not consider the reversal of MECHA's original vote to represent Chicano student sentiment. He added that no formal charges were presented against him at the meeting.

"The irony of the situation," he pointed out, "is that as soon as students tried to use the control they are told they have, the administrators and some faculty members threatened to resign."

"The students weren't even allowed to control their own meeting," he added.

García and many of the pro-student-control activists have stated they will continue the struggle for student control of Chicano programs and are seeking the support of the Chicano students and community.

...AFSCME

Continued from page 24

mit the execution of the pension provision of the collective bargaining agreement we freely negotiated."

At issue is the amount of additional revenue needed to finance the city budget and how it is to be raised, which must be approved by the state legislature. Lindsay had originally requested authority to raise the city's revenues by more than \$900-million — through tax increases, including a

levy on incomes earned by commuters who work in the city, and borrowing. Rockefeller's initial "offer" was for less than half that amount. The final package submitted to the legislature amounts to \$525-million.

This tax increase will barely provide for operation of the city departments without the massive layoffs that have been threatened by the Lindsay administration. There will be, however, the expected further deterioration of city services and a steady reduction of the present city work force through attrition.

Victor Gotbaum, executive director of AFSCME District Council 37, aware of threats by Lindsay to request that the governor call up the National Guard as a strike-breaking force, reportedly said, "Lindsay will draw the pin; Rocky will throw the grenade."

This was an apt description of how the "mighty rivals" of New York politics, both in the Republican Party, joined forces to slow down the strike and deny the demands of the strikers.

Both the mayor and the governor denounced the strike in identical terms — "illegal . . . immoral . . . outrageous . . . offensive to the public interest."

Lindsay said that his office had been in touch with the governor to arrange for the National Guard. Rockefeller responded that the state was prepared to call up the Guard "if it should be necessary."

The city immediately sought injunctions against the unions, and State Supreme Court Justice Samuel Rosenberg warned union leaders that they were liable to 30-day jail sentences and \$250 fines for failure to comply with the court orders and send the strikers back to work.

The daily papers, led by the apologetic *New York Times*, poured out vile denunciations of the strikers and their leaders. One editorial in the June 8 *Times* advised against any settlement. "Certainly the last thing either the state or city can contemplate now is surrender to the power tactics of Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37 . . . or of his rivals-turned-allies in the Teamsters local that hoisted the municipal drawbridges and maliciously jammed the controls," said this Big Business guardian of the "public interest."

Opposite its editorial, the *Times* ran a special piece by Gotbaum, written before the strike, in which he denounces the Vietnam war and its apologists in the labor movement. "If our president has an invasion of Thailand next on the agenda and George Meany is prepared to applaud it, America should hear, too, that millions of trade unionists want the U.S. out of that bloodbath. . . ." wrote Gotbaum.

This obvious attempt by the *Times* to undermine support of the strike in reactionary AFL-CIO bureaucratic circles hurt neither the strike nor Gotbaum.

What limited the strike to simply a demonstration of power was the inability and unwillingness of its leaders, tied as they are to the Republican and Democratic parties, to lead what would necessarily be a sharp confrontation with both Albany and City Hall. With the dramatic show of economic and social force displayed by the strikers, the union leaders could have extracted significant gains if they had been willing to break from the limitations imposed by their political support to the parties of the employers. Such a break would raise the need for the labor movement to organize a labor party, independent of politicians and parties that represent only the interests of the employers.

The New York legislature proceeded to shelve the pension bill as it had intended to do before the strike was called, and prepared to adjourn. But before adjournment, the self-serving lawmakers voted themselves a fat pay raise by increasing their expense allowances from \$3,000 to \$5,000.

Calendar

AMHERST, MASS.

COMMUNITY RADIO WORKSHOP. A radical analysis of current issues. Every Friday night from 7:30-8:30 p.m. on WFCR-FM, 88.5. WFCR can be heard in nearly all of western New England and eastern New York State. Also on WMUA-FM, 91.1, on Tuesdays from 6:30-7:30 p.m.

BOSTON

GAY PRIDE WEEK. Come to a forum on Gay Pride. Hear members of the Christopher Street Liberation Committee, New York; Student Homophile League; and Gay Pride Week, Boston. Fri., June 18, 8 p.m. at Hill House, 74 Joy St., Beacon Hill, Boston. Ausp. Boston Socialist Workers Campaign '71. Admission: Free. For further information, call 536-6981.

VOICES OF DISSENT. Tuesdays, 6-7 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sundays, 7-8 p.m. on WRBB-FM, 91.7. Tues., June 15 and Sun., June 20: *The Independence Movement in Puerto Rico.* Tues., June 22 and Sun., June 27: *Women in the Arts.*

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

COME TO THE GRAND OPENING OF THE BROOKLYN MILITANT LABOR FORUM. Why We Need a Revolution and Who Will Make It. Speaker: Linda Jenness, 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia. Fri., June 18, 8:30 p.m. at 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Contribution: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For further information, call 596-2849.

CHICAGO

MILITANT LABOR FORUM. A weekly forum on topics of revolutionary interest, including the women's liberation, antiwar, labor and socialist movements. Fridays, 8 p.m. at 180 N. Wacker Drive, Room 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Call 641-9408 for further information.

CLEVELAND

KATE MILLET'S SEXUAL POLITICS—AN ANALYSIS. Speaker: Robbie Scherr, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., June 18, 8 p.m. at Debs Hall Forum, 4420 Superior. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Inexpensive pre-forum dinner served at 6:30 p.m. For further information, call 391-5553.

LOS ANGELES

THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION IN EAST BENGAL: The history of imperialism in Pakistan. Speakers: Saad Udin, Bengali student; Irving Hall, Young

Socialist Alliance. Fri., June 18, 8:30 p.m. at 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Admission: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 463-1917.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

GIs IN ALASKA FIGHT FOR FREE SPEECH. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, founding member of GIs United at Ft. Jackson, S.C., and just returned from Ft. Greely, Alaska. Fri., June 18, 8:30 p.m. at 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Contribution: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 982-6051.

Socialist summer school

ATLANTA

ROOTS OF THE CURRENT RADICALIZATION. A series of talks on the strategy and tactics of the American revolution. *The Transitional Program*, Wed., June 23, 8 p.m. *Ultraleftism and opportunism*, Fri. June 25, 8 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 1176 1/2 West Peachtree. For further information phone 876-2230.

AUSTIN

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. Weekend of lectures by Theodore Edwards, long-time Los Angeles radio commentator and writer. June 18-20. First talk, Fri., June 18, 8 p.m. at U of Texas Student Union, Rm. 300. Regular classes Tuesdays and Fridays same place and time. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further information, call M. Hernandez, 476-9030; or M. Lunn, 474-4275.

BAY AREA (CALIF.)

BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY. A series of classes. *The Soviet bureaucracy*, Fri., June 18, 8 p.m. *Germany and the collapse of the Third International*, Tues., June 22, 8 p.m. U of California-Berkeley, Tan Oak Room, Assoc. Students Bldg. For further information on the Northern Calif. regional summer school, phone (415) 626-9958 (San Francisco) or (415) 654-9728 (Berkeley). Ausp. SWP-YSA.

BOSTON

FRANCE IN REVOLUTION. Series on French history from the 1789 Revolution to the present. *Women and the Paris Commune* by Dianne Feeley, writer for *The Militant*, Sun., June 20, 7 p.m. *General lessons of the Commune*, Tues., June 22, 7 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. For information, call 536-6981.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

FOUR SERIES OF CLASSES. Series 1—Principles of Marxism, Wed., June 16, 7 p.m. Series 3—History and organizational principles of the Socialist Workers Party, Sun., June 20, call 596-2849 for exact time. Series 4—Strategies and tactics for the 70s, Tues., June 22, 7 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Series 2—Socialist Electoral Policy, Tues., June 22, 7 p.m. 1015 Washington Ave., Apt. 6M. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

CHICAGO

THE CURRENT RADICALIZATION AND PROSPECTS FOR THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Classes begin Tues., June 22, 7:30 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. Militant Labor Forum, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310. Call 641-0147 for further details.

CLEVELAND

HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. A series of

classes. *Formation of the Socialist Workers Party*, Wed., June 16, 8 p.m. *The class nature of the Soviet Union*, Mon., June 21, 8 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. Debs Hall, 4420 Superior. Phone 391-5553 for further details.

DENVER

Women and the Cuban, Chinese and Russian revolutions, Sun., June 20, 6 p.m. *The new radicalization and the revolutionary party*, Thurs, June 24, 7:30 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 607 E. 13th Ave. Phone 623-9505 for further information.

DETROIT

HISTORY OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. History of American Trotskyism, Tues., June 22, 7:30 p.m. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For more details call TE1-6135.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Bourgeois elections and Marxism, Wed., June 16, 8 p.m. *Foundations of scientific socialism*, Sun., June 20, 8 p.m. U of Houston University Center. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For more information call 741-2577.

LOS ANGELES

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. *The Russian Revolution*, Thurs., June 17, 8 p.m. *The Stalin-Trotsky struggle*, Sun., June 20, 4 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. For added details, call 463-1917 or 463-1966.

MINNEAPOLIS

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED. Series of classes. Tues., June 22, 7:30 p.m. *Low-cost international dinners precede classes 6:30 p.m. Tuesdays.* Special weekend on socialist electoral policy featuring Fred Halstead, 1968 Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate. Begins with banquet dinner, Fri., June 18, 6 p.m. Gala party after class. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin), second floor. For further details, call 332-7781.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

TOWARDS AN AMERICAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. *The transitional program*, Tues., June 15, 7:30 p.m. *Why revolutionary socialists intervene in capitalist elections*, Thurs., June 17, 7:30 p.m. *The roots of the American radical movements*, Sun., June 20, 1 p.m. *Militant Labor Forum*, 706 Broadway (4th St.), eighth floor. Ausp. SWP-YSA. Call 982-6051 for further information.

NEW YORK: UPPER MANHATTAN

THREE SERIES OF CLASSES. Series 1—History and organizational principles of the revolutionary party. The next class Sun., June 20, 2 p.m. Series 2—Socialist Electoral Policy. Next class: *Revolutionary socialist strategy in electoral action*, Tues., June 22, 7 p.m. Series 3—*The new radicalization*. Next class: *Prospects for the American revolution*, Thurs., June 24, 7 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 2744 Broadway (106th St.), second floor. Phone 663-3000 for further details.

PHILADELPHIA

HISTORY OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. Onset of World War II—the Schactman fight, Sun., June 20, 2 p.m. Party activities during World War II, Sun., June 20, 4 p.m. Party work during the postwar labor upsurge, Wed., June 23, 7:30 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). For further details phone WA 5-4316.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

DYNAMICS OF THE CURRENT RADICALIZATION. Class 3—*Self-determination and the American revolution*, Thurs., June 17, 7 p.m. Class 4—*Marxism and feminism*, Mon., June 21, 8 p.m. San Diego State Aztec Center. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further details, call 286-9885.

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. *Dialectical materialism and political economy*, Wed., June 23, 8 p.m. *History of the American left*, Thurs., June 24, 8 p.m. *The Transitional Program*, Sat. and Sun., June 26-27, 11 a.m. U of Washington HUB. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further information, call 523-2555.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

CHICANO NATIONALISM. The new rise in Chicano nationalism in this country. Fri., June 18, 8 p.m. *The Chinese revolution*, Mon., June 21, 8 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 2000 P St., N.W., Rm. 413. For details, call 833-9560.

...Alaska

Continued from page 3

and collect signatures from as many GIs as possible at Ft. Greely and other bases in Alaska.

The following day, Jurenas, Warner and I rode up to Ft. Jonathan Wainwright, just outside Fairbanks, in the base bus. We talked to GIs at Wainwright about Jurenas' case and about the war, and I got rid of some more *Militants*.

The fight of GIs for their rights and against the war is growing here in Alaska as it is everywhere GIs are stationed. Backed up by the mass mobilizations and the support to GI defense efforts of the civilian antiwar movement, such struggles will continue until Nixon has been forced out of Southeast Asia.

Larger numbers of GIs are learning through such fights that capitalism is responsible for that barbaric war, that we need a rational system to replace one where people are forced to kill for the sake of profits for a handful of warmongers.

The Army has not frozen the GI antiwar movement in Alaska. On the contrary, the movement at Ft. Greely is one of the hottest anywhere. The antiwar movement must take up its defense.

Hands off Ed Jurenas!

Free speech for GIs!

Bring all the troops home now!

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THE MILITANT



The Mill Basin Bridge in Brooklyn was one of 27 bridges into Manhattan left open by city workers' strike June 7

N.Y. workers stage militant strike

By FRANK LOVELL

The power of organized labor was on display in New York City the day the bridges lifted June 7. Motor traffic on and off Manhattan island was snarled as never before as the result of strike action by fewer than 6,000 city employees when the New York State legislature in Albany refused to approve a union-negotiated pension plan and to allocate the necessary funds to the city.

An estimated 750,000 motor vehicles normally enter and leave Manhattan daily.

The strike, backed by the 88,000-member District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO), and by Local 237 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, left open 27 of the 29 movable bridge spans leading into the heart of the city. In addition, tractor trucks and heavy dump rigs were stalled and abandoned at key intersections. The abandoned trucks were city-owned, operated by members of AFSCME. About 300 Teamsters members operate the

drawbridges.

A leaflet distributed to stranded motorists by AFSCME members explained the cause of their difficulties. It said in part:

"If you are inconvenienced and upset, we are truly sorry.

"One year ago, District Council 37 negotiated a contract with New York City.

"A contract—including a new pension plan—was agreed to and approved by the New York City Council. Then it went to Albany for ratification.

"The contract has been signed for one year. But [Governor] Rockefeller will not let it be voted on and approved by the Senate and Assembly.

"Over 2,000 members of our union retired this year since the contract was signed. They made their decisions based on the retirement plan. At this date, their retirement income is one-third less than they expected," the leaflet stated.

The most these workers can expect under the plan is half-pay at age 55, if they have worked 20 years for the

city. Some who live long enough to get in 40 years work can retire on full pay.

The alternative, the union says, is welfare. The AFSCME leaflet to inconvenienced motorists further explained, "Understand this. District Council 37 is not made up of political fat cats. Our pension plan represents old age security for New York City employees whose average salary is \$7,500 a year."

On the second day of the strike, almost all park facilities were closed, seven city incinerators were shut down, 13 sewage treatment plants were inoperative, and city and Army engineers had managed to close only 10 of the 27 drawbridges left open by the strikers.

At the end of the second day the bridge tenders were ordered back to work by officials of the Teamsters union.

AFSCME officials called all workers back on the morning of June 9 after city officials agreed to resubmit the pension plan to the 1972 state legislature and if it again fails to gain

approval, to then seek ways of granting the pension without ratification by the legislature.

The strike action was provoked partly by the political cross-fire between the city's mayor, John V. Lindsay, and Governor Rockefeller, but at bottom it was a response to the effort of the capitalist class to lower wages and drive down the standard of living of workers. New York city employees feel these attacks sharply and are seeking ways to protect themselves.

Barry Feinstein, president of Teamsters Local 237, charged that racist policies of the Rockefeller state administration were the reason for holding back city employees' pensions. He said, "That which is good enough for white cops and firemen is good enough for Black and Puerto Rican employees of New York City and the New York City Housing Authority." He also said, "It is apparent to our membership that their race and ethnic backgrounds, rather than the alleged fiscal crunch, motivates Rockefeller to refuse to per-

Continued on page 21

Support grows for antiwar convention

NEW YORK—The National Peace Action Coalition is scheduled to open its new offices in New York City with an open house June 10. NPAC has moved to 150 Fifth Ave., N. Y., N. Y. 10003, in order to better build the July 2-4 National Antiwar Convention, which will be held at Hunter College here.

Among the keynote speakers at the July 2-4 convention will be Senator Vance Hartke, Victor Reuther, and SMC National Coordinator Deborah Bustin.

NPAC is preparing a series of letters addressed to various antiwar constituencies—trade unionists, students, GIs, veterans, Blacks, women, gays—inviting participation in the July convention, which will decide on antiwar activity for the fall.

Among the signers of the GI letter

are Army Reserve Capt. Grier Merwin of the Concerned Officers Movement (COM); Louis Font, COM and West Point Class of 1968; Sp/4 Verne Wyndham of Ft. Hamilton; Congressman Ron Dellums, and GI Press Service Editor Hal Rankin.

Signers of the letter to veterans include Rankin, Gen. Hugh B. Hester (ret.), Leroy Wolins of Chicago Veterans for Peace, and Ron Wolin of New York Vets for Peace.

Rev. Charles Koen of the Cairo Black United Front and Bill Tate of District 65, Distributive Workers union in New York, are two of the signers of the letter to African-Americans.

Duane Draper, president of the Association of Student Governments and Bustin from SMC have signed the letter to students.

According to the reports NPAC now has on hand, there is already impressive support for the July 2-4 meeting.

The Philadelphia PAC reports that sponsorship in the city for the July convention is broader than that for April 24. Among endorsers from Philadelphia are the two mayoral candidates defeated by Police Chief Frank L. Rizzo—former city councilman Dave Cohen, and Black candidate Hardy Williams. Others include Allan Sebastian of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, regional SANE director John J. Spillane, Wendell Young and Dave Niefeld of the Retail Clerks union, AFSCME International Vice-President Earl Stout, Jack Hart and Robert Kyler of UE District Council 1, and Spencer Cox of the ACLU.