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March 21, 1972

To All Organizers and Antiwar Directors

Dear Comrades,

The war in Vietnam remains the central focus of world politics, emphasizing the continuing importance of the antiwar movement. Building for the April 22 demonstration takes on new importance in the context of the recently stepped up bombing and the Nixon-Mao visit, which poses a new threat to the Vietnamese revolution. In the weeks remaining between now and the demonstration, the branches and locals should step up the campaign to publicize and build the April 22 action and help maximize participation on that date.

The objective situation that we face indicates that, barring any major shift in the war, the size of the demonstrations can be expected to be smaller than April 24, 1971, and more on the order of the November 6 actions. There are a number of factors influencing this. The reduction of American casualties flowing from the withdrawal of troops and the concentration on the air war has furthered the illusion that the war is "winding down." Nixon's China trip has also influenced people in the direction of thinking that the war may be in the process of being settled.

As we have stated in the past, the capitalist election campaigns have had the effect of moving some forces away from mass action. The PCPJ, under the influence of the C.P., is farther from the mass action perspective than during the period leading up to November 6. We have also seen a lessening of active support from trade unions for this demonstration.

However, there is another side to the process going on around the elections. The very broad support the SMC obtained for its conference was a reflection of this other side. There are a number of reasons why the SMC was able to get the active participation of various "youth support" groups for capitalist candidates, and other youth groups like the National Student Lobby, who have not been associated with the SMC in the past. On the one hand, these youth are opposed to the war. Some of the individuals involved have been in the organized antiwar movement in the past and identify with the SMC as a good antiwar organization. In some of the offices of these groups they have SMC posters and literature available. At the same time they think that the SMC is a good place to win people to support of their particular candidate.

It is clear that the bourgeois candidates knew of and favored the idea that the youth groups that were formed to support them were involved in the SMC convention. The bourgeois candidates are very vulnerable on the question of the war. When challenged, some have been forced to verbally support April 22 at campus meetings all over the country. They are forced into this position because of their recognition of the depth of the antiwar sentiment which they wish to mobilize behind their campaigns. Also because of the wide array of Democratic Party "peace candidates" they are forced to vie with each other to prove that they are the "most antiwar."

We should extend and deepen the contacts that we have with the youth forces that were able to be drawn around the SMC conference, both nationally and locally. Youth for McGovern and Youth for Lindsay representatives were added to the steering committee of NPAC at its last meeting, due to the follow up work done to draw them into the antiwar movement. In addition, the national office of SMC plans to initiate an "Open Letter to American Youth," which it hopes to get signed by some of these contacts. This letter will appeal to students to turn out on the 22nd. It can be used as a leaflet in local areas. In addition, campus papers should be approached to run it as an ad for April 22. In building for the SMC convention, the national office was able to get quite a few free ads from sympathetic student newspapers, in addition to paid ads. This should be tried on the local level.

In spite of some of the difficulties that the objective situation poses for the building of the antiwar movement, we have found that we have made and can make some significant gains in the position and prestige of the NPAC and SMC perspective for the antiwar movement. NPAC and SMC have made some strides in becoming known as the American peace movement in this period.

The gains that have been made for the SMC can best be seen if we consider what would happen if there were a sudden shift in the war situation. If the ruling class were forced to make a move that clearly indicated to the American people that the war is escalating, the SMC would be in an ideal position to mount a massive response. With the contacts it now has with the student governments and newspapers, and among the youth working for capitalist candidates, the SMC is in a better position than it has ever been to be right in the center of mobilizing mass antiwar sentiment into massive action. This is an important gain for the future of the antiwar movement.

NPAC is also making gains in its position. Its intervention at the Versailles conference showed that NPAC has an opportunity to win new prestige on a world scale. Activity in response to NPAC's call is presently slated for Belgium, France, New Zealand and Switzerland, among other countries. Potential exists for demonstrations throughout Europe. NPAC will be sending a representative to Europe to help organize Europe-wide demonstrations for April. The French Indochinese Solidarity Front is cooperating with this NPAC effort.

Due to NPAC's consistent work, forces opposed to mass action in the PCPJ have found themselves in more and more of an untenable position in regard to the spring offensive. On the one hand, they attacked NPAC for its "disruptive" role in Versailles. On the other hand, the calendar of activities that was approved at Versailles included April 22. While NPAC has been distributing the Versailles calendar, PCPJ states in a national mailing that it had decided not to endorse April 22. Recently, PCPJ's interim committee bent in the direction of April 22. This committee declared that while PCPJ does not "endorse" April 22, it encourages its constituent groups in New York and Los Angeles to help build the 22nd and to march on that day under PCPJ slogans. They were forced to adopt this position under pressure from constituent groups such as The Guardian, which had pledged publicly to fight to reopen the question of April 22 at the next PCPJ national meeting to be held at the end of March.

At its last steering committee meeting, NPAC voted to endorse and actively build the demonstration in defense of the Harrisburg defendants, to be held in Harrisburg on April 1. PCPJ has indicated that April 1 is its focus date for the spring. NPAC will be putting out an open letter to PCPJ and its affiliates, calling for unity around April 1 and 22.

Carl Davidson, of The Guardian, is now on the NPAC steering committee at their request. The Guardian's position is that PCPJ and NPAC should get together around the focal date of April 22, and they have asked to be represented on the national bodies of both organizations.

The recent events in Los Angeles, covered in The Militant, indicate the gains that NPAC has made in that city, and that its successes have dealt blows to those in the PCPJ who are opposed to mass action against the war.

At its last steering committee meeting, questions were raised as to how NPAC should deal with the question of the Thieu regime. Questions have arisen because the Vietnamese have recently made a big point of demanding that the U.S. government must end support to the Thieu regime, if it wishes to see any settlement of the war, and because of the U.S. government's response to this. NPAC is, of course, opposed to U.S. support of any kind to the puppet government of Thieu. NPAC is for self-determination for the Vietnamese and opposes any U.S. interference in the affairs of Vietnam. The demand of OUT NOW encompasses this concept. The problem arises when the question of the Thieu regime is dealt with in slogan form. For example, a number of leaflets have come in from various areas with a formulation like the following: "Bring the Troops Home Now, Stop the Bombing, End Support to the Puppet Dictatorship of Thieu." Using the last slogan without further explanation of NPAC's position of self-determination for Vietnam could give rise to misconceptions. It could imply that NPAC would be for some other form of government, or that NPAC would support Washington prosecuting the war through some other regime. NPAC takes no position whatsoever on what form of government Vietnam should have. It says that this is for the Vietnamese to decide. In general we do not want to see NPAC adopt some slogan about the Thieu regime that becomes co-equal with its slogans centering on the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and materiel. However, it does sometimes become necessary to capsulize NPAC's attitude toward the Thieu regime in statements it puts out. When this is necessary the best formulation, and one agreed to at the last NPAC steering committee meeting, is "No Support to the Puppet Dictatorship of Thieu--No U.S. Imposed Governments on Vietnam."

To counter the prowar congressional call for a "Week of Concern for POWs," some areas are planning March 26 picket lines around the theme that the only way to bring the POWs home is for the U.S. to immediately withdraw from Vietnam. In areas that can carry out such actions, they could be useful as builders of April 22. It is very important, however, that in any statements or leaflets dealing with the POW issue NPAC makes clear that it is attacking Nixon on this issue and is out to expose his hypocrisy in raising this issue while engaging in the further destruction of Vietnam. If this is not clearly spelled out, it could appear that NPAC is making demands on the Vietnamese in regard to the POWs.

Areas should send in reports to the SWP and YSA national offices on various build up activities that have or will take place. The YSA is sending under separate cover suggestions for building the April 19 high school activities that were projected at the SMC conference.

Plans for transportation to New York and Los Angeles should be concretized if they have not been already. The information on when, where and how much for busing should be gotten out widely. NPAC and SMC should begin to sell tickets out of the offices, on campus tables, and approach groups that may want to reserve seats right away.

While up to now we have been concentrating on building meetings to discuss plans for the 22nd, in many areas now is the time to step up getting out leaflets, posters, stickers, etc., that have the concrete information on them about April 22 and how to get there. Special attention should be paid to setting up speaking engagements for the national speakers bureau and for local NPAC and SMC spokespeople. Many areas have gotten a good response when they have gone before campus and community groups and been able to speak at length about the real situation with the war.

Whatever the actual size of the demonstration on April 22, NPAC and SMC have made some very concrete gains in this period. These can best be extended by a well organized final push to involve maximum participation of organizations and individuals on the day of the 22nd itself.

Comradely,

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their northward migration, by the Supreme Court, by the voting rights acts of Congress, by education, and by Negro voting power. What they face now is exclusion from the skilled working force and denial of the right to live where they please.

How has the white population responded to this near-revolution? By a flight to the suburbs that turns the big cities into black ghettos. By job discrimination, by housing discrimination, by police harassment. What happens in physics and chemistry when a constantly expanding pressure? Sooner or later an explosion is bound to result. So it is in our cities today. Ghetto confinement and frustration are building an atomic bomb, to which, if the pressure is not relieved, despair and anger will some day furnish the trigger.

Black Americans, once helpless on the farms, today lack only national organization to give the United States a choice between racial equality and universal chaos. The black ghettos soon will control the governments of all large cities. Once fully organized, their officers need only to act together to halt every railroad train in the nation, to block every major truck route. And national organization will come if the pressure inducing it continue to mount.

The remedy is simple, though not easy. All that is needed is sufficient insight and resulting action, based either on goodwill or the necessities of self-preservation. The black population must be admitted to an equal share in the fruits promised by the preamble of the Constitution—A Constitution written and ordained to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." The one overwhelming need is for white people to recognize black people as a genuine part of our common society.

NATIONAL PEACE ACTION COALITION IS CONTROLLED BY SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

(Mr. ICHORD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, at a series of hearings last June held by the House Committee on Internal Security which I have the honor to chair, a considerable amount of evidence established that a group in this country called the National Peace Action Coalition is completely controlled by the Socialist Workers Party, a collection of Trotskyite Communists.

While considerable attention is paid to the various demonstrations and other activities carried out by the NPAC, little heed has been paid to the fact that its leadership is topheavy with members of the SWP and its youth arm, the Young Socialist Alliance.

Now one might take the fact that the Socialist Workers Party controls every activity of the NPAC—this has never really been denied or challenged—and adopt a ho-hum attitude.

"What danger does this present to us?" one might ask.

Well, Mr. Speaker, the danger represented by the worldwide movement of the Trotskyite Communists—those who advocate armed revolution on an international scale—is already close to home.

Its dangers are as fresh as can be found in the daily news accounts from Argentina and that country, Mr. Speaker, is in the Western Hemisphere, not far off in Southeast Asia.

I talk, Mr. Speaker, of the deeds of the Trotskyite Revolutionary Army of the People in Argentina, a group that this moment is holding prisoner Mr. Oberdan Sallustro, an executive of Fiat, a large Italian motor car company. That is they are holding him prisoner if they have not yet, as promised, murdered him.

This revolutionary army, known by its Spanish initials as E.R.P., has threatened to execute Mr. Sallustro if its demands for ransom in various forms of one million dollars are not met. It also seeks other concessions for the release of Mr. Sallustro, 56-year-old Fiat manager for Argentina. These include release of 50 jailed guerrillas and their safe conduct to a country of their own choosing.

Last year, Mr. Speaker, the same group kidnaped the manager of a Swift meat-packing plant in Argentina, freeing him only after similar demands were met. The Committee on Internal Security described this kidnaping in appendix B of part 2 of the hearings held last year on the NPAC and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

During the hearings on NPAC, an expert witness, Mr. Milorad Popov who is assistant editor of the Yearbook on International Communist Affairs put out by the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, testified that the Socialist Workers Party is for all intents and purposes a segment of an international collection of Trotskyite Communists called the Fourth International.

I would like to point out, Mr. Speaker, that the revolutionary army in Argentina is also one segment of the Fourth International. This connection came up during my questioning of Mr. Popov.

Also described in part 2 of the hearings is a statement of views of the E.R.P. as carried in the Intercontinental Press, official organ of the International Socialist Workers Party.

I would like to quote some of these aims for the benefit of my colleagues. Remember, Mr. Speaker, that these are the words of the official organ of the Socialist Workers Party.

The strategic principle guiding us is to extend the war, which in our opinion has already begun . . .

We carry forward this extension of the people's civil war through (both) political and military action.

What is involved in activity that is both "open" and clandestine . . .

Among us we have neither rankings nor insignias. Our only commandante is and will be Che Guevara . . . This alone defines our internationalist revolutionary tradition—our complete solidarity with Cuba.

For us the road to liberation in Latin America passes historically through armed revolution.

On the world level we view with revolutionary sympathy Korea, Vietnam and China in addition to Cuba.

There may be those, Mr. Speaker, who believe that "it cannot happen here," that this country faces no danger of political kidnappings, of demands for huge ransoms, of ultimatums to free convicted criminals upon pain of execution of some hapless and helpless individual whose only crime is being important enough to serve as a suitable hostage.

I am not that sanguine, Mr. Speaker, this country has already suffered from a wave of bombings carried out by radicals.

Let us hope, Mr. Speaker, that when the SWP decides that marches and demonstrations are insufficient to bring about imposition of the form of government it prefers on this country, we are not confronted with the kind of terrorist activities already launched in Argentina and elsewhere in this hemisphere.

As I have said before, Mr. Speaker, the Socialist Workers Party and its allies do not represent the "doves" of honorable peace; they are instead the "hawks" of the other side.

I think, Mr. Speaker, it is not only the right of those of us in this House to be concerned by what they are doing and what they might do—it is our duty.

TAX REFORM ACT OF 1972

(Mr. HORTON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, in the Tax Reform Act of 1969, Congress sought to distribute the tax burden fairly among the poor, middle-income, and wealthy Americans as well as businesses and corporations. Many improvements in the Federal tax system were made, but it is equally apparent that further adjustments are needed to correct remaining deficiencies.

In an effort to remedy this situation, I have introduced today H.R. 14144, the Tax Reform Act of 1972. This measure would bring in an additional \$5.25 billion in Federal revenue. Included in the bill are several provisions plugging loopholes for wealthy Americans now paying little or no taxes. The legislation also provides for tightening tax rules on the income of foreign subsidiaries of American corporations. Under the reform package, the Federal Government would receive an estimated \$2.1 billion in revenue through taxing capital gains on property transferred at death or by gift and in offering an alternative to States and localities issuing only tax-free bonds. Through adjustments such as these, Federal revenue can be increased substantially, the exportation of American jobs to foreign countries can be discouraged, and many inequities in our tax system can be erased.

While the Congress succeeded in enacting comprehensive tax reforms in 1969, it is by no means too early to consider more needed reforms. Indeed, given our high unemployment rates and huge budget deficits, tax reform should be one of the primary issues which Congress confronts. Apart from strictly economic considerations, this is an election year.