

THE MILITANT

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*The biggest political
demonstration yet*

A million marched in D.C. and S.F.

— news and photos pp. 5-12



Photo of Washington Monument rally by Shannon

Vietnam Gls support Moratorium

Only one 'reservation'

Vietnam
I've started to receive *The Militant* beginning with the one reporting the October Moratorium. I expect I'll be getting the *Young Socialist* pretty soon as well.

The Oct. 15 actions have met with a definitely positive reaction over here. I've only heard one "reservation" about them: "They were OK, but it would have been one hell of a lot better if we could have had them over here."

It was impossible for the army to conceal the massive and widespread nature of the demonstrations. For example, a guy I know from Nashville was showing everyone a leaflet from the Nashville SMC that his wife had sent him. She said there were people on every street corner passing out the leaflets and they were met with a positive reaction from everyone.

I must admit that up until then I hadn't realized the tremendous increase in radicalization that has occurred since I've been over here. I imagine things will seem rather strange to me when I return.

Shelby Harris

Where was Lindsay on the 15th?

New York, N. Y.

John Lindsay, who recently won reelection as New York's mayor by posing as a peace candidate, didn't see fit to participate in the mammoth Nov. 15 antiwar demonstration in Washington. I understand he was soaking up the sun in the Bahamas.

J. B.

Goddard College backs antiwar movement

Plainfield, Vt.

On Nov. 12, following the precedent set during the October Moratorium, Goddard College voted to support the November Moratorium and to "encourage and excuse the absence of all students and employees who leave regular activities on Nov. 13, 14 and 15 to engage in antiwar activities they choose." The college also made available all of its vehicles to licensed students and employees for antiwar activities within a 50-mile radius of the school. Those who participated in the Nov. 15 mobilization went to Washington in buses paid for with money saved by closing the kitchens during last month's moratorium.

For years, Goddard has been a haven

Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

for hippies and others who consider themselves apolitical. The action of the college during both moratoriums and the widespread interest in the Washington mobilization are the first stirrings of political consciousness at Goddard and hopefully the beginnings of a radical re-ordering of the relationship between Goddard College and the larger society of which it's a part.

Dave Haldane

A child's view

New York, N. Y.

My grandson, aged 5, made his first political remark the day of the October Moratorium. His father explained to him why some cars were driving with their headlights on. My grandson said, "They should drive with their taillights on." When his father asked him why he replied:

"Because they're red like blood."

Proud Grandmother

Parallel between Irish and woman questions?

San Francisco, Calif.

In Mehring's *Karl Marx* there are some interesting remarks on the Irish question (pp. 415, 416, 457) "... the lively interest which Marx showed for the Irish question was caused by something even deeper than sympathy for an oppressed people. His studies had led him to the conclusion that the freedom of the Irish people was a necessary condition for the emancipation of the English working class, on which, in its turn, the emancipation of the European proletariat depended. ... The ordinary English worker hated the Irish worker as a competitor, and felt himself superior as a member of a dominant race, thus becoming a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists against Ireland and at the same time strengthening the dominance of those classes over himself. ..."

Marx relates this antagonism, which

was the root of the impotence of the working class in England, to the relations between black and white in the U. S. It seems to me there might be insights in this question that could apply to the caste relations between men and women also.

Vilma Sanchez

Some suggestions

Manhattan, Kansas

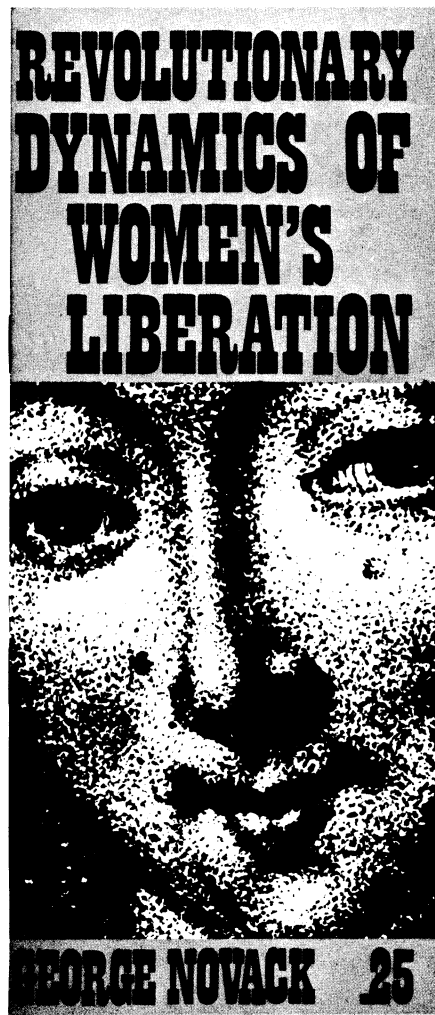
In regional trailblazing for the YSA, *The Militant* is the most useful tool we have. We use it constantly, especially to break on to a new campus.

George Novack's recent article on women's liberation is one of the finest *The Militant* has printed. We could sure use a reprint of it, either as a throw-away or as a mini-pamphlet. The same goes for Dick Robert's articles on Laos. When the series is finished, it should be reprinted, if possible, in pamphlet form. Mary-Alice Water's series on PL should also be reprinted.

I also think that the "Inside this issue" box on the front page should be revived and expanded. If this were done, *The Militant* would sell itself.

Naomi Allen

YSA Midwest regional traveler



Generation goof

Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

George Novack's article on the dynamics of women's liberation was excellent. I gather it is to be published as a pamphlet. This being so, it might be advisable to correct one small factual error in it.

Mary Wollstonecraft did not write *Frankenstein*. It was written by her daughter, Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, wife of Percy Bysshe Shelley, in 1815, 18 years after her mother's death.

Other than that, I was much impressed by the article.

Ian Angus

Xmas boycott proposal

Brooklyn, N. Y.

I have written to several people in the various Moratorium "organizations" with a plan which I think has great potential.

To coincide with the pre-Christmas

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Closing news date—Nov. 21

shopping season, I propose a December Moratorium tactic of a nationwide economic boycott. The tie-in with Christmas could provide an enormous symbolic impact. While refusing to buy, and to support the capitalist-warfare state economy, we would inform all public officials as to the meaning of this action—a further pressure on the system which is keeping us in Vietnam.

Bernadette Devlin stated that the men in power ultimately will not heed protests—but *must* heed a direct action on their pocketbooks. Think about it.

Elizabeth Sawyer

Appreciated article on Puerto Rico

Springfield, Mass.

I would like to thank you from the bottom of my heart for having printed the article, "How the U. S. exploits Puerto Rico," by el companero Benjamin Ortiz in this week's copy of *The Militant*. It showed to me your concern and solidarity with our people's struggle for freedom which we need badly. Now I can see that the polarization of forces that was predicted right after the assimilationist pro-statehood party took over in the past elections is becoming a reality. Although we are not many in number our spirit for freedom and self-determination will make us keep on fighting for the revolution as the only solution to the island's social, political and economic problems. We need the support of all of those Americans that are against imperialism and colonialism. Patria o Muerte, Venceremos.

J. L.

The Indianapolis scene

Indianapolis, Ind.

You might be interested to learn that the Nov. 8 action in Indianapolis was well supported. About 500 people turned out for a march from Military Park to the War Memorial which was rededicated to Peace and Justice in the world. Sidney Lens from the New Mobilization Committee spoke against the war and said that if this many people could turn out to protest the war in Indianapolis, Ku Klux Klan country and a lousy town, the revolution was not on its way, it was here. The response of the crowd was to stand and shout "revolution!"

D. C.

Gets on the bandwagon

Hutchinson, Minn.

Please enter my subscription to your great newspaper. Several of my friends read it, but I won't be content until I receive my own copies. A candidate for mayor in our city also receives *The Militant*, so it must be good!

D. S.

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Politics of RYM II — an analysis

By DOUG JENNESS

ATLANTA, Ga.—The RYM II faction of the Students for a Democratic Society will hold a national conference here Nov. 27-30. According to the conference call there will be "discussions and debates on the national question, white supremacy, male supremacy, and the direction of RYM II."

Led by Mike Klonsky, Noel Ignatin and Marv Treiger, Revolutionary Youth Movement II is one of three groups that are presently competing for the allegiance of young radicals in SDS. Many SDSers who are disgusted with the extreme ultra-left antics of the Weatherman faction and with the Worker-Student Alliance's reactionary view of Cuba and black nationalism will be interested in seeing what RYM II has to offer.

It is difficult at this time to discuss RYM II's views because they are evolving very rapidly, vary from one city to another, and most of them are not written down. Nonetheless, there is enough information to consider some of the positions held by the leadership of this group.

The acid test for revolutionary internationalists today is whether or not they are helping to defend the Vietnamese revolution in action. While they organized the April, 1965, March on Washington, SDS's record on this question since then has not been good.

Although they were the largest student radical organization in the country, they played almost no role in the major national actions. However, even before their split with the Weathermen, the RYM II leaders were beginning to recognize the importance of the antiwar movement and since the split have talked more about doing something than the other factions.

What concretely have they proposed to do? Following their split with the Weathermen, RYM II held a national conference in Detroit in mid-September where they adopted a resolution introduced by Marv Treiger entitled, "Serve the people—Get the U.S. out of Vietnam." The first paragraph begins "RYM II SDS has taken off." The Detroit gathering passes a resolution for action including these points: 1) A national action in Chicago in the fall relating opposition to the war to the theme of 'Serve the people.' 2) A political line for that action based on the principle slogan "U.S. Get Out of Vietnam" plus a number of secondary slogans. 3) The launching of a year's solidarity with the Vietnamese including mobilizing for the Nov. 8 local actions and planning a spring offensive "of our own" against the war.

Not a word in the entire resolution about the then upcoming Nov. 15 march on Washington and San Francisco nor was there any mention of this action in the first issue of their newspaper, *Revolutionary Youth Movement*, even though the principal demand of the D.C.-S.F. actions was immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam.

As it turned out, RYM II organized a relatively small action in Chicago on Oct. 11 aimed primarily at countering the Weatherman faction's adventure rather than building a mass action against the Vietnam war. The Nov. 8 mobilization never materialized.

After the tremendous outpouring for

the Oct. 15 Moratorium, most RYM II groups decided to "get in on the Moratorium action," as Mike Klonsky told his supporters in Atlanta and they then endorsed the Nov. 15 action.

This was definitely a progressive though belated step. However, despite this endorsement, they did not become involved in the New Mobilization Committee or the Student Mobilization Committee and help to build the action as part of the organized antiwar movement.

Rather they spent most of their time and energy organizing activities separate from the organized antiwar movement and often around demands other than "U.S. Out of Vietnam Now," which they claim is their principal slogan.

In Atlanta, for example, the primary activity of RYM II prior to Nov. 15 was an attempt to form a "Nat Turner

port the right of Afro-Americans to self-determination, many of them are very confused on this question. For example, the Atlanta RYM II leadership argues that black people should have a separate black state with clearly defined geographical boundaries. This is a resurrection of the "black belt" policy Stalin foisted on to the American Communist Party in 1928. The CP at that time advocated the formation of a black republic in the southern black belt and even published maps showing where the possible boundaries could be.

This position was adopted in total disregard of the sentiment of the 12 million black people in the United States. The very term self-determination implies the right of an oppressed group, that is those most directly effected, to decide for themselves what they want, and how, and when. Although black

a word in the RYM II resolution or in their newspaper about the necessity of Afro-Americans making a political break from the capitalist parties and the significance of promoting an independent black political party.

Their positions on the Vietnam war and the black liberation struggle show that the central feature of RYM II's politics is pragmatism and lack of any concept of class political principles. They lack an overall program with a clear analysis of the major currents in the world socialist movement and an understanding of the victories and defeats of the working class movement over the past 120 years. Consequently they flit from one position to another, from one action to another, without any apparent rhyme or reason. They wet their finger, put it in the air, and try to see which way the wind is blowing.



Photo by Joel Aber

STEP FORWARD. While modest, labor participation in Nov. 15 Washington antiwar march was best yet. Some in RYM II assert need for orientation toward working class, but policies of group contribute little toward involving ranks of labor in struggle.

brigade" for participation in the Nov. 15 action in order to "express the basic theme of solidarity with the Vietnamese."

In Washington, D.C. on Nov. 14 and 15 RYM II sponsored and concentrated their main participation in the Saigon embassy rally around the demand, "Support the Provisional Revolutionary Government," and the ultra-left confrontation with the cops at the Justice Department building. All their talk about building a mass anti-imperialist movement around the principal slogan, "U.S. Troops Out of Vietnam Now," was scattered to the winds.

In other words, RYM II has not really broken from the sectarian and ultra-leftist stance towards the antiwar movement that has plagued SDS for the last few years.

Will RYM II's proposed spring offensive against the Vietnam war be discussed at the Atlanta conference or is this just another idea thrown off the tops of their heads like the Nov. 8 action? And if they do plan a spring offensive, will they seek collaboration and support from the organized antiwar movement?

Black struggle

What is RYM II's view of the black liberation struggle? Although they sup-

Americans may decide they want to form a separate state, and revolutionaries have the duty to defend that right, they have not yet chosen this course.

It is also noteworthy that the program for the black community which the RYM II gives the most attention is the Black Panther Party's breakfast for children program. In the resolution passed at the Detroit conference, they state: "We call for action around institutions created by the people themselves that are designed to 'serve the people.' These actions will be in support of proletarian institutions such as the 'breakfast for children' program of the Black Panther Party and the 'day-care centers' of the Young Lords Organization and others. Our goal should be real aid to people's institutions."

What RYM II proposes in effect is to take SDS back full circle to the reformist community-organizing projects it was involved in a few years ago. The struggles of black people for control over their schools and black students for black studies programs run much deeper than the free breakfast program but there is no mention of them in the resolution.

Furthermore there is absolutely not

The absence of a program of their own means that they are highly prone to adopting bits and pieces from other programs especially of reformist currents. One example is the uncritical acceptance by a number of the RYM II leaders of the most pernicious Stalinist slanders against the Trotskyist movement including defense of the Stalinist purge trials and Stalin's brutal assassination of Leon Trotsky. All of the crimes were perpetrated to crush the revolutionary Marxist tendency in the USSR and internationally so that the reformist politics of Stalinism could prevail.

This acceptance of so monstrous a counterrevolutionary crime is not unrelated to RYM II's failure to even attempt a political assessment of the Trotskyist organizations, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

One would assume that if the RYM II leaders are serious in their rejection of Trotskyism they would be dissecting each point that they consider to be in error. How can anyone take seriously people who aspire to be revolutionary leaders but do not explain fully where they differ with alternative programs?

By James P. Cannon
THE I.W.W.

Reminiscences of a participant

50c

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Wars, as the "civilizers" conduct them

New facts on U.S. atrocities in Vietnam

By ROBERT LANGSTON

A U.S. infantry unit marched into the village of Songmy, South Vietnam, at six o'clock in the morning on March 16, 1968. The villagers offered no resistance, and all of them — 799 men, women and children — were ordered out of their houses. None bore arms.

The soldiers said nothing to the Songmyans; they had no interpreter with them. After the villagers were assembled, their houses were dynamited if made of stone, and burned if made of wood.

Then 20 of the infantrymen took up their M-16 rifles and fired into the assembled Vietnamese until not one seemed to remain alive.

One hundred thirty two survived, however, buried under the corpses of their relatives and neighbors.

Do Hoai, a rice farmer who survived the massacre, gave this account to newsmen Nov. 16, in the presence of U.S. Army officers. It was corroborated by other survivors. Col. Ton That Khien, the Saigon regime's governor of the province where Songmy once stood, substantially confirmed it.

First Lieut. William Calley Jr. and S. Sgt. David Mitchel have thus far been charged by the Army with involvement in the incident. Calley has been charged with murder, and Mitchel with assault with intent to commit murder.

All this was reported by Henry Kamm in the Nov. 17 *New York Times*.

Chemical war

The chemical — called 2,4,5T — the U.S. forces use to destroy rice crops and foliage in Vietnam has been known for three years to cause birth defects, at a 100 percent rate, in test animals. Last summer, four South Vietnamese newspapers printed pictures of deformed babies born in villages that had been sprayed with 2,4,5T.

In 1967, 221,000 acres of cropland and 1,500,000 acres of foliage were sprayed with the poison; the rate last year was just a little lower.

All this was reported in the Nov. 6 *Chicago Sun-Times*. The article concludes: "Not since the Romans salted the land after destroying Carthage has

a nation taken pains to visit the war upon future generations."

Atrocities are committed in all wars. But the mass slaughter at Songmy was not merely an atrocity; it was no outrage perpetrated in violation of the "norms" of war. As the systematic use of 2,4,5T makes clear, the murder of the villagers was fully consistent with the norms guiding the U.S. government's conduct of its war. For in that war, the Vietnamese people, simply and as such, is the enemy.

For two centuries or so, the behavior of soldiers in conflicts between European powers was more or less guided by a painfully evolved set of norms. A clear distinction was to be made between civilians and soldiers. Prisoners of war were not to be executed, and they were to be treated humanely. In occupied territories, the law under which the people had previously lived was to be the basis of administration. Property of enemy aliens was to be respected.

These norms never applied anyway to colonial wars, where the antagonist was the "native," by definition an inferior being. Nor did they ever apply to the wars of class conflict within the Western bourgeois countries, where the antagonist — the worker or peasant — was likewise, by definition, an inferior being.

Then in the fire storms of Rotterdam and Dresden, the furnaces of Auschwitz, and the nuclear hell of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, the remnants of bourgeois civility in the conduct of war were consumed.

In Vietnam, the enemy is the Vietnamese people. It is a colonial war; it is a class war; it comes at a time when the Western ruling classes have already long since liquidated their own civilized traditions. It cannot but be a genocidal war.

It is this truth, perceived despite the mind-corroding power of the great official lie, that has led so many Americans — and especially so many American soldiers, who are the immediate tools of this genocidal enterprise — to repudiate it so actively and passionately



ATROCITY VICTIMS. South Vietnamese villagers flee as U.S. bombs rain on their homes. Village was "suspected" of harboring guerrillas.

ly, and in some cases, at great personal cost.

The executioners of Songmy could see their victims' blood and hear their victims' screams. The screams were not those of the Vietnamese alone. They were also the screams of the workers of Paris shot down after the defeat of the Commune; they were the screams of the Congolese whose hands were amputated by King Leopold's soldiers; they were the screams of European Jewry.

Those frightened, lonely and furious Americans, who somewhere knew that

all the deeds they had been sent to Vietnam to do were wholly unworthy of a man, had every reason to suppose that in those screams they heard the authentic voice of Western, capitalist, Christian civilization, the authentic call of duty to their country.

The murderers of Songmy are not the wretches who pulled the triggers. The murderers of Songmy are the lordly and contemptuous rulers of this country who, if not brought low, will kill and kill and kill to secure their reign of death until no living thing remains on earth.

N. Carolina students rally behind strikers

By LARRY L. SLUDER

CHAPEL HILL, N. C. — A strike by 300 of the 310 food service workers at the main campus of the University of North Carolina has forced the closing of four of the six campus cafeterias. Lenoir and Chase dining halls are operating on a limited basis, staffed by management personnel and a few student scabs.

The Nov. 10 walkout, a more militant repetition of a similar strike by nonacademic employees last spring, is an attempt by the primarily black union to force SAGA Food Service and the university to meet several worker demands. Among other reasons for the strike, workers have cited SAGA's unwillingness to consider their right to form a union, to institute a job classification program, to provide decent working conditions, and to reinstate six workers fired for pro-union activities.

Strike leaders noted that SAGA Food Service is a California-based company

with contracts at some 275 schools, with profits in the seven figure range made by exploiting unorganized students and workers.

Joseph Trotter, a representative of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees union, affiliated with the AFL-CIO, called for student support and pointed out at a rally Nov. 11 that the workers were fighting to win on their own terms. Upon hearing that the local manager of SAGA had told another strike leader that anyone striking could be fired and replaced, Trotter replied: "If SAGA brings one person in, that person is in bad trouble. We are going to treat strikebreakers accordingly."

Extensive picketing has been organized by the workers and the Committee to Support the Workers (CSW). CSW, which intends to hold student-worker rallies as long as the strike continues, is comprised of progressive students and faculty and is endorsed by the Chapel Hill Revolutionary Movement

(CHRM) and Praxis: Socialist Action Union (at nearby Duke University), two umbrella radical groups composed of YSA, SDS, and independent socialist members. The UNC Black Student Union is also supporting the workers.

Additional initial strike support has come from Howard Fuller, in his own words, "Head Nigger in Charge" of the newly formed Malcolm X Liberation University in Durham, who stated that the working conditions of the cafeteria workers "is an extension of what has been happening to blacks for a long time," and from Howard Lee, mayor of Chapel Hill, the only black mayor of a predominantly white southern town.

The Chapel Hill strike is seen as being especially significant, since it comes at a time when the North Carolina AFL-CIO, under new leadership, has begun to actively, and thus far very successfully, organize black and white workers against traditionally union-busting corporations and their ruling-class political bedfellows. Eight

miles away at Duke University, for example, hospital workers have threatened to strike if their demands, which are similar to the ones made by the Chapel Hill food service workers, are not met. And since last spring, when thousands of UNC students stood with the workers against police brought in by the nervous governor, and when 2,000 Duke students braved the February cold and police tear gas to protect some 60 Afro-American Society students barricaded in the administration building, the big bosses have been made to realize that blacks and whites, students and workers, are coming together in the South.

Advertisement

The two-party system, so long the bulwark of capitalism, has died in New York City. What should this indicate to radical socialist students? How can socialists approach bridging the wide gap between workers and welfare recipients? What's this about an awakening of organized labor power in the South? Find out the facts in CAMPAIGNER publ. Nat'l Caucus SDS Labor Comm. c/o Dillon, 647 W. 184 St., NY, NY, 10033



Photo by Ron Payne

San Francisco marchers

S.F. march was a record-breaker

By LEW JONES

SAN FRANCISCO — An overwhelming and inspiring display of antiwar sentiment was made here Nov. 15 in the largest antiwar demonstration in Pacific Coast history.

The *San Francisco Examiner* claimed that only 100,000 were present. Rev. Ralph Abernathy, one of the rally speakers, put the figure at 350,000. The march organizers estimated 250,000 to 300,000. All available information indicates the latter estimate is the accurate one.

This massive action clearly demonstrated the dramatically increased strength of the antiwar movement and its readiness for action to end the war. Demonstrators poured in from throughout California, Washington, Oregon, Nevada and Arizona as well as other western states. An estimated 30,000 people traveled 400 miles from Los Angeles to join in.

The composition of the march was

overwhelmingly young people who for the most part were taking part in their first massive action. Their spirit and militancy pervaded the march.

While the march was largely white, the efforts of the Third World Task Force produced an increased number of Afro-American, Chicano, Asian-American and Native American participants.

The march route literally stretched across San Francisco. It was reported by organizers that at one point participants were still near the waterfront of the Embarcadero assembly point when the front of the march reached Golden Gate Park some seven miles away.

The initial contingent, which grew to 30,000, left the Embarcadero at 8 in the morning, marching through downtown San Francisco. Halfway along the route, it picked up a second, larger contingent. A third contingent of 1,000 Third World marchers also joined the march there after gathering at another

starting point. Several other feeder marches joined at various other points en route.

As the march approached the park its size increased greatly. An hour before the rally was scheduled to begin over 100,000 people had already marched into the rally area.

"Another war widow for peace," declared one young woman's homemade placard.

NEXT WEEK: Our next issue will feature a special photographic coverage of the Nov. 15 San Francisco demonstration.

Another placard identified a new constituency, "San Francisco 49ers Against the War and Racism and Imperialism and the Baltimore Colts."

The Bay Area Peace Action Council Labor Committee estimated that over 80,000 people marched in the labor contingent representing officially or unofficially many of the unions in the Bay Area. Included in the contingent were the Longshoremen; Local 6 Warehousemen; Painters Union; American Federation of Teachers; Social Workers; Municipal Railway Employees; Local 250 of the Hospital Workers and the Teamsters.

The Student Mobilization Committee was the predominant organization on the march and at the rally. Banners identifying chapters throughout the West were seen all over the march. Most of the march monitors were provided by the SMC.

The success of the march and rally came after several months of intense struggle over policy for the action. As previously reported in *The Militant*, a grouping around the New Mobilization Committee cochairmen Terrence Hallinan and Donald Kalish had attempted to put the antiwar movement at the disposal of Democratic Party forces. Their conception was to organize a cultural rally with only one speaker, a "moderate," who in the name of the entire antiwar movement would explain where the movement ought to go from here.

Hallinan and company were not very interested in a march. Their attempt to impose this proposition on the movement involved use of physical violence, some of the crudest bureaucratic maneuvering yet seen in the antiwar movement, and political exclusion.

The actual rally represented a considerable advance from their original idea but still contained enough that many participants were disappointed by its "Hollywood" character and lack of focus.

Speakers included Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; David Hilliard of the Black Panther Party; Rennie Davis of the Conspiracy 8; Delores Huerta

of the Farm Workers; "Corky" Gonzales of the Crusade for Justice; former Senator Wayne Morse; University of California student body president Dan Siegel; and Mad Bear Anderson, a Native American spokesman. Comedian Carl Reiner and Paul Schrader of the UAW acted as chairmen. (The latter was appointed without even notice no less agreement by the coalition.)

Entertainment was provided by Crosby, Stills and Nash; the San Francisco cast of Hair, Phil Ochs, Buffy Sainte-Marie, The Youngbloods and Elaine Brown.

Rather than a political rally to inspire and urge to action, Hallinan and Kalish sought to put on a production, a stage revue. The cochairmen referred to the rally as "Woodstock West."

After the size of the crowd in Washington was announced, Carl Reiner stated, "They may have more people than us, but we're having more fun at Woodstock West."

Yet basically, the rally was a far cry from the pink-tea cultural event Hallinan and Kalish had conceived. In last minute decisions, they yielded to the pressure of the broad coalition represented by the Bay Area Peace Action Council and invited two militants, Corky Gonzales and Dan Siegel, to be speakers. They and other speakers emphasized the fact of the actual continuation of the war by Nixon and the continued urgent need for action to involve masses in opposition to the war.

Former Senator Wayne Morse and the Rev. Ralph Abernathy were also well received by the throng. Morse led off with a thinly veiled attack on the Black Panthers but then turned to a defense of constitutional rights. He read the First Amendment and urged Agnew to look it over.

In spite of chilly, damp weather, the great bulk of the crowd stayed for most of the rally. Throughout the greater part of the rally, thousands of people streamed into the park in what seemed like a never-ending march.

San Francisco saw a demonstration Nov. 15 of unprecedented power. At its conclusion all seemed inspired and returned to their areas ready to organize even more people in the fight to end the dirty war.

Japanese antiwar leaders joined in U.S. actions

Toru Oohara, a member of the Japanese Diet from Hiroshima, and Seiryō Azuma, a member of the Okinawa Prefecture Council Against A and H Bombs, were sent by antiwar organizations in Japan to participate in the November actions organized by the American antiwar movement. The following excerpts are from a statement they issued at a news conference organized by the New Mobilization Committee prior to Nov. 15.

* * *

We have come here to extend greetings of solidarity to the peace movement of the United States fighting against the Vietnam war, on behalf of the antiwar and peace movement of Japan. The growing antiwar movement in the United States shows that the justice and conscience of the Americans are alive. The shouts of the Americans, "Bring the U.S. troops home now!" are reaching the Asian countries across the ocean and particularly Japan, inspiring the antiwar, peace movements there. These cries of the Americans are an encouragement and hope to people in Asia who are suffering from the disasters of war and are refusing to cooperate in the war. . . .

As you know, Japan is cooperating with the United States in the Vietnam war more than any other country in Asia. It is true that Japan does not have armed troops in Vietnam, but she is producing and supplying military goods for the Vietnam war of the United States and is permitting the United States to use all its military bases in Japan for the Vietnam war. . . .

It is the U.S. military bases in Okinawa that are playing the most important role in Japan's cooperation in the Vietnam war . . . If it were not for the gigantic base in Okinawa, the United States would be meeting with greater difficulties in prosecuting its war against Vietnam. . . .

At present, Okinawa has a population of 960,000. We are all Japanese, but we are not treated as Japanese. No, we are not treated even as human beings . . . The supreme law of Okinawa is the [U.S.] Presidential Order, and all the powers are held by the High Commissioner appointed by the Defense Department of the United States. . . .

We Japanese people inhabiting Okinawa [do] not accept this status. For more than 20 years since the war's end, each day has been a struggle for our rights, whether it was fought on a large scale or on a small scale. Our movement made rapid progress particularly in the course of the escalation of the Vietnam war. Our main slogans now are: "For immediate return to mainland Japan," "Let the United States withdraw its military bases from Okinawa," and "No cooperation in the Vietnam war. . . ."

Even after the end of the Vietnam war the United States will not withdraw its military bases from Okinawa so easily. It is because of this prospect that we ask you to continue to demand withdrawal of the military bases from Okinawa while demanding a stop to the Vietnam war and to launch actions of international solidarity with us for [that] purpose.

PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

by Evelyn Reed 95¢

REVOLUTIONARY DYNAMICS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

by George Novack 35¢

Merit Publishers
873 Broadway New York, N.Y. 10003

IT WAS OUT OF SIGHT

By MARY-ALICE WATERS

WASHINGTON, D. C. — From every conceivable city, village and town they came to participate in the most massive demonstration in American history. The roughly one million Americans who marched on Washington and San Francisco Nov. 15 were taking part in the largest political confrontation ever between masses of American people and the government that supposedly represents them.

The sheer numbers involved were staggering. Standing on the crest of the hill which forms the base of the Washington monument, and watching the hundreds of thousands of demonstrators pouring into the area, it looked like there was no room for more. Yet tens of thousands were still crowded into the area in front of the Capitol, more than a mile away, waiting to begin the long march up Pennsylvania Avenue, which was also packed with demonstrators. And many were still trying to get through the traffic jam into Washington. The crowd as it finally assembled was so massive that there was no terrestrial vantage point from which one could see the total number.

Just as the overwhelming turnout for the Oct. 15 Moratorium had taken many by surprise, the total number who overcame all obstacles to march through the streets of Washington and San Francisco on Nov. 15 was greater than most of the organizers had expected. It provided striking confirmation of the fact that the Moratorium was not an aberration, but only the first step on a qualitatively new plateau of rising antiwar sentiment.

The Nov. 15 march was a powerful refutation of the notion expressed by some of the Moratorium moderates that a march on the nation's capital demanding immediate, unconditional U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, organized on a nonexclusion basis, was far too radical an action to win the support of the millions of Americans opposed to the war. One out of every 200 Americans was marching on Nov. 15, and for every one that marched, there were dozens who agreed.

If one calculated simply the percentage of the nation's youth who were in the streets on Nov. 15, the figure would



Photo by Dick Roberts

be even more astounding. The "under-twenty-five" population, who will soon be a majority in this country, has become a potent political force for the nation's rulers to contend with.

The 1963 civil rights march on Washington, by comparison, mobilized roughly a quarter million people—but with the tacit support of the administration, and the financing of the union movement, the churches, and every liberal organization in the country. This time, with the administration doing every conceivable thing to try to undercut the size of the demonstration—from red-baiting and threatening violence to refusing permits and harassing the bus companies—they still could not prevent the largest demonstration in American history from taking place.

One marcher succinctly put it: "I felt today was the deadline. I knew that if I didn't come today, I'd be part of Nixon's silent majority."

The real majority

There was more of everything in this demonstration. There were more adults, more Afro-Americans, Puerto Ricans and other Third-Worlders, more GIs. More labor unions endorsed and par-

ticipated in this action than ever before, including the Detroit American Federation of Teachers (which officially endorsed the action by a membership vote), the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers, the New York Social Service Employees Union, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, New York's District 65, and many local union officers of the United Auto Workers (though not the International officers).

But even these important steps forward were dwarfed by the unprecedented numbers of high school and college age youth who turned out.

The newly awakening political consciousness of the crowd was perhaps most clearly expressed in the way they responded to folksinger Pete Seeger's rendition of "All we are saying, is give peace a chance." Chorus after chorus of that plea was voiced by hundreds of thousands of demonstrators, standing in full view of the White House.

The bulk of those who came to Washington on Nov. 15 were clearly still at a pre-radical level of consciousness. Many carried American flags and signs emphasizing peace, brotherhood, love, and an abhorrence of violence. They were angry at having been labeled un-American, unpatriotic, "rotten apples," virtual traitors—simply for wanting the killing stopped in Vietnam.

They had a particularly strong dislike for Spiro Agnew who they regarded as the administration spokesman. When comedian Dick Gregory finished his five-minute satirical lambasting of the vice president, the crowd enthusiastically screamed "more, more."

The speakers, represented a wide range of political views, all the way from Senators Goodell and McGovern and former Under Secretary of Commerce Howard Samuels on the one side, to Carol Lipman of the Student Mobilization Committee. Despite the bitter cold, the crowd listened silently and attentively to them all, but did not identify strongly with any of the positions presented. They neither agreed nor disagreed vociferously. Only the popular entertainers and the digs at Agnew drew loudly enthusiastic responses.

Justice Department

The prevailing mood of peace and anti-violence also made itself felt in the action at the Justice Department at the end of the Washington Monument rally.

This action had been called and organized independently of the New Mobilization Committee by a variety of groupings including RYM II and other SDSers, the Yippies, Youth Against War and Fascism, Liberation News Service

and others. Its purpose was to register support for the "Conspiracy 8" and to demand freedom for Bobby Seale and other victimized Panthers.

Support for these aims was widespread among the antiwar demonstrators and several thousands followed these groupings from the Washington Memorial rally to the Justice Department.

There it was clear that the authorities were looking for a pretext to attack the demonstration. They had their pretext when a few individuals (undoubtedly including provocateurs) in the huge crowd threw some rocks and bottles at the walls of the Justice Department building.

It was absolutely plain that the handful of brick-throwers did not represent the huge throng. This was clear from the cooperative response of the demonstrators to the admonitions of New Mobilization marshals on the scene to avoid provocation and from the way many in the crowd took up the chant, "no violence, no violence."

Yet the cops felt the brick-throwers had provided them with their excuse and began hurling canisters of CS gas (widely used in Vietnam) into the crowd and the demonstrators were dispersed.

The massive antiwar actions in Washington and San Francisco were a historic confirmation of the political orientation fought for by the left wing of the antiwar movement over the last five years. Against all arguments that "the war is over" or that it is not the key question in national and international politics today, the left wing has fought for continuing to mobilize the masses in the streets, demanding immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Nov. 15 was proof of the continued correctness of this orientation, of the ability of the antiwar movement to accomplish the task of mobilizing ever larger numbers of Americans in the struggle to end the war. But it was also an indication of how much more needs to be done.

As with every previous qualitative increase in the size of the antiwar forces, the millions who are now beginning to vocally and actively join the opposition are moved by a moral revulsion against the brutality, destructiveness, and cynical hypocrisy of the U.S. government. They want the war ended, and are willing to fight for it, but don't necessarily know what is the most effective means to do so.

Throughout the process of building the Nov. 15 actions, the militant student wing of the antiwar movement organized in the Student Mobilization Committee has played a key role in mobilizing these new forces. To the extent that any organized force brought out the masses of Americans on Nov. 15, the SMC was certainly instrumental in spreading the word among the nation's young people and organizing them to participate.

The result was a demonstration aimed squarely and directly against the U.S. government and its war policies, a demonstration that could not be coopted by the warmakers. It provided a blistering rebuff to the administration attempts at red-baiting and splitting the movement, a defeat for the advocates of repression. The antiwar movement, and especially the youth, stood up to the Nixon administration's witchhunting attacks and repudiated them by their support for Nov. 15.

When a million citizens of the most powerful imperialist country in the world march through the streets saying stop the war, it is a portent of things to come and a development of profound significance for revolutionary forces everywhere.

The media's numbers game

The news media—perhaps to get Agnew off their backs—has deliberately and consistently played down the size of the Nov. 15 mass demonstrations. Most newspapers have estimated the Washington turnout at 250,000 and the San Francisco rally at 100,000.

The New Mobilization Committee has estimated the two actions as involving 800,000 and 250,000 respectively. All available facts make it clear that the New Mobe estimates are entirely realistic.

The news media estimate for the Washington action is about the same as the 1963 civil rights march, which had been generally said to have been about 200,000. Yet everyone who saw the two D.C. demonstrations—both participants and reporters—agree that the Nov. 15 action was several times the size of the 1963 march. All available statistics confirm this.

For example, the New Mobe marshals registered approximately 4,000 buses in Washington, accounting for nearly 200,000 people. In addition, thousands upon thousands of demonstrators crammed all regular transportation facilities to capacity and many, many more came by car. And no one knows how many residents of the Washington area itself participated.

Even those with a special eye for crowds agreed. A representative of the sanitation company that provided the temporary toilets both for the 1963 demonstration and this one, reported that the company set up many more toilets this time and that it had to service them much more frequently. A hot-dog concessionaire who was provisioned with 100,000 hot dogs, sold out by early afternoon.

In San Francisco, the media estimated—prior to the demonstration—that if the rally site were filled, it would hold close to 300,000. Yet, mysteriously, when the site was virtually filled on Nov. 15, the press decided it was only 100,000.

The March on
Washington
Nov. 15, 1969



Photo by Hermes



Photo by Dick Roberts



Photo by Elizabeth Barnes



Photo by Elizabeth Barnes

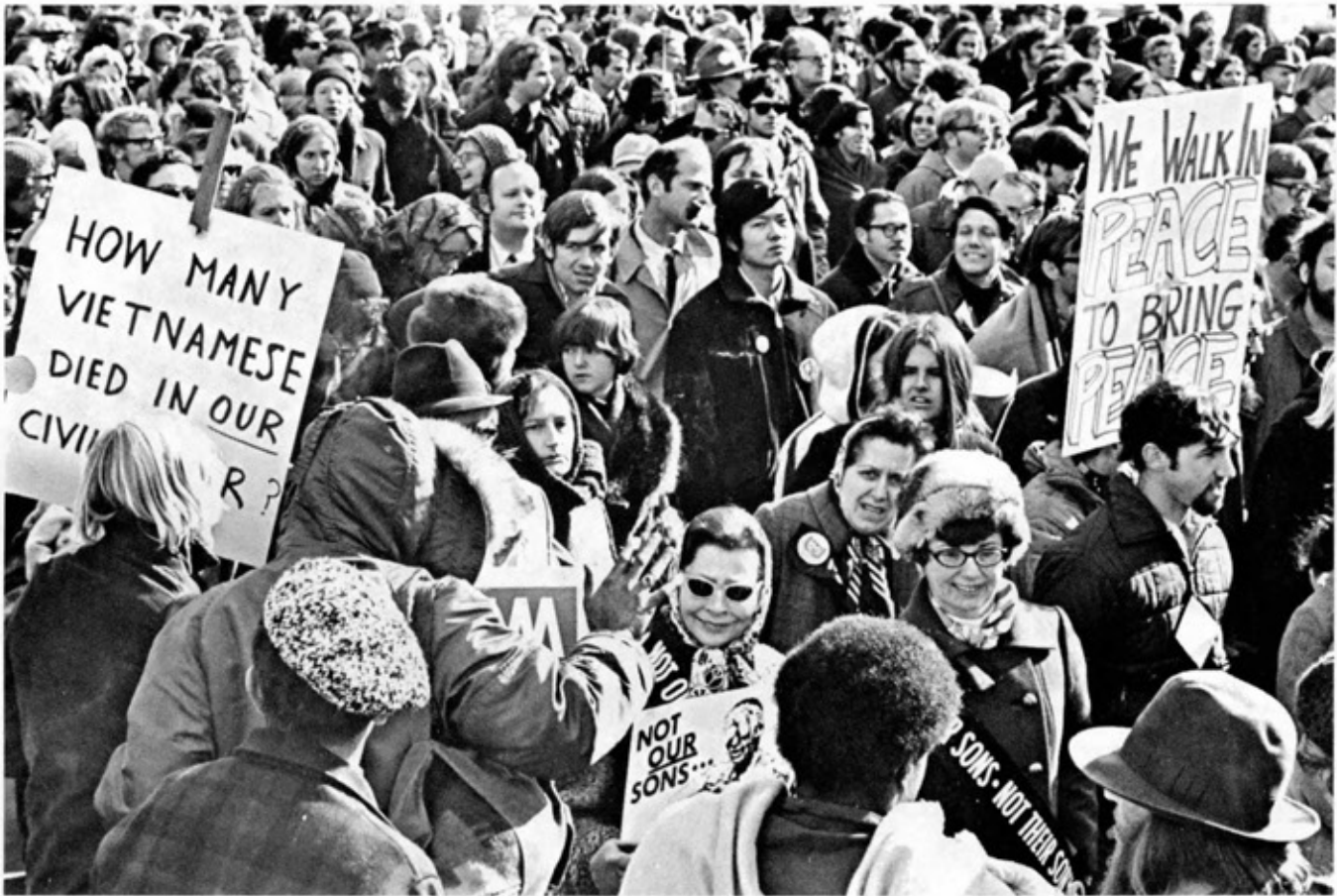


Photo by Dick Roberts

(more)



Photo by Elizabeth Barnes



Photo by Hermes



Photo by Joel Aber

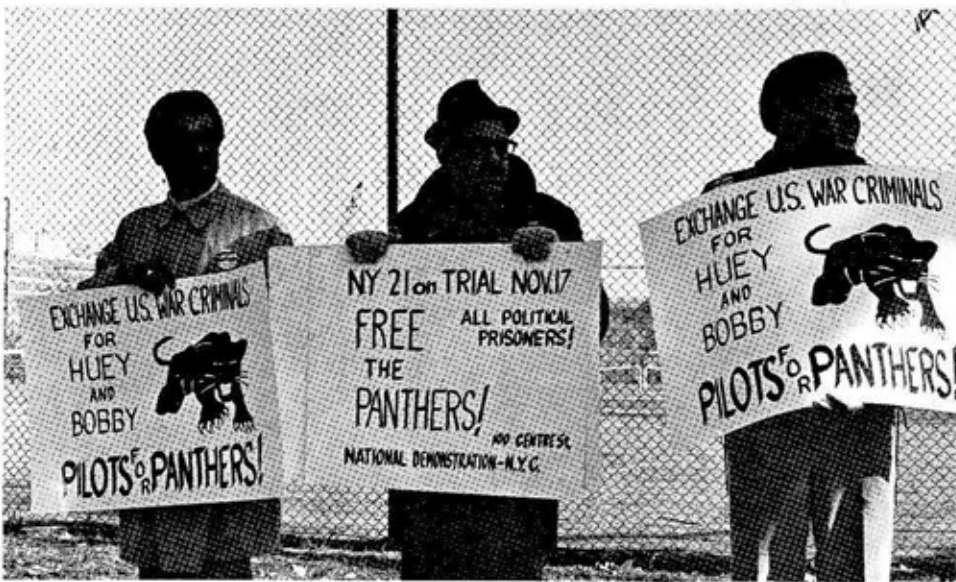


Photo by Jon Britton



Photo by Manuel Russell

Fred Halstead, 1968 Socialist Workers presidential nominee. He and Bradford Lyttle were chief marshals of the demonstration.



Photo by Shannon



Photo by Jon Britton

Relatives of servicemen who died in Vietnam accompanied coffins bearing names of war victims at start of parade.





Photo by Jon Britton



Photo by Robert Langston



Photo by Michael Hardy
Dr. Benjamin Spock devoted his energies to building and carrying through the action.



Photo by Shannon

Arlo Guthrie was among the star performers who entertained at the rally.



Photo by Hermes

Once was enough, said Senator Charles Goodell (R-N.Y.). After addressing rally, he said demonstration had made its point and additional marches wouldn't help.



Photo by Manuel Russell

Coretta King, widow of Rev. King, and William Sloane Coffin, Yale chaplain, both addressed rally.



Photo by Hermes



Photo by Elizabeth Barnes



Photo by Harry Ring

Leroy Wolins of Chicago Vets for Peace organized a GI civil liberties conference prior to demonstration.



Photo by Michael Hardy

More than 40,000 people participated in March Against Death. For more than 40 hours they filed past White House, each bearing the name of a dead GI. Others carried names of Vietnamese villages destroyed by U.S.

(more)



Photo by Michael Hardy



Photo by Elizabeth Barnes



Photo by Shannon

Washington cops were quick to use tear gas and other chemicals. At left protestors against Chicago conspiracy trial are driven from Justice Department. Other photos this page of cops in action were when they "overreacted" (as their chief later put it) in driving youth from Dupont Circle night of Nov. 14.



Photo by Harry Ring

Nixon's "Silent majority" staged a counter-demonstration at entrance to Washington Monument rally site.



Photo by Manuel Russell



Photo by Manuel Russell

Speech by Carol Lipman

"We will not rest until we have won!"

(The following is the text of the speech made at the Nov. 15 antiwar rally in Washington by Carol Lipman, national executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.)

Today here in Washington the Nixon Administration has come face-to-face with the real majority. And we are not a silent majority.

We have come here to Washington to make clear to the Nixon administration that it had better heed the desires of the majority of the American people.

It had better end the war in Vietnam and bring all the troops home now.

Because this demonstration is just the beginning of an antiwar offensive. And we will not rest until we have won our demands.

We have listened to President Nixon. We have heard him say that the war in Vietnam will go down in history as America's finest hour.

We say no. America's finest hour is now. Right here in the voices of millions of Americans who do not support this immoral and unjust war, a war of aggression and oppression against the Vietnamese people.

We are here because we represent all that is best in this country.

We are here because we believe that the people of Vietnam are our brothers—not our enemies. We refuse to trample on their right of self-determination.

And it is not only the people of this country who are protesting the war in Vietnam—but the people of the world.

We salute the antiwar fighters in Japan and in Europe, in Asia and Africa, and in Latin America. We are doubly

strong because we know the people of the world are with us.

It was the young people in this country—high school and college students—who were the first to stand up and protest the war.

We are proud of the movement that we have generated. For we are now being joined by people of all walks of life.

From the third world liberation movement.

From antiwar GIs.

For the first time, from significant sections of the labor movement.

We welcome these forces.

And they have that duty. Especially labor. We call upon the labor movement to live up to the ideals that it pioneered in the 1930s.

We welcome the participation of these forces in the antiwar struggle—because we know it will take more than the power of students to end the war.

It will take a genuine mass movement—which involves labor, GIs and third world peoples—those who have the real power in this country to end the war.

We have also heard about the debates in Congress and in the newspapers over how to end the war. Some people are talking of timetables. Some say our troops should be brought home in a year. Some say two years. And President Nixon is keeping his timetable a secret.

These are not timetables for ending this war. These are timetables to continue it.

The Administration must be told that there is only one way to really end the war in Vietnam. That is the immediate, the immediate—not phased, not speedy, but immediate total withdrawal of all



Carol Lipman

Photo by Hermes

U. S. forces from Vietnam.

This is the only way the war can be ended and the Vietnamese can settle their own problems.

Some say immediate withdrawal would be precipitous. Others say impossible. We say it is just and necessary. And it can be done.

The President has announced that he can send tens of thousands of troops anywhere in the world on a moment's notice. Let's take him up on it in reverse. We demand, Mr. President, that you show us how quickly you can bring 500,000 GIs home from Vietnam.

And I am sure that American people will be willing to bear a few hardships in this task. We will stop flying for a few days. Nixon can use every civilian ship and plane. I don't think it will be a very long or difficult task.

And I say this too. If the American antiwar movement—with its limited resources—can bring close to a million people to demonstrate against the war in Washington and San Francisco, then Mr. President, you can bring 500,000 troops home from Vietnam now.

One of the things that makes this the greatest demonstration in American history is that hundreds of thousands of people have come out today despite the most determined and scurrilous attacks by the Nixon-Agnew Administration.

They tried to stop the march.

They tried to hold up the permits.

They tried to scare people away with rumors of violence.

They tried to smear the march be-

cause there were communists and socialists involved.

But we didn't back down. It just made us more determined. More determined because we are united around the single issue of ending the war and bringing the troops home now.

That is what makes us strong. Everyone is welcome in our movement—Republicans, Democrats, socialists, communists, pacifists or whatever. And we are proud of it.

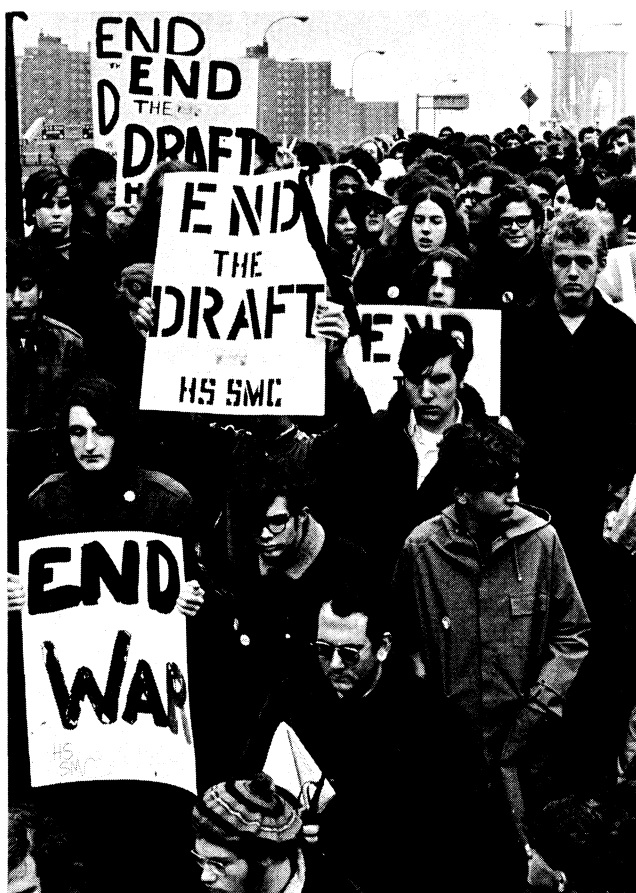
A few months ago, we received a letter from a GI on active duty in Vietnam. He wrote to his former school newspaper at the University of Texas. And he said, "We want to come home. The American people want us to come home. The Vietnamese people want us out of Vietnam. And the only reason why we are not home is because the American people have not shouted loud enough or demanded forcibly enough to bring us home."

I ask you this. Are we going to shout loud enough? Are we going to demand in large enough numbers that all troops be brought home now?

Today as we demonstrate, we say the Nov. 15 demonstration is just the beginning. We marched today. We'll march again. This movement was built by the people. It belongs to the people. It won't be coopted by anyone. We won't be bought off. This movement is not for sale—not in 1970, not in 1972, not to anyone.

We will see this struggle through to the finish. We will not give an inch until all the troops are brought home.

On to the next antiwar offensive.



NEW YORK STRIKE ACTION. Despite cold and rain, high school students poured across Brooklyn Bridge (above) for SMC Foley Square rally (right) and then to Union Square SMC student strike rally which drew 5,000 and heard student speakers plus representatives of the Auto Workers, District 65, Int'l Union of Electrical Workers, and Hospital Workers. Although, unlike Moratorium, absences weren't officially permitted, Board of Education reported 50 percent drop in attendance.

Photos by

Jon Britton



Nov. 15 was climax to many actions

ANCHORAGE, Alaska — At least 500 Alaskan opponents of the Vietnam war braved near-zero temperatures and bitter Arctic winds to hold a solidarity march here Nov. 15. The response of onlookers and shoppers was overwhelmingly favorable, and the march swelled to twice its original size in the course of 20 blocks.

GIs, in particular, flashed the "V" sign, and many of them joined the line of march.

SEATTLE, Wash. — The largest and most militant antiwar demonstration in Seattle's history was held here Nov. 14. The march was preceded by a rally of some 4,500 people, and the march itself drew more than 8,500. All along the route of march, spectators joined in.

Speakers at the rally included David Hood, a Seattle attorney; Delores Huerta of the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee; Sister Nefasi of the Black Panther Party; and Stephanie Coontz of the Student Mobilization Committee.

MINNEAPOLIS — More than 3,000 students braved a vicious red-baiting campaign and a snowstorm in minus-16-degree weather Nov. 13 to take part in a march and rally sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee in the Twin Cities. Contingents from more than 25 high schools participated, and the University of Minnesota campus was empty that day.

Speakers at the rally included Bonny



Photo by Dan Watkins

Cleveland SMC action

Usan, a high school SMCer; Dave Gutnecht of the Twin Cities Draft Information Center; Peter Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party; and Minnie Harary, Twin Cities SMC regional director.

The day's activities closed with a send-off rally for buses going to Washington, D. C. More than a thousand people made the 26-hour trip to the Nov. 15 demonstration.

PORTLAND, Ore. — More than 11,000 people marched on Nov. 14 to a noon rally in downtown Portland in the biggest antiwar action ever here.

AUSTIN, Texas — About 4,000 people participated in Nov. 13 antiwar activities here: picketing, teach-ins, and a mass rally on the University of Texas campus. In the evening, a debate between representatives of the Student Mobilization Committee and Young Americans for Freedom drew some 2,000 students — most of whom vigorously supported the antiwar position. Later the same day, three buses and about 25 cars set off on the trek to Washington, D. C.

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — Vancouver's largest action ever against

the Vietnam war brought out over 5,000 people to the court house Nov. 15. The rally, organized by the November 15 Vietnam Action Committee, was supported by the British Columbia New Democratic Party — Canada's labor party, the B. C. Federation of Labor, the Vancouver Labor Council, the student societies of three Vancouver-area campuses, and a variety of political organizations.

LOGAN, Utah — On Nov. 13, 250 people participated in a torchlight parade and rally against the Vietnam war on the University of Utah campus here. Enthusiastic and confident, the marchers sang "When Johnny Comes Marching Home" and chanted in cadence, the women saying, "Bring them home," and the men, "End the war."

DENVER — More than a thousand people attended a GI-civilian antiwar demonstration organized by the New Colorado Mobilization Committee here on Nov. 9. The demonstrators marched under banners demanding GI rights, abolition of the stockade system, and the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops.

CLEVELAND — A rally of nearly 1,000 striking college and high school students gathered in downtown Cleveland Nov. 14 despite snow and bitter cold and despite suspension threats from high school principals.

Speakers at the rally included a teacher from the newly formed Teachers Against the War, which actively supported the student strike; a GI from Ft. Bragg GIs United Against the War;

a high school SMCer; and a Cleveland SMC staff member.

After the rally, the students marched to join a picket line sponsored by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council in front of the Federal Building.

That evening, there was a large send-off rally for the buses beginning the trip to Washington, D. C. Cleveland sent more than 4,000 people to the March Against Death and the Nov. 15 mass demonstration.

Repressions fail to prevent French actions

Massive arrests were the response of the French government to demonstrations that took place last weekend throughout France in support of the Vietnamese revolution and in solidarity with the actions in the U. S.

In the early morning hours of Friday, Nov. 14, police began rounding up leaders of left-wing organizations, particularly those of the Communist League, French section of the Fourth International. Most of them were held over the weekend for questioning, supposedly to determine whether they were guilty of violating the June 1968 ban on a dozen left-wing organizations.

Somewhere between 160 and 200 were arrested in more than a dozen French cities. As we went to press it was learned that all the leaders of the Communist League had been released, but details were not available.

Among those arrested were Pierre Frank, a longtime leader of the French Trotskyist movement; Michelle Krivine, the wife of the Communist League's former presidential candidate; and Henri Weber, Daniel Bensaid, Michel Rothman, Pierre Rousset and Mehl, all leaders of the Communist League.

Also arrested was Dr. Jean-Michel Krivine, a well known Paris surgeon who twice traveled to North Vietnam to gather evidence for the War Crimes Tribunal.

Despite the arrests and the banning of all demonstrations a number of actions took place. The largest one on Friday, called by the Communist League, drew about 3,000 people.

On Saturday, a demonstration called by the Communist Party and other organizations drew a reported 15,000 to 20,000. Over 2,500 were arrested.

Nov. 13-15 demonstrations took place in numerous other countries as well, including Germany, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Austria, Ireland, England, Denmark and North Vietnam.

Subscription scoreboard

City	Quota	New Subs
Washington, D. C.	75	95
Newark, N. J.	35	44
Boston, Mass.	275	339
Lawrence, Kan.	30	37
Kansas City, Mo.	50	58
Antioch College, Ohio	30	34
Providence, R. I.	55	62
Gainesville, Fla.	35	39
Portland, Ore.	20	22
Phoenix, Ariz.	50	55
Madison, Wis.	100	110
Hayward, Calif.	40	43
Boulder, Colo.	60	65
Atlanta, Ga.	150	160
New York, N. Y.	850	905
Binghamton, N. Y.	100	105
San Francisco, Calif.	350	368
Philadelphia, Pa.	250	260
Los Angeles, Calif.	400	416
San Diego, Calif.	45	47
Chicago, Ill.	325	336
Detroit, Mich.	275	278
Houston, Texas	50	50
DeKalb, Ill.	80	79
Twin Cities, Minn.	250	246
East Lansing, Mich.	30	29
St. Louis, Mo.	30	28
Bloomington, Ind.	30	28
Austin, Texas	150	136
Kent, Ohio	75	68
Cleveland, Ohio	250	222
Seattle, Wash.	150	127
Columbus, Ohio	50	41
Berkeley, Calif.	275	223
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	19
Champaign, Ill.	30	18
Carbondale, Ill.	25	12
Ann Arbor, Mich.	75	36
Logan, Utah	25	9
Glen Ellyn, Ill.	15	5
Albany, N. Y.	25	6
General	425	443
Total	5665	5703

We're over the top!

By BEV SCOTT
Business Manager
NOV. 19 — We did it! We have now exceeded our goal of 5600 new subscribers during our two-month drive for new readers for The Militant and Young Socialist. (Our original target was 4,000 new readers, but our supporters soon upped the ante.)

While this subscription campaign officially ended Nov. 14, the final scoreboard will not appear until our next issue. This will allow time for us to receive the subscriptions sold during the last few days of the campaign at the numerous antiwar rallies across the country.

Even if you missed the opportunity to subscribe during our special combination offer, and to have your sub counted on our scoreboard, we urge you to fill out the sub blank in this issue. You will still receive the best socialist newspaper in the country.

CALENDAR

LOS ANGELES
41ST ANNIVERSARY BANQUET FOR THE MILITANT. Special guest speaker: Farrell Dobbs. Sat., Nov. 29. Refreshments at 6 p.m. Dinner at 7 p.m. Program at 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. 269-4953. Donation: \$5.00, students \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK
LEON TROTSKY: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS. Speaker: Ed Shaw, national committee member Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 28, 8:30 p.m. Contrib: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA
THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK LIBERATION. Speaker: Clifton DeBerry, 1964 presidential candidate of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 28, 8:30 p.m. First part of YSA's Socialist Educational Conference. Saturday topics: THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN IN AMERICA, THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT & SOCIALISM, THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Sunday: Regional YSA meeting. All sessions held at 686 N. Broad (cor. Fairmount). Contrib: 50c per session, \$2.00 whole conference.

Union brass musters support for GE strike

By FRANK LOVELL

NOV. 18 — Powerful unions from all sectors of the labor movement have rallied behind the GE strikers as union leaders take up the challenge to their present relations with management in all industries.

The independent International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) on the Pacific Coast announced that it will raise \$100,000 a month to help the strike.

In Detroit, the United Auto Workers, which this year joined with the Teamsters to form the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA), has offered \$5 million from its own strike fund and is preparing plant-gate collections in addition to the \$5-million commitment. The UAW has also proposed that the labor movement raise \$50 million for the strike.

From his Washington, D.C. headquarters, AFL-CIO president George Meany dispatched a letter to 121 national and international unions urging them to support the strike against GE. He asked for an immediate financial contribution from each union.

Rallies are scheduled in 23 cities, Nov. 18 through 20, where top AFL-CIO union officials will explain what is at stake in the GE strike. The AFL-CIO executive council has pledged to raise \$1 from every member of the federation to initiate the GE Strike Relief Fund.

The reason for such universal concern among the union officialdom is the collective bargaining issue, as clearly stated in the Meany letter. He says, "GE wants to reduce unions to the status of administrative tools, like the so-called unions in totalitarian countries — allowed to exist but not to function."

He warns, "GE's example has already

been imitated by other companies in the electrical industry. Unless this strike succeeds, other powerful companies will try the same tactics."

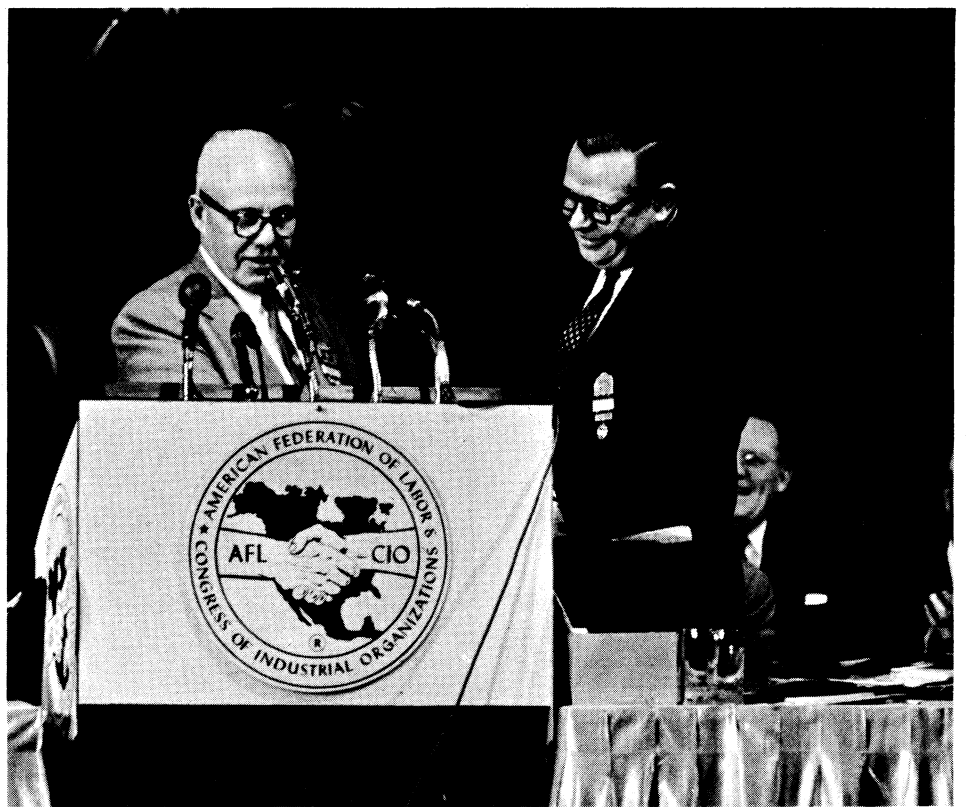
And in conclusion, "I cannot stress too strongly the gravity of the challenge posed by GE — a challenge that strikes at the very heart of trade unionism. It is a challenge that must be faced where it is being faced today — on the picket line, until GE makes a realistic, commonsense proposal to end the strike."

This is strong language in defense of strike action from ultra-conservative George Meany, and undoubtedly it will serve to swell the strike fund.

In the fourth week of the strike, the picket lines are solid against GE strike-breaking moves. A favorite company weapon has been the court injunction. In at least one instance (GE's Hickory, N.C., plant), the court enjoined both union and company, specifically directing GE not to engage "in any acts of violence, intimidation or coercion of any pickets or the union members or any working employees. . . ." But the main weight of the injunction always falls on the pickets, and makes it harder to keep scabs out of the plants.

The 13 unions directly involved in the strike against the vast GE empire have demonstrated their determination not to be divided, as in the past, over any contract issue so long as the corporation maintains its traditional "take-it-or-leave-it" bargaining position.

Both sides, the unions in full battle array against the GE-government alliance entrenched behind great piles of corporate profits, are fully prepared for war. The outcome of this war depends upon the battle strategy of each side, and is likely to affect the economic and political future of this country.



George Meany, at podium, and former AFL-CIO sec'y-treasurer William Schnitzler.

Black athletes in the West press fight against racism

By ELIZABETH BARNES

For black athletes in the Western Athletic Conference, the black armband has become a symbol of the struggle against the racist policies of Brigham Young University, a school of 25,000 which is controlled by the Mormon church.

Fourteen black football players at Wyoming State were dismissed from the team Oct. 17 after they showed up at the fieldhouse wearing black armbands during a student protest against Brigham Young. When Wyoming played San Jose State a week later, the entire San Jose State team appeared on the field wearing armbands in solidarity with the victimized Wyoming players.

The "Wyoming 14" are fighting back against their dismissal with a \$1-million damage suit and a request for a court injunction reinstating them on the

team. They are also trying to win support on campuses around the country, and according to the Nov. 16 *New York Times*, black students at the university of Utah have expressed their solidarity by wearing black armbands with the number "14."

Support for the "Wyoming 14" is especially strong at San Jose State which has been a center of protest against Brigham Young for some time. As a result of student pressure, San Jose State has cancelled all future games with Brigham Young, and during their last game with BYU on Nov. 8, all San Jose players, including the coach, wore black armbands.

Tony Jackson, the team's defensive end, wrote up a statement which was endorsed by the team explaining their protest. Jackson has special reason for taking part in this struggle because of his own personal experience with the Mormon church. At the age of nine, he was baptized in the church but left later when he found that because he was black he could not achieve full status as a member.

The Mormon scripture rationalizes such racist practices by teaching that black skin is the mark of the sin of Cain, who according to the Bible slew his brother Abel. Mormon leaders say they cannot change their attitude because the matter is "in the hands of God," who speaks to their church through its 96-year-old president, David McKay.

A series of demonstrations this fall at Arizona State demanding that the school end all athletic ties with Brigham Young led to a formal request by Arizona State that Brigham Young be dropped from the Western Athletic Conference. Stanford University has also taken action by announcing that it will sever all athletic ties with Brigham Young after this year's scheduled basketball games.

All of this ferment has apparently not had much influence as yet on the student body at Brigham Young, which is predominately Mormon. According to the Nov. 10 *New York Times*, when the subject of Vietnam was brought up at a recent student forum on the Brigham Young campus, one speaker argued that the war was just by pointing out that if it were not, God would have spoken to President McKay and asked him to withdraw all Mormons from the conflict.

Why God hasn't asked his representative to send additional of his flock, he didn't say.

The AFL-CIO's generation gap

The efforts of the General Electric Corp., backed by the government, to deal a lethal blow to traditional union bargaining methods is so sweeping that top union bureaucrats, including even George Meany, are compelled to react if only to preserve their union-based privileges.

While they are now marshalling some aid for the GE strikers, men like George Meany have little to offer in the way of meaningful leadership. An incident that occurred at the AFL-CIO convention in October underlines the deep gulf between the bureaucrats and union ranks.

Art Carter, 28 years old, an aggressive young secretary of the Contra Costa County Labor Council, was a delegate to that convention in Atlantic City. In his youth and naivete, he went there prepared to challenge George Meany's hawkish position on the Vietnam war.

The *San Francisco Chronicle's* labor reporter, Dick Meister, says Carter "brought before organized labor's establishment the 'youth revolt' that has shaken most other areas of American life."

But, Art Carter got nowhere in daring to challenge Meany's position on the war. What he did get was the same kind of treatment as every other rebel in the

The National Picketline

labor movement who has dared to suggest progressive ideas.

Carter's resolution called upon the AFL-CIO to put pressure on the Nixon administration to "effect an immediate, major reduction in American military involvement in Vietnam, and to bring the Vietnam war to a speedy conclusion."

George Meany characterized Carter's position as "surrender" and ruled the young delegate out of order when he attempted to answer from a floor mike.

Carter's reaction was bitter anger. "Did you hear what they called me? Young punk, that's what they said: sit down, punk."

"Look around you," Carter told the delegates. "How many black delegates do you see? Maybe 30 . . . And how many people under 30 do you see — or even under 40?"

Art's experience at the Atlantic City convention reflects among other things, the wide generation gap within the labor movement. Among the more than 16 million unionized workers, a large ma-

jority are men and women under the age of 40, and more than half of these are in their 20s.

These youth now face the gigantic task of challenging the distortions and bureaucratizations which have been imposed on the labor movement during the 1950s and 60s. And they face the complacency of many of the older men and women in the unions — many of whom were involved in the great union battles of the 1930s and 40s, but who have since grown tired of fighting. It is these older, skilled workers, who have the highest paid jobs and seniority, who form the foundation upon which the AFL-CIO bureaucracy bases itself.

But the story of Art Carter indicates that the present radicalization is beginning to affect the labor movement.

The tough (for them) stand of the top union officials against GE today reflects the powerful social pressures that are working changes upon the union structure.

These unions will become transformed with the development of a militant left wing, spearheaded by youth, which will organize the working-class struggle for a labor government and workers' control of the economy — the original goals of the founders of the union movement.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

Problem for capitalist parties

'69 elections reflected rising radicalization

By FRANK LOVELL

Returns of the Nov. 4 elections across the country were hardly reassuring to the capitalist politicians and their professional southsayers. They provided evidence of instability in the two-party system, and revealed the deep racial division in a social system beset with general dissatisfaction and unrest.

The aims of voters are so distorted in the electoral process that conflicting interpretations are always possible. This is part of the two-party system, which allows dissatisfaction to be vented through election campaigns while retaining the reins of government in the hands of machine politicians.

Voters try to influence policy by rejecting what they dislike without being able to get what they want. As a graphic example: in 1964 they turned down Goldwater only to be saddled with Johnson.

Nixon is seeking consolation in the election of two Republican governors, in New Jersey and Virginia. He tries to tell himself and others that these victories for his party amount to an endorsement by the voters of his Vietnam war policy. But nowhere did the election results confirm a "victory analysis" for either Democrats or Republicans.

Nixon's man in New Jersey, William Cahill, won because the voters were fed up with 16 years of Democratic rule, personalized in the duplicity of the defeated former governor, Robert B. Meyner. Likewise in Virginia, the Republican victor rode in on a wave of resentment against the remnants of the old Byrd dynasty that for 30 years has ruled the Democratic Party there.

Governor Linwood Holton of Virginia, the first Republican since Reconstruction, won with the endorsement of labor unions and the support of black voters.

New York City

Far from indicating a swing behind the policies of the Nixon administration, the elections showed general dissatisfaction with existing government, resentment against machine politics, and a disintegration of the old political structure.

This was widely recognized in the results of the New York City mayoral campaign which brought Mayor Lindsay in a winner despite the fact that he was defeated in the Republican pri-



mary and was opposed by the machine candidates of both the Republican and Democratic parties. Running on the Liberal Party ticket, he represented himself as an opponent of the war in Vietnam and the Nixon war policy.

It is true there was no great enthusiasm for Lindsay who was running for a second term. Less than half the eligible voters went to the polls, and only 42 percent of that minority voted for Lindsay.

There was considerable factual evidence from the primaries and earlier elections, reinforced by the Nov. 4 returns in many cities across the country, that the mood of the voters is rebellious and that the issues of greatest concern — high prices, high taxes, and high living — are all recognizable consequences of the high cost of war.

Writing in the Oct. 30 issue of the New York *Village Voice*, Geoffrey Cowan assembled summaries of voting trends in several mayoral primary contests prior to the Nov. 4 runoffs. Cities where such elections were held included New York, Atlanta, Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Seattle. In every case, a rabid "law and order" candidate with solid backing was defeated in the early round. Cowan concluded that "1969 has been a good year for leftist anti-establishment candidates, a mediocre year for law and order conservatives."

"The real casualties of this year's campaigns," he adds, "have been phoniness, pomposity, and pap." This last evaluation is inaccurate — all those elected were phonies — but they just happen, in most instances, to be phonies on the outs with the political cliques that have been running things. They found

out how to disguise their real aims and political connections, were able to appear as something different to an electorate seeking change.

The following is what happened in some major cities:

● **ATLANTA.** Sam Massell, vice-mayor in the administration of his predecessor, Ivan Allan, is the new mayor. Massell campaigned as a Jew, a liberal friend of the black man, and made a big issue of bigotry. In office, Massell will run city hall much the same as Allan did — also "a liberal friend of the black man." Both Massell and Allan are members of the Democratic Party.

● **CLEVELAND.** Carl B. Stokes, first black mayor of a major city, was narrowly reelected by a slightly higher majority than in his first victory two years ago. He defeated his white Republican opponent by 3,753 votes out of a total of 238,843 cast. The vote was light, down from 250,000 in 1967. It occurred along racial lines, the black community voting 98 percent for Stokes but with a drop in voter turnout. Stokes increased his support in white wards this time.

● **DETROIT.** The mayoral election in Detroit was similar to that in Cleveland. The vote was divided along racial lines. Both candidates in Detroit were Democrats. About the only difference is that one, Richard Austin, was a black man. Both described themselves as "moderates," the strident "law and order" candidate having been eliminated in the primaries. Sheriff Roman Gribbs won by only 7,292 votes of the 507,332 total.

Austin had the unenthusiastic support of black people, and he got less than 20 percent of the white vote despite official backing by the Teamsters union and the UAW. Austin was so anxious not to offend anyone that he failed to press his antiwar stand even in the manner of Lindsay in New York, and this cost him the election. Austin looked as much like a machine candidate as the machine candidate himself who was the winner.

● **HOUSTON.** In a Nov. 16 mayoral race the incumbent, Louie Welch, was reelected. But Curtis M. Graves, a 31-year-old black politician and member of the Texas state legislature, won 32 percent of the total vote and 95 percent of the black vote. In the white wards he got less than 11 percent. He was running as an "anti-establishment" candidate.

● **PITTSBURGH.** The campaign in Pittsburgh by Peter F. Flaherty, a white rebel inside the Democratic Party, who swamped his Republican opponent by 56,000 votes was conducted against the established order. Flaherty won the Democratic primary by denouncing City Hall and the old Barr machine in the Democratic Party. He went on to defeat John K. Tabor, the Republican, who spent \$400,000, including donations from Nelson Rockefeller,

Richard K. Mellon, Paul Mellon, Seward Mellon, Richard P. Mellon, Henry L. Hillman, H.J. Heinz 2nd, and Helen Clay Frick. Flaherty campaigned as a "champion of the people" against the Mellon millions.

This smashing defeat of the party machines — both Democratic and Republican — has projected Flaherty into prominence nationally as the spokesman of "a new populism." He had support from sections of SDS, and won heavily in white working-class neighborhoods as well as the black community.

● **SEATTLE.** In the "nonpartisan" mayoral election, Wes Uhlman, Democrat, was an easy victor over his Republican opponent, Mort Frayn. Uhlman was described as "liberal," Frayn as "moderate," by local analysts. Uhlman, on occasion, stated his opposition to the Vietnam war although he did not project this as a campaign issue.

Uhlman appeared more "progressive," appealing to the general dissatisfaction with present social conditions. This same mood was recorded in the primary by the defeat of a local "law and order" Democrat, Fred Dore, thought to be a sure winner before the election.

Voting age amendments

Defeat of amendments to lower the voting age in Ohio and New Jersey appears to contradict the general trend of voting. These amendments were on statewide ballots, and carried in most major cities. In Ohio, where the vote was close, a county-by-county analysis in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* offered this: "Most liberals in Ohio presumably live in northern metropolitan areas that gave some support to the amendment. In rural areas, fewer young persons go off to college, family ties remain closer, children start working and marry earlier. This may explain why the amendment carried in some rural areas."

What needs explaining is why the amendment failed. The fact is that the party machines everywhere opposed these amendments and tried to keep them off the ballot, and the ward heelers always work against them even when prominent party spokesmen endorse the idea of lowering the voting age.

In a number of contests the program of revolutionary socialism was projected as an alternative. During the period of the campaign we reported the various contests in which the Socialist Workers Party participated. While the SWP did not amass large numbers of votes in any of these elections and was, in a number of key areas, arbitrarily ruled off the ballot, it was successful in reaching significant numbers of people with its socialist program. An encouraging number of these were won to the revolutionary movement.

New From Merit

The Marxist Theory of the State by Ernest Mandel

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Origin and Development of the State in the History of Societies
The Bourgeois State: The Face of Everyday Reality
The Proletariat in Power

50¢

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The Great Society

Overwhelming silence — Uptight because several busloads of students from the area were going to Washington Nov. 15, Mrs. Gilbert Grout of Clinton, N.Y., an organizer of National Confidence Week, decided to stage a rally to mobilize the "silent majority" behind the president. The rally was cancelled when she journeyed to Washington to get a speaker and couldn't find anyone who was interested. "What apathy," she complained.

Horizontal organization — We're told that the executive structure tends to take the shape of a pyramid. But the man on top may be prone. A New York office supplier offers an "executive slumber seat," a club chair that converts into a full size bed. "Your key to relaxation during a hectic day, or for the long evenings at the office."

Status symbol—A New York shop offers "the perfect executive gift," a 100-ounce, \$220 bar of silver. To dress the item up for Xmas, they could shape it like a bullet.

Second thoughts — Recently, we reported somewhat deprecatingly on the plush, private New Jersey dog pound with rates from \$6 to \$19.50 a day for what seemed to us like rather small rooms. But now we learn that facilities include baths for small pups and stall showers for soup hounds. Also they get their teeth polished up with electric toothbrushes.

For effete athletes? — Those who like to get their exercise, but not too much, on the links will be pleased to learn a patent has been issued for a device which pops the ball out of the hole after it's been sunk. Now maybe they'll come up with a power-driven club.

Shopping hint — The Xmas catalogue

of Sakowitz, a Houston specialty shop, offers a "Masterpiece of the Month" deal which provides 12 works by such artists as Picasso, Matisse and Chagall. Only \$1-million.

Just a bit more porous—According to the *Wall Street Journal*, a piece of smooth abstract granite sculpture in the plaza of the Bank of America building in San Francisco quickly became known as the "Banker's Heart."

Materialist factor in history—A study shows 1969 cigarette sales will drop 1.7 percent—not because of concern for health, however, but because of rising taxes.

New smokescreen — A recent study purports to show that many auto fatalities are caused by alcohol. Rumor has it that the study was funded by the coffin-nail industry in a move to divert attention from the damaging effects of nicotine-induced tension on drivers.

Oh—We had been wondering about the disclosure that the U.S. has produced and stockpiled more than 20,000 poison bullets (convenient for assassinations) since the 1907 Hague Convention, which the U.S. signed, prohibits such weapons. But it's all been cleared up. The agreement merely bars their use, not their manufacture.

Great for Campbell's soup—Tiffany's is featuring a three-quart porcelain tureen in blue, red and gold on white. \$400.

Is nothing sacred?—A national conference of 440 under-35 staff members of the Young Women's Christian Association called on the YWCA to dispense birth control pills and to press for the legalization of marijuana.

—HARRY RING

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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

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

Hayward: YSA, Caryl Towner, 2010 B Street, Hayward, Calif. 94541. Tel: (415) 537-3653.

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

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

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

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

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

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 1176-1/2 Peachtree St., all correspondence to P.O.Box 7818, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.

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

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

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 939-2667.

DeKalb: YSA and bookstore, 317 Wood St., Apt. B, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. (815) 758-1511.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Marilyn Vogt, University Apt. 3-E, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Bob Mears, 1510 Kentucky, Apt. G. Tel: (913) 843-2073.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 491-8893, 547-8557.

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

Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, c/o Alec Harshey, 914 Lilac #7, East Lansing, Mi. 48823.

Ypsilanti: YSA, c/o Dave Davis, 417 Olive St., Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Paul Schmidtlein, 5437 Charlotte, K.C., Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 523-5468.

St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, Scharrell Hotel, Rm. 30, 280 N. Skinker Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63130.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, c/o Allan Pump, 158 Hamilton St., E. Orange, N.J. 07017. Tel: (201) 674-3144.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Bill O'Kain, 313 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Peter Gellert, Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

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OHIO: Athens: YSA, P.O. Box 899, Athens, Ohio 45701.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 13900 Euclid Ave., East Cleveland, Ohio 44112. Tel: (216) 249-8250.

Columbus: YSA, P.O. Box 3006, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 294-2047.

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

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Janet Gogolick, Antiach Union, Yellow Springs, Oh. 45387.

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

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

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, c/o Jeff Powers, 134 Benefit St., Providence, R. I. 02902.

TEXAS: Austin: Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.

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

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

Reading for revolutionaries

An eyewitness account

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD. By John Reed. 439 pp. \$1.45.

Lenin wrote of this book: "Unreservedly do I recommend it to the workers of the world. Here is a book which I should like to see published in millions of copies and translated into all languages." Over the years, Lenin's wish has been amply realized.

Reed's work covers the brief period just prior to and after the taking of power by the Bolsheviks in Russia in 1917. A radical American journalist, Reed arrived in Russia in September, 1917, just weeks before the revolution. His is an eyewitness account of the events, as seen by an observant journalist whose sympathies were clearly with those who made the revolution.

Reed went everywhere in St. Petersburg where the revolutionary struggles were being fought out, to Moscow and to some of the fronts. He talked to everyone, the leaders of the many political parties and groups, the government, the soldiers, workers and peasants. In his book the revolution and its participants come to life as they play out their roles in the great events of 1917 that did so much to influence history from that time on.

To follow him from place to place, from the headquarters of the Soviets to an evening with implacable enemies of the revolution, and everywhere in between, we get a first hand view of what was taking place. How the critical days and hours were met by the various political tendencies that were in struggle with one another and how the incidental man in the street, the soldier or guard reacted, is here graphically set down.

Among the things that stand out clearly are the policies of the different political parties, the intransigent revolutionary will of the Bolsheviks that finally won the support of the overwhelming majority of the Russian people, the vacillating policy of the reformist socialists of all kinds and the bitter opposition of the parties that represented the Russian capitalists and those who stood to the right of them.

Among other things, Reed's observations prove that the overthrow of the Kerensky liberal capitalist regime was not the work of a small minority but rather the act of the majority. The legality of the revolution, if there is such a thing, is justified, not only by the particular conditions that existed in Russia in 1917, but by the fact that this

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Soviet poster from 1918-1919 period of revolution

shift in power was in essence a profoundly democratic act.

The book has many quotations from documents and proclamations issued during the stormy days, quotations from speeches which he heard, and articles written for various newspapers and periodicals. His entire account is well and fully documented.

The author went on to become a founding member of the Communist Party in this country and served on the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In 1920, at the age of 33 he died of typhus while on a political mission in the south of Russia. His book went on to become a classic of revolutionary literature.

—MILTON ALVIN

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A gain for women's liberation

D.C. anti-abortion law voided

By ELIZABETH BARNES

Subject to review by a higher court, a recent decision by U. S. District Judge Gerhard Gesell makes Washington, D. C., the only place in the country where a woman has the right to a legal abortion if she wants it.

By declaring the existing 68-year-old Washington anti-abortion law unconstitutional, Judge Gesell has wiped all D. C. anti-abortion legislation from the books and has ruled that any "competent licensed practitioner of medicine" can legally perform an abortion in the District of Columbia for reasons satisfactory to himself and his patient.

The decision has important implications for the overall fight for the right of women to choose for themselves whether or not they want to have a child. It has direct bearing, for example, on the challenges being made against existing anti-abortion legislation in New York state, because the old anti-abortion law in the District of Columbia is similar to the New York law.

In New York, a group of women, joined by doctors, nurses, welfare mothers and others have banded together to bring several different suits against the anti-abortion law into the courts. These suits have been consolidated and will be considered at a trial before a three-judge Federal District Court in about

Statistics on abortions

Over one million abortions are performed each year in the U. S., according to the Women's Liberation Health Collective. Only 9,000 of these are legal. One-fourth of all women in America have had illegal abortions.

Each year 500 to 1000 women die from illegal abortions. In New York City, 80 percent of those who die are Black or Puerto Rican.

The U. S. death rate from abortions is 50 to 100 per 100,000 operations. In countries where abortions are legal, the rate is three deaths per 100,000.

six weeks. Appeal from a decision by such a three-judge court goes directly to the Supreme Court.

It is almost certain now that the issue of abortion will go before the Supreme Court in the coming period. A favorable Supreme Court decision could have an important effect on abortion laws in this country since many of the anti-

abortion law suits go way beyond the timid fights for abortion reform which have taken place in various state legislatures in recent years.

These legislative fights have mainly centered around the question of slight liberalizations of existing stringent laws (e.g. making abortion legal if birth would impair the physical or mental health of the woman or risk mental or physical defect in the child, or if the pregnancy resulted from rape or incest). But the present abortion suits have tended to go much further in asserting the basic right of a woman to decide for herself whether or not she wants an abortion, no matter what her reason.

The New York suit, for example, argues that anti-abortion laws are unconstitutional because they deny women the right to privacy in their personal and sexual associations and their right to life and liberty by denying them the right to control their own motherhood.

It is significant that in throwing out the old Washington, D. C., law, Judge Gesell raised this broader question of a woman's right to determine her own destiny. He observed that there had been "an increasing indication in decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States that, as a secular matter, a woman's liberty and right of privacy extends to the family, marriage and sex matters, and may well include the right to remove an unwanted child, at least in the early stages of pregnancy."



"THE GOVERNMENT, DESPITE PATIENCE AND FOREBEARANCE, DESPITE ALL OUR EFFORTS AND GOOD WILL, HAS LOST FAITH WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THEREFORE, IN OUR DISAPPOINTMENT, WE HAVE DECIDED TO DISSOLVE THE PEOPLE AND ELECT A NEW ONE"

Third World Liberation Notes

Harlem Vietnam meeting

On Nov. 13, a Third World Conference on Vietnam was held in Harlem's Intermediate School 201. Sponsored by the Third World Committee for Solidarity with Vietnam, the conference featured films and speakers from the Young Lords Organization, Harlem Community Coalition, Black Panther Party, and the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico.

Rafael Viera, a Puerto Rican Vietnam veteran and member of the Republic of New Africa, ran down his experience as a Navy medic. Bobby Shepard related his experiences as a Black Vietnam veteran. An Arab student spoke on the impact of Vietnam on the struggle in the Middle East.

The conference concluded with a panel discussion on the war lead by Ralph Hudgins, one of the coordinators of the Third World Committee, Hannibal Ahmed of the Harlem Youth Federation, and Bobby Shepard of the SNCC National Youth Congress. A spirited discussion took place on the relationship between the war and the Black community, and on the general state of the nationalist movement.

The meeting was chaired by Third World Committee coordinator B. R. Washington. About 85 people attended and the Third World Committee sent two and a half bus loads of people to the Nov. 15 march on Washington.

In the Nov. 14 *Washington Post*, it was reported that 10 Black GIs were transferred from posts in West Germany because, as an Army spokesman put it, their activities "have been found to be prejudicial to morale, discipline or good order."

The transfers were first reported by the *Overseas Weekly*, which explained that the Black GIs were holding meet-

ings where such topics as Black history, music, neighborhood news from home and general grievances were discussed. On one post, such meetings began to draw such a crowd of GIs and their families that they had to be held in a gymnasium.

According to the Army, "statements made in the meetings tended to become threatening and inflammatory and could have led to the type of agitation detrimental to good order and discipline." So, to keep the lid on, the GIs were shipped out.

Meanwhile, the mother of a Black Marine charged with raping a Japanese girl says that since his false conviction her son is developing "a hatred for all white people." The Nov. 12 *New York Post* says that Ronald Johnson, 19, of Brooklyn, was found guilty of the charge at a military trial in Okinawa in April of 1968. He was given 12 years.

Recent evidence has come to light showing that the whole thing was a frame-up. A white Marine who was tried with Johnson but acquitted told Naval officials that Johnson was framed by two other white Marines who didn't like him. A statement saying that the girl was bribed by white Marines to lie about the incident has been submitted by another Marine.

Johnson entered the Marines at the age of 17 with a very gung-ho attitude. When the trial took place, the Brother thought for sure that he was going to be acquitted because of his innocence and because this was America. His conviction brought on a whole new attitude concerning the Marines and the Great Society. It is this type of treatment that points to the sharpening of contradictions within the imperialist Army.

—DERRICK MORRISON

Afro students at Tufts gain construction job accord

By MARK FRIEDMAN

MEDFORD, Mass. — The Tufts University Afro-Society and its white supporters will continue a moratorium on demonstrations if the school administration abides by an agreement it made Nov. 12 regarding hiring of minority workers in the construction of a new dormitory. Tufts Afro-American students originally shut down the site and last week several hundred students seized the computer center to press the demand for minority hiring in the construction project.

The following "Memorandum of Understanding" was agreed to by Tufts University President Burton Hallowell and George Cox, Charles Yancy and Dan Coleman of the Tufts Afro-American Society:

"1) Two additional minority workers will be hired tomorrow [Nov. 13] bringing the current total to 13 minority workers.

"2) The administration will hire a clerk of the works (whose responsibility it is to monitor the quality and substance of the work in conformity with the construction documents) relying upon the Tufts Afro-American Society to produce candidates and giving those candidates first preference for the position.

"3) Tufts University will insist that the New Urban League, United Community Construction Workers, and the Workers Defense League receive notice of every available job and be given opportunity to supply the men to fill those jobs.

"4) That Tufts University continue to insist that to the extent jobs and work-

ers are available the remaining numbers of needed minority workers to bring the percentage to 20 percent be hired within a seven-day period and that percentage be continually maintained. It is understood that it would be unacceptable either to shift minority workers from other Volpe job sites or to lay off nonminority workers for this purpose from the Tufts site.

"5) That a student recommended by the Afro-American Society, be hired by Tufts to monitor on the site with the appropriate Tufts officials the employment of minority workers.

"6) That the monitor be consulted by Tufts as to any firing or any contemplated firing of minority workers as soon as Tufts receives such information.

"7) That Tufts University begin negotiations with unions on Workers Defense League training programs for future construction. The proposals herein enumerated do not preclude any proposals which Tufts Afro-American Society may present to the administration concerning other construction."

As the one-week deadline on implementation of the agreement draws near it seems apparent that the Afro Society will have to continue the struggle. Since the agreement was made, only three new workers have been hired. They include two night watchmen, which means that they will not be in the construction union, and one mason who has been hired for a period of only four days.

But the fight is being extended. The Afro societies at Brandeis and Harvard are also beginning to move on the same issue.