



**THE
MILITANT**

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Photo by Randy Furst

New York, April 15

Behind Guardian split

—see page 5—

Outlook for antiwar forces

Nixon escalation will accelerate mass opposition

By GUS HOROWITZ

The current stage of the war in Vietnam and the perspectives ahead for the antiwar movement merit a sober and clear-sighted assessment by all antiwar forces at the present time.

What are Nixon's real intentions in Vietnam? What is the real mood of the American masses? What course of action should be taken by a serious and responsible antiwar leadership?

These three questions have been brought into sharp focus by events of the past weeks, in particular the mid-April antiwar protests, Nixon's April 20 troop "withdrawal" speech, and the April 19 announcement by the national Vietnam Moratorium Committee that it is disbanding.

The answers are clear: Nixon's policy is designed to continue and expand the war; mass opposition to the war continues to grow and deepen; the national antiwar leadership must be rebuilt with the goal of mobilizing for larger and more effective mass antiwar actions.

Superficial impressions are totally misleading in an assessment of the present situation. In recent months the ruling-class-controlled mass media, including the liberal variety, has been unanimous in supporting a policy of playing down the war and antiwar protests. These circles, from the New York Times on down, have alleged Nixon's cleverness in defusing mass antiwar protests. The congressional doves of last fall, who likewise are the servants of the ruling class, have turned to other concerns, especially their own election campaigns, urging all others to follow.

These developments, neither surprising nor unprecedented, have turned the heads and weakened the wills of sections of the antiwar leadership. But they do not change the facts.

The war in Vietnam, far from fading out, has clearly widened and intensified, openly encompassing all of Indochina.

In Laos there has been a sharp escalation of the war in recent months, as the internal civil war has heated up. American bombing missions, directed against the insurgent revolutionary forces as well as the NLF supply routes, are on the same scale as the previous bombing of North Vietnam.

The Cambodian coup d'etat, supported and hailed by American imperialism, is backfiring on its perpetrators. The Vietnamese liberation forces have secured their supply areas, while the internal class struggle in Cambodia has intensified dramatically, threatening imperialist sway over Cambodia as well. The use of Thai or Saigon troops to augment the weak government forces can only be a stopgap. Already the Cambodian regime has requested more massive aid from U.S. imperialism—aid which it must have to survive.

In Vietnam, the token American troop withdrawals have not significantly lowered the number of U.S. troops in the combat areas, which remains almost the same as at the time of the Tet offensive in early 1968. The myth of Vietnamization is shown to be doubly fraudulent, as the Thieu regime's exceedingly narrow base of support crumbles even more under the impact of sizable demonstrations by students and disabled veterans, and the nauseous massacre of Vietnamese civilians by Thieu's Cambodian cohorts.

It is in this context that Nixon's April 20 Vietnam speech must be analyzed. The token troop withdrawals, a continuation of Nixon's desperate attempt to defuse the antiwar opposition in the U.S., even if carried out on schedule, would still leave 284,000 American troops in Vietnam a year from now! What is more ominous is the loophole that Nixon built into his speech, with its implications for the widening war in Indochina:

"Now viewed against the enemy's escalation in Laos and Cambodia, and in view of the stepped-up attacks this month in South Vietnam, this decision clearly involves risks. . . . I repeat what I said Nov. 3 and Dec. 15: If I conclude that increased enemy

(Continued on page 7)

Campus poll: 86 percent for withdrawal

'Silent majority' tiny minority at C.W. Post

Greenvale, N. Y.
C.W. Post took a campus referendum on the war April 14. The possible choices were: 1) immediate withdrawal; 2) continue present policy; 3) escalate. Out of the 703 who voted, 605 voted for immediate withdrawal! Only 20 voted to escalate.
This campus has a reputation for being *very* conservative, but thanks to the antiwar movement those days are apparently over.

Elaine Feuerstein

'... considerable care for the facts'

Ann Arbor, Mich.
I received my first issue of *The Militant* yesterday. I must say that I was happily surprised to find that in addition to presenting opinions that usually aren't found in *Time*, etc., about certain issues, the magazine seemed to be put together with considerable care for the facts. I'm afraid that this cannot be said to be true for many publications that are anti-establishment oriented.

B. D. B.

Right-wing reporting

New York, N. Y.
The March 24 issue of the right-wing magazine, *National Review* included the following item: "Good question from an unlikely source (*The Militant*, newspaper of the Trotskyite Young Socialist Alliance): If the Catholic church allows its priests to get married, what will it do when its married priests want to get divorced?"
Is *The Militant* really concerned about this problem?

J. D.

[No. *National Review's* reporting is apparently of the same general quality as its ideology. (*The Militant*, incidentally is not the newspaper of the YSA. It reflects the viewpoint of the Socialist Workers Party and enjoys the support of the YSA.) The item referred to appeared in the Great Society column March 6. It reported, sardonically, that a spokesman for the Catholic hierarchy had expressed such a concern. — *Editor*.]

Black doctor victimized

Seattle, Wash.
In July 1968, Dr. Luther W. McCaskill, a Black doctor from Clarksdale, Miss., was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for murder by abortion. This decision was reversed by the Mississippi State Supreme Court and remanded back to the Coahoma County Circuit Court for a second trial last November. Dr. McCaskill

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.

was acquitted of the murder charge last January but was immediately re-arrested on three counts of illegal abortion, one of which carries a second charge of murder. He is presently in Coahoma County jail.

Three things are clear: 1) that Dr. McCaskill has already spent 19 months in the state penitentiary; 2) that the Black community of Clarksdale has been robbed of the only practicing Black doctor in the county who gave free medical aid to anyone who needed it, and was known for his militant support of the civil rights movement and of Clarksdale's young Black teenagers; and 3) that young Black women in Mississippi are being murdered by a society that refuses to grant them the human right to a safe and free abortion.

The Black community in Clarksdale has established a defense fund in support of Dr. McCaskill. Money is urgently needed to cover the expenses of his new trial as well as expenses of his previous trials. Contributions should be sent to: The McCaskill Defense Fund, c/o Ben F. Jones, chairman, 504 Florida Avenue, Clarksdale, Miss.

Janet Meadows
Seattle Radical Women

Urge him to get a sub

Chicago, Ill.
Your *Militant* paper is the greatest thing that happened so far. It opened my eyes very much on what is really going on. Every time I finish reading the paper my high school English teacher bugs me if he can borrow it for a night. And he also says it's great.

G. V.

Grape boycott campaign being stepped up

Bronx, N. Y.
Striking grape pickets from California and Arizona have come to the cities in a new wave of hope—hope that they will be able to get through to the consumers and show them how every grape you buy contributes to

the poverty of the farm worker.
In order to win what should already to theirs, they have gone out on strike, only to see the growers import strikebreakers from Mexico (a violation of federal law, but not enforced). They have spent months organizing each new crew of strikebreakers, only to have them replaced by more from Mexico.

The only hope for the farm workers is to stop these grapes at the market. If the growers are forced to realize that the public will not buy grapes harvested under indecent working conditions, by workers denied a living wage, they will bargain with the union. This kind of economic pressure is all that the agri-business giants seem to understand. This strategy has succeeded in winning us contracts with wine-grape growers and recently with one small table-grape grower.

As part of a new wave of farm workers bringing their struggle to the cities, Mack and Dianna Lyons have opened an office in the Bronx at 708 Lydig Avenue, Room 206. Phone: (212) 597-8850.

They need money, materials and volunteer help. If you want to help, or just want to find out more about the Farm Workers' Union, they are anxious to hear from you.

Other New York offices: Manhattan, 275 7th Ave., Phone: 929-3239; Brooklyn, 300 Wyckoff Ave., Phone: 497-5393 ext. 6905.

United Farm Workers
Organizing Comm.

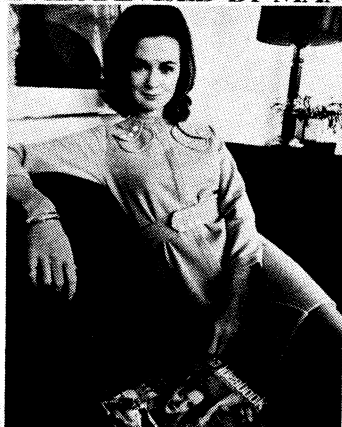
On incentives

San Francisco, Calif.
The enclosed ad is one of the most remarkably explicit crystalizations of one of the uses of women in this society I have ever seen.

In terms of incentives, I think it has the opposite of its intended effect: Build the women's liberation movement!

Andrea Davis

CAPITALIZE ON THE MOST
POWERFUL SALES INCENTIVE
EVER DEvised BY MAN:



WOMAN.

Political repression at Harvard

Cambridge, Mass.
On March 25, six Harvard and Radcliffe students were convicted on frame-up charges of disturbing the peace in the latest of a series of acts of harassment by Harvard and the city of Cambridge against radical groups here. The students were arrested one night last fall while distributing posters advertising an SDS rally.

The students each received \$200 fines, three-month suspended jail sentences, and probation terms ranging from 15 months to three years, unusually severe sentences for this type of case. The political nature of the convictions was made clear by the fact that four of the six defendants received probation terms that will end at the time they graduate from school.

In an earlier case involving SDS, Carl Offner, a Harvard graduate student,

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Closing news date—April 23

was sentenced to an unprecedentedly severe four-month jail term on an assault-and-battery conviction for allegedly touching Harvard Dean Watson's elbow during last April's occupation of University Hall.

In addition to the 17 students who were expelled from Harvard as a result of last year's struggle against ROTC, 17 more were thrown out this fall after a sit-in around demands for 20 percent Black and Third World workers on campus construction sites and for abolition of Harvard's racist apprentice program which pays Black apprentice painters up to a dollar an hour less than whites for the same work.

Jon Berman and Dick Osborne

Maybe better than Guardian

Kingston, N. Y.
Please start a one year subscription for me as soon as possible. You have a great paper, as I found out, maybe better than the *Guardian*.
Power to all the people.

D. G.

Providence YSA opens new headquarters

Providence, R. I.
The Providence Young Socialist Alliance held a public meeting March 25 to formally open its new headquarters, hall and bookstore. The new headquarters, named Vincent Raymond Dunne Hall, is located in Sayles Hall at Brown University.

There were two speakers at the meeting. Providence YSA Organizer Jeff Powers outlined plans to keep the hall open and turn it into a real movement center for Providence. Larry Trainor, veteran member of the Socialist Workers Party, discussed the past forty years of the socialist movement in this country.

Six introductory subscriptions to *The Militant* were sold.
Ann Marie Capuzzi

Good insurance risk

Madison, Wis.
Remarking on the recent death in combat of Army Brigadier General William R. Bond, the April 11 *Armed Forces Journal* noted that he is the fifth U.S. general to die in Vietnam—but only the 26th in this century. Although a total of 21 generals and admirals were killed in action in World War II, not a single one died in World War I or Korea.

As the GIs used to say about old "Blood and Guts" George Patton—his guts, our blood.

Boris

JOIN THE YSA

IF YOU SUPPORT THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE BROWN LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT, THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, A SOCIALIST AMERICA, YOU BELONG IN THE YSA. . .

clip and mail

Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003

☐ I would like more information ☐ I want to join the YSA

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Significant poll

Time finds rising Black militancy

By DERRICK MORRISON

Based on a Louis Harris poll for *Time* magazine, there are almost two million Afro-Americans who count themselves as "revolutionaries." This is deduced from a nationwide poll of 1,255 Afro-Americans in which 9 percent responded affirmatively to the designation.

One out of four expressed "a great deal" of respect for the Black Panther Party. Furthermore, 31 percent, up from 21 percent in 1966, believed that Blacks "will probably have to resort to violence to win rights." The figure was 40 percent for Black teenagers.

In respect to the American political system, 63 percent agreed that "the system is rotten and has to be changed completely for Blacks to be free." Eighty-five percent supported Black studies as "an important sign of Black identity and pride."

All of this and more is part of the April 6 edition of *Time* magazine devoted to "Black America 1970." Every category of Afro-American life, from art, behavior, books, and environment, to law, music, and sports received some commentary.

The thread running through the whole issue is the depth of the nationalist awakening of radicalization shaking Afroamerica. Even *Time* was forced to state, "... Blacks showed a sense of self-reliance expressed in statements such as 'Achieve equal educational opportunities with whites,' 'Greater unity among Blacks,' and 'Blacks must keep pushing and fighting for equality.' These assertions far outran such concepts as promoting communication, respect and under-



END OF AN ERA. Striking sanitation workers march in Memphis just prior to April 4, 1969, murder of Rev. Martin Luther King. Many Black people said the philosophy of nonviolence died with

standing from whites."

The section on education indicates that almost half the Black population is under 20. Among the youth that are interviewed is Dennis 'Dino' Thompson, 18 years old. Thompson was a high-school dropout, a hustler and drug addict in the streets of Washington, D. C. But when he was recruited to the New Thing, a Black-run art high school for those who have rejected the public schools, he got rid of all those habits. Now, brother Thompson and others at the school are working on a film on hustling in the streets, about which he says, "I want everything to be real . . . so that people can see what's really going down. When I look at TV, ain't nothing in there I've seen before. Like in all the pictures with Black people, they got to be some white guy who's his best friend. It ain't always that way. And that show *Julia* — she's just a nurse, and she's got all this fantastic furniture. Ain't that way."

In the statistical box, which accompanies each area of life, it is stated, "Only 58 percent of Black school children complete the eighth grade, as against 73 percent of their white classmates. About 40 percent of Black teenagers finish high school, compared with 62 percent of whites. Black enrollment (in college) has almost doubled since 1964, but the relative Black total has barely changed: only 6.4

percent of U. S. undergraduates are Black, compared with 5 percent in 1964." In 1968, white high school graduates still earn more than Black college graduates.

These statistics show just how brutal and ruthless is the institution of education. It is designed to push out and mentally destroy Blacks, which is why the educational establishment is catching the full wrath of the struggle for self-determination.

On the environment provided by the ghetto, *Time* writes that the Black infant mortality rate from influenza and pneumonia is 9.8 per 10,000, compared to 4.4 in white poverty areas and 2.6 for all whites. According to a Chicago sociologist, Pierre de Vise, 5 percent of Chicago's Black infants die before reaching their first birthday, which he says is "a higher rate than in any of the 50 states or any civilized nation." He adds the fact that the Chicago ghetto has "one physician for every 10,000 Blacks, compared with one physician for every 700 whites."

In the area of show business, *Time* cites Black comedians as reflectors of the "emerging sense of pride and power," with Dick Gregory providing the best example. *Time* also gives an account of the rise of actors such as Moses Gunn; the forward surge of the New Jazz inspired by John Coltrane; the raging works of the new genera-

tion of poets and writers, which is best exhibited by LeRoi Jones, Nikki Giovanni, and Don L. Lee. But when you get down to the statistical box, either the number of Blacks is very minute, as in show business, or as in the case of the poets and writers, no major publishing house is Black controlled, a factor that hinders the production and distribution of their works.

New ground is being broken by Afro-Americans in the sciences of behavior and medicine. In respect to the former, *Time* says, "Where traditional therapy encourages the patient to adjust to the world as it is, Black therapy extends a more activist invitation. 'How can you tell a Black patient to adjust to this society?' asks Black psychiatrist Price M. Cobbs. 'We don't. For the Black patient to become healthy, he must engage himself in changing a society that needs changing.'"

In medicine, *Time* describes part of the educational process at the Howard University College of Medicine and at Nashville's Meharry Medical College. "Howard and Meharry have something in common more important than skin color: the service that their soon-to-be graduates expect to give. Whereas virtually all Black doctors used to go into solo practice and isolate themselves from community affairs, more of today's students plan to go into group practice. They know that whether they choose to practice in groups or alone, their offices will have to serve as neighborhood health centers. Increasing numbers of them are certain to emerge as community leaders, and set up health-care teams, including social workers, medical aides and legal counsel."

Thus, the nationalist consciousness is forcing more and more of those who 'make it' to relate to the problems of the mass.

In summary though, the statistics on the condition of the masses of Black people running throughout the issue demonstrate that capitalism has proven itself unable to even begin to scratch the surface of the problems of Afroamerica. This failure to make even a dent will push the struggle for self-determination beyond the present system.

In the words of Brother Malcolm X, many will begin to realize, "... it's impossible for a chicken to produce a duck egg—even though they both belong to the same family of fowl. A chicken just doesn't have it within its system to produce a duck egg. . . . It can only produce according to what that particular system was constructed to produce. The system in this country cannot produce freedom for an Afro-American. It is impossible for this system, this economic system, this political system, this social system, this system, period. It's impossible for this system, as it stands, to produce freedom right now for the Black man in this country."

"And if ever a chicken did produce a duck egg, I'm quite sure you would say it was certainly a revolutionary chicken!"

"Sharp-voiced socialist"?

Jenness responds to a criticism

ATLANTA—Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, had her second major confrontation with the Democratic and Republican gubernatorial candidates in mid-April. The candidates addressed an audience of about 700 at the state convention of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, the principal organization of the state's Black teachers.

Linda Jenness opened her speech by citing an article by Reg Murphy, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, which referred to her as "the sharp-voiced Socialist Party candidate."

"I don't know what he meant by that," she commented, "but if he meant that I speak out sharply against the injustices in this society, then he's absolutely right. This is not a time to speak softly or not at all. Our society is in a crisis and must be changed."

Her speech was interrupted by applause several times, especially as she urged the other candidates to support the city employees' strike in Atlanta. She also received a hand for her comments about the need for an independent Black party. "The large and significant vote that Dr. Horace Tate received in the mayoral elections last fall without the backing of the Democratic and Republican parties," she said, "and the role that liberal Democratic Mayor Sam Massell is play-

ing in the current strike, point out very sharply the need and the potential for an independent Black political party—independent of the Democratic and Republican parties."

Former Governor Carl Sanders, a liberal Democrat and the only other candidate to receive as much applause as Jenness, was forced to answer a criticism she leveled against him for a recent attack he made on the "radicals, or new left or what you will" whom he contended "are using a system Thomas Jefferson would have labeled a tyranny."

"I'm not sure who he's referring to as radical or new left," she said, "but the Thomas Jefferson I studied and admired put forth the theory that what this country needs every 20 years is a good revolution." Sanders replied, in a style that would seem "gracious" to a southern gentleman, that his attack had not been aimed at the "talented, beautiful, and stimulating Mrs. Jenness."

Although most organizations that have held programs involving the gubernatorial candidates have included Linda Jenness, the powerful Georgia Association of County Commissioners decided to exclude her from its state convention April 12-14.

In a letter to Hill R. Healan of the association, she made a blistering

criticism of its claim that she was a "nonserious" candidate. Her supporters were not collecting the nearly 90,000 signatures on independent nominating petitions, she stated, for the obvious reason that they have filed suit in federal court challenging both the exorbitant number and the high qualifying fees.

Her protest of this exclusion was given considerable coverage on radio and TV.

In another campaign development widely carried in Atlanta's newspapers, Jenness went after a red-baiting attack on Earth Day by James Bentley, state comptroller general and a candidate in the Republican primary. When Bentley discovered that the April 22 Earth Day fell on Lenin's birthday, he spent \$1,625 of state funds on telegrams to national leaders demanding that it be rescheduled. "It will make us the laughing stock of the entire Communist empire," he told newsmen.

Linda Jenness labeled his protest "a McCarthyite attack" that "should be condemned by every progressive-minded person in this state." She said the SWP supported the Earth Day activities and sent Bentley a telegram urging him "to withdraw your statement and join the movement to make this country a cleaner and safer place to live."

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In Brief

HILLIARD AND DOUGLAS ARRESTED: The U.S. government's crackdown on Black Panthers continues. Dave Hilliard, Panther chief of staff, and Emory Douglas, minister of culture, were arrested, sentenced and jailed April 14 for contempt of court in New Haven. They were given six months. However, the sentences were commuted to time served on April 21, and the two men were freed. The two Panther leaders were in New Haven, attending the pretrial hearings of nine Black Panthers and Panther Chairman Bobby Seale, all charged with alleged participation in the murder of Black Panther Alex Rackley last year.

The arrests occurred when a guard shoved Hilliard, who was reading in the spectator's section. "Get your hands off me," said Hilliard. He was seized. When Douglas rose, he was also seized. Both were immediately taken before Judge Harold M. Mulvey and were summarily sentenced. At Yale University, momentum for a strike is growing. A demonstration demanding freedom for the Panthers has been called for May 1 in New Haven.

EFFORT TO RAILROAD ROGER PRIEST: The defense rested its case April 21 in the court-martial of Roger Priest, the seaman apprentice and publisher of the militant antiwar newspaper, *OM*. Gen. David M. Shoup, former commandant of the Marine Corps, Ernest Gruening, former U.S. senator, and Adm. Arnold E. True testified on Priest's behalf at the Anacostia Naval Air Station in Washington, D.C. The government is seeking to prove that the 26-year-old sailor, through the pages of *OM*, urged sedition and desertion. If convicted, Priest could get 39 years in prison.

SCEF WORKERS ON TRIAL: The trial of Martha Allen and Mike Honey on charges of "embezzlement" (jury tampering) has been set for April 23 in Hart County, Kentucky. They are accused

of sending a letter to 1,000 persons listed in the county telephone book. The letter protested the persecution of six Black people from Louisville who were indicted following an eruption in that city in 1968. . . . **POLL BACKS ABORTIONS:** A study by a Connecticut-based research firm of more than 100 campuses has found that college students support legalized abortions by more than eight to one. . . . **DEFENSE READIES IN LOS SIETE TRIAL:** Jury selection has begun in the trial of "Los siete," the seven, accused of murdering a San Francisco State police officer last May. The defense team headed by Atty. Charles Garry has indicated intentions of pressing the question of composition of the jury. Few Latinos ever get to sit on juries. The defense is also expected to press for conducting the trial in Spanish. According to the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, this is a privilege which must be granted to those whose first language is Spanish in the state of California.

YSA GROWS: The Young Socialist Alliance added eight new locals in the first three weeks of April. Locals have been formed in Fort Wayne, Ind.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Long Island, N.Y.; Utica, N.Y.; Denver, Colo.; Pullman, Wash.; Flint, Mich.; and Norfolk, Va. . . . **PLAYWRIGHT:** Carl Oglesby, former president of SDS, is the author of a new play, "The Peacemaker." It was shown in Boston last month. Oglesby also sings songs he composed for a new Vanguard album. . . . **AGAINST THE WAR:** Some 50 demonstrators, organized by Fight Back, a group organizing unemployed workers, marched in front of Roosevelt Auditorium in New York April 16 where a meeting of Central Labor Council bureaucrats was in session. The demonstrators were urging the labor movement to come out against the war. Some of the pickets were pelted with eggs.

AGENTS TESTIFY: The three day hearings by the House Internal Security Committee (*Militant*, April 17), included testimony from two Chicago policemen. Irwin Bock, undercover agent, described internal working of the New Mobilization steering committee and the Student Mobilization Committee. Tom West, also a Chicago cop, described how he joined the Young Socialist Alliance in 1968 and attended classes. . . . **MANDEL ATTACKED:** "Subversion has become a clear and present danger," warns a front-page article in the rightist *Barron's* weekly, March 23. *Barron's*, a business publication, zeroes in on the alleged ideologues of left terrorism, among them, they say, Ernest Mandel, whom *Barron's* describes as "a chief strategist of the bloody French student revolts." At a Socialist Scholars Conference in September 1968 at Rutgers, said *Barron's*, "Mandel advocated 'mass strikes and mass movements' with students as the 'detonators in the formula for triggering a social explosion, creating a revolutionary situation.'"

STATE BILLS HIT WAR: The unprecedented statute passed by the Massachusetts legislature that would bar Bay State residents from serving in an undeclared war has inspired similar bills in as many as eight other states so far, including New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In Massachusetts where supporters of the new law hope that the Supreme Court will rule the measure constitutional, thus ruling the Vietnam war unconstitutional, soldiers who want to join in the legal action have been urged to contact the attorney general. Both the governor and attorney general have cautioned soldiers, however, not to refuse orders for Vietnam war duty. . . . **MY LAI MASSACRE:** Seymour M. Hersh, the 33-year-old writer whose journalistic enterprise helped uncover the details on the My Lai massacre, has written a book, *My Lai: A Report on the Massacre and its Aftermath*, published by Random House. Excerpts appear in the May issue of *Harper's* magazine.

ONE VIEW OF LENIN: The *Sunday Times Magazine* of London ranks Lenin "the most important man of this century." . . . **OBERLIN STUDENT ELECTIONS:** All three YSA candidates were elected to the 22-member student senate March 24. Also voted in was the entire 12 member slate of the United Black Party, supported by the YSA. . . . **COFFEE HOUSE NEEDS FUNDS:** Continued police harassment of the FTA coffeehouse in Muldraugh, Ky., has resulted in an ever-mounting number of court cases for the group. Organizers are appealing for funds. Send to FTA, Box 336, Louisville, Ky. . . . **BRAIN DAMAGE:** Pollution may cause brain damage, a General Electric researcher told a gathering of scientists in Boston, the *Boston Globe* reported April 16. . . . **POLL CITES POLLUTION:** According to a survey by public opinion analyst

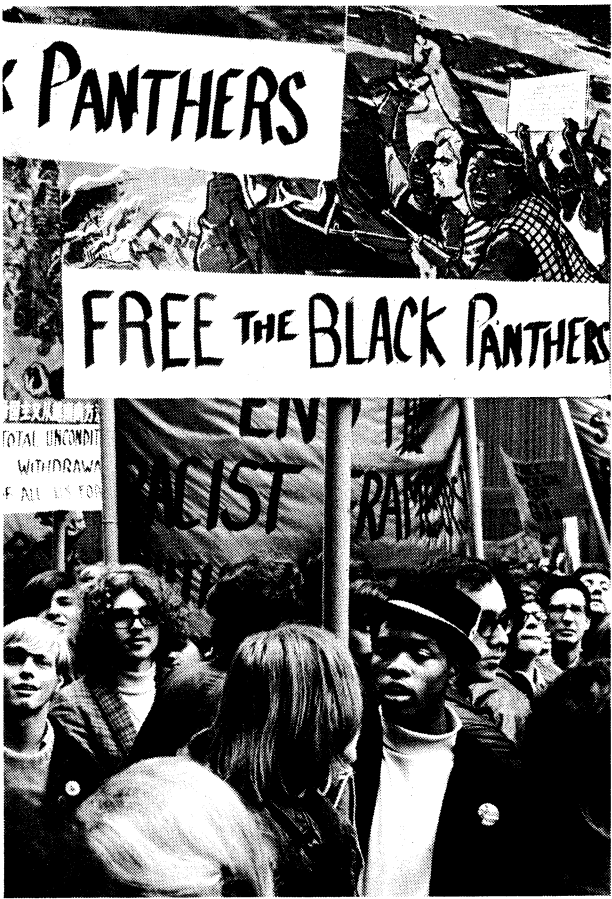


Photo by Michael Hardy

Louis Harris, seven out of 10 Americans say that the air and water are contaminated where they live.

PROJECT SURVIVAL: Over 1,000 persons attended a teach-in on pollution at Cleveland's Case Western Reserve April 10-11. The weekend included workshops, guerrilla theater and a plenary session where a loose coalition of antipollution groups called Project Survival was formed. The conference backed the April 15 antiwar actions plus agreed to build for a mass Cleveland demonstration around the theme, Stop Pollution Now.

CONFRONTATION IN BERKELEY: Hundreds of volleys of teargas were thrown by police at demonstrators who moved through the campus of the University of California on the evening of April 15 in a window-breaking spree following the mass daytime antiwar rally. Gas engulfed large sections of the campus. A state of emergency was declared, banning all rallies. SDS (WSA) held a rally anyway on April 16 and marched about 500 to the ROTC building while others looked on. There was more rock throwing and teargas. Students headed back to campus and the teargas barrage continued. Bail has run high for the approximately 80 arrested, totaling over half a million dollars.

ON STRIKE: The High School SMC strike in New York was large. Outside Stuyvesant High School, where pickets gathered in the early morning hours of April 15 in a drizzling rain, students chanted "Don't go in, don't go in." Most didn't. "I don't have any friends who aren't against the war," said Michael Hill, 17, a Black student. . . . Lawrence Bortoluzzi, 12 years old, rode a subway in from the Bronx to march in the big New York City demonstration. He marched up Sixth Avenue with some 25,000 demonstrators. Why was he marching? "I want to stop the war," he said, "before I have to go." He carried a sign, reading "Nixonize Vietnam, send Nixon," which he had painted himself. Said Lawrence, "I just wish a lot more people would be here." . . . "I think it's a good demonstration," said Becky Schilit, 12, a seventh grader at Elizabeth Irwin High. The march made a turn and headed into Bryant Park. "I'm glad so many people came out because that's the only way we're going to get anything done." . . . Most of the crowd appeared to resent the takeover of the speaker's podium by the few ultralefts. "There's too much factionalism," said an NYU student, nodding at the speaker's platform. Someone was talking into the microphone but it was barely audible. . . . "I think there's not much unity here," said Joe Asengo, 18. There were shouts of Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh from the platform. . . . Said Larry Gulotta, 21, "I think that people who take over demonstrations to chant slogans against the will of the majority — that's just what the Establishment does. They don't represent the popular feeling of the antiwar movement."

— RANDY FURST

Contributors to this report include: Timothy Craine, New Haven; Liberation News Service, New York; Miguel Pendas, San Francisco; Ove Aspoy, Berkeley; and Marcia Sweetenham, Cleveland.

**PROBLEMS OF
WOMEN'S LIBERATION**

by Evelyn Reed

CONTENTS:

Women and the Family,
A Historical View

The Myth of Women's Inferiority

Sex Against Sex
— Or Class Against Class?

"The Feminine Mystique"

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The politics of the Guardian split

By RANDY FURST
and HARRY RING

(Randy Furst was a member of the *Guardian* editorial staff beginning in October 1967. In January of this year, he was elected to the paper's five member coordinating committee. Shortly afterward, he joined the Young Socialist Alliance. In April, he was fired from the *Guardian* for his political views. Harry Ring has followed the political evolution of the *Guardian* since its founding in 1948.)

The two-week-old split in the work staff of the *Guardian* has plunged that newspaper into the most serious political crisis in its 22 year history. Some of the *Guardian* workers have declared themselves on strike and are publishing a *Liberated Guardian*.

Another group — headed by Managing Editor Jack Smith and General Manager Irving Beinin — is publishing the original *Guardian* "clandestinely." The latest crisis is the culmination of a series of convulsions including a number of previous walkouts and group resignations.

The current split, not accidently, bears strong similarity to the political crisis of SDS that culminated in its disintegration.

There has already been a good deal said by both sides in the present *Guardian* dispute, as well as in the radical-movement media. But thus far no one has attempted an analysis of the political roots of the crisis. The purpose of this and subsequent articles is to offer such an analysis.

Briefly, this is what has happened: Some 19 full- and part-time *Guardian* workers walked off the job April 9. The workers—most of whom held art department, typesetting or clerical jobs—set up a picket line outside the *Guardian's* East Fourth Street office in New York. Their picket signs declared, "Workers Control" and "On Strike."

On April 12, some 50-60 people—including some of those involved in the current walkout, others who had been in previous walkouts on the paper, plus an assorted group of ideological supporters—invaded the *Guardian* offices by way of a fire escape.

According to the *Liberated Guardian*, non-*Guardian* participants included people from such groups as the underground paper *Rat*, *Newsreel*, the *Venceremos* Brigade, *Urban Underground*, *New York Media Project*, *Gay Liberation Front*, *Liberation* magazine, *American Revolutionary Media*, and women's liberation.

The *Liberated Guardian* declared: "We had banded together to overthrow an archaic, undemocratic, elitist structure and make the *Guardian* serve the new left movement it claimed to represent."

The *Guardian* responded that the walkout represented an "ultraleft," "anarchist" expression of opposition to the paper's "Marxist" policies and was triggered by a recent editorial scoring the concept of individual terrorism. The demand for "workers control" was branded as contrary to the *Guardian's* "democratic centralist" [!] structure.

The *Guardian* was occupied until the afternoon of April 13 when the building's owner told those holding the offices "that he would permit neither strikers nor bosses inside his building," the *Liberated Guardian* reported. "Under these conditions, we agreed to move to donated space and get on with the real work of putting out a paper."

While both factions are appealing to the radical public for support, neither offers much in terms of political program or goals. Those who have experienced life on the *Guardian* staff will see merit to many of the particular grievances voiced by those who walked out.

But "liberation" from the Smith-Bein-

in thumb is hardly likely to prove a sufficient program for building a new radical newspaper whose sole political thrust appears to be an amorphous, barely defined anarchism.

And certainly no serious revolutionary will approve the attempts to settle the issue by a forcible seizure of the *Guardian* office. What is involved is a split within the staff of a movement paper, not "class struggle" between capitalist and workers. Attempts to settle inner-movement disputes physically are becoming more common in var-

association of individuals on the basis of a common basic program—leadership, policies, disputed issues, etc., are decided by majority vote, with minorities assuming the obligation of publicly carrying through majority decisions in a disciplined way. The concept has meaning only if those involved are agreed on a common political outlook which binds them together.

It is utter nonsense to speak of invoking democratic centralism in the staff of a newspaper like the *Guardian* because—

A NATIONAL PUBLICATION / NEW YORK / APRIL 18, 1970 / 25¢

Guardian

independent
radical
newsweekly

GUARDIAN

OFFICE

ATTACKED

The Guardian was published clandestinely this week. At this writing, the Guardian's tenement office on East 4th St. in New York City's Lower East Side is

opposed to the primacy of much smaller "revolutionary" actions against the war. The Guardian's attack on the Weathermen group and its adventurist line continued

ating an invasion and an effort to wrest control of the nation's largest radical newsweekly from the hands of the staff conservative. The Guardian decentralized its

A LIBERATED NATIONAL PUBLICATION / NEW YORK / APRIL 20, 1970 / 10¢

LIBERATED

Guardian

Workers
seize
control



ious ultraleft circles, with the disruption of numerous April 15 antiwar demonstrations a particularly disgraceful example. Such methods harm the entire movement and aid the enemy. No serious sector of the movement should tolerate them.

At the same time, the demagogic Beinin-Smith cry of "anarchy" and a self-defense plea of "democratic centralism" is utterly grotesque.

Part of the effort of the *Guardian* editors to carve out a base among the "new left" has been to encourage ultraleftism. In an unfortunate sense, it can be said that what is happening on the *Guardian* is a case of "As ye sow, so shall ye reap."

"Democratic centralism"

And it is difficult to even believe that the "democratic centralist" argument is meant seriously.

Democratic centralism is a particular form of organization developed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks that has meaning and relevancy only as it relates to a political party organized around a revolutionary program. Lenin developed the concept that a revolutionary Marxist party has two basic aspects:

First, political homogeneity based on a commonly agreed upon Marxist program; and secondly, an organizational form designed to realize that program—that is, a vanguard combat party capable of organizing and leading the workers to power.

Within such a party—i.e., a free

a) Membership in the *Guardian* "co-operative" is not based on agreement with any thought-out, agreed-upon set of political ideas or program. There is, at best, a vague anticapitalist outlook implemented by a series of "positions" on current issues—positions generally hastily conceived, rapidly shifting and, more often than not, incorrect.

b) The *Guardian* is not a political party nor is it responsible to any defined political tendency or ideological current.

c) There are no genuinely democratic procedures within the *Guardian* to assure that everyone will have meaningful voice and vote in establishing the decisions they are obliged to carry out. To the degree there is centralism on the *Guardian* staff it is bureaucratic, not democratic, centralism.

"Workers control"

On the other hand, the demand by the split-off group for "workers control" of the paper is, at best, light-minded. Beinin and Smith are able to quite effectively, if demagogically, poke fun at the notion of turning a paper into a political merry-go-round, with policy for each issue being decided by whomever is helping out that particular week. (One of the split-off group's demands was that all distinctions between full-time, part-time, regular, temporary and volunteer workers be abolished in decision-making.) Yet here, too, the cry of "participatory

democracy" directed against the *Guardian* is, in part, of its own creation.

Since Smith and Beinin gained control of the paper in 1967, they have promoted the notion that the paper is a "collective" and that all staff members really do have a voice in decision-making, both in terms of functioning and political policy.

One of the factors feeding the ongoing *Guardian* personnel crisis has been the continuing explosion of that particular myth. People kept discovering that in practice a few people were making the decisions behind the scenes.

Yet this too was but a reflection of the basic political problem which in one form or another confronted the *Guardian* throughout its 20 year history.

The perspective of the *Guardian* since it was founded in 1948 was to become the voice of a broad radical movement, as yet to be created. The *Guardian* began as the newspaper of the Progressive Party which nominated Henry Wallace for President in 1948 and Vincent Hallinan in 1952. But by 1953, the Progressive Party had dissolved, an utter failure.

At that time the *Guardian* was largely in the orbit of the Communist Party and was dependent to a major extent on Communist Party circles for financial support and circulation.

The *Guardian's* major difficulties began when it sought to resist the CP moves to scuttle the Progressive Party and the New York American Labor Party. The CP was out to herd the faithful back into 100 percent direct participation in the "mainstream" of the Democratic Party.

Political problems loomed larger for the *Guardian* with the sensational 1956 Khrushchev revelations about the crimes of Stalin. During the momentous days that followed, the *Guardian* played a significant, positive role in the efforts that then developed to accomplish a regroupment of socialist forces. But a key problem for the *Guardian* was that it failed to think through the political basis on which a new party of American socialism could be developed.

This problem remained for the *Guardian* until, at the crest of the emerging "new left," Editor James Aronson was forced to resign by Smith and Beinin who sought to become the spokesmen for the new radical student movement.

The fundamental political error made by the pre-1967 *Guardian* was its attempt to use a newspaper that lacked a consistent, thought-out revolutionary program—a paper that vacillated between reformism and socialist ideas in typically "centrist" fashion—to somehow create a new political organization.

Beinin and Smith to the contrary, this essential political error was carried over and did not change one whit with the 1967 "revolution" in the *Guardian*. The *Guardian's* masthead was changed—from a "progressive" weekly to a "radical" weekly. On some issues the *Guardian* improved; on some it degenerated. But its centrist political approach did not change nor did it move any closer to revolutionary socialist politics.

We will chart the vacillations and political failures of the Beinin-Smith era in our next article.

Struggle
for a Proletarian Party

By James P. Cannon

An invaluable exposition of the political and organizational concepts involved in the building of a Leninist party. Leon Trotsky hailed it as the "writing of a genuine workers leader." 302 pp. paper \$2.45

PATHFINDER PRESS
873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003

N.Y. abortion reform: a significant victory

By ELIZABETH BARNES

Before signing the New York abortion bill into law, the *New York Times* reported, Gov. Rockefeller was heard to comment, "Women's liberation played an important part in the passage of this bill."

For once, what Rockefeller said was true. Women in New York have built the strongest and most visible abortion repeal movement in the country, and this new law—despite its limitations—represents a gigantic victory for that movement.

New York is a key state in the nationwide struggle for free abortion on demand. In past years, the New York legislature has gained a reputation as being one of the most backward on this question. Repeatedly, it has voted down even the most timid abortion reform measures. Now New York has one of the most liberal abortion laws in the country and this is widely recognized as an important impetus to the struggle nationally.

In New York itself, a whole new discussion has opened up over the question of how to make abortions available to all who need them once the law goes into effect July 1. The chief of obstetrics at Bellevue Hospital has reported that his staff is "extremely anxious to see that the poor have the same advantages as the wealthy" in obtaining abortions. Dr. Alan Guttmacher, president of Planned Parenthood-World Population has proposed the setting up of special clinics where wealthy patients would pay \$150 to \$200 for abortions, and poor patients would be treated free. The chief medical officer of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has come out in favor of using public funds for assisting women in obtaining abortions.

The need for the women's liberation movement to become involved in this

struggle is obvious. There is a great deal of conservatism and resistance within the medical profession which must be overcome. Direct action by the movement in the form of demonstrations, legal suits, rallies, and a broad educational campaign will be necessary if we are to win facilities for the estimated 100,000 women who will want abortions (in New York alone) each year in the period ahead.

An important contribution to this struggle has already been made by a team of California doctors who have conducted a six month study of "aspiration," a method of abortion relatively new to the U.S. which would allow for simple, safe, inexpensive abortions which do not require overnight hospitalization. Since this method requires only the use of trained paramedical technicians under the supervision of a doctor, a battle will no doubt be waged against the stipulation in the New York bill that abortions must be performed by a medical doctor.

If we are to be successful in the struggle ahead, it is important for women's liberation groups to continue to unite in a common effort throughout New York State and throughout the nation. We must reject any concept that the struggle for abortions is over, or that this is merely a side issue in the overall struggle for liberation.

Experience has already shown that the fight for abortion repeal is an issue which can win tremendous response and support from women around the country. It has been the most effective issue thus far in uniting women in action, and in winning new women to the ranks of the women's liberation movement.

Any successes we have in this struggle will have an immediate effect on the lives of millions of women, and can serve as an important example of the power women have to change society once we begin to organize. There are few women alive who have not experienced at one time or another the fear of an unwanted pregnancy, if not the pregnancy itself. Free abortion on demand would make it possible, for the first time in history, for women to be free from this fear.



Photo by Michael Hardy

Such a change can and will have a profound effect on the psychology of masses of women. It will be one more step in the direction of undermining the age-old belief that resignation and sacrifice are the supreme female virtues. Already, the new freedom and changes in attitude brought about by the pill have shown the implications of this in helping lay the basis for the overall struggle against oppression of women in all areas of society.

Only 10 more days left in Militant sub campaign

By FLAX HERMES
Militant business manager

APRIL 22—The call to action made in last week's subscription drive column has been answered enthusiastically by several areas.

We received word from six cities which didn't have quotas on the scoreboard that they would be willing to pitch in during the last two weeks of the campaign to help ensure its success.

Ft. Wayne, Ind., accepted a quota of 35 new subs; Flint, Mich., feels they can sell 15; Knoxville, Tenn., will try for 20; Oberlin, Ohio, is going for 25; and Oshkosh, Wis., 20. The Long Island, N.Y., local is finding such widespread antiwar and radical sentiment in the area that they feel they can make a quota of 65 subs.

Also, four other areas indicated that we underestimated their sub-selling abilities. Tacoma, Wash., El Paso, Texas, and Hamilton-Clinton, N.Y. scored over 100 percent on last week's scoreboard. Rather than drop out of the running, they've raised their quotas this week—Tacoma from 25 to 40,

El Paso from 20 to 35, and Hamilton-Clinton from 16 to 35 subs. And Eastern Washington State has doubled its quota to 50 new subs. Their confidence is infectious.

Nationally, we need more of the same spirit. We are 85 percent through the subscription drive with 70 percent of our quota filled. This might not seem like too big a gap at first sight, but when it's translated into numbers of subs we must sell, it is a sizable challenge.

Ten days are left to sell 2,310 subs. Last fall's drive for 6,000 new readers was an unqualified success. This spring we want to show that we can not only do it again, but top it with 7,500 new readers by May 1.

Last minute bulletin: the first reports on "Earth Day" sales are encouraging. New York found that many preferred *The Militant's* headline "Capitalism Fouls Things Up" to Mayor Lindsay's attempt to persuade the people that they must find the solution since the people cause pollution. Over 100 subs have been sold already in New York alone—and the day's not over!

ACTIVITIES CALENDAR

BERKELEY

MAY DAY RALLY FOR SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
1970 STATEWIDE CAMPAIGN. Speakers: Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for governor of Georgia; Andrew Pulley, candidate for the 7th congressional district. Fri., May 1, 8 p.m. May 2 workshops: Morning, INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION AND CHICANO POLITICAL PARTY. Afternoon, THE ARAB REVOLUTION. Evening. PARTY. Washington School, 2300 Grove St. For more information, call (415) 848-9334.

BOSTON

NEW ENGLAND SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, MAY 1-3, BURR 8, HARVARD UNIVERSITY. "Will Labor Explode During the '70s?" with Frank Lovell, labor staff writer for *The Militant*; "The Inflation and Nixon's War Program," with Dick Roberts, expert on Marxist economics; "Revolutionary Strategy for the '70s," with Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Also talks and workshops on Mideast, Women's Liberation, etc. Begins Fri., May 1, 8 p.m. \$2.50 registration fee. Sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance. For further info, contact YSA, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Ph: (617) 536-6981.

CHICAGO

MAY DAY BANQUET. Keynote speaker: Clifton DeBerry, NY SWP candidate for governor, on "American Workers and the Socialist Revolution. Fri., May 1. Buffet dinner 6:30 p.m. Program 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker, Rm. 310. Contrib: 75c, students 50c. Dinner \$1.75. Aup: Militant Labor Forum.

CLEVELAND

MAY DAY BANQUET—Warren K. Billings speaking on "Labor Traditions of May Day"; Jerry Gordon, chairman Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, on "Will the American Workers Oppose the Vietnam War?"; Syd Stapleton, SWP candidate for Congress in 22nd district, on "Revolutionary Election Campaigns." Fri., May 1, 6:30 p.m. 2921 Prospect Avenue. \$3 admission. Call 861-3862 for further information.

DETROIT

WHICH WAY FOR THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT—INTO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OR INTO THE STREETS? Speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts, and Zoltan Ferenczy, ex-head

of Michigan Democratic Party and candidate for governor. Fri., May 1, 8 p.m. Lower Deroy Auditorium, Wayne State University. **THE CAUSE OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION.** Panel discussion with Evelyn Kirsch, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; Carol Andreas, professor at Oakland University; Hilda Rangel, Chicano activist and member of YSA. Sat., May 2, 1-3 p.m. Lower Deroy Auditorium, Wayne State University. **THE STRUGGLE FOR A BLACK UNIVERSITY.** Speakers: Amar Casey, Black Action Movement; John Porter, SWP candidate for Wayne State University Board of Governors; John Hawkins, SWP candidate for secretary of state. Sat., May 2, 3-5 p.m. Lower Deroy Auditorium, Wayne State University. **BANQUET** with guest speaker Harry Ring, Editor of *The Militant*, on **MASS ACTION VS. INDIVIDUAL RESISTANCE AND TERRORISM.** Sat., May 2, 7 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Contribution. Aup: Michigan Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For information call: (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES

YOUNG SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN CONFERENCE. Panels on: "Independent Chicano party" with Mario Campan of MAYO, Antonio Camejo of SWP; "Women's Liberation and Political Action" with Dianne Feeley of SWP and Jane Gordon of PFP; and on "The Antiwar Movement" with Chris Cebada of Chicano Moratorium, Don Gurewitz of SMC National Office, and Yuyi Ichioka from Asian-Americans for Peace. Place: Cal State L.A. Fri. and Sat., May 1-2. For full details, call 263-4798, 262-4670, 269-4953.

MAY DAY BANQUET. May 2. Special guest speaker: Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for governor of Ga. Special entertainment. Refreshments at 6 p.m., dinner at 7 p.m., and program 8:30 p.m. Donation: \$3 (\$2 students). Info: call 269-4953, 262-4670, 263-4798. 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles.

NEW YORK

MAY DAY CELEBRATION. Buffet dinner 6 p.m. Speakers: Harry Ring, editor of *The Militant*, on "Why Men Should Support Women's Liberation." Jon Rothschild, SWP candidate for Lt. governor, on "History of May Day and its Significance for Today's Movement." 10 p.m. party. Contrib: \$1.25 for dinner, \$1 for forum (h.s. students 50c), 50c for party. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Aup: Militant Labor Forum.

Subscription scoreboard

City	Quota	New subs		
Portsmouth, N.H.	15	26	Red Hook, N.Y.	15
Albany, N.Y.	25	32	Gainesville, Fla.	50
Yellow Springs, Ohio	40	51	Oxford, Ohio	25
Paterson, N.J.	30	34	Ft. Wayne, Ind.	35
Boston, Mass.	350	357	Hamilton & Clinton, N.Y.	35
Twin Cities, Minn.	250	222	Milwaukee, Wis.	40
Tacoma, Wash.	40	35	Bloomington, Ind.	50
Austin, Texas	150	131	Logan, Utah	25
DeKalb, Ill.	100	87	Hoboken, N.J.	30
Philadelphia, Pa.	325	275	Oshkosh, Wis.	35
Johnson City, Tenn.	25	21	San Diego, Calif.	100
Phoenix, Ariz.	55	45	Newark, N.J.	75
Worcester, Mass.	50	40	La Crosse, Wis.	15
Detroit, Mich.	350	273	St. Louis, Mo.	30
Atlanta, Ga.	225	175	Madison, Wis.	200
Seattle, Wash.	200	155	Kansas City, Mo.	60
Chicago, Ill.	500	386	Portland, Ore.	30
Ann Arbor, Mich.	50	38	Columbus, Ohio	60
Washington, D.C.	125	95	Eastern Washington State	50
Cleveland, Ohio	350	249	Binghamton, N.Y.	120
New York, N.Y.	1100	777	Boulder-Denver, Colo.	120
Los Angeles, Calif.	500	351	San Joaquin Valley, Calif.	25
New Haven, Conn.	10	7	Champaign, Ill.	25
Providence, R.I.	80	56	Long Island, N.Y.	65
El Paso, Texas	35	23	Mansfield, Pa.	40
Kent, Ohio	75	46	Athens, Ohio	25
Houston, Texas	100	61	Chapel Hill, N.C.	25
Berkeley, Calif.	375	227	Oberlin, Ohio	25
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	15	Flint, Mich.	15
San Francisco, Calif.	475	266	Knoxville, Tenn.	20
Hayward, Calif.	75	41	General	--
			TOTAL	7570
				5260



Los Angeles, April 15

Photo by John Gray

... Antiwar outlook

(continued from page 1)

action jeopardizes our remaining forces in Vietnam, I shall not hesitate to take strong and effective measures to deal with that situation. . . . The decision I have announced tonight to withdraw 150,000 more men over the next year is based entirely on the progress of our Vietnamization."

Thus Nixon's speech points to continued American aggression in Vietnam and leaves open the possibility of even greater escalation, up to and including large-scale troop deployment, in Laos and Cambodia.

These basic facts about the war in Vietnam delineate the tasks of the American antiwar movement: to continue on the course of organizing and mobilizing independent mass actions to bring all U.S. troops home now.

Moratorium committee

In light of this responsibility, how pitiful the leaders of the now-disbanded Vietnam Moratorium Committee sound when they declare in a letter to their supporters that there is "little prospect of immediate change in the administration's policy in Vietnam." Did they really believe that after all these years of war the task was going to be so easy?

More serious is the charge by the former Moratorium leaders that Nixon has succeeded in disarming the mass sentiment against the war to the point where, as Moratorium coordinator Marge Sklencar put it, mass demonstrations are "a political fad that has worn off." This utterly false notion, unfortunately, is also shared by some others in the antiwar movement.

Yet nothing could be further from the truth. Ironically, the Moratorium leaders announced their decision to go out of business only four days after one of the largest national antiwar demonstrations yet held. While not comparable to the October and November demonstrations in magnitude or publicity, the recent April 15 demonstrations drew sizable turnouts in dozens of cities all over the country. In Boston, for example, where a broad and viable antiwar coalition was formed, the demonstration of 100,000 was comparable in size to the historic Oct. 15 action. The antiwar forces in that city are now mobilizing for a major effort to place a statewide antiwar referendum on the ballot, the first such effort ever undertaken on a state level.

The Moratorium's claim that Nixon had undercut the antiwar movement came only a week after a Gallup poll (worded to maximize the response most favorable to Nixon) showed that only 48 percent approved of Nixon's

Vietnam policy, as compared to 65 percent in January.

The Moratorium committee's announcement came only two months after the Student Mobilization Committee held the largest conference in the history of the antiwar movement, where 4,000 activists, the core of the antiwar movement, voted overwhelmingly for a policy of continued mass demonstrations against the war.

Antiwar sentiment deepens

These and many other indications point to a deepening antiwar sentiment among the mass of the American people. The present political mood is decidedly different from that of 1968 and early 1969. At that time there did indeed exist widespread disorientation about the war. Most antiwar forces really thought that the war was coming to an end. The vast majority were temporarily diverted from independent mass action into support for the McCarthy campaign and other "peace" candidates, and later they along with most Americans were willing to give Nixon a chance to define his policies.

Today, however, the mass mood favors the potential for mass action.

Nevertheless, the April 15 demonstrations were by no means as large as they could have been; nor did they generate the same type of enthusiasm or impact as the massive efforts of last fall. This is not an unusual development in the history of the antiwar movement. The antiwar struggle has always had its peaks and ebbs, while the general trend has been that of an ascending tempo of mass antiwar action.

A question of leadership

Why didn't April 15 measure up to October and November? The reasons lie neither in Nixon's cleverness, nor in mass apathy to the passing "fad" of antiwar struggle. The basic problem lay in the failure of will and perspective on the part of sections of the antiwar leadership.

The Vietnam Moratorium Committee reached its high point on Oct. 15. On Nov. 15, the national leadership of the Moratorium committee hesitated and dragged its feet, but finally came along in support of the march on Washington. From there on the Moratorium committee went steadily downhill, totally abandoning the strategy of mass mobilizations. It called for demonstrations on April 15, but did virtually nothing to build them. The demise of the Moratorium committee is no surprise. It is only the logical culmination of its past policy.

The Moratorium committee tied its

basic strategy to the "dovish" sections of the ruling class, in particular to sections of the Democratic Party. From the outset, the main objective of some of the prime movers of the Moratorium was not to organize mass demonstrations against the war, but to organize antiwar sentiment in such a way that it could be effectively marshalled behind various capitalist "peace" candidates. They discovered that mass street actions against the war set into motion an independent force which cuts across the objectives of the capitalist politicians, and that is why those particular forces in the Moratorium decided to throw in the towel.

In addition, many Moratorium activists were disoriented when the bourgeois mass media denied them its publicity and the capitalist politicians turned tail and ran under fire from Nixon-Agnew.

New Mobe

The New Mobilization Committee fared no better. Right after its tremendous success on Nov. 15, the New Mobe apparatus was taken over by a self-proclaimed "radical caucus," a pessimistic grouping of liberals, reformists, and ultralefts united by their mutual hostility to mass action. The New Mobe, like the Moratorium committee, gave its verbal endorsement to April 15 but did virtually nothing to build it.

Only the Student Mobilization Committee, of the three major national antiwar organizations, set out to build April 15 with energy and determination. The success of the demonstrations is a tribute to the efforts of this militant left-wing mass-action component of the antiwar movement. The efforts of the SMC were critically important at this present juncture in the antiwar movement. But the students alone are not sufficient to bring about a maximum mobilization of the entire antiwar movement.

Thus April 15 was organized and built in the absence of a unified national antiwar leadership. This serious defect was reflected on the local level, where most of the antiwar coalitions suffered divisions and abstentions. In most places the efforts to build the demonstrations were belated, hampered and generally less effective than for any major antiwar mobilization of the past. That the demonstrations were massive nevertheless, testifies to the depth and vitality of the mass sentiment against the war and willingness to respond to the call for action.

The war in Vietnam—in all of Indochina—is continuing and deepening. No propaganda maneuvers by Nixon can hide this basic fact. It will continue to affect more and more people and antiwar sentiment will increase. It is on this long-term perspective rather than on surface impressions that

Nat'l SMC statement on Moratorium

The Student Mobilization Committee issued a statement April 20 concerning the decision of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee to dissolve. The statement said in part:

The Vietnam Moratorium Committee announced yesterday that it was disbanding its national organization and apparatus in Washington, D. C.

The Student Mobilization Committee finds it regrettable that such steps were taken in face of the clear expansion of the war into Laos, Cambodia and the rest of Southeast Asia by the United States government.

The April 15 demonstrations made clear by their size and determination that the American people want out of the war now. The expansion of the war into Laos and Cambodia underlines the need for mass protests in the streets, which must continue until all U.S. forces are withdrawn from Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

We are urging all antiwar organizations and leaders in the antiwar movement to jointly call a national conference where the entire antiwar movement can discuss and project further nationally coordinated actions against the war.

the antiwar movement must set its course of action. The pressing task remains that of mobilizing ever larger numbers in opposition to American imperialist aggression in Vietnam. The potential to do so exists, but its realization requires, first of all, a serious and unified national antiwar leadership which can take this responsibility in hand.

The national Moratorium leaders do not even speak for all who have been involved in the Vietnam Moratorium Committee. Nor does the so-called radical caucus of the New Mobilization Committee. Already some sections of the Moratorium committee have stated their intention to continue to organize for antiwar action. The same is true of local affiliates of the New Mobe. These, together with the SMC and newly involved forces, will form the basis for a new national antiwar leadership which will take the next steps forward.



Boston, April 15

Photo by L. Goodman

LEON TROTSKY'S FIRSTHAND ACCOUNT

Lenin on the eve of the

In commemoration of the April 22 centenary of the birth of Lenin, *The Militant* is printing, in two installments, Trotsky's "Lenin Before October" from his reminiscences, *On Lenin*. The article was written and published in April 1924, and the entire collection of reminiscences was published later that year by the State Publishing House in Moscow.

This article, translated by John G. Wright, gives evidence in the words of Lenin's closest collaborator throughout 1917 of the crucial role Lenin played during this period in orienting the Bolshevik Party and guiding it to the assumption of power.

It is an eminently suitable document for paying tribute to Lenin not merely because of the insights it provides into his abilities as a revolutionary leader, but also as a brief study of the role of the revolutionary party and a discussion of questions that were being debated then and are still relevant today.

At the point where the article begins, Trotsky had just sailed from New York where he and his family had been living in exile. This was the end of March 1917. It was his intention to return to Russia, which had just been shaken by the revolutionary events of February. Within a few days he was removed from the ship by British naval police in Nova Scotia who put him in the Amherst prison camp. Following protest meetings that were held all over Russia, he was finally released nearly one month later. He arrived in Russia on May 4.

Lenin had already arrived from exile in Europe and Trotsky joined with him in waging a struggle against Kerensky's Provisional Government. This coalition of 10 capitalists and six "socialists" (both Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks) represented a desperate effort by the ruling classes to hold onto power in the face of the mounting revolutionary fervor of the masses. The participation of "socialists" in the government was simply helping the capitalist class to do so.

During World War I, the fight against this support by socialists for "their" capitalist governments had been given programmatic form on Sept. 5, 1915, in the Swiss village of Zimmerwald. It was there that the first international conference of socialists was held following the outbreak of the war. It was convened independently of the Second International (which refused to call any conference) and was attended by 38 delegates (including Lenin and Trotsky) from 11 countries. The delegates opposed the war and reasserted the international solidarity of the workers of all countries. Karl Liebknecht, a leader of the revolutionary wing of the German Social Democracy, sent greetings with the German delegation. In April 1916, a second conference of the Zimmerwald movement, as it became known, was held in Kienthal.

In April 1917, one year later, the prowar and antiwar wings of the Russian Social Democracy had begun to

carry on the vital struggle for the allegiance of the masses which provides the backdrop for the present article.

The basic question facing the revolutionary party was knowing when to launch the armed struggle for power. It was in this regard, as Trotsky explains, that Lenin's leadership was crucial. Laying the groundwork for a successfully orchestrated insurrection necessitated a keen and concrete grasp of the relationship of forces.

It was such an understanding that led Lenin not only to eventually insist upon setting a date for the insurrection, but also to lead the Bolsheviks in the July days—despite vehement denunciations of both him and Trotsky by the anarchists for hesitating to strike—in holding back the largely spontaneous uprising of the impatient masses from spilling over into a premature insurrection. Had it not been for the restraint of the Bolsheviks in July, a bloodbath and decimation of the revolutionary forces would certainly have resulted.

Following the July days, General Kornilov, Kerensky's appointed commander-in-chief and darling of the aristocratic ruling class, declared war on the government and ordered his troops to march on the capital. Thanks to Bolshevik agitation, his troops deserted him and the revolutionary masses surged forward.

In light of this background sketch, Trotsky's article should be easily comprehensible. A number of individuals have been left unidentified, but biographical data on them is not essential for an appreciation of the political questions Trotsky raises. For those who desire to delve deeper into this material, Trotsky's three-volume *History of the Russian Revolution* is highly recommended.

* * *

That Lenin arrived in Petersburg and had come out against the war and against the Provisional Government at workers' meetings, I learned from American newspapers at Amherst, a concentration camp for German prisoners in Canada. The interned German sailors began to take an immediate interest in Lenin, whose name they had come across for the first time in the news dispatches. These were all men avidly waiting for the war to end; it would open for them the gates of this prison camp. They listened with utmost attention to every voice raised against the war. Up to this time they had known of Liebknecht. But they had been told time and again that Liebknecht was a paid agent of the Entente. Now they learned of Lenin. They learned from me of Zimmerwald and Kienthal. Lenin's antiwar speeches won many of them over to Liebknecht.

In my passage across Finland, I was able for the first time to obtain current Russian newspapers and in them found dispatches reporting the entry of Tseretelli, Skobelev [prominent Mensheviks] and other "socialists"

into the Provisional Government. The situation was thus made perfectly clear.

With Lenin's April 4 Theses, I acquainted myself on the second or third day after reaching Petersburg. [The April Theses served to programmatically and strategically orient the Bolshevik Party during the next few months of the struggle for power.] These theses were just what the revolution ordered. Lenin's article, "The First Stage of the First Revolution," which he had sent much earlier from Switzerland, I read in *Pravda* much later. [This article, written in Switzerland in March 1917, was the first of five "Letters From Afar." The editorial board did not print them all.]

Even today one may, as one should, study most attentively, and therewith profit politically from these early and extremely shadowlike issues of *Pravda*. Against the background of its columns in which the revolution was being simulated, Lenin's "Letter From Afar" stands out with all of its concentrated force. Completely calm and theoretic-expository in tone, this article resembles a huge, tightly coiled spring of steel, which was presently destined to unwind and, as it expanded, to encompass the entire content of the revolution.

Bolsheviks and "Internationalists" in 1917

I arranged with Comrade Kamenev, on one of the first days after my arrival, for a visit with the editorial board of *Pravda*. Our first meeting must have taken place on May 5 or May 6. I told Lenin that there was nothing separating me from his April Theses and from the entire course followed by the [Bolshevik] Party since his arrival; and that I was personally faced with the choice of immediately entering the party organization "as an individual," or of trying to bring along with me the best section of those who stood for unity in the [Mezhrayontsy — Inter-District] organizations in Petersburg. This organization numbered about 4,000 workers and contained many precious revolutionary forces: Uritsky, Lunacharsky, Joffe, Vladimirov, Manuilsky, Karakhan, Yurenev, Posern, Litkens, and others. Antonov-Ovseenko had by that time already joined the party: so did Sokolnikov, I believe.

Lenin did not express himself categorically in favor of either course. He found it necessary, above everything else, to acquaint himself more intimately with the situation and the men. Lenin did not exclude collaboration, of one sort or another, with Martov and generally with the section of Menshevik-Internationalists just returned from abroad. [Martov was a leader of the Menshevik-Internationalists, who had refused to support "their" governments on the war.] Along with this it was necessary to see how the mutual relations among and with the "Internationalists" would turn out in practice.

In view of our tacit agreement, I, for my part, did not try to force the natural development of events. We had one and the same policy. At meetings of workers and soldiers I used, from the first day of my arrival, the formula of "We Bolsheviks and Internationalists," and inasmuch as the constant repetition of this conjunction "and" kept burdening my speech, I soon abbreviated it to: "We Bolshevik-Internationalists." The merger politically thus preceded the organizational fusion.

Lenin's effect on the reformists

I visited *Pravda's* editorial staff two or three times, at the most critical moments before the July days. In these initial meetings, and more so, after

the July days, Lenin gave the impression of most intense concentration, and awe-inspiring inner composure — all this under an outer shell of complete calm and "prosaic" simplicity. Kerenskyism in those days appeared all-powerful. Bolshevism was regarded as an "insignificant little handful." The party itself was not as yet cognizant of the power it would generate on the



ТОВ. Ленин
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EARLY ECOLOGY PROGRAM? Pos
"Lenin sweeps away the filth of the w

morrow. And at the same time Lenin confidently led the party toward its supreme tasks. . .

Lenin's speeches at the First Soviet Congress (June 1917) aroused anxious bewilderment among the SR [Social Revolutionary]-Menshevik majority. They sensed dimly that this man was taking aim at some long-range target. But to discern this target was beyond them. And these little citizens of the revolution kept asking themselves: "Who is he? What is he? Simply a maniac? Or is this an historical projectile of explosive force never known before?"

Lenin's speech at the Soviet Congress where he argued the necessity of clapping 50 or so capitalists in jail was, if you like, not an "oratorical" success. It was nonetheless of exceptional significance. Comparatively few Bolsheviks in the audience gave the speaker a brief applause as he left the platform with the look of a man who had not spoken everything he

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had in mind, nor perhaps, had at all said what he wanted to say in a way he should have liked to . . . But just the same, a breath of the unusual swept over the hall. It was the breath of the future, felt momentarily by everyone, as bewildered looks accompanied this man, so commonplace and yet so enigmatic.

Who is he? What is he? After all,



m Russian Revolution. Caption says:

did not Plekhanov in his paper say that Lenin's first speech on the revolutionary soil of Petersburg was the raving of a man in fever? After all, were not the delegates, elected by the masses, in their large majority members of the SRs and the Mensheviks? After all, did not Lenin's views evoke sharp antagonism among the Bolsheviks themselves?

An apparent contradiction

On the one hand, Lenin demanded a complete break not only with bourgeois liberalism but also with every variety of defensism. Inside his own party he organized a struggle against these "old Bolsheviks, who," as Lenin said, "had already, more than once played a melancholy role in the history of our party, and who are now thoughtlessly repeating a formula learned by heart instead of studying the peculiarities of the new, living reality." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, First Russian edition, vol. XIV, part 1, p. 28.) From a superficial point of view Len-

in was thereby weakening his own party. And, at the same time, he declared, on the other hand, at the Soviet Congress: "It is not true that there is no party in Russia which is ready today to take upon itself the whole power: there is such a party. Our party."

Isn't there, after all, a monumental contradiction between the position of a "propaganda circle" which differentiates itself from everybody else, and this public claim to assume power over this entire vast country, so shaken to its foundations? And so the Soviet Congress did not understand in the least what this strange man wanted, nor what he hoped for, this ice-cold fanatic, writing little articles for a little newspaper. And there was laughter — when at the Soviet Congress, Lenin declared with beautiful simplicity, which was taken for simplemindedness by authentic simpletons: "Our party is ready to assume power, the whole power." "You may laugh all you want to," said Lenin. He knew that he who laughs last, laughs best.

Lenin loved this French saying, because he was firmly determined to have the last laugh. And he went on calmly to prove that it was necessary, as a beginning, to clap in jail 50 to 100 of the biggest millionaires and to proclaim to the people that we regard all capitalists as bandits and that Terechenko was no better than Miliukov, only a bit more foolish. Terrible, astounding, deadly-simple ideas! And this representative of a small section of the Soviet Congress, a tiny minority which, from time to time applauded him discreetly, told the whole Congress: "Are you afraid of assuming power? Not we. We are ready to take it." In answer there naturally came — laughter. Laughter which at that moment was almost condescending, but somewhat troubled, just the same.

"Put more of a squeeze on the bourgeoisie"

And for his second speech Lenin selected the dreadfully simple words from some peasant's letter to the effect that it is necessary to put more of a squeeze on the bourgeoisie so as to make it burst at all the seams; then the war would come to an end. But that if we did not put such strong pressure on the bourgeoisie, everything would go to pot. And this simple, naive quotation — is this the whole program? How can this fail to puzzle? And again there comes a trickle of laughter, condescending and troubled.

And, in fact, these words "put more of a squeeze on the bourgeoisie" do not carry much weight, taken abstractly as the program of a propaganda group. However, the puzzled audience failed to understand that Lenin had faultlessly overheard the growing squeeze of history upon the bourgeoisie and knew that as a consequence of this squeeze the bourgeoisie would inescapably "burst in all its seams."

It was not without reason that Lenin had explained to Citizen Maklakov [a Russian liberal] in May that "the 'country' of workers, peasant-poor, and poorest peasants is a thousand times farther to the left than the Chernovs [leader of the Social Revolutionaries] and Tseretellis" and "a hundred times farther to the left than our own party."

Therein is the fountain-source of Lenin's tactics. Through the newly-fresh, but already quite turgid, democratic pellicle, he had deeply probed this "country of workers, peasant-poor, and poorest peasants." And it showed itself ready to carry out the greatest of revolutions. But the country was not yet able to express this, its readiness in political terms. Those parties

which continued to speak in the name of the workers and peasants, were deceiving them. Our party was as yet not known at all to millions of workers and peasants; they had not yet discovered it as the articulator of all their aspirations, and at the same time our party did not as yet understand its own potential dynamism and was in consequence a "hundred times" to the right of the workers and peasants. It was necessary to level off the one with the other.

It was necessary for the many-millioned masses to discover the party, and for the party to discover the many-millioned masses. It was necessary not to rush too far ahead, but also urgent not to lag behind. It was necessary to keep on explaining patiently and persistently. What had to be explained were very simple things: "Down With the Ten Capitalist Ministers!" The Mensheviks refuse? So be it. Down with the Mensheviks! They laugh? There is a season for everything. . . . He laughs best who laughs last. . . .

Lenin's evaluation of opponents

Following the cancellation of the June 10 demonstration, when the atmosphere of the First Soviet Congress became white-hot, with Tseretelli threatening to disarm the Petersburg workers, I along with Comrade Kamenov went to *Pravda's* editorial offices; and there after a brief exchange of views, I drafted at Lenin's suggestion an address of the Bolshevik Central Committee to the Executive Committee of the Soviet Congress.

At this meeting, Lenin made a few remarks concerning Tseretelli, while commenting upon Tseretelli's speech (on June 11): "He was once a revolutionist; how many years he spent in prison! And now this complete renunciation of his own past." There was nothing political in these words; they were spoken not for political effect, but came simply as the product of a fleeting reflection upon the sad fate of a former prominent revolutionist. Lenin's voice was tinged with regret, with umbrage, but he spoke laconically and dryly, for nothing was so repugnant to him as the slightest hint of sentimentality and psychological slobbering.

On the 4th or 5th of July, as I recall, I met Lenin (along with Zinoviev?) in the Tauride Palace. Our offensive had been beaten back. Among the ruling circles, malignant rancor against the Bolsheviks had reached its peak. "Now they will shoot us down," said Lenin. "It is the most advantageous moment for them." His basic thought was to sound retreat and go underground to the extent that this might prove necessary. It was one of the abrupt turns of Lenin's strategy, based as always on a swift appraisal of the situation.

Later, in the days of the Third Congress of the Communist International, Vladimir Ilyich happened to say: "In July we did many foolish things." He was referring here to the premature military action, to the over-aggressive forms of the July demonstration, neither of which corresponded at the time to our forces on the national scale. All the more remarkable was the sober resoluteness with which on July 4-5 he weighed the situation not only from the side of the revolution but also that of the counterrevolution, and came to the conclusion that "for them" it was just the time to shoot us down.

Fortunately, our enemies still lacked both such consistency and resolution. They confined themselves to the chemical concoctions of Pereversev (the then minister of justice). It is quite likely, though, that had they succeeded in the first days following the July demonstration to lay their hands on Lenin,

they, that is, their officer clique, would have treated Lenin exactly as less than two years later, the German officers dealt with Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

Facing savage attacks of reaction

There was no definitive decision made at the foregoing meeting to hide or to go underground. Kornilovism was gathering momentum gradually. Personally, I put in public appearances for two or three days and spoke at some party and organizational conferences on the topic: *What to do?* The savage attack upon the Bolsheviks seemed insurmountable. The Mensheviks labored might and main to extract maximum profit from a situation that had been created not without their own personal intervention.

Once I had to speak, I recall, in the library of the Tauride Palace, at some meeting of trade union representatives. There were altogether a score or so present, that is, the top union leadership. The Mensheviks dominated. I argued for the necessity of the trade unions to protest against the charge that the Bolsheviks were in any way tied up with German militarism. My recollections of this meeting are hazy, but I do remember quite exactly two or three joyfully malignant faces, verily pleading that their ears be boxed . . .

The reign of terror meanwhile intensified. Arrests went on. A few days were spent by me, in hiding, at Comrade Larin's home. Then I began going out again, made my appearance at the Tauride Palace and was shortly imprisoned. My release came already in the days of the Kornilov monstrosity and of the incipient Bolshevik floodtide. By this time we had succeeded in consummating the entry of the pro-unity (Inter-District) tendency into the Bolshevik Party. Sverdlov suggested that I meet with Lenin who was then still in hiding. I no longer recall who guided me to the hideout in a worker's flat (was it not Rakhia perhaps?) where I met Vladimir Ilyich. Also present was Kalinin, whom V. I. (Lenin) kept questioning in my presence concerning the mood of the workers; whether they were ready for a fight, whether they would go to the end, whether it was possible to take power, and so on.

(To be concluded.)

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More on April 15-18:

Nat'l antiwar actions

By DAVID THORSTAD

While the majority of last week's antiwar demonstrations in the country were held on April 15, with the largest in New York and Boston, the surge of activity continued throughout the whole week. Mass demonstrations took place in several areas on April 18.

April 18

Seattle's march of 8,000—in heavy rain—was its largest to date. Sponsored by Northwest New Mobe and built mainly by the Student Mobilization Committee, it had a high school contingent of 1,500. (An April 16 Seattle high school teach-in was attended by 2,500.) Delegations came from around the state and included workers recently laid off at Boeing, a group from the Forks La Pusch Indian reservation, and a Free-Bobby Brigade of 500. Support rallies or marches were held in eight other Washington cities.

The action was preceded by two weeks of organizing activity around the theme "The War Is Not Over," and was kicked off when 1,000 crosses appeared on the grounds of the University of Washington, symbolizing the number of GIs killed since Nixon announced his "secret peace plan." Despite disruptive activity by the Seattle Liberation Front, the action was very successful.

The first real statewide antiwar action was held in Madison with at least 1,000 traveling as far as 300 miles to participate in a march and rally of some 8,000. The action was marred by attempts of a "Revolutionary Contingent" to seize the platform and a postrally rampage during which they smashed windows in the business district to shouts of Yippie! and even overturned and smashed a bus that had brought welfare mothers from Milwaukee to the march. Nineteen were arrested.

City officials initially refused march permits in Austin, Atlanta and Minneapolis, but were forced to back down in the latter two cities. The Austin march of 8,000 to the capitol grounds took place on the sidewalk. It was joined by about 200 GIs from Ft. Hood, Ft. Sam Houston and Ft. Bliss.

In the Twin Cities, 60 Vets for Peace

led a march of 3,000. The Student Mobilization Committee decided on April 16 to stick to its planned march through downtown Minneapolis, ignoring a ban that declared it a "threat to public safety." The following day, the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union obtained a court injunction preventing the police from denying the permit. A contingent of 30 pre-teen members of the newly formed Kids for Peace participated.

A permit for the Atlanta march was given when a campaign was organized to fight the foot-dragging of city officials. Six carloads of GIs from Ft. Benning joined the demonstration. When the 1,500 marchers approached the downtown area they were met by the AFSCME strike-support march. The crowd's chants demanded an end to the war and support to the strike of Atlanta's city employees.

The SMC and the Movement for a Democratic Military organized a rally of 1,000 for GI rights in San Diego in which 300 GIs participated.

The Bay Area Peace Action Council held a march of 3,000 in San Francisco in a follow-up to the large actions of the 15th.

The eight California candidates of the Socialist Workers Party addressed 15 rallies throughout the state between April 15-18. They spoke to more than 12,000, including 3,000 high school students, in protests on 11 college campuses and at the gates to one Army post.

Other actions included a peaceful march of 1,500 in St. Petersburg, Fla., which was attacked by about 300 cops, resulting in several arrests, and a rally on the Lynn, Mass., Commons attended by 300 people.

April 15

Last week's *Militant* reported on many of the April 15 demonstrations. Continuing reports indicate that they were both substantial and significant.

More than 100 prisoners in the Ft. Lewis stockade signed a petition stating their intention to support April 15 by boycotting the mess hall for one day.

The Rhode Island SMC won a victory April 8 when a judge overturned an injunction against leafletting in a private shopping center. Judge Weisberger ruled that the leafletting was in the interest of the majority of Americans and was "pure communication" protected by the First Amendment.

A large number of antiwar actions were organized throughout the state, including a referendum in eight colleges and high schools (82 percent for immediate withdrawal); a rally April 15 of 3,000 at the Rhode Island State House; an April 16 march to the Newport Naval War College to protest the training of South Vietnamese officers.

More than 5,000 took part in the Cleveland demonstration. A giant picket line at the AT&T stockholders' meeting was followed by a march to a downtown rush-hour rally. Mayor Carl Stokes responded to the widespread popularity of the actions by endorsing them and urging people to join in. The efforts of approximately 100 Yippies and others were devoted to attempting to assure that the demonstration would not be peaceful.

The largest antiwar action yet in Newark occurred when 3,000 demonstrators crowded into Military Park for a rally. Speakers included spokesmen for the UAW, the IUE and the Young Lords; George Richardson, assemblyman and candidate for mayor

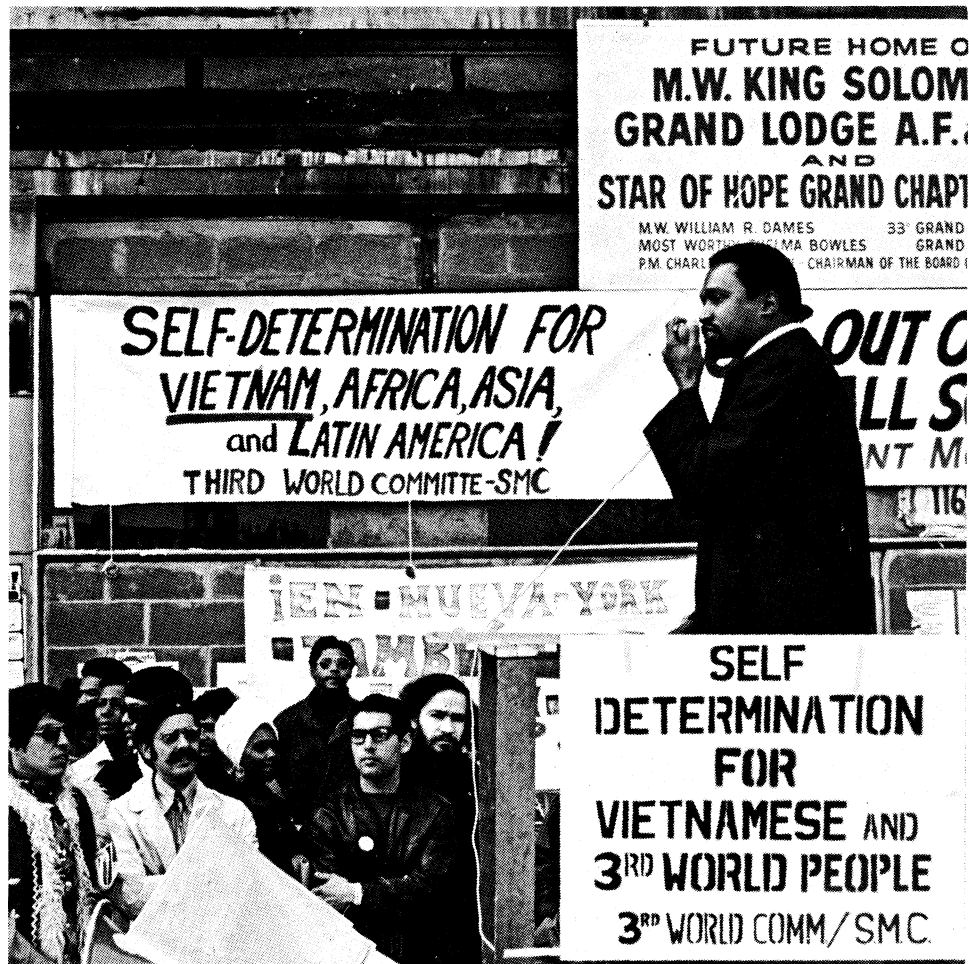


Photo by Derrick Morrison

Paul Boutelle, SWP, speaks at SMC Third World antiwar rally, Harlem, April 18. Over 500 attended. Other speakers represented Young Lords Organization, Black Panther Party, MPI, Third World Coalition at Manhattan Community College, Harlem Youth Federation; three Black Vietnam veterans also spoke.

of Newark; Donald Tucker, candidate of the Black and Puerto Rican Congress for Newark City Council; and Paul Boutelle of the Socialist Workers Party. A contingent of 400 mainly Black and Puerto Rican high school students participated in a march of 1,500 on the Federal Building earlier in the day.

Despite denial of a parade permit, the Moratorium's decision not to endorse the action, and a last-minute cutoff of electrical power by state authorities, approximately 2,500 marched to the State House in Columbus, Ohio, for a rally. According to organizers, this was much larger than previous actions.

Seventy-five persons braved a freak spring blizzard of snow and sleet to attend a rally in Logan, Utah, which concluded a week of antiwar activities.

In Harrisburg, Pa., 700 demonstrators, predominantly high school students, rallied and marched around the State Capitol. Speakers included representatives from Dickinson College SDS, the Black Panther Party, and Carol Lisker, SWP candidate for state representative.

The SMC, War Tax Resisters and other groups called a demonstration of 600 in Grand Rapids, Mich.

An April 14 demonstration in Worcester, Mass., for immediate withdrawal drew 1,500. Following a rally, at which one of the speakers was Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, a march was held to the offices of the State Mutual Life Insurance Company to protest a project that is displacing many Black families.

Rallies, marches and other activities during the April 13-18 Week of Action in Bloomington, Ind., culminated in a rally of 2,000 in Dunn Meadow April 17.

Women and the war

Women's liberation contingents and women's liberation speakers were widespread features of the demonstrations during the spring offensive. In several areas, one day during the week of antiwar activities was devoted to the relationship between the struggle of women and the Vietnam war.

The Washington, D.C., Area Women Against the War publicized April 15 by driving an appropriately decorated peace truck to shopping centers in D.C., Maryland and Virginia. They

distributed a leaflet entitled "Women: Stop Paying for the War!" The case of one woman who was arrested for "accepting contributions" is being handled by the ACLU. It will test the right of antiwar groups to solicit funds without harassment.

Men staffed a day-care center in Providence during Women Against the War Day April 18. A rally was followed by a march of 200 through a shopping center.

Three hundred women demonstrated April 15 at the welfare department in San Francisco demanding that the money wasted on the war be spent at home.

A militant demonstration of more than 500 on April 15 in Dayton was organized and led by Dayton Women's Liberation. Participants came from the surrounding area, including Antioch College in Yellow Springs, which was officially shut down April 14-15 following a referendum on the question.

The struggle continues

Campus complicity battles were a part of the spring antiwar offensive in several areas.

A major campaign was launched to remove ROTC from Emory University in Atlanta. Momentum has been building ever since 34 students audited a ROTC class April 14 with the intention of discussing its role on campus. The instructor canceled the class and conduct charges were brought against all involved. Two days later, 120 again attempted to audit the class with similar results. Planning meetings for continuing the struggle have been drawing up to several hundred students.

Plans for a student strike at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, were announced at the SMC-sponsored antiwar rally April 15, by the Black Students' Action Association (BSAA). The BSAA is making demands for greater Black student control similar to those made at other colleges. The strike began April 16, a few days earlier than scheduled, in response to an occupation of the Naval ROTC building. The occupation led to a confrontation between state troopers and about 3,000 students (out of a total enrollment of 11,000). The strike was 50-75 percent effective the first day. It is demanding an investigation of ROTC as well as support to the Black demands.

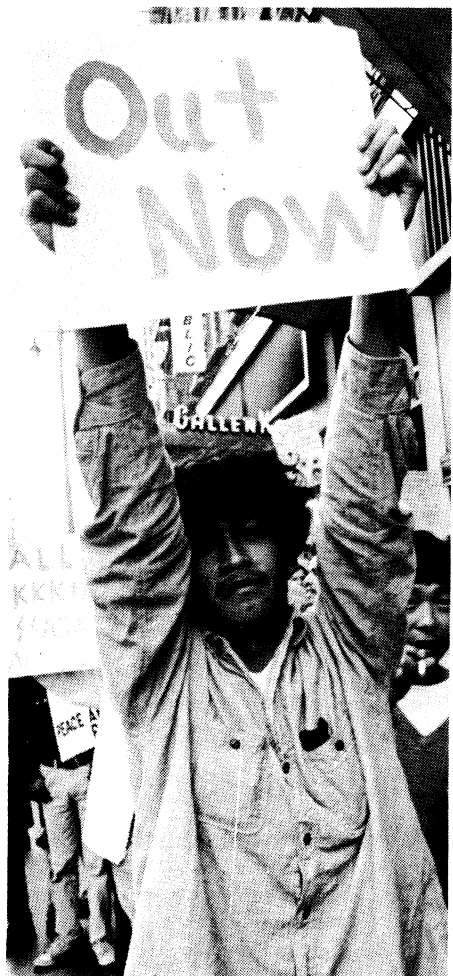


Photo by John Gray

U.S. sinking deeper into Cambodia swamp

By DICK ROBERTS

APRIL 23—The crisis of the new military regime in Cambodia, which came to a head less than one month after its coup, sharply underlines the main contradictions of U. S. imperialism's role in Southeast Asia.

Washington can find no other allies but a tiny coterie of military dictators and their plantation-owning supporters to back the U. S. invasion of Vietnam.

These regimes have no support in the population and no way of maintaining their existence without massive U. S. military intervention. Events in recent days simply point to the intensifying class struggle throughout all of Indochina.

In Saang, Cambodia, according to an April 21 AP dispatch, an officer of the Cambodian Army ordered Vietnamese civilians into a village supposedly to persuade the advancing "Vietcong" to go away. When these civilians were fired on, the Cambodian officer told reporters:

"It was a good way to discover where the Viets have their automatic weapons. This exercise now gave us a good reading for our 105-mm. cannon."

In Saigon, April 21, students demanded an investigation into a trial of 21 other students charged with pro-Communist activity, a UPI dispatch stated. The dispatch continued:

"When 17 of the 21 defendants entered the courtroom Monday, some

had severe bruises and others showed fingers with nails missing. They alleged they had been mistreated by policemen. A government spokesman denied in court yesterday that the police had tortured the students."

In Bom Nom Xay, Laos, March 14, *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Daniel Southerland interviewed refugees from areas pounded by U.S. bombs.

"It was terrible living in those holes in the ground . . . We never saw the sun. Our hair was falling out." A man in his thirties, said Southerland, told him: "My wife and three children were killed . . . There were no troops (Pathet Lao or North Vietnamese) anywhere near our village."

On April 15, Senator Mark Hatfield revealed in a Senate speech that there are an estimated 200,000 refugees of U. S. bombing in Laos, almost 8 percent of the population of the country.

And Senator Edward Kennedy piously declared, "It is incredible that our government finds the funds and wherewithal to mount up to 600 air sorties a day [in Laos] but seems incapable of providing the meager humanitarian needs of refugees often deliberately generated by our bombing." (But Kennedy didn't explain why he has always voted the funds to finance those bombs and bombers.)

President Nixon told the American people April 20, "Our overriding objective is a political solution that reflects the will of the South Vietnamese people and allows them to determine their future without outside interference."

There is a good term for this: the Big Lie.

The truth of the matter is that the only allies U. S. imperialism can find in Southeast Asia are tin-star military dictators, who rule by the force of U. S. arms alone.

The last month's events in Cambodia have once again demonstrated this fact. The newspapers and the administration would have us believe that all of a sudden the "North Vietnamese" or the "Vietcong" stepped up "their invasion" of Cambodia. And this explains why, as the *New York Times* reported April 22:

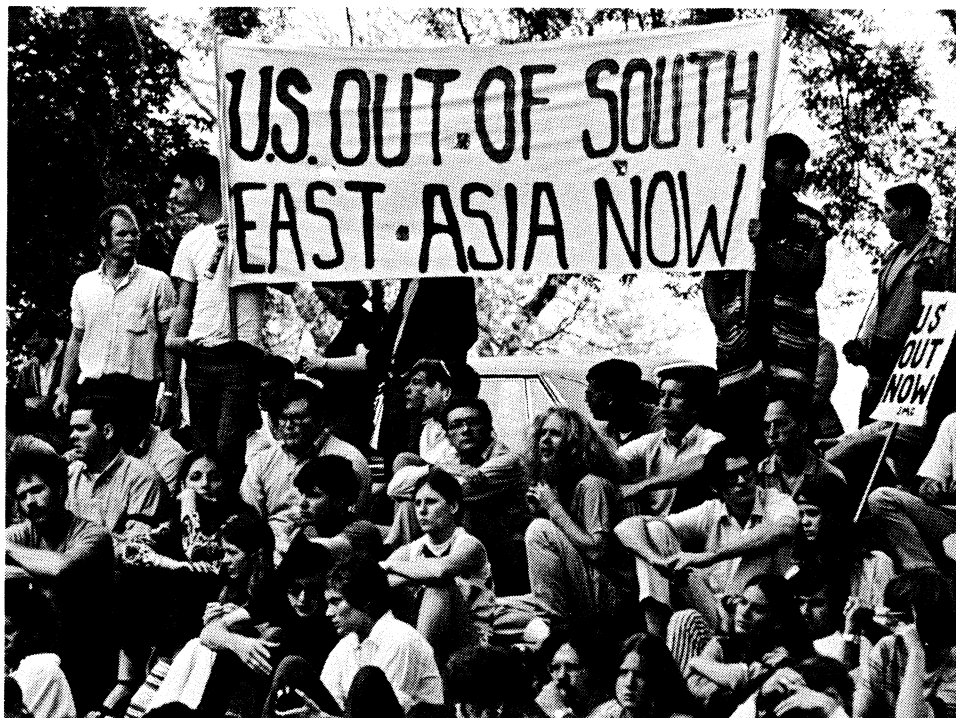
"High Cambodian sources, who recently spoke confidently of Cambodia's ability to force invaders back into South Vietnam, now describe the military situation as critical.

"The Vietnamese guerrillas are not only cutting all roads leading to Pnompenh from the east and south and reaching the outskirts of the capital, the sources say, but they are also choosing the places where they will strike. High Cambodian military sources say the guerrillas have the initiative throughout their area of operation.

"The sources say the enemy is capable of mounting mortar attacks on Pnompenh. They say that the Vietnamese have put the Cambodian Army on the defensive everywhere and have done so without committing themselves to major confrontations."

What these three paragraphs clearly describe is the precipitate collapse of a regime which has no popular support. There is no other plausible explanation for the kind of military situation outlined.

An "invading" force, hostile to the local population, cannot move around in the countryside without "major confrontations." The fact is well known to U. S. military men in South Vietnam, whose excursions into that countryside require days of prior massive



Austin, April 15

Photo by Damon Ginbey

bombing, continuous bombing and heavy artillery support throughout the offensive, helicopters for the speedy removal of advance infantry, etc., etc.

This story about the "North Vietnamese invaders" is strongly reminiscent of Lyndon Johnson's line that the civil war in South Vietnam was caused by — "North Vietnamese invaders."

Nixon's contention in his April 20 speech that progress has been made in "Vietnamizing" the war is also fraudulent.

Directly after the speech was broadcast, CBS network-TV presented an on-the-spot analysis of the military situation by their battlefield correspondent Richard Threkeld. Threkeld made two points:

The Saigon forces "rarely go into battle without U. S. military support, including combat planes and artillery."

"Vietnamization has not been seriously tested by the enemy because the enemy has not launched major attacks like the Tet offensive of two years ago."

In fact, the tempo of battle in South Vietnam has picked up in the last several weeks. *New York Times* correspondent Terence Smith wrote from

Saigon April 2: "The shelling and ground assaults proved once again that the enemy retains the capacity to inflict heavy casualties on allied troops whenever and wherever he wants."

It is because in South Vietnam, as in Cambodia, as in Laos, "the enemy" has the support of the people; "the allies" have the support of — U. S. bombs.

Nixon concluded his 15-minute address by dreaming up a lie to top all the others, that the end of the war is in sight. But even if Nixon withdraws another 150,000 troops in the next year, 284,000 will be left in Vietnam alone. And that means continued massive bombing and murder throughout Southeast Asia.

The reality is that there is only one way to bring the war to an end and that is by withdrawing all U. S. troops and all U. S. military support. Short of this, the bombing and murder must continue because U. S. military commitment to Southeast Asia means U. S. military commitment to Southeast Asian military dictatorship. And these regimes cannot stay in power without bloody repression.

PRG salutes mass actions against war

The following are major excerpts from a statement received by the Bay Area Peace Action Council in support of the April 13-18 antiwar actions. It was sent by Pham Van Ba, director of the Paris Information Bureau of the Provisional Government of South Vietnam.

* * *

Knowing as we do of the American people's tradition of courageously struggling for liberty, and knowing also of the sizable and justified protests the American people have organized against this war of aggression in South Vietnam, our people in South Vietnam greatly appreciate all actions that the American people undertake to demand from their government an end to this unjust war and the rapid and total repatriation of its soldiers, so that the people of South Vietnam can settle their own affairs without any foreign interference.

Since he has been in power, President Nixon, although speaking of peace negotiations, has in reality been intensifying the war in South Vietnam. By his so-called "Vietnamization" of the war and the "phased withdrawal of troops," President Nixon is not seeking to withdraw but rather to prolong indefinitely the war and American military occupation. . . .

Therefore, by its present obstinance and bellicose policies, President Nixon's administration is going against the best interests of both our peoples.

We send you our most sincere wishes for success in your struggle against this war of aggression; we also wish you success in your efforts to achieve a speedy repatriation of the many young Americans now in Vietnam, and in the strengthening of both understanding and friendship between our two peoples.

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Photo by Arizona State University State Press

FIGHTERS AT ARIZONA STATE: Professor Morris Starsky (left), Bob Dale of the Black Liberation Organizational Committee, and Jim Rowland of the Young Socialist Alliance at recent press conference.

Ariz. school official finds Starsky 'guilty' before trial

PHOENIX, Ariz., April 21 — Dismissal hearings for philosophy professor Morris Starsky have now entered their third week here at Arizona State University. The administration — which initiated the proceedings against Starsky as a result of political pressure from reactionary legislators — ended its case April 15, and witnesses for Professor Starsky are now being heard.

The local newspaper disclosed today that the administration of Arizona State University decided two-and-a-half months ago not to give Professor Starsky a summer-school contract. Since neither Professor Starsky nor his department chairman were informed of this decision, it was assumed that he would be teaching at ASU this summer. On the basis of this assumption, Professor Starsky turned down a summer-school offer from a major university.

The dean of the summer school, Dr. Joseph Schabacker, informed the newspaper that he made his decision because "Dr. Starsky does not exemplify in his teaching methodology or in his code of personal conduct the professional standards which I consider to be in the best interests of this institution." The arbitrary action of the dean and the administration coming at this time clearly prejudices the decision of the Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure and serves to undermine its authority.

Meanwhile, in another case at ASU, Bob Dale, a member of the Black Liberation Organizational Committee

(BLOC), filed assault and battery charges against ASU, the Arizona Board of Regents, and Assistant Football Coach Bob Owens. The charges stemmed from a physical assault on Dale by Owens — an attack which was witnessed by several people (see *The Militant*, April 10). Dale's lawyer is Jack Levine, a prominent Phoenix lawyer. Defense funds, which are urgently needed, can be sent to BLOC, 712 E. Lemon Street, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

'Guilt by association' scored in Mandel case

The refusal of the State Department to permit Gisela Mandel, a Trotskyist of German nationality, to enter the country to speak at an antiwar rally on April 15 at the invitation of the Columbia Student Mobilization Committee has stirred considerable protest. More than 20 Columbia professors and other members of the academic community immediately issued a statement denouncing the State Department action (see *The Militant*, April 24). On April 18 the *New York Times* printed the following editorial, entitled "Visa Guilt by Marriage?"

Gisela Mandel has long been active in radical politics herself, but the fact that she is married to the Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel, who has also been barred from the U.S., is obviously one of the reasons behind the State Department's action. The observation made by the *Times* editorial concerning guilt by marriage is clearly at issue.

At a time when increasing numbers of nations are inviting Americans to visit their lands without visas — and without scrutiny of their teachings and writings — the State Department is using its visa power to deny entry to the United States on political grounds. A few weeks ago Dr. Ernest E. Mandel, a Marxist economist from Belgium, was prevented from speaking here after a number of university scholars had invited him.

A few days ago his wife also was barred from coming to the United States at the invitation of the Columbia Student Mobilization Committee, an antiwar group. She held a multiple-entry visa, issued in 1968 when she had visited here, but it was taken away because of unfavorable material

in her "record." There has been no hearing and no explanation of the reason for revoking her visa.

Until the State Department says otherwise, the assumption left with the public is that visa guilt by marriage exists. Surely this is not covered in the exclusion section of the McCarran-Walter Act — passed over President Truman's veto in 1952 — whose drag-net restrictions may be applied to anyone advocating what is deemed too dangerous for American ears. At the same time, subtle pressure is applied against the effort to issue a visa to Dr. Mandel, whose case is now before the Federal District Court in Brooklyn.

When a visa is denied, the case should be open instead of shut; full exposure of the reasons for denying visas will point up the folly of this or any other law that tries to put a ban upon the importation of ideas.



Gisela Mandel

Women's liberation notes

The newly formed Women's Liberation Front at the University of Hawaii held its first rally April 13. Speakers attacked the upcoming "Ka Palapala Culture and Beauty Pageant" — a traditional event at the university. Said one speaker: "The beauty pageant will be here soon and women will be paraded like dogs in a show."

What the rulers of America see as the fundamental right of society to exploit women as sex objects was upheld in a Miami court this month. The question came up when Celio Diaz Jr. took Pan American World Airways to court, charging the airlines had discriminated against him on the basis of sex when his application for a job as steward was turned down.

Federal Judge Charles Fulton ruled the airlines had not violated the civil rights code, because, as he put it, being a woman was a "bona fide occupational qualification" for being a stewardess. The judge explained that it was important for the airlines to consider the "special psychological needs of its passengers," noting that Pan American had testified that statistics showed that passengers overwhelmingly prefer "pretty legs to beards."

Chauvinist quote of the week — comment by a Philadelphia reporter after attending a women's liberation meeting: "Fellow males, these chicks mean business."

Female track enthusiasts around the country are challenging the Amateur Athletic Union rules prohibiting women from taking part in long-distance

running races of more than two-and-a-half miles. Thousands of women have been participating in such marathon races "unofficially," and in many instances they have finished earlier than their "officially-recognized" male competitors. Recently a 14-year-old girl became the first American woman to finish a 50-mile race.

The female long-distance runners have two aims: the right to enter in already-established American distance races over two-and-a-half miles, and the right to officially-sanctioned marathons of their own.

For information on how to help this new movement, write to Road Runners Club of America, P.O. Box 467, Port Washington, New York.

Some 500 women attended the Congress to Unite Women held in New York City last November. Now, plans are being made for a second northeast regional congress to be held May 1-3 at IS 70, 333 W. 17 St., NYC. For information, write to Congress to Unite Women, P.O. Box 114, New York, N.Y. 10025.

The current issue of *The Black Scholar* has an excellent article by Robert Staples on "The Myth of the Black Matriarchy." Staples attacks the widely-believed notion that Black women have "emasculated" Black men through their dominating role in the Black community. To label the Black woman a matriarch is a cruel hoax, Staples says. It's a classical example of what Malcolm X called "making the victim the criminal."

Reprints of articles in *The Black Scholar* are available for 25 cents.

Write to *The Black Scholar*, P.O. Box 908, Sausalito, California 94965.

More than 25 women reporters and editors on Washington, D.C. daily newspapers have formed an ad hoc committee to protest discrimination in the newspaper industry. The committee is concerned with three main areas: discrimination in hiring and pay, exclusion of women from journalists' clubs and organizations, and the sexist and condescending handling of news stories about women.

Llewellyn King, president of the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild, has issued a statement supporting the women. "The battle must be waged on every floor and in every department of every paper in every city," he asserted. "The women's struggle is the Guild's struggle."

A struggle over the question of equal wages for women has developed in Somerville, Massachusetts. It began when the Board of Aldermen arbitrarily cut the salary of Carla Johnson, one of the mayor's two administrative assistants, while leaving the pay of her male co-assistant the same.

Somerville women fought back by forming the Somerville Organization for the Continuance of Effective Militancy (SOCEM, pronounced, sock-'em). Other established women's groups in the Boston area, including Boston Women United, Female Liberation, Bread and Roses, and NOW, have come to the aid of their Somerville sisters. A demonstration was held April 9 in front of Somerville City Hall to demand equal pay for equal work.

— ELIZABETH BARNES

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Drivers reject pact in Cleveland, L.A.

APRIL 20—The contract settlement in Chicago negotiated by Teamsters Local 705 and the independent Chicago Truck Drivers union representing 50,000 drivers has knocked large holes in the national contract negotiated by the Teamsters. The Chicago contract calls for \$1.65-plus-benefits, which is 55c more than the national contract. This difference has precipitated strikes in a number of areas.

In Cleveland, taking a cue from previous antiwar demonstrations, 500 striking members of Teamsters Local 407 marched down Euclid Avenue on April 16 in a public display of displeasure with the national contract.

Led by wives of drivers, the marchers did not bother to obtain a permit from the police department. "I've got to learn how to make that V-sign," one driver commented. "My kid sure would be surprised to see his old man marching down Euclid Ave."

More than 6,000 truck drivers have been on strike for three weeks. *Militant* correspondent Herman Kirsch reports

that meetings of the rebel drivers have been held every night with 600 to 1,000 strikers in attendance. No union officials have showed up because their presence would not be welcomed.

At one recent meeting, Cleveland City Council President James Stanton, in behalf of Mayor Carl Stokes, offered to mediate the dispute between the strikers and Teamster union officials. Before Stanton had a chance to finish his plea urging a return to work because the strike was strangling the economic life of the city, he was interrupted by members who took the floor to state their case.

The strikers want local autonomy. They want to do their own bargaining with Cleveland trucking and not be bound by a master contract which is negotiated by international Teamster officers and which most often does not meet the desires and needs of the rank and file.

The Ohio Teamster officials, faced with a rebellion in the union that de-

fies injunctions and all other tried-and-true methods used by union officers to squelch wildcat strikes, are threatening to ask Governor Rhodes to send in the National Guard. This was the warning given by William Presser, Teamster international vice president. "It's a hell of a day when we have troops riding shotgun on a truck but somehow we must stop this violence through the law."

In Los Angeles, correspondent Gordon Bailey reports that despite pleas and threats from local bureaucrats, 20,000 drivers struck April 6, bringing almost all truck freight in and out of the city to a complete halt. Union officials have been running around frantically warning the strikers, most of them over-the-road drivers, that their action is unauthorized and that the union cannot protect them against the bosses' reprisals.

As if on cue the trucking employers

sent out dismissal notices to 10,000 strikers. The effect of this has been to tighten the ranks of the drivers who are still holding solid. At a rally Saturday, April 11, the strikers vowed not to settle until every driver has been put back on his job. Even some union bureaucrats, who oppose the strike, have had to promise support to the demand for amnesty for all strikers.

Meanwhile, a court injunction to limit picketing has had little effect on workers.

For years the Los Angeles Teamsters have been promised that the next contract would provide for paid sick leave. San Francisco and other areas have long enjoyed this benefit. Los Angeles drivers want it too.

Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons has told his members, "Take it or leave it." The Los Angeles drivers will not take it.

Striking teachers continue walkout in Los Angeles

By GORDON BAILEY

LOS ANGELES—More than 15,000 of Los Angeles' 25,000 teachers have been out on strike since April 13, closing down the second largest school system in the country. While the strikers represent over 60 percent of the teachers in the Los Angeles district, the percentage that walked out of the high schools was considerably higher.

Many students have expressed sympathy and support for the striking teachers. At Bancroft Junior High, for example, where only 10 out of 60 teachers reported for duty, some 400 students turned out for a strike-support rally called by the Student Mobilization Committee. Students at Fairfax High have held a series of very large and militant actions in solidarity with the teachers.

One reason for the student support has been the fact that in addition to a wage increase, the teachers' demands center on improvements in the educational system. Under the slogan "We Want What the Children Need," the teachers are demanding smaller classes, better libraries, more student counseling services, better reading programs, and proper maintenance of school buildings and grounds.

The deterioration of Los Angeles schools is due largely to lack of money. State aid to local schools has not kept pace with rising costs and increased enrollments. Gov. Reagan and the state legislature have turned a deaf ear to pleas for more money. The responsibility for paying for the schools is shifted onto the individual taxpayers, who, under the pressure of rising taxes and inflation caused by the Vietnam war, have rejected local tax measures that would have aided the schools. The Los Angeles district school budget was slashed over \$26 million last year and will be cut another \$41 million this year.

To all the teachers' pleas for salary raises and better teaching conditions the board of education replies they have no money. The board has refused to negotiate directly with the teachers, although on April 21 they agreed to accept federal mediation. The striking teachers considered this an important victory.

Early in the strike, a court injunction was secured by the board ordering the teachers back to work. The

teachers have declared they will ignore the injunction as it is illegal. Even Mayor Yorty, certainly not a supporter of the strike, has publicly stated that the injunction will have little effect. "You cannot force teachers into the classroom and tell them to start teaching," he declared on TV.

The teachers are waging their first fight through a new organization, the United Teachers of Los Angeles. This was formed last winter through a merger of the AFL-CIO affiliated American Federation of Teachers and the semi-professional organization, the Association of Classroom Teachers.

After voting four to one for walkout, the teachers secured strike sanction from the Central Labor Council. The powerful National Educational Association is supporting the strike.



Photo by Karl J. Rauschkolb/Cleveland Plain Dealer

Teamsters demonstrate on Cleveland's Euclid Ave.

Third World liberation notes

In Uvalde, Texas, about 500 Chicano students are boycotting the elementary, junior high, and senior high schools. The boycott is led by MAYO, the Mexican-American Youth Organization and backbone of an emerging Chicano political party, La Raza Unida.

According to the April 16 *Houston Chronicle*, the boycott has come down because of the board of education's refusal to hold a hearing on contract renewal for a Chicano elementary school teacher, George Garza.

In typical white supremacist manner, the head of the board, Al Dishman, said Garza was an "excellent teacher" for several years "until he got real militant this past year. He has defied his superiors and his attitude has changed completely."

Uvalde is about 30 or 40 miles from Crystal City where La Raza Unida Party elected three Chicanos to the Board of Education on April 4.

* * *

On April 9, after convening a meeting of leaders of the Contract Buyers League and some representatives of contract house sellers, Mayor Richard J. Daley announced that there would be no more evictions, that is, until April 18.

The CBL is a group of Black resi-

dents on the southwest side of Chicago fighting the racist and fraudulent manner in which they are sold homes. This includes payment extending over several years, which usually adds up to considerably more than the original price, and eviction for missing just one monthly payment. (See April 24 *Militant*)

After discussing the Mayor's proposals, CBL had a press conference on April 13, where they neither accepted nor rejected the proposals. They said that there was no mention of renegotiation of the housing contracts and that evictions should be stopped until May 10 when the Illinois Supreme Court will rule on the state's eviction law. They also announced that Dempsey Travis of the Dearborn Real Estate Board is making plans to get federally-assisted mortgages for them.

Since the banks won't give out mortgages to Blacks, houses have to be bought on contract. The CBL has a suit in federal court charging the contract sellers with discrimination.

* * *

The trial of H. Rap Brown opened on April 20 in Ellicott City, Md. before Judge James Macgill. It was transferred from Bel Air after Judge Harry E. Dyer disqualified himself.

Atty. William M. Kunstler, defense counsel, began by moving to dismiss the indictment because it failed to name anybody that rioted after Brown's speech in Cambridge in 1967. Kunstler contends that Brown was named in the indictment because he was a nationally known figure.

As an aside, Kunstler indicated to the press that Lynn Brown, Rap's wife, had told him on April 26 that she had "a feeling he's alive." There had been speculation to the effect that Brown was in the car of SNCC activists Ralph Featherstone and William "Che" Payne when it was blown up last month.

* * *

According to the April 14 *Chicago Daily Defender*, there may be an indictment against some if not all of the policemen who raided an apartment on Dec. 4, 1969, and assassinated Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. The announcement was made by Jerris Leonard, U.S. assistant attorney general, Civil Rights Division. He said that a federal grand jury was in session now. Leonard made this move to hold back an independent inquiry into the assassination by the Roy Wilkins-Arthur Goldberg Commission.

—DERRICK MORRISON

Israel, an analysis (IV)

Israel's development as a colonial power

By NATHAN WEINSTOCK

[This is the concluding installment of a four-part series by Nathan Weinstock, a Belgian Marxist who lived in Palestine for many years. His book, *Le sionisme contre Israel* (Zionism Against Israel), was published in France last year. References to Weinstock are to that work. The article, written in thesis form, was originally published in the Jan. 12 issue of *Rouge*, the paper of the French Communist League. Points one through 14 appeared in earlier installments.]

15. Since 1967, by occupying the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and the Sinai Peninsula, Israel has become a colonial power in the full sense of the term. The struggle of the civilian population of the occupied territories is a normal and legitimate battle against foreign invaders who exploit the labor power and the resources of these regions, and who are instituting an economic regime advantageous to the Israeli economy and a political regime committed to the brutal liquidation of every hint of national expression (use of tanks to break up student demonstrations in Nablus; firing on rallies of women outside the Gaza concentration camps for suspects; etc.).

The successive "conferences of billionaires" show that this exploitative undertaking is being carried out with the blessings of big international capital.

16. Israel is not a "socialist" state. On the contrary, it is the firmest bastion of capitalism in the Middle East (see the declaration by Rabin, quoted in Weinstock, on the Syrian regime). Its economy is dominated by the big capitalist groups and 10 percent of the Israelis receive a portion of the national income equal to that received by the lowest 50 percent of

A forced retreat

Poor pact imposed on Cleveland ITU

By JEAN TUSSEY

CLEVELAND — In a referendum April 8, Cleveland Typographical Union No. 53 accepted a 39-month contract with the publishers of two local daily papers on behalf of almost 600 newspaper printers.

The identical contract had been rejected Feb. 15 in a secret ballot vote at a membership meeting which heard the proposal debated. At that time, International Typographical Union representative Richard Brown and a majority of the negotiating committee spoke for it; Local 53 President Kenneth Ramella and rank-and-file members from the floor, against.

Such an obvious about-face by the membership of Local 53 requires an explanation. It raises a lot of questions among serious union members, especially newspaper printers. Some of the questions apply to the specific situation at the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, where the opposition to the contract settlement was the strongest. Some relate to the background and history of the Cleveland union, and the International Typographical Union of which it is a part.

Others are related to the problems of workers in the printing trades everywhere, to the causes and effects of technological changes in the industry. To the current negotiations in New York and elsewhere.

the social pyramid (Rouleau, *Le Monde*, July 2, 1969).

The kibbutzim—collectivist colonies involving only 3 percent of the population—are not the communist oases depicted by a simplistic propaganda. They are highly dependent on the banking sector, economically they rest on the exploitation of wage labor (see Konopnicki, quoted by Weinstock)—frequently of Arabs—a tendency which has been accentuated since 1967.

These exploitative collectives play a key role in defending the occupation of the conquered territories, a fact exemplified by the dozens of kibbutzim with military organization that have been established in the occupied territories.

The Histadrut trade-union federation is not the working-class success that it is customarily pictured to be any more than are the kibbutzim. It was formed in the 1920s to fight against the employment of Arab labor. It is a nationalist organization, aiming at the complete integration of the workers into the capitalist system. Moreover, it is the biggest employer of labor in the country. The Histadrut ruthlessly fights any form of autonomous organization of the laboring masses. All important strikes have been organized in spite of it, and it has sabotaged them and their leaderships. It supports proposed antistrike legislation and regularly concludes wage-freeze contracts with the bosses.

17. Israel is not a democratic state. It is a racist (and clerical) state, based on the expulsion of the indigenous population, the institutionalization of the "right of return" of every Jew (while return is refused to the Palestinian refugees), and the oppression of the Arab minority that remains within the country.

The Arabs are subjected to colonial-

And some of the questions are the same as those being raised by workers generally, by youth, by women and by members of all minority groups in our society today.

The broadest and most general questions for all seem to be around decision-making. Who makes decisions? How? Why?

That is also the specific question Cleveland newspaper printers are grappling with in trying to understand their union's switch from rejection to acceptance of a contract.

What happened between February 15 and April 8 was that the members of Local 53 realized that the national ITU leadership refused to support their struggle for a better contract, and they did not think they had the strength to combat the publishers alone.

The Cleveland printers knew when they adopted their contract proposals in February 1969 that they were in for a fight this year. In spite of the inadequate communication between locals through the traditional union publications, certain facts were clear:

- Cleveland printers were working longer hours, for a lower hourly wage than printers in most major industrial centers and many smaller cities.

- Gains in the last contract had already been offset by increases in the cost of living due to inflation. New

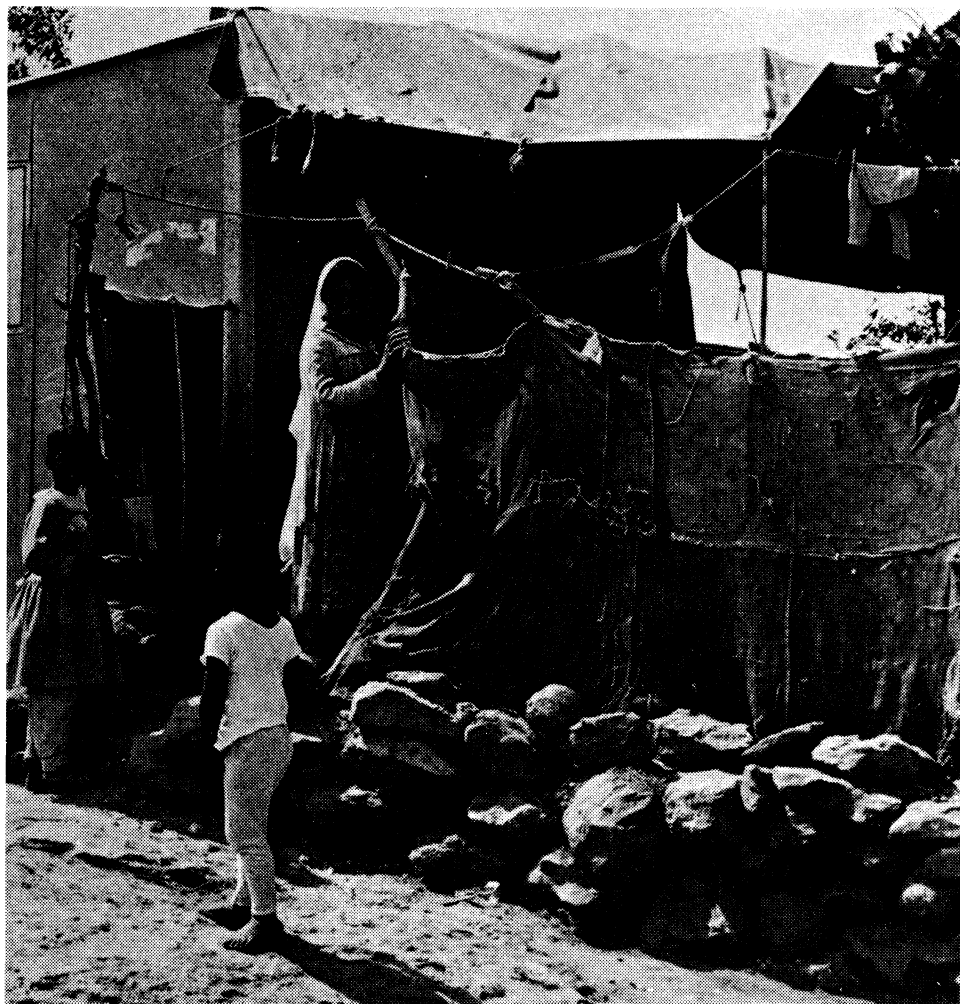


Photo by George Cavaletto/LNS

Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan

ist "exceptional" laws (the Emergency Regulations of 1945, inherited from the British colonial power and strengthened since then, which permit the military authorities to expel and to assign residence to any citizen; to imprison by administrative order; and to confiscate land). The proconsuls of the Israeli army do not hesitate to use them. (This is aside from the illegal dynamiting of suspects' houses, torture, etc.) When these colonial ordinances were applied to Palestinian Jews, just after the Second World War, former Minister of Justice Shapira asserted, "Even in Nazi Germany, there weren't such laws." (*Hapraklit*, Feb. 1946.)

18. Israel does not want "peace"—unless what is meant by that is recognition of its conquests, of the expulsion of the Palestinians, and of its racist and colonialist regime. In other words, "peace" is identical with the "pacification" all oppressors seek. It has nothing to do with pacifism and flows from a political strategy based on the *fait accompli*.

19. The only future that Zionism and the structures of the state of Israel offer to the Jewish population of Israel is war. To find a solution for the Hebrew community of Palestine—which has the right to determine freely its national future—it is essential to assure its integration into an Arab world that has been freed from the exploitation of man by man. This can be accomplished only if the Hebrew community allies itself with the struggle for a common future in a socialist, unified Middle East, liberated of the consequences of imperialist domination. Within this framework, the Israeli community, like all the non-Arab minorities of the Middle East (Kurd, South Sudanese) will be able to join fraternally with the Arab peoples, as indicated by the Palestinians who are now offering the Israeli community coexistence within a common secular, democratic state.

20. The Palestinian cause is a just, anticolonialist struggle and integral part of the great struggle of the Arab world against imperialism and of the struggle on a global scale against U.S.-led imperialism. The Palestinian awakening signifies that a new battalion of the wretched of the earth is arising to forge, arms in hand, its free human destiny. We are in complete solidarity with this struggle, for it announces a new dawn for the Arab world, of which, at present, it constitutes the vanguard. Thus, in the final analysis, it is part of the great cause of the emancipation of all humanity.

21. The dynamic of the Palestinian revolution puts all the reactionary, bourgeois and pseudoprogressive structures of the Middle East in question. It menaces all the antipopular regimes (whence the many attempts to limit or strangle it). By its very logic, it implacably unveils the collusion of the forces currently ruling the Arab world with imperialism, thus putting in question not only the colonialist structures or Israel but also those of the Arab world. And now, moreover, a Marxist wing of the Palestinian movement openly declares its determination to carry the struggle through to the end, that is, to the socialist revolution.

wage scales would have to compensate for increasing inflation during the term of a one- or two-year contract, or an escalator clause would have to be included.

- A new and stepped-up drive by management to automate production on both *The Plain Dealer* and *The Press* at the expense of the workers was seriously threatening the working conditions and job security of the printers. The transition from "hot metal" to "cold type" was resulting in reintroduction of old-fashioned sweatshop conditions: speedup; harassment by straw bosses (themselves insecure) trying to keep up with production schedules despite inexperience with new methods and "bugs" in new equipment; changes by management requiring changes in traditional union methods and procedures for protecting the interests of the membership.

- Purchase of control of *The Plain Dealer* by the powerful Newhouse newspaper chain (*The Press* was already owned by Scripps-Howard) meant Local 53 would be negotiating with multimillion dollar corporations, and would need its strongest bargaining weapons.

How the membership prepared to meet this powerful employer combination and what happened will be dealt with in an article next week.

Leon Trotsky
On the Trade Unions

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The Great Society

An American souvenir—The Dallas book depository building from which Lee Oswald allegedly shot Kennedy was purchased at auction for \$650,-000 by Aubrey Mayhew, a collector of Kennedy memorabilia. A brochure announcing the auction described the building as a sound investment and added: "Many excellent uses can be found for it. It was from the window of this building, the Warren Commission reported, that shots were fired that killed President John F. Kennedy."

Sorry about that—The federal government warned that current supplies of a syrup widely used to induce vomiting in poison cases may be ineffective.

Withdraws—David Eisenhower, the president's son-in-law says he may skip his graduation ceremonies at Amherst June 7. He's not happy about the list of commencement speakers which include I.F. Stone and Cesar Chavez. He said his outlook has caused some confrontations with anti-war students but he "has made many friends in the faculty."

Prefer mechanical machines — A Stanford U survey found that most teenagers associated such virtues as trustworthiness, reliability, veracity and fairness with the computer. They rated the computer "a more positive source of information" than their teachers, textbooks or TV newscasters.

Great scene—"We were running this great gambling setup. Roulette wheels, two dice tables, blackjack setup. All the equipment was made in San Fran-

cisco. Then it was flown in a sealed plane—probably CIA—to Okinawa. From there by secret helicopter to Vietnam. We were doing great . . . Generals, colonels—man, we had everybody playing for us. Maybe a general lost too much one night. It was fun while it lasted."—A Green Beret sergeant whom Melvin Beli got off with a \$300 fine and reduction in rank after being tried for impersonating an officer and other charges. (From Herb Caen in the San Francisco *Chronicle*.)

Fresh vindication of Our Way — In 1933, Dr. Arthur Kraus was fired from the faculty of the City College of New York for conducting a hunger strike against fascism. For many years, Dr. Kraus was compelled to live on welfare. This April 15, 37 years later, the state legislature voted to grant Dr. Kraus his pension. Rep. Leonard Stavisky, a sponsor of the bill, hailed its passage as a "symbol of the right to dissent within the democratic processes, and without violence."

No-sniff law—Expressing its tender concern for young people, the New York state legislature is considering a bill requiring the addition of oil of mustard to airplane glue to burn the nose and throat of young glue sniffers.

Off the pig—A six-month advertising campaign promoting British bacon was suspended because the demand outran the supply.

— HARRY RING

Socialist Directory

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

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Hayward: YSA, Marc Rich, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hilary St., Hayward, Calif. 94544. Tel. (415) 537-3656 or (415) 537-3657.

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Orlando: YSA, 762 Overspin St., Winter Park, Fla. 32789.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Jack Lieberman, 509 W. Jefferson, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 641-0147.

DeKalb: YSA, Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Ill. 60115.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Randy Green, 732 E. Atwater, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Fred Murphy, 1510 Kentucky, Apt. G. Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981 (HQ), 547-8557.

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NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Bill O'Kain, 665 Washington Ave., 2nd floor, Albany, N.Y. 12206.

Annandale-on-Hudson: Red Hook (Bard College) YSA, c/o Lorenzo Black, P.O. Box 497 Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y. 12504.

Binghamton: YSA, Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

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Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2921 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115. Tel: 861-3862.

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

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

Oberlin: YSA, c/o Rick Bader, 29 College Pl., Oberlin, Ohio 44074. Tel: (216) 775-0462.

Oxford: YSA, c/o Pat Ducey, P.O. Box 321, Oxford, Ohio 45066.

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Duncan Williams, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

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

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

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 1319 F. St. NW., Rm. 1010, Wash., D.C. Tel: (202) 638-0610 or 965-1943.

WASHINGTON: Cheney: E. Wash. State YSA, Sub Box 1040, EWSC, Cheney, Wash. 99004. Tel: 235-6749.

Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

Tacoma: YSA, c/o John Naubert, P.O. Box 309, Tacoma, Wash. 98401. Tel: LO4-3765.

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

Oshkosh: YSA, c/o Peter Kohlenbert, 2020 Evans *4, Oshkosh, Wis. 54901.

In passing...

"In the past 20 years, over 400 establishment daily papers have folded. In the past five years, the underground press has grown from zero papers to over five million," writes Thomas King Forcade in the May issue of *New Times*, a new national underground-type magazine published in New York.

From the beginning, the rapidly expanding underground press had a radical flavoring to it. Sympathetic accounts of developments in the Black, antiwar and radical movements have always been the core of material published. The underground press has in fact served as the local radical press all around the country.

However, there were, from the start, serious shortcomings. Male chauvinism was blatant. Radical political activity tended to be treated as if it were some sort of fun game, rather than as a serious enterprise with serious consequences. LSD, marijuana and rock were promoted as if they were the road to the liberation of humankind.

These problems still exist, although not so blatantly as was once the case. For example, the impact of the women's liberation movement has resulted in the toning down or removal of male chauvinist material. Many underground periodicals now refuse to take ads that exploit women.

Political experience has forced the underground press to pay more attention to political activity. Currently, most of the underground press leans towards a sensationalistic ultraleftism.

However, some underground papers veer away from revolutionary politics towards liberalism. The April 7 *East Village Other* (New York), for example, carries a lengthy sympathetic account of Bella Abzug's "peace" campaign to unseat incumbent New York Congressman Leonard Farbstein in the Democratic Party primaries.

Among the politically more interesting underground publications are the following:

● *The Old Mole* (Boston), founded by SDS members, has always been very consciously political. It derives its name from the same quotation from Marx as does the British *Red Mole*: "We recognize our old friend, our old mole, who knows so well how to work underground, suddenly to appear: the revolution."

● *The Other Voice* (Shreveport, La.) has reprinted several articles from *The Militant*, including articles by Derrick Morrison on the Panthers, Robert Langston on ecology, and Della Rossa on the Asian-American antiwar movement.

● *Rat* (New York City) was taken over by a women's collective at the beginning of the year. *Rat* has evolved over the course of the past year or so into what may be the most ultraleft underground newspaper in the country. It has increasingly become the mouthpiece and organizing focus for

American Flag Decal

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WATTS, 1965	★ ★ ★ ★ ★
KOREA, 1953	★ ★ ★ ★ ★
USSR, 1918-1920	★ ★ ★ ★ ★
IRAN, 1953	★ ★ ★ ★ ★
LEBANON, 1957	★ ★ ★ ★ ★



Cover cartoon from Oct. 1969 *Old Mole*

numerous ultraleft grouplets and individuals in New York.

● *The Independent Eye* (Cincinnati, Ohio) appears to be a serious radical paper and one of the relatively few not to some extent caught up with the infantile disorder of ultraleftism. The paper carries regular news of women's liberation, Student Mobilization Committee, and Socialist Workers Party activities.

● *Willamette Bridge* (Portland, Oregon) is another one of those underground publications that leans towards Democratic Party politics. The Jan. 30-Feb. 5 issue, for instance, carried several short articles about one or another Democratic Party activity.

(*New Times*, 377 Park Ave. South, N.Y., N.Y. 10016. One year for \$5.75. The *East Village Other*, 105 Second Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10003. One year for \$6. *The Old Mole*, 2 Brookline St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Twenty issues for \$5. *The Red Mole*, 182 Pentonville Road, London N1, England. One dollar for the next 3 issues. *The Other Voice*, c/o Why Not Inc., P.O. Box 3175, Shreveport, La. 71103. One year for \$5. *Rat*, 241 E. 14 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10003. One year for \$6. *The Independent Eye*, P.O. Box 20017, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220. Twenty issues for \$4. *Willamette Bridge*, 522 W. Burnside, Portland, Ore. One year for \$8.

(To be continued.)

—MALACHI CONSTANT

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Washington drops draft case against Puerto Rican youth

By DERRICK MORRISON

In a very dramatic move last week, the U.S. government dropped the charges of draft evasion against Edwin Feliciano Grafals, an activist in the Puerto Rican Federacion Universitaria Pro-Independencia (FUPI), an organization of university students fighting for Puerto Rican independence.

It was Feliciano's conviction and sentencing to a one year prison term on Sept. 26, 1969, that touched off a new stage in the protracted struggle against ROTC at the University of Puerto Rico.

The government's decision to drop the charges against Feliciano represents a significant victory for the pro-independence forces in Puerto Rico because of the implicit recognition that Puerto Ricans cannot be forced to serve in the armed forces of the United States, thus bringing the legal status of Puerto Rico into question.

In fact, the "commonwealth" status of Puerto Rico—which is neither a state nor independent—was the basis

upon which Chief U.S. District Judge Hiram Cancio decided on Jan. 23 to reduce Feliciano's one year sentence to a one hour sentence. Cancio was also the judge who originally handed down the one year sentence.

But Feliciano, who is being represented by the law firm of Rabinowitz, Boudin and Standard, chose to continue the appeal process. Had the U.S. government not decided to drop charges, the appeal would have gone to the Court of Appeals and finally to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Supreme Court would have been faced with ruling not on a draft case, but on the whole question of Puerto Rico's relationship to the United States.

This was the hot potato Judge Cancio was trying to get rid of when he cut Feliciano's sentence to one hour. As part of a statement dealing with the history of Puerto Rico's relationship to the U.S., Judge Cancio said, "Note that I am not saying, nor even suggesting, that the Compact (established between Puerto Rico and the

NYU workers open strike for union recognition

By RANDY FURST

APRIL 23—A strike by campus employees entered its eighth day at New York University as workers continued to picket in front of major university buildings.

Employees are demanding recognition of District 65 of the Wholesale, Retail, Office and Processing Union as their bargaining agent.

Union organizer Monte Wasch estimated that more than 1,000 NYU workers at the downtown campus have walked off their jobs.

Many classrooms were deserted this week as professors cancelled classes in sympathy with the strike.

Teamsters, Wasch said, except for a few mistakes, had not crossed the picket lines. The university has reportedly

had most of its fuel oil supplies cut off. Many students were also respecting campus employees' picket lines.

The strike was triggered when library workers voted unanimously to strike April 17.

Wasch said that the strikers are demanding recognition of District 65 as bargaining agent for all NYU workers who are not faculty and who are not represented by other unions. The demand would encompass secretaries, computer operators, placement counselors, clerks, and a number of other job categories.

Workers in the university post office have also walked off the job. Cafeteria workers staged a wildcat strike April 18.

The United Federation of College Teachers has recommended that faculty join the picket lines, Wasch reported.

"We want union recognition and after we get that we'll start talking about the \$80 a week which is what this school pays," he said in an interview. "They refused to recognize the library unit," he added, "when 70 percent of those workers had joined the union."

President James M. Hester called on university employees to return to work April 18.

His answer came three days later when some 400 library, clerical and placement workers met and voted to continue the strike by a margin of about 10 to 1.



Photo by Michael Hardy

EARTH DAY. Millions of Americans across the nation turned out April 22 in a massive show of opposition to environmental pollution. In New York City, tens of thousands jammed 14th Street (above) where dozens of groups set up booths.

U.S. in 1952) is non-existing or that it is not binding on the parties nor that Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. On the contrary, the Compact does exist. It is binding on both parties. Puerto Rico, we have been led to believe, ceased to be a colony of the United States on July 25, 1952, with the creation of the Commonwealth.

"All I am saying now is that the record regarding the creation of the Commonwealth between 1950 and 1952 is sufficiently dim for a respectable and intelligent person to believe otherwise in good faith and thereby take positions similar to the one taken by the defendant herein; and that clarification of the political relations between Puerto Rico and the United States will do no harm to anyone and will likely do a great deal of good

to the common well-being."

In other words, it is not clear from the 1952 Compact whether the Selective Service Act and similar acts should be extended to Puerto Ricans or not. To clear up the ambiguity, Judge Cancio suggests either action by the governor and legislature of Puerto Rico, or a popular referendum to decide whether the island will abide by such acts and/or continue in the present legal relationship with the U.S.

By dropping the case against Feliciano, the U.S. government has recognized the explosive nature of these issues and decided to try and pretend they have not been raised. But by doing so, the basis has been laid for Puerto Ricans to refuse to enter the U.S. Army. Already there are 95 Puerto Rican youths awaiting trial on draft evasion.

Cubans snuff 'invasion' of Gusano mercenaries

By HARRY RING

NEW YORK, April 23—According to a report received here, Fidel Castro informed the Cuban people last night that an invading exile group had been smashed.

On April 17, the ninth anniversary of the ill-fated U.S.-organized invasion of Cuba, some 40 exiles tried to land near the northeastern tip of Cuba at Baracoa in Oriente province. They were met by Cuban forces and fighting erupted, with five Cuban soldiers reported killed.

Fidel reportedly announced that as of yesterday only four of the invaders remained at large, with the rest, including the two principal leaders, killed or captured.

It is not yet known if the invaders were actually trying to establish a beachhead or were intercepted trying to make their way to the Sierra Maestra mountains.

An initial Cuban announcement branded the attack as a U.S. attempt to interfere with the present all-out Cuban drive to harvest ten million tons of sugar.

In his report last night, which was included in a major speech celebrating the Lenin centenary, Fidel charged that the invaders had sailed to Bar-

coa from the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo, a relatively short distance away.

Credit for the landing was taken by Alpha 66, one of the U.S.-sponsored exile groups operating out of Miami.

The attack was one more incident in the continuing U.S. effort to smash the revolution. In addition to trying to starve out the Cuban people with an economic blockade, a constant U.S. military threat has been used to force Cuba to allocate a major part of its limited resources for military defense.

Thus far, neither the military threat nor economic hardship has impaired the Cuban will, or capacity, to resist.

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ATTENTION!

Special educational conferences and other activities are scheduled around the country for the May Day weekend. See calendar on page 6 for information on events taking place in the Bay Area, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles and New York.