

THE MILITANT

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Firsthand report from Trinidad

—see page 16—

Antiwar forces move into action against Cambodia escalation

APRIL 30—In dozens of American cities massive emergency demonstrations have been called as the immediate response of the American people to the major new escalation of U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia.

Intense anger and outrage over the crimes being committed in the name of the American people by the U.S. rulers was voiced before Nixon went on radio and television to spew forth his 1984 doubletalk about “war is peace” and “escalation is withdrawal.” Even before millions of Americans sat and listened in horror as Nixon cold-bloodedly ordered the brutal slaughter of thousands of innocent Vietnamese, Cambodians and American GIs, the reaction to the first news of the qualitative new escalation of the war was decisive.

The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam issued an immediate call to all antiwar forces — young and old, civilian and GI—to unite in building massive emergency demonstrations in every city and town, on every campus, in every high school—demanding a total halt to all military action and the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

The SMC has also called for major actions across the country on Memorial Day, May 30, to administer a massive and decisive rebuff to the U.S. rulers.

The mood of the American people, their overwhelming revulsion at the actions ordered in their name, has also been reflected in the public response to Nixon’s speech. It was greeted with scathing denunciations by the dissenting sectors of the American ruling class and their spokesmen such as the New York Times, and dozens of senators. Faced with a major intensification of the war and the inevitable reaction of the American people who have over and over demonstrated their deep hatred for the war in Indochina, the differences among America’s rulers have once again been profoundly intensified.

The job of the antiwar movement is to deepen that split, to intensify the pressure, to force a halt in the slaughter and destruction.

The import of the decision of the Nixon administration should not be underestimated. He will send substantial numbers of American troops and materiel into Cambodia to “clean out” what he described as the central headquarters of the Vietnamese revolution-

ary forces, and to shore up the rotten, crumbling military dictatorship installed there by U.S. design less than two months ago. This represents a decisive turning point in the war equivalent in political magnitude to Johnson’s 1964 decision to bomb North Vietnam.

It reveals the Nixon “Vietnamization” plan in its true light—not “disengagement” but deepening and spreading war. Not “freedom and democracy” but military dictatorship sustained by genocidal measures. Not peace but massive military intervention by the U.S.

The Nixon program is revealed in all its clarity as the exact same program for which Johnson was run out of office by the American people more than two years ago.

Nixon’s move is a calculated one, a repetition of the step-by-step escalation pattern followed by the Johnson administration.

And further steps will be taken unless the American people themselves immediately and unequivocally repudiate the current ominous step.

But today is not the day the Tonkin Resolution was passed. It is six bloody and brutal years of war later. And the American people cannot be so easily convinced that the road to peace is through deeper war.

Nixon must and will be shown that he has seriously miscalculated the mood of the American people, that they will not permit him to continue the aggression, slaughter and destruction in their name.

The antiwar movement has a crucial responsibility to meet at this decisive turning point in the history of U.S. aggression in Indochina. The ever deepening antiwar sentiment of the American people must be mobilized in massive united actions demanding the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia. It must be mobilized in the streets where it cannot be ignored. By its massive character it must be a decisive rejection of the American rulers and their new war plans.

All out now in emergency actions!

Build the demonstration May 30 in every town and city, on every campus, and in every high school! Bring the troops home now!

Ranks demand union defend strikers

Newark teachers put heat on defeatist leadership

Newark, N.J.

Several weeks ago the "National picket line" column of *The Militant* mentioned the fact that Betty Rufalo, vice president of the Newark Teachers Union, had gone to jail as a result of our recent strike. I thought you might be interested in the "inside story" behind the jailing of Mrs. Rufalo.

The union entered the strike with a sharp division of the executive committee as to tactics and strategy. This division carried over to the question of the defense of the 200 arrested teachers, most of whom have been sentenced to 10 day jail terms. The right-wing, pro-Albert Shanker forces who had opposed collaboration with the Black community during the strike is now attempting to scuttle the defense efforts of the arrested teachers. We have been informed that we should go to jail without an effective defense.

The 200 arrested teachers saw the court cases as a way of mobilizing wide sections of labor to force the legalization of strikes by public employees. Those leaders who saw the court cases as a bother to be dispensed with quickly were resoundingly defeated at a meeting which saw the membership force through a motion for a defense committee. This committee is now drawing up plans for an effective defense policy based on joint labor action to legalize public employee strikes.

Most of the executive committee members who were willing to abandon the defense have now backed down. Six of the seven arrested executive members have dropped plans to go to jail "voluntarily" as a symbolic gesture. This leaves Betty Rufalo, a leader of the pro-Shanker forces in the union exec, as the only one of the 200 to go to jail on her own. She remained adamant that teachers could not attack the laws themselves.

The heat is definitely on in the union, with two rival slates competing for the union elections next month. Already the vote seems clear—in fact, the union organizer, a leader of the Shanker forces, has already said that he is looking for a new job.

Nat London

A correction

Chicago, Ill.

In reference to the articles in *The Militant* about the Vietnamese Studies Center on the Southern Illinois U campus, you have been referring to Wesley Fishel as the director of the Center. Fishel is a "visiting professor," not director. Milton Sacks is being considered as a replacement for Fishel.

Salm

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.

Liked April 15 issue

Philadelphia, Pa.

I would like to congratulate you on *The Militant* distributed at the April 15 rallies. It had an attractive cover on the war. It included the contents box on the front page, and the socialist directory. It contained sub boxes for *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review* and a box for information on the YSA. Every major area—antiwar, Black liberation, Chicano liberation, women's liberation, labor, and the Middle East—was included.

Marc Bedner

Post office working conditions important issue

San Francisco, Calif.

The Militant's articles on the Post Office were very well written, but I believe that while pay increases are important, to say the least, nevertheless more attention should have been given to the working conditions prevalent in many of the buildings in which the mail is handled. Pay and workloads are important matters, but safety factors and medical facilities should also be of concern.

E.M.J.

An exchange with a 'socialist Zionist'

Providence, R.I.

Since *The Militant* consistently sees fit to give half-truthful reports on the situation in the Middle East, and particularly in Israel, the "Letters" department seems to be the only possible area for correction. Your article dealing with the Israeli government's refusal to respond to the mission of Nachum Goldmann and the subsequent militant demonstration against the government (*The Militant*, April 17) had one major flaw. You claim that the demonstration consisted of

youths representing the non-Zionist Israeli left. That is a blatant lie. The demonstration was called for by the Zionist Mapam Party, and its major participants came from Mapam, its youth cadres, and the Zionist Communist Party, Maki. In the same manner, Mapam initiated and carried through almost unilaterally another recent demonstration protesting the Meir government's encouragement of settlement of Israelis in Hebron on the West Bank. That demonstration, too, consisted of about 800 persons—80,000 relative to the population of the U.S. While the parties and groups mentioned in the article were present, they did not come close to a majority of the participants. The Israeli Zionist left is not inactive, although severe criticism may be made of it. It is still, by far, the most forceful progressive voice in the Middle East.

It is impossible to begin a critique of the series on Israel by Nathan Weinstock (April 10, 17, 24 and May 1) here. However, it would seem that *The Militant*, as a revolutionary socialist paper, has the responsibility to provide ample rebuttal space to socialist-Zionists; that is, if you are at all confident of the validity of your arguments.

Jonathan Brandow
National Steering Committee
Radical Zionist Alliance

[What Jonathan Brandow calls a "blatant lie" is not to be found in *The Militant's* story on the April 8 Jerusalem demonstration. Our correspondent did not estimate how many members of Zionist organizations participated in the demonstration. He only reported that all "groups to the left of the Zionist parties" (italics added) were represented. While it was not explicitly stated in the story, an important feature of the action was precisely that it did draw young people who still regard themselves as Zionists into a militant protest against Zionist policy.

[As for the claim that the "demonstration was called for by the Zionist Mapam Party," Brandow should consult the Mapam secretariat's April 13 statement on the action. According to the April 20 *Jerusalem Post* (Weekly Overseas Edition), the secretariat "described the demonstration as 'an act of provocation by the organizers from the New Left, Matzpen (the revolutionary, anti-Zionist Israeli Socialist Organization) and Rakah (the largely Arab-based Communist Party), aimed at drawing maximum publicity. This fringe group in fact undermines the struggle for peace and security in this country.'"

[Of course, what makes the Mapam bureaucrats so uptight is precisely that the demonstration did attract a number of "their own" youth and that a distressing number of young people of Mapam-affiliated Kibbutzim are joining the Israeli Socialist Organization.

[It is rather odd that Jonathan Brandow addresses a plea for "rebuttal space" to an anti-Zionist, socialist paper with a small circulation and almost no money, when virtually the entire capitalist-controlled mass media in the country is pro-Zionist. The company he keeps may make Brandow, a "socialist-Zionist," uneasy, but that is the fact. To the extent that *The Militant's* meager resources allow, we have maintained an extensive dialogue, but our first and foremost obligation is to explain the anti-Zionist position to as many Americans as we can reach. The Zionists have plenty of resources of their own.

[There are several immediate steps Jonathan Brandow can take to encourage a free and open discussion of Middle East issues if he so desires. Arie Bober, a spokesman for the Israeli Socialist Organization, is currently on a national speaking tour of the United States. As was reported in the

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Editor: HARRY RING
Managing Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: FLAX HERMES

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Closing news date—April 30

April 24 *Militant*, on several occasions small groups of Zionists have attempted to disrupt Bober's meetings; in some cases people who regard themselves as "socialist-Zionists" have been among the disrupters. As a first step, Brandow could publicly denounce these attempts at disruption; he could call on his comrades in the Radical Zionist Alliance to do everything they can to see that there is no further repetition of these incidents; he could urge RZA members and supporters to attend Bober's meetings and engage in serious discussion. — Editor.]

Learning fast

Millbrook, N. Y.

In a school [Millbrook School for Boys] of 170 boys, we got over 70 to abstain from meals Monday and Tuesday, money to be contributed to victims of war in Vietnam.

We are running the gauntlet of teachers and administration, taunts, etc., and we have made some mistakes, but we are learning. This is a sick boys' school, but a number of boys are learning fast these days.

Yours for a better world.

S. A.

Florida ban on YSA challenged

Tallahassee, Fla.

YSA has recently been banned from Florida's campuses. We have been denied use of university facilities under our own name. The state power structure has now gone even farther than last year's banning of SDS. Now, we cannot publicize meetings in the student newspaper or even by leaflet.

We are passing around a petition supporting our right to use university facilities. Four hundred people signed up the first two days. At the same time, we have joined with the FSU student government in bringing suit against the board of regents for violation of constitutional rights.

Brett Merkey
Sue Em Davenport

The old Militant wrapper—gone

The *Militant* is now being mailed without wrappers in order to facilitate the processing of our growing subscription lists.

Any subscriber who wishes to receive a wrapped copy of *The Militant* should notify The *Militant* business office and enclose \$1.00 to cover the additional mailing costs.

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 _____

Radicalism has impact on Calif. MAPA parley

FRESNO, Calif. — The statewide endorsement convention of MAPA (Mexican-American Political Association), meeting over the April 18 weekend, endorsed candidates for a number of offices in the California June 2 primary, confirming their continuing support to the Democratic Party.

The gathering was not unaffected, however, by the younger and more militant Chicanos who favor a break with the two capitalist parties. An indication of this was the reception given Jose Angel Gutierrez, the 25-year-old founder and organizer of La Raza Unida Party in Crystal City, Texas. Gutierrez's address was one of the highlights of the MAPA convention. He related how they had broken from both the Democratic and Republican parties and formed an independent Chicano party.

People at first were pessimistic, he said, thinking it couldn't be done, but

La Raza Unida Party conclusively proved the vitality of that strategy when they swept the school board elections a few weeks ago in Crystal City. Gutierrez, the new president of the school board, stressed that the time for independent political action by Chicanos is now. He received a standing ovation from the 174 delegates representing about 25 cities in California, and a collection raised several hundred dollars for La Raza Unida Party.

There was a substantial gap, however, between applauding Gutierrez and carrying out his advice. Liberal Democratic representative George Brown received an overwhelming endorsement as did several Democratic Mexican-American candidates. In the race for attorney general, Chief Deputy Atty. Gen. Charles A. O'Brien, Democrat, received 97 votes for endorsement. Froben Lozada, who is the head of the Chicano studies department at Merritt College in Oakland, and Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general, received 20 votes. Dr. Julian Nava, candidate for superintendent of public instruction and a long-time supporter of liberal Democrats, received an overwhelming 147 votes. Antonio Camejo, Socialist Workers Party endorsed candidate for the same office, received 5 votes.

Before the nominations had been voted on, a local chapter of the Brown Berets entered the hall and demanded that the conference call for a complete break with both Democrats and Republicans, in addition to other demands. They called for a suspension of the rules to discuss these proposals before any nominations took place. Thirty-three voted for suspension with 29 voting for continuing with the set procedure. However, the 33 votes did not meet the two-thirds required, and no discussion took place. The Berets

then walked out of the convention.

Ricardo Romo, gubernatorial candidate of the California Peace and Freedom Party, received the convention's endorsement. He won 92 votes, with 43 going to Democrat Jesse Unruh. In his presentation, Romo called for a break with both parties and the formation of an independent Chicano party.

Both Nava and Camejo addressed a MAPA luncheon for a half hour each. The press completely blacked-out Camejo's controversial presentation. Camejo began by stating, "I am not here to say those things guaranteed to get me votes at this convention. I am here to express what in my opinion is the problem we face." His attacks on the two-party system, and particularly on liberal Democrats, brought angry heckling from some members of the predominantly middle-aged, middle-class audience, but clearly won the sympathy of the younger Chicanos who were present (It was the young delegates who nominated and seconded both Froben Lozada and Antonio Camejo.)

Camejo ended by saying, "If I am to win the endorsement of MAPA, let it be not simply because I am Raza, but because you agree that the time is long overdue to break all ties with the two parties and create the only path of our liberation, an independent Chicano political party."

The convention seemed convinced that Dr. Nava was the only Mexican-American candidate capable of "winning." Many argued "we can win with Nava!" If Nava does indeed win, which at this point is doubtful, it will mean



Photo by John Gray

Antonio Camejo

little to the Chicano community if we can judge from his past record. While serving on the Los Angeles school board, he supported Democrat Thomas Bradley, an Afro-American, for mayor. In the midst of this election campaign, thousands of Black and Chicano youth walked out of the L.A. schools demanding student rights and protesting the lack of relevant education. Bradley called for the use of "as much force as is necessary" to bring the situation "under control." Dr. Nava continued to support Bradley.

Last week, with the outbreak of the Los Angeles teachers strike, Dr. Nava joined Reagan and Rafferty in questioning the "legality" of the strike. At best, he has called for "meeting the teachers half-way."

The youth have been especially critical of Dr. Nava's stand on the war in Vietnam. He has refused to call for immediate withdrawal of troops or to express his solidarity with the Chicano Moratorium. Instead, he talks about our "commitments" overseas. He also claims to represent "all the people," (Continued on page 14)



Froben Lozada

Seattle Liberation Front 8 face 'conspiracy' frame-up

By STEPHANIE COONTZ

SEATTLE, April 20 — On April 16, eight members of the Seattle Liberation Front were arrested on charges of conspiring to destroy federal property. The charges grew out of a Feb. 17 support demonstration for the Chicago conspiracy defendants during which a number of windows at the court house were broken. Although many groups including the Young Socialist Alliance had expressed opposition to the tactics and organization of the original demonstration, all of them have united in

the face of these conspiracy charges.

The timing of the arrests was clearly provocative. The Justice Department overruled local authorities who wished the arrests to be delayed until after the antiwar march scheduled for April 18, in order to make the arrests the 16th.

In response, the Student Mobilization Committee issued a statement charging that the Justice Department was attempting to provoke violence at the April 18 march and pledging that the marchers would not fall into this trap. SLF spokesmen reiterated this statement at a press conference the next day.

Since the arrests, there have been a number of coalition meetings of groups interested in defense work. There is a good deal of disagreement over whether to build a united-front campaign against the charges or to tie defense work to acceptance of all the Seattle Liberation Front's politics. But so far the united-front perspective has dominated. The Young Socialist Alliance, the Independent Socialists, and a number of other groups around the state have issued support statements. On Friday, April 17, the SMC turned over part of its strike activities to a defense rally for the SLF defendants pointing out that the conspiracy charges are an attempt to intimidate all leaders of the movement by holding them responsible for any actions which may occur at demonstrations they organized, even if such actions were caused by police provocateurs.

Contributions may be sent to: Seattle Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 1984, Main Post Office, Seattle, Wn. 98111.

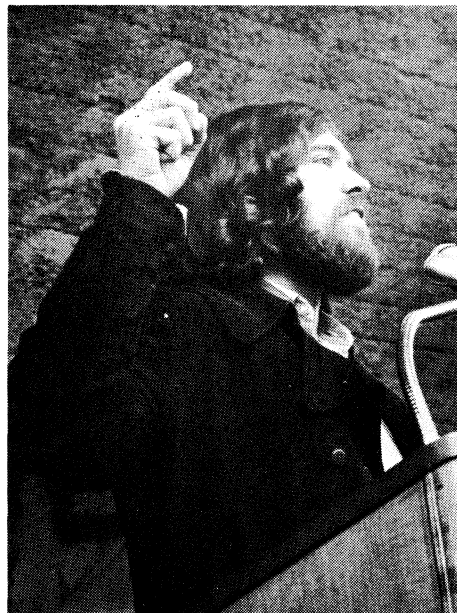


Photo by Dave Bannister

Michael Lerner of Seattle Liberation Front speaking at April 18 antiwar rally.

Palestine support demo called for Boston, May 15

A demonstration in support of the Palestinian resistance movement has been called for May 15, the Israeli day of independence, in front of the Israeli consulate in Boston, 437 Boylston Street. The demonstration, which will begin at 11:30 a.m., is being called by a coalition of American, Arab, Israeli and other Middle Eastern students who have been active in building demonstrations and teach-ins in support of the Palestinian struggle.

The coalition announced its plans at a Third World Teach-In, April 11-12, at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, which dealt primarily with the Palestinian liberation movement. Among the more than a dozen invited speakers were Dr. Hisham Sharabi, author and professor at Georgetown University; Dr. Elias Shoufani, a Palestinian who lived under Zionist occupation and is now a professor at the University of Maryland; and Emmanuel Dror, a Jewish member of the Israeli Socialist Organization.

The teach-in, which attracted around 400 people, also discussed the liberation movements in other parts of the world.

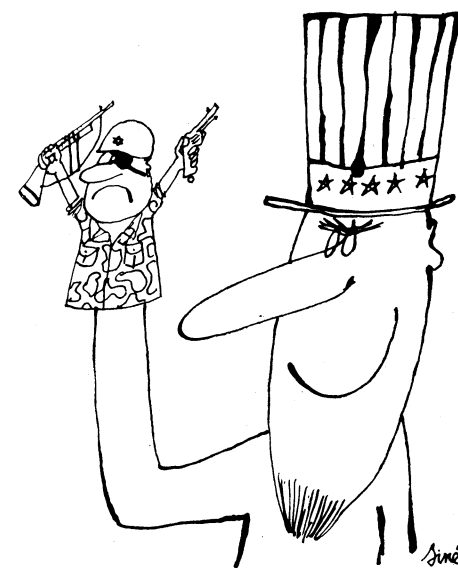
Other participants included Dr. Nasee Aruri of Northeastern University; Palestinian artist Kamal Boullata; Rita Freed of the Committee for Middle East Liberation; Christopher Nete, a student from South Africa; Peter Buch of the Socialist Workers Party; Ivanhoe Donaldson and Mike Thelwell of the Black Studies Program at the U of Massachusetts; and SWP candidates Jon Rothschild (for lieutenant governor of New York) and Miguel Padilla (for N. Y. attorney general).

WASHINGTON, D. C. — A talk by

Stokely Carmichael was a highlight of the Palestine week events April 7-9 at George Washington University in Washington, D. C. At a hastily organized meeting of 1,500 students, Carmichael compared the plight of the Palestinians to that of the Blacks in South Africa and the Indians of North America who were also confronted with expansionist settler-states.

A panel the final evening on the topic "Palestine: A Democratic, Secular State" was attended by 350 persons. Participants included Dr. Shoufani, Dr. Sharabi and Emmanuel Dror.

Dror stated that a clear analysis of the Zionist state must be based on an understanding of capitalism and that only a socialist revolution in Palestine and throughout the Arab world can guarantee a peaceful future for Arabs and Jews alike.



In Brief

By RANDY FURST

MAJOR VICTORY: Roger Priest, the publisher of the antiwar newspaper **OM**, scored a major victory April 27 when a Navy court sitting in Washington handed the sailor a bad conduct discharge, a reprimand, and a demotion to E-1 following his conviction for "promoting disloyalty and disaffection." The prosecution had been demanding the maximum sentence—six years in prison and a dishonorable discharge—in order to "set an example" to other antiwar activists in the armed services. Priest vowed to appeal the sentence saying, "I don't feel what I've done is bad conduct, and I should not be discharged."

SCORE CARD: The U.S. Command in Saigon announced April 22 the loss of four American planes over Laos and three helicopters in South Vietnam, one of the highest aircraft tolls reported for any single day in the war. . . . **REFERENDUM ON WAR:** Students at Florida State University in Tallahassee voted on the Vietnam war last month. Results: 1,025 for immediate unconditional withdrawal; 555 against.

NEWTON PAROLE DENIED: Huey Newton, Black Panther Party minister of defense, was denied parole April 22 by the California Adult Authority. Newton is serving his second year of a 15 year term on framed-up charges of killing a policeman. He is currently imprisoned at the California men's correctional institution in San Luis Obispo. Reported reason for denial of parole was because Newton "refused to cooperate" with prison officials. Newton has said that unless the officials pay inmates minimum wages, he will not work at the prison. Prison wages now range from 3 to 17 cents an hour.

PANTHERS STATE CASE: The Black Panther 21's statement to Judge Murtagh, detailing their frame-up (published in *The Militant* March 13 and 20) is now available on tape from Radio Free People for use by movement groups. Prices on reels run \$7.60 for tapes recorded at 7 1/2 IPS, \$5.50 for tapes at 3 3/4 IPS, and \$5.00 on cassettes. Write or call RFP, 133 Mercer St., New York, N.Y. 10012; phone: 212-966-6729. . . . **SOCIALIST CONFAB IN ATLANTA:** A large successful Southwide Socialist Conference was held in Atlanta at Emory University April 4 and 5, sponsored by the YSA. Participants included activists from SMC, Women's Liberation Group, YSA, SWP, SDS, Spartacist League, RYM, Movement for a Democratic Society, the Great Speckled Bird staff and several trade unions. Some 142 radicals from six southern states attended. . . . **UP TIGHT:** The Government is considering whether to prohibit protesters from demonstrating in D.C.'s Lafayette Sq., the Ellipse, and the sidewalk in front of the White House, the *New York Post* reported April 23. A Treasury Dept. official said that demonstrations farther from the area would give police more reaction time to mobilize if a mob suddenly tried to invade the White House.

COFFIN AND GOODMAN FREE: There is no longer a Boston 5. The U.S. district court in Boston dropped charges April 22 against the last two, Rev. William Sloane Coffin and Mitchell Goodman, convicted in June 1968 along with Dr. Benjamin Spock and Michael Ferber for conspiracy to counsel draft evasion. Spock and Ferber have already had their decisions reversed on appeal. The fifth man, Marcus Raskin, was acquitted at the original trial in 1968. . . . **ORGANIZING AT FT. GRIS-SOM:** Dissent in the Army keeps building. Ft. Grissom GIs United for Peace in Indiana held an

organizational meeting in March. The meeting went off as scheduled. However, the brass continues to harass the activists. Tom Keller and Sam Hunt, founders of the base antiwar newspaper, *Aero-spaced*, have been taken off their regular jobs. Three new members of GIs United have been re-assigned from jobs as highly trained electronic specialists to coal shoveling and painting details.

FOR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL: The City Council of Gary, Ind., passed a resolution April 7 calling on the President and the Congress to adopt measures for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam, Laos and Thailand. . . . **OFF AND RUNNING:** Members of the YSA are running for student government posts in numerous states this spring. Campaigns are underway at Cal State in Los Angeles, San Francisco State, Utah State in Logan, Georgia State University in Atlanta, Clark University in Worcester, Mass., Kent State in Ohio, and the University of Washington in Seattle. Campaigns are part of YSA's "Red University" strategy.

LINDA EVANS ARRESTED: The FBI has arrested Linda Evans, one of 12 Weathermen indicted for conspiracy to riot at the Chicago demonstrations last October. She was arrested in New York's East Village. **"KEEPMARXOFF EARTH":** That's the title of a *Daily News* editorial April 19 on upcoming Earth Day. "The Marxists' notion is that you should stage riots against big industry, burn banks as symbols of what's called the Establishment . . ." says the *News*. "That is dangerous nonsense. What all of us should do . . . is adopt as a slogan the title of an old hymn: 'Brighten the Corner Where You Are.' This means: join clean-up and conservation movements that have positive goals and use constructive methods. Keep your own sidewalk clean, and your own backyard . . ." And above all, don't let the Marxists with their negative nihilism take over the U.S. antipollution movement. That could be suicidal. We mean nationally suicidal." . . . **CHANGING TIMES:** The Negro American Labor Council has changed its name to the National Afro-American Labor Council. The *Negro Digest* is changing its name to *Black World*.

TORTURE TECHNIQUES REPORTED: Administering electrical shocks to suspected members of the National Liberation Front is standard operating procedure for U.S. counterintelligence in Vietnam, a former U.S. counterintelligence officer told a New York City press conference April 14. "The technique of electrical torture," as former 1st Lt.



Michael J. Uhl described it, was part of the information revealed at the news conference organized by the National Committee for a Citizens' Commission of Inquiry on U.S. War Crimes in Vietnam. Other Vietnam veterans spoke at a similar press conference the same day in Los Angeles.

TRIAL POSTPONED: A Federal court has agreed to hear complaints that officials in Munfordville, Ky., have conspired to violate free press rights. As a result, the trial of Martha Allen and Mike Honey, two SCEF organizers facing trumped-up charges of jury tampering has been postponed. . . . **NEWARK CAMPAIGN:** The *Village Voice* has run two highly informative articles in its April 16 and 23 issues on the mayoralty campaign in Newark where three Black candidates are in the race. . . . **BAD NOTION:** "We must get away from the notion that the democratic process is designed to bring perfection," Postmaster General Winton Blount told a national fraternity convention last week. "It is designed to permit improvement."

Fla. antiwar appeal

A nationwide defense effort is underway for the 14 demonstrators arrested at the April 18 march and rally in St. Petersburg, Fla. The peaceful demonstration of more than 1,000 was brutally attacked by at least 100 cops.

The assault on the demonstration came when a rally speaker, University of Florida education instructor, Robert Canney, was arrested for "obscenity." (He allegedly used the word "goddamn.") Groups of four or five cops singled out individuals in the crowd and then proceeded to arrest and beat them.

Bail for those arrested was originally set at \$1,000 each, but when the money necessary for their release had been collected, bail for most was raised to \$10,000 each.

Defense committees have been set up in Miami, Tampa, St. Petersburg, Orlando, Gainesville, and Tallahassee. Attorney Benjamin Smith, a prominent civil liberties attorney from New Orleans, is handling the case.

Funds are urgently needed to carry on the defense fight. Contributions should be sent to the Florida Antiwar Coalition Defense Fund, Box 13107 University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

HEAVY SENTENCES IN COLUMBIA: Three activists who worked at the UFO Coffeehouse in Columbia, S.C., were sentenced to six years at hard labor April 28 on charges of operating a public nuisance. The jury deliberated less than an hour and a half. The three defendants were R. Duane Ferre of Rochester, N.Y., William Balk of Columbia, and Leonard Cohen of Valley Stream, L.I. The prosecution's chief witnesses were four local drug pushers. Yet, none of the prosecution witnesses alleged that the defendants had dealt in drugs. A military informer testified for the defense that he had gone to the coffeehouse for three months, four days a week, to get someone to buy drugs but he was unable to interest anyone in buying. Despite the shoddy case, the convictions were handed down. Some 48 motions for a new trial were denied. An appeal is planned. Contributions to aid the coffeehouse project can be sent to UFO Offense Committee, 2319 Park St., Columbia, S.C. Contributions towards the defense should be sent to the Southern Regional Office, American Civil Liberties Union, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga.

SUBTLE LYRICS: At its 79th "Continental Congress" in Washington, D.C., April 20-24 the Daughters of the American Revolution were in top form. One resolution, entitled "Marxist-Socialist-Communist-Manipulation of Youth" was adopted by the congress, and stated that the program to overthrow the country includes "'Rock Festivals' characterized by music of hypnotic rhythm and subtle lyrics tending to break down moral restraints and to expose the young to the dangers of communal living and illicit sex . . ."

FEMALE LIBERATION CONFERENCE: A Southern Female Liberation Meeting is scheduled for Mt. Beulah, Edwards, Miss. May 8-10. The meeting, open to all females, begins at 7 p.m., May 8. Registration is \$11. The meeting will include panel discussions, workshops, and a number of presentations. For further information, write Southern Female Rights Union, Box 30087, Lafayette Sq. Station, New Orleans, La. 70130, or call 504-522-2922. . . . **HEARING IN D.C.:** The U.S. Supreme Court held a hearing April 20 on the appeal of Joe Mulloy, the SCEF organizer who is under a 5 year prison sentence for refusing to be drafted. . . . **BACK FROM HANOI:** Three activists in the U.S. peace movement have returned from North Vietnam. They were Prof. Noam Chomsky, Prof. Douglas Dowd, and Richard Fernandez of the Committee for Clergymen and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam.

ACLU SUIT TURNED DOWN: A suit filed by the ACLU demanding that an injunction be brought to prohibit the continued surveillance by the Army of civilian activity was dismissed by a U.S. district judge in Washington April 22. The judge said the military has the right to know which Americans might cause disturbances "and to keep an eye on them." An appeal is planned.

(Contributors to this week's report include Bret Merkey, Sue Em Davenport, Tallahassee; Liberation News Service, N.Y.; Dennis Edge, Atlanta.)

The 'Crazy Wilheminas'

Dutch women form liberation group

By ANDREA ROOD

The following article by a Flemish sister originally appeared in the April 11, 1970, issue of the Belgian revolutionary socialist weekly, *La Gauche*. It deals in part with a Dutch women's liberation group, the *Dolle Mina's*, or *Crazy Mina's*, which has recently been receiving some publicity in the European press. It is of particular interest to activists in the women's liberation movement in the U.S. and Canada because of the similarity it reveals between the thinking, analysis and demands advanced by our European sisters and the discussions we have had in the women's liberation movement here. The translation is by David Thorstad.

* * *

For several months now the movement for women's liberation has been coming back into the fore in the Netherlands. The name "Dolle Mina's" is a play on words based on Wilhelmina Drucker, who played an important role in the feminist movement at the beginning of the century. Made up primarily of women students and young intellectuals, the tendency is still strongly tinged with the experiences of the left-wing student movements in Holland. The convention of the "Dolle Mina's," which was held last weekend, demonstrated this.

A similar movement has developed very rapidly in Flanders. Here, too, the movement could assume a very broad scope.

"Crazy Wilhelminas"—Why?

The situation of women in our society differs fundamentally from that of all other social groups. This is because they do not live in isolated groups but, to put it quite simply, comprise one-half of the human race.

Woman's role is a specific and irreplaceable one, and because of that she can not be exploited in the same way as other oppressed groups.

Socially, economically and politically, her position is both a central and a marginal one. It is precisely this combination (of the indispensable and the marginal) that has created this confused and perplexing situation regarding the problems of women. The structure of the family, just like woman's "nature," is considered "natural,"

whereas it is, in fact, a product of culture. The nature of the family is every bit as changeable as the role of woman. It is the prevailing social norms that determine the functions of the family and of women. The incorporation of women's and children's work into production at the period of beginning industrialization showed that in a society where the family and the role of women are glorified, so to speak, daily reality proves the exact opposite.

In neocapitalist society, too, women make up a reserve army of labor for production and can thus be hired or fired at will, depending on the needs of the moment. The myth of the woman as an "irreplaceable foster mother in the education of children" is carefully maintained so that it can be especially emphasized when the economic conjuncture calls for it.

Because of this alienating situation, large numbers of women have felt a sense of uneasiness and confusion. They are torn between on the one hand choosing a profession—in other words, directly participating in the life of society—and, on the other hand, fulfilling their "duty" as a mother.

This contradiction, which is skillfully manipulated by the ruling ideology of capitalism, leads most women, once they are married and mothers, to leave society in order to withdraw into their neat little world—the household.

This "neat little world," thrust upon women as a romantic fulfillment for their life, is generally given the lie by the daily reality of life after marriage. Yet meanwhile, the women's magazines continue to present the outside world with a most glittering view of the life of women in the home.

Precisely because of this they feel the loss of any romantic attitude toward the family as a personal failure, and they artificially try to maintain the deception in the eyes of others. The result is that for many men the woman is counted as a private possession in exchange for which he offers material security.

Many women are frustrated by this state of affairs, which is the direct cause of many neurotic and psychosomatic disturbances.

The situation is certainly no better

obtain ballot status for the 1970 elections. Although the United Citizens collected more than the required number of signatures, they were unable to meet the deadline for filing and therefore will not appear on the 1970 ballot. However, the party expects to be on the 1972 ballot.

John Harper, president of UCP, said in respect to this, "It will be a long, hard struggle to build this party. Part of this building process is building a base in the grass roots of our communities, which the UCP has achieved some success in through its participation in grass roots organizations like Blacks United for Action. The party can't move without this base."

Future plans for the party are to maintain its work in the Black community, continue to build a base, and prepare for the 1972 elections. The UCP would like to make links with other groups and individuals in terms of exchanging experiences. Their address is: United Citizens Party, 2022 Taylor St., Columbia, S. C. 29204.

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Mr. McLean is a graduate of Phillips Academy at Andover, Mass., and the University of North Carolina. His father heads the Fashion Sewing Circle, which opens next week in Wellesley, Mass., as a center to teach design and couture sewing to women.

William J. Stolze, board chairman of R. F. Communications, and Mrs. Stolze have announced the engagement of their daughter, Miss Margaret Stolze, to Arthur Bernstein, son of Mr. and Mrs. Jack L. Bernstein of Cedarhurst, L. I. The wedding is planned for August.

Miss Stolze is a senior at the University of Rochester, where her fiancé expects to receive a Master of Business Administration degree in June. He is an honors graduate of Cornell University.

Mr. Stolze also is on the faculty of Rochester's Graduate School of Business Administration. The father of the future bridegroom is vice president of Cantor, Fitzgerald & Co., investment bankers in New York and Beverly Hills, Calif.

...vania, and is working for a doctorate at Tulane University in New Orleans, where he is stationed as an enlisted man with the Naval Reserve. He is a member of the American Stock Exchange, the New York Mercantile Exchange and the National Stock Exchange.

a portrait neckline a sleeves, is the daug Mrs. W. F. Mittend Bernardsville and C. bald Canham of A Wis.

Her stepfather, fo years an official of hard Industries, was ly named president of Eng hard Enterprises, Inc., a new holding company. Her father, a retired commander in the British Navy, is a vice presi dent in charge of internation al operations for the Kimber ly-Clark Corporation.

John Nuese escorted his twin to the altar. She was given in marriage by her father, who owns the Hayloft, an antiquarian bookshop in Cornwall. The bridegroom's father, who is retired, was formerly publisher of The Rome Daily American and a vice president of the Bankers Trust Company.

The bride wore a long-sleeved gown of ivory satin and a floor-length veil of illusion. Her pearl necklace was a wedding gift from her husband, whom she refers to as "Lanny." She carried gardenias.

Mrs. Joan Connelley Field was matron of honor and Miss Julia S. Thorne, sister of the bridegroom, was the bridesmaid.

The ring bearer was Marshall Field Jr., 3-year-old son of the matron of honor and Mr. Field, publisher of The Chicago Sun-Times and The Chicago Daily News.

Graphic by Anne Dockery/LNS

for the woman who works. Not only is she paid less for her work, with the exception of city and state institutions, but she is also immediately confronted with a whole series of discriminatory practices. In case of an oversupply of personnel, she is the first to be fired, and for no other reason than her sex. Preference in hiring still always goes to the man, even where the woman is as well qualified. She is also kept outside the productive process by the lack of material institutions, like nurseries, kindergartens and child-care centers. There can be no doubt that this state of affairs is willfully maintained.

At first sight, the total incorporation of female labor into the production process would seem to be possible within the capitalist system. Although they are expensive and inadequate, services like laundries, restaurants, nurseries, etc., are becoming increasingly popular. The development of household appliances, frozen foods, etc., seems to be making housework easier.

Yet a series of basic contradictions cannot be overcome within the framework of the capitalist system. The unpaid labor of women is very lucrative for the owners of the means of production. If only a minimal allowance were paid for this work it would considerably shake up the distribution of the national income. The cost of maintaining a family is in fact a hidden tax that falls on the backs of wage earners: a labor force of two people is being paid for with one salary. Moreover, the question arises whether or not the economy is able to expand to the point where it can offer all women normal opportunities for work. In fact, this growth in the service sector has brought with it a kind of "underemployment" in the home (more free time means more pressure to consume, which means that the woman is confronted with the pressure of advertising and new gadgets—cf. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*) but has created only an insignificant number of jobs for women.

As long as this situation exists, women will make up an easily manipulable part of industry's reserve army of labor, one which will be in large part absorbed into the framework of neocapitalism only under very specific circumstances, during a general wartime mobilization, for example.

The general rise in workers' struggles during the past few years has also given a new impetus to the women's liberation movements in various neocapitalist countries. For the moment, the "Dolle Mina's" have become a fad

in the sensationalistic press. Yet this is not a new phenomenon; it is not even a passing craze as the press would have people believe.

It goes back to 1966 when thousands of women at the national weapons factory at Herstal went on strike for 13 weeks around the demand "Equal pay for equal work." This is also the central demand being raised by the "Dolle Mina's," alongside other demands for equal education for boys and girls, more (free) nurseries, free contraceptives as well as the opportunity to get medically-controlled abortions, struggle against the double standard, etc.

The struggle these women will wage will throw even greater light on the contradiction and hypocrisy of our society. Through their own experiences they will learn that they cannot achieve their demands within the framework of existing economic structures, though at the moment all kinds of forces are trying to steer them down already beaten paths. . . .

There can be no doubt, in my opinion, that the necessary structural reforms will require a revolution. Our task is to see to it that the revolution *truly* liberates women. "Socialism is not a guarantee, but a necessary condition, of a worthy life."

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So. Carolina Black party holds statewide meeting

By NORMAN OLIVER

COLUMBIA, S. C. — Fifty people met here April 25 in a statewide meeting of the United Citizens Party, a newly formed Black party, and adopted a platform upon which the party plans to become a major political force in the state.

The program around which they plan to organize the Black community is a very comprehensive one, ranging from demands calling for an end to the war in Vietnam and abolishing the draft to demands for the right to collective bargaining by state employees and a guaranteed minimum income.

The party grew out of the general dissatisfaction in the Black community with both the Democratic and Republican parties. As one participant at the conference explained, "We must form a new party that does in fact serve the people and their needs."

The UCP began in December of last year and had only until March to collect the 10,000 signatures needed to

Earth Day—no capitalist monopoly

By RANDY FURST

NEW YORK — According to reports received by *The Militant*, the capitalist politicians did not have the floor to themselves on Earth Day.

Millions turned out April 22 during a day of rallies, teach-ins and all-day programs across the country.

In some areas, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance intervened heavily, driving home the message that the environmental crisis and capitalism are inextricably woven together.

In Seattle, for example, Senator Henry Jackson got a taste of the mood of the day when he bragged to an audience of 500 high school students about what he had done to get a bill through Congress providing \$500,000 towards ecological reform.

The University of Washington YSA passed out leaflets to the students that cited Jackson's rotten record on ecology and the war, and when the senator peered out over the youthful crowd gathered before him he saw signs that read, "Jackson Kills," and "End Pollution—Stop the War."

Chanted the students: "Ecology in Vietnam!"

Jackson's only response to SMCer Chris Robinson's question on why the senator pushed for the chemical use of defoliants in Vietnam, was a not-so-well received display of rhetorical flag-waving.

He finally left the hall by a back entrance.

Some 3,000 gathered at the Seattle

Center during the evening where Senator Jackson was scheduled to be the featured speaker. But Jackson didn't show.

The main event was a panel discussion including Seattle Mayor Wesley Uhlman and SWP senatorial candidate Bill Massey. Uhlman repeatedly said the reason for the government's lack of pollution control was lack of funds.

"Whenever it's a question of the working people's needs," retorted Massey, "the federal, state and local politicians of the two parties cry they don't have it, but for the war in Vietnam they have \$30 billion a year."

Michigan's liberal senator Philip Hart, up for reelection, got an unusually abrasive reception at Wayne State University in Detroit. Some 7,000 gave an SWP campaign supporter a round of applause when he took a microphone at an outdoor rally after Hart had spoken and read from an SWP "truth kit" which outlines the senator's voting record.

In New York City where hundreds of thousands participated in Earth Day activities, the SWP branch and YSA local sold large amounts of literature and campaign material.

The message from the bourgeois politicians was "clean up your backyard," but the word from the socialists was that "capitalism fouls things up."

The April 24 issue of *The Militant* bore that slogan on the front page and sold more than 1,000 in New York April 22.

A button with the same message plus

"Vote Socialist Workers" was bought by some 600 New Yorkers. And close to 1,000 purchased black balloons with the same anticapitalist reminder printed on them in white letters. *The Militant* business office reported that 108 subscriptions were sold in New York alone.

And the list of similar events around the country goes on — too numerous to report.

But the lessons to be drawn from the day's events were as clear as what the atmosphere will be like under socialism. Rather than hand the issue of the environmental crisis over to the capitalist class and their political

apologists, radicals must intervene. While capitalist politicians seized on an issue they thought would serve as a diversion, they have made a serious mistake. When the teach-ins began in the mid-sixties, politicians, even including state department figures, thought they could contain the rising political sentiment against the war. They were wrong. The environmental crisis is a real and burning issue, is a permanent phenomenon under capitalism, and is an issue that cannot be answered by the capitalist class. As Earth Day demonstrated, potential for an effective, independent mass movement is no pipe dream if radicals take a leading role.



Photo by Harry Ring

SWP campaign literature table at New York's Earth Day demonstration, April 22.

New York educational conference details — see page 11

Calif. youth conference on Black student strategy

By HERMAN FAGG

Calif. SWP candidate for governor

SAN FRANCISCO — The Stanford University and San Francisco State College Black Student Unions have called for a Black Youth Conference to be held May 1-3 at Stanford University. The purpose of this conference is to "go into the closet and talk shop and emerge with a united front," according to the call. The agenda for the two-and-a-half day conference will include Black political action, education, economics, and the war in Vietnam.

This conference comes at a crucial time in the struggle for Black self-determination. The victories and partial victories of 1967-68 over the issue of Black studies programs and departments are under attack from the white supremacist educational institutions through reactionary measures on the part of legislatures, governors and school administrators. On those campuses where not even partial victory was achieved, victimization followed.

Two examples are the sentencing of several Black students at San Fernando Valley State College to 2-25 years in jail almost a year after a struggle for Black control of Black education; and the burning to the ground of the Black studies center at the great beacon of liberal education, Cornell University.

In the California state college and university system, Ronald Reagan, S.I. Hayakawa, et al., have gone on a campaign to either destroy all Black studies programs or render them irrelevant to and uncontrolled by the Black students, faculty and community. At San Francisco State College, scene of the longest student strike in U.S. history, President S.I. Hayakawa fired the full-time faculty and ten teach-

ing aides because of a "difference on personnel appointments."

The vicious attacks on the Black Panther Party from coast to coast raise the necessity for militants to come together and begin hammering out united front defense efforts.

The movement of Black GIs against the war in Vietnam, racism, and for democratic rights is growing larger and larger and making its weight felt. Many of the Black vets are taking leadership roles in the struggles of students and workers, and pointing more Blacks in the direction of taking action against the war in Vietnam.

The central problem confronting the Black community is the absence of leadership capable of unifying the various struggles. What is necessary is a mass Black political organization independent of the oppressor's political mouthpieces, the Republican and Democratic parties, based on a program of Black control of the Black community by any means necessary. This organization would serve as a tool to break Black people from the Democratic Party, exposing the traitorous roles of Black and white Democrats. To show that the Stokes, Hatchers, Ron Dellums [Bay Area Democratic Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the 7th district], and Carl Maxies [U.S. senatorial candidate for the Democratic Party in Washington], are in the pay of the Democratic Party, not the Black community, and can in no way further the struggle. Their role is to channel the fight for self-determination back into the Democratic Party and away from independent politics.

The Black Youth Conference at Stanford can serve as a step in analyzing the struggle and clarifying a program around which the masses can begin to make headway in the struggle for self-determination.

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Politics of the Guardian split (II)

The Guardian and the antiwar movement

By RANDY FURST
and HARRY RING
(Second in a series)

(Randy Furst was a member of the Guardian editorial staff beginning in October 1967. In January of this year, he was elected to the newspaper'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.)

Last week we reported the main facts in the split of the staff of the *Guardian* and the emergence, at least temporarily, of two *Guardians*.

The original *Guardian* is publishing from "clandestine" offices under the continuing stewardship of Jack Smith and Irving Beinin. The staff workers who left are putting out an amorously anarchistic-oriented *Liberated Guardian*. They are publishing from 339 Lafayette St. in New York, a building which houses assorted pacifist and libertarian groupings, including Dave Dellinger's *Liberation* magazine.

Assailing the anarchistic outlook of the splitters and their inexcusable use of violence as a means of settling the dispute, the editors of the regular *Guardian* assert that the basic issue is preservation of the paper's "Marxist-Leninist" policies.

The *Guardian* is a pro-socialist publication. But anyone having a minimum acquaintance with both Leninism and with the twists and turns of *Guardian* politics would be excused for a certain scepticism regarding the durability of the declaration of adherence to Leninism.

It is generally agreed that Lenin's principal contribution to revolutionary political theory was his concept of the revolutionary party—a politically homogeneous organization capable of acting as the combat vanguard of the working class and leading that class to political power.

Such a party could be built, he insisted, only on the basis of having a worked-out Marxist program and by assembling cadres on the basis of agreement with such a program. Program, he argued, determines the party—not vice versa.

The *Guardian's* approach is the very opposite. Lenin argued by word and example that the function of a revolutionary paper is to hammer out, to clarify the political ideas on which a political party must be built. The *Guardian*, to the contrary, has persistently sought to somehow latch onto a movement, regardless of program, and let the future worry about political clarity.

This approach was exemplified by its adaptation to and encouragement of the ultraleftism which contributed to the demise of SDS.

Lenin also taught that an effective revolutionary party could be built only in the process of relating to mass struggles. While rejecting every form of opportunism, he waged unrelenting war against ultraleft sectarianism, insisting on the need to develop the broadest possible united-front actions with other political groupings in the fight for specific common objectives.

The test of war

And one of the central places where Lenin categorically asserted there could be no abstention from the mass movement was in the struggle against war—and most particularly against a war being waged by one's "own" bourgeoisie.

That test—the test of war—is one the Smith-Beinin team has flunked rather miserably.

The U.S. effort to smash the Indochinese revolution has become a focal point of its drive to contain the world revolutionary process. By the same token, the magnificent resistance of the Vietnamese has proven a powerful catalyst for the world revolutionary movement, including the radicalization that is taking place in this country.

Solidarity with the Vietnamese liberation movement, measured by any and all political considerations, is a key responsibility for American revolutionaries.

But the rhetoric of solidarity is insufficient. Meaningful solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution comes down to a single, concrete objective—helping to get American imperialist forces out of Vietnam and all of Southeast Asia. Clearly, that aim can be accomplished only if there is a sufficiently powerful mass pressure for the total withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. To substitute other objectives and demands—no matter how radical the rhetoric—is an abdication of revolutionary responsibility.

Nor can it be effectively argued, as the *Guardian* has often tried, that the building of mass actions for withdrawal from Vietnam contradicts or interferes with the building of a revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement. The simple fact is that the ongoing mass actions against the war have proven the most effective instrument for developing radical, anti-imperialist and anticapitalist consciousness and winning recruits to a radical commitment.

Those who have failed or refused to recognize this have found themselves—at the height of the political radicalization—in crisis.

The demise of SDS can be traced largely to its abandonment of the antiwar struggle. After making a key contribution by organizing the first national antiwar demonstration in Washington in 1965, it threw in the towel and declared for a perspective of substituting "community organizing," which allegedly would "stop the seventh war from now." While for a period

it may have seemed otherwise, that was the beginning of the end of SDS.

Mass actions derided

And, for the *Guardian* too, the war has been a major political stumbling block. From the time Smith and Beinin assumed control of the paper in 1967, they were in the forefront of those who irresponsibly and light-mindedly debunked the worth of mass actions against the war. They promoted the thoroughly false notion that "resistance" to abstract "imperialism" by a few was of more significance than building mass resistance to a concrete, ongoing imperialist war.

In an Oct. 7, 1967, editorial a few months after the Beinin-Smith takeover, the *Guardian* declared the need to "move from protest to resistance." This echoed the ultraleft notion that a small but hardy band of "window-trashers" could be more effective in fighting the war than masses mobilized around the demand for immediate withdrawal.

Reporting on the huge Oct. 21, 1967, Pentagon demonstration, Jack Smith was impressed not by the size and militancy of the demonstration, or the clear-cut character of the demand for U.S. withdrawal, but what he saw as the element of "resistance" in the action.

"Content," Smith wrote Oct. 28 of that year, "is being injected into the anti-Vietnam-war movement's rhetoric of 'from protest to resistance' . . ."

The sort of "content" Smith had in mind that would presumably lay the basis for a more radical movement may be gleaned from his description of the rally at the Pentagon that day:

"Aside from its superfluity, the parking lot rally [at the Pentagon] was notable for a revolutionary speech by Carl Davidson, SDS interorganizational secretary . . . 'Repression,' he said, 'must be met, confronted, stopped by whatever means possible . . . ' The next major demonstrations, he said, must be aimed at disrupting draft centers. 'We must tear them down,' he said, concluding, 'and burn them down if necessary.'"

The *Guardian* persisted in advocating isolated acts of disruption. A March 2, 1968, editorial advised: "The war machine and those who support it must be disrupted. The disruption must be such that . . . Johnson and the warmongers may no longer find imperialism profitable."

(Wrote "Marxist-Leninist" Beinin in the Aug. 24, 1968, issue: "Disruption is not a program, and sometimes it can be a cover for lack of a program. Yet this year, without an effective alternative, disruption seems to be the most creative thing to do for the left in most of the country.")

Perhaps the low point came when a March 30, 1968, editorial baldly



MASS ACTION. The Oct. 21, 1967, Washington demonstration, which began with a massive rally at the Lincoln Memorial and culminated with a huge protest at the Pentagon, gave a tremendous spur to popular antiwar opposition. To the editors of the *Guardian*, the whole significance of that action lay not in the massive turnout but in the acts of individual resistance by a small minority at the Pentagon.

asserted: "Opposing the war in 1968 is not a radical demand. It is a liberal demand, founded on the correct premise that U.S. imperialism is losing in Vietnam."

And an Aug. 24, 1968, editorial on the eve of the Chicago Democratic Party convention wailed: ". . . public opinion is against continuing the war. This leaves our movement in an ambiguous position. Our thousands will demonstrate in Chicago to end the war. Eugene McCarthy also wants to end the war, as do George McGovern, Hubert Humphrey and Lyndon Johnson. Both the Republicans and Democrats want to end the war."

The editorial continued, "Whether or not these politicians and parties actually seek to end the war—and we think they would prefer to disengage from Vietnam, though on terms favorable for the continuation of imperialism—the fact is that they have adopted our rhetoric. This would not be such a terrible loss if it were not that rhetoric, unfortunately, is our most prized possession."

It's difficult to think of a more glaring example of a superficial, light-minded attitude toward so serious a question. Apart from how the course of events has demolished the prognosis, it's apparent that the *Guardian* editors didn't even understand what the antiwar movement is about.

Of course, if the movement were simply "against the war," the rhetoric could be easily adopted by every faker in the country.

But no wing of the capitalist class or its political spokesmen are about to adopt and carry out a program of organizing mass action in the streets, not simply "against war," but for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Such a program cannot be coopted because it goes directly and decisively against the most basic interests of imperialism. It is precisely what gives the antiwar movement its validity, and its revolutionary potential.

But, it will be argued, the *Guardian* changed its mind. In August of 1969, it declared it had reconsidered and decided that mass actions for immediate withdrawal are in fact objectively anti-imperialist and should be supported.

We'll discuss that argument next week.

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LEON TROTSKY'S FIRSTHAND ACCOUNT

Lenin on the eve of the Octo

This is the second and final installment of Trotsky's "Lenin Before October," written and first published in 1924. *The Militant* is reprinting it from the Jan.-Feb. 1952 *Fourth International*, in commemoration of the April 22 centenary of the birth of Lenin.

The article deals with Lenin's role in preparing the Bolshevik Party to take power during the months following his return to Russia from exile in April 1917.

Background information and certain biographical data concerning the April Theses, the July Days, Kerensky, Kornilov, and others is contained in the introduction to the first installment.

The time period referred to at the opening of this installment is July. A wave of terror had been set off against the Bolsheviks following the largely spontaneous uprisings earlier in the month. Lenin was in Petersburg, in hiding.

* * *

Lenin's mood at the turn of the tide

What was Lenin's frame of mind at the time? If one were to characterize it in a couple words, one would have to say that it was a mood of restrained impatience and deep anxiety. He saw clearly that the moment was nearing when everything would have to be poised on a razor's edge and at the same time it seemed to him, and not without good reason, that among the top party circles all the necessary conclusions were not being drawn. The conduct of the central committee he regarded as too passive and dilatory.

Lenin did not consider it possible to return openly to work, because he justifiably feared that his arrest would consolidate and even strengthen the dilatory mood among the party chiefs, and this would unavoidably lead to letting slip of an exceptional revolutionary situation . . . This was the reason why Lenin's vigilance in these days and weeks reached its climax, as did his pouncing upon every sign of

"Fabian strategy" [The Fabians were British socialists who promoted the notion that capitalism would gradually evolve into socialism, that no revolutionary struggle would be necessary], every intimation of dilatoriness and indecision. He demanded an immediate start toward correctly organized conspiratorial work: Let us catch the enemy by surprise and wrest the power—and then we shall see. This, however, provides a subject for a more detailed and independent study.

The future biographer of Lenin will have to treat with and pay the utmost attention to the very fact of Lenin's return to Russia, and his coming in touch with the mass of the people. Except for a brief interlude in 1905, Lenin had spent more than a decade and a half in foreign exile. All this while, his sense of reality, his sensitivity to the living, toiling human being did not become enfeebled, but had, on the contrary, grown stronger owing to the activity of his theoretical thought and his creative imagination. From sporadic, chance meetings and observations he caught on the wing and recreated the likeness of the whole. Nonetheless he had lived an exile's life during that period of his life when he completely matured for his coming historical role. He arrived in Petersburg with fully finished revolutionary generalizations, in which was summed up his entire life's socio-theoretical and practical experience.

Hardly did he set foot on Russian soil than he issued the slogan of the socialist revolution. But this marked only the beginning of the verification, by the living experience of the awakened toiling masses of Russia, of everything that Lenin had accumulated, thought out to the end, and made his own. Lenin's formulas withstood the test. More than this, only here in Russia, in Petersburg, did these formulas become filled with day-to-day, invincible concreteness and thereby with

insuperable power.

It was now no longer necessary to recreate a panoramic likeness of the whole by way of reconstructing it from separate, more or less accidental specimens. The whole made itself known, speaking with all the tongues of the revolution. And here Lenin showed, and perhaps felt fully for the first time himself, to what measure he possessed the ability to hear the still chaotic voice of the awakening masses. With what profound organic contempt did he watch the mouse-play of the leading parties of the February revolution, these waves of "mighty" public opinion which ricocheted from one newspaper to the next; with the same contempt he watched and noted the myopia, the narcissism, the noisy loquacity, in brief—Official, February Russia.

Attuned to the rumbling of revolution

Behind this scene, set with democratic decorations, he heard the rumbling of events of an entirely different order. Whenever skeptics used to call his attention to all the great difficulties in the way, to the mobilization of bourgeois public opinion, the existence of the elemental petty-bourgeois mass, he would set his jaws, and his prominent cheekbones would jut out more angularly than ever. This was a sign that he was holding himself back from telling these skeptics, clearly and pointedly, what he really thought of them.

He saw and understood the obstacles no less than others did, but he apprehended, lucidly, tangibly, nay, physically those titanic forces accumulated by history that were now ripping into the open in order to cast aside all the obstacles. He saw, he heard and apprehended, before all the Russian worker, whose class had grown in numbers, who had not yet forgotten the experience of 1905, who had behind him the school of war, who had passed through its illusions as well as through the tinsel and lie of defensism, and who was ready now for the greatest of sacrifices, and for exertions never seen before.

Lenin physically felt the soldier, stunned by three years of hellish slaughter—meaningless, aimless—and now, awakened by the thunder of the revolution, preparing to pay back for all these meaningless sacrifices, all those humiliations and cuffs on the ear by way of an explosion of raging hate that spares nothing.

Lenin heard the *muzhik*, who still dragged the century-old chains of serfdom, and who now, thanks to the upheaval caused by the war, sensed for the first time the possibility of settling accounts, terribly, ruthlessly, with the oppressors, the slaveholders, the gentry, the nobility. The *muzhik* was still helplessly milling around hesitating to choose between [Social Revolutionary leader] Chernov's bunk-ology and his own "measures," i.e., the great agrarian mutiny. The soldier still kept shifting from one foot to the other, seeking for pathways in between patriotism and frantic desertion. The workers till listened, but already mistrustfully and semi-hostilely, to the last tirades of [Menshevik leader] Tseretelli. Already the steam gurgled impatiently in the boilers of Kronstadt warships.

The sailor, combining in his person the razor-edged hate of the workers and the muffled bear-like wrath of the *muzhik*; the sailor, seared by the flames of the horrible slaughter, was already dumping overboard all those who in his eyes personified the various species of feudalistic, bureaucratic and military oppression. The February revolution was about to jump the track and roll over the embankment.

The rags and patches of czarist legality were gathered up by the compromisist saviors, smoothed out, sewn together and converted into the thin

pellicle of democratic legality. But underneath it everything gurgled and seethed, all the wrongs of the past sought for outlets; hatred toward the cop on the beat, toward the police captain, the district inspector, the chief of police, the police commissioner, the registrar, the manufacturer, the usurer, the landowner, the parasite, the lily-handed one, the reviler, the face-slapper—this hatred prepared a revolutionary eruption, greatest on record.

It was this that Lenin heard and



saw; it was this that he felt physically with invincible clarity, with absolute conviction, when, after a long absence, he came in touch with this land seized by paroxysms of the revolution.

Grime-covered workers in ballerina's palace

"You little fools, you petty braggarts, you dolts, you think that history is made in drawing rooms where upstart democrats rub elbows with titled liberals; where yesterday's nonentities from among provincial lawyers hastily learn the art of bowing and kissing little hands of illustrious ladies? You little fools! You little braggarts! You dolts! History is being made in the trenches where, intoxicated by the nightmarish fumes of war, the soldier plants his bayonet in an officer's belly and then rides the freight-train tops, deserting to his native village, there to let the red cock loose over the manor house.

"Does this barbarism offend your soul? Don't burn yourselves out with anger. History has this to say to you: You are welcome to all I have . . . These are merely the end-products of everything that had gone before. You seriously imagine that history is made in your Contact Commissions? Nonsense, infant prattle. Delusions! Cretinism! History, for your information, has this time chosen as its trial laboratory the palace of Kshesinskaia, the dancer, former mistress of a former czar. And from here, from this structure-symbol of Old Russia, history is preparing to liquidate your entire Petersburgish-czaristic, bureaucratic-noble, landlord-bourgeois rot and indecency. Hither, to this palace of a former Imperial ballerina, are streaming grime-covered factory delegates, greyish, pockmarked and lice-ridden

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October Revolution

foot-messengers from the trenches, and from here they spread all over the land the new, prophetic words."

[Lenin hid out in Kshesinskaia's palace briefly during the July days when his enemies were trying to whip up hysteria against him by accusing him of being a German agent. Shortly he fled Petersburg for a farm near the Finnish border where he was able to pretend he was part of the harvest crew.]

The Ministers-in-Woe of the revolu-

the party in order to confront the top party circles with the need to act and go the limit.

To form a correct estimate of Lenin's conduct in this period, it is essential to establish one thing, namely: that he had unbounded faith in the desire and ability of the masses to accomplish the revolution; but he did not have the same confidence in regard to the party staff. And at the same time Lenin understood with a clarity beyond all clarity that there was not a minute to

ork Times.

9, 1917.—TWENTY-TWO PAGES.

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THE WEATHER

Fair today and tomorrow; moderate northwest to north winds.
62°F. full weather report see Page 21.

SEIZE PETROGRAD; KERENSKY FLEES; TO SEEK "AN IMMEDIATE PEACE"; DRIVEN BACK; LOSE 17,000 MORE MEN

Leon Trotsky



Washington Reserves Judgment, Hoping Revolt Is Only Local.

EXPECTS A COUNTER-MOVE

Kerensky, with Conservatives and Perhaps the Army Behind Him, May Save the Country.

DARK DAYS SEEN AHEAD

And Allied War Conference Faces Another Huge Problem—Bigger Burden for Us.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8.—Until accurate official reports are received, official and diplomatic Washington are reserving judgment on the new Russian crisis and all that it involves, including possibly civil war, and a still further weakening of Russia's position in the war against Germany.

Dark as the news dispatches make situation in Petrograd appear, a strong hope among officials is that there may be a peaceful settlement.

MINISTERS UNDER ARREST.

Winter Palace Is Taken After Fierce Defense by Women Soldiers.

FORT'S GUNS TURNED ON IT

Cruiser and Armored Cars Also Brought Into Battle Waged by Searchlight.

TROTSKY HEADS REVOLT

Giving Land to the Peasants and Calling of Constituent Assembly Promised.

PETROGRAD, Nov. 8.—With the aid of the capital's garrison complete control of Petrograd has been seized by the Mensheviks, or Bolsheviks, headed by Nikolai Lenin, the Radical Socialist leader, and Leon Trotsky, President of the Central Executive Committee of the Petrograd Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates. Their action has been endorsed by the All-Russia Congress of Workers' Councils.

A proclamation has been issued declaring that the Revolutionary Government purposes to negotiate an "immediate democratic peace," to turn the land over to the peasantry, and to convene the Constituent Assembly.

Premier Kerensky has fled. He is usually said to be headed for...

curred in connection with the armed demonstration of April 20. The third — around the projected armed demonstration of June 10. The "moderates" held that Lenin wanted to foist an armed demonstration upon them with a view toward an uprising.

[On April 20 a spontaneous armed demonstration of workers headed toward a pro-government demonstration simultaneously occurring in Petersburg. The intervention of a delegation from the Soviet averted a confrontation. On June 10 the Bolshevik minority in the Soviets was preparing a mass demonstration around the slogan "Down with the 10 capitalist ministers!" The demonstration was banned by the Executive of the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets. The Soviet majority of Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries called for another demonstration June 18 in support of their policies — Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries were participating in the government along with the capitalist ministers. However, to their dismay, 500,000 workers and soldiers marched, but virtually all the banners consisted of Bolshevik slogans.]

The next and much sharper conflict flared up in connection with the July days. The differences broke into the press. A further stage in the development of this internal struggle was reached on the question of the Pre-Parliament. [The coalition government kept postponing elections to the Constituent Assembly, which the Bolsheviks were demanding, out of fear that it would be too radical. The moderate Socialists went along with this postponement, but in the meantime put together a substitute known as the Pre-Parliament.] This time in the party's parliamentary fraction two groupings collided breast to breast. Were any minutes taken of this session? Were these minutes preserved? I do not know. But these debates are unquestionably of extraordinary interest.

Two tendencies were delineated quite clearly: the one, in favor of taking power; the other, in favor of playing an oppositional role in the Constituent Assembly. The partisans of boycotting the Pre-Parliament were in the minority, but it was a minority almost as large as the majority.

To these debates in the fraction and the decision adopted by it (in favor of participating in the Pre-Parliament) Lenin, from his hideout, reacted swiftly by way of a letter to the central committee. This letter, in which Lenin declared himself, in more than vigorous terms, in solidarity with the boycotters of the "Buligynite Duma" of Kerensky-Tseretelli, I have been unable to locate in the second part of Volume XIV of Lenin's *Collected Works*. [The Buligyn Duma was convened by the czar in 1905 in order to try to head off the then unfolding revolution.] Has this extremely valuable document been preserved?

The differences reached their highest tension immediately before the October stage, when under discussion was the final adoption of the course toward the uprising and the setting of a date for it. And finally, even after the October 25 overturn, the differences grew sharp in the extreme over the question of a government in coalition with the other socialist parties.

It would be interesting in the maximum degree to reconstruct, down to the last detail, Lenin's role on the eve of April 20, on the eve of June 10, and of the July days. "We did many foolish things in July," Lenin used to say later in private conversations and, as I recall, he repeated it at a conference with the German delegation on the March events in Germany in 1921. Of what did these "foolish things" consist? Of vigorous, or rather over-vigorous probings; of active, or rather much too active reconnoiterings. Without such reconnoiterings, from time to time, we could have fallen behind the masses. But on the other hand, as everybody knows, an active reconnoitering action may sometimes pass involuntarily into a general battle. This was almost the case in July. But the signal for retreat was given in plenty of time. And in those days the enemy lacked the courage to force matters to a showdown. And it was by no means accidental that this courage was lacking. Kerenskyism is half-and-half by its very nature; and this cowardly Kerenskyism tended to paralyze Kornilovism all the more, the more Kerenskyism itself stood in fear of Kornilovism.

tion met in council after council on how to restore this palace to its lawful owner. Bourgeois, SRist [Socialist Revolutionary], Menshevik papers bared in rage their rotten teeth because Lenin, from Kshesinskaia's balcony, broadcast the slogans of the socialist revolution. But these belated efforts were to no avail. They added neither to Lenin's hate of Old Russia, nor to his will to settle accounts with it. The first as well as the second had already approached its limit. On Kshesinskaia's balcony, stood the same Lenin who two months later was to hide in a haystack and who, within a few weeks, was to assume the post of chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.

Party moods and the masses

Seeing all this, Lenin also saw that inside the party itself there existed a conservative resistance—at first not so much political as psychological in character—to that great leap which had to be made. Lenin watched with anxiety the widening lack of correspondence between the moods of a section of party chiefs and the millions of workers. He was not satisfied for a moment with the formal adoption of the armed-uprising formula by the central committee. He knew the difficulties of transition from word to deed. With all the force and resources at his command he strove to subject the party to the pressure of the masses and the party's central committee to the pressure of its rank and file. He summoned individual comrades to his place of refuge, gathered reports, checked them, arranged for cross-interrogations, and in every conceivable way, from below, from deep inside, by circuitous paths and in every criss-cross way, he sped his slogans into

lose. A revolutionary situation cannot be arbitrarily preserved, like a vegetable, until the moment when the party is ready to make use of it. We have seen a similar experience recently in Germany.

Not so long ago we had to listen to a view that if we had not taken power in October, we would have done so two or three months later. A gross delusion! Had we not taken power in October, we would not have taken it at all. Our strength prior to October lay in the uninterrupted flow of the masses to us, the influx of those who believed that this party would do what the rest had failed to do. If the masses had perceived any vacillation on our part at this moment, any delay, any discrepancy between our word and our deed, then in the course of the next two or three months, the masses would have ebbed away from us, just as they previously did from the SRs and the Mensheviks. The bourgeoisie would have gained a breathing spell and would have used it to conclude a peace. The relation of forces could have changed drastically, and the proletarian overturn would have been postponed to an indefinite future. It was just this that Lenin understood, apprehended and felt. From this sprang his alarm, his mistrust and his fierce pressure which proved to be the salvation of the revolution.

The inner-party disagreements which flared stormily in the October days, had already manifested themselves in a preliminary way during several prior stages of the revolution. The first collision, the most principled one but still calmly theoretical in tone, arose immediately upon Lenin's arrival. It was the conflict over his [April 4] theses. The second muffled clash oc-

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Prosecution 'farcical'; Ill. court acquits Sutton

By BRUCE SCHEFF
CHICAGO — S. Thomas Sutton, spokesman for the right-wing terrorist Legion of Justice, was acquitted April 27 of charges of possession of stolen property. The charges stemmed from a Nov. 12, 1969, news conference at which Sutton displayed materials stolen in a Nov. 1 raid on the Chicago headquarters of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party and took credit for the attack in the name of the Legion of Justice.

The acquittal was mainly due to the obvious attempt of the "prosecution," the state's attorney's office, to present an extremely weak case for conviction, thus allowing Sutton to go free. State Prosecutor Gene Willins consistently maneuvered in favor of the defense. He refused to subpoena a video-tape of the news conference which clearly showed Sutton in possession of the stolen material (the state's attorney's office had previously committed itself to obtaining the film) and carefully refrained from asking the witnesses any questions that would bring out certain essential facts in the case—for example, Sutton's statement at the news conference that the stolen

tapes and records would be publicly burned.

When Sutton several times made statements under oath which all evidence appeared to contradict, Willins did not even bother to cross-examine him.

The Chicago reporters who covered the event for the press and radio were particularly outraged by the farcical trial. One newsman who witnessed the trial said, "This whole thing stinks. The state's attorney didn't even try to prosecute this case. He had absolutely no reason to refuse to subpoena that video-tape. I've seen it. If nothing else incriminates Sutton, that film does."

At a news conference the following day, Laura Miller, secretary of the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks, outlined the committee's response to the acquittal of Sutton: "Yesterday's acquittal of S. Thomas Sutton exposed the role of the state's attorney's office in encouraging fascist-like groups such as the Legion of Justice, the Minutemen and the Nazi party to continue their violent criminal activities. Yesterday in court, Sutton explained that he didn't know what the Nov. 12 press conference was all about, that he was merely handed sheets of paper and that he

only read from them. He went so far as to say that he never heard of the YSA before the press conference. Sutton stated that he had no knowledge of the stolen materials in the boxes in front of him. This fantastic story was passed by without question by Prosecutor Willins.

"The Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks is investigating with its attorneys further legal action against S. Thomas Sutton. The April 27 court decision involving Sutton represents a clear potential danger to the democratic liberties of all Chicagoans. DATA has demanded a meeting Monday, May 4, with state's attorney Hanrahan to demand an explanation of the conduct of his office and the lack of prosecution of S. Thomas Sutton and all cases tended against members of the Legion of Justice. We will continue to press for a grand jury investigation of all the illegal activities of the Legion of Justice and of the police connections with Sutton and his group."

On Wednesday, April 29, three more victims of the Legion of Justice come to trial on frame-up charges. Allan Zwierzko, Randy Boyd and David Collins were handed John Doe summonses at the April 15 antiwar march in Chicago for violation of an obscure municipal code law which prohibits "carrying the flag of a hostile nation in any public demonstration." The three youth, two of whom were carrying red flags and the third a flag of the Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government, were served with the summonses after being systematically pointed out to the police by Stephen Sedlacko and Thomas K. Stewart, two known supporters of the Legion of Justice. Both are currently under charges for their participation in criminal activities of the Legion.



ARIE BOBER, spokesman for revolutionary, anti-Zionist Israeli Socialist Organization, is now on national speaking tour of U.S. under auspices of Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East. Bober has already spoken to thousands of people from New England to Florida to California. Tour will continue through middle of June.

Six go over the top in Militant sub campaign

By FLAX HERMES
Militant business manager
APRIL 29 — As we start the last stretch of our subscription drive, Tacoma, Wash., and Twin Cities, Minn., have completed their quotas for a total of seven areas on or over the 100 percent mark.

Areas occupying the top third of the scoreboard just need to put the finishing touches on the good work they've been doing for the last two months and they'll make it.

The other areas, however, must go on a mobilization basis to fill their quotas.

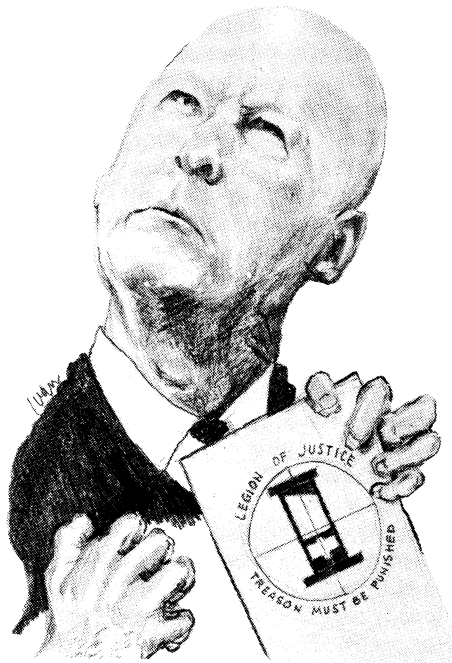
One new aspect of the sub drive this spring has been the increase in the number of areas which are sending in subs. At the end of the fall drive 41 areas were listed on the scoreboard.

This week we added Brookings, South Dakota, to the spring scoreboard for a total of 62 areas.

We received two letters from Brookings. The first started, "We had a subscription drive of our own in Brookings, South Dakota. We did pretty well considering the location and everything." It closed with, "p.s. Please put us on the scoreboard, because we've never been noted for anything." Nineteen subs were enclosed!

A few days later we received another letter. "Students are really starved for news around here," and nine more subs. Evidently there's a wider audience for *The Militant* in South Dakota than even our regular readers there had believed.

We think it's that way across the country! Let's keep the subs rolling in and finish off in fine style.



S. Thomas Sutton

Now a Pamphlet!

Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Countries

By Ernest Mandel 35¢

THE SPEECH NIXON AND MITCHELL TRIED TO BAN

Pathfinder Press (formerly Merit Publishers) 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Subscription scoreboard

City	Quota	News subs			
Portsmouth, N.H.	15	26	San Francisco, Calif.	475	295
Yellow Springs, Ohio	40	57	Berkeley, Calif.	375	228
Albany, N.Y.	25	33	Gainesville, Fla.	50	30
Paterson, N.J.	30	34	Logan, Utah	25	15
Boston, Mass.	350	383	San Diego, Calif.	100	58
Tacoma, Wash.	40	41	Hayward, Calif.	75	41
Twin Cities, Minn.	250	250	Red Hook, N.Y.	15	8
Philadelphia, Pa.	325	313	Newark, N.J.	75	36
Austin, Texas	150	140	Milwaukee, Wis.	40	19
Washington, D.C.	125	110	St. Louis, Mo.	30	14
DeKalb, Ill.	100	87	Bloomington, Ind.	50	23
Chicago, Ill.	500	433	Madison, Wis.	200	92
New York, N.Y.	1100	945	Long Island, N.Y.	65	29
Detroit, Mich.	350	300	Hoboken, N.J.	30	13
Johnson City, Tenn.	25	21	Oshkosh, Wis.	35	15
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	21	Eastern Washington State	50	19
Atlanta, Ga.	225	186	Kansas City, Mo.	60	22
Phoenix, Ariz.	55	45	Portland, Ore.	30	11
Providence, R.I.	80	65	Columbus, Ohio	60	20
Ann Arbor, Mich.	50	40	Binghamton, N.Y.	120	38
New Haven, Conn.	10	8	Champaign, Ill.	25	6
Worcester, Mass.	50	40	Oberlin, Ohio	25	6
Los Angeles, Calif.	500	397	Boulder-Denver, Colo.	120	27
Seattle, Wash.	200	157	San Joaquin Valley, Calif.	25	5
Kent, Ohio	75	55	Mansfield, Pa.	40	6
Ft. Wayne, Ind.	35	26	Knoxville, Tenn.	20	2
La Crosse, Wis.	15	11	Athens, Ohio	25	2
Cleveland, Ohio	350	250	Chapel Hill, N.C.	25	2
El Paso, Texas	35	24	Flint, Mich.	15	1
Houston, Texas	100	64	Brookings, S.Dak.	--	28
Oxford, Ohio	25	16	General	--	190
Hamilton & Clinton, N.Y.	35	22	TOTAL	7570	5902

Andrew Pulley sets race against Dellums

BERKELEY — Andrew Pulley, a former GI, nationally known for his role in the case of the "Fort Jackson Eight," on April 28 announced his candidacy for the 7th congressional district, which includes most of Berkeley and part of North Oakland. Running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, his main opponent will probably be Ron Dellums, a Black Democrat who is currently a member of the Berkeley city council, and who is expected to win the Democratic primary on June 2.

Pulley was born in Greenwood, Miss., and grew up in the ghettos of Cleveland. He was pushed out of school in the 10th grade.

He joined the Army in 1967 in an attempt to escape the oppressive conditions of the ghetto and to finish his high school education. He earned his diploma, but discovered that the Army was as oppressive and racist as the ghetto.

It was to fight against Army discrimination and the war in Vietnam that he joined GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at Ft. Jackson, S.C. He and the other GIs of the Fort Jackson Eight were imprisoned in the spring of 1968 for expressing their antiwar views. National publicity forced the Army to drop all charges, and Andrew Pulley was discharged from the Army after spending 61 days in the stockade.

In announcing his campaign, Pulley

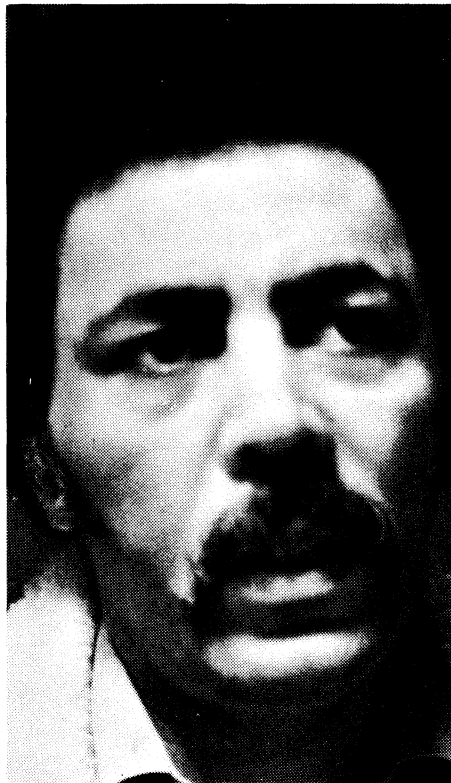
stated that his central purpose was to provide a challenge to the parties of capitalism and to expose the Democratic Party as a racist party that can in no way be a vehicle for Black liberation.

Dellums' campaign for the Democratic nomination is laced with radical-sounding rhetoric and tries to appeal to radicals seeking an alternative. "One congressman can work," a typical Dellums campaign leaflet states, "to expose the danger of reactionary politicians and expedient liberal politicians and press for approaches that get to the root cause, not just the effect."

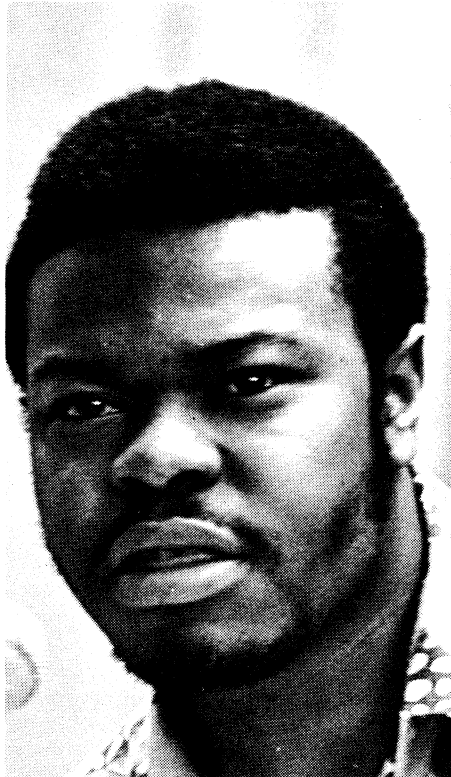
The Dellums campaign is trying to appeal to the Black community on the basis that Dellums is a "regular" Democrat who can represent the community better than the incumbent Co-helan, a white liberal.

But at the same time, Dellums is trying to present himself to the white radical community as an "irregular Democrat." He is pictured as being almost a revolutionary who is simply using the Democratic Party as a tool to serve progressive ends. His liberal backers are expending considerable energy trying to convince Berkeley activists that Dellums is really "their man."

The confrontation between Pulley and Dellums with their opposing views on the nature of the Democratic Party and its role in the Black community promises to make the race in the 7th congressional district an important one.



Ron Dellums



Andrew Pulley

No peace on campus as spring offensive grows

By RANDY FURST

For the nation's campuses last week, it was another round of student demonstrations.

The issues were strikingly familiar — the war, Black control, repression of the Black Panthers, and student rights.

The spring offensive was on, complete with mass rallies, building seizures and in Lawrence, Kansas, a call-up of the National Guard.

At Yale University, momentum has been building in protest against the New Haven trial of nine Black Panthers and Panther chairman Bobby Seale on frame-up charges.

Accused of conspiring to murder one of their members, the Panther defendants have won widespread sympathy from students at the Ivy League school. Student strikers erected picket lines around most undergraduate classroom buildings, sharply reducing attendance.

Even Kingman Brewster, Jr., president of Yale University and smooth-sounding apologist for the ruling class was driven to comment that he was "appalled and ashamed" at the state of affairs in New Haven. Said Brewster: "Things have come to such a pass that I am skeptical of the ability of Black revolutionaries to achieve a fair trial anywhere in the U. S."

Even more convinced are student radicals. Three days of demonstrations around the Panther trial are slated for New Haven, beginning May 1.

In Oxford, Ohio, many of the 176 students arrested in a building seizure last week were put on a year's probation by a county judge.

At Boston College, students went on strike after the announcement that tuition was going to be hiked from \$2,000 to \$2,500.

There were reports of anti-ROTC demonstrations in Columbus, Ohio; Palo Alto, Calif.; Penn State in State College, Pa.; and Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, N.Y.; and Honolulu, Hawaii.

At Keuka College in New York, Black students staged a walkout.

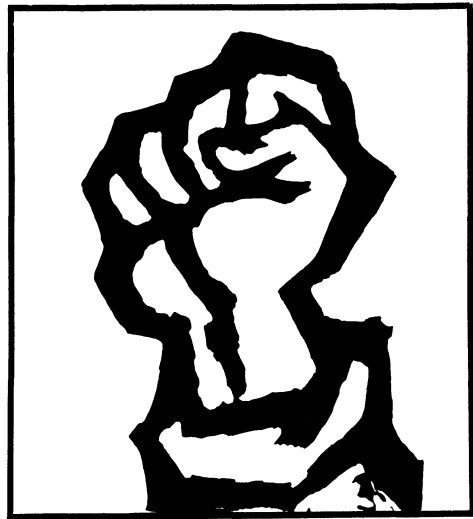
At three New York City University colleges, most classes were boycotted to protest an increase in tuition and fees scheduled to go into effect next fall. At Lehman College in the Bronx, students went on strike over demands ranging from no cuts in the SEEK program for Black and Puerto Rican students to a 24 hour child-care center. At New York University, striking campus employees voted to return to work, after an agreement was worked out to hold elections May 15. Workers will decide then whether to name District 65 of the Wholesale, Retail, Office and Processing Union as their bargaining agent.

At the State University of New York in Binghamton where students have twice voted to bar military recruiters, the antiwar movement has won a significant victory. The office in charge of recruitment canceled the April 30 recruitment day when Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine recruiters were scheduled to show up. The reason, according to the university, was lack of interest on the part of the student body. More to the point was the combined opposition to recruitment by the student government, SMC, YSA, SDS — and the majority of the student body.

In Detroit, a picket line of some 400 greeted the Highland Park College administration's efforts to reopen the school April 20. The administration, in conjunction with the Highland Park police department, has waged a campaign of public slander and harassment of the strikers. The strikers have followed a four-fold strategy: No destruction of property; no provocation of police; nonresponse to police provocation; and self-defense. Students' de-

mands include the removal of Dean Jones and other racist administrators, a public announcement by the Highland Park Board of Education acknowledging the problems in the school and giving a date when negotiations can begin; unlimited community use of college and high school facilities; and an uncensored student newspaper.

(Contributors to the *Militant's* campus round-up include Gary Wurtzel, Binghamton, N. Y.; John Hawkins, Detroit; George Kontanis, Boston.)



CALENDAR

ATLANTA

ALTERNATIVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS—A DEBATE. Speakers: Joel Aber, Socialist Workers Party, and A.F. Baradi, Egyptian Professor at Emory University, vs. Uri Yahel and Moshe Margalit, Israeli students at Georgia State. Fri., May 8, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 West Peachtree (at 14th st.). Ausp: Militant Bookstore.

NEW YORK

TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES FOR THE 1970s—N.Y. SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Speakers: Fri., May 8, 8:30 p.m. Elizabeth Barnes, staff writer for *The Militant*, on Women's Liberation and Socialism. Sat., May 9, 10:30 a.m. Derrick Morrison, staff writer for *The Militant*, on Marxism and Black Liberation. 2 p.m. Jon Rothschild, SWP candidate for Lt. governor of New York, on Zionism and the Arab Revolution. 8:30 p.m. Jack Barnes, SWP national organization secretary, on *The Coming American Revolution*. Sun., May 10, 12 noon. Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for senator of Mass., on *Revolutionary Strategy: Tasks and Perspectives for the '70s*. All sessions at 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Sponsored by: YSA, SWP N.Y. Campaign, and the Young Socialist Campaign Committees.

TWIN CITIES

ROOT CAUSES OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION. Panel of women's liberation activists. Sat., May 9, 8 p.m. 1 University Pl. N.E. Contrib. 75 cents (students 50 cents). Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

PROSPECTS FOR REVOLUTION TODAY—SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. Speakers: Fri., May 8, 8 p.m. Derrick Morrison, staff writer for *The Militant*, on Marxism and Black Liberation. Sat., May 9, 3 p.m. Eloise Chase, YSA chairman, D.C. region, on *Strategy and Tactics of Revolutionary Struggle*. 8 p.m. Fred Halstead, 1968 presidential candidate of SWP and leading figure in antiwar movement, on *Will Labor Explode in the 1970s?* Sun., May 10, 8 p.m. Dick Roberts, staff writer for *The Militant*, on *Inflation and Nixon's War Policy*. George Washington U, New Student Center. Sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.

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In defense of printers

Cleveland newspaper workers' problems

By JEAN TUSSEY

[The following is the second installment in a series on the recently accepted contract of Cleveland Typographical Union No. 53. The author has been an active socialist and trade unionist for 30 years and a member of the International Typographical Union for the past 13 years.]

The first thing the Cleveland printers did last year in their struggle for a better contract was to change their local leadership. On May 21, 1969, they elected Kenneth L. Ramella president.

A young man of 30 and the son of a printer, Ramella had held no union office besides that of president of the Apprentice Association. Inexperienced and untested, he was opposed by the more conservative and cautious members and by the leadership of the two union political clubs. But with his youth and inexperience went a freedom from traditional craft-union hang-ups, a refreshing self-confidence in his ability to learn, and above all, a willingness and determination to get involved, to devote himself completely to the union struggle. That's why the majority elected him.

The next thing the membership did was unite behind the (wage-negotiating) scale committee in a way it had not done in years.

When the old contract expired on May 31, 1969, impatience with the lack of progress in negotiations began to develop, but everyone recognized that the new leadership, which was not installed until June 15, had to be given a chance to take over.

For six months the printers literally sweated it out. Inept management at the *Plain Dealer* moved old equipment out before new equipment was functioning properly, removed one air-conditioning system for proofreaders while installing another for a computer. Work space was also cut down by eliminating the proof room entirely and crowding more people into the composing room, where they worked in a sweltering heat of 80 to 90 degrees all summer.

Despite a multitude of provocations, the ranks maintained a self-imposed discipline against illegal walkouts or other actions that might endanger support of the international union for negotiations or involve the local in costly lawsuits.

Negotiations reached a stalemate July 16. On July 20, the union, in accordance with its procedures, voted to request ITU assistance. Representative Richard Brown was assigned to aid in bargaining (a prerequisite for strike sanction).

On Dec. 7, the membership rejected the publishers' proposal of a \$51.06 package spread out over three years. The vote was 339 to 9.

On Jan. 18, they voted 360 to 9 to ask for strike sanction. On Feb. 1, assured by Brown that they were authorized to do so, they voted 497 to 24 to strike the two newspapers, leaving the tactical decision of the exact time to the ITU representative, and went back to work to await the signal.

The signal never came. Brown took the scale committee back to meet with management and a federal mediator. He negotiated a few more dollars—a \$58.11 package—in exchange for a three-month extension of the contract to 39 months, and convinced the committee—with the exception of the president—that that was the best they could get.

Ramella reported the new offer to

the membership and refused to recommend it.

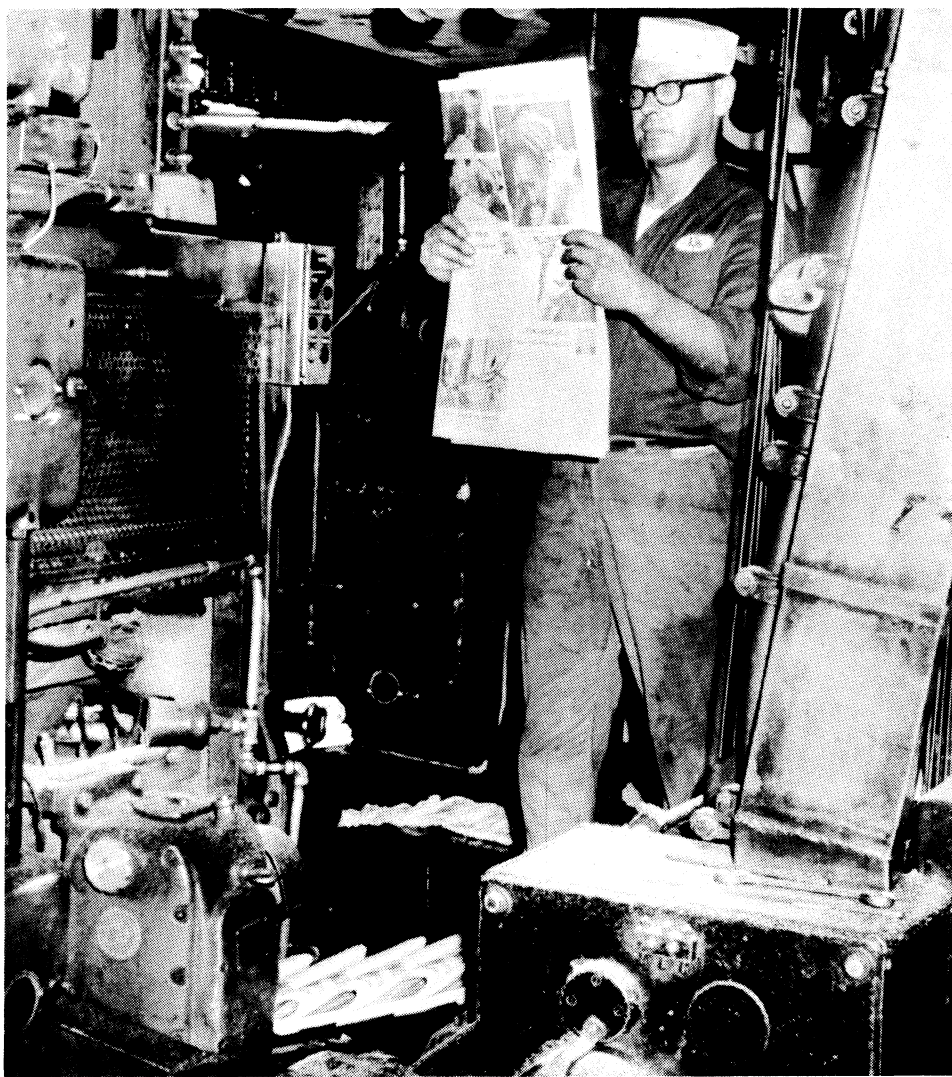
At an overflow meeting Feb. 15, despite Brown's warning that he would not recommend strike benefits for Cleveland if they rejected the offer, the members voted 303 to 260 not to accept the contract.

The next Sunday the membership voted to send a new committee back with Ramella to negotiate with the publishers for an acceptable contract.

Management representatives made it clear they did not feel any need to bargain further since the local would get no support from the ITU if it struck.

The ITU leadership, on Brown's recommendation, refused to accept the decision of the local. The rejected negotiating committee, which included the leadership of the Cleveland Progressive Club caucus (the national ITU administration is also of the Progressive caucus), joined with the local "Independents" (conservative opposition) to campaign for a referendum vote on the rejected contract.

In a referendum vote, every member of the union votes and it is not necessary to attend a union meeting or even buy a postage stamp. They vote where they work. And pensioners can come to the union hall to cast their ballot. Foremen, straw bosses, men



being paid above union wages—all of whom must be union members in ITU shops—also vote.

The result: 685 ballots were cast for the contract, 352 against. *Plain Dealer* printers voted 162 to 143 against the contract; *Press*, 177 to 49 for it. Balloting at union headquarters, mostly pensioners, was 119 to 7 in

favor of acceptance. The balance of the votes was from small shops not included in the contract.

The Cleveland newspaper printers learned who makes the decision about the conditions under which they have to work, and how the decision is made.

Now they want to know why, and that is the subject of the next article.

♀ Women's liberation notes

The Canadian women's liberation movement is launching its first nationwide campaign with an assault on the oppressive Canadian abortion laws. On April 28 an "abortion caravan"—a cavalcade of cars driven by abortion repeal supporters—was scheduled to leave Vancouver, visiting major cities across Canada. The caravan will arrive in Ottawa May 9 (Mother's Day eve) where a mass demonstration will be held simultaneously with other actions throughout Canada. There are two central demands of this campaign: repeal all abortion laws and free abortion on demand.

Playboy magazine is finally beginning to get its comeuppance. Last week, Shelly Schlicker, former female staff member for *Playboy*, declared war on "Hugh Hefner, *Playboy*, and every thing they stand for." Schlicker, who says she was fired from her job for her pro-women's liberation attitude, held a press conference in Chicago to denounce *Playboy* and protest her dismissal. "Hefner has made millions selling this air-brushed image of women to insecure men who are taught to want a playful pet rather than a person," she said. "But it won't work. We will no longer sell ourselves. . . ."

Grove Press, a "radical" publishing house which deals in left-wing publications as well as "liberated" sex literature, has also come under the fire of women's liberation. Nine sisters were arrested and booked on felony charges on April 13 after a sit-in at President Barney Rosett's office. Their demands were: an end to all Grove Press books, magazines and films which degrade women; allocation of Grove profits to build 24-hour child-care and birth-control centers, and to provide bail for women prisoners in the Women's House of Detention; 51 percent control by women of all edi-

torial and other decisions at Grove; recognition of the Grove employees' union. An organizing drive is currently underway in all the major New York publishing houses. Contributions can be sent to: Grove Press Nine Bail Fund, c/o RAT, 241 1st St., N.Y., N.Y. The money will go for bail for women in the House of Detention.

The U. S. Supreme Court has agreed to review the decision made last November by Federal District Judge Gerhard Gesell declaring the Washington, D. C., anti-abortion law unconstitutional. The high court's ruling on this case will have an important effect on the whole nationwide struggle for abortion repeal. Thirty-six states have statutes similar to the D. C. law.

Chauvinist quote of the week—from a *New York Times* editorial supporting the New York abortion reform law: "The new law should offend the conscience of no man."

According to the April 17 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, the organizers of a panel discussion on "Does Religion Oppress Women?" at Temple University were unable to locate a female Catholic priest or woman rabbi to take part. They finally produced a woman rabbinical student—Sandy Eisenberg—who it is believed may become the first woman rabbi ever when she graduates. The Catholic church bars women from becoming priests.

On April 16, the French National Assembly voted to give mothers equal authority with fathers over the upbringing of children. Prior to this, the father's signature has been required to enroll a child in school, to enter him or her into an examination for a scholarship, or to obtain a passport.

The struggle in France for legal equality for women has been a slow and tortuous one. As late as 1924, it was legal for a man to beat his wife. The vote was not won until 1945, and as recently as four years ago, French women still had no legal right to keep their own earnings or to take a job without their husband's permission.

Three Chicanas—Maria Elena Nunez, Pauline Rodriguez and Maria Z. Sanchez—have filed a suit charging the Colorado Dept. of Labor and Employment with violating state law by refusing to investigate low wages paid women and children working as agricultural workers. Wages for Chicano women and children working in Colorado run as low as 50 cents an hour.

Austin Women's Liberation has initiated a petition drive supporting the repeal of all abortion laws in Texas. In the first five days of the drive, 1,000 signatures were collected.

The Texas penal code, including the statutes on abortions, are due for revision, and the women's liberation movement in Texas wants to show the sentiment that exists for the right of women to control their own bodies. Women's liberation also plans activities to publicize a court suit which was filed in March challenging existing state laws which allow abortions only to save the life of the mother. Plaintiffs in the suit include a doctor charged with violating the abortion statutes, a young pregnant woman desiring a legal abortion, and a married couple who wish to act as marriage counselors. Texas readers wishing to support these actions should contact: Evelyn Sell, 2200-B Matthews Drive, Austin, Texas 78703.

—ELIZABETH BARNES

City employees settle strike in Atlanta, Ga.



Photo by Tom Coffin/The Great Speckled Bird

By DOUG JENNESS

ATLANTA—The Atlanta city employees' strike ended on April 22 after a bitter 37 day struggle. The agreement reached between Mayor Sam Massell's administration and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union Local 1644 gives the striking workers less than they originally asked for but more than the city was at first willing to grant.

The strikers originally demanded a one-step wage increase (4.5 percent of the current salary) for all of Atlanta's nearly 7,000 non-supervisory employees; and the city's initial proposal was to raise the minimum wage to \$2.14, affecting only 100 workers and providing free \$5,000 life insurance policies to all workers.

The negotiated agreement provides for a one-step increase (approximately \$4.00 per week) to the 2,314 lowest paid workers effective May 1. Other provisions provide for a study by the City Personnel Board to consider moving 550 men in 12 classifications to higher paying job classifications and reinstatement, without prejudice, of all strikers. Charges against those arrested during the strike are not to be dropped, but the city promised not to press the cases. This still remains to be seen. At the meeting where the strikers voted on the settlement, there was considerable grumbling, particularly because of the failure to win back pay lost during the five week strike period.

Even before the ink was dry on the agreement, Mayor Massell and other spokesmen for Atlanta's ruling class were crowing that the settlement was just to both sides, which means that they feel the victory is theirs. An editorial in the April 23 *Atlanta Constitution* entitled "Responsible Settlement" happily chirped, "The settlement seems a fair one, fair to both sides."

"The settlement, of course, does more than bring about a resumption of sanitary services," stated an *Atlanta Journal* editorial on the same day. "Most important, it defuses a situation that was becoming more and more explosive. If permitted to continue, it could have deteriorated and come under control of irresponsible leadership. But with the settlement that danger has apparently been eased."

John C. Wilson, President of Atlanta's Chamber of Commerce, hailed Sam Massell and a "handful of Black leaders" for bringing about "an honorable settlement" of the strike. "The mayor," Wilson told a Northside Kiwanis Club luncheon, "showed strength and determination in dealing with this crisis. I feel that he has come out of it with new power and additional support. The interest of our city will be better served in the years to come because of the strength which he has shown so early in his term of office." It should be recalled that the Chamber of Commerce backed Republican

Rodney Cook in last October's mayoral race.

The *Atlanta Constitution* editorial cited above singled out the moderate Black leaders whom it felt "worked hard behind the scenes to achieve the settlement. Responsible men like Sen. Leroy Johnson, Bishop E. L. Hickman, and the Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr. Men like Jesse Hill and the Rev. Sam Williams and John Middleton and Benjamin Mays. They deserve credit."

State Senator Leroy Johnson, a prominent Black Democrat, said that he was "proud that the workers were satisfied" with the offer and that their acceptance "justifies my efforts and others" in seeking a "commonsense solution to the strike."

Throughout the strike there had been considerable friction between Hosea Williams, Southern Christian Leadership Conference leader, a few union leaders and the rank-and-file strikers on one side, and the moderate Black leaders listed by the *Constitution* and a part of the union leadership on the other. For example, on April 9 when a number of the moderate Black leaders met with Sen. Leroy Johnson, who was trying to obtain Black endorsement for a return-to-work plea, over 100 striking city employees marched outside shouting criticisms of these

"leaders." As one woman told Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., in a heated confrontation, "We begged every last one of you to come to every damned one of our planning meetings and not a one of you showed up." She said that the established Black leadership had "sold us out."

These Black politicians and ministers were strong supporters of Massell's election campaign and feel their responsibility to keep the Black community loyal and obedient to his liberal Democratic administration. They were scared stiff that if the strike continued much longer a deep schism would develop between larger numbers of Black people and Massell's regime. The role of these misleaders points out sharply the need for a break with capitalist politicians even in the pursuit of simple economic demands.

One of the most audible sighs of relief expressed by Massell's supporters when the strike ended was that it did not become a "civil rights or racial issue." They correctly feared the real possibility of a mobilization of the Black community behind the strikers. Since most of the strikers were Black, the issues in the strike affected them both as workers and as Afro-Americans.

In the aftermath of the strike the

mayor has slipped a couple of additional knives into the ribs of the strikers. He has announced that the money saved by not paying the workers during the strike will be used to hire a labor relations expert to help the city government avoid future "labor problems." He is also seeking to maintain the curbside garbage pickup instituted during the strike because it requires fewer workers. No doubt layoffs can be expected in the near future. And to cap off his post-strike activity, he has slashed about \$50,000 from the \$300,000 allocated to summer recreational programs in Atlanta's Black ghettos. This money is needed, he claims, to help pay for the raises won by the workers.

Despite the determination and fighting spirit of the strikers, they could not hold out indefinitely against all of Massell's strikebreaking efforts with relatively small weekly strike benefits and with a substantial section of the reformist Black leadership working against them. But even though they won far less than they wanted and need, the example they set in militantly striking against the "liberal" city government is not being lost on other workers in Atlanta and other southern cities.

Third World liberation notes

Imperialism in the West Indies

In the April edition of the Canadian *Young Socialist Forum*, there is an excellent article entitled "Canadian Imperialism in the West Indies."

When one thinks of the West Indies, it is generally envisioned that British imperialism is the dominant power in the area. However, the lever of white control over the islands is managed by the Canadian imperialists.

The Caribbean islands have been molded as a source of cheap labor and raw materials. Alcan Aluminum, a Canadian company, is the largest single enterprise in the area. In Port of Spain, Trinidad, there are 43 Canadian banks which traditionally finance the entire Caribbean. Canadian capitalists control anywhere from 60 to 90 percent of the banking business.

In Jamaica, there are 600 Canadian troops engaged in counterinsurgency training. According to the *YSF*, last year the Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau and Defense Minister Cadieux offered as many as 5,000 Canadian troops for "peacekeeping" duties in Vietnam. This underscores the role of the Canadian government as a junior partner in the operations of U.S. imperialism.

YSF can be obtained from: 334 Queen St. W., Toronto 2b, Canada.

A one year subscription costs only \$1.25; a single issue, 15¢.

* * *

The struggle of the Contract Buyers League in Chicago continues. On April 21, evictions began again with Cook County sheriff, Joseph I. Woods, and deputized state police setting CBL chairman, Charles Baker, out into the street. But after the 80 deputies had executed the task, Baker's neighbors, numbering a couple of hundred, immediately moved Baker back into his house.

Sheriff Woods could not get Chicago police to participate in the eviction effort this time. Daley maintains, even though he had stopped the evictions for a week, that such actions were the concern of the county, not the city. But the next day, April 22, Chicago police were used to back sheriff's deputies as they evicted eight Black families from their homes. Crowds of neighbors harassed and fought the deputies, enabling six families to return their belongings to their homes.

The CBL is protesting the virtual extortion practices used by contractors against Black home-buyers. It has a suit in federal court challenging these practices and a suit before the Illinois Supreme Court challenging the state's

eviction laws. About 200 members of CBL have been holding back payments since July of last year. Attempts are being made to negotiate federally-assisted mortgages, since the racist policies of the banks have refused home mortgages to Black people.

* * *

The New York State Assembly has voted unanimously without debate to return 26 wampum belts to the Onondaga nation of the Iroquois Confederacy. The Senate has yet to vote on the bill.

The wampum belts, made of shell beads and valued at \$280,000, are in the state museum. Leaders of the Iroquois Confederacy demonstrated in Albany on April 16 for the termination of an 1898 agreement making the State University of New York the official wampum-keeper.

The State Education Department, which administers the museum, opposes the bill with the argument that it "could destroy the concept of museums and libraries being collectors of anything." However, the Iroquois plan to set up a museum and cultural center on Onondaga land near Syracuse, New York. Wampum belts are used in religious rituals and other ceremonies.

—DERRICK MORRISON

UAW 1970 STRATEGY

Union brass shuns workers' needs

By FRANK LOVELL

ATLANTIC CITY—The United Auto Workers' week-long 22nd Constitutional Convention dwindled to a close here April 24 after having re-elected the incumbent leadership for another two years and reaffirmed the leadership's policies of political support to the Democratic Party and "flexibility" in contract negotiations this fall with the auto corporations.

The final report of the credentials committee showed 3,142 delegates from 1,069 local unions, carrying 14,507 votes. The membership is 1.8 million.

Delegates to this convention were local union officers and their hangers-on who are in the vast majority selected, trained and molded in the pattern of the International UAW. The convention did not reflect the present age level nor composition of the workers in the auto industry, nor did it give any meaningful expression to the needs of the working class.

The three main sectors of the union membership—youth, Blacks and other minority groups, and women workers—all received token recognition at the convention, but little was done to ensure authentic representation for them in the structure of the union. One Afro-American and one woman were elected among the enlarged list of seven vice presidents.

It was clear from the start of the convention that the UAW leadership was anxious to project an image of "democracy in action" as preparation for the contract negotiations in September and the 1970 general election of a new U.S. Congress in November. The close connection between economic demands and political action was emphasized throughout.

The real work of the convention began with a general meeting of the Reuther caucus, held April 19, the evening prior to the convention's formal opening.

This caucus, attended by approximately 2,000 UAW staffers and delegates, heard UAW president Reuther explain that the caucus is a traditional form of political life within this union, that it allows for freer discussion and debate, and that (if not abused by factional strife) the caucus serves to educate the union membership in the program and goals of the leadership.

In this way, the UAW officialdom set the tone of the convention. Reuther was able to utilize the existence of the opposition United National Caucus, which he described as miniscule, to "demonstrate" his interest in maintaining democratic forms of procedure within the union. Fearing no overturn of the leadership, the Reuther "team" urged the involvement of new members and youth in union affairs.

From UAW Region 4 in Illinois and



See Atlantic City, see the balloons, vote for the leadership

Photo by Jack Marsh

Iowa, where a Youth Conference has been established, a call was sent to the convention for a UAW Youth Department. The resolution on this matter was sponsored by the union officialdom and provides that the new Youth Department "be established to function under the president's office." It points out that "one third of our union is 30 or under."

When Reuther submitted his report at the opening session of the convention, he directed portions of it to the different sectors of the union, with emphasis on plans and goals designed to catch the attention of youth, women, and the more socially conscious.

Reuther's references to the armsrace, the war in Southeast Asia, the "urban crisis," housing, and pollution were all aimed at the youth and minority sectors of the union. But such appeals, necessary in a union where one-quarter of the members are Black, found little response among the convention delegates who appeared to be more than 95 percent white.

A resolution on "The Woman in Society" and another commemorating the 50th anniversary of women's right to vote were adopted. Women delegates spoke in behalf of the nearly 200,000 women members of the UAW. One of them, Vera Lentine, Local 889, reminded the convention that no woman has ever served on any union nego-

tiating committee with the "big three" in the auto industry.

In the course of his report to the convention, Reuther denounced AFL-CIO president George Meany for endorsing the idea that union officials should negotiate contracts on which the membership has no right to vote. Appealing to the UAW rank and file's concern for preserving democratic procedures, Reuther pledged that "as long as I have a voice in the labor movement, the rank and file are going to ratify the contracts and conditions under which they work."

The UAW contract demands were summed up under the three general "top priority" aims: a "substantial" wage increase; a "30 years and out" retirement program, meaning that workers may retire after 30 years in the plants with a \$500 monthly pension; restoration of the "full cost-of-living protection," providing for an escalator clause that more nearly keeps wages geared to constantly rising prices.

Early in the convention when the first day's sessions had ended, the opposition United National Caucus met, attended by fewer than 100 delegates and visitors. Caucus organizers called attention to the fact that, unlike the Reuther-caucus meeting the previous evening, no UAW staffers attended the opposition caucus meeting, and thus the number of delegates attending the two caucuses was not so disparate as might appear. They charged that Reuther had "stolen" the opposition's economic demands and claimed that experience has demonstrated the present UAW leaders will not fight for such demands as the escalator clause to protect wages against rising prices. This protection was seriously weakened in the 1967 negotiations.

The opposition caucus failed to take a position on or even mention the relationship between economic demands and political action. Opinion is divided within the caucus over the kind of political action unions should undertake, or if working class political action is feasible.

Reuther, as is well known, strongly urges support for the Democratic Party. His present attention to the youth, to minority groups, and to democratic organizational forms—with little concern for content—is all part of efforts

to swing the weight of the UAW behind the 1970 election campaign of the Democratic Party.

Two incidents occurred during the convention which reveal the political character of the Reuther leadership. The first was prompted by Canadian delegates who had submitted a resolution to knock the "anticommunist" clause out of the UAW constitution. These delegates wanted to know why this resolution was not brought to the floor by the constitution committee.

Reuther took the floor to explain that a discussion on this matter would not suit the purposes of the UAW. If the convention decided to alter its constitution, it would appear as if the union were inviting fascists, communists, and "other totalitarians" into the leadership of the union. This news, he said, would be harmful to present organizing drives of the union. Moreover, he continued, the UAW ought not admit to office those who are pledged to overthrow the present form of government in the U.S. or Canada.

The other incident concerned the fate of the resolution demanding that the Vietnam war be ended now. It was introduced by two UAW locals in the Detroit area and the tool-and-die unit of Ford Local 600. It was sponsored by a group calling itself Concerned Unionists. Their resolution was not reported out of committee and they did not raise the matter on the floor of the convention. Reuther had previously stated that the UAW could not endorse "the actions of those who march behind the Vietcong flag and burn the American flag."

In the election of officials, Art Fox of the United National caucus slate, opposed Reuther for UAW president, and received 220 votes. It was the first time Reuther had been challenged since 1949. He received 13,609 votes to win his 13th consecutive term.

This UAW convention adopted constitutional changes which further centralize control in the International Executive Board.

The results of the convention make it clear that the discrepancy between the official actions of the UAW and the needs of its members will continue to grow as inflation and higher taxes drive living standards down and the economic and political crisis deepens.

... MAPA parley

(Continued from page 3)

which means that he is not running as a Chicano for the Chicano community.

George Brown, the liberal Democrat running for the U.S. Senate, has fooled a great number of Chicano youth and antipollution and antiwar activists into supporting him. Brown however is opposed to immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam, and evaded the question when asked point-blank by a MAPA delegate. He favors a U.N. supervisory "police" force to replace American troops in order to guarantee "free" elections in Vietnam, and, to protect members of the Thieu-Ky dictatorship against recriminatory action if the NLF did "win" the elections. In simpler language, Brown's antiwar

stand amounts to American troops exchanging their U.S. uniforms for U.N. uniforms and continuing to "guarantee the peace." Brown's inability to support the right of self-determination of the Vietnamese 10,000 miles away should leave little doubt about his willingness to back the right of the Chicano people for self-determination right here at home.

One thing is clear from the MAPA convention: Times are changing, and if the MAPISTAS fail to recognize the disgust of the youth with the two-party game, and the growing identification with the more militant actions of La Raza Unida Party in Texas and the Crusade for Justice in Denver, Colorado, MAPA will at best become irrelevant.

The Great Society

Anally in America—Hammacher & Schlemer, a New York shop, is offering a toilet which eliminates the need for paper by use of a properly directed jet spray of warm water followed by warm air for a dryer. In plain white (\$800), it may seem only like a glorified bidet. But in rich decorator colors (\$870), it's pure Americana. The initial cost may seem high, but it really isn't bad when you figure the savings on toilet paper.

Always exaggerating—Nelson Rockefeller has nailed as "a vicious lie" the story that he spent \$10 million to get elected governor of New York. He only spent a bit more than \$5 million.

Planners at work—Nine major airlines canceled a \$100,000 contract with a firm that was going to solve the fog problem at Atlanta airport by sending aloft a plane that would disperse the fog by seeding it with a special chemical. Problems developed when they found that the seeding plane was prevented from taking off by heavy fog.

How ungrateful can they get?—The April issue of *Armed Forces Management* reports that Australian officials "are anxiously awaiting clarification of the statement of Defense Secretary Laird that the U.S. is considering alternatives to the F-111. Defense Secretary Malcolm Frazer has stated that he is also examining the possibility of an alternative aircraft for the Royal Australian Air Force." Next thing,

they'll be demanding a plane that flies.

'Tis wise indeed to be wealthy—If you think you're feeling the pinch, consider the plight of those a rung up the ladder. Yacht companies report buyers are getting very cost-conscious, with some even buying used boats. But, as always in America, there's a silver lining. Sales of the most expensive boats are actually improving."The people who can afford big boats," one dealer theorizes, "probably were smart enough not to get caught in the tight-money squeeze."

Popular idea—"What the stock market needs is a good recession. There is nothing like a business slump to perk up stock prices."—A humanistic thought from the *Wall Street Journal* as approvingly quoted in the *E. F. Hutton & Co. Investment Quarterly* and equally approvingly requoted by Lloyd Watson in the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

Sock it to 'em!—New York's Mutual Transit Sales is boosting bus advertising with a new pitch—the Basic Bus, where all the advertising is given over to a single customer. First taker, with a 400-bus contract, is Sunshine Biscuits. Drooled adman Richard Kelliher, the man who dreamed it up: "Nobody wants to ride a bus, but once we've got them in that iron womb we've got 'em. It's total involvement with a captive audience—they can't get out."

—HARRY RING

Socialist Directory

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

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

Hayward: YSA, 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.

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

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

San Diego: Alan Standiff, 5058 E. Mt. View Dr., San Diego, Calif. 92116. Tel: 281-7991.

Turlock: Valley YSA, Michael Klein, c/o Associated Students, Stanislaus State College, 800 Monte Vista Ave., Turlock, Calif. 95380.

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

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

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.

Worcester: YSA, c/o Alan Einhorn, Box 1388, Clark U., Worcester, Mass. 01610.

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

Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE 1-6135.

Ypsilanti: YSA, Box 156, Charles McKenny Union, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Paul Schmidlein, 4409 Virginia, K.C., Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 561-0872.

St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, 316 Laurel, *A9, St. Louis, Mo. 63112. Tel: (314) 725-3972.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, P.O. Box 627, Newark, N.J. 07101. Tel: (201) 678-6005.

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

Annapdale-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.

New York City: SWP and YSA and bookstore, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-6051.

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill-Durham: YSA, c/o Brian Buxton, Rt. 2, Box 125, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

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

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.

PENNSYLVANIA: Mansfield: YSA, c/o George Dolph, Box 251, Mansfield, Pa. 16933.

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

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, c/o Jeff Powers, 15 Creighton St., Providence, R.I. 02902.

TEXAS: Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.

El Paso: YSA, UTEP, P.O. Box 178, El Paso, Texas 79999.

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.

Haymarket statement

L.A. center being rebuilt



Photo by John Gray

Haymarket after April 13 attack

[The following statement was released by the Haymarket, a radical political center in Los Angeles which was attacked and burned April 13 by armed terrorists (see *The Militant*, April 24).]

LOS ANGELES—The wanton burning of the Haymarket on the evening of Monday, April 13, was carried out by a disciplined, well-trained band of terrorists. There were numerous criminal acts, aside from arson, which were perpetrated by these terrorists at the time. These include assault with deadly weapons, battery, kidnapping, illegal imprisonment, possession and brandishing of illegal weapons, trespassing and burglary.

With military efficiency, they expertly overpowered the youth standing nearest the door by spraying oven cleaner in his eyes. This was done to eliminate the possibility of his escaping and securing aid. He is still hospitalized. Another person is still suffering the effects of mace. Both telephones were also ripped out by the terrorists to prevent the victims from securing emergency assistance.

The fire department responded quickly and extinguished the blaze, assisted the injured, and is continuing its arson investigation. The police, on the other hand, have been indifferent and less than sympathetic both on the scene and in the ensuing investigation. Two Haymarket staff members filed reports at Rampart Division early in the morning following the fire. Officers interviewed them for two hours as to the details and the motives of the crimes. At noon, detectives asked for a report to be filed, seemingly unaware such statements had already been made. On at least two occasions since, witnesses attempted to make statements at Rampart Division, but were told it wasn't necessary. It has been learned the original report, filed 3 a.m., April 14, is no longer available and has apparently disappeared from Rampart Division files.

This indifference is in startling contrast to the reaction by the police when some Black students allegedly detained a few administrators at Valley State College and were hit with sentences of up to 20 years. The superficiality of media coverage in this instance affords sharp contrast when compared to the hue and cry raised after the Ilsa Vista bank burning.

The radical movement has rallied around efforts to rebuild the Haymarket in recognition of its vital role as a movement center serving the material and intellectual needs of radical politics in Los Angeles. The movement will not be intimidated by the intensification of fascist attacks, but rather, will consolidate and grow even stronger. This consolidation can already be witnessed by the massive clean-up and salvage effort now underway at the Haymarket. Furthermore, a committee to rebuild and continue the Haymarket has already been formed consisting of representatives of most radical groups. The committee is insuring that the Haymarket program continues and facilities are rapidly replaced.

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New stage in Caribbean struggle

Report on Trinidad events

By TONY THOMAS

PORT-OF-SPAIN, Trinidad, April 29— The brutal repression of the mass movement in Trinidad and Tobago by the Eric Williams government was reinforced today by the adoption of a sweeping new emergency law empowering the government to suspend indefinitely all the personal and political freedoms laid down by the Trinidadian constitution.

The law was adopted in the grip of a state of emergency and curfew declared by the government April 21 as a desperate response to two months of massive antigovernment and anti-imperialist demonstrations. The broad provisions of the new law, in addition to legitimizing the suspension of all rights of free speech, assembly and political activity, permit the government to imprison anyone indefinitely without specifying charges, permitting bail, trial or any legal recourse. The new law is a blueprint for brutal dictatorship and only codifies what has been the reality here since the state of emergency was declared eight days ago.

Thirty-six leading militants of the protest movement are so far known to have been arrested. They include Geddes Grenger and Clive Nunez of the National Joint Action Committee; George Weekes, president of the oil field workers trade union; and Victor Marcano, secretary of the United National Independence Party. All prisoners have been denied visits from their families and lawyers. Marcano has been refused permission to see a doctor and has been crowded with 16 other prisoners into a 16-by-14-foot cell.

A dusk-to-dawn curfew has been ruthlessly imposed and the shots of trigger-happy police are heard each evening and have already claimed several victims.

The mass demonstrations of the past two months represent the high point of the Trinidadian Black power move-



Trinidad rebels painted statue of Christ black. In the summer 1967 rebellion in Detroit, Afro-Americans did the same thing.

ment which has been given impetus by the deterioration of the economy as well as by the rise of Black nationalism in the United States. The National Joint Action Committee (NJAC), a united front of several Black power organizations and trade unions, developed out of this movement and by the beginning of 1970, Black power actions under its leadership had become a regular occurrence.

On Feb. 26, a demonstration to pro-

test the trial of Trinidadian students in Montreal, who were being victimized for their militant actions against racism, was attacked by police. That evening, a rally protesting police brutality mushroomed to 8,000. The following morning the leaders of the demonstration were arrested.

On March 5, one day before the trial of the arrested leaders, no less than 10,000 Blacks demonstrated in protest against the trial and the government. Port-of-Spain became the scene of continual mobilizations of thousands of Blacks. The high point of the actions came in response to the police shooting of Basil Davis, a leader of the NJAC.

The NJAC responded by holding a mass political funeral April 9 which involved over 30,000 of the approximately 150,000 residents of the Port-of-Spain region, the largest demonstration in the recent history of Trinidad.

When the government instituted the "emergency" on April 21, it faced a further challenge—a mutiny of sections of the Trinidad Army based at Teteron Bay. At this point, Prime Minister Eric Williams asked for arms and ammunition from the United States, while U.S. and British warships arrived off the coast of the island. President Nixon ordered a fleet of ships carrying 2,000 battle-ready Marines into the area. The White House story was the familiar one: that ships had to be sent in case it was necessary to remove American civilians from the islands.

Neighboring Venezuela also provided arms shipments and government leaders in Venezuela are reported ready to intervene with troops if called upon.

Initiated around the concept of Black power, the movement has begun to make alliances with other exploited sectors of the population including vanguard sections of the unionized workers, unemployed, and peasants. Blacks make up half of Trinidad's population of just over 1,000,000 and the bulk of the industrial work force and the urban poor. The second largest section of the population is East Indians, comprising a third of the

population. They are in the main peasants or workers.

Realizing the necessity to achieve unity of Blacks and Indians, the NJAC organized a dramatic action of mass solidarity in the third week of March. A huge march went more than 10 miles to the Indian town of Caroni to assist the Indian sugar workers in the cutting of cane.

The slogans of the mass demonstrations reflected every side of the oppression of Trinidadian working people. The demand for Black power arose in response to the racial oppression of Blacks in the Caribbean.

Another theme, "Down with foreign capital," reflected the demand for real economic independence and an end to domination by foreign capital and its local hangers-on. U.S. investments alone total more than \$400,000,000, largely in oil refining. There are also heavy British and Canadian investments.

As the movement advanced it sought the unity of the Black and Indian wings of the working class and peasantry. "Power to the People!" became a key slogan as the movement headed toward a confrontation with the Williams government.

Eric Williams, author of *Capitalism and Slavery* and a number of other books, has been the leading political figure in Trinidad since 1956 and prime minister since independence from Britain in 1962. Elected originally as a left, anti-imperialist alternative, his government has stayed strictly within the capitalist framework and has failed totally to meet the urgent needs of Trinidad and Tobago. Imperialism has maintained an unchallenged grip on the key sectors—sugar, oil and finance—and its power permeates the islands.

When Williams took power in 1956, unemployment was 6 percent. The government now admits a level of 15 percent. In fact, some 20 percent are totally unemployed and another 20 percent semi-employed. Among those under 25, the unemployment rate is over 30 percent. These unemployed youth spearhead the current upsurge.

The popular mobilization of March-April produced a revolutionary situation and dealt serious blows to the Williams government from which it will not fully recover. The illusions in the character of his regime are gone for good. Henceforth his rule must be based more on fear than support. If the arrests and the state of emergency have temporarily dispersed the movement, they have also, in the words of one left leader, "given a whole new perspective to the movement. The government is weaker than before. The left is united as never before over the past period in opposition to the government measures."

The radical leaders here view the current developments as the beginning of a new stage of political life in Trinidad in which the popular movement will directly confront the government. These developments may well provide the spark for new militant upsurges throughout the Caribbean in the coming months.



Tony Thomas, national executive committee member of the YSA, is presently in the West Indies on assignment for *The Militant*.

Phila. women demonstrate against Pa. abortion laws

By PAULA REIMERS

PHILADELPHIA — Three hundred women of all ages and a number of their male supporters gathered on the steps of city hall April 23 to demand the repeal of Pennsylvania's 110-year-old abortion law.

The action was called after the local chapter of the Catholic Physicians Guild sought an injunction to prevent Jefferson University Hospital in Philadelphia from performing abortions, holding that all abortions are illegal under Pennsylvania's law. That law is extremely ambiguous as it declares abortions illegal without defining what constitutes illegality.

The court hearing of the injunction was postponed until May 14 and the women promised to return.

The action, called by the Ad Hoc Committee for April 23, represented a

turning point in the development of the women's liberation movement in Philadelphia. Women were able for the first time to organize around concrete demands and for the democratic right of control over their own bodies. Women were able to express their unity publicly and made it very clear that women's liberation is a force to be dealt with.

Building on the enthusiasm generated in the women's liberation movement for an ongoing campaign against the abortion laws, Women United for Free Abortion on Demand was formed Monday, April 27, to continue the fight. This group has already laid plans for its next actions: a demonstration against the abortion laws on May 16 and a conference on abortion in Philadelphia on May 23.