

THE MILITANT

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

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ANTIWAR OFFICER'S HEARING: A hearing opened June 11 in Lakenheath, England, to determine whether the Air Force will court-martial Capt. Thomas S. Culver for his role in the presentation of GIs' antiwar petitions to the U.S. Embassy in London May 31. Civil liberties attorney Paul O'Dwyer, who flew from his vacation in Ireland to represent Culver, called the hearing "a flagrant attempt by the military to violate rights guaranteed by law."

CLEVELAND AFL-CIO ANTIWAR STAND: Two hundred fifty delegates, representing 100,000 Cleveland-area trade unionists in the Cleveland AFL-CIO Federation of Labor, voted June 9 by an overwhelming margin to "urge our elected public officials to proceed as expeditiously as possible to carry out the decision to withdraw" from Vietnam.

POT AND ECOLOGY: Large, uncultivated patches of hemp grow in the Midwest on unused farmland. Hemp seed is a preferred food of quail, pheasants and other birds. But of more concern to the U.S. government are the human harvesters who drive out from the city to gather in free stashes of marijuana from nature. This is considered a crime by government authorities, not only because the harvesters get high, but they do not pay for their dope, removing themselves from the market dominated by organized crime. Therefore, the Justice Department has funded a program operated by the Agriculture Department to spray Midwestern hemp fields with 2,4-D chemical poison. This poison not only kills the hemp and removes a favorite food of wild birds, but it also kills other plants the birds need for nesting. These negative effects on birds were established by a study in Nebraska, but a Wisconsin county agent assured the *New York Times* that "the spray would have no effect on birds in Wisconsin," according to the June 11 issue.

MAYDAY CONVICTIONS: The June 11 *New York Times* reported that of the more than 12,000 persons arrested by Washington, D.C., police in a massive dragnet during antiwar protests in early May, only 63 have been convicted.

NATIONAL REVIEW POLL: William F. Buckley Jr.'s reactionary *National Review* ran the results of a recent poll taken at 12 major campuses in 1969-70 and compared them to results in a parallel poll taken in 1963. The poll generally showed the effects of the deepening radicalization. Among the more interesting statistics are: 17 percent classified themselves as radical, compared to 7 percent in 1963; only 33 percent were satisfied with the two-party system, compared to 58 percent in 1963; 25 percent favored "full socialization of all industries," compared to 8 percent in 1963; and 50 percent favored "socialization of basic industries."

VIETNAM, VIETNAM! That's the name of a \$250,000 United States Information Agency prowar film that took three years to make. The June 10 *New York Times* said it was "reliably reported" that USIA head Frank J. Shakespeare believed "the changing military and political situation in Vietnam, as well as domestic political considerations, now raised doubts on the film's value as convincing and constructive propaganda" and that it is being shelved.

HARD DECISION: Upset that a free-speech campaign by Florida State University students succeeded in preventing the state legislature from getting rid of Young Socialist Alliance leader Jack Lieberman's "How to Make a Revolution" class in the Center for Participant Education (CPE) on the Tallahassee campus this year, David McClain, a state senator, urged as the session drew to a close this month that the regents investigate the CPE. Bearing the free speech campaign in mind, FSU President Stanley Marshall responded: "It is difficult to limit Jack Lieberman's freedom of speech without limiting the freedom of others—a decision I find very hard to make."

Correction

In last week's issue of The Militant (June 18), we accidentally left off the credit line for our front page photo of Houston Klansman Michael Lowe, indicted for possession of materials to make a bomb. Credit goes to Space City!

"FIRING LINE": When we read Robert Coles' article in the June 13 Sunday *New York Times Magazine* about how poor, maligned policemen must "be there on the firing line, protecting the whole of American society," we thought of 17-year-old Jackie E. McMahan, a working-class youth from South Knoxville, Tenn. When McMahan and three of his friends were suddenly surprised by Knoxville cop Jerry Nokes this month while trying to start McMahan's stalled car in a darkened underpass, they made the mistake of running. Ready to protect society "on the firing line," Nokes drew his revolver and shot McMahan in the back of the head, killing him.

ALCATRAZ: On June 11, 35 federal marshals forced an end to the 19-month occupation of Alcatraz by Native Americans when they removed the 15 members of the occupying group in what the Associated Press called a "surprise raid." The element of surprise was afforded by a traditional practice of whites in their dealings with Native Americans. U.S. Attorney James L. Browning Jr. had promised no action would be taken while negotiations on the Native Americans' claim to the island were in progress. The land, which clearly belongs to the Native Americans under the terms on an 1868 treaty, was taken back by the government with the unlikely excuse that the occupation interfered with navigation in the harbor. On June 14, the Native Americans began occupying an abandoned missile site near Richmond, Calif.

RACIST STATUE DECORATED: On June 14, a statue of Theodore Roosevelt at the American Museum of Natural History in New York was decorated in red paint with the slogan "Return Alcatraz." The statue portrays the "Roughrider" astride his horse, flanked by an African-American and an Indian, each on foot, clinging to one of his stirrups, and casting his eyes downward. Six Native Americans have been arrested as the alleged sign painters.

WHAT'S GOOD FOR GENERAL MOTORS . . . The June 10 *New York Times* reported that GM has recalled 19,000 trucks and 900 school buses with faulty flywheel and clutch assemblies. The reason is that some 50 of the assemblies have flown apart during operation, sending broken parts sailing at high velocities through the vehicles' cabs and injuring drivers.

SINYAVSKY FREE: The June 9 *New York Post* reported that Andrei Sinyavsky (Abram Tertz), author of *The Trial Begins*, has been released from the prison labor camp to which he was sentenced for "anti-Soviet writing" five years ago. Sinyavsky was released two years early from the seven-year sentence imposed in 1966 after he courageously denounced the bureaucracy before the world from his dock in the Stalinist court. In response to the charge that he published abroad, Sinyavsky replied that had he been able to publish in the Soviet Union, he would have preferred to do so. In response to the charges that his work was "anti-Semitic" and against the Russian people, he belittled the bureaucrats' clumsy inability to critically understand literature. In response to the charge that he was against the revolution, he declared that he was devoted to the revolution—"For me, communism is a shining goal"—and that his criticisms of the regime were a result of that devotion. The poet, Yuli Daniel (Nikolai Arzhak), author of *Moscow Calling*, who was given a five-year sentence at hard labor in the same trial, was released last September.

IRISH REPUBLICAN CLUB FORMED: At the meeting which formed the Robert Emmet Irish Republican Club in New York June 7, the group decided to picket BOAC offices at 530 Fifth Avenue June 19 in support of Irish political prisoners, demanding their release from British jails. The group, which expressed its full support for the official Republican movement, led by Tomas MacGiolla and Cathal Goulding, was addressed by Sinn Fein Joint General Secretary Sean O Cionnaith, who said the "aim of the Republican movement" is "the reconquest of Ireland, river by river, factory by factory, farm by farm and city by city, until all the resources of the Irish nation are again in the hands of the Irish people."

—LEE SMITH

NPAC plans for July 2-4 convention

By LARRY SEIGLE

CHICAGO — The upcoming antiwar convention was the major item on the agenda of the Steering Committee meeting of the National Peace Action Coalition held here on June 12. NPAC, which was the initiator and chief organizer of the April 24 antiwar demonstrations, is holding a national convention at Hunter College in New York City on July 2-4.

The purpose of the convention is to determine what programs and activities NPAC should carry out during the summer and fall and, in particular, to determine the character of the next big round of antiwar demonstrations. The discussion at the meeting here demonstrated that NPAC is determined to continue its campaign to end the war through the strategy of mobilizing masses of people in the streets around the demand for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam.

Jerry Gordon, one of NPAC's five national coordinators, reported to the Steering Committee the preliminary thinking of the coordinators with respect to the current stage of the antiwar movement and the nature of the next mass action. Gordon pointed to the continued deepening of antiwar sentiment as reflected on April 24 and in developments since then as evidence of a "profound shift in mass consciousness" on the question of the war. He took note of the increase in antiwar activity among GIs, including not just those in the Army but now also Navy and Air Force men and women.

In his report, Gordon stated that such developments as the surfacing of the Vietnam veterans antiwar move-

ment, and the intensified antiwar activity in the labor movement (such as a recent referendum by the Chicago teachers union with results of three to one for immediate withdrawal) are indications of a vastly expanded potential of the antiwar movement.

"Our job," Gordon continued, "is to seize upon this unprecedented opportunity, to give it leadership, and to bring the American people out and into the streets. Our movement has grown up and matured. People no longer expect the war to end right away, they know that it is a long struggle. So we don't get frustrated that April 24 didn't end the war." Instead, he stated, NPAC is all the more determined to continue on its path until the war is brought to an end.

One of the reasons for the decline of antiwar groups such as the New Mobilization Committee and the Vietnam Moratorium Committee was their refusal to call mass open conventions at critical junctures in order to determine their future activities. NPAC is determined not to make the same mistake. "This convention," Gordon said, "must be broad, open and massive. We must make it a convention which reflects the views of masses of Americans. News of the convention must be disseminated everywhere and everyone invited to attend."

While emphasizing that the future course of NPAC is something which can only be decided by the national convention, and that the Steering Committee was not empowered to make any decisions for the summer and fall activities, Gordon outlined in

general terms the proposal that the coordinators of NPAC are preparing. This proposal will be discussed not only within NPAC but also with other groups who have been involved in the antiwar movement.

The proposal is for mass actions to be held in every major regional center across the country at the end of October. The coordinators felt that the antiwar movement is now strong enough to repeat the success of April 24 not just in two cities but in a dozen or more centers. The new forces being drawn into activity and the political authority of NPAC resulting from the success of April 24 are a combination powerful enough to produce many demonstrations on the scale of April 24. The potential exists to mobilize millions of people in nationwide demonstrations against the war.

The regional demonstrations would be preceded by a week of build-up activities with programs and demonstra-

tions in every city and town, including actions organized by and for particular sections of the antiwar movement. The fact that Veterans Day (October 25) falls within the suggested week of activity offers an opportunity for the antiwar movement to focus on the growing movement of antiwar Vietnam veterans. In the discussion on the proposal, it was pointed out that the last Saturday in October is an ideal date because it is late enough to allow a minimum of one month of organizing after the campuses open and yet early enough so that cold weather will not interfere with the planned actions.

An indication of the support for the convention and the authority that its decisions will have is the broad sponsorship of the convention that has been obtained to date. Some of the sponsors are: Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.); Prof. Noam Chomsky;

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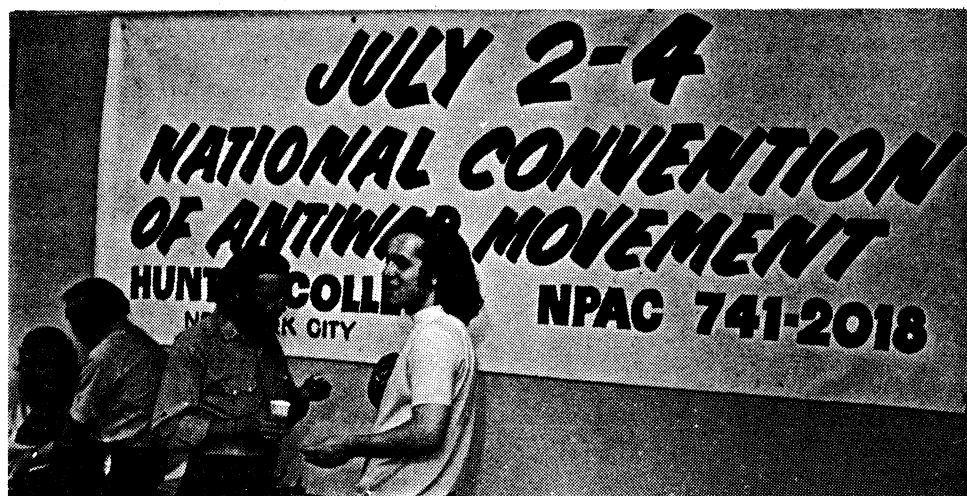


Photo by Ed Weaver

Brass steps up harassment of antiwar GIs

The following article was sent to The Militant by Pvt. Ed Jurenas, an antiwar and socialist GI stationed at Ft. Greely, Alaska. Jurenas has been informed by his company commander that court-martial charges against him have been referred to the Pentagon for his role in publishing and circulating a GI newspaper, the Arctic Arsenal (see Militant, June 18, 1971).

FT. GREELY, Alaska, June 14 — The idea that GIs are citizens with the same rights as those afforded civilians is a spectre that has begun to haunt the brass at Ft. Greely. The mere thought of Greely GIs continuing publication of the Arctic Arsenal after intense harassment has even brought about the personal involvement of General Hollingsworth in the case.

In the past week, Hollingsworth has expressed his desire to suppress the movement that has developed at this post. First, the denial of the right of GIs to hold a discussion of the war and other issues indicated a decision on his part to do everything possible to halt the spread of GIs demanding equal rights. Second, Hollingsworth made a personal, unscheduled visit to Ft. Greely to confer with the local brass, and perhaps, as he might say, to "ginger up the boys."

On June 6, about 35 Black and white GIs met at the post service club to discuss what could be done to voice our opinion on a number of problems. It was decided to draw up a request for meeting space to be sent to Col. Powers. The space requested—a vacant parking lot—was, in the words of the letter, to be "utilized for an orderly, open-air discussion of several general issues. Among these are the war in Southeast Asia, the draft, the constitutional and legal rights of GIs, conditions of Army life, and the discrimination encountered by Black and

other minority groups within the Armed Forces."

The request, signed by 56 GIs and turned in on June 9, specifically invited all personnel stationed at Ft. Greely to attend the discussion. This included enlisted personnel, officers and the top brass. We even stated that the parking lot would be cleaned up after being used.

The brass was quick to respond. The following day, in a letter of denial read to everyone who had signed the request, the discussion was labeled a "demonstration," a "clear danger to loyalty, discipline and morale," and "prejudicial to good order." Every GI who had signed was required to acknowledge the order forbidding a "demonstration" in the presence of official witnesses. In one company, troops were ordered to stand at formation for 30 minutes before the letter was even read to them.

The wording of the denial, although signed by Col. Powers, left no doubt as to its origins: To Gen. Hollingsworth, the mere act of a single GI thinking for himself is a "clear danger to loyalty, discipline and morale."

An analysis of this refusal to permit a discussion, as well as an explanation of the concept of the "citizen soldier," is forthcoming in the next issue of the Arsenal. In the past week, the second issue has been put together and taken to the printer. Reflecting the deepening sentiment to push on with publication of the Arsenal, greater numbers of GIs have become involved and the June issue has been expanded from six to 10 pages.

Although the struggle for GI rights has been the main issue up to now, it appears that the existence of the Arsenal has also struck at other decaying Army roots. Black GIs on post are rapidly developing unity to reach out for liberation from especially oppressive conditions that face them.

Even the sons and daughters of career Army men are considering publication of their own high school underground newspaper. Before long, the brass and

lifers at Ft. Greely may be faced with solidarity from all the troops—both in the barracks and at the dinner table.

Members of Congress support Jurenas

The following letter was sent by Sen. George McGovern on June 8 to Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird.

The case of Pvt. Ed Jurenas of Ft. Greely, Alaska, has been brought to my attention.

It appears that Pvt. Jurenas published an antiwar newsletter at Ft. Greely last month. Simultaneously, the post commander issued orders making such a publication illegal.

Now Pvt. Jurenas is reported to be under charges leading to a general court-martial. It would seem that these charges are unwarranted and that, in fact, the action of the post commander in banning the publication was a violation of Pvt. Jurenas' constitutional rights under the First Amendment.

I urge you to take necessary action to ensure that this man's rights are duly protected and would appreciate learning of the action you have taken.

The following letter was sent by Rep. Patsy T. Mink of Hawaii on June 8 to Major General Bernard Rogers, Chief of Legislative Liaison, Department of the Army.

I am advised that the Army is prosecuting Pvt. Jurenas because he violated the enclosed statement by Captain Kay abolishing the Constitution of the United States at Ft. Greely, Alaska.

Pvt. Jurenas published a newspaper, the Arctic Arsenal, which attacked General Hollingsworth by quoting his statement that "there's nothing I love better than killin' Cong."

As far as I know, it is unprecedented for the Army to punish a soldier solely for exercising his constitutional rights of freedom of speech.

I request that the actions against Pvt. Jurenas be stopped and that appropriate action be taken against officials at the Post who have violated our citizens' constitutional liberties.

Nixon takes N.Y. Times to court

By DICK ROBERTS

JUNE 16—The *New York Times*' publication of top-secret Pentagon documents June 13-15 on the origins of the war in Vietnam has precipitated a major crisis for the Nixon administration. This crisis will not be alleviated by Nixon's moves in federal courts to block completion of the *Times* series.

The installments of highly classified government files that appeared in the *Times* before Nixon gained a tempo-



Photo by David Fenton/LNS

Nixon long ago made decision not to reveal documents exposed by N.Y. Times.

rary restraining order against the *Times* June 15 deepens the widespread distrust of the American people in the government.

Nixon's attempt to halt this process—by once again preventing the facts from coming out—can only intensify the distrust in his own administration.

But the printing of this Pentagon report is not simply a matter of publishing "information that helps the people of the United States to understand the processes of their own government," as the *New York Times* editors state in the June 16 issue.

Involved is a struggle within the U.S. ruling class over the administration's Southeast Asia war policy. The *Times* series is a frontal attack on Nixon designed to pressure him into abandoning the "Vietnamization" policies he has pursued since taking office.

The sectors of the ruling class represented by the *Times* fear that further intensive military prosecution of the war—inevitably accompanied by a further widening of the "credibility gap"—will have incalculable domestic costs for the capitalist government.

Significantly enough, the *Wall Street Journal*, which has tended to support Nixon's war policies, abandoned him on the question of the Pentagon documents. The financial newspaper declared editorially June 16:

"The very attitude that the retaliative reaction of the attorney general and the Pentagon reflect—the idea that the truths involved in momentous government decisions should be 'stage managed' for the benefit of public opinion—has done a great deal of harm to our national interests.

"This attitude, so prevalent in Washington in the mid-1960s, gave rise to the widespread impression that American leaders were not to be trusted. That opinion has weakened the country's world influence and helped cause serious divisions at home."

Government censorship

This attempt by the federal govern-

ment in Washington to impose direct censorship on a major capitalist newspaper underlines the depth of the divisions in the U.S. ruling class itself.

The documents that were revealed by the *New York Times* in the three days of publication prior to the imposition of Nixon's restraining order are of an unprecedented character in the history of U.S. imperialism. Such papers are sometimes revealed years after the incidents in question and after they have been prepared for public consumption by government censors and apologetic historians.

But this study was prepared specifically for the highest layers of government only. It was written by a top security intelligence team and only 10 to 15 copies are believed to have been prepared. The study is said to be some 40 volumes and 2.5 million words in length.

The result is documentation that slices through virtually every myth propagated by five administrations—Truman through Nixon—to justify U.S. policy in Indochina. It shows that every major escalation of the war was deliberately prepared months in advance and that all top U.S. officials lied repeatedly to the public about their plans and actions.

The tenor of these revelations is captured in the following few paragraphs from the *Times*' seven-page-long first installment, June 13:

"The [Pentagon] study conveys the impression that the war was thus considered less important for what it meant to the South Vietnamese people than for what it meant to the position of the United States in the world.

"Mr. [John T.] McNaughton [assistant secretary of defense] would later capsulize this perception in a memorandum to Mr. McNamara seeking to apportion American aims in South Vietnam:

"'70 percent—To avoid a humiliating U.S. defeat (to our reputation as a guarantor).

"'20 percent—To keep SVN [South Vietnam] (and then adjacent territory) from Chinese hands.

"'10 percent—To permit the people of the SVN to enjoy a better, freer way of life."

1964 elections

Particular emphasis in the documents that the *New York Times* has so far revealed is put on the fact that the critical events of 1964 and 1965 leading to the U.S. air attack on North Vietnam, including the August 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incident and the congressional resolution which followed it, were part of a "scenario" prepared in White House strategy meetings.

Lyndon Johnson, of course, knew about this plan during the 1964 presidential election in which he promised "peace in Vietnam." One month before the November election, Johnson gave the go-ahead to the carefully planned blueprint for the bombing of North Vietnam.

Nixon's suit against the *New York Times* serves to emphasize the significance and authenticity of the documents. The White House filed the suit against the publisher of the *Times* and 21 reporters, editors and corporate officers.

It declares that the publication of the articles has "seriously interfered with the conduct of our foreign relations." The *Times* "has prejudiced the defense interests of the U.S."

Prosecution of the *Times* staff would be based on violation of the Espionage Act on the grounds of "unauthorized possession of . . . information relating to the national defense."

No official, Republican or Democrat, has yet challenged the accuracy

of the highly incriminating *Times* series.

Nixon worried

Nixon's agitation about the publication of the documents clearly betrays the duplicity of his own administration's war plans. For if the president had actually been telling the truth about "Vietnamization"—a claim that he often makes—then he would presumably have nothing to fear from a study of events which concludes in mid-1968, before Nixon came into office.

But the president and his top advisers had access to the secret Pentagon study since 1969, and they long ago made the decision not to make its contents known. More is involved than a question of individual roles of leading politicians.

The facts in this study clearly show that U.S. policy in Southeast Asia flows from the global aims of U.S. imperialism and has nothing to do with the needs of the peoples of Indochina.

The complete subservience of the regimes in Saigon to the government in Washington is brought out over and over again. At one point, the *New York Times* account states that "by [September 1964] the Saigon regime was being regarded less and less as a government capable of defeating the Vietcong insurgency than 'in terms of its suitability as a base for wider [U.S.] action.'"

A memorandum from the Joint Chiefs of Staff explicitly orders the U.S. ambassadors to South Vietnam and Thailand to keep those govern-



Laird, who also has copy, said others "will not be hard to track down."

ments in the dark about aspects of U.S. military operations: "Recognizing that security of this plan is of critical importance, they [the JCS] consider that external agencies, such as the VNAF [South Vietnamese Armed Forces], should be apprised only of those parts of the plan necessary to insure proper and effective coordination. The same limited revelation of plans should govern discussions with the Thais in securing authority for

unlimited use of Thai bases."

The study emphasizes the consistent control of Washington's statements to the U.S. press and public aimed at disguising its military goals. "Careful public statements of USG [United States Government], combined with fact of continuing air actions, are expected to make it clear that military action will continue while aggression continues. . . . But focus of public attention will be kept as far as possible on DRV [Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam] aggression; not on joint GVN [Government of (South) Vietnam] U.S. military operations," states a memorandum written by the U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, Maxwell Taylor, in early 1965.

Questions for Nixon

The problems that these documents present to Nixon are evident and numerous: Has Nixon, for example, departed from the main U.S. strategic aims in Southeast Asia that were pursued by previous administrations? According to the Pentagon study cited by the *Times*, these strategic aims were developed during the Eisenhower administration, while Nixon was vice-president.

One of the Nixon administration's main objections to the *Times* series was spelled out in a news conference by Secretary of State William Rogers, June 15. "It's going to cause a great deal of difficulty 'with governments outside of the United States, with foreign governments. . . . If governments can't deal with us in any degree of confidentiality, it's going to be a very serious matter."

But the most important question is whether the Nixon administration is still "administering" the truth the way the past administrations did. Is Nixon lying like the rest of them?

In light of the *New York Times* revelations, the American people are going to want this question answered, and this is sending a chill through White House corridors.

Nixon knows full well that once the appetite of the American public has been whetted for the truth about the hated war, it will not be satisfied with investigations that stop three years ago.

The most influential newspaper of the U.S. ruling class has thus asserted to Nixon in unmistakable terms that his head could easily be placed on the chopping block of public revelations.

This escalation of the conflict within the U.S. ruling class can be of benefit to opponents of the war in this country.

The inextricable contradictions of the U.S. imperialist effort in Vietnam have emerged on a new plane. This one demands that every single piece of the record be exposed, every single memorandum between the warmakers and their agents must be put up for public scrutiny, down to the most recent one the Nixon administration has written.

A paragraph in the June 16 *New York Times* declares that "neither the United States Information Agency nor the armed forces radio and television network reproduced or broadcast any of the classified information contained in the news articles. . . ."

It is the job of the antiwar movement to get the facts revealed in the *New York Times* out, not least of all to the GIs themselves, who are forced to do the imperialists' dirty work. When the real meaning of these records begins to be absorbed by masses of Americans, it will deal a blow to the warmakers in Washington far beyond anything that the editors of the *New York Times* had in mind.

More Texas Klansmen indicted

By PAUL McKNIGHT

HOUSTON—A Harris County grand jury returned indictments against four members of the Klan for bombings and other terrorist activity in this city June 11. The indictments followed three weeks of hearings initiated in response to pressure generated by the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, which mobilized broad support behind its demand for official action to halt Klan terrorism.

The indicted Klan members are Louis R. Beam Jr., 24; Peter Lout Jr., 26; Jimmy Dale Hutto, 24; and Paul William Moratto, 24. These indictments follow the June 3 indictment of Klansman Michael Lowe for possession of a bomb. The grand jury is still considering indictments against six other persons.

Beam and Lout were jointly indicted for destruction of private property with a bomb and possession of a bomb, both felonies, in connection with the March 12 bombing of the Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters. Bond was initially set at \$10,000 each, but later reduced to \$5,000 even though they did not surrender to the county sheriff until he placed them on his "most wanted" list.

Beam and Hutto were jointly indicted for the same felony charges in connection with the Oct. 6, 1970, bombing of Pacifica Radio Station KPFT. Hutto is still in jail on federal charges of conspiracy to bomb other Pacifica stations on the West Coast. His federal bond remains at \$100,000.

Last week, gun-store owner Frank Converse, grand dragon of the Texas United Klans of America, revealed that Hutto had been a paid police informer who infiltrated Students for a Democratic Society in 1969.

Moratto was indicted on charges of creating an emergency situation, also a felony, for his placing of a fake bomb in the studios of KPFT last

Jan. 16; Moratto was arrested May 4 for this act. His bond was set at \$500.

Warren A. White, the assistant district attorney, has presented 10 indictments for action to the grand jury. "No Bills" have not been returned on the remaining six, meaning they may still be acted on.

J. U. Parker, foreman of the grand jury, which is scheduled to remain in session until June 30 when a new jury will be convened, said the other cases are still open and "it is possible we will hear more witnesses." White said the grand jury may stay in session past June 30 by declaring a special session.

The opening of the grand jury investigation brought further national publicity to the defense campaign, and the returning of the indictments received a two-column story in the June 12 *New York Times*. On June 3, an article on Klan terrorism and the campaign against it, written by Nicholas C. Chriss, appeared in the *Miami Herald* and was sent out on the *Miami Herald-Los Angeles Times Wire*. A big feature article on Houston in the June 4 *New York Times* mentioned the bombing of the SWP headquarters and devoted several paragraphs to the "understaffed" Houston Police Department's harassment of "agitators" like Black activist Lee Otis Johnson, who was imprisoned for 30 years on a frame-up drug charge.

The June 12 *New York Times* article referred to the growing campaign in Houston against right-wing terrorism, saying, "The grand jury began its investigation late last month after clamor from a number of liberal organizations that the police were making no attempt to arrest right-wing terrorists."

The June 12 *Times* article also reported Converse's recent statement that he intended to run for sheriff. Before the indictments were returned, Converse made an off-the-cuff remark



Frank Converse, grand dragon of Texas United Klans of America, says he plans to run for sheriff on platform of "bedsheets and sawed-off shotguns."

to a reporter that he would seek the sheriff's office on a platform of "bedsheets and sawed-off shotguns."

The Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston is continuing its efforts to publicize the acts of terror-

ism and the indictments until convictions are obtained. Urgently needed contributions to help the committee's work can be sent to Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, 4334 Leeland, Houston, Texas 77023.

Nat'l abortion conference set for mid-July

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

NEW YORK—Two hundred and twenty-five women, representing over 90 groups, met here June 12 and voted overwhelmingly to issue a call for a women's national conference on abortion July 16-18 in New York City. The objective of the conference will be to launch a nationwide campaign for the repeal of all abortion laws, with no forced sterilization.

The July 16-18 weekend has special historic significance as it is the anniversary of the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention where women of the last century met and mapped out strategy for what became the victorious women's suffrage movement.

The meeting was sponsored by the Committee for a Women's National Abortion Coalition (CWNAC). Although most of the women attending were from New York, there were carloads of women from 13 different states, including Rhode Island, Georgia and Michigan. The woman who traveled the farthest to the meeting was Marijean Suelzle of Berkeley, Calif. The cost of her plane fare to New York, she reported, was shared by the groups—NOW, Female Liberation, Graduate Women's Caucus—in which she participates.

Some of the groups sending representatives to the meeting included NOW, Planned Parenthood, Richmond College Abortion Referral Center, Women vs. Connecticut, Metropolitan Abortion Alliance, Communist Party U.S.A., National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws, Socialist Workers Party, Young Social-

ist Alliance, Older Women's Liberation, Black and Third World Women's Liberation Alliance of Boston, Zero Population Growth, Radical Feminists, International Socialists, New Haven Lesbians, and the Roosevelt-Wilson Democratic Club. The scope of these groups is a clear indication of the broad support the issue of abortion law repeal is attracting.

The meeting was opened with a moving statement by Dr. Barbara Roberts, from Women vs. Connecticut, about what had motivated her to become an initiator of this campaign. She described how, as a doctor, she had witnessed the anguish of pregnant women unable to have abortions, and seen the mutilated bodies of other women who had been forced to turn to butcher abortionists.

Statements by other organizers of this campaign pointed out that abortion is an issue the rulers of this country are currently using to attack the women's liberation movement, and stressed the necessity for women to respond in defense of our right to control our own bodies and lives. Also stressed were the many abortion coalitions already existing in most states, the number of suits challenging the constitutionality of abortion laws, and the necessity for some sort of united national coordination.

By uniting our energies on a national as well as a statewide basis, women said, we can draw to us the large numbers of women whom the polls show support the repeal of all abortion laws, and win important victories for all women.

When a motion was made that the best way victories can be won is to build a broad conference and coalition based on the repeal of all abortion laws with no forced sterilization, a political debate on how best to wage the campaign followed.

A number of women from the Gay Women's Liberation Front, International Socialists, New Haven Lesbians, and the Women's Strike Coalition accused CWNAC of attempting to "ax off" all the other demands of the women's movement. Disagreeing with a single-issue approach to organizing, they proposed that a slogan against gay oppression—freedom of sexual expression—be added as a demand of the coalition.

Women disagreeing with such a proposal pointed out that tacking a demand relating to the gay liberation movement onto a coalition whose explicit function is a victory around abortion law repeal can only confuse the masses of women who support abortion law repeal, and cut across the ability of the coalition to focus all its energies on one task.

Ellen Frankford, of the Women's Health and Abortion Project, said that basing an action coalition around a number of demands was like firing a shotgun without a target, when what was needed was to concentrate one's full blast and power on a specific point and win.

When some women at the meeting attempted to bait those who spoke against adding demands relating to gay oppression to the coalition as being "anti-gay", it was pointed out

that non-support of freedom of sexual expression as a goal of the coalition in no way implied non-support to it as an important goal. At this point, the necessity of basing the coalition on the principle of nonexclusion was discussed.

When women at the meeting finally voted down the proposal to add an additional demand, the originators of that proposal led a walk-out. They returned later to place another motion on the floor that all literature put out by the coalition deal with the question of freedom of sexual expression. This too was voted down.

A second debate at the meeting centered around whether the demand of the coalition should be repeal of all abortion laws, or free abortions. This debate was initiated by women from International Socialists, who claimed repeal of abortion laws would simply represent a "symbolic" victory and was a demand that was a "real leap backward" for the feminist movement.

In reply, women said there are many more women in the country at this time who support abortion law repeal than free abortions, and we don't want to exclude them.

Other speakers, pointed out that although they might support free abortions as an ultimate goal, the immediate step facing women today is the repeal of all existing legislation restricting a woman's right to control her own body—a very concrete, not symbolic, victory. Victories won in the fight for repeal, women pointed out, will create the confidence and con-

Continued on page 21

In Our Opinion

Out now!

Writing in the June 11 *New York Times*, James Reston pointed to the escalation of diplomatic double-talk being used by the Nixon administration: "Scarcely a day goes by without some official here in Washington assuring the American people that the U.S. is 'withdrawing' its troops from Vietnam, or without some official on the other side demanding that we set a date for 'withdrawal.' But the more they talk the more vague the meaning of 'withdrawal' becomes."

"One day officials here talk about withdrawing 'all American troops' from Vietnam and occasionally 'from Indochina,' which is not the same thing. Another day they speak of withdrawing 'all ground troops' from Vietnam, which could mean leaving the Air Force and the aircraft carriers behind."

The Nixon administration, which is seeking to disorient and diffuse the powerful antiwar majority by pretending to end the war, is fooling fewer and fewer people with its Orwellian newspeak about 'withdrawal' while American men continue to be drafted, sent to Vietnam, and wounded or killed there.

The duty of the antiwar movement is to clearly and unequivocally explain that when we talk about withdrawal we are speaking of the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops, materiel, and military assistance, not next year—not by some "reasonable" date in the future—but right now. And with absolutely no conditions on the Vietnamese people. Only by clearly explaining what we mean by immediate and unconditional withdrawal can we cut through Nixon's lies and appeal to the antiwar majority.

Unfortunately, some sections of the antiwar movement have hedged on the question of immediate withdrawal and are advocating instead that the United States "set the date" for withdrawal sometime in the future. This retreat contributes to the confusion surrounding the word "withdrawal." These forces recently rallied behind the Hatfield-McGovern Amendment, which went down to defeat in the Senate on June 16.

The Hatfield-McGovern Amendment was the response of the liberal capitalist politicians to the demand of the antiwar movement for "Out now!" Rather than providing a solution to the demand of the antiwar movement for an immediate end to the war, it would have legalized the continuation of the war at least until the end of 1971, thus sanctioning the continued slaughter of Vietnamese, Laotians and Cambodians and of GIs. Moreover, even the date of December 31, 1971, which was stipulated in the amendment, was conditional on the Vietnamese abiding by certain requirements to be set by Congress—the government of the aggressor. This totally violates the right of the Vietnamese to determine their own affairs.

The majority of the American people are not for "setting the date." They think the war is wrong and want it ended now. The broad support for the Hatfield-McGovern Amendment was in spite of—not because of—its rejection of immediate withdrawal. When the American people have had the opportunity to vote for immediate withdrawal—as in San Francisco, in Detroit and in Madison, Wis.,—they have done so overwhelmingly. "Out now!" was also the clear demand of the hundreds of thousands who demonstrated on April 24.

Both Nixon and his critics in Congress are talking about withdrawal sometime in the future. Neither side is talking about immediate and unconditional withdrawal. That demand has been raised consistently and forcefully only in the streets by the antiwar movement.

It would be foolish for the antiwar movement to become a lobby for the "set the date" liberals and give up its immediate withdrawal position. Yet it is precisely this perspective that is being put forward by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. In its call for a conference in Milwaukee at the end of June, PCPJ calls for a "'set the date' campaign for immediate withdrawal."

The mass action-immediate withdrawal section of the antiwar movement will be meeting at the convention of the National Peace Action Coalition to be held in New York City over the July 4 weekend.

"Set the date" is not a plan for ending the war but for continuing it. It is the "Out now" demand—which NPAC has consistently supported—that provides a realistic program for mobilizing the American people in an effective movement to end the war.

Letters

Feedback

I am sending you \$6 for a one-year renewal to *The Militant*. When I write this annual letter I try to make some constructive criticism to give you some "feedback." But this year, what can I say? It's a superb paper, the best radical paper in America!

The kinds of articles I liked best were "The truth about the Mayday Tribe" and Tony Thomas' criticisms of Tony Monteiro. I guess I enjoy a really good polemic, and yours are excellent.

Your front page varies a great deal. I prefer the three-quarter page photos like the May 21 issue. The May 28 issue was your weakest.

I'd like to see a few more movie reviews. Did you review *Patton*? Apart from the fact that it won an Academy Award, I wondered what you thought of it as an "antiwar" movie.

Good luck and I wish you continued growth in the future.

B. B.
New Rochelle, N. Y.

Soviet aid to N. Vietnam

[The following letter is in reply to a letter by Michael Smith printed in the April 9, 1971, *Militant*. It is addressed to Michael Smith.]

Your letter in the April 9 issue of *The Militant*, questioning "how much is Russia helping North Vietnam," seems to be emerging as a pattern of Soviet baiting.

Everyone knows, including yourself, that the NLF and the DRV have already demonstrated the ability to militarily inflict massive casualties and mount constant military offensive actions. They have frustrated the most powerful nation in the world and in a sense have militarily defeated it. That did not come about only by their heroism, revolutionary zeal and high morale.

Their remarkable military resistance and offensive feats would not have been possible without ARMS. That is, SAMs, AK47 rifles, tanks, artillery of all calibers, including the modern 122mm and 152mm pieces, ammunition of all sizes, military vehicles, river boats, PT boats, food, funds, etc.

The factories of North Vietnam hardly produced these. Yes, they came exclusively from the socialist nations of the world and in the first instance, the Soviet Union. Give the devil his due!

But more important. The task for us in the nerve center of world imperialism is *never* to forget that what the Vietnamese need to drive the American invader out is not more Soviet aid but a more powerful and united movement within our own country that challenges and will help change American foreign policy.

We becloud the issue of socialism when we equate the United States and the Soviet Union. There are two deadly diseases which have penetrated the body politic of our country. Racism and anticommunism.

Let's face it. Whatever criticism might be made of the Soviet Union, the military aid the Soviet Union and other socialist nations have provided has been decisive to the brilliant and heroic military resistance of the NLF and DRV.

S. W.
Detroit, Mich.

Reply by Michael Smith—You accuse me of Soviet baiting. That is,

appealing to prejudice rather than to facts and logic. I tried to make two points in my letter criticizing the Soviet Union's stance on Vietnam.

The Soviet Union, the second most powerful industrial nation in the world—a country that gives military aid to capitalist governments like those in Ceylon and West Pakistan, which are at this very moment using it to crush revolutionary movements—could give much more than the pitiful dole they now provide.

Nonsense, you say. Soviet aid has been "decisive." I maintain that judgment to be nonsense! The carnage in Vietnam has gone virtually unabated for three decades and not once has the Soviet Union stood firm to block an escalation.

It is you who becloud the issue of socialism by equating it with the Soviet Union. It is a society which has replaced capitalism, a society in transition, but not a socialist society of political freedom and economic abundance and equality. A socialist foreign policy would be genuinely international, as was Russia's in the early years of the revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

Why is it that the Communist parties around the world, which follow Moscow's lead on most things—particularly the slavish parties of Western Europe whose trade-union strength could call a paralyzing strike in support of the Vietnamese—have failed to mobilize antiwar demonstrations like we have here? Equally damning, why is it that not one mass action in support of the Vietnamese has occurred in Russia? Is it not that the conservative "don't rock the boat" bureaucrats are afraid to allow the people a sense of their own power? Remember Czechoslovakia? If only all the military hardware that was poured in (and still kept there) to squash a movement developing toward socialist democracy were given the Vietnamese revolutionaries.

We need a united, more powerful antiwar movement here, absolutely. Let us continue to work together, to build the July 2-4 antiwar conference of the National Peace Action Coalition, to defend the Vietnamese revolution by making the slogan "Out Now!"—already on the lips of a majority of Americans—a magnificent reality . . . and a smashing blow to Nixon and the stench he represents.

Detroit, Mich.

Signalmen highly skilled

The Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen, a small union of only 13,000, showed its economic power on May 17, and the ranks were disappointed when their strike was called off. These men deserve better than they are getting.

The signalmen are probably the most highly skilled of the various crafts of rail workers. They install and maintain the complex system of signals that control the movement of trains on the main lines. They also maintain and repair the complicated electronic gear that activates the semiautomatic switching of the trains that come into the main marshaling yards.

Most of their work is that of electricians, but there is a lot of heavy work involved too. In their grievance setup they have tended to get short shrift because of the small size of their union. They are on 24-hour call, and most of the problems they encounter come when the weather is

The Great Society

worst, blizzards and the like.

For this they have been receiving \$3.78 per hour, with a four-hour guarantee when they get called out of bed in the middle of the night to cope with a crisis situation. Like the operating rail workers, they've been without a contract for many months.

C.J. Chamberlain, president of the Signalmen, called an apparently "token" strike. Like other union officials, he seems to think the government is an impartial arbiter standing above workers and employers. So leave it to Congress to come up with a better contract.

I guess there are fewer than a half-million railroad workers left today, but we are all getting fed up with this runaround Congress gives us.

*Charlie Scheer
Minneapolis, Minn.*

Chrysler to lay off 1,300

Unemployment must be bad everywhere, but it seems to be worse here in Southern California. The old L.A. Chrysler assembly plant is closing July 9, putting 1,300 employees in the street. Maybe some of the higher ranking bosses can move to other Chrysler plants in other parts of the country, but the workers will be stuck here.

It won't be easy for them to get by on "Reagan's relief" after unemployment benefits run out and severance pay is gone.

The United Auto Workers union officials say they will meet with Chrysler to get the company to change its mind about closing the plant. Small chance.

We have been told that the big corporations in this country have all the "know-how," that we can depend upon them to keep things running. Now the UAW leader here, Paul Schrade, says the unions have been telling Chrysler all along to build good small cars, but the know-it-all corporation heads won't listen. Instead they are crying about the foreign imports from Germany and Japan, which account for 41 percent of all retail car sales in the L.A. area.

These foreign imports are not much good and contribute their small share to our pollution problem, but the products of Chrysler, Ford and GM are worse.

I hope those laid-off workers will decide one of these days to take over the abandoned plants and put them to some good use producing things we need and can use and that will last—not something that contributes to extinction of the human race.

*Jane Wheeler
Los Angeles, Calif.*

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

Live well, and longer too—If you're looking for a longer life, head for the governorship. An insurance survey disclosed that over the past 70 years governors enjoyed a 10 percent lower mortality rate than the general population. The best jobs are in New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Their governors have the lowest mortality rate of any group in the country—21 percent below the general population.

Credibility Gulch—Large-mouthed Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty has won a lower credibility rating than any other mayor in California, according to a recent TV survey. Only 3 percent of those polled found the good mayor "completely open and truthful." Other mayors in the state enjoy the confidence of a solid 10 percent of the people.

How gracious can you get?—Patricia and Tricia Nixon surprised tourists by making themselves available to autograph a new edition of the White House Guidebook. The price just went from \$1.20 to \$1.50.

A once mighty empire—Ten members of Queen Elizabeth's ceremonial drum corps were charged with showing up

late for parade. The tardiness was in protest against overwork and too much practicing. One of the 10 was also charged for refusing to have his hair cut.

Santa Claws—George Shultz, director of the U.S. Office of Management and Budget, says we have to develop a hard line with our world trading partners. "We have to change the U.S. image," says Shultz, "from that of Santa Claus to that of the old hard-bargaining Yankee trader."

Room at the top—Former New York Police Commissioner Howard Leary, now a private snooper, says he's just learning that it's the big crooks you have to watch: "... most people worry about the dishonest employee who may steal a few thousand dollars. But it is the top executive... who is pocketing a much greater sum." And he's only talking about the illegal take.

Of bonds and Bibles—Portland proponents of "Our Way" have been playing host to Soviet seamen who dock there. One tour included a visit to a stockbroker's office where a broker explained the principle of stock ownership as much the same as if all

the sailors owned their ship equally. A local skid-row sky pilot organizes bus tours for the sailors and puts Russian-language Bibles on each seat. He reports: "On the first trip, they stole four, and on the second they took one. That's progress." Right.

Stole—A "survival" diet, consisting mainly of cereal, white bread and beans, is available from Los Angeles County nutrition experts for those desirous of getting by with a food bill of \$2.13 a day for a family of four. Says county nutritionist Trandailer Brewer: "It's monotonous but better than starving." Particularly if it's other people's families.

This Is Your Afterlife—Moving away from a previously sectarian posture, the Vatican urged the hierarchy to get more involved in use of the mass media, including everything from TV to comic books.

Do you hear the man?—A federal noise abatement official says that the noises of the cities have been doubling every 10 years and it is feared that if the process continues "people who dwell in the noisiest sections will be deaf in the year 2000."

—HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

Why are 98 percent of domestic workers, 97 percent of secretaries, and three out of four clerical workers in this country women? The New York chapter of the National Organization for Women has done a study which shows that young women are channeled into these and other "women's jobs" by the school system. Their horizons are systematically limited, and their talents are not developed.

NOW has compiled a 50-page "Report on Sex Bias in the Public Schools," which it presented before the New York Board of Education on April 20 (available for \$1 from Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003).

It documents the many forms of discrimination against female students and institutionalized favoritism to male students. For instance, gym classes are segregated, with boys getting to use better equipment and encouraged to learn more exacting activities. In music, girls are encouraged to learn to play certain musical instruments considered to be more "ladylike." Girls are not allowed in many cases to be hall monitors, to be part of stage crews, or to be "audio-visual aides" (students who run film projectors).

The report notes that in New York City public schools there are 77 major technical courses open to males and 36 to females. Most of the female courses are open to males, but most of the male courses are not open to females. For instance, females are required to take cooking in junior high school, but are not allowed to attend the Food and Maritime Trades High School, the only school where they can study to be chefs.

Males are excluded from courses in Practical Nursing and Pre-Registered Nursing. In dentistry, there are two courses of study: Dental Laboratory Processing for males and Dental Office Assisting for females.

Of 17 sexually segregated vocational high schools, 12 are for males and only five for women.

Female students have been discriminated against by the public school system for years, but what is different now is that these young women are refusing to accept this discrimination. The NOW report includes excerpts from testimony given by female students fighting court cases against discrimination they have faced.

Gigi Gordon, a ninth grader from Junior High School 217, tried to get into the Audio-Visual Aide Squad at her school, which was only for boys. She testified: "The teacher said it would be okay to get into it. We had to fight for that, but we got into it. And the teacher said that he would show us how to work the things. And he showed us how to work them. And then we never got called to be on the squad. We never got called to set up any such equipment... We went to the teacher. We asked him why we weren't called. He said, 'Well, there

are plenty of other boys who can do the job and they have been on the squad longer than you.'"

Julie Nives, another ninth grader, told the court how a group of students in her gym class had refused to take off their gym suits, and marched in their suits down to the assistant principal's office to complain because all they were supposed to do in gym was listen to records and do exercises that were "only to slim your waistline and help you walk down the street."

Marcy Silverman, an eleventh-grade student at Jamaica High School, told how she had tried to be on the Honor Guard, which is the group of students who monitor the halls. "I asked my gym teacher if I could be on the Honor Guard Squad. She said it was only open to boys. I then went to the head of the Honor Guard, a Mr. Baron, who said that he thought girls were much too nasty to be Honor Guards."

Silverman also testified about the unequal courses in sex education given to male and female students: "There's boys' hygiene and girls' hygiene and I know in some of the boys' hygiene classes they—I'm not quite sure if it's specifically in the curriculum, but there has been discussion of birth control in the boys' hygiene classes, and when we attempted to, you know, discuss it in our girls' classes, they told us we couldn't do it, we couldn't talk about things like that, and girls have tried to bring in booklets to distribute in the class... and they told us to get it out of the school."

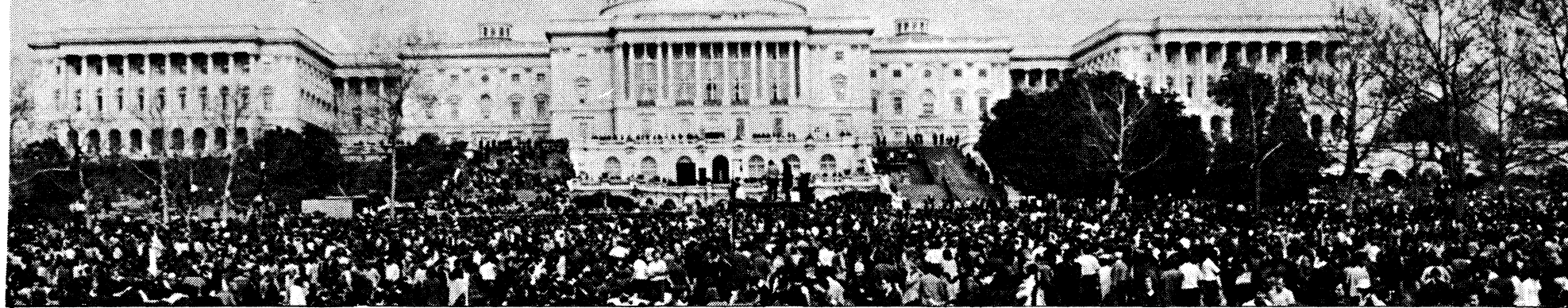
Silverman and about 30 other women students requested to be able to play soccer and run track like the boys did, instead of doing folk dancing, but, she testified, "I was told that the boys use the fields and, you know, because of that we're not allowed to use them. Because they get priority. The teacher told me that."

The New York High School Women's Coalition has initiated a class-action court suit against all discrimination in public schools. Already one partial victory has been won in the area of sports. Last September, Phyllis Graber, a 16-year-old student at Jamaica High School, filed a complaint with the City Commission on Human Rights because she was not allowed to play on the boys' tennis team, although she was qualified. She won, and on March 26 of this year the State Board of Regents voted to allow female students to compete with males in some noncontact sports.

Two studies released April 27 by the American bishops of the Roman Catholic Church have found that a majority of U.S. priests reject the Catholic Church's teaching against artificial birth control and believe that priests should be free to marry.

—CAROLINE LUND

Socialist Party and April 24



By LARRY SEIGLE

"SOCIALISTS OPPOSE D. C. PROTEST— The Socialist Party opposes the April and May Vietnam protests to be held in the nation's capital. Its members and local organizations were urged not to participate. . . ."

So read the front page of the April 20 *New America*, four-page biweekly publication of the Socialist Party in the United States.

Two recent articles by Michael Harrington, SP chairman, have attacked April 24, placing the SP in the same anti-mass-action camp as the Communist Party, the Progressive Labor Party, and the assorted selection of ultra-left grouplets—all of whom have argued against continued mass action against the war.

Harrington's first article appeared in the same issue of *New America* as the above quote. It is part of a running debate within the SP over the antiwar movement.

The second article, entitled "The Peace Movement is Using the Wrong Strategy," was featured in the May 30 *New York Times Magazine*. It is a polemic against both the Mayday actions and the April 24 mass marches.

It is worth taking a look at the arguments presented by Harrington, because in his naked and unabashed support for the Democratic Party, he makes crystal clear what some other reformists, such as the Communist Party, try to cover up with radical verbiage. The fundamental source of their opposition to actions like April 24 is the fear that mass antiwar actions in the streets will cut across the continued subordination of the masses of the American people to capitalist parties and capitalist politicians.

Harrington and the SP

The SP is a weak organization, and it is divided internally. Some members, fed up with attempting to activate the party, have left. Others have organized themselves into the "Debs Caucus," which criticizes Harrington and other party leaders from the left.

On the other side, Harrington has to deal with a majority so far to the right that it passed a position of active opposition to the recent antiwar demonstrations. That was too much even for Harrington, who, while not in favor of supporting April 24, felt that it would do no service to the SP to come out openly in opposition to the broad range of forces that had endorsed the action. He was especially concerned about not isolating the party from those Democratic Party politicians who felt it prudent to be identified with the growing antiwar movement.

Harrington outlines the three main currents within the antiwar movement. First, the mass action perspective, of which April 24 is the most recent achievement. Second, the civil disobedience current, represented by Mayday and the People's Coalition for

Peace and Justice. And third, the one that Harrington favors, lobbying for the Hatfield-McGovern Amendment, which would set the date for U. S. withdrawal.

Although Harrington's debate with April 24 is our main interest here, a word must be said about his slanderous attacks on the Mayday demonstrators. Echoing the congressional witch-hunters, he condemns the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (of which Mayday is a component) because they "invite Communist hawks into a peace coalition." To Harrington, entering a coalition with the Communist Party constitutes a capital offense.

He goes on to contend that the Mayday demonstrations "only . . . create sympathy for Richard Nixon." Whatever one's attitude towards the Mayday actions—for our part, we think they were politically ineffective and resulted in demoralization and disorientation among the participants—it is simply not true that Nixon, let alone the war in Indochina, was any more popular as a result of the protests.

Red-baiting

One of the objections to April 24 raised by Harrington is the role of revolutionaries, especially the activists of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, in helping to organize it.

In the *New York Times* article, Harrington makes a point of attacking the red-baiters like Richard Ichord, head of the House Internal Security Committee, who has charge that April 24 was "dominated" by Trotskyists, who concealed their true objectives from the hundreds of thousands of marchers on April 24. This departure from the position held by many Social Democrats of lining up with the most reactionary witch-hunters is to Harrington's credit, although it is much more a sign of the general weakening of anticommunism than of any conversion to the principle of nonexclusionism by the chairman of the SP. (He still has to appeal to the readers of the *Times* for a renewed "freedom-loving anti-Communism.") But in his *New America* article, this "democratic socialist" actually echoes Ichord's line of thinking: "There are, in effect, two marches taking place on April 24th: the one which will be defined by the overwhelming majority of the participants [and] the one intended by the organizers of the effort." The majority of the demonstrators, Harrington prophesied, will be "democrats sincerely concerned with peace, not secret partisans of a Viet Cong victory. . . . However, the initiators and chief organizers of the April 24th march, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, do not fit that category at all. . . ." He goes on to "charge" that the SWP and YSA favor a "victory over 'American Imperial-

ism.'" That the SWP and YSA support the Vietnamese revolution is about as "secret" as Nixon's position in favor of a victory for American imperialism! Yet Harrington maintains that "the SWP and YSA have concealed their real political position." (Will some generous reader please send this man a subscription to *The Militant*, which has week after week defended the Vietnamese revolution. Perhaps then he can no longer pretend to discover such "secrets.")

'Mensheviks' and 'Bolsheviks'

Harrington argues that the "Trotskyites . . . played a role in initiating the march, but worked like Bolsheviks to make it as Menshevik as possible." The basis for this charge of "Menshevism" is, according to Harrington, that the SWP and YSA are "sworn opponents of the 'class collaborationists' in the Kennedy and McCarthy movements and bitter foes of the notion that Democratic congressmen can end the war—and yet they helped assemble a gigantic audience which demonstrated in favor of just such an approach."

This is about as self-contradictory as you can get! Harrington's whole article is an attack on April 24 precisely because it went *beyond* the limits of the Democratic Party, and provided an alternative to relying on the Kennedys and McCarthys to end the war. In fact, it is precisely the fact that April 24 was not "Menshevik" (confined to liberal capitalist politics) that has the real Mensheviks like Harrington up in arms.

He spells it out: "I do not think that mass marches are an effective instrument for ending our Vietnamese involvement. When they are nonviolent and oriented toward political action, as the April rally was, they can have a certain positive effect, but neither that, nor the solidarity and good feelings which they evoke in the participants, justify the expenditure of time and money, which could be much better spent on political organization."

"Political organization," of course, to Harrington means restricting one's activities to lobbying Congress for things like the Hatfield-McGovern Amendment and pushing doorbells for Democratic Party "peace" candidates. Here, Harrington openly expresses the problem that all of the reformists see with the perspective of continued mass action. Rather than continuing to rely on the "good" politicians, the antiwar movement has, through periodic mass actions in the streets, tried to mobilize the independent power of the masses of people to force the U. S. out of Indochina, not by 1972, or by the end of 1971, or within a "reasonable" time period, but *right now*.

The antiwar movement must be broad enough to include those who believe one should vote for liberal peace candidates. Most people who supported April 24th still maintain

illusions about the Democratic Party and do not yet understand that as a capitalist party it cannot possibly be altered to represent the interests of the majority of the American people. But there is a contradiction between a strategy of continuing to rely on capitalist politicians and the strategy of maintaining a movement built around mass action independent of the capitalist parties.

It is their opposition to mass action that unites the liberals and reformists of all varieties, including the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, in their stance against the perspective of more demonstrations like April 24. Mass action, Harrington complains, doesn't "accomplish the hard work of political organization which is crucial at this point. . . . What therefore needs to be done is to organize politically around the McGovern-Hatfield demand for ending United States participation in the war this year. That is the kind of democratic militance that the president of the United States cannot ignore."

The folly of placing confidence in politicians like Hatfield and McGovern is clearly revealed by the fact that they have recently watered down their bill (in order to increase its chances for passage) by making withdrawal contingent on an "acceptable" response by Hanoi on the question of releasing prisoners. This only a month after almost a million people marched in the streets for immediate and unconditional withdrawal! Hatfield, McGovern, and the other capitalist politicians are not responsive to the wishes of the majority of Americans. They understand only one thing: the mass pressure of the millions organized independently of capitalist politicians like themselves. What Harrington tries to cover up is the fact that it is only as a result of the years of demonstrations and rallies against the war, successively drawing in more and more sectors of society, that bills like the Hatfield-McGovern proposal have been introduced. And it is only through continued mass actions in the streets, not by diverting the antiwar movement into a lobbying effort, that Nixon will be finally forced out of Indochina, the way he was forced to get U. S. troops out of Cambodia by the massive upsurge in May 1970.

As the 1972 elections approach, the Harringtons will be intensifying their appeal to give up independent mass actions for "effective" political action. They want to scuttle the antiwar movement because it represents an alternative course to the continued subordination of the American people to capitalist politics.

But the most effective thing that the antiwar movement can do is to stay in the streets, continue to reach out to new sections of the population, and mobilize them in action around the demand for immediate and unconditional withdrawal.

Seattle Chicanos answer red-baiters

By SUSAN SHINN

SEATTLE—It is often argued that the antiwar movement should cease to mobilize people around the central demand of immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia, and that instead it should adopt a general program for changing society. Proponents of this view often contend that the demand of immediate withdrawal is not "relevant" to Blacks, Chicanos, women or working people.

This argument is false. It is oppressed nationalities who suffer the highest casualties in this war. It is working people whose sons are on the frontlines and whose real wages fall because of war-induced inflation. It is women whose needs go begging while \$30-billion a year is shoveled into the destruction in Southeast Asia. Withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam would be a significant victory for all these sectors of the population.

When we examine the argument that the antiwar movement should adopt a multi-issue program, the question arises as to whose program would be adopted. There are dozens of political groups who have fundamental political differences over questions like nationalism, community control, and self-determination. These groups can hardly be expected to adopt someone else's program. Most people who advocate a multi-issue program for the antiwar movement know this. What they are trying to do is impose their own particular program on the antiwar movement.

This can be clearly seen in a dispute that occurred in Seattle over the political character of the antiwar movement. The dispute began last fall when the Oct. 31 Peace Action Committee (which later became the Seattle Peace Action Coalition) invited the Brown Berets and MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil de Chicanos de Aztlan) to organize a Chicano contingent to lead the antiwar march. The decision to ask the Chicano contingent to lead the march was made in order to express solidarity with the Chicano Moratorium and to oppose the police attacks on Chicanos in Los Angeles. The Brown Berets and MECHA accepted.

The march itself went very well. The Brown Berets helped to provide monitors for the demonstration. Halfway along the route, the march was joined by a number of Anglos calling themselves the "Third World Brigade." It consisted of Youth Against War and Fascism, International Socialists, and various independent ultralefts around the *Sabot*, a local radical paper. March monitors attempted to integrate these people into the march, although some heated exchanges occurred as *Sabot* people moved in front of the

Chicano contingent and tried to lead the march off in another direction. When this did not work, the *Sabot* people tried to get the Brown Berets to raise slogans and demands that *Sabot* supported. This failed too.

Like most ultralefts, *Sabot* has always had a stereotyped concept of oppressed nationalities, a concept that does not include antiwar activity. When the stereotype did not fit, when the Berets chose to march in a single-focus antiwar demonstration that *Sabot* opposed, it refused to respect this decision. In fact, in the issue following the march, it carried a vicious red-baiting article attacking the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. It also stated that "some of us have heard the rumor that the October 31st committee brought the Chicano contingent up from Colorado and California" to exercise "reverse racism" on the march. This was a total falsehood and slander.

On April 17, another antiwar march was organized by the Seattle Peace Action Coalition. Again the Chicanos were asked to lead the march. This time an effective effort was made to involve other Third World people. The central demand of immediate and unconditional withdrawal was endorsed by the Black Student Union, the Iranian Students Association, MECHA, the Brown Berets, and the Arab Student Association. That too, however, did not fit *Sabot's* stereotype. This time the ultraleftists tried seriously to disrupt the march and rally. When they tried to storm the stage, they were held off by a defense guard. *Sabot* was infuriated. The April 20 issue contained

an open letter to the Brown Berets, which attacked the Berets' role in helping to defend the stage and accused the Berets of being used by the YSA and the Student Mobilization Committee.

This letter was answered by both the Brown Berets and Stephanie Coontz, Seattle antiwar and Socialist Workers Party leader who was chairing the rally when the attack occurred. Coontz' letter of April 30 read in part:

"You're damned right there was a defense guard. It was made up of members of SEAPAC, SMC, MECHA, the Brown Berets and the YSA, as well as some unaffiliated individuals. It was there to protect the rally from so-called movement people who refuse to accept democratic decisions made by a coalition and try to impose their will on the movement by force. It was there to protect people from the bunch of hooligans who had surrounded me during the march, threatened me with the sticks of their black flags, and chanted 'Ice-pick the Trots, Ice-pick the Trots.' It was there to protect people from the small group of disrupters and, despite their radical rhetoric, racists who taunted the Berets with shouts of 'Mexican thugs.'"

The Berets' answer is the most telling indictment of the ultraleftists. "Part-time revolutionists like you," wrote the Berets to *Sabot*, "can afford to be radical. When it's convenient for you, you cut off your hair and shave your whiskers and you blend in perfectly with the crowd. For La Raza and Brown Berets, it's impossible to escape the reality of daily oppression."

The Berets also answered the charge that they had been used, announcing

that "we did what we did willingly. . . . To the brothers and sisters in the struggle that marched with us, the Chicano contingent was a symbol, a gesture of respect for all our fallen *carnales* [brothers] that have died in your gringo war."

Finally, the Berets categorically rejected *Sabot's* attempts at red-baiting. While pointing out that they may not agree with all the political views of the YSA, they will continue to work with it on issues of common agreement. "Your cheap attempt to turn us against them displays your ignorance of what a Chicano is and what a Chicano stands for."

By failing to understand that the demand for immediate withdrawal is central to the struggle of all oppressed peoples, the ultraleftists play into the hands of the Nixon administration, which is attempting to convince women, working people, and oppressed nationalities that the antiwar movement is irrelevant to anyone but a few students. Nixon has failed to convince the American people of this. He will continue to fail as long as we all understand that the war in Southeast Asia cuts across all struggles, and that none of us will gain our freedom while this war is allowed to continue.

This does not mean that the antiwar struggle is a substitute for fighting for women's, Black and Chicano liberation. On the contrary, it is a key struggle, which organizations and individuals from all these sectors are joining, which deals blows against the imperialist rulers and strengthens all the movements fighting to change this society.



Seattle, April 17, 1971, antiwar demonstration

Photo by Shelby Harris

Soviet poet tortured in mental hospital

From Intercontinental Press

"In the madhouse, wring your hands, Press your white brow against the wall like a face against a snow drift. But to those who guard the wall, a bold look."

Natalia Gorbanevskaja wrote these lines in 1966 when she heard that officials in the Potma forced labor camp used tranquilizing drugs in an attempt to break the spirit of her fellow poet, Yuri Galanskov.

On Christmas Eve 1969, Gorbanevskaja herself was arrested and charged with slandering the Soviet state and social system. On July 8, 1970, she was declared "mentally incompetent" after hearings that lasted only fourteen hours.

Gorbanevskaja was not present in the court. She was already in the psy-

chiatric ward of the Butyrka prison hospital. On January 8, 1970, she was transferred from Butyrka to the mental hospital in Kazan, after she went on a hunger strike to protest her own imprisonment and that of other political oppositionists.

Locking up political dissidents in mental institutions is a practice that goes back to the most barbaric tsars in the prerevolutionary period. But, according to a report in the May 19 issue of the Copenhagen daily *Politiken*, the Stalinist bureaucrats have made some innovations in the method.

"Several sources in the Soviet Union, including the latest issue of the underground paper *Chronicle of Human Events*, indicate that the thirty-four-year-old Soviet writer Natalia Gorbanevskaja . . . has been subjected to

experiments that make it unlikely that she will ever be able to live in freedom again as a normal human being," J. B. Holmgard wrote.

The Danish journalist quoted an appeal smuggled out of the Soviet Union as follows: "I have been asked to inform you that Natalia Gorbanevskaja's condition is very serious. She is being subjected to a 'cure' that is designed to make her apathetic and indifferent. I have not been told what methods are being used. I was told only that Natalia Gorbanevskaja is not given a moment's peace. She can only pace back and forth in her cell. They told me: 'She looks like a tormented animal locked up in a cage.'"

Natalia Gorbanevskaja first came to the attention of international public opinion—and the political police, and Soviet psychiatrists—when she

took part in a demonstration in Moscow August 25, 1968, against the invasion of Czechoslovakia. At that time she was arrested and subjected to a mental examination, which showed her to be normal.

Starting December 5, 1970, Constitution Day, Natalia Gorbanevskaja went on a hunger strike and maintained it for a week. In her statement she declared her "solidarity with the political prisoners in the labor camps of Mordvinia, in the prisons of Lefortova and Butyrka, in the mental hospitals in Leningrad, Kazan, Chernyakhovsk, and other institutions," and her "protest against the unconstitutional, political jailings, including my own arrest, long detention, and the deliberate lie that I am mentally incompetent."



Palestinian refugees

Jordan launches series of attacks on Palestinians

By TONY THOMAS

A new wave of attacks on the Palestinian resistance was launched at the end of May by the reactionary government of Jordan. This was the latest in a series of attacks the Palestinians have suffered since the September 1970 Jordanian civil war.

According to the June 2 *Le Monde*, the Hussein government cut off all communications with Palestinian commando bases in northern Jordan on May 30. This was in response to several bombings of Jordanian emplacements on May 29.

On the night of May 30-31, the "Tomb of the Martyrs"—a monument to fallen Palestinian commandos—was dynamited by the Jordanians. The next morning bulldozers leveled the remains of the shrine.

The Jordanians accused one part of the resistance forces of sabotage and another of being in the service of "foreign powers." Hussein attempted to imply that the Palestinians, especially the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), were planning to accept U.S.-Soviet proposals to set up a Palestinian mini-state on the West Bank of the Jordan River. This is an obvious slander since the PLO and every other Palestinian resistance organization have rejected and polemicized against the mini-state proposal.

At a June 2 press conference in Beirut, reported in the June 3 *Le Monde*, Ramal Adouane, a member of the Central Committee of the PLO, responded to Hussein's charges. Adouane claimed that sabotage in Jordan was not part of the PLO's strategy. (The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine later claimed responsibility for the bombings.)

According to *Le Monde*, he "reaffirmed that the resistance has no current plan to overturn the regime in Jordan."

Adouane said the provocations were "a pretext invoked by the Jordanian authorities to liquidate the Palestinian revolution. Our position has not changed. We are for the establishment of a democratic state in Palestine where Jews, Christians and Moslems will be equal."

Kamal Nasser, another spokesman for the PLO, "declared that since its creation the Jordanian regime hasn't stopped conspiring against the Arab nation. 'The current events are only the continuation of the bloody confrontation last September. . . .'"

A report in the June 6 *Washington Post* seemingly contradicted *Le Monde's* report of Adouane's statements about not having a perspective of overthrowing Hussein. The *Post* reported that on June 5 seven Palestinian groups—Al Fateh, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Popular Front-General Command, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Popular Struggle Front, and the Arab Liberation Front—called for the overthrow of Hussein's government in a broadcast over Iraqi radio.

The June 14 *Christian Science Monitor* carried an article based on an interview with Yasir Arafat, chairman of the PLO and leader of Al Fateh, the largest Palestinian commando organization.

Arafat told the *Monitor* that the situation in Jordan was "very bad now," because the Jordanian government "insists on carrying out their conspiracy against us. This is not only aimed at our revolution and fighters but against our refugees and people, which is very serious and dangerous."

Arafat stated that fighting in Amman, Ruseifeh, Zarqua, and other towns in Jordan in the last few weeks disproved Hussein's claims to have "cleaned" guerrilla forces from the main towns of Jordan.

Arafat said that the restriction of the Palestinians to the Jordan Valley "places [them] between two fires: Israel's Army and Jordan's Army," and that this had reduced guerrilla operations in that area.

He said that despite previous agreements about freedom of movement in the Jordan Valley, "all guerrilla bases in that area are surrounded by Jordanian forces."

The *Monitor* wrote, "Mr. Arafat said a 'Jordanian National Front' recently urging overthrow of Prime Minister Wasfi al-Tell's [usually transliterated Wasfi Tal] Jordan government consisted of 'honest people who oppose the pressure on the Palestinian revolution. Our links with them are not strong, but we'll help them if they ask us to.'"

Arafat indicated that he was trying to get other Arab states, especially Syria and Egypt, who had guaranteed previous agreements with Hussein, to aid the Palestinian struggle.

As usual, both Egypt and Syria called Hussein names—Egypt "scandalous," and Syria "murderer"—while refusing to lift a finger to save the commandos.

Judge refuses bail for Angela Davis

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN RAFAEL, June 15—After 20 minutes of court testimony today, Judge Richard E. Arnason denied bail to Angela Davis.

The defense had argued previously that according to legal precedent, bail may be withheld only in unusual capital offenses, where presumption of guilt is great. Judge Arnason indicated in his decision that he believes the grand jury indictment had produced "sufficient" evidence against Davis, but declined to say whether he presumed Davis guilty of being an accessory to murder, kidnapping, and conspiracy.

Arnason's vagueness was intolerable to spectators who filled every seat of the tiny courtroom. Many challenged his decision with shouts of "On what issue?" Arnason murmured "It's purely a legal issue," and hastened to recess the court.

"We find it [the decision] incredible," said chief defense counsel for Davis, Howard Moore Jr., "but we are not really surprised . . . it is very rare to find a judge with courage." Moore said appeals would commence in two or three weeks but that he believed it would be difficult to find an appellate judge to rule favorably on the bail issue.

Franklin Alexander, national coordinator of the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis, told the press, "We do not feel, we never have felt that they are going to give justice in the courts." He explained that the defense committee believed it is neces-

sary to make use of both the legal battle in the courts and the mass struggle in the streets.

He announced a mass demonstration to free Davis, Ruchell Magee, and all political prisoners for this summer at Sacramento, the state capital. The July 4 date for the action has been dropped, however, and a new date has yet to be selected.

Yesterday, Moore submitted to the court 36,000 signatures on a petition demanding bail for Davis. He said that more signatures were arriving daily from around the country. He also produced five bound volumes containing numerous resolutions favoring bail for Davis from labor unions, professional groups, civic organizations, lawyers, and well-known news commentators.

Judge Arnason showed his hand on the bail decision yesterday by suggesting that the indictment of Davis and Magee be divided into two cases. It was then charged by Magee's court-appointed counsel, Ernest Graves, that severance would enable Arnason to sidestep the bail question because it would enable Davis to have a speedy trial without regard to Magee's appeals to the federal courts.

In a statement of Angela Davis' position, Moore said, "Since the state has joined us together we feel we have a common struggle. We do not want to be isolated from our brother Ruchell Magee." Judge Arnason conceded that since neither the state nor the defense had desired severance at this time, he would withdraw his suggestion.

Harvard encroaches on Black community

By JEFF POWERS

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., June 14—The City Council here narrowly defeated a resolution today that would have prevented Harvard University from obtaining building and demolition permits for the construction of two high-rise apartments in the predominantly Black Riverside community. The apartments are to house Harvard faculty and married students. Although the resolution passed three to two with three abstentions and one absence, it was not carried because it lacked the necessary majority of five votes.

Persons who spoke against the expansion at the City Council meeting included Sandra Graham of the Riverside Planning Team (RPT) and Joe Miles, Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Council. Miles demanded that Harvard Corporation's books be opened to the public so the community could assess the profits accruing from its housing operations. He also called for taxing Harvard's property, using the money obtained to provide high-quality low-rent housing.

Harvard is one of the largest landlords in Cambridge. At present, it owns over 1,200 housing units and over 190 acres of land, of which 117 acres are tax exempt. From 1968 to the present, Harvard has expanded its personnel 34 percent. This increase, coupled with similar increases at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Boston University, has taken a heavy toll on Cambridge residents. Cam-

bridge rents have risen a nation-leading 250 percent since 1960.

The Riverside community has been the area heaviest hit by Harvard expansion. In the past 10 years, Harvard has torn down low and moderate income housing to build high-rise apartments for its married students and staff.

Since 1969, when the RPT, a federally funded Office of Economic Opportunity project, mobilized the community to go to Harvard's June graduation and demand redress, the university has been promising to build low-cost housing.

To date there have been regular negotiations between the RPT and Harvard, but only a minimal number of housing units have been built.

When Harvard recently announced plans to build two new apartment buildings in Riverside, the RPT broke off discussions.

The planned buildings would provide housing for 278 Harvard families at rents ranging from \$320 per month for a single bedroom apartment, to \$500 per month for three bedrooms.

The RPT decided to take the issue to the streets. It organized a march of 150 people to the City Council meeting June 14.

The hypocrisy of the City Council was evident in the fact that although not one member spoke in favor of Harvard's plan, they arranged the vote for implementation of the plan.

France's Communist League holds national convention

By MARY-ALICE WATERS

ROUEN, France—The Second National Convention of the Communist League, French Section of the Fourth International, took place here the weekend of May 29-31. Unlike the April 1969 founding convention of the League, which was held secretly in Germany in order to sidestep possible attempts by the French government to ban the organization, the convention took place openly and without legal complications.

Coming only two weeks after the highly successful, 30,000-strong international demonstration hosted by the League in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the Paris Commune, the public spotlight was on the convention. The opening session was open to the press and was widely reported. The June 1 issue of the influential Paris daily *Le Monde*, for example, carried a half-page article summarizing the opening reports of Alain Krivine and Henri Weber. Krivine's report assessed the current political situation in France and drew a balance sheet of the organization's activities over the last two years. Weber outlined the political perspectives for the coming period, stressing the importance of the League's activities in both the factories and the schools.

The convention was attended by close to 500 delegates and observers, including 45 foreign observers from 27 different countries. Given the impossibility of finding a hall big enough to accommodate all the members of the League who would have liked to attend, the convention was open only to elected delegates, members of the various leadership bodies established by the last convention, and observers from the immediate vicinity of Rouen.

According to the credentials report given to the convention, 65 percent of those present were under 25. By occupation, they were 25 percent wage and salary workers, 24 percent teachers, and 43 percent students. Ten percent were female.

The opening reports by Krivine and Weber were followed by a full day's discussion focused on the League's trade-union work, to which top priority has been given since the founding convention, and on the problems and perspectives for the student movement. Of major concern was the question of the relationship between the political activities of the League in



Photo by Elie Kagan

Delegates to second convention of French Communist League in Rouen May 29-31.

the universities and high schools, and the trade union and political activities in the factories.

There was extensive discussion around the question of whether or not a revolutionary youth organization could or should be established, and what the character of such an orga-

nization would be. Several different positions were expressed in the course of the debate, and it was finally decided to continue the discussion on the question of a youth organization during the coming months.

The evening of the second day of the convention was devoted to meet-

ings of the working commissions that direct the various activities of the League: workers, students (divided into university, high school, technical high school), teachers, anti-imperialist, women, press, and a commission on organizational problems.

Resolutions drawn up by the commissions outlining the major perspectives for work in the coming period were presented to the final session of the convention for brief discussion and vote. A new enlarged Central Committee was elected by the convention, and the Central Committee in turn elected a new Political Bureau to direct the day-to-day work of the League between now and the next convention.

Housing, food and transportation for the participants in the convention were very efficiently organized on short notice by the Communist League members in Rouen. (Last minute difficulties in finding a meeting place in Paris forced the shift to Rouen, a major industrial and commercial city about 100 miles west of Paris.) Everyone was housed with members and sympathizers of the League, food was provided by the cafeteria at the University of Rouen, and cars were mobilized to get everyone where they were supposed to be, and on time.

More than anything else, the convention reflected the swift growth of the Communist League since its founding two years ago and its expanding influence on the left in France. (The League was created by former members of two organizations—the Internationalist Communist Party and the Revolutionary Communist Youth—both of which were banned by the DeGaulle government for their role in the May-June 1968 revolutionary upsurge in France.)

The youthfulness of the convention reflected the significant new forces which are coming to the Trotskyist movement around the world in this period of deepening radicalization. And the internationalist spirit of the convention was one of its most striking aspects. Greetings from more than two dozen sections of the Fourth International and sympathizing organizations around the world—from India to Canada, from Japan to Argentina—drew long and enthusiastic applause from the assembled delegates. The spirit of international solidarity and optimism over the perspective of the world revolution marked the entire convention.

European press on Trotskyist march

By MARCEL BLACK

Press coverage of the May 16 demonstration of 30,000 called by the Communist League, French Section of the Fourth International, and several other European revolutionary-socialist organizations to commemorate the Commune, has mirrored the fear of both the ruling class and the reformists over the deepening revolutionary consciousness of many French youth.

Louis Gabriel-Robinet, editor of *Le Figaro*, a major Paris daily, complained in a recent issue, "What do we see today? Strikes, violence, disrespect for contracts, erotic frenzy, smashed up universities . . . impotence on the part of the authorities. . . ."

George Suffret, in the May 24-30 issue of the liberal Paris weekly *L'Express*, extended his complaints to include the May 16 demonstration: "In the Rue des Pyrénées, behind three

immense portraits of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, a mass of young people advances, almost entirely covered by red flags . . . 20,000 Trotskyists [other reports estimated the numbers at more than 30,000] . . . behind Alain Krivine to celebrate the memory of the Communards. One of the largest leftist marches in three years. Is this a sign of the triumphant renaissance of uncontrolled confrontation?"

Equally worried was the French Communist Party which, in typical form, attacked the reports of the demonstration in the capitalist press (which were more accurate than its own reports in *L'Humanité*) as proof positive of a conspiracy between the Trotskyists and the capitalists. *L'Humanité* editorialized, "The paper of Provoust [*Le Figaro*] . . . gave an obliging account of the Trotskyist demonstration . . . under a five-column head. *Le Monde* did the

same. . . . The heart of the matter is that there is a united front of Provoust—Fauvet [publisher of *Le Monde*]—Krivine [a leader of the Communist League] on a class basis. . . ."

While *L'Humanité's* attempts to find out what is in the interest of which class are on the level of slander, Suffret's article in the capitalist *L'Express* was more to the point. The real danger of the growth of Trotskyism in France, the most conscious representatives of the ruling class fear, is that it will win workers away from the Stalinist leadership in the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the CP-dominated union and France's largest trade-union confederation).

Suffret warned: "The CGT must not let itself get outflanked to the left. Everybody says that it has been outflanked already. And there is no lack

of evidence that seems to confirm this."

Even *Aftonbladet*, the Social Democratic paper of Stockholm, Sweden, is more in touch with French reality than *L'Humanité*. In an article in the May 18 issue, Gudrun Ekeflo, their Paris reporter, points out that it is an upsurge in class struggle and not any alliance with the capitalists that made for a large turnout on May 16.

"Today," Ekeflo wrote, "the Renault factories have been occupied by their employees. The metal workers are striking. The French Communist Party is coming down hard against the extreme left, which it characterizes as fascist."

"But in the driving rain on Sunday [May 16], 35,000 people formed up to demonstrate in honor of the Paris Commune. And that was only the Trotskyists."

An answer to Norman 'Prisoner of

By LINDA JENNESS

In her book *Sexual Politics*, Kate Millett discusses the writings of Norman Mailer as one literary reflection of the debasement and abuse of women in our society.

In the March 1971 issue of *Harper's Magazine*, Norman Mailer wrote a 50,000 word article in reply to Kate Millett entitled "Prisoner of Sex." In this attempt by Mailer to absolve himself of Kate Millett's accusations, Mailer only confirms more clearly what his *real* attitudes toward women are.

Perhaps one of the most disturbing aspects about Mailer's article, considering its reactionary and vicious nature, is the number of reviewers who have lauded it. For instance, Anatole Broyard wrote a review in the May 27 *New York Times* saying: "What Mailer has tried to do here is to write a love poem. Let us hope that women never become so liberated that it is impossible to write love poems to them."

A love poem! Mailer's article exemplifies and glorifies many of the most dehumanizing myths ever invented about women. He tries to justify

en to compete with men, because we are psychologically different. And then he proceeds to buttress these positions with the oldest and most irrational arguments.

'Closer to nature'

Mailer contends that because of women's reproductive capacity we are somehow closer to nature, or God, as he sometimes calls it, and that this mysterious link with the beyond throws us outside of the realm of normal human beings (men). To quote Mailer himself:

"Men were by comparison to women as simple meat: men were merely human beings equipped to travel through space at a variety of speeds, but women were human beings traveling through the same variety of space in full possession of a mysterious space within. . . . How could a woman compete if she contained the future as well as the present and so lives a physical life on the edge of the divide?"

So Norman Mailer thinks we live in the Twilight Zone! And as participants in the "beyond" we are not subject to rationality, of course, nor

be tampered with. Women, sex and reproduction (all synonymous) will be destroyed, he contends, if there is any scientific or technological interference. Therefore contraception and abortion are both evil.

Mailer is no run-of-the-mill religious fanatic, so he has to give his objections to contraception and abortion a special twist. It's not contraception *per se* that's bad, as long as it's "natural" and not scientifically produced—and with that he invents the wildest cock and bull story told since the virgin birth.

It seemed reasonable to Mailer that "among the other biological protections, a woman would have the ability—or had once had the ability—to pick, to choose, to avoid, even to abort in the early minutes and first hours of a conception her womb had not desired. . . . She would not conceive with any man whose sperm was not superbly suited to the ovum on which she built her view of how life should be if she were to create it. . . . Yes, through history, there must have been every variation of the power to conceive or not to conceive—it was finally an expression of the character of the woman, perhaps the deepest expression of her character. . . . Of course, such power was unconscious."

In other words, women have historically had the unconscious power to only conceive when a sperm was perfectly matched to the egg. If a sperm was not suited to "her view of how life should be," then her body would automatically reject it.

Tell that to my grandmother! Tell it to women throughout history who have suffered through unwanted pregnancies. Tell it to women who have been afraid of sex, or denied sexual pleasure, because they did not want to conceive. Tell any woman that the deepest expression of her character is the psychic powers of her womb!

The development of contraceptives, and particularly the pill, have helped to give women for the first time in history a moderate amount of control over childbearing functions. We are no longer totally at the whim of "nature" and can more rationally decide if and when to have children. In addition, the pill has enabled some women to enjoy sex without the fear of an unwanted pregnancy, and that fact has been one of the roots of the developing sexual revolution. We have a long way to go before contraceptives are developed that adequately and safely meet our needs, but the advances made so far have given today's women immeasurably more freedom than our grandmothers had. That's what Mailer hates—the fact that we have some decision-making power over what happens to his semen rather than being totally at his mercy or "nature's."

Power of death

It is the loss of *power of men over women* that hits Mailer where it hurts. He's afraid that he will lose his ability to intimidate us and control our lives. And he comes right out and says so. "Sometimes the prisoner [Mailer] thought it likely that women had begun to withdraw respect from men about the time pregnancy lost its danger. . . . Then women began to be insulated from the dramatic possibility of a fatal end. If that had once been a possibility real enough for them to look at their mate with eyes of love or eyes of hate but know their man might yet be the agent of their death, conceive then of the lost gravity of the act, and diminishment of man. . . ."

This man sits and calmly discusses the benefits that men derived from our deaths in childbirth! He laments the fact that since contraceptives and better medicine came along, men no longer have the ability to threaten us with the possibility of death by impregnating us. Some love poem!

But Mailer is not satisfied with just condemning contraception. He has to go further still and make it clear that if we are to interfere with nature, particularly through abortion, then *by God we ought to pay for it* in the most painful way. The fact that new methods of abortion, such as the vacuum method, make abortion a relatively



Mailer: The prime responsibility of a woman probably is to be on earth long enough to find the best mate possible for herself, and conceive children who will improve the species.

(from "Prisoner of Sex")

the historic subjugation of women with all the classical reactionary arguments based on mysticism and religion. He states that "the prime responsibility of a woman probably is to be on earth long enough to find the best mate for herself, and conceive children who will improve the species." And we are to consider it a love poem! It is precisely that kind of "love" that has driven us to revolt.

Millett's book is essentially a denunciation of society's enslavement of women—socially, psychologically and physically. Whatever the weaknesses of the book, the overall product is a rallying cry to women against our oppression. Mailer's book, on the other hand, is totally reactionary.

The length and literary style of Mailer's article helps to obscure some of his contentions. But once the excrescences are wiped away, his attacks become quite clear. Norman Mailer denies women our right to abortion; he is opposed to contraception; and he believes it is impossible for wom-

objectivity, nor science, nor technology. It is precisely the same theory—that women are "closer to nature" and therefore subhuman—that has been one of the main justifications behind the subjugation of women for centuries. And it's also the same theory that has had us burned as witches and thrown into insane asylums!

But Mailer's romanticised repetition of this old theory is not without reason. He has a very specific purpose for espousing it. One of his main contentions is that women should not be allowed to control our own bodies through abortion and birth control. As Mailer realizes, this denial of the right to control our own bodies is at the crux of our whole enslavement. Throughout the entire 50,000 words, Mailer never discusses our minds, nor our lives—it's *our bodies* that he is concerned about.

Mailer's theory that women are part of "nature" leads him to the conclusion that nature can not

Norman Mailer's Sex'

painless and simple procedure is the final blow to Mailer. He can't stand the idea that women some day will be able to very simply abort a fetus whenever we choose to do so. He would have us denounce all scientific and technological advancements before allowing *that*.

"Yes, cess and riddance to the days of honest abortion when the fingernails of the surgeon were filthy and the heart of a woman went screaming through a cave as steel scraped at the place where she touched the beyond," laments Mailer.

Yes, to Norman Mailer, an *honest abortion* made us pay for the sin of interrupting "nature's" (or man's) doing. I doubt if Mailer would think the same thing if he had an *honest ruptured appendix*. By "honest," Mailer simply means one that is terrifying and painful. Technology, science, and particularly women evading torture, are all "dishonest."

Mailer understands, just as the capitalist rulers in this country understand, that as long as we don't control our own bodies we cannot begin to break the chains of our subjugation. Once we win the right to free and legal abortions and have

of her position one step closer to eternity (for in that step were her powers) which made men detest women, revile them, humiliate them, defecate symbolically upon them, do everything to reduce them so one might dare to enter them and take pleasure of them."

It's like telling Black people that the reason they were lynched was because white people stood in such "awe" of them. It's also saying that since our "powers" lie in the fact that we are closer to a nonexistent eternity, we needn't bother to fight for any other kind of power. And it's also saying that it is all right if men revile us, humiliate us, and defecate upon us because it's all for a noble cause—"daring to enter them and take pleasure of them."

And after all this, Mailer still has the gall at the end of his article to claim that he, and others like him, know more about women than women know about themselves. In defending D. H. Lawrence, Mailer writes: "It is not only that no other man writes so well about women, but indeed is there a woman who can? . . . Whoever believes that a man cannot write of a woman's soul, or

Jenness: Mailer has the gall to claim that he knows more about women than women know about themselves.



available to us safe and adequate contraception, then we'll be better able to fight for our total liberation.

Brutality glorified

But Mailer is still not finished with his theme of "woman as part of nature." He goes on to use the theme as a justification for man's brutality towards women. In *Sexual Politics*, Kate Millett attempts to describe how the debasement of women is reflected in literature and in addition to Mailer uses Henry Miller and D. H. Lawrence as examples.

Millett says that Henry Miller abuses women. Mailer agrees. Kate Millett says it is a reflection of the enslavement of women. Norman Mailer says it is only because we are so much closer to God! For example, he claims that Henry Miller "captured something in the sexuality of men as it had never been seen before, precisely that it was man's sense of awe before woman, his dread

a white man of a Black man, does not believe in literature itself."

The women's liberation movement is awakening millions of women to the fact that we can and will speak for ourselves. No one else can speak for us. And books like Kate Millett's are playing a vital role in this process. The movement is also awakening millions to the fact that *we* are the ones who have been imprisoned by our sex, not Norman Mailer. And the ideas and theories espoused by Mailer have played a large role in justifying our imprisonment.

The struggle of women to win our liberation is aimed both at the reactionary myths perpetrated against us and the entire social system which created and upholds them. We are fighting against the Mailers and others of his kind for a new society—a society where individuals are free to develop to their fullest potential, intellectually, artistically and creatively, regardless of their sex.

Michigan Blacks favor abortion

By DERRICK MORRISON

The *Michigan Chronicle*, a Black weekly published in Detroit, ran a banner headline in its June 5 issue that read, "Most Blacks Favor Legal Abortion."

The article, by Marvin Wanetick, related the results of a recent *Chronicle* street poll on the proposals in the Michigan legislature for reform of laws banning abortion. He reported, "Out of a dozen Black women who were questioned, only one was against legalized abortions, and one was in favor of it only for the poor. . . . Every man polled, Black and white, was in favor. But every white woman was against legalization. However, that finding is somewhat questionable, as this reporter only interviewed middle-aged white women." He indicated that "Most of those who favored abortion reform gave as their first reason a woman's right to make her own decision about the matter."

One sister, Marge Johnson, told Wanetick, "A woman has the same right as a man to decide what happens to her. If she decides to abort a child she doesn't want, she should have that right."

Another sister, Jennifer Gardner, cited the hazards of the present situation. "A lot of people don't have the money to go to a state where abortion is legal, so they try home methods and kill themselves."

Asked why it takes so long to consider reforming the antiquated law, a brother, John Phillips, said, "It is the norms of society. Many people are still living with Victorian values and extreme prudeness. Woman's lib and the new social freedom are changing this."

Gardner blamed "a lot of old people in Lansing [state capital]. What do they know about abortion?"

Wanetick brought up the charge of some Black militants that abortion is a form of genocide against Blacks. Johnson responded, "It is not genocide. Any woman who wants an abortion will have it regardless, so why shouldn't it be legal?" Paula Shaefer added, "Black women have been too long dependent on focusing their energy on taking care of large families."

This poll is but another reflection of the deep-seated sentiment among Black women for the right to control their own bodies. In a Louis Harris poll released May 20, 60 percent of the Black women answered positively to the question: "All in all, do you favor or oppose most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society?"

Contrary to assertions by many that women's liberation is a "white thing," it is the double oppression of being both Black and female that gives added momentum to the demand of Black women for control over their own bodies.

Gay pride marches set for June 27

By LEE SMITH

Gay liberation demonstrations will occur in cities around the country on June 27, marking the second anniversary of the events that sparked the rise of the gay liberation movement. In June 1969, gays spontaneously fought back when New York cops attempted to raid the Stonewall Inn, a bar on Christopher Street in Greenwich Village, touching off battles between the cops and gays who had decided they were through submitting to the social persecution represented by police harassment.

Last year, gay pride demonstrations took place in New York and Los Angeles, commemorating the events around the Stonewall. In New York, the march drew between 5,000 and 10,000 people. The marches in both cities are expected to be significantly larger this year, and other marches and related activity during Gay Pride Week (June 19-27) are scheduled in more than a dozen cities.

There will be two conferences in Los Angeles June 25-27, a gay women's

conference and a gay men's conference. The gay women's conference has been organized and widely publicized for several months by the Gay Women's Intergroup Council, a coalition of Daughters of Bilitis, the Gay Women's Service Center and the Lesbian Feminists. Two days of speeches, entertainment, workshops and dancing will culminate in a women's rally at De Longpre Park on June 27 that will then feed into the Christopher Street West Gay Parade down Hollywood Blvd. at 7 p.m.

The Gay Women's West Coast Conference will be held at the Metropolitan Community Church, 2201 South Union, and is open to all women, but only to women. For more information, contact DOB Center, 1910 S. Vermont, Los Angeles, Calif. 90007 or call (213) 737-9159.

A Western Regional Gay Men's Conference will be held simultaneously in Los Angeles at the Gay Liberation Front Center, 4400 Melrose Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029; for more information, call (213) 660-2990.

A march from San Francisco to the state capitol in Sacramento, beginning on June 19 and ending with a mass rally June 25, demanding repeal of anti-gay laws, is being organized by the Committee for Sexual Law Reform.

The organizers of the Christopher Street West Gay Parade are urging non-gay groups to participate in the march with support banners. For more information, write Christopher Street West, P. O. Box 17669, Los Angeles, Calif. 90017 or call (213) 484-1094.

The Christopher Street Liberation Day march and celebration in New York June 27 will begin with marchers assembling from noon to 2 p.m. near Greenwich Ave. and Christopher St. to proceed up Sixth Ave. to Central Park's Sheep Meadow.

The march and celebration will be preceded by a variety of activities during Gay Pride Week, organized by different gay organizations, including an all-day Gay Liberation Forum at P. S. 41 near Sixth Ave. and 11th St. on June 26, sponsored by the Christo-

pher Street Liberation Day Committee (CSLDC), the coalition organizing the march and celebration June 27.

For a complete calendar of Gay Pride Week activities in New York, contact the CSLDC at (212)CH2-5273.

A coalition of all gay groups in Chicago, the Gay Pride Week Celebration Committee, is coordinating a series of programs, workshops and social activities, beginning with the TV showing of the film, *Gay and Proud*, on WSNS (Channel 44) June 17 at 11:30 p.m.

Panels and workshops on a wide range of topics—"Growing Up Gay," "The Law and the Homosexual," "Third World Gays," and "Gay Women," among others—will take place at the University of Illinois Circle Campus and the Chicago Gay Alliance Center at 171 W. Elm. A workshop at the Lincoln Park Presbyterian Church on June 21 at 8 p.m., is entitled, "What Parents Always Wanted to Know About Homosexuality But Were Afraid to Ask."

The Gay People's Parade in Chicago will begin at 2 p.m. from the Diversey Harbor Parking Lot, proceeding via Diversey, Clark and LaSalle to the Lincoln Park Free Forum. In addition, a demonstration sponsored by Chicago Gay Liberation Front at the Civic Center Plaza June 25 will protest the recent arrests of two gay couples for "lewd fondling" because they kissed in public. Another GLF action has been called at the federal building for June 28.

For a complete calendar of Chicago activities, contact Chicago Gay Alliance, 171 W. Elm, Chicago, Ill. 60610, or call (312) 664-4708.

Other cities planning conferences, demonstrations and other gay liberation activity during Gay Pride Week include Houston; Austin; Atlanta; Seattle; Phoenix; San Diego; Detroit; Bridgeport, Conn.; Albany, N. Y.; Boston; Philadelphia; Denver; Dallas; Vancouver; London; and Stockholm.



N.Y. gay-in, June 28, 1970

Photo by Steve Rose/LNS

Yale strikers arrested

By TIM CRAINE

NEW HAVEN, June 14—A six-week-old strike by members of Local 35, Federation of University Employees (AFL-CIO), against Yale University reached a new level of militancy today as 12 persons were arrested during a rally to protest the university's commencement exercises.

Over 700 strikers and supporters participated in the rally, which had been projected as an attempt to "prevent business as usual" at the commencement exercises. A heavy detachment of police cordoned off the Old Campus area where the exercises were to take place. They repulsed the demonstrators, clubbing at least one striker so badly that he was taken to the hospital to be treated for headwounds. The police had previously been used to escort a fuel truck through the picket line in front of the university power station.

Vincent Sirabella, business agent for Local 35, vowed that more militant actions would continue. "If we have to go to jail every day from now until September, we will," he declared.

Besides serving as president of the New Haven Central Labor Council, Sirabella is a prominent liberal politician and a declared candidate for

the Democratic Party nomination for mayor. His increasingly militant stance reflects the sentiment of the rank and file of his union, who voted unanimously at a mass meeting last Friday to stop Yale's commencement exercises from taking place.

Sirabella appealed to West German Chancellor Willy Brandt to renounce an honorary degree he was to receive from the university as an expression of solidarity with the strikers. He expressed shock and outrage when he learned that Brandt, who rose to power through the labor movement and the Social Democratic Party of Germany, had ignored the union's plea. "He can't claim unity with workers and then go through this with (Yale president) Mr. Brewster and the rest of these cats who are trying to break this union," Sirabella told the strikers.

Although wages are a major point of dispute in the contract negotiations, with over half of the members of Local 35 earning under \$2.40 an hour, the principal issue has been job security. Yale wants to cut back on the number of positions available, substituting part-time student labor in some cases and eliminating other jobs altogether.

The strike has wide support throughout the New Haven community, particularly among Blacks. The university manifests its exploitation through its tax-exempt status, its expansion into residential neighborhoods, and its ownership of slum houses as well as through the low wages paid to its workers.

In addition, the National Welfare Rights Organization has lent support

to Local 35, whose members would be forced onto welfare if their jobs are eliminated. Several leaders of the NWRO, including George Wiley, were on hand for the rally, as was Rev. James Gropi, civil rights leader from Milwaukee who was among the 12 arrested.

YSA surpasses fund goal

By TERRY HARDY

The Young Socialist Alliance has successfully completed the largest nationwide fund drive in its history. YSA locals, at-large members, and sympathizers sent in a total of \$43,311.69 during the course of the drive.

The National Convention of the YSA last December had set a goal of \$43,000 for the spring fund drive, which was intended to provide the organization with a strong financial base for its expansion plans.

Although at times during the spring, the drive lagged somewhat behind schedule, a national campaign effort pushed the total over the top in the final weeks. Out of 56 YSA locals, 27 went over 100 percent of the quotas they had accepted! Another 18 locals reached exactly 100 percent, while only 11 locals fell short of their quotas.

The greatest bulk of the fund drive

contributions came from YSA members, but a larger amount of money than ever before was raised through special fund raising projects.

As a result of this achievement, the YSA has been able to expand its national office and prepare for several major campaigns when campuses open in the fall, including the fall antiwar offensive and the fight for the repeal of all abortion laws. Before fall, the YSA will put out a complete new series of buttons and posters, pamphlets and fliers about the YSA, and a series of organizational handbooks. The YSA can also now finance several new expanded national tours.

The fall will see YSA regional travelers hitting the road in all parts of the country, visiting hundreds of campuses to build the antiwar, women's liberation, and Black and Chicano liberation movements and winning new members to the YSA. Most regions are in a better position now than ever before to finance these travelers.

The fund drive was only part of an overall spring campaign to build up the YSA's finances. The results of the campaign will be seen in all YSA locals, as well as nationally and regionally.

Locals will be able to put out more leaflets, hold more classes and forums, run more student government election campaigns, and in general sustain a much higher level of activity.

Its ability to make a fund drive of \$43,000 is just one more indication of the YSA's emergence as the strongest, most dynamic and vital youth organization on the American left.

Cops kill Black teacher in E. Cleveland

EAST CLEVELAND, June 14 — Prosecutor Henry J. Fischer announced to the press today that the June 5 murder of Mose Wendell Mitchell by five East Cleveland police was "justifiable." This amounts to an open slap in the face to the Black community here.

Mitchell was a 29-year-old Black high school teacher. His murder unleashed a storm of controversy among Black residents.

The incident developed on the afternoon of June 5 when a white woman pulled her car out into a driveway, blocking the way for Mitchell, who had been walking down the sidewalk along Euclid Ave. When Mitchell reportedly slammed his walking stick against the roof of her car, the woman ran across the street to a cab driver, who assumed that the woman had been robbed or possibly attacked by the Black man.

Mitchell continued walking down the street, not realizing that five East Cleveland police were pursuing him as a robbery or assault suspect.

The police version of what followed is that Mitchell grabbed the gun of one

of the cops and fired five shots at the police, wounding one in the hand and one in the foot. But this contention has already been contradicted by the testimony of three eyewitnesses who reported that Mitchell was attacked and beaten unmercifully until he was shot at close range by the police, who wounded themselves, perhaps intentionally, during the course of firing the shots that killed Mitchell.

According to the witnesses, the injured cops were given immediate first aid, but Mitchell was not attended to until about 10 minutes later.

Several questions are raised by the police version of what happened. Why would one unarmed man attempt to take on five armed police? And if there were a total of six shots fired as the police reported, how could five of them have been fired by Mitchell when he himself bore three of the bullets in his own body?

On the evening of June 8, in response to the murder, over 400 angry Blacks poured into the Starlight Baptist Church for a meeting called on short

notice. The first demand acted on by the meeting was that East Cleveland City Manager Chandler be requested to attend and answer questions. Chandler is Black and holds a post equivalent to mayor.

So the meeting turned into a militant march from the church, down Euclid Ave. to city hall, where the crowd chanted, "We want Chandler." Chandler, realizing the potential explosiveness of this issue and attempting to maintain a pretense of responsiveness, stepped out of city hall and agreed to march back to the church with the rest of the community.

Back at the church, Chandler was immediately put under an intense cross-examination concerning his resolve to suspend the cops involved in the shooting. After a considerable amount of evasion and a half-hour emergency impromptu meeting with several city commissioners, Chandler reported back to the meeting that the suspension of the five cops would go into effect the very next day.

The cheers that went up from the

crowd were a spontaneous recognition of the power that had been visibly displayed and that had forced the administration to act.

However, Prosecutor Fischer's decision lays the basis for ending the suspensions of the five racist cops.

His decision only underlines the demands raised in a statement by John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, which was distributed at the June 8 meeting.

Hawkins said in part, "The necessity for an open investigation representing the entire Black community is obvious. If members of the Black community are to be shot down by the police and no serious investigation is made to lay the basis for bringing those responsible to justice, then the racist police of Cleveland and East Cleveland will be emboldened to escalate their attacks on the Black community."

"The Socialist Workers campaign demands a full and open investigation into the murder of Mose Wendell Mitchell and demands that his killers be brought to justice."

By Any Means Necessary

A Joetha Collier Building Memorial Fund is being organized. It is to help the Collier family build a new house. They now inhabit a tarpaper shack.

Joetha, an 18-year-old Black woman, was murdered by white racists in Drew, Miss., May 25. She had just graduated from high school and held her diploma in her hand when the shooting occurred.

The three white youths arrested were drunk, and out to "kill a nigger, any nigger."

Just prior to the murder of Joetha, two Black men met similar fates at the hands of Mississippi whites. Young Blacks staged massive demonstrations protesting the Collier murder and raised demands concerning the conditions in the Black community.

Funds for the Collier family, which includes seven other children, can be sent to: Joetha Collier Building Memorial Fund, c/o Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, 721 James Street, Ruleville, Miss.

New York City Police Commissioner Patrick V. Murphy denounced a recent judicial decision granting five years' probation to two members of the Harlem Five. The June 11 *New York Times* reports him saying, "I find it hard to understand how men convicted of possessing bombs and guns intended for use against policemen can be exonerated as responsible community leaders."

Four of the five youths—one was acquitted—were found guilty on two counts of illegal possession of weapons and a homemade bomb. But on the other counts of conspiracy to kill policemen, they were acquitted.

The whole bizarre case arose when the five—Preston Lay Jr., Lloyd Butler (Sayeed Saladeen), Wallace Marks, Hannibal Thomas (Hannibal Ahmed), and Ebb Glenn—were arrested in June 1968 on the sensational charge of planning to "kill a cop a week." The "evidence" was gathered by black police agents working in the Harlem Youth Federation, of which the five were leaders.

When the trial finally came down this past May, the five secured support from various community leaders. One of their defense counselors was William M. Kunstler. The decision to acquit on conspiracy charges occurred on May 13. Saladeen was absolved on all charges.

On June 9, the judge granted probation status to Lay, a Vietnam veteran, and Ahmed. Marks and Glenn were given concurrent terms of one to three years in prison on the illegal possession convictions. Two *Times* reporters told of their collaboration with two of the defendants in publishing *Harlem Speaks*, a community newspaper sponsored by the New York Times Foundation.

Marks and Glenn were freed on \$5,000 bail pending appeal.

In the aftermath of the May 17 killing of a Black man, Rudy Simms, by two white cops in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, Black residents created a People's Tribunal to render a community decision on the matter. Mayor John Lindsay had already declared the killing to be "in the line of duty."

The area where the brother was killed is near Brownsville, which exploded May 5 during demonstrations against state budget cutbacks. The group that organized the tribunal was the newly formed Citizens Committee for Justice, led by the reconstituted chapter of Brooklyn CORE and by Rev. Calvin Marshall, minister of the Varick Memorial Methodist Church.

The tribunal met May 25 and June 2. On the jury sat 22 Black residents. The presiding justices or judges were Victor Robles, a staff aide to Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.), City Councilman William Thompson, and Nathaniel Shannon, a lawyer. Rev. Marshall was the prosecutor.

Upwards of 300 Blacks attended both sessions.

At the first session, the three justices tried to de-fang the whole proceeding. They argued to limit a jury decision to either manslaughter or unpremeditated homicide because "premeditation" could not be proved. The audience, disapproving, roared, "Murder! Murder!" Rev. Marshall elaborated: "In the minds of white police—all that was needed was an excuse. They walk the streets ready to take lives. All we're saying is, no more. Whether he be pimp or preacher—don't shoot him down."

Witnesses testified for several hours how police—who were in a position to break up a fight between Rudy "Shoe" Simms and another brother—shot



Connie Tucker

Burning Spear photo

Simms down.

The verdict arrived at by the jury was "murder in the first degree." The decision was given to a Brooklyn grand jury investigating the shooting.

Connie Tucker of the Junta of Militant Organizations (JOMO) in Florida was sentenced to five years in prison on the trumped-up charge of possessing marijuana. When the sentence came down two months ago in Tampa, the sister was immediately taken to Lowell State Prison in Ocala. The hypocrisy of the action was pointed up by the fact that two whites charged similarly were given probation in the same courtroom.

Tucker, who is 20 years old, had been threatened several times by police before she was actually framed in early 1970. She is a leader and organizer of JOMO, a nationalist organization. JOMO is attempting to raise funds for an appeal. Send contributions to: National Committee to Free Connie Tucker, P. O. Box 12792, St. Petersburg, Florida 33733.

Rosie Douglas, an African-Canadian who was sentenced to two years less one day imprisonment April 30 for his role in the 1969 Black student occupation of Sir George Williams University in Montreal, was just released on \$14,000 bail pending appeal. The effort to raise the bail money was spearheaded by Black Canadian communities, with contributions coming from countries in the Caribbean and parts of Africa.

The defense of Black students at SGWU was one of the factors that helped ignite the April 1970 revolutionary upheaval in Trinidad-Tobago.

Douglas and two others are fighting the convictions. Donations, statements of support, and requests for information can be sent to: Black Students Association, Bank of Montreal, 920 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal, Canada. (Checks should be made out to February 11 Defense Fund.)

— DERRICK MORRISON

Who finances capitalist parties?

By DICK ROBERTS

One widely held belief about the two-party system in this country is that the Democratic and Republican parties are so big that they depend on millions of different individuals for financial support.

This is supposed to be one of the reasons why the Democrats and Republicans are not beholden to any particular group of financial backers. Every election year, the two big parties launch massive fund-raising drives. They ask us for our dollars and attempt to convince us that they will represent us in Washington.

But the reality of the financing of the capitalist parties is quite different from this conception. Most of the money that goes into financing the campaigns of the Democrats and Republicans comes directly from the owners and directors of banks and industry, and above all the heads of the biggest and most powerful capitalist trusts—the Rockefellers, Fords, Mellons and duPonts. And the amount of money poured into capitalist campaigns by these ruling-class financiers is much bigger than official figures suggest.

A revealing article in the May 17 *New York Times* by Richard Reeves brings to light the financing of the 1968 presidential campaigns and the financing so far of the campaigns of Senators Muskie and McGovern, as well as that of Rep. Paul N. McCloskey Jr., who plans to challenge Nixon in the Republican primaries.

Reeves writes that as much as \$75-million will be spent by Republican and Democratic candidates before the conventions in 1972. "The \$75-million estimate comes from the Citizens Research Foundation of Princeton, N.J. . . .

"And there is a big difference in spending and reports: In 1968, unreleased studies of the foundation show that \$45-million was raised and spent by Democratic and Republican candidates before the national conventions and only \$2-million of that appeared on official reports filed with the state and federal agencies."

The foundation study completely dismisses the concept that this money is raised by many small contributors: "Most of the millions to finance primary campaigns in 24 states next year will come from what politicians call 'the big givers'—people who contribute from \$1,000 to \$1-million to a campaign. . . ."

For example: "Stewart R. Mott Jr., son of the largest stockholder in General Motors, said he contributed \$210,000 to Eugene J. McCarthy, the Minnesota Democrat, and \$102,000 to Nelson A. Rockefeller in the 1968 pre-convention period. . . .

"Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd is listed as having contributed \$13,500 to her stepson, Governor Rockefeller, although she has paid federal gift taxes on contributions of \$1.5-million to his 1969 run. Martin Fife, a New York leather goods manufacturer, who said he gave \$72,000 to Mr. McCarthy, is not listed at all."

How do the backers get around the laws that are supposed to make the political parties reveal their sources of funds? Reeves gives a number of suggestions: "Many contributions are made surreptitiously by corporations. . . . Many contributions are in cash. 'There are more black briefcases filled with \$10 bills than you'll ever know,' said one noted fund raiser.

"'This floor has been covered with money. People stayed up all night creating phony committees by putting \$25 next to names in the Manhattan phone book.'"

Reeves talked to Marvin D. Rosenberg, a New York businessman who was the chief fund raiser for the 1968 Humphrey campaign. "You have to have the money before the campaign is underway to make any impact, to do any traveling, hire any staff, buy any television time," said Rosenberg.

The fund raiser continued: "Small givers don't help. You have to go to a few rich people and the candidate is under a direct or implied obligation to them."

Reeves lists "various members of the duPont, Rockefeller and Mellon families" among the biggest contributors. The list also includes: "W. Clement Stone, president of Combined Insurance Company of America, who says he gave Mr. Nixon more than \$500,000. . . . Helen Clay Frick of Pittsburgh. . . . John Hay Whitney, former publisher of *The New York Herald Tribune*."

Reeves estimates the following 1971 campaign budgets and major backers:

"Edmund S. Muskie of Maine—\$1.2-million—Arnold Picker, vice-president of United Artists Corporation; Matthew Liflander, former president of Uniworld Corporation; Lionel Pincus, president of E. M. Warburg & Co.; Mr. and Mrs. Fred Morgan of Hudson

Review; Norman Redstone, a Boston theater chain owner.

"George S. McGovern of South Dakota—\$500,000—Henry M. Kimmelman, a real estate owner in the city [New York] and Virgin Islands; James Kerr, president of AVCO Industries; Robert J. Bernstein, president of Random House; Carol Weil Haussaman."

According to Reeves, Stewart Mott and Martin Fife "have given 'token' contributions to both Mr. McGovern and Mr. McCloskey. . . ."

The financing of both parties by the same ruling-class individuals and families underscores the fraudulent character of two-party capitalist politics. The *New York Times* reported Sept. 20, 1970, that "The Ford Motor Company was second [biggest contributor among corporations to the 1968 presidential campaign—D.R.] with 19 executives giving a total of \$140,100

—\$87,100 to the Republicans and \$53,000 to the Democrats.

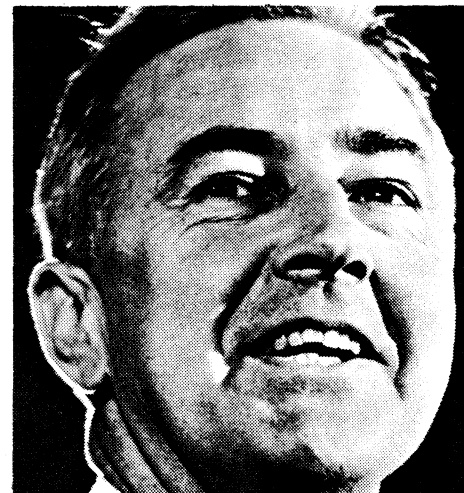
"Henry Ford 2d, chairman of the board of Ford, gave the Democrats \$30,000 and the Republicans \$7,250. . . .

"Arthur K. Watson, vice-chairman of the board and a director of IBM, was third among the individual givers. He contributed a total of \$54,875 to the Republicans and ignored the Democrats. However Thomas J. Watson, IBM board chairman, gave the Democrats \$21,000 and the Republicans \$7,875."

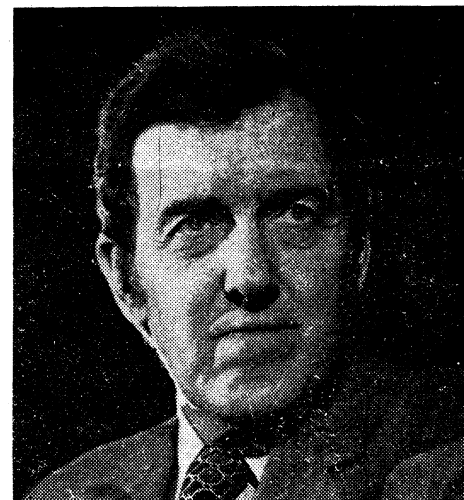
The tweedledum and tweedledee character of capitalist politics thus begins in the purse of the ruling-class. The capitalists' main concern is to keep capitalist politicians in office. It is a secondary matter to them whether they are Democrats or Republicans.



McGovern



McCarthy



Muskie

Capitalist "peace" candidates depend on funds from millionaires to run their campaigns.

The National Picket Line

Several AFL-CIO postal unions, representing 650,000 workers, charge unfair labor practice against the new semicorporate U.S. Postal Service. The next step normally is to submit this accusation of "bad faith" to the National Labor Relations Board.

Bernard Cushman, a Washington attorney hired by the AFL-CIO to negotiate for the postal unions, says the Postal Service has failed to make a single offer to improve wages and fringe benefits since negotiations began on Jan. 20.

Five postal unions have now voted to unite, forming the new AFL-CIO American Postal Workers Union. One of the unions in the merger is the formerly independent National Postal Union.

Under the Postal Reform Act of 1970, the AFL-CIO wheedled formal "recognition," but striking is still forbidden.

The remaining big independent union, the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, predominantly Black and talking militant, is excluded from the negotiations.

The AFL-CIO Letter Carriers union has not yet joined the APWU, but officials say affiliation is being considered.

It was the Letter Carriers Branch 36 in New York and the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union (an affiliate of the old NPU) that started the nationwide postal strike in March 1970.

Management's stated view is that it cannot now make any offer on wages or other monetary issues until other questions affecting "managerial freedoms" are resolved. Such "freedoms" are the right of management to eliminate jobs, contract out work, and institute other technical and efficiency measures.

APWU President Francis Filbey, no militant, says, "Our members recognized (after months of fruitless negotiations) that we must match strength with strength, power with power, to be heeded."

The president of the Communication Workers of America, Joseph A. Beirne, said on June 9 that a nationwide telephone strike is probable this year.

Last month, the union's international executive committee ordered a referendum strike vote among its 400,000 members. Result of this poll will be announced at the CWA's convention, which begins June 14.

The union is demanding a 25 percent wage increase for all its members. The American Telephone and Telegraph Co. and its affiliates are offering only 11 percent for the first year and 3 percent increases for the following two years.

Union officials also charge that the industry proposal would further "widen wage differentials . . . between the North, South, East and West," which are already far too wide.

Last month, a number of AT&T and Western Electric plants in New Jersey, several hundred workers were locked out for being "improperly dressed." They appeared for work in sweat shirts with "Ma Bell's Coolies" imprinted fore and aft!

On June 9, W. A. Boyle, president of the United Mine Workers, told 150 delegates from the union's 23 districts that the executive board was planning to ask for substantial wage increases, higher royalty payments to the welfare and pension funds, and paid sick leave in the upcoming contract talks with the bituminous coal industry.

Boyle said the union "was asking for more because the coal industry can afford more."

Tougher negotiations are expected this year because the coal mining industry is now primarily controlled by large oil companies, which, as the June 9 *New York Times* admits, "have a record of hard bargaining with the unions."

—MARVEL SCHOLL

Canadian conference of railroad workers held

By DONALD McDONALD

KENORA, Ont.—Railroad workers in the U.S. and Canada are making important progress toward unification in the kind of movement that has not been seen since the days of Eugene V. Debs and the American Railway Union.

This was evident at the Western Canada meeting of United Transportation Union locals here May 12, 13, and 14. About 150 UTU officers were present, representing locals all the way west to Vancouver, B.C., and east to such terminals as Toronto and Hamilton.

Guest speakers included Jack Pickett, president of the Council of Railway Unions, Edmonton district, and Ed Heisler, Secretary of the UTU Right to Vote Committee. Pickett is also a leader of the UTU Canadian Autonomy Association. Heisler comes from Chicago, where the Right to Vote movement in the UTU began and maintains headquarters.

Discussion at the three-day conference showed that Canadian rail workers are politically awakening, influenced by the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party. One conference participant reported union discussions on such issues as the Vietnam war, socialism and women's liberation.

In Toronto and three other major Canadian railroad terminals, UTU locals and other craft unions have organized railroad workers councils. These councils are democratic bodies with elected delegates from the affiliated unions. Not sanctioned by the top officials of the railroad unions, they are the expression of opposition to the policies and narrow craft-minded unionism of the bureaucracy.

Whether these councils can be organized on a national basis in Canada remains to be seen. If this happens, many here believe the Canadian example can pass over the border to the United States. Certainly this development will be discussed at the UTU International Convention in Miami Beach, Fla., beginning August 9.

The Kenora UTU conference adopted motions different from its past tradition. For example, a motion to send a telegram to the Canadian UTU Negotiating Committee demanding a membership ratification vote on the contract now being negotiated passed unanimously.

Another motion, also adopted unanimously, was to endorse and support at the UTU International convention a constitutional change providing for membership ratification votes on contracts. Canadian locals will have approximately 200 of the 1,800 delegates at the convention and in the past have voted as a bloc.

The talks by Pickett and Heisler were high points of the conference. Pickett spoke about the councils

of rail workers and about the Canadian autonomy association. He said there are too many railroad unions in Canada and suggested that the councils might be a way of uniting them. He also urged Canadian autonomy from the U.S.-dominated International, a very popular idea throughout the Canadian movement.

Heisler was an invited guest from the U.S., and as the Secretary of the UTU Right to Vote Committee he was listened to attentively. He spoke about the basic problems of railroad workers on both sides of the border. On unemployment, Heisler pointed out that:

"In the United States as in Canada, the railroads have cut their work force to the bare bone. . . . Today, we have in the United States 570,000 railroad workers, who are handling as much tonnage as a million and a half handled only 20 years ago. And I understand the same situation has developed in Canada.

"The layoffs must be stopped. . . ."

Heisler raised the idea of a shorter workday as a way of easing unemployment on the railroads: "On the Penn Central out East the Railroad Division of the Transport Workers Union is demanding a six-hour day at eight-hours' pay to spread the work and create jobs. Why can't we in the UTU make this same demand?" he asked.

The problem of inflation and the shrinking pay check is as galling in Canada as in the U.S. Heisler suggested that railroad workers demand an escalator clause in their contract to lift wages automatically with the rise in the cost of living.

Heisler blamed the present UTU leadership, President Charles Luna more than others, for failure to stand up to railroad management and the government. Using the government-operated Amtrak as an example, he said, "It was our President Charles Luna who presided over the reduction of passenger trains and crews in the United States. Our International President Charles Luna is sitting on the board of directors of the for-profit corporation now known as Amtrak and he has publicly declared that UTU members must be willing to engage in give and take on our work rules." But, said Heisler, "we give away and the railroads take."

"Under Amtrak," he continued, "our members in passenger service are denied not only the right to strike under the bill passed by Congress, but are also denied any real collective bargaining rights. Under this bill, one man, Secretary of Labor Hodgson, has the power to dictate settlements. He makes the decisions and we can't appeal them—much less strike."

Heisler hopes these problems can be overcome by transforming the UTU into a union controlled by the membership, with the right of every member to full voice and vote on every question. This is the meaning of the Right to Vote Committee as he explained it.

"The Right to Vote Committee has been in existence for over a year now," Heisler reported. "It had modest beginnings in Chicago, the rail hub of the U.S."

"It has ceased being an American committee. We have received thousands of communications and contributions from all over Canada and the United States."

Heisler expects UTU members everywhere to demand changes in the union constitution. "To win our rights we must make a final push in the few remaining weeks before the convention. We must

circulate petitions, distribute fliers, and pass motions at local meetings demanding the right to vote and instructing delegates to vote in favor of this proposal at the convention. We must print RTVC stickers and get them on thousands of boxcars and print RTVC buttons. We must spread the message from here to Nova Scotia, from Nova Scotia to Mississippi, from Mississippi to California, from California to British Columbia, from coast to coast all over the North American continent. . . .

"Winning the right to vote is the first step in the long-term fight to put control of the union where it belongs, in the hands of the rank and file," Heisler declared.

Finally, Heisler made it clear where he stands on the autonomy movement in Canada: "I believe the Canadian membership has the right to determine their own destiny without foreign control. If the Canadian membership wants to be autonomous, I support and will fight for your right to do that. . . ."

"I hope that you decide to continue to demand autonomy *within* the UTU, because the American members need your help in changing the UTU."

Canadian railroad workers have not heard that kind of talk from the present top officialdom of the UTU.



May 12-14 conference sought ways to revitalize unions in sick and neglected industry.

Court upholds selective railroad strikes

By FRANK LOVELL

The U.S. Supreme Court declined June 7 to review a lower court ruling that permits the United Transportation Union to call selective strikes against railroads. This, in effect, upholds the lower court ruling.

The following day, June 8, Penn Central Transportation Co., the nation's largest railroad—and bankrupt— notified the UTU that the size of train crews will be reduced July 15, throwing 8,900 employees out of work.

This coincidence of the Supreme Court action and the Penn Central decision to reduce its work force marks the beginning of a new labor-management relationship in this industry. Henceforth, the railroad unions must assume responsibility for what happens to its members. No more are they able to palm off the blame on court rulings and government regulations that have outlawed strikes.

How railroad workers can defend themselves against the carriers is widely discussed now in the yards and at union meetings.

At a recent UTU regional conference in Kenora, Ontario, (reported elsewhere on this page) Ed Heisler, Secretary of the UTU Right to Vote Committee, spoke specifically about the "selective strike" tactic, which now seems to be legal. He predicted the Supreme Court's ruling would favor the union. But, he added, "Even if the Supreme Court upholds the lower court, the present leaders of the UTU cannot carry out an effective strike."

"A good example," according to Heisler, "is the Florida East Coast Railroad where strikers have been out for years and the railroad is run by scabs." He claimed no sympathetic strike action has been called by UTU leaders, workers on other lines are not asked to take such actions as work-to-rules slow-downs to demonstrate solidarity with the strikers, nor has

any financial assistance been offered. "Many young rail workers have not even heard of that strike," he said.

In addition, Heisler said, "The railroads have an antistrike fund set up to insure the loss of any company hit by a selective strike."

Heisler explained that the idea of the RTVC is to include the membership of UTU in all the problems and affairs of UTU.

Meanwhile, the idea of railroad management appears to be to involve the government in all the problems and affairs of this sick industry. On June 10, Nixon met for an hour and a half with 11 top railroad executives. No details about the meeting were given, but it was reported that the executives were asking for financial aid.

The White House announced that Nixon will meet soon with top officials of rail unions. That meeting is called to find out how much can be taken away from the workers in order to give more to management.

Australian women organize

The June 13 *New York Times* carried a report by Robert Trumbull on the women's liberation movement in Australia. His report indicates that the movement there is both active and growing.

While the movement is spreading to other cities, it appears to be strongest in Sydney, judging from his report. One of the main groups, headquartered in the Sydney suburb of Glebe, is called the Glebe Group. It publishes a monthly journal entitled *Mejane*, named for an inversion of the line in the Tarzan movies, "Me Tarzan, You Jane." The subjects covered by the journal, according to Trumbull, ranged from "the Australian habit of segregating by sexes at social gatherings to discriminatory employment practices, official neglect of working mothers, and rigid antiabortion laws."

According to *Mejane*, there are at least 12 women's liberation groups in the Sydney area, including one at each of the city's three universities.

The March issue carries a headline declaring that "Women's liberation in Australia is not a freakish child of America. We have our own traditions." The issue includes an article describing the movement for women's suffrage in Australia going back to the 1880s.

"The Glebe Group," Trumbull reports, "after a recent meeting, went to a leading Sydney department store that had a Mothers Day display. They plastered the windows with posters saying 'This Exploits Women,' 'Who Makes the Most Out of Mothers Day?' and 'Mothers Want Peace, Not Presents.'"

Another women's liberation group in Sydney stormed the New South Wales Legislature with a petition for repeal of the stiff law against abortion," says Trumbull.

One group Trumbull mentions—the Working Women's Group—meets in the Sydney Trade Union Club.

One of the activities of university women has been to invade the "men only" pubs in Sydney.

Antiwar protests in Italy

Demonstrations and other actions were held in Italy April 24 in solidarity with the Vietnamese struggle and the mass antiwar demonstrations on the same day in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco. According to a report in the June 14 *Intercontinental Press*, demonstrations and teach-ins were held in Rome, Cesena, Perugia, Naples, Ancona, Taranto and Turin.

The Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR—Revolutionary Communist Groups, the Italian Section of the Fourth International) supported all of these actions. The Nucleo Comunista Rivoluzionario "Soviet" ("Soviet" Revolutionary Communist Nucleus), Avanguardia Operaia (Workers Vanguard), Unita Operaia (Workers Unity), and groups of American students also supported the Rome action, which drew three or four thousand people. The *Manifesto* group also participated in the action.

In addition to the GCR, the Unione degli Studenti Palestinesi (Union of Palestinian Students) supported the Pe-

rugia action. One thousand students and young workers participated in a march in Turin called by the GCR and Lotta Comunista (Communist Struggle). Speakers from the two groups, including Livio Maitan, a central leader of the GCR, addressed a rally following the Turin march.

Cops kill students in Iran

From *Intercontinental Press*

A communiqué issued by the shah's police on May 25 claimed the capture of two opponents of the regime and the killing of four others in two separate gun battles in Teheran. The two battles, according to the communiqué, occurred six weeks apart.

All those killed and captured were said to be part of a group of nine persons that has been sought for two months on charges of assassinating the notorious military prosecutor, General Ziaddin Farsiou.

The nine were also linked with the Siah Kal group, an underground organization thirteen of whose members were executed on March 17 after an armed clash in Siah Kal, a village near the Caspian Sea.

The police said that Eskandar Sadegi-Nejad, Rahmatollah Peyronaziri, and Ameer Parviz Pouyan had been killed on May 24, and Javad Salahi six weeks earlier. They claimed that in each clash one person had been wounded and arrested, but did not give their names. Five policemen were reported wounded in the May 24 fight.

In contrast with its reporting of the two gun battles, SAVAK (the political police) has not said anything about the recent worker and student demonstrations. The Iranian press has been equally silent.

Travelers from Iran report that the number of workers killed near Karaj during their march on Teheran in early May is believed to be more than ten. [See *Intercontinental Press*, May 24, page 474.]

They also report details of the strike at the University of Teheran that spread to other universities and resulted in police occupation of the campuses.

The immediate cause of the strike was student opposition to the shah's elaborate plans for the celebration in October of 2,500 years of the Persian monarchy. The regime is spending huge amounts of money for the occasion.

International committees have been formed to publicize the "historic event." In the United States, the committee includes Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew, and Lyndon Johnson.

The students argued that a nation as poor as Iran could find better uses for the money that is being spent. Their position has not been reported in the press, but the repeated speeches by the shah and his ministers in defense of their plans indicate a widespread opposition.

The shah's reaction to the strike, sending in police who beat up students and professors alike, indicates his determination not to let his celebration be spoiled.

He may have miscalculated. The police invasion caused the faculty at Aryamehr University—named after one of the shah's titles, "light of the Aryans"—to go on strike, demanding withdrawal of the police and an apology from the government.

The extent to which these demands were met is not known, but such an action by professors has been unheard of since the early 1950s, particularly at the shah's favored university.

Opposition leaflets are reportedly being distributed in the schools, sometimes by putting them inside volley-

balls and throwing the balls into the schoolyards. SAVAK responded by ordering students not to touch such balls!

According to the May 26 airmail edition of the Teheran daily *Keyhan*, Javad Salahi and his friend were pasting leaflets on walls at 1:00 a.m. when the police noticed them. The paper claimed that the two then fired at the police. The SAVAK communiqué said nothing about Salahi putting up leaflets.

There were also contradictions between the police report of the May 24 killings and the eyewitness accounts printed in *Keyhan* May 25. According to these accounts, three people, two men and one woman, were moving furniture into an apartment they had just rented when the clash with the police began. No one mentioned more than these three persons being involved. Yet the three names of the slain in the police communiqué are all those of men.

There were other inconsistencies. On May 27 *Keyhan* reported for the first time that two children were killed in the clash. Naturally the fatal bullets had been fired by the "outlaws."

The same issue of the paper carried contradictory reports on the death of the children. One account said they had immediately been rushed to the hospital in a police ambulance. Their parents said that they had taken the wounded children home and had not been able to get them to a hospital until one and a half hours later, when the shooting stopped.

The lateness of the report and the contradictions it contains indicate that SAVAK may have distorted the facts in order to discredit the "outlaws."

Other inconsistencies that slipped past SAVAK's censors included the time when the clash occurred and its duration, which was variously reported as a few minutes and one and a half hours.

These contradictions may indicate that SAVAK invented a "battle" in order to justify killing the three.

Abortion foes lose in Calif.

By BOBBY DEUR

SAN FRANCISCO—Pro-abortion forces in California won a victory June 7 when four of five bills that would have made it virtually impossible for women to obtain so-called therapeutic abortions were defeated in the Assembly Health Committee. Several religious and right-wing groups mobilized their membership for the public hearings on the bills, which were attended by around 900 persons.

The proposed bills would have prohibited the use of saline solution to induce abortion (the most common method used in pregnancies of longer than 12 weeks); any abortions at all after 10 weeks; abortions for reasons of the mother's mental health if she was not under a psychiatrist's care before becoming pregnant; and abortions for women who had not submitted to mandatory "counseling" sessions to inform them of their "alternatives."

The committee chairman made clear his support of these bills by extending time allowed for antiabortion witnesses to two hours, and attempting to cut off negative testimony after one hour. By that point, only male physicians and one lawyer had been heard in opposition to the bills, and cries from the floor of "Let's hear from a woman!" forced the committee to hear two female witnesses.

The bill reported out to the full legislature would prevent the physician who originally recommends a woman for an abortion from serving on the

three-doctor hospital committee that must approve each abortion. (A woman's private physician is assumed to be "biased," although many doctors whose personal and religious beliefs lead them to oppose abortions are nevertheless considered sufficiently "impartial" to sit on the committee.)

In earlier action, the Assembly Health Committee favorably reported out a bill to permit nurses to refuse to assist in performing abortions.

The forces behind these outrageous bills fared rather poorly during the hearings. Their principal witness on the use of saline solution, for example, who described in some detail the alleged "pain" the fetus suffers from this method of abortion, had introduced himself as a scientist engaged in research only to be revealed under questioning to be an electrical engineer!

The ease with which these bills were killed clearly shows that the gains women have made cannot easily be rolled back. At the same time, California women will continue to demand complete repeal of the state's abortion law.

Black students win vote

By ERNIE HARSCH

DETROIT—Black students mobilized for the June 1-2 elections to the Student-Faculty Council at Wayne State University and to student boards of five of the university's colleges, and swept into all of the positions.

While independent Black students took five of the contested seats on the student boards and one of the seats on the S-FC, the other nine S-FC positions were won by the Association of Black Students.

The first groups to enter the campaign, three weeks prior to the elections, were the Socialist Action Slate and Party 1. On the SAS were seven members of the Young Socialist Alliance and two antiwar activists from the Student Mobilization Committee. Party 1 was a liberal coalition.

The platform of the SAS called for: opening up the financial books to allow students to decide whether the proposed tuition hike of 20 percent is necessary; turning over university facilities and money to the antiwar movement; ending FBI surveillance of students; equal rights for gay people; a women's study program; abortion referral; free 24-hour child-care centers; birth control information and contraceptives at the campus health center; full Black, Chicano and Native-American study programs controlled by the students and faculty of those programs; and open admissions and full scholarships for Blacks, Chicanos and Native Americans.

Although the SAS received only 10 percent of the votes—about 300 per candidate—the wide distribution of its platform had a great influence on the campaign of the Association of Black Students.

When ABS distributed its program, on the first day of the elections, the program called for full rights for Black organizations, for full Black, Chicano and Native-American study programs, for opening up the university's financial books to the student body, for open admissions and full scholarships to Blacks, Chicanos and Native Americans, and for an end to police harassment of Blacks.

Outside of all-Black campuses, WSU has one of the largest Black student populations in the country. Of about 35,000 students, 17.7 percent are Black.

After relative quiescence, the June 1-2 elections may mark the beginning of an extensive mobilization of Black students here.

Hugo Gonzales Moscoso, leader of the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers Party, the Bolivian Section of the Fourth International), gave the following interview in late April to Jean-Pierre Beauvais of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*. Intercontinental Press translated the interview from the May 17 *Rouge*.

Question: How would you characterize the present situation in Bolivia?

Answer: Since Torres came to power, the situation has been marked by great instability. Ovando's exit was a clear manifestation of the disintegration of the Bolivian regime and of the only organization still capable of defending the interests of the local bourgeoisie and imperialism—the army, or rather the army-party, inasmuch as this is the role it really plays.

Totally discredited by his daily clashes with workers and students, Ovando had to be replaced. However, despite the advice of the American embassy, the military chiefs could not agree on a substitute. The support Torres enjoyed from the workers and students enabled him to win out. The armed forces then apparently regrouped around Torres under the slogan "no victors and no vanquished."

This development, in fact, accelerated the crisis in the armed forces, which are now split into two, if not several, factions. The right wing is entirely manipulated by the State Department and the CIA and by their Brazilian military hirelings. On the other hand, a nationalist wing, which, as an added attraction, claims to be revolutionary, is trying to follow a policy of bourgeois reform that involves making secondary concessions to the mass movement, with the evident aim of co-opting it.

One thing must be clearly understood, however. *Despite the divisions that have weakened it, in the last analysis the army, the military party of the bourgeoisie, still holds power.* [Emphasis in the original. — IP] Thus, the attempted coup January 10 and the recent events in Santa Cruz province must be viewed in the context of the split in the armed forces.

As regards the attempted coup January 10, of course, the facts are quite clear. The officers implicated in this affair are notorious CIA stooges.

The aborted coup in Santa Cruz is interesting, inasmuch as it revealed some very precise plans worked out by the imperialists. The province of Santa Cruz covers more than a third of the country's territory. Unlike the other regions, it is a zone of plains and forests extending uninterruptedly into Brazil.

The principal economic activity is carried on by the big tropical plantations, but the mineral and petroleum resources, unexploited in the main, are enormous. With the direct participation of officers and agents of the neighboring Brazilian regime, the imperialists tried to lay the groundwork for a separatist movement in this province, a movement that would base itself on the big landowners.

The imperialists were not aiming for an immediate success. They will carry out their plans if the revolutionary forces take power in La Paz. The March operation, in which some military leaders laid siege to the provincial capital, organizing demonstrations of planters and agricultural workers—who in this type of large landholding system are bound to their employers like slaves to masters—was intended to put Torres on notice and blackmail him with a threat of secession by the province . . . Everything was directly stage-managed by Washington and Brasilia.

Q. What is Torres's position toward the sectors of the army hostile to him?

A. Torres is not a "comrade," that

is, an ally of the popular forces, as some reformists and, above all, the Bolivian Communist party would have us believe. Basically he represents and defends his caste—the army—as part of his job of defending the class to which he belongs, the bourgeoisie. In this sense, he has had one clear objective since he came to power—to reunite the armed forces and, of course, reunite them around himself. All his efforts, all his steps pursue this aim. Of course, in the face of a mass mobilization of the workers, students, and certain sectors of the peasantry, he is forced to compromise . . . but that is

res government. When they arrived in La Paz, they went, still armed, to the presidential palace and demonstrated there. They offered a very strange type of support.

For several hours the miners demonstrated, shouting "Down With Imperialism," "Long Live Che," "Socialism Yes, Betrayal No," "Long Live the Guerrillas" . . . Torres did not dare come out, as they called on him to do. Finally he made a speech heavily larded with demagoguery. Unsatisfied, the miners continued to demonstrate. At last, after twenty-four hours, they agreed, under the pressure of

Interview with Bolivian revolutionary



Bolivian President Torres represents and defends his caste, the army.

only a technical step necessitated by the weakness of this regime. And he hopes, once the unity of the armed forces is restored, to bring the mass movement to heel.

For our part, we do not think that Torres will achieve his objective. The fissures in the army are too wide. The right-wing officers and the American services are too mistrustful of Torres, who, they think, is a captive of the worker and student mobilization. The most probable outlook is for a right-wing coup d'etat sweeping him away rather rapidly and for a severe repression to follow.

Q. What is the attitude of the working class toward Torres and perspectives like that?

A. One thing is clear. While they support Torres against threats of an extreme right coup d'etat, the most combative and advanced sectors of the working class do this only half-heartedly. In reality, they are struggling to impose their own solution to the Bolivian crisis, that is, a workers' and peasants' government that would be definitely and concretely anti-imperialist and socialist.

The history of these last months in Bolivia indicates this fact clearly. Thus, at the time of the January 10 coup, about 4,000 miners came to La Paz from the mining regions. They came in trucks with large stocks of dynamite expropriated in the mines. Officially, they came to defend the Tor-

some of their union leaders and thanks to some "economic" concessions by Torres, to return to the mines. This is one example among many indicating the mood of the Bolivian working class today.

But we must also take account of the attitude of the reformist union leaders and the Communist party. They are supporting Torres. And all their activity is taken up in maneuvering to channelize the energy of the masses and the mass movement into supporting the regime.

This attitude is reflected very concretely in the matter of arming the workers. This problem is on the agenda, and the consciousness of the workers themselves has reached the point where they raise it every day. The forms taken by the demonstration I have just described are a clear indication of this.

The reformist or CP leaders continually evade this question and try to divert this tendency, this demand, which would be a powerful asset for the workers when the time comes for them to impose their own solution and stop playing the role of arbiter between two factions of the army, an extremely dangerous role and one which they will not long be allowed to play, as we have seen. In attempting to carry out their policy, the reformist leaders have the advantage of not inconsiderable influence and even a certain prestige. Let us not forget that they were the victims of severe repression in the previous period.

Q. Much has been said about the People's Assembly, which, notably, was formed after the January 10 coup d'etat. What is the POR's position with regard to it?

A. This assembly was formed in the confusion at the time of the unsuccessful right-wing coup d'etat of January 10. It tended to try to become a workers' parliament, taking charge of organizing the response to the actions of the extreme right. As early as last October, we advanced the idea of forming such an organization in our propaganda work. This idea was, in fact, taken up by many other sectors of the Bolivian left.

Confronted with the development of the People's Assembly, and once the danger of the rightist coup was passed, Torres took an extremely defensive attitude. Eventually, he chose to try to co-opt it. He took up a series of demands raised by the People's Assembly and granted it official recognition.

In the People's Assembly, which includes all the leftist parties and unions, the COB [Central Obrera Boliviana—Bolivian Labor Federation] plays the decisive role.

Thus, several positions have been expressed within the People's Assembly as to this body's future and what perspectives should be set for it.

The right, that is the reformists, uphold the idea that the People's Assembly should put itself at Torres's service, support his policy, and abdicate all powers of its own.

One centrist-type position calls for having the People's Assembly play the role of a bourgeois parliament, that is, keep a check on the executive branch.

The left wing, to which the POR belongs, has developed the idea that the People's Assembly should be a body that would discuss national problems and solutions for them but would leave the power in the hands of the mass organizations (unions and popular militia or people's army).

The situation is quite different today, in fact. The People's Assembly is hardly more than a kind of national parliament where the most important sectors of society are represented. The working class has a certain percentage of the seats, along with the peasants and the middle classes. Furthermore, every organization that participated in the "People's Command" set up at the time of the [October 1970] coup d'etat has two representatives. It must also be noted that the People's Assembly does not meet regularly enough to be able to organize the popular forces.

In the present situation, thus, its perspectives are extremely limited. An acute political crisis might revive it, but that is not certain. The POR comrades in the People's Assembly, whether they represent the party directly or some union, hold no illusions. They are using the People's Assembly as a forum, as a platform. That is all.

Q. In the present situation what activities is the POR carrying on and what perspectives is it following?

A. In the present context, the party's work follows two main lines. On the one hand, we are striving to link ourselves with the masses and, over and above this, increase our forces. On the other, we are preparing internally for future confrontations, as a revolutionary party must do in a situation such as we have analyzed and in line with the developments that we expect to occur.

To pursue these two tasks at the same time, to combine them, is an extremely difficult thing. Under the Ovando government the party operated in completely clandestine conditions and was totally absorbed in armed work. Since last November, after Torres came to power, we have been able to redevelop our legal work aimed at

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In Review

Books

The Third International After Lenin by Leon Trotsky. Introduction by Gus Horowitz. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1970. 346 pp. \$7.95 cloth. \$2.95 paper.

Originally written in 1928, this book contains the most comprehensive statement of the ideas of the Trotskyist Left Opposition to Stalinism conceived at that time. In form, it is a criticism of the draft program of the Communist International presented to the Sixth Congress of that body by Stalin and Bukharin and adopted by it. At the time, Trotsky had been expelled from the Communist International and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and exiled to Alma Ata in Soviet Asia.

Among the important features of this book is the analysis of the historical situation in which we are still living. The author entitled this section "Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch." He writes, "Prior to the war [First World War], we spoke only of the tactics of the proletarian party; this conception conformed adequately enough to the then prevailing trade-union, parliamentary methods which did not transcend the limits of the day-to-day demands and tasks. By the conception of tactics is understood the system of measures that serves a single current task or a single branch of the class struggle. Revolutionary strategy on the contrary embraces a combined system of actions which by their association, consistency, and growth must lead the proletariat to the conquest of power."

This methodological contrast between tactics and strategy, between practical, everyday tasks of the party, on the one hand, and the general understanding of the broad historical and strategic tasks, on the other, should serve to educate revolutionaries on the fundamental way to proceed. Particularly appropriate to our own times are the lessons to be drawn from this section. Among them is the necessity first to determine the nature of the period before going over to elaborating specific tactics. A common mistake made is to reverse this process.

Although written many years ago, the freshness of Trotsky's basic ideas is consistent throughout. For example, he writes, "The explosive character of this new epoch, with its abrupt changes of the political flows and ebbs, with its constant spasmodic class struggle between fascism and communism, is lodged in the fact that the international capitalist system has already spent itself and is no longer capable of progress *as a whole* [emphasis in the original]. This does not mean to imply that individual branches of industry and individual countries are incapable of growing and will not grow any more, and even at an unprecedented tempo. Nevertheless, this development proceeds and will have to proceed to the detriment of the growth of other branches of industry and of other countries." This stands today as a most accurate description of the reality of our times. From this analysis the author drew certain conclusions, especially probing the series of defeats of the international revolution from 1918 to 1928. These defeats contain very valuable lessons for present-day revolutionaries and must be studied carefully.

'Socialism in one country'

In the first section of the book, Trotsky analyzes the Stalinist theory of socialism in one country. This theory first appeared in the Soviet Communist Party after Lenin's death in 1924. It attempts to reverse the traditional internationalist approach to the proletarian revolution by reducing the problem of building a socialist society to a single country, in this case the Soviet Union. Trotsky goes deeply into the false premises for this theory and also extensively quotes Lenin's ideas on the subject.

The author predicted that the adoption of this theory, among other things, would lead to "the disintegration of the Comintern along the lines of social-patriotism." "Social-patriotism" is the term coined by Lenin to describe the capitulation of social-democratic parties during World War I to supporting the capitalist war policies of their governments. How accurate this prediction has worked out to be can now be seen in not only the disintegration of the Comintern but its complete disappearance. Moreover, the constituent parties of the former Communist International are

today, in many cases, at loggerheads with one another and have even clashed militarily, as was recently the case with China and Russia.

One does not have far to look for signs of social-patriotism in the various Communist parties; it dominates the ideas of all the major parties in the world: the French, the Italian, the English and American, to name several of the most prominent. The cover for the abandonment of revolutionary ideas and practices is the current theory of "peaceful coexistence," which sounds good but is nothing more than a complete surrender to the continued existence of the capitalist system.

Another valuable part of this book is the analysis of ultraleftism, a disease that afflicted several Communist parties in the 1920s. The understanding of this tendency is important for the present generation of revolutionaries because the disease is rampant in many countries. In the United States, there are about a half-dozen groups of one kind or another that can be classified as ultraleftist. Some of these are serious groups that are only attracted to ultraleftism because of a lack of experience. Trotsky's writings should be especially instructive for such militants. There are others that exhibit the traits of congenial ultraleftism and sectarianism.



"The policy of forcing the Chinese Communist Party to subordinate itself to the bourgeois Kuomintang led to the murder of many of the most stalwart Communists and the dispersal of the revolutionary forces for two decades." Photo shows Shanghai militants facing firing squad following defeat of 1927 revolution.

Chinese revolution

A special section of the book is devoted to the Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927 and its defeat. In it, the author examines the false policies imposed upon the young Communist Party of China by the Stalinized Communist International, policies that led to the defeat of the revolution, the murder of many of the most stalwart Communists, and the dispersal of the revolutionary forces for a period of two decades. The policy of forcing the Chinese Communist Party to subordinate itself to the bourgeois Kuomintang, led by Chiang Kai-shek, to give up any independent activity, to go no further than the Kuomintang leaders wanted, was inspired by Stalin and Bukharin, who were the architects of the historic defeat suffered by China in 1927.

Because the lessons of the Chinese revolution and its defeat were never studied and assimilated by many who looked upon themselves as Communists, heavy defeats have also been inflicted upon revolutionaries in other countries. Outstanding in this respect is the annihilation of the Indonesian Communists in 1965. This party supported the bourgeois nationalist regime of Sukharno and in essence repeated all the fatal policies of 1927 in China. These policies were approved by the Mao leadership in China as well as the leaders of the Soviet Union. By subordinating the interests of the Indonesian masses to the needs of the capitalists, the Indonesian Communist Party, which was a massive organization, failed to show the way to a revolutionary solution of the nation's problems. In addition, the dependence upon Sukharno, who was essentially similar to Chiang Kai-shek, created such illusions in the role of the na-

tional bourgeoisie that the party and mass organizations it led were unable to resist the onslaught of the reactionary military clique which deposed Sukharno and slaughtered several hundreds of thousands of Indonesians.

Other colonial and former colonial peoples who have problems similar to those of China in the 1920s and Indonesia at the present time can learn much from Trotsky's analysis of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 and why it was defeated. This holds good for many nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America, for the majority of humankind that still suffers from economic underdevelopment and imperialist exploitation.

Zigzags of Comintern

The third section of the book is in the form of a letter addressed to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. It deals extensively with the history of the International since Lenin's death in 1924 and describes the twists and turns in official Communist policies. Trotsky explains how the Stalinist right wing in the Comintern influenced the German Communists to follow a conservative policy in that country that led to missing a revolutionary situation. This was followed with a swing to the left that led to adventuristic policies in Bulgaria

and elsewhere. When this period, 1924 and 1925, had run its course, a new shift to the right was carried out, principally in China. This led to the defeat of the Chinese revolution.

At the time of the Sixth Congress, a swing to the left was once more indicated, one that would result in the defeat and expulsion of the Bukharin faction the following year. This became an ultra-leftward swing destined to last until Hitler's victory in Germany in 1933 and, in fact, was the main reason for this outcome of the struggles in Germany.

Only parts of Trotsky's book were translated and presented to the Program Commission at the Congress. The letter was omitted entirely. Serving on the commission were James P. Cannon and Maurice Spector, delegates from the American and Canadian Communist parties respectively. They were deeply influenced by the ideas they read in Trotsky's criticism and took copies of the document back to North America, where they organized support for Trotsky's program. They were expelled from their organizations for daring to challenge Stalin's monolithic control of the Communist International and all the parties in it. Thus the Trotskyist movements in the United States and Canada were founded.

In a new introduction to the book, Gus Horowitz provides many instructive details of important political events that came after 1928 that are related to the issues Trotsky wrote about. His conclusion—that these questions are by no means outdated but on the contrary entirely pertinent and valuable for the present revolutionary generation and those to come—is completely justified.

—MILTON ALVIN

Child-care drive opened

By EVELYN CLARK

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — A drive to collect 3,400 registered voters' signatures by Sept. 1 to place a child-care referendum on the ballot here in November was kicked off by the Cambridge Child-Care Referendum Committee at a June 3 news conference.

The petition drive is part of a campaign to win free, 24-hour child-care under parent and community control for the citizens of Cambridge. A general meeting of the New England Women's Coalition last February initiated the campaign, which has subsequently been endorsed by the New England Congress to Unite Women that met at Harvard in March and was attended by 800 women.

The committee here hopes to make child care a central issue in the elections by placing the referendum on the ballot. Following the news conference, a June 5 community forum on child care was held at the First Baptist Church in Cambridge, involving about 100 people.

The forum heard speeches from Meg Klein, a member of the Radical Day Care Action Group and the Governor's Task Force on Industry and Day Care; Louisa Howe, Ph.D., professor of clinical psychology at Harvard Medical School; Nancy Williamson of Female Liberation; and Sarah Ulman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Council.

Dr. Howe debunked the argument that "funds are not available" by pointing out that the cost is ultimately paid

instead to finance juvenile detention centers and drug rehabilitation centers. Williamson said the referendum was a step toward achieving a better environment for children while affording women the opportunity "to work, to be educated, to participate in society."

Ulman declared that the SWP "wholeheartedly endorses the child-care referendum," and she challenged the candidates of other parties to offer the same kind of active support.

Women and children in Cambridge suffer from the present desperate child-care situation here. The small number of centers currently operating are set up on an eight-hour basis, ignoring the problems of women who work nights or those who wish to be active in community events, avail themselves of additional training, or continue their education in the hours after work.

The access of everyone who needs child care to adequate facilities can only be guaranteed by free programs, and the programs must be controlled by those who use them in order to assure satisfactory care for the children.

Initial endorsers of the referendum effort include the Riverside Planning Team, Female Liberation, the Eastern Chapter of the National Organization for Women, the New England Women's Coalition, and the Black and Third World Women's Liberation Alliance.

These groups and others will campaign for active participation by as many people as possible. The campaign's educational effect should help lay the groundwork for further efforts to secure the kind of free, 24-hour child care that is called for in the proposed referendum.

School ceremony hits war

By JACK MacKAY

DETROIT — On June 10, the Student Mobilization Committee held a demonstration at the graduation ceremonies at Andover High School in Bloomfield Hills, a wealthy suburb.

This was a new situation for the Bloomfield Hills Police Department. Before the event, the organizers of the action were pulled out of class many times to confer with the superintendent of schools, the principal, and police officers. Their chief concern was the "safety" of the keynote speaker at the ceremonies, Edward N. Cole, president of one of the biggest war profiteers—the General Motors Corporation.

On the evening of the demonstration, there were six uniformed police, a great number of plainclothesmen, including three on the roof of the school, and a police dog. One incident occurred when an enraged man attacked two demonstrators and attempted to destroy a huge banner reading: "United States Out of Southeast Asia Now." The police refused to take the man's name or allow demonstrators to file a complaint.

The demonstration consisted of 35 pickets, while 50 to 60 sympathetic graduates wore black armbands and antiwar buttons on their gowns.

The graduates face the choice of either fighting and dying in an immoral war, joining the ranks of the unemployed, giving 78 percent of their tax dollars to the war, or working to end the war. The demonstrators urged the latter alternative.

Protests at 'Rose Festival'

By NICOLEE BRORSEN

PORTLAND, Ore. — This city's annual Rose Festival was marked this year by women's liberation and antiwar protests. Targets of the protests were the "Rose Queen" beauty contest and U. S. warships that visit the Portland harbor for the celebration.

The "Rose Queen" is chosen from among "Rose Princesses" elected at each of the city's high schools, but this year students at Adams High School voted three to one against electing a beauty contest candidate. Feminists at Lincoln High were denied their request for a referendum on the question.

Feminists and male supporters distributed leaflets and carried picket signs at the "coronation" of the "Rose Queen." Signs read "Beauty Contests are Human Meat Markets" and "Display Roses—Not Women." One male supporter, Larry Birkner, was arrested for passing out leaflets to people lined up to purchase tickets to the coronation. A local American Civil Liberties Union attorney, Carl Neil, has said the charge will very likely be dropped when Birkner's case comes to court.

The mayor seized upon plans of the Rose Festival Peace Committee to use small crafts to block warships from entering the harbor as a pretext to declare a state of civil disorder. However, there was little disorder, and the antiwar group also held a street dance to which sailors were invited. Many sailors responded to the invitation.

...women

Continued from page 5

sciousness necessary to struggle for free abortions.

To implement the proposals that were voted on at the meeting, an interim working committee, to consist of one representative from each group and to be open to all women who wish to attend, was set up. Women who want to be notified about the meetings of the working committee or want to receive information on the upcoming national conference should contact the Committee for a Women's National Abortion Coalition, 137-A West 14 St. (3rd floor), New York, N.Y. 10011, or phone (212) 924-0894.

...B. Desh

Continued from page 24

fered dried milk and other supplies to help the Pakistani government.

None of these "humanitarian" deeds can cover over the complicity of the U. S., Indian and Chinese governments in the genocide of the Bengali people. Both the U. S. and China provided the military hardware used in the Pakistani invasion. The Gandhi government, which is complaining about the cost of maintaining the refugees—about 40 cents per day for the one-half of the refugees on Indian subsidies—refused to give material or military aid, or even to recognize Bangladesh, in fear of the consequences of a Bengali national liberation movement on India itself.

The complicity of these governments in what must be recognized as one of the greatest genocidal massacres in human history points to the bankruptcy of capitalist, Stalinist, and Gandhian "humanitarianism."

...Mexico

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day by Mexico City Mayor Alfonso Martínez Domínguez, a representative of the press corps delivered an official protest against the Hawks' attacks on journalists.

Martínez Domínguez answered: "In the street, they talk about 'gorillas,' 'hawks,' . . . and other such names created by the fantasy of the people to express certain aspects of their thought, their imagination. . . . But the government has no special forces except the public security bodies you are all familiar with." He attributed the clashes to "philosophically antagonistic" and "dogmatic" campus groups.

"The mayor lamented," *La Prensa* reported, "that violence had arisen among groups whose passions are uncontrolled by discipline, reason, or authority."

...NPAC

Continued from page 3

Prof. George Wald; Ernest Mazey, Michigan ACLU; Earl Stout, international vice-president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Grady Glenn, president, Frame Unit, UAW Local 600; three members of the Cleveland City Council; Craig Morgan, student body president of Kent State University; Jack Baker, gay student body president at the University of Minnesota; Troy Perry, Metropolitan Community Church in Los Angeles; Wendell Young, president, Retail Clerks Local 1357 in Philadelphia; the D. C. Chap-

ter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Federal Employees for Peace; and the Concerned Officers' Movement.

In addition, it was announced at the Steering Committee meeting that among those who had agreed to address the opening session of the convention on Friday evening, July 2, were Sen. Vance Hartke; Victor Reuther; Bob Muller, Vietnam veteran; Debbie Bustin, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee; and David Livingston, president of District 65, Distributive Workers union.

The convention will give special emphasis to a series of workshops to be

organized by different constituencies of the antiwar movement. Some of the workshops planned are: labor, gays, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, students, women, clergy, and GIs and veterans. In addition, any group or individual can request a workshop on any subject.

Information on the convention can be obtained from NPAC, 150 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 10010.

Registration for the convention will be \$6 for adults, \$3 for college students, and \$2 for junior high and high school students. Registration begins at 6 p.m. on Friday, July 2, at Hunter College, 695 Park Avenue (68th St.) in New York City.



Photo by Howard Petrick

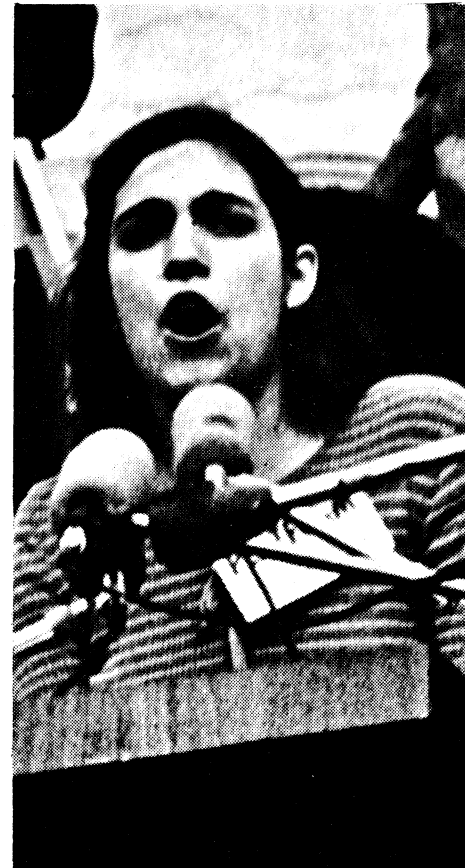


Photo by Jon Britton

Senator Vance Hartke, shown speaking at May 5 New York rally, and Debby Bustin, shown speaking in Washington, D.C., April 24, will address July 2-4 antiwar convention.

Calendar

AMHERST, MASS.

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

BOSTON

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN '71 meets every Thursday, 7 p.m. at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. Tel: 536-6981. You are invited!

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

THE GREAT TENANT ROBBERY. Speaker: Will Reissner, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 25, 8:30 p.m. at 136 Lawrence St. (corner of Willoughby). Contribution: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 596-2849.

CHICAGO

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

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

CHRISTOPHER STREET '71: A panel of gay activists on the meaning of the Christopher Street demonstrations. Fri., June 25, 8:30 p.m. at 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Contribution: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER MANHATTAN

WHY AMERICA NEEDS A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party and a founding member of GIs United at Ft. Jackson, S.C. Fri., June 25, 8:30 p.m. at 2744 Broadway (106th St.), Second Floor. Contribution: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 663-3000.

Socialist summer school

ATLANTA

STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. A series of classes. Defense policies of the Socialist Workers Party, Mon., June 28, 8 p.m. The need for a vanguard revolutionary party, Wed., June 30, 8 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 1176 1/2 West Peachtree. For further information, phone 876-2230.

AUSTIN

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. Regular classes Tuesdays and Fridays at 8 p.m. at U of Texas Student Union. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further information call M. Hernandez, 476-9030; or M. Lunn, 474-4275.

BAY AREA (CALIF.)

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. A special weekend of classes featuring Milton Alvin, National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party; and Harry Ring, head of the Southwest bureau of The Militant. Begins Fri., June 25, 8 p.m. U of California-Berkeley, Tan Oak Room, Assoc. Students Bldg.

Party Saturday night. For further information on the Northern Calif. regional summer school, phone 626-9958 (San Francisco) or 654-9728 (Berkeley). Ausp. SWP-YSA.

BOSTON

FRANCE IN REVOLUTION. Series on French history from the 1789 Revolution to the present. Reformism and the Second International, Sun., June 27, 7 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. For information, call 536-6981.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

FOUR SERIES OF CLASSES. Series 1—Principles of Marxism, Wed., June 23, 7 p.m. Series 3—History and organizational principles of the Socialist Workers Party, Sun., June 27, call 596-2849 for exact time. Series 4—Strategies and tactics for the 70s, Tues., June 29, 7 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Series 2—Socialist electoral politics, Tues., June 29, 7 p.m. 1015 Washington Ave., Apt. 6M. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

CHICAGO

HOW TO MAKE A REVOLUTION IN THE U.S. A series of classes. The revolutionary character of the Black liberation struggle, Fri., Sat., June 25-26, 7:30 p.m. The Chicano Movement, Sun., June 27, 7:30 p.m. The revolutionary party: its principles, structure and functioning, Tues., June 29, 7:30 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Call 641-0147 for further details.

CLEVELAND

HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. A series of classes. A petty-bourgeois opposition in the Socialist Workers Party, Wed., June 23 and Mon., June 28, 8 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. Debs Hall, 4420 Superior. Phone 391-5553 for further details.

DENVER

TWO SERIES OF CLASSES. Prospects and problems of women's liberation, Sun., June 27, 6 p.m. Organizing the revolutionary party, Thurs., July 1, 8 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. Contact Rocky Mountain Socialist Summer School, 607 E. 13th Ave. Phone 623-9505.

DETROIT

HISTORY OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. The Schachtman fight, Tues., June 29 and Tues., July 6, 7:30 p.m. At Wayne State U. For further information, call Detroit Socialist Summer School, 831-6135. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Foundations of scientific socialism and The roots and causes of Stalinism, Sun., June 27, 8 p.m. Organizing the vanguard party and Marxism and the struggle of women for liberation, Wed., June 30, 8 p.m. U of Houston University Center. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For more information call 741-2577.

LOS ANGELES

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. The Communist International I, Thurs., June 24, 8 p.m. The Communist International II, Sun., June 27, 8 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. For added details, call 463-1917 or 463-1966.

MINNEAPOLIS

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED. Series of classes. Tues., June 29, 7:30 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin), second floor. For further details, call 332-7781.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

TOWARDS AN AMERICAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

Series 1—The early formation of the Communist Party and the Left Opposition, Sun., June 27, 6:30 p.m. Series 2—American feminism: an historical overview, Tues., June 22, 7:30 p.m. Series 3—The origin and evolution of the SWP's position on the labor party, Thurs., June 24, 7:30 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. Socialist summer school. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Call 982-6051 for further information.

NEW YORK: UPPER MANHATTAN

THREE SERIES OF CLASSES. Series 1—History and organizational principles of the revolutionary party, Sun., June 27, 2 p.m. Series 2—Socialist electoral policy, Tues., June 29, 7 p.m. Series 3—The new radicalization, Thurs., July 1, 7 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 2744 Broadway (106th St.), Second Floor. Phone 663-3000 for details.

PHILADELPHIA

HISTORY OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. Re-stabilization of capitalism, prosperity and the witch-hunt, Sun., June 27, 4 p.m. Origins of the current radicalization, Wed., June 30, 7:30 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). For further details phone WA5-4316.

PORTLAND

THREE EDUCATIONAL SERIES. Series 1—The revolutionary party, Mon., June 28, 7:30 p.m. Series 2—Marxism and the struggle for national liberation, Wed., June 30, 7:30 p.m. Marxist economic theory, Thurs., July 1, 7:30 p.m. Portland Student Union, Rm. 323, SMC. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further information call 288-1063.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

SUMMER EDUCATIONAL SERIES. Course A, Class 5—The student movement, Thurs., June 24, 7 p.m. Course B, Class 1—The fundamentals of Marxism, Mon., June 28, 8 p.m. San Diego State Aztec Center, Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further details, call 286-9885.

SEATTLE

THREE SUMMER SCHOOL SERIES. Series 1—The precursors of scientific socialism, Wed., June 30, 8 p.m. Series 2—The third camp—intellectual socialism, Thurs., July 1, 8 p.m. Series 3—The antiwar movement, Sat., June 26, 11 a.m. Third World liberation, Sun., June 27, 11 a.m. U of Washington HUB. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further information, call 523-2555.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

HISTORY OF THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. Two Saturday classes, June 26, 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. The Chinese revolution, Mon., June 28, 8 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 2000 P St., N.W. Room 413. For further details, call 833-9560.

Calendar and Classified ad rates: 75c per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. Display ad rates: \$10.00 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for Classified and display ads; Tuesday noon, three days preceding publication, for Calendar ads.

...Bolivia

Continued from page 19

the unions but also the peasants and the universities, where we had done very little before.

On the basis of our political analyses and program, we have registered a number of gains and increased our strength markedly. But this was also a result of the prestige we gained in our previous armed work shoulder to shoulder with the ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army, the guerrilla force led in 1967 by Che Guevara].

Through our program we won the leadership of several small unions of urban workers. Last December our line was adopted in full by the La Paz Department [Province] congress of trade unions. In the universities we have won a large following, which is completely new for us, recruiting from the best student cadres in all the schools. Soon we are going to begin work aimed specifically at high-school students.

This growth in our mass influence is reflected in the progress of our publications. Our paper *Combate* comes out regularly each month. We are also publishing a monthly student paper and in the coming months we will put out a theoretical magazine.

But obviously this work cannot be capitalized on, or have any meaning in the long run, except in the context of preparing our organization for armed struggle. In the present unstable situation we look on everything as temporary. The repression that is to come will signal the start of a new stage of armed struggle on a scale previously unknown here.

This armed struggle will be a highly diversified one and will encompass the various sectors of the Bolivian population, from the miners to the peasants and including the students . . . Fundamentally it is this stage we are preparing for by trying to take full advantage of the opportunities offered us by the present situation.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: University: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Aris Scarla, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 959-5932.
 Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.
CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.
 Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.
 Riverside: YSA, c/o Woody Diaz, 5724 Warren St., Arlington, Calif. 92503.
 Sacramento: YSA, c/o Mark Lampson, 2307-A 24th Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95822.
 San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.
 San Diego: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.
 San Joaquin Valley: YSA, P.O. Box 873, Modesto, Calif. 95353.
COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Joan Fuls, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Colo. 80302.
 Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 607 E. 13th Ave., Denver, Colo. 80203. Tel: (303) 623-9505.
FLORIDA: Jacksonville: YSA, P.O. Box 8409, Arlington Branch, Jacksonville, Fla. 32211.
 Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-8776.
 Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 228-4655.
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, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 753-4445 (night).
INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o John Heilers, West University Apts. #22, Indiana U, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.
KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Mary Bee, 402 Yorkshire, Lawrence, Kan. 66044. Tel: (913) 843-8083.
MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, Box 324, Student Activities Office, Campus Center, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.
 Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981, 262-9688.

Pittsfield: YSA, c/o R.G. Pucka, 77 Euclid Ave., Pittsfield, Mass. 01201.
 Worcester: YSA, Box 1470, Clark U, Worcester, Mass. 01610. Socialist Workers Campaign '71, P.O. Box 97, Webster Sq. Sta., Worcester, Mass. 01603.
MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107.
 Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.
 East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 14, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.
 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 John Constant, 5219 Wayne St., Kansas City, Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 924-3714.
NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.
NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, P.O. Box 627, Newark, N.J. 07101. Tel: (201) 678-6005.
 Wayne: Paterson State YSA, c/o Clyde Magarelli, Paterson State College, 300 Pompton Rd., Wayne, N.J. 07470.
NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Marilyn Vogt, 3698 Hackett Blvd., Albany, N.Y. 12208. Tel: (518) 482-4584.
 Binghamton: YSA, P.O. Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.
 Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.
 Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.
 New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.
 Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP—(212) 982-6051, YSA—(212) 260-0976, Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.
 Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.
NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill: YSA, Box 2448, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.
OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Sarabeth Carr, 3653 Shaw, Cincinnati, Ohio 45208. Tel: (513) 871-4725.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.
 Columbus: YSA, 2519 Indianola, Apt. A, Columbus, Ohio 43202. Tel: (614) 267-7948.
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THE MILITANT

Rightists shoot student protesters in Mexico City

From Intercontinental Press

"On the University of Mexico campus yesterday [June 11] . . . in place of the passive, cautious, even indifferent air of a few days ago, there was a mobilization that reminded me of the 1968 movement," a reporter wrote in the June 12 issue of the Mexico City daily *Excelsior*.

Above the university, the Mexican flag was lowered to half-mast. The students were honoring an unknown number of their comrades killed June 10 when heavily armed rightist commandos, assisted by police and riot troops, opened fire on a demonstration of 8,000 persons in Mexico City.

Meetings were held in the schools and departments. It was agreed that the mass of students and "not just a few" should decide how to answer the government's murderous attack.

A general assembly began in the Justo Sierra auditorium at 6:00 p.m. "At about 6:30," the *Excelsior* report continued, "there was a blackout . . . the huge crowd jammed the doors and corridors inside and outside the hall. It was almost impossible to get in, but many youths managed it. . . . In this atmosphere of exaltation, of protest against violent acts, order was maintained. With the flickering light of matches and cigarette lighters, the assembly went on in semidarkness."

Finally, the crowd grew so large that it had to move onto the esplanade. In the open air, the organizers played recordings of police radio broadcasts directing attacks on the June 10 demonstration. In one case a report noted that a "Halcón" [Hawk], one of the rightist commandos, had been wounded. The authorities deny officially that such a group exists.

The march June 10 began at 4:55, the moderate progovernment daily *El Día* reported the next day. It formed on the Calle Carpio near the School of Biology and the university infirmary. The students were demonstrating in support of their comrades at the Universidad de Nuevo León in Monterrey who have been struggling for more than a year for democratic control of their school.

The marchers were warned by Police Colonel Emmanuel Guevara that they were exposing themselves to danger. Later another colonel, Angel Rodríguez, issued a similar warning. The leader of the march, Manuel Marcué Pardiñas, a well-known journalist and recently released political prisoner, appealed to him to "respect the constitution."

"Just before the intersection of the Avenida de Maestros and the Calzada México-Tacuba, a gas grenade exploded, followed by the appearance of one of the first groups, which some demonstrators identified as 'Los Halcones' [the Hawks]," *El Día* continued.

Another Mexico City daily, *La Prensa*, gave this account, under the headline "The Counterdemonstrators Arrived in Buses": "Just after 5:17 the demonstrators were halted . . . by the youths from the gray buses, El MURO [one of the component groups of the Hawks], and army parachutists."

About 500 commandos, according to the June 11 *New York Times*, armed with clubs, knives, and high-caliber firearms, stormed the line of march. After the initial attack, "wounded persons were lying everywhere," *La Prensa* reported. The shooting continued for five hours.

The rightists seemed to make a special point of attacking passersby and damaging property in the area: "The ones from the gray buses, MURO, and the other groups attacked again," *La Prensa* wrote. "But this time they struck out right and left against women and children passing through San Cosme and along the Calle de Velázquez de León."

Remembering the massacre of Tlatelolco, when the police attacked wounded students in the hospitals and carried away the bodies of the dead for secret burial, crowds of demonstrators refused to abandon their injured comrades taken to the nearby Rubén Leñero hospital.

"At 6:50," *La Prensa* reported, "a contingent of goons armed with rifles and machine guns made a cowardly attack on all those in the crowded hospital. . . ."

"The counterdemonstrators charged at the patients and other persons in the corridors. Several students were gunned down. It was hard to see how many, because this reporter had taken refuge in Doctor Sánchez's office, where there were police, doctors, nurses, administrative officials, and three unidentified students."

A patient in the hospital, unconnected with the clashes, described how the goons searched for victims: "The men with clubs and machine guns came up. They walked like drug addicts, their eyes reddened and their faces twisted with hatred. They were arguing and fighting among themselves. . . . A doctor—an intern—was with them and he looked very nervous. Soon Dr. Durón came and bawled them out: 'I told you not to go into the women's wards.'"

The patient continued: "At 9:00 next morning, my mother came. . . . She told me that she had seen more than thirty bodies piled up and a lot of bullet holes in the hospital walls."

The rightist commandos followed a peculiar procedure. They picked up numbers of people, interrogated them, and checked their identification. One of the people "arrested" this way was Marlise Simons, correspondent for the *Washington Post*: "I could hear a radio conversation," she cabled June 11, "as they talked to the nido, their 'nest,' about what to do with their catch. . . ."

"The orders were simple: Keep them, get her camera, and take them to point 'Six-R.' . . ."

"They were professionals . . . a chief gave orders to make an inventory of my bag and clothes."

Simons was released, she wrote, when she told her captors that she had an appointment with President Echeverría. They promised her the police would return her belongings.

At a press conference held the next

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Photo by Ed Weaver

N.Y. demonstration by 300 Bengali nationalists and sympathizers June 12 in support of Bangla Desh. Protesters marched from Columbus Circle to Pakistani Consulate, and then to United Nations for a rally to demand self-determination for Bangla Desh. Speakers included Omio Mukreji of N.Y. Bengali community; Dr. K.M. Alamgir; Harrisburg Eight defendant Eqbal Ahmad; and Andrew Pulley of Socialist Workers Party.

Bengali refugees face hunger, disease, death

By MARCEL BLACK

The toll of the Pakistani invasion of Bangla Desh can be measured not only by the count of over one-half million murdered, and hundreds of thousands raped, wounded, and maimed in utterly destroyed Bengali cities and villages, but in the suffering of millions of Bengali refugees in India.

A dispatch from Calcutta in the June 15 *New York Times* states that the official death toll in the cholera epidemic sweeping Bengali refugees in India is over 5,000—which means it is probably considerably more. The *Times* claims the epidemic has abated but reports that "death from other diseases and afflictions continues at a steady rate. Malnutrition, exhaustion and gastrointestinal diseases are striking down large numbers of refugees daily. . . ."

"Tuberculosis is also endemic in refugee camps and the dampness of monsoon season will aggravate this situation."

The article reports that two million refugees are currently living without any shelter, and that several million others are in makeshift camps, which may be flooded once the rains start.

On May 14, the *Christian Science Monitor* reported that Bengalis were streaming into India at a rate of 50,000 per day. Chanchal Sarkar in the June 8 *Monitor* says the figure is now sometimes more than 100,000 per day.

Estimates of the refugee total range from a low of two million to a more realistic four million. Sarkar predicts that ultimately nearly ten million refugees may arrive in India from Bangla Desh.

An article in the May 22 *New York Times* by Sydney H. Schanberg, reporting from New Delhi, describes the situation of the refugees: "Half the refugees are being housed by India in badly overcrowded camps, most of them hastily set up in schools and hostels shut down for the purpose. . . ."

"A large number . . . are simply massed along the roadside—living in makeshift thatch lean-tos, or in the open, unprotected from the monsoon rains, which have already begun."

"Some have taken shelter in the large concrete sewer pipes that lie at the roadside awaiting installation. . . ."

"Defecation in the open is common. Cholera has already broken out in some areas and dysentery and other gastrointestinal ailments are widespread. . . ."

" . . . the Pakistani Army offensive has been much more devastating in human terms than the cyclone and tidal wave that struck the delta area of East Pakistan last November, killing hundreds of thousands of Bengalis and leaving two million homeless and hungry."

Meanwhile, in Bangla Desh, the destruction wrought by the Pakistani invasion is causing new suffering. The May 20 *Monitor* reports that Pakistani-occupied Bangla Desh will be short at least two million tons of food by July. It estimated that 10 to 30 million East Bengalis are "in danger of starvation over the next few months."

The Indian government headed by Indira Gandhi, a number of U.S. liberal "humanitarians," and some officials of the U.S. government are now crying crocodile tears at the plight of the East Bengalis. China has of-

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