

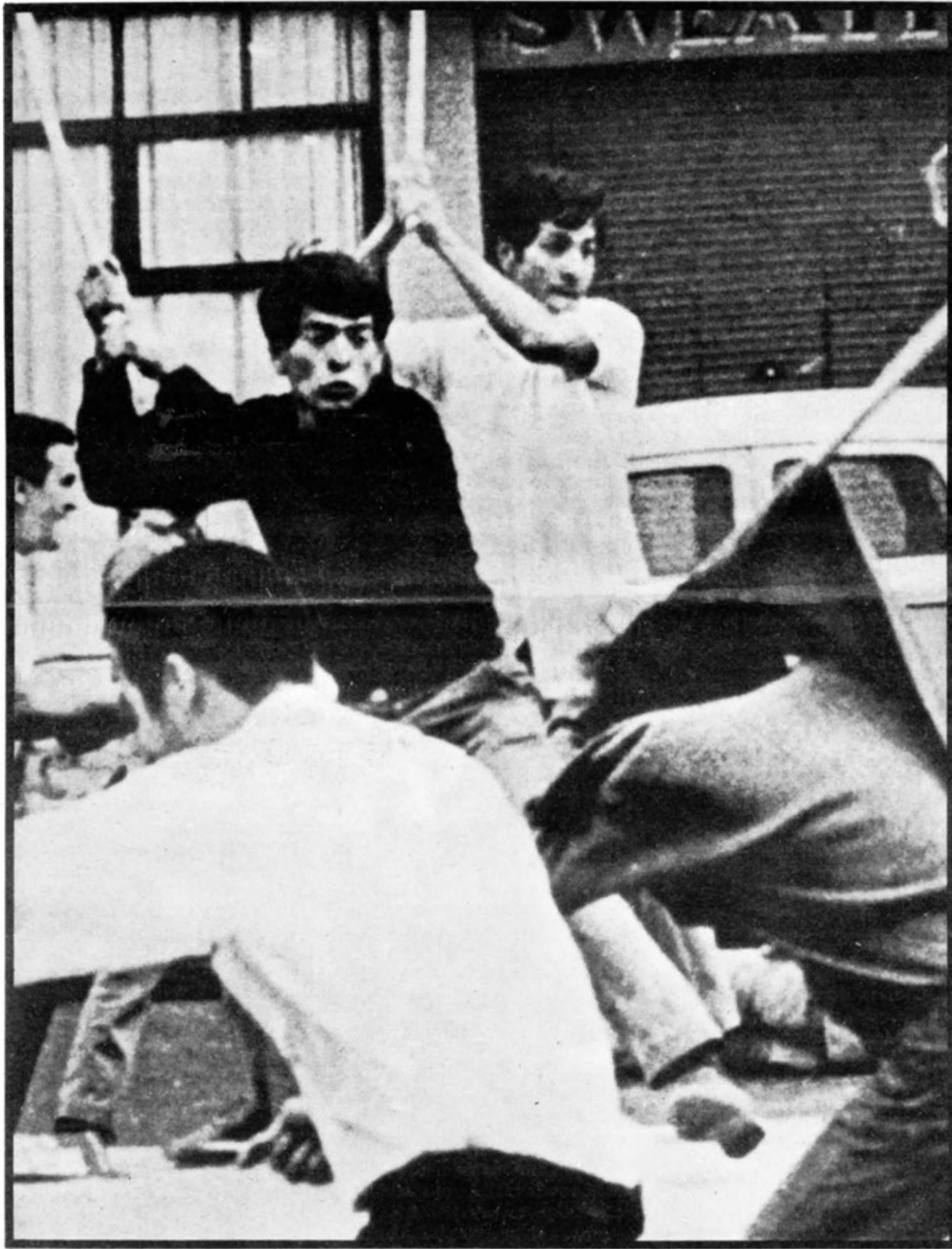
Why did the Times do it?

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JULY 9, 1971 25 CENTS

THE MILITANT

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



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THE MILITANT

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JULY 9, 1971

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ANTIWAR OFFICER TO BE COURT-MARTIALED:

The June 30 **New York Times** reported that the Air Force ordered a general court-martial for Capt. Thomas L. Culver June 29. Culver is being charged under Article 912 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice for his role in the presentation of petitions from antiwar GIs to the U. S. Embassy in London on May 31.

NO JURIES FOR JUVENILES: The Supreme Court ruled last month that juveniles accused of lawbreaking are not entitled to be tried by a jury of their peers—or even by a jury of adults. The excuse offered for this denial of constitutional rights to young people is that the separation of juvenile offenders from the regular adversary process was first effected to protect and benefit young people charged with crimes. Even though this is not how it has worked out, Justice Blackmun said for the court's majority, it is a nice idea, and giving juveniles the right to a jury trial would be like admitting that just because it hasn't worked for 70 years, it can't ever work. This is a paraphrase, but it captures the logic of the decision.

LEOPARDS, TIGERS AND THE AIR WE BREATHE:

According to a June 23 story from Liberation News Service, Tasha, a female tiger at the Philadelphia Zoo, died recently of lung cancer caused by air pollution. A pair of leopards at the Staten Island Zoo contracted lead poisoning, causing the death of one and paralysis in the other, because of air pollution. The static electricity of the cats' fur picks up tiny particles of lead from the polluted air, which the animals then ingest by licking themselves while grooming.

SARTRE, J'ACCUSE AND LA CAUSE DU PEUPLE:

Jean-Paul Sartre became the nominal editor of the Maoist paper **La Cause du Peuple** in May 1970 when **La Gauche Proletarienne**, the group publishing the paper until then, was outlawed by the French government. This spring the paper merged with another, newer, Maoist publication **J'Accuse**, and the combined publication remained under Sartre's editorship, formally speaking. According to French law, the editor is arrested when a publication is suppressed. This had happened to two previous editors of **La Cause du Peuple**, and Sartre's taking over acted as a guard against further suppressions because of the philosopher's standing in France. De Gaulle is reputed to have said when it was suggested he arrest Sartre for activity in behalf of the Algerian revolution, "One cannot arrest Voltaire." Pompidou's government decided last month, however, to at least charge Voltaire, and while he was allowed to remain at liberty, Sartre was indicted for "criminal libel" as editor of the Maoist paper and for an article in **Tout**, a French underground paper. A story from Reuters in the June 20 **Washington Post** reports that Sartre could face a fine and "between eight days and one year in prison," while a **New York Times** story for the same day says the charges "could bring up to four years in prison and \$220,000 in fines." In either case, a hearing on the charges is scheduled to come up in September.

COLORADO WAR CRIMES HEARINGS:

The Colorado Vietnam Veterans Against the War held hearings at the Denver Indian Center June 19-20 modeled after those held early this year in Detroit. About three dozen veterans testified that their units had slaughtered prisoners of war, mutilated bodies and generally abused the South Vietnamese villagers in a brutal fashion. Tom Bratland, a former Navy officer, described an exercise in state-side training in which trainees passed by bushes outside a mock village. The recorded sound of a baby crying came from behind the bushes, and if the GIs failed to fire at the sound they were docked points.

COLD TURKEY AT BADGER PLANT:

Workers at the Badger Army Ammunition Plant in Baraboo, Wis., experience chest pains whenever they leave the job for a weekend or more, and the pains continue until they return to the plant. The June 28 **New York Times** reported that a Milwaukee doctor has uncovered the reason—the workers have developed a physical dependence on nitroglycerin used at Badger to make rocket fuel. Working at the plant, the workers inhale nitro dust and possibly absorb it through the skin. Not only have they become

addicted, the **Times** reported, but the exposure to nitro appears to be contributing to heart disease.

FIT TO PRINT? An item in the first issue of (**MORE**), a new journalism trade publication, juxtaposes a passage from a story filed by Homer Bigart from Ft. Benning on March 29 as the two-time Pulitzer Prize winner wrote it, and as it appeared in the **New York Times** after editing. Bigart wrote, "Although he had just been found guilty of 22 murders, Calley was treated far more gently than was Army doctor Captain Howard B. Levy four years ago after receiving a sentence for refusing to give medical training to Green Berets on the ground that the training would be used unlawfully in Vietnam. Unlike Levy, Calley was not handcuffed and left the court unfettered. An officer explained: 'His conduct has been exemplary throughout and he'll continue to be treated as an officer.'" The passage appeared in the **Times** after passing under an editor's blue pencil, reading: "Lieutenant Calley was not handcuffed when driven to the stockade." Bigart, 63, a veteran of 45 years of reporting, 17 of them on the **Times** staff, said when queried about the discrepancy (the **Times** news service sent out the original version), "I never read my stories in the paper any more. It's a safe way to avoid ulcers. You can't win. You finally come to the point where you either have to take it or quit. People have tried to fight back, but they get nowhere. You can't beat a newspaper bureaucracy. . . ."

SAIGON'S OIL: The puppet regime in Saigon opened 160,000 square miles of offshore territory to drilling exploration last month. Exploration and exploitation rights to the reportedly rich oil deposits beneath Vietnam's continental shelf were put up for bidding by Saigon June 10. After 60 days, the regime's National Petroleum Board will evaluate the bids expected from about 30 U. S., Japanese and European oil companies and recommend the assignment of rights in blocks of the area to particular companies. Economic minister Pham Kim Ngoc projected that it would take "at least two years" to begin production, illustrating that U. S. oil corporations in on the bidding understand what Nixon means by "phased withdrawal."

NO DIFFERENCE: The Gallup survey conducted June 4-7 asked the more than 1,500 people in their sample what they considered "the most important problem facing this country today." One-third said the Vietnam war and an additional 22 percent said inflation and unemployment. When asked which of the two major parties could do better in handling what they saw as the major problem, 40 percent responded that it made no difference!

ATOM BOMB AFTEREFFECTS:

The June 14 issue of **Time** magazine reports new findings by an investigating team that studied 20,000 survivors of U. S. imperialism's atomic bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Among those exposed in the open air a mile or less from the blasts' centers, cancer has been 10 times more frequent than among those who were inside shelters or more than a mile away from the explosions. But even among the less exposed victims, "cancers of the thyroid, uterus and bone have developed in increasing numbers during the past decade." Moreover, **Time** reports, "The casualty commission sees no evidence that a peak has yet been reached. During the next ten years, the young survivors will be entering the age bracket at which cancer rates ordinarily begin to increase sharply."

FASCISM AND SEX:

Nicolas Caparros, a psychiatrist in Spain, has been charged with creating a "public scandal," according to the June 17 **New York Times**, because he conducted a survey using 6,000 anonymous questionnaires to find out about sexual practices and attitudes among students at the University of Madrid. The more than 1,000 forms returned indicated that sexual behavior was severely inhibited, even among the respondents with enlightened attitudes. This was evidently no surprise to Caparros, who the **Times** quotes as saying, "I get patients who belong to (Wilhelm) Reich reading groups at the university and who, it turns out, have never so much as kissed anyone."

—LEE SMITH

NPAC convention to map fall campaign

By HUGH MORGAN

Speaking for the National Peace Action Coalition, Jerry Gordon, a coordinator of NPAC, blasted the indictment of Daniel Ellsberg in a press statement June 28.

"It is paradoxical," Gordon said, "that they let war criminals run loose while they indict this man for allegedly turning over to the American people documents which reveal what this genocidal war is all about."

In calling for the dropping of all charges against Ellsberg, Gordon said the Pentagon study would be discussed at the National Antiwar Convention opening July 2 at Hunter College in New York City. The convention, which has the endorsement of leaders from all sections of the American public, will be attended by hundreds of antiwar activists who will discuss the antiwar movement's plans for the fall during the three days of the convention.

At a news conference June 24, Debby Bustin, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee and one of the convention keynote speakers, joined Gordon in stressing the added importance of the gathering in light of recent developments.

The vote to curb the anti-draft filibuster and the passage of the empty Mansfield amendment, which ap-

proves continued slaughter for nine months and offers no guarantee of peace even at the end of nine months, are indications "of how unrepresentative" Congress is of the majority that wants the U. S. out of Indochina now, Bustin said.

Gordon said, "Any date set can be extended; and extended; and extended — just as the draft, which was supposed to expire June 30, is about to be extended."

"NPAC's answer to Congress' action and inaction" and to Nixon's insistence on continuing the war, Gordon said, "will be to mobilize gigantic numbers of people into the streets this fall in support of the demand for total and immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops, warplanes, helicopters and materiel from Indochina."

In addition to hundreds of endorsements from activists and leaders in the trade union, GI antiwar, veterans antiwar, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, women's liberation, gay liberation and ecology movements, and from figures in the religious community, the convention has been endorsed by 13 members of Congress, the vice-presidents of six of the country's largest unions, the heads of three of the largest U. S. student organizations, and the broadest spectrum of Black leaders ever to endorse an antiwar convention.

Among the 30 African-American endorsers are the Rev. Charles Koen of the Cairo Black United Front, Dick Gregory, and congressional representatives John Conyers, Ron Dellums and Parren Mitchell.

The six union vice-presidents are Abe Feinglass of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, Murray Findley of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Harold Gibbons of the Teamsters, Dick Niebur of the United Electrical Workers, Earl Stout of AFSCME, and Rexford Weng of the Massachusetts State Labor Council.

The three student leaders are Bustin of the SMC; Duane Draper, president of the Association of Student Governments; and William Sloane, president of the College Young Democrats.

At the June 24 news conference, Gordon said that a delegation from NPAC would be attending the meeting in Milwaukee of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, and that a PCPJ delegation would attend the July 2-4 antiwar convention at Hunter College. "The antiwar movement will be going into next fall more united than it has ever been," Gordon said.



Jerry Gordon

Photo by Howard Petrick

New antiwar offensive planned in Canada

"The publication by the *New York Times* of a Pentagon study of how the U. S. entered the Vietnam war proves categorically the claim by the Canadian antiwar movement that successive Canadian governments, including the present one, are guilty of conscious and premeditated complicity in U. S. aggression in Indochina.

"... the government has lied to the citizens of Canada. Canada's claim to neutrality in Southeast Asia, as a member of the International Control Commission (ICC), has been exposed as a fraud."

The Canadian antiwar movement has responded to the *New York Times* revelations with plans to mobilize more Canadians than ever before against their government's complicity in the war. The quotation above is from a statement issued by George

Addison, executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee (VMC) in Toronto, announcing an antiwar conference "to plan a new cross-Canada offensive against Canadian complicity and for the withdrawal of U. S. troops."

Addison said the conference, which will be held Aug. 6-7 in Toronto, followed by a Hiroshima Day rally on Aug. 8, "will be the broadest, most representative gathering of antiwar activists yet, with the strength to build a fall offensive which can begin the process of forcing the Trudeau government to end its criminal and genocidal complicity."

For further information, contact Vietnam Mobilization Committee, 241 Victoria, Toronto. Tel: (416) 863-0494.

PCPJ conference backs united action

By JOHN BENSON

MILWAUKEE—A major step toward a reunified antiwar movement was taken here the weekend of June 26-27 as the national convention of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice voted to approve a program of united mass antiwar actions to be organized in collaboration with the National Peace Action Coalition. The decision could be a major step in ending the year-long split within the antiwar movement and greatly increases the possibility that the antiwar movement will be able to mount mass action this fall on an even greater scale than the April 24 demonstrations.

More than a thousand people attended the convention, which was held at Father Groppi's church here. The discussion and debate centered around a joint proposal that had been worked out in meetings between representatives of NPAC and the People's Coalition. The draft proposal is also to be presented to the NPAC convention meeting the July 4 weekend in New York City.

The statement said in part, "The purpose of this agreement is to achieve a working unity of all organizations opposed to the war, to build a series of massive antiwar actions in the streets this summer and fall. . . . This program includes a series of peaceful, orderly non-confrontation actions which will be presented to the convention of each of the coalitions for their approval. It is recognized that each of the coalitions will be conducting other activities in opposition to the war or other activities related to other issues of national concern. In general the parties agree to be guided by the recognition that each of them is free to conduct various activities independently, and that the views of both coalitions will be reflected in the demands of these actions."

The statement called for local Hiroshima-Nagasaki Commemoration actions on Aug. 6-9; for a National Moratorium in every city, every community and campus, on Oct. 13; and on Saturday, Nov. 6, "a series of regional massive antiwar demonstrations in the streets in a selected number of metropolitan cities."

The statement concludes: "The parties look upon this common program of action as the beginning of a unification of the peace forces to bring about an end to the war. Various differences, divergences and variations have existed between the two coalitions. However, both are committed to the principle that unity of all the peace forces is needed now. There is a common awareness that division among the peace forces will play into the hands of the reactionary warmakers. Above all there is the common belief that we now have the support of the overwhelming majority of the people and the war can be ended by them."

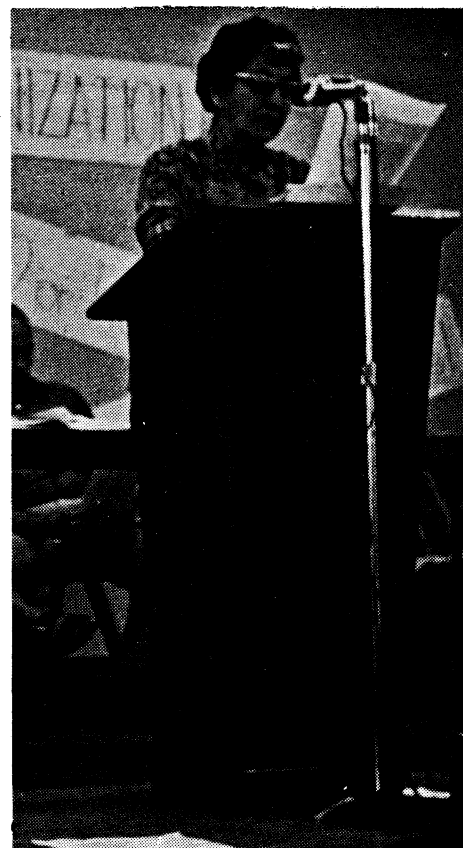


Photo by Larry Seigle

Pauline Rosen presenting proposal for unified antiwar actions to PCPJ conference.

The proposal was presented to the convention by Pauline Rosen of Women Strike for Peace in New York City.

Various proposals for civil disobedience on days following the mass actions were also adopted by the PCPJ.

There was a good deal of opposition to the proposal from the Mayday section of the People's Coalition, which viewed the unity statement as a capitulation on the part of the People's Coalition to the mass-action perspective of NPAC. They complained that civil disobedience would be given second priority to the mass actions.

But there was little floor debate because the Mayday forces were leaderless (Rennie Davis, for example, did not attend), and the supporters of the proposal seemed to have solid control of the convention. Some activists in Mayday, however, indicated they would now leave the People's Coalition.

The convention reaffirmed the PCPJ's orientation of building actions around the demand that the Nixon administration "set the date" for withdrawal from Vietnam — as opposed to demanding immediate and unconditional withdrawal. Although most of the discussion and debate focused on the antiwar movement, the conference also reaffirmed the PCPJ's antagonism to building a coalition around opposition to the war. In their view, a coalition must be based on a program dealing with numerous social issues in addition to the war.

Expose of warmakers continues

By DAVID THORSTAD

JUNE 29—The efforts of the Nixon administration to keep the secret Pentagon papers under lock and key have not discouraged newspapers throughout the country from continuing to make public more of the secret information they contain. Even as the government's suits against the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* for publishing the first installations were before the Supreme Court (which is expected to make a ruling at any time), reports were continuing to appear.

Among the other influential newspapers that have thus far published material from the secret papers are the *Boston Globe*; the *Chicago Sun-Times*; the *Los Angeles Times*; the string of Knight newspapers, which includes 11 publications; the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*; and the *Christian Science Monitor*.

What has already been published has not only knocked the legs out from under the propagandistic justifications for U. S. imperialist policy in Indochina over the past 20 years, but there is undoubtedly more to come. "The heart of the study is not out yet," Daniel Ellsberg, the man who has admitted leaking the documents to the press, told Walter Cronkite in an interview June 23.

The *Times* itself apparently used considerable discretion in deciding what it chose to reveal. According to the June 19 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Officers in the Pentagon who have compared the published reports in the *Times* with the still-guarded and highly classified originals are telling defense officials now that some potentially damaging material, particularly in terms of America's relations with other nations, has been omitted."

The accounts published in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* dealt primarily with the years 1964-1965. Subsequent revelations probed into earlier years of U. S. involvement in Vietnam. And then what the Nixon administration feared most—and what prompted it to try to gag the press in the first place—happened: The accounts began to include secrets of the Nixon administration as well as of its predecessors.

"The Nixon administration was advised by the Central Intelligence Agency in 1969 that it could immediately withdraw from Vietnam and 'all of Southeast Asia would remain just as it is at least for another generation,'" wrote the *Chicago Sun-Times*. With revelations like these being unearthed each day, and with the "heart" of the study yet to come, Nixon can expect things to get worse before they get better.

They already appear to be getting worse for him. Syndicated columnist Jack Anderson reported June 28 that, according to secret documents other than the Pentagon papers, President Nixon has been under pressure from the military chiefs for more than a year to resume bombing of North Vietnam. "The president finally came around," says Anderson, "and top-secret contingency plans were drawn up last October by General Creighton Abrams, the American commander in Vietnam. These were transmitted to the Pentagon on Oct. 17. They offer options for a three-day, seven-day, or 10-day aerial assault upon the North, including the bombing and mining of Haiphong harbor."

Nuclear "option"

The most important revelations in the past week, however, were made

in the *Boston Globe* and the *Chicago Sun-Times*.

The documents made available to the *Globe* revealed, among other things, that in a June 2, 1964, meeting of top administration officials in Honolulu, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara discussed possible use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam. The commander of U. S. forces in the Pacific, Admiral Harry D. Felt, "openly advocated that American commanders be given this option."

As early as May 11, 1961, according to these documents, President John F. Kennedy had approved programs to step up U. S. aggression in Vietnam

independent Vietnam under anti-Communist leadership."

Ouster of Diem

It should come as no surprise that the material published in the *Sun-Times* shows Kennedy to be as much a ruthless schemer as any other president involved in implementing the sordid aims of imperialism in Indochina. In May 1961, he sent Vice-president Johnson to Vietnam to "encourage" President Ngo Dinh Diem to request the ground troops that Kennedy wanted to send. "Diem originally opposed the request, government



"What's so 'top secret,' Dad? . . . I've been telling you that for years!"

that had been recommended by a Vietnam Task Force. These actions, said Robert Healy in his story on the documents in the *Globe*, included the following:

- "(1) Dispatch of agents into North Vietnam;
- "(2) Aerial resupply of agents in North Vietnam through the use of civilian mercenary air crews;
- "(3) Infiltration of special South Vietnam forces into Southeast Laos to locate and attack Communist bases and lines of communication;
- "(4) Formulation of 'networks of resistance, covert bases and teams for sabotage and light harassment' inside North Vietnam;
- "(5) Conduct of overflights of North Vietnam for the purpose of dropping leaflets."

The secret decision to establish a policy of seeking to eliminate the workers state in North Vietnam and reunite North and South Vietnam under a pro-American government was not made by Kennedy, but, according to the reports in the *Sun-Times*, as early as 1958 by President Eisenhower. In a National Security Council paper dated April 2, 1958, Eisenhower directed the government to "work toward the weakening of the Communists of North and South Vietnam in order to bring about the eventual peaceful reunification of a free and

documents revealed," said the *Sun-Times*.

Nevertheless, Diem (whom Johnson publicly referred to as the "Winston Churchill" of the Far East) was able to hold out for five months before he was forced to give in. When he did, Kennedy decided to answer his "request" for troops by sending them to Vietnam slowly and quietly as "advisers."

Some of the most cynical plotting of the Kennedy team that is unveiled in the *Sun-Times* reports has to do with the assassination of Diem in 1963. Although the Kennedy administration loudly denied it had anything to do with either the coup that toppled Diem or his assassination a day later, these reports implicate it in both.

Two months before Diem and his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu, chief of the secret police, were murdered, U. S. Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East Roger Hilsman had recommended in an Aug. 30 memo to Secretary of State Dean Rusk: "Unconditional surrender should be the terms for the Ngo family . . . Diem should be treated as the generals wish."

In the same memo, Hilsman warned that Diem might attempt to open up "neutralization negotiations" with North Vietnam. This, of course, was not in the U. S. script. If Diem chose

to make a last stand, Hilsman urged that the U. S. "encourage the coup group to fight the battle to the end and to destroy the palace if necessary to gain victory."

According to the *Sun-Times*, U. S. Embassy officials in Saigon knew 26 days before the coup that Diem's assassination was one of three courses of action being contemplated by the plotting generals. The coup leaders, according to these documents, not only informed the American embassy of their plans but promised U. S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge that he would be privy to special memos on their otherwise secret activities.

In the midst of the Nov. 1 coup, Diem made a desperate phone call to Lodge, requesting assurance of U. S. support. "Lodge's role was to conceal the fact that American officials had been in close contact with the coup plotters for some time and to conceal his government's position that the coup was desirable if it would succeed," writes David Kraslow in the *Los Angeles Times*.

In the course of their conversation, and while the U. S.-encouraged plot was being carried out, Lodge sweet-talked Diem and assured him: "I admire your courage and your great contributions to your country. No one can take away from you the credit for all you have done. Now I am worried about your physical safety." The next day, after receiving assurances by phone of safe conduct out of the country, Diem and Nhu surrendered. Then they were murdered.

Reactions to the revelations

One of the results of the proliferation of press reports on the secret material has been that the government has been compelled to give up trying to enjoin all the newspapers that are printing the information. The Justice Department has announced that it will not seek court action against the *Sun-Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the Knight chain, or the *Christian Science Monitor*.

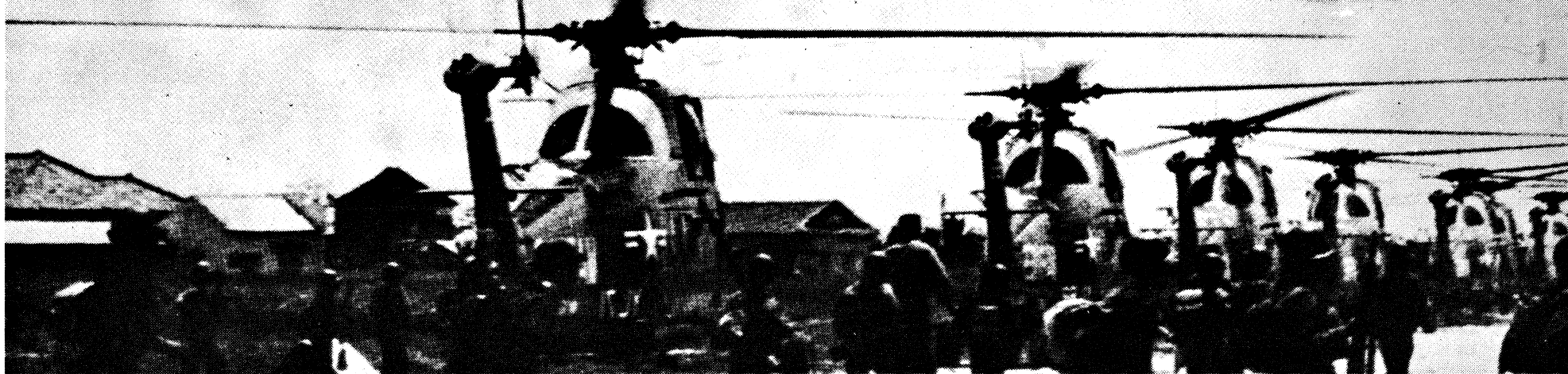
At the same time, the administration has given in to demands by Congress that it be permitted access to the documents, on condition that they do not reveal their contents—even though they may have already read them in the newspapers!

Another result of the publication of the Pentagon papers has been a renewed challenge to the entire government classification system. A hint of the huge amount of material that is hidden in the Pentagon was revealed June 24 by William G. Florence, a recently retired Air Force employee who has spent years reviewing classification procedures. The June 25 *New York Times* quoted him as estimating that "there are at least 20 million classified documents, including reproduced copies" in the Defense Department alone. Only one-half or one percent of the classified documents actually involve national security, he charged.

The Associated Press last week dug out of its morgue reports on how 20 years ago ("when the shoe was on the other foot") Nixon accused the Truman administration of doing just what he is doing now: holding back classified documents for political reasons. "The new test for classifying secret documents now seems to be not whether the publication of a document would affect the security of the nation," Nixon opined at the time, "but whether it would affect the political security of the administration."

He could not have said it any better had he been referring to his own administration.

Why did the Times do it?



In briefings last month in Vietnam, two U.S. generals informed Senator Thomas Eagleton that "the plans under which they were operating called for a residual American force indefinitely into the future and for a protracted period of massive American air power, including helicopters. . . ."

By GEORGE NOVACK

The Vietnam war has been the longest in American history and is still not over. It has provoked the most widespread organized antiwar movement during hostilities in any imperialist country since the Russia of 1905 and 1917. The mightiest military machine ever built faces defeat at the hands of a revolutionary, predominantly peasant people fighting for national independence and social liberation.

These circumstances are the setting for the confrontation between the government and the press that has arisen from the publication of the Pentagon papers. This fight dramatizes the division among the rulers of this country that has been widening and deepening ever since some of their more perspicacious heads began to realize that Vietnam was a losing venture. Secretary McNamara's project to search the Defense Department's secret files for a critical review of the events and decisions leading to the failure was itself a product of this mood at the summits of power.

Johnson, who was obliged to abdicate, was the first political casualty of this situation, and the defeat of his vice-president, Humphrey, in the 1968 elections the second. Those elements of big business and high finance favoring disengagement were then willing to give Nixon the time he asked to extricate the U.S. armed forces from Vietnam.

Nixon, however, has pursued a different course. Though promising a phased withdrawal, he and his military chiefs still aim at achieving a military victory to save the mercenary Saigon regime and force the Vietnamese to accept a Korea-style standoff.

According to an article by Noam Chomsky in the June 17 *New York Review of Books*, Senator Thomas Eagleton reported that in briefings last month in Vietnam, two U.S. generals (Weyand and Milloy) informed him that "the plans under which they were operating called for a residual American force indefinitely into the future and for a protracted period of massive American air power, including helicopters, based in Thailand and Okinawa and various places in Indochina."

Chomsky quoted William Selover of the *Christian Science Monitor*, who wrote April 1, 1971, that selected correspondents who have attended confidential briefings report that the president apparently has in mind between five and 10 years of continued war, and he is strongly hinting that the long-term U.S. presence in South Vietnam "could remain at the 50,000 level indefinitely."

Growing fears

As the months have rolled by, the highly placed "doves," whose ranks have greatly increased, have grown more and more impatient with Nixon's maneuvering. They note that, despite the reduction in the number of troops, he has extended the war to the rest of Indochina and stepped up air operations. They fear that the president does not intend to get out of Vietnam but to stay on under cover of "Vietnamization."

The decision of the *New York Times* to make public the top-secret Pentagon papers was not motivated solely by the newspaper's desire to score a journalistic scoop or to reaffirm the freedom of the press. Nor was it the result of a sudden onrush of moral indignation against the double-dealing of the White House and the Pentagon from Truman to Nixon. The editors and top corre-

spondents of the *Times* have been better informed about what was being done in Washington and Southeast Asia than most members of Congress.

The publication was a deliberate political act in a campaign to pressure the Nixon administration to change its diplomatic and military orientation, stop stalling, and speed up the timetable of disinvolvement. They're putting the president on notice that he has little time left for retreating in good order.

This was emphasized by George Ball, undersecretary of state under Johnson, who said over CBS June 27: "They haven't got a great deal more time to get American troops out of this situation without a real blowup in the United States."

The White House has replied by taking steps to stop further printing of the documents. Its unprecedented effort to suppress the news prior to publication on the specious ground of national security has posed the issue of freedom of the press and of the people's right to know, in its purest form.

This constitutional question of democratic rights is exceptionally important. But much more is involved in the conflict.

Deep divisions

Nixon's military policy is now being opposed by a powerful phalanx of media that speak for the central core of America's ruling families. The *New York Times* that initiated the revelations is closely associated with the Rockefellers, Morgans, Lehmans and the rest of what is called "the Eastern Establishment." It has been backed up by some of the most prestigious of the press baronies: the *Washington Post*, the Knight chain, the *Boston Globe*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the *Chicago Sun-Times*, and even the *Los Angeles Times*—all of which have been calling for a liquidation of the Vietnam venture for some time.

They are questioning not the fundamental international strategy of American imperialism but its results in Vietnam. They are saying that the 25 years of intervention there have failed to attain its objectives of crushing the insurgency of a colonial people. The war has turned out to be too costly and politically risky to maintain. So the boss is instructing his agents in high offices: your mission has failed. Cut your losses and get out before greater disasters occur.

The "doves" were apparently prompted by a still more immediate concern. This was revealed by Daniel Ellsberg, who made the Pentagon papers available to the *New York Times*. Nixon and his advisers have been discussing a reescalation of the war to strengthen their position in "negotiations." As Ellsberg told *Newsweek*: "I smell 1964 all over again."

After the public revulsion against the aggressions in Cambodia and Laos, Nixon's opponents in the ruling class fear the consequences of so reckless a move. The domestic price would be too heavy. According to all recent polls, the majority of the nation is heartily sick of the war and wants to see it ended quickly. The antiwar movement has demonstrated its capacity to mobilize hundreds of thousands for action in the streets. The documents were disclosed to raise a public furor that could deter Nixon from a repetition of Johnson's folly.

The Nixon administration for its part seeks to censor and suppress the documents not for the

sake of national security but to guard the security of its own operations. It wants to keep its real plans hidden and prevent the airing of its own secrets.

Siege

Its success is dubious because the White House is under siege from a diversity of forces. The attitude of defeatism toward the war extends from the ruling circles to the GIs. The organized antiwar movement that assembled half a million protesters at the Capitol and three hundred thousand in San Francisco April 24 voices the sentiments of the bulk of the people. Even Congress is taking action, timid though it is, against the war, as indicated by the Senate vote June 23 advising the president, under certain conditions, to pull out all troops from Vietnam in nine months. As the stream of disclosures signify, the administration cannot even rely upon the loyalty of its "think-tanks."

The Pentagon papers not only reveal the class consciousness of the rulers and the cynical deceptions practiced upon the American people. They show that the sovereigns of capitalism have behaved, ever since their victory in the Second World War, as though they could do anything they pleased with impunity. They considered themselves inviolable and invulnerable.

These insolent conspirators are now having to learn that their freedom of action is not unlimited. They thought they could crush any and all revolutionary struggles of the oppressed in the colonial world. They have not succeeded in breaking the will of the Vietnamese, the vanguard of the colonial revolution. They counted on a docile and inert people at home that could be tricked into tolerating any military adventure for any length of time and at any sacrifice. The ever-expanding antiwar sentiment proved they were wrong. The American masses refuse to be sheep that can be led to any slaughter.

The revelations have shaken the nation to the depths. As James Reston observed in the June 27 *New York Times*, "the nation is seething with distrust of the government." The extent of the distrust and discredit of the capitalist politicians is something new in American politics. Its effects will be felt in many ways from now on.

The conflict in the ruling circles has been exacerbated by a growing fear of the usurpation of power by the executive that has enabled successive administrations to drag the country into large-scale military operations hatched in secret behind the backs of Congress and the people. The pressure campaign mounted by Nixon's opponents also seeks to impose certain restraints upon the abuse of presidential power.

Both Nixon and his critics are part of the same system. The *New York Times* and the other media supported the Vietnam war with its skullduggery until it clearly became a losing proposition for big business. Nonetheless, the anti-imperialist forces ought to take full advantage of the sharp differences between them. Nixon's attempts to curb the press must be fought.

The Pentagon disclosures have amply vindicated the positions and slogans of the antiwar movement. It can now move ahead with strengthened confidence to organize and mobilize the newly aroused millions, expose the lies of the conspirators, and further frustrate the plans of the war-makers.

In Our Opinion

The fall offensive

The government crisis over the publication of the Pentagon papers reconfirms the correctness of the strategy the antiwar movement has followed since its initial mass march on Washington in April 1965.

First of all, the recent events have confirmed that the demand for immediate and unconditional withdrawal is not only the single principled demand for antiwar forces, but it is also the only stand which can cut through the lies, subterfuges and maneuvers of the U.S. rulers. Under promises of "negotiating an end to the war," "Vietnamization," "winding down the war," and now "setting a date for withdrawal," both Democratic and Republican administrations and politicians have consciously and cynically tried to buy time, to deceive the American people, to hide their real policies and plans. From start to finish they have had one goal in mind: by whatever means necessary to continue the slaughter and destruction long enough to crush the rebellion of the Indochinese people and deny them their right to self-determination.

Nothing but the fight for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from all of Southeast Asia can expose and end this brutal charade.

Second, the absolute necessity of the antiwar movement remaining independent of the government and the Democratic and Republican parties and politicians responsible for this war has been confirmed once again. By remaining an independent force that tells the truth about the war **all the time** and struggles uncompromisingly against it, the organized antiwar movement has been an important objective factor in producing the political climate of today. It has been a decisive factor in deepening the split in the ruling class and in encouraging Ellsberg and others to speak out.

The crisis around the Pentagon papers has also once again exposed the spinelessness and true colors of the congressional "doves." Perhaps one of the most revealing facts was the comment made by Ellsberg on June 28 that he had made the information contained in the Pentagon study available to Senator Fulbright in 1969. But Fulbright, and later McGovern, McCloskey and others, remained silent, joining with the Nixon administration in concealing information from the American public.

Based on their past record, such "dove" inaction is hardly surprising. As the antiwar movement has repeatedly pointed out, even the most outspoken of the "doves"--the Hartke's, the Abzug's, the Hatfield's--have played a spineless and calculatingly deceptive role. While trying to appeal to the overwhelming "out now" sentiment, they have continuously opposed the demand for immediate and unconditional withdrawal, always careful to throw in conditions concerning the release of American prisoners of war or retreating behind "set the date for withdrawal" schemes.

At the height of the public outcry against the government's duplicity, the Senate, led by the "doves," adopted the Mansfield amendment, voting to support an extension of the war for at least another nine months!

Third, the antiwar movement's reliance on the power of mass action by the American people to end the war has been vindicated once more. The regular massive antiwar mobilizations have progressively demolished the myth that the "great silent majority" supports the war. They have helped create the "out now" majority.

As the antiwar movement grows, helping deepen antiwar sentiment even within the government, to say nothing of the Army and other important sectors of the American population, it will force more disclosures of the truth and help widen the split in the ruling class even further.

So far the only papers that have been released are documents which those who defend the interests of the ruling class--like the **New York Times** editors--feel will not do grave damage to those they serve. The Pentagon papers released so far are only the beginning.

The disclosures have helped create the greatest possibilities ever for the antiwar movement. The July 2-4 convention of the National Peace Action Coalition will provide an opportunity for the broad spectrum of antiwar forces to get together and democratically plan a mass fall antiwar campaign.

The fact that the conference of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice endorsed a proposal, drawn up in collaboration with NPAC representatives, for a united antiwar action in the fall is a welcome sign. Prospects for a powerful united action for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia are excellent.

Letters

Women's liberation

I would like to express my appreciation to *The Militant* for its excellent coverage of women's liberation (not women's "lib," as most news media report) activities across the nation, and of the latest actions being taken to repeal abortion laws. Also, congratulations on being the only newspaper to provide unbiased coverage of gay liberation.

I would like very much to contribute to your fund drive, but I am presently an unemployed college graduate.

A. D'A.

Marietta, Ohio

Amtrak

Since you have run some articles on railroads, I want to add something about the government-run passenger service, Amtrak.

As the number of passenger trains was whittled down, the age level of those working on them rose. On our pike two engineers were eliminated, and the two oldest engineers (in their late 60s) retired. Those on the train crews under pension age will bump in on freight, forcing the youngest brakemen out.

Most of the Black service attendants are quite old and will be able to get a fairly adequate pension.

The firemen may be able to hang on until attrition gives them a job pushing up daisies.

The biggest losers are the men employed at the passenger stations. The St. Paul Union Depot here used to be a beehive of activity. Now, with the passenger business and the mail operation gone, it's done--and so are the workers. The same goes for the Milwaukee Depot in Minneapolis.

The Great Northern Station still has one train a day each way coming through, but even that is temporary.

These are large layouts in the downtown areas ideally suited for moving great numbers of people in and out of the loop in all directions. They've been superceded by the freeways and the emphasis of the Warfare State on moving everything by air.

O. E.

St. Paul, Minn.

Folk/rock fan

Please include some reviews of popular contemporary folk/rock music (especially stuff played by "progressive" underground radio stations) like stuff by Crosby-Stills-Nash and other groups whose lyrics have "content" (oldies, too, like Dylan, Beatles and Leonard Cohen).

Also would appreciate articles on boycotts and on draft resistance.

D. D.

Detroit, Mich.

Madison workers

The bosses are afraid of any independent political action by workers no matter how isolated or how small. One such case occurred last week at the Oscar Mayer meat plant in Madison. One production worker, who is also a member of the union, was disciplined for possession of *We the People*, a local

paper concerned with working conditions. Also, a foreman was fired for distribution of it. Both men have filed complaints with the National Labor Relations Board.

In the meantime, more than 100 workers have signed petitions condemning the company's action. One Oscar's employee who distributes the paper noted that many people are afraid, "but you can't blame them." Madison is a city with a relatively small working class and no substantial history of militancy. Intimidation and repressions against union leaders who led the 1969 Firefighters' strike continue to this day.

However, no matter how hard the bosses try to restrict workers from thinking for themselves, it is bound to have the opposite effect. More workers will begin to read papers which defend their interests, and defend their right to do so.

M. L.

Madison, Wis.

Back to Sweden

Since I'm going back to Sweden in the middle of June and can't afford air-mail postage, I'm not going to renew my subscription.

Thanks for a year with *The Militant*. Your paper helped in breaking the political isolation I endured in this part of the country. Good luck in the future.

B. B.

Great Falls, Mont.

A suggestion

While not a Marxist myself, still I do find your articles very informative in areas not generally covered by other publications which I generally read. And they are welcome additions to my general store of what's going on. In the 10 weeks your paper has been coming to us, we think we see better quality of reporting and of coverage with each issue.

I have one suggestion which would be of help of me and perhaps to other newer subscribers, that is, a brief rundown on your contributors. Most of them are totally unknown to me, and I would appreciate a short statement of background on each, as I think it would help me evaluate the statements and content to my own greater satisfaction.

F. H.

Mount Pleasant, Mich.

Supports socialist campaign

Two comments. I applaud the campaign to elect a socialist mayor in Houston. The people must take control locally before we can hope to control the states and the nation.

Second thing is that I want to thank and encourage you for supporting gay liberation. My friends and I are finally beginning to realize that we must demand the rights and respect due all citizens of what we want to become a really free society. We will be second-class citizens no longer.

T. H.

San Francisco, Calif.

The Great Society

New reader

Through a fellow worker I have been introduced to *The Militant*—as well as other related publications reflecting the views of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. I can only say that I have long been aware of most of the faults of capitalism—indeed I became somewhat of an (unofficial) "ex-patriot" years ago—but until the past few weeks I did not know that an organization existed which I felt a long-standing member of.

D. S.

Los Angeles, Calif.

Welfare workers

As the squeeze of public welfare in California and in Los Angeles County gets tighter and tighter, the conservative bureaucratism of the misleaders of Social Services Union Local 535 has deepened, and their stranglehold over the local has gotten tighter and tighter.

Each day, almost, brings new news over the radio or in the press about one or another proposal to eliminate the jobs of social workers either in whole or in part. According to the official estimates, there are over 1,000 "surplus positions" which they cannot justify at this time. The annual salary and budget hearings are in progress, and the budget must, by law, be finished by June 30. Those who work in the "professional" (i.e. college degree) classifications do not know if they will have a job for certain on July 1.

There is anger, there is fear, there is confusion in the welfare offices. No one knows what is coming, and those who know aren't saying. I wouldn't be the least bit surprised if we find ourselves out of work in a few months, and the leaders of our union were in on the whole deal.

At one meeting called a few months ago, the top brass of the welfare department came out to speak to 1,000 worried workers. They were allowed by the chairman to refuse to answer the questions raised from the floor. They brazenly said they would not answer certain questions, and the union officials said, in effect, that's OK with us, fellas, you have a right to remain silent if you choose to.

W. L.

Los Angeles

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.

A real find—What with the continuing servant shortage, the administration snapped up Melville Stephens, a veteran who testified before Congress in support of presidential war policies. He's now on the White House staff as a specialist in veteran's affairs. We hear the VA tried to get him for research on a social disease with a long Latin name which translates roughly as brown nose.

Why didn't she say so—We regret having joined the sniping critics of the Queen of England for requesting a cost-of-living increase in her \$1.4-million annual allowance. We didn't know that a good third of that goes to the help. The household staff of 319 includes 59 maids and housekeepers, 56 pages, footmen and other male domestics, 54 overseers of the queen's horses, carriages and cars, and 46 cooks and waiters. The remainder includes a variety of white-collar workers, including financial advisers.

Double agents?—What with that recent disclosure of the FBI suggestion that local cops enlist Boy Scouts as

junior snoopers, we're wondering about that report that Scouts in Flagstaff, Ariz., showed their reverence for Old Glory by burning one to demonstrate the proper way to dispose of a used flag.

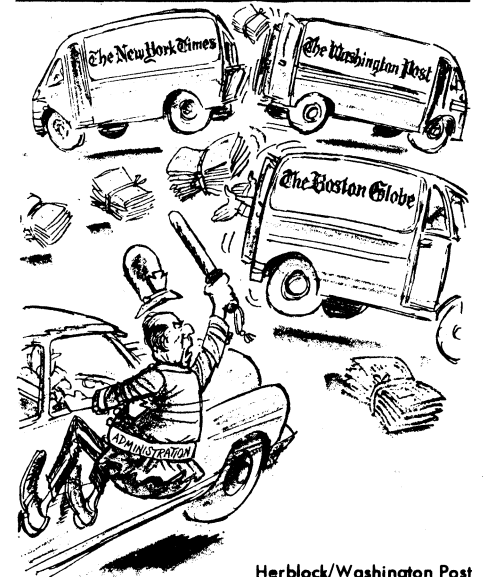
Gird for spiritual renaissance—Rev. W. Stanley Mooneyham, president of World Vision International, advised evangelical hucksters to take it on the slow bell with enthusiastically announced plans for a reentry into China. One Oklahoma operator appealed for funds to finance "blood-and-sweat workers risking life itself to scale this crumbling wall for souls." A group of old China evangelical hands advised their representatives to dig up any treasures they buried at the time of their hasty departure during the revolution.

Circus report—We've been pondering over the report that the Circus Ball commemorating the debut of Lynn Ford, granddaughter of Mrs. Edsel Ford, cost between \$500,000 and \$1-million. Even for a Grosse Pointe circus, complete with stuffed animals and guests, that's a lot of bread. Then

we figured that for souvenirs, each of the 500 guests got a leftover Edsel.

Try the stationhouse—Kentucky state police say they're looking for persons who dressed as cops have been collecting and pocketing on-the-spot traffic fines.

—HARRY RING



"Follow That Car—And That One—And That One—"

Women: The Insurgent Majority

The Canadian Medical Association (CMA), a conservative medical organization equivalent to the AMA, voted to support a woman's right to abortion on "non-medical, social grounds." Such a vote reflects the mass pressure of Canadian women who are demanding control over their own bodies. Just last year, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau told women's liberation activists demanding repeal of the abortion laws that "the public is not ready for this." But even the *Toronto Globe & Mail* noted, in its June 10 editorial, "Mr. Trudeau will have to find some new excuses. . . . And since this was the majority decision of the conservative CMA, it would probably be the majority decision of the public." The CMA vote indicates the possibilities opening up for the abortion repeal forces in Canada. In addition to the CMA, the New Democratic Party, some trade unions, and prominent individuals in the medical profession have come out for repealing the Canadian abortion laws.

The first Canadian conference of Native American women was held in Edmonton last March 22-23. One of the major issues raised was the sexism of the government's Indian Act. An Indian male who marries a non-Indian retains his status as an Indian, and in fact confers it on his wife and children. But an Indian woman who marries a non-Indian cannot confer her status on either the male or her children. She even loses her Indian status. The conference set up a committee to form a national Native-American women's organization open to all women of Indian ancestry.

A 30-year-old New York postal worker, Toby Lowery, is fighting a class action suit—on behalf of all Blacks and women—against the New York postmaster and the U.S. postmaster general, charging them with discrimination against herself as both a Black person and as a woman. On June 20, she won a restraining order from a federal district court preventing the Post Office from dismissing her.

Toby Lowery has been waging her legal fight against dismissal for 16 months. She charges that the Post Office blocked her twice when she sought promotions. One promotion she applied for went to a white man with 10 years less seniority but who, she said, had "good connections."

When she complained about this, she told the *New York Times*, "they just considered me a troublemaker. I'm just trying to wage a dignified, legitimate campaign, but it's gotten me nowhere."

The Post Office is trying to dismiss her on the grounds that last winter she picketed outside the Post Office, charg-

ing discrimination against women and Blacks, while she was on sick leave—without pay. Lowery said she had to do something "to dramatize my case." Her suit charges that "there is a clear and pervasive pattern of job discrimination, based on both sex and race, evidenced in the promotion procedure and practices of the Post Office."

On the French Mother's Day, June 6, 250 French women held a demonstration calling for "free contraception and abortion" and protesting the fact that women get "double work, low pay." The June 7 *New York Times*, reporting the demonstration, said the women charged that Mother's Day was a mask for "the exploitation of women within the family."

Back in the mid-1950s a study at an Eastern women's college revealed that the senior class had very few ambitions beyond marriage and raising a family. But a 1971 *New York Times* survey at Barnard College reveals that a majority of the graduating class have "a burning desire for a career or an advanced degree." The dynamic change in campus life was reflected in the comment of a member of the Columbia University Senate who said she had come to the conclusion that it was "impossible to change the world without starting a revolution."

In a papal letter released May 14, Pope Paul repeated the Catholic Church's anti-woman philosophy. The pope said he did not countenance "false equality (for women) that would deny the distinctions established by the Creator Himself and that would contradict the—so important—specific role of woman at the heart of the home as well as in the fold of society."

Remember the small scandal several months ago when it was discovered that convents in Europe had paid \$700 each for 1,500 young peasant women from the Indian state of Kerala to work as maids? Well, the May 14 *New York Times* noted that the Vatican had conducted a "thorough investigation" and had found "a certain negligence" was involved in buying the Indian women.

Two hundred women attended a forum on prostitution June 13 sponsored by the Feminists in New York. The panelists pointed out that in a society that degrades women by viewing them as sex objects, women are taught to sell their bodies for one form of payment or another. The wife and the prostitute are two sides of the same coin.

—DIANNE FEELEY and CAROLINE LUND

Mansfield amendment backs continued war

By DAVID THORSTAD

On June 22, the Senate voted 57 to 42 to adopt what was by far the mildest of the various "antiwar" measures it has considered as a way of adding a little distance between its own stance on the Vietnam war and that of the Nixon administration. The measure it passed came in the form of an amendment by Senator Mike Mansfield to the bill to extend the draft for two more years. The House has rejected the amendment and the bill is now being considered by a joint House-Senate committee.

The Mansfield amendment calls on the United States to terminate all military operations in Indochina "at the earliest practicable date" and to withdraw all U.S. forces "not later than nine months after the date of enactment of this section subject to the release of all American prisoners of war. . . ." It also "urges and requests" the president to implement this policy by immediately doing three things: 1) setting a final date for withdrawal; 2) negotiating a cease-fire by all parties involved; 3) negotiating an agreement with North Vietnam providing for "a series of phased and rapid" withdrawals of troops "in exchange for" releases of U.S. prisoners of war.

This amendment, unlike other proposals already rejected by the Senate, would not cut off funds for the war by any specified date. But like the earlier proposals, it authorizes the continuation of the war for a period of time and imposes conditions on the Vietnamese for a U.S. withdrawal.

The Mansfield amendment further demonstrated how the division in the U.S. ruling class over the war has been exacerbated by the publication of the Pentagon papers and the massive April 24 antiwar demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. No sooner had the Senate voted on the amendment than the White House announced that even if it were enacted it would be considered "not binding."

The Senate did not adopt this amendment as a way of ending the war. It could do that if it wanted to simply by cutting off funds, effective immediately, which it has refused to do. Its concern in passing the amendment lay elsewhere. Primarily, it sought to restore some of its own credibility, which had plummeted with the publication of the Pentagon papers; and it hoped thereby to minimize the threat of future mass antiwar demonstrations that it knew would grow

as a result of these exposures of the warmakers.

Attaching the troop-withdrawal amendment to the Selective Service Bill provided a number of "antiwar" senators with an excuse to vote to close debate on the draft bill and then vote to extend the draft for two more years. This appeared to be one of the reasons why 11 southern senators voted for it, although they had voted the week before against the Hatfield-McGovern amendment calling for withdrawal of troops by the end of the year.

The various maneuvers and machinations surrounding the passage of this amendment confirmed two points that the antiwar movement has made repeatedly: The Nixon administration's "phased withdrawal" from Vietnam and all its noisemaking over the American prisoners of war in North Vietnam is a fraud. Even the Senate's mealy-mouthed authorization for at least nine months of continued slaughter was too "restrictive" for Nixon, who established beyond any doubt that he views "gradual withdrawal" of ground troops as nothing more than a means for gaining additional time to carry on his effort to crush the Vietnamese revolution.

Second, the Senate action reaffirmed the correctness of the antiwar

movement's unconditional refusal to rely on liberal congressional doves to end the war. All along these timid people have been voting appropriations for this war of aggression against the Indochinese people and at the same time they have complained that the right of Congress to declare war was being ignored by the president and the military! They are brave enough to demand of the North Vietnamese that they had better release U.S. prisoners on a U.S.-imposed timetable, a condition they have no right to put on a U.S. withdrawal; but they are too timid to tell Nixon that they intend to exercise their congressional power to end the war by cutting off funds for it.

It has been demonstrated once again how foolish the antiwar movement would be to follow the advice of those who advocate that it dissipate its energies trying to persuade the liberals to "set the date" for withdrawal. The only way the antiwar movement will force the government to end the war is to continue relying on its own power of mass mobilization in the streets behind the demand of "Out now!" That is the only kind of language the U.S. government—including its covey of liberal doves—will take seriously.

Thousands march in June 27 gay pride actions

By LEE SMITH

Thousands of homosexual men and women participated in gay pride demonstrations over the June 26-27 weekend, marking the second anniversary of the June 1969 Stonewall uprising when Greenwich Village gays fought back massively for the first time against police harassment.

The demonstrations were larger than last year's in both New York and Los Angeles, and actions also occurred this year in Chicago and a number of smaller cities.

The largest demonstration was the Christopher Street Liberation Day march and gay-in in New York City. The march began from Christopher Street at 2 p.m. with between 5,000 and 10,000 people, but by the time the first contingents began streaming into the Central Park Sheep Meadow two hours later, the size had swelled to at least 20,000.

In addition to those who joined the march along its Sixth Ave. route, thousands watched as the column passed by, filling half the street and, as the head of the march approached Central Park, stretching a length of nearly 20 north-south blocks.

Banners identified groups from New York and other cities, including Hartford and Bridgeport, Conn.; Boston; Washington, D.C.; Baltimore, Md.; Ithaca, Albany and Syracuse, N.Y.; Delaware; Ohio; Canada and other places.

Marchers carried signs with a variety of slogans: "Love is a many-gendered thing," "Gay is good," "I am a faggot," "I enjoy being a dyke," "Gay es enojado," "libertad para los homosexuales," "Gay love is beautiful," and many others.

Rhythmic hand-clapping and chants were kept up all along the way: "Gay Power!", "Two-four-six-eight/ Gay is just as good as straight!", "Three-five-seven-nine/ Lesbians are mighty fine!", "Say it loud/ Gay is proud!", "Ho-ho-homosexual/ Sodomy laws are ineffectual!", and the repeated shout, "Justice! Justice! Justice!" chanted with fists raised.

The attitude of most onlookers was friendly, and there was quite a bit of

good-natured kidding between marchers and spectators. When one contingent, chanting "Out of the closets and into the streets!", passed a ballet school where students leaned out of the windows watching, the marchers changed their chant to "Out of your toe-shoes and into the streets!" When a construction worker on a building going up near 42nd Street spoofed marchers by blowing kisses and embracing an embarrassed fellow worker, the marchers teased back, chanting, "Dirty Old Man! Dirty Old Man!" Hundreds of people on the sidewalks, in windows, on balconies and roofs, flashed V signs, waved, or saluted with clenched fists.

After initially converging in a mass around a slope on the southwestern corner of the Sheep Meadow when they reached the park, demonstrators broke into smaller groups to sing, talk, sunbathe and drift off into other parts of the park and city.

Less than 10 percent of the marchers were Puerto Ricans or African-Americans, and about one-third were women.

The Los Angeles action on June 27 was called the Christopher Street West Parade, and it did have more of a parade atmosphere than the New York march, with floats breaking up the contingents of demonstrators. An estimated 15,000 cheering people packed the Hollywood Blvd. route as the 2,000 marchers passed along with the floats. The spirits of both the marchers and the "fans" were high, and the action was regarded as a big success by both organizers and participants.

In Los Angeles, as in New York and other cities, the march capped a week of gay liberation activities. The two most significant events during Gay Pride Week in L.A. were a gay men's conference and a West Coast Gay Women's Conference.

The men's conference, organized by the L.A. Gay Liberation Front, involved about 100 participants, including representatives from groups in Berkeley, Seattle, Denver, and other cities. Discussion at the conference focused on how to build viable gay liberation organizations that can effectively fight for gay rights. The media workshop at the conference agreed to transcribe and edit the tapes of the conference and bring out a pamphlet based on them.

The West Coast Gay Women's Conference was organized by the Gay Women's Intergroup Council, a coalition of Daughters of Bilitis, the Gay Women's Service Center and the Lesbian Feminists. Three hundred women from all over the U.S. packed the Metropolitan Community Church to discuss the relationship between gay liberation and feminism. Workshop topics included: "sexism and role-playing," "lesbians as a political force," "coming out," "problems of the gay mother," "problems of the gay professional," "organizing the gay feminist community," and others.

A central concern in the discussions was the need to build a movement capable of reaching out to all gay sisters, many of whom remain in the closet. There was a consensus that gay feminists, who have a role to play in both the gay liberation and

Continued on page 22



New York City Christopher Street Liberation Day march, June 27.

Photo by Howard Petrick

By CAROLINE LUND

On June 12, 225 women from 90 different organizations and from 13 states met in New York City and decided to launch a national campaign for the repeal of all antiabortion laws (see story in June 25 *Militant*). The Committee for a Women's National Abortion Coalition, which was constituted at that meeting, is building toward a nationwide abortion conference, to be held in New York, July 16-18. The conference will bring together women who have been working on the abortion struggle around the country to begin to coordinate this work on a national scale and to plan future national actions for the

statewide abortion coalitions—such as the Massachusetts Organization to Repeal Abortion Laws, Coloradans to Abolish All Abortion Laws, Indiana Abortion Law Repeal Coalition, Total Repeal of Illinois Abortion Laws, the Minnesota Abortion Action Coalition, and numerous others—have organized around the major demand of repeal the laws, even though many individuals and groups working within these coalitions do favor free abortion on demand as a long-term goal. The many class action court suits challenging the constitutionality of abortion laws, in which thousands of women across the country are acting as plaintiffs, are also aimed at eliminating the laws.

In some places, such as Colorado, the abortion coalition began organiz-

because a woman desired it is also considered a criminal.

Because of these conditions, women are forced either to travel to another state or country to have an abortion, or to seek an abortion secretly from an often incompetent illegal abortionist. Women are subjected to fear, shame and unnecessary pain, mutilation and even death simply for exercising their right to decide whether or not to bear a child.

These are the pressing realities faced by masses of women, both poor women and women who are better off. Since the July 1, 1970, New York law legalizing abortions by a doctor during the first 24 weeks of pregnancy, Medicaid has covered the cost of abortions for more than 38,000 poor women. For these women, the partial

government and institutions that oppress us. We must learn how to mobilize the greatest possible power of women against our oppressors to win victories. If women are to join us in large numbers, they must see that the women's movement is not just talk—it is fighting, and aims to win.

In other words, in addition to being correct in our analysis and demands, the movement must be able to move from the stage of being a relatively small vanguard to a powerful mass movement which, in cooperation with other movements against oppression and exploitation, can actually win liberation.

The demand which can at this stage mobilize the greatest numbers of women in the sharpest confrontation with

The national abortion campaign: For legal abortion or free abortion?



1,500 Michigan women march for abortion law repeal March 13, 1971

repeal of all antiabortion laws and anticontraception laws and against forced sterilization.

Several important questions about the best way to approach the struggle for the right to abortion and for women's liberation in general were raised at the June 12 meeting. One of these was whether at this stage the national abortion campaign should be centered around the demand for repeal of all restrictive abortion laws (this is what was decided), or whether free abortion on demand should be added as a central focus of the campaign.

Many women's liberation groups have recognized that abortion is a fundamental right. Every woman is entitled to decide what to do with her own life, and specifically, whether she wants to, or is able to, devote years of her life to caring for a child. Many feminists have seen that in order to assure this basic right to all women, abortions must not only be legal, but must be easily available and inexpensive enough so that no woman is denied an abortion because she cannot afford one. As long as the cost of abortion remains high, wealthier women are accorded greater rights to control their own lives than poor women. Thus, free abortion on demand is our ultimate goal. The difference expressed at the June 12 meeting was not over whether free abortion on demand is a good demand, but over whether it should be the basis on which the national abortion campaign should be built.

Around the country, a number of successful demonstrations have been held that included the demand for free abortion on demand, such as the March 28, 1970, demonstration in New York City sponsored by People to Abolish Abortion Laws, and the Aug. 26, 1970, demonstrations in New York and some other cities.

A debated question

However, the women's movement as a whole has been divided on the question of whether to call for free abortion on demand or simply repeal of abortion laws as the major slogan of the movement at this time. Most

ing around free abortion on demand as well as repeal, but soon found that the demand for free abortion tended to cut down the support they could rally for repeal.

Within the women's movement more groups and individuals are convinced and ready to fight for repeal of anti-abortion laws than are ready to struggle of free abortion on demand. Among women who do not yet identify with the women's movement this is even more true. Masses of women agree that abortion should be legal. But not as many would be ready to join a struggle for free abortion on demand, which implies a certain degree of socialized medicine.

Thus, if the national abortion campaign were based on agreement with free abortion on demand, a great many women would be excluded, either because they disagreed with free abortion or simply had not thought about it or made up their minds yet.

On the other hand, if the campaign is based on repeal of antiabortion laws, individual women and groups would still be free to raise the concept of free abortion on demand—in speeches at rallies, on signs at demonstrations, in their own literature, etc.—to a much wider audience.

Only "symbolic"?

One argument raised at the June 12 meeting was that winning repeal of abortion laws does not mean very much; that it is just a "symbolic" change which will mean nothing to poor women who cannot afford an abortion even if they are legal.

This reasoning does not show an understanding of the realities that women face. At this time the main obstacle to women who want abortions is not the fact that medical care in this country is costly—although this does create extreme hardships and inequalities. The main obstacle is that abortions are *illegal* in most states unless you can prove that the pregnancy endangers your life. A woman who desires an abortion for nonmedical reasons is, in most states, considered a *criminal*. Any doctor who would perform an abortion simply

victory won towards legalizing abortion in New York was hardly "meaningless" or "symbolic."

If we can win repeal of all abortion laws—and *especially* if abolition of the laws is won through struggle by the women's movement—this would be a tremendous victory that would carry the struggle for women's liberation to a whole new level. The legalization of abortion cuts deeply into all the myths and prejudices justifying the oppression of women. Our vulnerability to childbirth has been used as the main pretense for denying women equal education, equal jobs and equal pay. Legalization of abortion will mean lifting a giant burden off the backs of women, enabling them to continue with increased confidence and freedom the struggle for liberation.

If we are eventually to win free abortion on demand, our task at the present stage is to mount the most powerful campaign possible for legalizing abortion through repeal of all abortion laws. In the course of such a struggle for repeal, millions of women, many of whom will be participating in a fight for their rights as women for the first time, can be mobilized against the government. Many women may not yet be sure about free abortions but *are* ready to struggle for the right to control their own bodies on the level of the demand for the repeal of antiabortion laws. If the women's movement is going to act and speak for the interests of women, it is crucial that the movement link up with the readiness of masses of women to struggle for their rights *on any level*.

Correct and effective

Free abortion on demand is a correct demand, but it is not enough to be correct. The women's movement must also learn how to be *effective*. We must learn how to win over new women, how to relate the ideas of women's liberation concretely to their lives and their consciousness.

The movement must also learn how to be most effective in confronting the

the government and most effectively begin the process of bringing masses of women to our movement is the demand for repeal of all abortion laws.

Even women who may agree that free abortion on demand is necessary may not be as willing to actively struggle for it because it seems too difficult to win. They correctly see that free abortion is a longer-term demand than legalization of abortion.

The demand for free—or at least very low cost—high quality prepared food services is also a correct demand, which will be necessary to release women from household drudgery. But acting and demonstrating around this demand simply does not fit in with the consciousness of masses of women in this country today. Great numbers of women would not be willing to struggle for it—either because they disagree with it at this time, or because they feel it would be much too difficult to win now.

But masses of women *are* ready to move into action to demand repeal of abortion laws. The enthusiasm and broad support we already see for the abortion campaign launched at the June 12 meeting demonstrates this. Women are more and more coming to feel that these laws are a grave injustice, and that they violate the fundamental rights of all women. Women can see the glaring contradictions between the government's claim to be concerned with the "sanctity of life" and the slaughter they carry on in Southeast Asia. They can see the glaring contradiction between the pious concern of the government with the welfare of the fetus, and their callous disregard for the welfare of children.

This growing confidence of women in their right to abortion and their willingness to fight for it is reflected in the emergence of the abortion repeal movement on a state-by-state basis across the country. It is also reflected in the debates over abortion laws going on in almost every state legislature, in public hearings and meetings, in the press and in the streets at demonstrations by pro- and anti-

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April 24: A reply to Muhammad Speaks

By JAMES HARRIS

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The May 14 issue of *Muhammad Speaks* carried an article by Lonnie Kashif entitled "Phony 'troop withdrawal' predicted as outcome of giant antiwar rallies." In the article Brother Kashif voices several mistaken and badly thought out interpretations of the massive April 24 antiwar demonstrations. But it is only his red-baiting of the Third World Task Force that I want to deal with here.

Brother Kashif cannot help but comment on the impressive broadness of participation in the demonstration. He even states that the representation "perhaps will inhibit race or red-baiting congressmen from singling out 'culprits.'" It seems, however, that from then on, Brother Kashif feels it necessary to take up the banner for these race or red-baiting congressmen and point out the so-called culprits for them.

Maybe he felt that the congressmen and women were not as vigilant as they should have been. In any event, Brother Kashif cites the culprits as Black members of the Socialist Workers Party participating in the Third World Task Force. He names Herman

Fagg and Clifton DeBerry in his article as proof of this.

Brother Kashif should know that neither Fagg nor DeBerry harbor any secrets about being members of the SWP. They have both run for public office as SWP candidates, speaking before thousands of people. He should also know that the SWP has never tried to hide its support for or participation in organizing the antiwar movement.

What he attempts to do is use the old red-baiting slander that Black revolutionaries have interests separate and apart from the masses of Black people, that they are alien to the Black community. But the truth of the matter is that Black revolutionary socialists are the ones who best express and fight for the needs of the Black community.

Black revolutionary socialists believe that the Black community should organize itself and use its power to help force the government to end its racist and imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia. We know that there can be no self-determination for Black people as long as the war continues.

When Brother Kashif engages in red-baiting, he is siding with the most

active advocates of war and racism in this country, and he is helping divide the Black liberation movement.

He goes on in his article to give two reasons why he thinks there were not more Blacks participating in April 24. The first reason is that the "Black nationality was obviously negligible numerically in decision-making roles. Most were consigned to a Jim Crow or Bantustan 'separate-and-unequal' status of handling 'their own' exclusively."

This is a most obtuse statement. The Third World Task Force was specifically organized by Third World members of the National Peace Action Coalition. It is a nationalist vehicle, designed to help organize and focus the antiwar sentiment in the Black community. The nationalists who built Third World participation in April 24 wanted to handle the contingent exclusively themselves. NPAC has no power to consign anyone to anything. Participation in the coalition is on a voluntary basis.

Brother Kashif's second explanation for the weakness of Black participation in the April 24 action comes down to being blatantly antinationalist. He approvingly quotes the speech of

George Wiley, head of the National Welfare Rights Organization. Wiley told the throng in front of the Capitol Building, "All too many of you out there are not ready to take up the cause of fighting repression against Black and poor people here at home."

But this statement amounts to castigating white people for not leading the struggle of Black people. Brother Kashif, of all people, should know that this cannot be done. The only people who can lead and organize the Black community will be Black people. The nationalist sentiment among Black people will not tolerate Wiley's request for white leadership of the struggle.

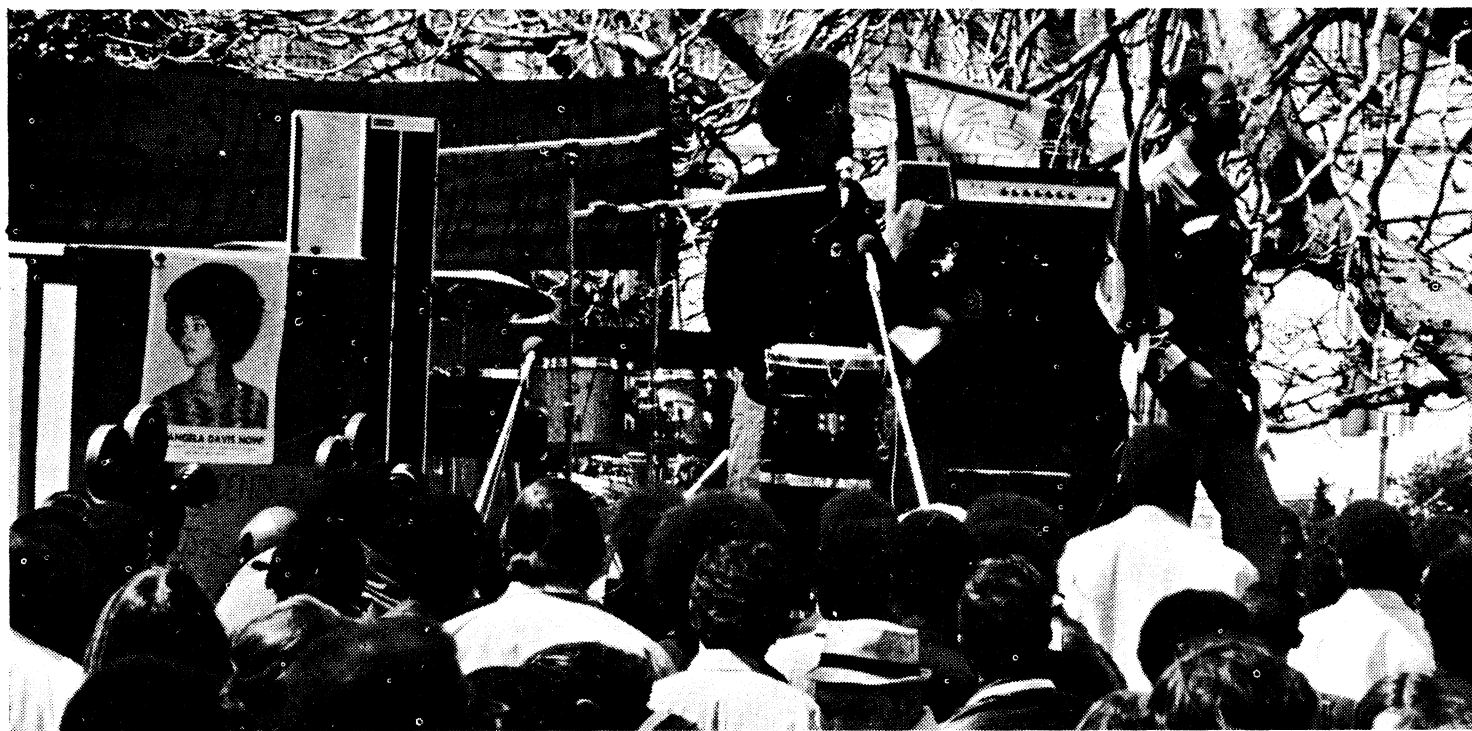
Wiley also misses the boat in not understanding that the struggle against the war in Southeast Asia is in reality a struggle against repression here at home. The struggle against the war is a struggle against welfare cuts, inflation, and U. S. imperialism in the concrete.

Both Brother Kashif and Wiley should stop worrying so much about why white people are demonstrating against the war and direct themselves to helping build a Black antiwar movement with the force and power to bring the Brothers home now.

In the past, *Muhammad Speaks* has encouraged Black people to take notice of the antiwar movement and not to regard it as a "white thing." But, strangely enough, as soon as there is some movement in that direction, they quickly draw back and denounce it.

The Third World Task Force was able to organize a contingent of 2,000 people to march through the Washington, D. C., Black community on April 24. We did this with the participation of many and varied groups in the Black community, but the Nation of Islam was not one of them, even though we repeatedly asked for their participation.

If Brother Kashif thinks the strategy advanced by the Black revolutionary socialists for organizing Black people against the war is incorrect, he is welcome to voice his criticisms. However, we think he should do so not from the sidelines but as an active participant in the struggle and as one of the many forces involved in the Third World Task Force.



Washington, D. C., Third World Task Force rally, April 3, 1971

Abernathy, Imamu at Cairo solidarity rally

By DALE GAREE

CAIRO, Ill. — The second annual solidarity day with the Black community here was a huge success. Held June 19, it was sponsored by the Cairo United Front.

Representatives from a wide range of organizations were present, including the Black Youth Unlimited of Chicago, an affiliate of the National Committee of Black Churchmen; Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Vietnam Vets for Peace in New York; Committee For a Unified Newark; Maywood Community Organization in Chicago; Black Panther Party; Black Student Union of Southern Illinois University, and other BSU's from around the country; United Black Medical Association; Youth Against War and Fascism; Young Socialist Alliance; and the Socialist Workers Party.

Present also were representatives from Black united fronts in Boston, Washington, D. C., Kansas, East St. Louis, Ill., and Cape Girardeau, Mo. Nina Simone, the outspoken Black entertainer, performed.

In reaction to the solidarity day, city officials and state police harassed participants on the road to Cairo and tried to stop the planned march

through the downtown area.

The state police stopped three buses from Chicago about 80 miles out of town. They arrested two bus drivers on charges of driving without a license and carrying no vehicle registration card. The third bus was allowed to go on through.

During the detainment, police arrested four brothers for getting out of their car on the interstate highway to find out what was happening. They were charged with walking on the interstate.

In the city, officials refused to approve the march route. But five minutes before the demonstration was to start, Front leaders got a ruling from a federal judge permitting the march.

The nationalist red, black, and green flag led the way, and the march, very militant in spirit, stretched two city blocks.

At a giant rally prior to it, participants were welcomed to Cairo by Mother Moriah, one of the leading women activists in Cairo. The featured speaker was Rev. Ralph Abernathy, head of SCLC.

Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) of the Committee For a Unified Newark was the first to address the audience. The main thrust of his

speech was defense of working with the Democratic Party. His reason was that there are more Black people in the Democratic Party than in the nationalist or socialist parties. He said he hopes to pull the majority of Black people out and form an African democratic party.

The response of the audience to these remarks was less than enthusiastic.

The next speaker was Chuck Turner of the Boston United Front, an organization which made a notable contribution to the struggle in Cairo last year. In response to a campaign by Black employees of Polaroid against the company's operations in South Africa, the Boston Front was given \$20,000 in conscience money by Polaroid. To the dismay of the donor, the Front then gave \$10,000 to the Cairo Front and \$10,000 to South African freedom fighters.

Turner spoke of the meaning of solidarity day. As he saw it, all Black people have a common problem—powerlessness. And all share a common ancestry, heritage, and oppression. He saw Cairo as a ray of light for Black people, an example to emulate.

In the place of a scheduled appear-

ance by Huey P. Newton, minister of defense of the Black Panther Party, a taped message of solidarity from Bobby Seale, Panther chairman, was played. A Chicago Panther explained that Seale is now the only official spokesman. He could not make it to Cairo because of legal difficulties stemming from the Chicago conspiracy trial and restrictions placed on his travel.

Rev. Charles Koen, executive director of the Cairo Front, introduced Rev. Abernathy, who brought greetings from SCLC, his church, and the Congressional Black Caucus. His two themes were Vietnam and the welfare system. He stressed the hypocrisy of a society that would give \$13,000 to Senator Eastland of Mississippi for not growing food, calling it a subsidy, and \$9.50 a month to a child in Mississippi, calling it welfare. He called for an immediate end to the war, a guaranteed annual income of \$6,500 for all, and decent jobs for everyone.

The significance of the day's activities lay in the broad support mobilized, showing an increased awareness of layers within the Black liberation movement of the necessity to defend the struggle in Cairo.

By LARRY SEIGLE

The current issue of *Ramparts* features an article entitled "Mayday: Anatomy of the Movement" by Michael P. Lerner. The author, a former professor of philosophy and one of the defendants in the Seattle Conspiracy frameup case, was active in building Mayday in Washington, D. C., this spring.

His article is of interest for two reasons. First, it reveals clearly some of the internal divisions within the Mayday grouping and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. The article is an indication of the impending break-up of the Mayday group. Second, the article is important because it is one step in a campaign by Lerner and others to carve out of the antiwar movement a new organization that would attempt to compete with the existing radical youth groups. In the context of the current political scene, of course, Lerner's chief rival would be the Young Socialist Alliance.

In fact, the article leads off with a mighty blast at the role of the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party in the period leading up to April 24 and the May demonstrations. It is one of the most extensive compilations recently assembled of the slanders against the Trotskyist movement—and in a slick magazine like *Ramparts* at that. But there is nothing new here: according to Lerner in May 1970 Fred Halstead of the SWP allegedly told the marshals for the New Mobilization Committee's march on Washington to use "force if necessary" to prevent civil disobedience; the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee are accused of being front groups for the SWP and YSA; the Trotskyists supposedly were in favor of April 24 as the date for mass action because they wanted to undercut the civil disobedience planned for May; etc., etc.

These charges have all been made before, and various issues of *The Militant* have analyzed and refuted them.

Everyone knows Mayday doesn't like Trotskyism. But what many didn't know was that Mayday was divided internally, and uniformly hostile to the leadership of the People's Coalition. Of much greater interest, therefore, is Lerner's polemic with the People's Coalition and his thinly veiled attacks on Rennie Davis as the "superstar" of Mayday.

Antiwar history

In the course of his critique, Lerner gives an interesting version of the history of the antiwar movement in the past year. He traces the split in the movement back to May 1970, when the New Mobe called a march on Washington in response to the invasion of Cambodia. The SWP was then part of New Mobe and Fred Halstead was one of the chief marshals. While many people had been talking about staging some kind of confrontation that day, no major civil disobedience occurred. According to Lerner, "the vast majority of people had come to Washington for civil disobedience, and would have acted on it even in open opposition to the marshals if they had been called to do so by the radicals." "Radicals" is Lerner's term for the pro-civil-disobedience forces, including himself.

"In the aftermath," Lerner writes, "Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger, Sid Peck and many others realized that a golden opportunity had been wasted, and resolved never again to let their actions be undermined by the Trotskyists. Their failure to lead in 1970 became a heavy burden on their consciences, and prepared the way for a complete split with the SWP, the dissolution of the Mobe, and the demonstrations of May 1971." This account of the origins of the split in the antiwar movement is quite different from the standard version put forward by the People's Coalition, which tries to put the responsibility for the split on the National Peace Action Coalition.

In Lerner's view, May 1970 was also a new stage in an equally im-

portant split *within* the grouping that was to become the People's Coalition. The leaders of the People's Coalition "lacked the support of radical [read pro-civil disobedience, anti-mass action, and anti-Trotskyist] students who felt betrayed by May 9th and who still thought of the People's Coalition as part of the old New Mobe, which had been discredited in their eyes by its failure to do more than engage in another series of marches."

As Lerner tells it, these young "radicals," distrusting the leaders of the People's Coalition, including Dellinger, put their efforts into making Mayday an independent force capable of stiffening the weak backbones of the People's Coalition leaders and pre-

over a week. (What Lerner doesn't explain is why this link-up with a mass action is necessary if, as he contends, the masses are ready for civil disobedience—remember that in May 1970 the "vast majority" came for civil disobedience.)

Even Dave Dellinger, who has tried to maintain his base of support among the young "radicals" of Mayday at the expense of being discredited within the movement as whole, comes under attack from Lerner. Dellinger, along with a number of other speakers proposed by the People's Coalition, spoke in Washington on April 24th. It was understood that he was to present the program for the May demonstrations and he was given ex-

Lerner is obviously critical of Davis ego-tripping, his functioning as a "heavy" responsible to no one but himself. Lerner points out that the Mayday Collective, which Davis personally guided, "tended to guard its power jealously and did not allow the regional groupings much room to grow. . . ."

Lerner believes that the main reason for the growth and expanding influence of the SWP and the YSA is to be found in the disciplined Leninist norms of the Trotskyist movement. He also explains the success of NPAC as counterposed to the stagnation of the People's Coalition by referring to the superior organizational strength of the SWP and the YSA. Referring to the May 1970 dispute over civil disobedience, Lerner says, "When the moment of decision came inside the Mobe, it was they [the "Marxist-Leninists" of the SWP and YSA] who prevailed, because of their superior organizational strength combined with the indecisiveness and division of the radicals."

Lerner, who is concerned with politics in a broader context than just the antiwar movement, also explains the success of the YSA vis-a-vis the New Left in terms of organizational considerations. The YSA says to activists in the mass movement: "So you want to be a revolutionary: well, here we have a full-scale revolutionary program for you, complete with disciplined cadre and an elaborate ideology." The attraction of such a proposal to many new recruits to the antiwar movement is irresistible. After all, the New Left has nothing comparable to offer—it is organizationally in shambles with different and contradictory ideologies every other week, and is afraid to provide leadership for itself, much less put forward a vision for other Americans."

Of course, the organizational norm of the revolutionary socialist movement, democratic centralism, is the most effective one, *if* the purpose of the organization is to lead mass movements in social struggle up to and including the socialist revolution. That is why the SWP is organized the way it is, and that is one of its main attractions to revolutionary-minded people who are serious about changing this society.

But Lerner is saying something different. He believes that if the "radicals" could develop an organization on a national scale, with a unified ideology, then *they* could lead massive actions for civil disobedience the way the Trotskyists played a leading role in April 24th.

Politics, not organization

Here Lerner, who really doesn't understand the antiwar movement—in spite of his perceptive criticisms of the weaknesses of the People's Coalition and Mayday—makes the same error as do many naive ultraleftists. They attribute the success of April 24th primarily to the organizational capacities of the Trotskyists. They imply that the same "well-oiled machine" oriented toward civil disobedience could have the close to a million people who turned out on the 24th sitting down in the streets and getting arrested. This error leads them to greatly *exaggerate* the organizational strength of the Trotskyist movement, to attribute to it miraculous powers, unlimited funds and other resources.

They are incapable of understanding that the main contribution of the SWP and the YSA to the antiwar movement has been not on the organizational plane, but the political one. It has been the ability of the Trotskyists to understand the centrality of the war to politics in this country and to understand that masses would respond to the call for legal, peaceful marches and rallies for immediate withdrawal that has kept the antiwar movement growing and developing support among new sectors of society. It has been the political fight, led by the Trotskyists, to prevent the antiwar

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Mayday actions: an insider's view



Stopping Mayday traffic

Photo by Liberation News Service

venting another sell-out to "the Trot" line of mass action. ". . . Since there was very little trust for the [People's] Coalition among young people, the youth force would have to have separate organizational status." The purpose of Mayday, therefore, was to "ensure an action [in May of a civil disobedient nature] even if the Coalition wavered. . . ."

And waver it did under the tremendous pressure of snowballing support for April 24th. The People's Coalition cancelled a rally projected in Washington for May 2 and endorsed April 24th instead. Maydayers viewed this as a capitulation to NPAC. They believe that civil disobedience is most successful if it can be linked to a mass march and rally so that people who come on the basis of an appeal to mass action can be induced to engage in civil disobedience. The May 2 rally was to launch the week of already planned Mayday disruptions, and April 24 was too early because people wouldn't stay in Washington for

tra time to do so. His failure to talk about why people should stay for May came as a surprise to many. Lerner goes out of his way to point this out and offers a somewhat lame "excuse" for Dellinger. Dellinger failed to urge participation in Mayday "primarily because he was in pain from an eye infection which later was to hospitalize him." Why this discomfort, which was not severe enough to prevent him from speaking at length, forced this omission from his speech is something that only Dellinger can clarify.

Mayday frictions

Lerner goes on to complain that the Mayday organization itself has turned out to be less than satisfactory. The decision of Lerner and others to form a "new" radical organization is the result of their feeling that Mayday was out-organized and outmaneuvered by "the Trots" and was relatively ineffective during the Spring Offensive largely as a result of Davis' "style" of running Mayday.

The following is excerpted from an article that appeared in the June 28 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. Although a number of developments have occurred since it was written, such as the dismissal of Mexico City's mayor, Alfonso Martínez Domínguez (See *The Militant*, July 2), it provides an informative background to the current crisis in Mexico.

By RICARDO OCHOA

MEXICO CITY, JUNE 13—In the wake of the murderous attack by official and unofficial government armed forces on the mass student demonstration here three days ago, the new Echeverría administration has been precipitated into its first major crisis. Once again, by standing up to defend democratic and constitutional rights, the students of Mexico City have exacerbated the political contradictions of bourgeois rule in this country to the point of explosion, completely unmasking the so-called reformist policy of Luis Echeverría.

The demonstration three days ago was called by the Comité Coordinador de Comités de Lucha de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, del Instituto Politécnico, de la Universidad Iberoamericana y de Chapingo [the Coordinating Committee of the Struggle Committees of the Autonomous National University of Mexico, the Polytechnic Institute, the Ibero-American University, and the Chapingo Agricultural School], known as the COCO. The purpose of the march was to show the solidarity of the students in the Federal District with their comrades in Monterrey.

After a long struggle between the students at the Universidad de Nuevo León in Monterrey and the state authorities, Echeverría intervened, removing state governor Eduardo Elizondo and offering to mediate the dispute. For the first time in years, the government had yielded to the demands of students.

The student movement realized that the struggle in Monterrey had coincided with stepped-up infighting between the industrial interests in this city and the federal government. However, the students in Monterrey were able to take advantage of the conflict to win some objectives in their fight to defend university autonomy and democratic self-management.

Prior to the June 10 march, a polemic occurred in the student vanguard over whether or not a demonstration was still indicated. The recently released leaders of the 1968 movement, who had just returned from Chile after a brief exile, argued that the fall of Elizondo had made the action untimely. The majority of the revolutionary groups thought, on the other hand, that the time was ideal precisely because of Elizondo's ouster.

The leaders of the old CNH [Consejo Nacional de Huelga—National Strike Council, the leading body of the 1968 movement] centered their objections on the hastiness and lack of organization of the planned demonstration. However, after an intense four-day campaign, 30,000 students gathered June 10 in the Casco de Santo Tomás. (The number of demonstrators was greatly discounted by the notoriously corrupt and intimidated Mexican press, which published estimates ranging from 3,000 in the rightist daily *Novedades* to 15,000 in some other papers.)

About fifteen minutes after the march had started, the first nonviolent confrontation occurred with the police. The lead contingent was just leaving the Casco on the Escuela Normal de Maestros side. Riot troops blocked the streets, claiming that no "permission" had been given for the demonstration. The COCO leaders, along with Marqué Pardiñas, went to the police officers to protest this violation of the

constitutional right of assembly and the right to demonstrate. The front ranks began to sing the national anthem. A few minutes later the march resumed.

Ten minutes passed. When the head of the march moved onto the Calzada México-Tacuba, now outside the university area and in the center of the western part of the city, the cordon of riot troops and armored cars gave way. The ranks of troops moved aside to open the path for a horde of youths with clubs, iron bars, pistols, and all sorts of weapons.

To the shout of "Perseo-Halcones" [Perseus-Hawks], they charged the demonstration. Simultaneously another group attacked the rear of the march a kilometer further back. A few minutes later, another shock group issued from the police lines and split the demonstration at its center, attacking a contingent trapped between the police cordon and one side of the Escuela Normal de Maestros. It was obvious that it was a well-planned, professional military operation.

Nonetheless, the first clashes ended in complete defeat for the shock groups. At the head and in the center of the line of march, where the fighting was the bloodiest, the goons were driven back into the unmoving police cordon. Inside police lines, the goons were provided with pistols, M-1 rifles, and all sorts of firearms. Then they launched their second assault, under cover of a barrage of gunfire that lasted several hours.

Snipers stationed in the neighboring buildings, including the Escuela Normal, began firing on the crowd. In the midst of the throng, students saw their comrades struck down by bullets. The police and the "crowd control" tanks remained at the ready, watching the fight, moving only to open their ranks for goons seeking refuge or ammunition—or other types of weapons. More than a thousand armed thugs took control of a wide area, shooting at everything that moved.

Throughout the area of the Casco and the Escuela Normal, the streets were littered with the bodies of the dead and wounded. The riot troopers and police did not make a move to disarm the shock group goons.

Our *muchachos* [young people] defended themselves as best they could. They threw the sticks of their signs, stones, bricks, everything they could lay their hands on, at the goons. The attackers suffered casualties but obviously it was a very one-sided battle. Young high-school and university students had to fight with their bare hands against militarily armed and trained professionals. The goons used electric prods and bamboo poles like experts. If there were no more deaths it was because the attackers were under the influence of drugs, and their marksmanship was poor.

The goons did as they pleased, snatching wounded and dead students from the hands of their comrades or from doctors and taking them away in their vehicles (they came with gray and black hearses and city garbage trucks) to military crematoriums like those used in 1968.

But, unlike 1968, it was not the military or the police that carried out the repression. It was fascistlike bands fostered by the government. This was something quite new, a change that indicated a fascist evolution of a decaying regime. The student movement already has a long experience in confronting repression, but it was not prepared to face paramilitary shock groups.

Immediately after the attack began, the center of the city was occupied by police. At 7:00 in the evening, thousands of soldiers marched down the main streets leading into the Zócalo, where the government buildings are located. They surrounded the area to defend it from a "student assault."

The specter of 1968 loomed when 500,000 persons filled this huge

square, demanding that the government respect the constitution. Mexico City found itself besieged by the repressive forces. A profound crisis had been touched off. Cracks started to show up in the government. Confusion and apprehension settled over the population. Once again the tenseness of 1968 appeared in the faces of Mexicans.

Crisis of the regime

From the time he was nominated by the official party in 1969, Luis Echeverría took an ideological and political tack trying to show that he offered a real change from Díaz Ordaz's policy of open repression. In this way he de-escalated the crisis into which the 1968 student and popular movement had thrown the regime.

The confrontations of 1968 caused a crisis of the system of bourgeois rule in Mexico by stripping away the reformist veneer that has characterized it for its whole history. The regime desperately needed to recover its "democratic" facade. But what happened in 1968, as the best Mexican political analysts as well as revolutionary

government, told the press that the whole affair was "the outgrowth of a feud among the students themselves." Echoing the claims made in 1968, he blamed the "disturbances" on "Communists and Trotskyists" as well as other "extremist" groups.

The mayor pledged that law and order would be maintained in Mexico City and denied the existence of terrorist commandos. But the journalists, many with fresh mementos from beatings and attacks, pressed their questions insistently, demanding an explanation for the passivity of the police and for their tacit complicity with the goon squads that came from behind the lines of the riot troops. In the hearing of millions of Mexicans following the press conference over radio and television, the mayor replied: "There is no such thing as the Hawks."

Goon squads

As I said, the student movement was only partly prepared for the kind of attack it experienced June 10. As early as June 26, 1969, the Hawks had made their appearance, firing machine guns at students who had gath-

Behind the in the Mexi



Mexico City students retreat as riot control tank moves in to break up demonstration by right-wing gangs June 10.

Marxists have realized, was not just a crisis of Mexican reformism. For the first time in three decades, a broad popular mobilization developed independent of the government and confronted it outside of the traditional channels. In 1968 a challenge was posed to the system that could be halted only by a brutal repression of a type unheard of for long years.

Little by little the contradictions of the Echeverría regime have come out into the open. He has no more margin for maneuver than Díaz Ordaz; in fact he has even less.

At each of the three key dates in the history of the present government—the start of the anti-Communist campaign in mid-March, the ouster of Governor Elizondo June 3, and now the June 10 massacre—the lines of cleavage appeared that are beginning to split the regime. In every case, the cracks gaped wider, and they were widest of all after June 10.

It first became evident that the regime had been thrown into a crisis immediately after the attack, when the mayor of Mexico City, Alfonso Martínez Domínguez, former chairman of the official party and one of the three or four most important figures in the

ered to celebrate the anniversary of the start of the movement in the same Casco de Santo Tomás where the recent massacre took place. But at that time only a few dozen persons were involved, and they seemed to be plain-clothes policemen, although they were younger, stronger, more agile, and better trained than the typical cop.

Later, at the time of the hunger strike staged by the political prisoners at the end of 1969 and the beginning of 1970, the relatives of these prisoners, as well as various progressive figures, received threats from a group that called itself the Boinas Rojas de Netzahualcoyotl [Red Berets of Netzahualcoyotl]. The fact that these threatening notes arrived in the mail proved that this group had access to the records of the courts, since only they had the addresses of the prisoners' families.

Finally, the appearance on the university campuses themselves this year of gangs armed with M-1 rifles—the standard weapon of the police and army—indicated the existence of a well-oiled rightist organization with official connections. Unlike the left groups, none of these rightist com-

mando teams was ever captured by the police.

But for the first time on June 10 the student movement met the combined forces of these bands, which are given the generic name of Hawks.

According to a police report the next day, the massacre claimed sixteen lives, a figure that would have to be doubled to give any idea of the extent of the killing. Hundreds of wounded students, many of them in serious condition, disappeared after being snatched away by the Hawks. Trucks full of bodies were seen driving to the military reservations. Moreover, the scope of the Hawks' operations indicates that the number of dead could have easily reached fifty.

Although the police mentioned only deaths of students, it is clear that there were also casualties among the Hawks. But given the inequality in weaponry, we can probably say that three or four students were killed for every Hawk. (It should be noted, moreover, that the press itself reported cross fire occurring between drug-crazed gangs of terrorists.)

On June 12, the Asociación de los

much as 125 pesos a day.

The Hawks are trained in self-defense techniques such as karate, judo, etc., and in marksmanship and the use of all types of weapons. They have been inculcated with a gang spirit and spend most of their time together, always ready to take on police assignments, especially those involving the student movement. The report noted, finally, that the Hawks are often taken on excursions in order to keep them in top physical condition.

Present impasse

Since the official version given by the mayor of Mexico City has been completely discredited, the regime has had to move more cautiously. Echeverría has the lessons of Díaz Ordaz's experience to guide him, as well as a better public relations staff. So, the new president has been trying to save his good name by creating the *impression* that he was not informed of what happened.

Martínez Domínguez's story was so embarrassingly crude that the government has been inhibited so far from following its standard operating pro-

of speculation over the resignation of Under-Secretary for Radio Broadcasting Enrique Herrera, a prominent member of Echeverría's circle of intimates who was implicated in the case of Carrillo Colón, the CIA spy uncovered in the Mexican embassy in Havana in 1969.

(I should add, moreover, that the Martínez Domínguez brothers, both high functionaries in the regime, are professional politicians from the city of Monterrey, the center of the industrial group Echeverría had to come to grips with in order to bring down Elizondo.)

All these elements, and similar less important ones, indicate that a complicated struggle of different bourgeois interests is being fought out in the top echelons of the regime.

The uncertainty created by the surfacing of a clearly fascist-minded faction in the government has been reflected in the confusion of the press. The papers have given conflicting versions, claiming that the culprits are to be found both on the extreme right and the extreme left. In classical liberal style, the papers that most consistently follow the line of the regime have expressed these oscillations.

In this context, the influential *Excelsior* has distinguished itself by its insistent exposure of the shock groups. Even this paper, however, has not clearly pointed out exactly what group or section of the government has been financing the commandos. But, although it has not been explicitly stated, it is obvious from information that has filtered out in the past few days that the Hawks are a subsidiary of the Federal District government and have strong ties with the army.

The alternative facing the president is very clear. He has either to sacrifice some high government official (for instance, Martínez Domínguez) as a scapegoat, or give the go-ahead to his commission of "inquiry" to start a witch-hunt against the left. Both "solutions" would be extremely damaging to the government.

The regime faces a dilemma, and the confusion so perceptible today is an indication that it is in grave dif-

ficulties. The increasingly hard attitude of the government seen under the Díaz Ordaz regime pointed toward an open military dictatorship or a veiled one presided over by a puppet civilian president. But a military dictatorship would change all the premises the regime has based itself on since 1940—i.e., the conditions in which it has served as a "mediator" between the fundamental forces in society represented on the one hand by the mass organizations and on the other by the institutions of the insatiable capitalist class, which has known only good times since 1940 and is incapable of making any deepgoing reforms in its system of class rule. The mass organizations are, of course, tightly controlled by the government, but they have some leeway for applying pressure that enables them to extract concessions.

An open military dictatorship would lead to the dissolution of the mass organizations. It would impose naked military control on them, and the result would be a regime with tensions of the severity we see today in Brazil and Argentina.

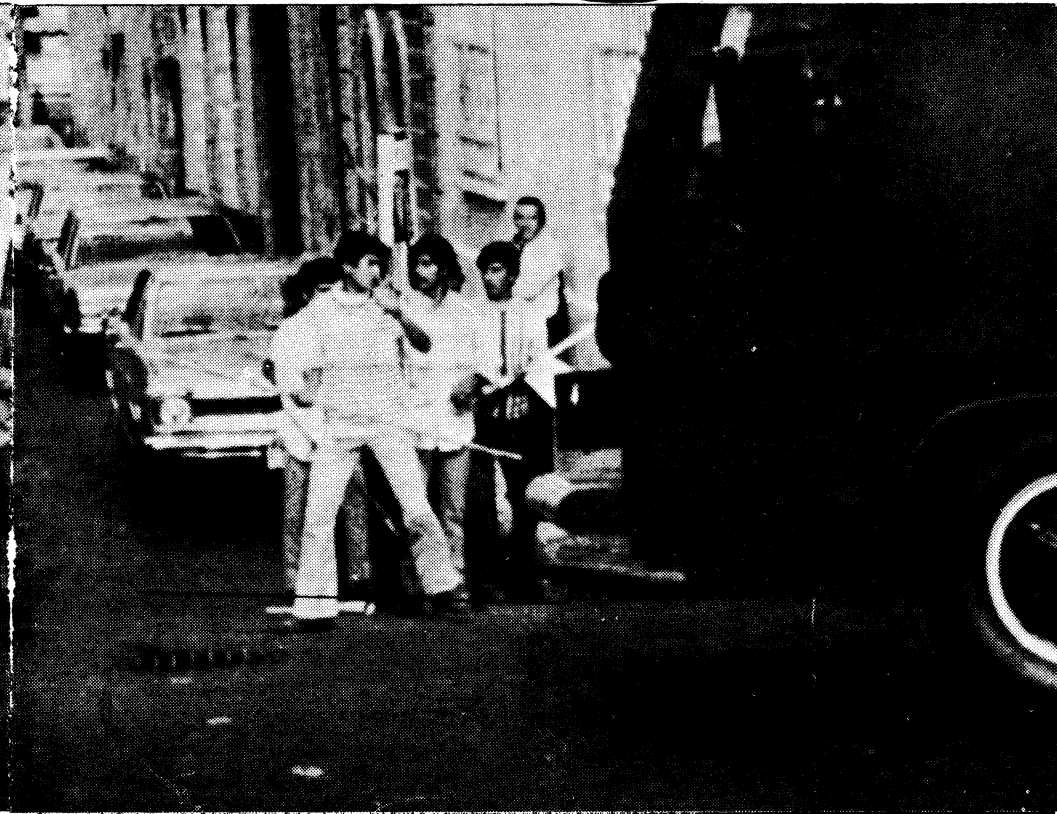
Moreover, this development would occur in a political context where the reaction of the masses might be more unpredictable and explosive than suggested by the experience of the other two countries mentioned.

A fascistic evolution of the regime could lead only to a still more intolerable exacerbation of social tensions.

The student movement has been on the rise for four weeks, creating a crisis in the realm of national politics. Since goon squads armed with police machine guns and working in open coordination with the police forces became active on the campuses, it has been obvious that the student movement stands at a crossroads. Today, in view of the course adopted by the government, the student movement bears an enormous responsibility to the Mexican people.

The coming days will be of decisive importance for the Mexican people. It is urgent to prepare for a campaign of international solidarity with their struggle.

new crisis ican regime



mnstration brutally attacked

Reporteros Gráficos de los Diarios de México [Mexican Association of Newspaper Photographers] and the Sindicato Nacional de Redactores de Prensa [National Union of Newspaper Editors] turned over precise information to the state prosecutor's office detailing who the Hawks are, who controls them, how much they are paid, and how they operate. Long excerpts from this dossier were reprinted by *Excelsior*, the most prestigious of the bourgeois dailies.

The following were the main points: The Hawks are made up of more than a thousand youths between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two. Their commander is Colonel Díaz Escobar. They are headquartered near Mexico City's International Airport (not far also from Netzahualcoyotl City).

The group was organized in 1968 to repress some student activities, and since then it has been used as a terrorist commando unit. The Hawks have also served as police auxiliaries in certain minor repressive jobs, such as clearing the streets of peddlers. Their daily pay was set at 60 pesos [12.49 pesos equal US\$1], which has now been increased to 65. However, Hawks "on assignment" often make as

cedure for the last five years—launching a big anti-Communist witch-hunt and jailing all the leftists it can get its hands on.

In lieu of starting up an anti-Communist campaign, Echeverría has appointed a commission of "inquiry" headed by state prosecutor Sánchez Vargas and other high functionaries. This body has the job of "finding out the truth regarding the incidents" and has already gone to work.

High government circles have been thrown into virtual chaos by a bewildering combination of elements. The passivity of the police and the attitude of the army in the June 10 clashes are important factors. But there is also the fact that most of those arrested have been released, while a prominent leader of the fascist organization MURO [Movimiento Universitario de Renovadora Orientación—Student Movement for Renewal] was indicted, along with several students and a Communist party leader arrested in the crowd.

Other major factors are the reaction of the press and the clear fascistlike, provocateur role played by the shock groups. Finally, there is a good deal

Revolutionists meet in Mexico City

MEXICO CITY—At a conference held in a suburb of Mexico City May 29-30, the GCI (Grupo Comunista Internacionalista—Internationalist Communist Group, the Mexican Trotskyists) chose a new national leadership. The main task of the newly elected fifteen-member leading body will be to reorganize the GCI to meet the enormous demands posed by its role in the Mexican revolutionary movement and especially in student struggles.

Because of its position in the eyes of the new vanguard, it was felt that the GCI had to step up the level of its activity. To accomplish this, the plenum approved the move by the outgoing leadership to create an organized tendency in the student movement which can begin to crystallize the GCI's political and ideological influence.

Three draft resolutions were discussed by the forty participants in the plenum. These documents dealt respectively with the GCI's analysis of the general political situation, the student movement, and organizational questions.

The draft political resolution was presented first by the outgoing political commission. There was a prolonged and lively discussion. One participant, Alfonso Ríos, made some criticisms. He argued that the resolution needed to be more precise on the pres-

ent situation of the workers' movement and on the GCI's attitude toward the new government of President Luis Echeverría.

In the course of his remarks, Ríos held that the organizational resolution should contain a fuller explanation of the reasons for the GCI's fraternal relationship with the Fourth International.

The report on the draft resolution on the student movement, given by Alejandro Marín, also provoked extensive discussion. Marín concentrated on the problems of the present difficult but promising situation in the student movement. Most of the participants in the plenum, who have been deeply involved in the student movement, took part in the discussion, supplementing the points expressed in the report and giving them greater concreteness.

The report on the organizational resolution defined the GCI's Leninist conception of democratic centralism and outlined a plan for reorganizing the group to play its role more effectively.

The reporters accepted most of the suggestions for additions to the draft documents. Two resolutions were approved unanimously. In the poll on the organizational resolution, there was one negative vote and three abstentions.

The Heberto Padilla I knew

Eva Chertov is a member of the Socialist Workers Party. She lived in Cuba from December 1962 until July 1969 and during this time was a student of literature at the University of Havana.

From *Intercontinental Press*
By EVA CHERTOV

Look at life-wide open spaces.
People walk
The recovered roads.
Those who bled
Now sing.

You stony-eyed dreamer,
Destroy that lair
Of cunning and terror.
For the love of your people
Wake up!
The just time of humaneness
Is about to born.¹

I first came across Heberto Padilla's name in *El Caiman Barbudo*.² At that time there was a debate raging in its pages between Padilla and Lisandro Otero³ over the topic of the relationship between literature and revolution.

Padilla took a very straightforward and unswerving stance: he fought all tendencies that would try to limit, mold, or control the free development of Cuban art. He condemned as opportunists those who would give the Cuban people inferior art, using its revolutionary content as a justification for its poor quality.

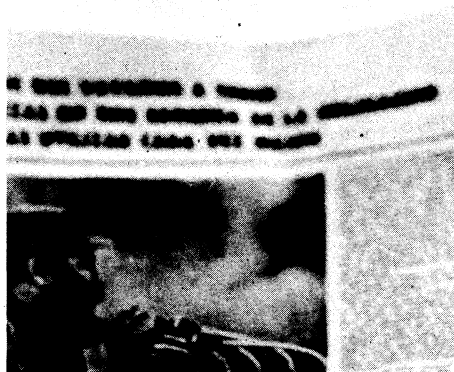
In the course of the debate, Padilla took up the concept of socialist realism and exposed it for what it is—a reflection of degeneration in a revolution.

The reaction of the majority of students in my school⁴ was that Padilla spoke for them. The few old members of the Communist party whom I knew hated Padilla. Aside from the very clear and correct way in which Padilla put forward his arguments, I was also impressed by his impeccable honesty and I wanted to find out more about him.

I bought Padilla's book of poetry *El Justo Tiempo Humano*. According to the account on the jacket, Heberto Padilla had been writing poetry since he was quite young. He went to the United States in 1949 where he worked at odd jobs until he was employed as a teacher in a Berlitz school of languages. He was also a newspaper reporter. Upon returning to Cuba, after the triumph of the revolution, he immediately went to work with his old friend Pablo Armando Fernández,⁵ Comandante Carlos Franqui,⁶ and many other young Cuban artists on what came to be

recognized internationally as well as nationally as a top-quality literary supplement, *Lunes de Revolucion*.⁷ This weekly supplement became so popular that it reached a circulation of 250,000.

By the time I began my studies at the university (1964), *Lunes* was nowhere to be seen. I found out from some of the older students that it had been one of the first victims of the attempts by the old CPers to take things over, and it had been done away with at the end of 1959.⁸



Cuban poet Heberto Padilla

From the stories that I heard on all sides, one thing became very clear: Heberto Padilla has always been an outspoken defender of the concept "within the revolution—everything; against the revolution—nothing."⁹

After the *Lunes* incident, Padilla was named chief Prensa Latina correspondent in London (1960-61). Later (1962), he was a correspondent in the Soviet Union. At the time his book *El Justo Tiempo Humano* was published, he was the director of the Cuban enterprise for the import and export of articles of art and culture (CUBARTIMPEX).

Heberto Padilla is an excellent translator of poetry from French, Russian, and English, and he placed his talents in this field at the service of the revolution.

I finally met Heberto Padilla at the house of our mutual friend, Pablo Armando Fernández, early in 1967. Until I left Cuba, in 1969, I would run into him every now and then at Pablo's or the home of some other mutual friend.

Conversations with Padilla were never dull. He had the whole world in his head. He was also a natural nonconformist. He dressed the same as the majority of Cuban men of his age (around thirty). He was smooth-shaven, had short hair, liked to wear

either a suit or a guayabera,¹⁰ and smoke big cigars.

The love which he felt for his country and revolution was also not put on. I've heard him give excellent analyses of a writer's work, pointing to its importance, and then tear the individual apart for having betrayed the revolution. (On this point, it is important to underline that Padilla did not just do this in private but also in writing whenever he got the chance.)

Was Padilla disillusioned with the revolution? Had he become an embittered foe whose main objective in life was to hurt the revolution and gain personal fame?

First of all, it should be recalled that up to this moment the Cuban government has produced no evidence that would show this. We are not even sure that we have been provided with the final and official text of Padilla's written and oral confessions. There is absolutely no proof that Padilla did anything different in 1971 from what he has done in the past eleven years, since his return to Cuba.

The Cuban government can hardly expect any self-respecting revolutionist to take as proof a "confession" written during imprisonment. Nor should it be expected that sincere defenders of the Cuban revolution will forget that the signers of the intellectuals' protest are precisely those intellectuals who most firmly stood by Cuba all these years, whose integrity has never been questioned, and who cannot be simply written off with words like "bourgeois gentlemen."¹¹

I never found Heberto Padilla's attitude any different from that of the majority of Cuban revolutionists. In 1967 when I first met him, the scarcity of goods in Cuba had gotten much worse. The average Cuban revolutionist was concerned about that, as well as angry at the waste caused by stupid bureaucratic mistakes, and they were above all very angry at those who, while claiming to be in the vanguard of the revolution, lived noticeably better than others.

This information could have been obtained by any writer who understood Spanish well, by standing on any ration line anywhere in Cuba for just half an hour.

In addition to sharing this general concern, Padilla could not help but feel very disturbed when young revolutionary writers such as Norberto Fuentes¹² were indefinitely suspended from their jobs without any public explanation, trial by a jury of peers, etc.

The reason for Padilla's attitude of constant criticism and his attempt to make his criticisms as public as possible was his deep concern over seeing this problem solved within the revolution.

In that sense he is no different from any of his revolutionary countrymen and countrywomen, except that he

brought worldwide attention to these concerns.

If all Padilla wanted to achieve was fame through slandering the revolution, he could have accomplished this at much less sacrifice to his personal comfort. He could have kept his mouth shut, waited until he got another European assignment, and then declared himself an exile. Given his many talents and his already established fame, he could have lived quite well.

I saw Heberto Padilla shortly after the publication of *Fuera del Juego* (Out of Bounds).¹³ He had just been suspended from his job. What I recall most vividly was his saying that he had done what he felt he had to do—write poetry the best he could, poems that would reflect what he really felt about life.

There are those who admit that Padilla did not say anything that you wouldn't hear in the streets of Cuba, but that he shouldn't have hung the dirty wash out for the imperialists to see. One of my friends said that Padilla was such a good poet that he could have written about anything and won the award.

Aside from the fact that the greatest works of art are those that are the most deeply felt by the artist, what would those people have Padilla write about? Moonlight?

As to hanging out the dirty wash . . . that justification for not allowing free discussion of problems was first put forward in a revolutionary country by Stalin. And there is a whole history to show what the application of Stalinist ideas led to, which every revolutionist who is serious about making a revolution would do well to study.

What honest and open discussion does is allow not only the revolutionists in the country where the discussion is going on to fully consider a problem and collectively decide what to do about it; it also allows revolutionists throughout the world to learn along with, in this case, the Cubans. It also permits them to learn the truth, the better to explain what is happening to millions of radicalizing youth throughout the world.

The Cubans have hung their dirty wash out many times in the past and the result has been a very positive one.

The millions of radicalized youth, sickened by the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy, have felt each time that the honesty of the Cuban revolution was proof that a society aiming at the construction of socialism offered more individual freedom than capitalism.

Padilla's case cannot be considered as an isolated incident. It occurs at a time when the economic situation in Cuba places her in a position of greater economic dependency on the Soviet Union. Also the case must be considered in the context of the attacks made at the Congress on Education and Culture on the right of sexual preference, the right to dress as one pleases, and the right of freedom of thought.

The purpose of this article is not to provide an in-depth analysis of where the Cuban revolution stands today. However, I should like to emphasize that the best weapon in the arsenal of the revolution—both to defend what has been gained and to clear away the path we must travel—is the truth.

13. Book of poetry for which Padilla won the best poetry award of the *Casa de Las Americas* in 1968.

1. "The Just Time of Humaneness." In Padilla's 1962 collection of poems of the same title, *El Justo Tiempo Humano*. Translation: Dolores Prida.

2. *The Bearded Crocodile*, literary supplement published by the Cuban Young Communists.

3. Head of the National Council of Culture in Cuba.

4. The School of Letters at the University of Havana.

5. Well-known Cuban writer. Won the Casa de las Americas award for the best novel in 1968. One of those named by Padilla in his "confession."

6. Organized the clandestine newspaper of the July 26 Movement during the anti-Batista struggle. Went up to the Sierra Maestra mountains to join the guerrillas around 1957. Organized the whole propaganda apparatus in the mountains. After

the victory of the revolution, became editor of the literary supplement of the newspaper *Revolucion*. Has been assigned mainly to the field of culture since. He was on an official government assignment in Europe when Padilla was arrested. One of the signers of the letter of protest sent by the intellectuals from Paris.

7. *Monday of Revolution*.

8. The exact details on what happened are well documented in K. S. Karol's book *Guerrillas in Power*.

9. From June 30, 1961, speech by Fidel Castro to the intellectuals.

10. A special type of shirt commonly worn in Cuba.

11. From Fidel's April 30, 1971, speech to the First National Congress on Education and Culture.

12. Well-known young writer. When the CIA attempted to set up a counterrevolutionary stronghold in the Escambray Mountains (more or less in the middle of Cuba), Fuentes participated in what was called "the cleanup of the Escambray," as a soldier and also a reporter for one of the Cuban publications. He later published a book of short stories about his experiences, and because there was objection as to how he portrayed the revolutionists, he was suspended from his job.

Australian view of fight against the war

The following article appeared in the June 1971 issue of the Australian revolutionary-socialist newspaper *Direct Action*, published by the Socialist Youth Alliance (SYA).

In the antiwar strategy document adopted by the SYA National Conference (published in the last issue of *Direct Action*), we made the point that the Australian movement bears a considerable resemblance to the U.S. movement. This is because, by and large, Australians and North Americans find themselves beset by the same dilemma caused by the heroic resistance of the peoples of Indochina. We also argued that the two continents are faced with the same solution to the problem: total and immediate withdrawal of all imperialist forces from Indochina.

As a result of these similarities, and because it is obvious that the American movement is more advanced than ours, it is inevitable that our movement should look to the Americans for guidance and inspiration. By this means, we can emulate the successes of the more advanced movement and avoid its defeats or setbacks.

This is the understanding of contemporary social history we should all hope to achieve. By learning from the successes and failures of other revolutionary movements, we are then able to devise our own strategies in a more scientific way.

The Australian movement has evolved a series of strategic approaches towards itself and the rest of society in almost a direct parallel of the American situation. Thus we find different sections of the Australian movement looking to different sections of the American movement for inspiration.

We recall, for instance, the premature enthusiasm of moratorium leading lights for the initial proposals of the American delegation to the Stockholm conference on Vietnam. The leader of the American delegation, a representative of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), made a grandstanding speech outlining the "American movement's" plans for large antiwar actions on April 30, May 30 and June 30. Nowhere did he mention the mobilizations called by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), to be held in Washington and San Francisco on April 24.

On the recommendation of the Australians who attended the conference, the Australian moratorium campaign

decided to embark upon the program outlined by the PCPJ, on the assumption that similar actions would take place in the U.S. and other world centers on April 30, May 30 and June 30.

The rest is almost history. In the U.S., the call by NPAC for massive peaceful demonstrations involving all sections of society met on April 24 with an incredible response. Nothing more was heard of the original PCPJ proposals. In the face of widespread popular support for April 24, PCPJ was forced, after initially attempting to get an opposition May 8 action off the ground, to offer nominal support to NPAC.

On April 24, 500,000 people marched in Washington and 300,000 in San Francisco. Similar actions were held in Copenhagen (20,000 people), Montreal, Québec City, Ottawa, Paris, London, Rome, Lusaka, and Beirut.

The Australian states, as we have said, had planned their actions for April 30, to coincide with the "international" protests on that day. The international actions, however, had taken place six days before.

In New Zealand, the movement there set April 30 as the date for mass actions, one of the reasons for this being the proposed actions in Australia on April 30.

In [any] event, central rallies were organised for Sydney, Adelaide and Canberra. These were comparatively small affairs but this is not to say that these actions were without value. The Sydney march in particular served the vitally urgent purpose of remobilizing the movement for further action. And, under the present circumstances, a march is better than no march at all, especially since the latter alternative was very much in the minds of many moratorium leaders. In fact, it was only as a result of a recision motion by the Sydney University delegate that Sydney had a march at all.

Melbourne had no central demonstration on the April 30 moratorium day due to the unholy alliance of the Communist Party, SDS, pacifists et al who favored "decentralization" for that day. Ironically (or is it predictably), these proponents of decentralization weren't very much in evidence at what suburban actions were organized. Consequently, April 30 was a pretty small affair.

A central demonstration of some sort at least has been projected for June 30. However, no mass meeting

to prepare for this has been scheduled until three weeks before the date, this in spite of a specific resolution at the previous mass meeting. . . .

As a formula for defusing the mass movement, decentralization and no mass meetings are ideal, but in spite of these attempts, the potential for a massive outpouring of antiwar sentiment on June 30 is still excellent.

We are all aware of the final episode in the Washington story. On [May 3], at the instigation of the PCPJ and various other "people's representatives," 15,000 people set out to "stop the government." No one was really surprised when they didn't. Despite the valiant assault of Dr. Spock and 500 followers on a key strategic bridge and other acts of mock heroism, business went on as usual, and 10,500 people went to jail, contributing something like \$105,000 to the U.S. Treasury.

Space does not allow a comprehensive comparison of the PCPJ and NPAC strategies. One important yardstick can, however, be applied briefly: the people. 800,000 of them marched on April 24 and 15,000 on May Day. One action sought to *involve* the people, the other to *perform* for the people.

As we go to press, we learn of the return to Australia of Dr. J. F. Cairns from a World Peace Council meeting in Budapest, and of the proposals by the Victorian Moratorium Campaign (or are they merely from Dr. Cairns?) for a "five-stage plan to blockade the city of Melbourne" over the next month. In an interview on ABC television, Dr. Cairns referred to the inspiration offered by the Mayday actions in Washington, where 15,000 people set out to stop the government of the United States.

Some people never learn.



From Direct Action

September 18, 1970, antiwar moratorium demonstration in Melbourne.

Three Argentinian militants murdered

In a leaflet circulated in Argentina, the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—Revolutionary Army of the People) paid tribute to three of its members who were slain by the police last April 17.

The ERP came into being last year as a result of a political decision by the July 1970 congress of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party, Argentine Section of the Fourth International). The ERP describes itself as "a mass organization for civil war," whose program is "anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and democratic."

Marcelo Lezcano was born in Yerba Buena, Tucumán, in 1942. He worked at the San José sugar mill, where he gained a reputation for his militancy in strike struggles. In 1965, he joined the Revolutionary Workers Party, and subsequently took specialized military training. Recently, he was co-opted into the Central Committee of the party.

José Alberto Polti was born October

7, 1949. He was a university student in the school of medicine. He took part in one of the first guerrilla units set up by the PRT before the ERP was formed in July 1968.

Juan del Valle Taborda was born November 11, 1946. He was currently studying agronomy at the National University of Córdoba, where he also worked on the maintenance staff. Last December he became a member of the San Martín union commission of the maintenance staff, serving as treasurer. In 1969 he adopted the line of armed struggle and entered the ERP in August 1970.

On April 17, according to the leaflet, the three were engaged in an action. They were traveling in a station wagon which they had previously expropriated.

They were stopped and then chased by a number of units of the Comando Radioeléctrico.

"Our comrades," continues the account, "began retreating in the direc-

tion of the San Martín district. The auto was put out of commission by a bullet fired into the hood. They continued on foot, shooting until their ammunition was exhausted.

"It was then, when they were trying to get away, already disarmed and with two of them wounded, that they were overtaken by the mercenary police and murdered in cold blood, without being able to put up any defense because of their lack of ammunition."

The leaflet ends as follows:

"In a revolution, when it is a genuine one, you triumph or you die,' our Commander in Chief Che Guevara said. He certified to the truth of his words through his luminous life and his heroic death. Lezcano, Polti, and Taborda did so, too. They took up arms aware that the call to battle of our Army, 'Win or die for Argentina,' is not a simple slogan to be attached to a communiqué. They accepted taking the risk of death because they loved life, because they loved their wives and their children,

because they were thinking of them and of all the children of the people, who deserve a better future, a life of dignity, in a Socialist Country.

"Che also said that a revolutionist wants to live in order to realize his ideas, but he is willing to die for them. He knew that other hands would reach out to take up his gun. Lezcano, Polti, and Taborda knew that in their heroic Córdoba, in the whole country, hundreds of hands of the workers and the people are already reaching out to pick up the guns of those who have fallen. Because of this they resisted until the last bullet was gone.

"Thus fighters of the people know how to die—today and in the future. Let the police not rejoice. Let the dictatorship not rejoice. The Revolutionary Army of the People will know how to avenge its dead. The Argentine people will know how to take up the arms that they knew how to fire up to the last cartridge."

By TONY THOMAS

"The categorical requirement of Marxist theory in investigating any social question is that it be examined within definite historical limits, and, if it refers to a particular country (e.g. the national program for a given country), that account be taken of the specific features distinguishing that country from others in the same historical epoch." (Emphasis in original. V.I. Lenin, *Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism*. Progress Publishers, Moscow, page 56.)

These words of Lenin are of particular relevance in gaining an understanding of the development of the African-American people in the U.S. Opponents of Black nationalism argue that Blacks are not a "nation" with a unique culture, national identity, territorial "boundaries," or "internal economy" and thus do not have the right of self-determination.

In his April 9, talk "Trotskyism, Racist Voice on the Left," Tony Monteiro, spokesman for the Young Workers Liberation League and the Communist Party, attacked the views of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in support of Black nationalism as "divorced from any historical or social base." Monteiro claimed that Trotsky held "the nation is a construct of thought, of consciousness rather than the product of socio-historical conditions." The CP spokesman felt that the SWP and YSA's "narrowness" on this question flows from Trotsky's errors.

Trotsky's ideas are recorded in the pamphlet *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*, a collection of discussions on Black liberation that Trotsky held in the 1930s with Black and white leaders of the American Trotskyist movement.

While Trotsky was not an expert on the U.S., he was able to generalize from his experience as part of the central leadership of the Russian revolution and draw lessons from that experience for the Black struggle in the U.S.

On the question of Black nationhood—in the 1930s when nationalist consciousness in the Black community was much lower than today—Trotsky commented: "The Negroes are a race and not a nation: Nations grow out of the racial material under definite conditions. The Negroes in Africa are not yet a nation but they are in the process of building a nation. . . .

"We do, of course, not obligate the Negroes to become a nation; if they are, then that is a question of their consciousness, that is, what they desire and what they strive for. We say: If the Negroes want that then we must fight against imperialism to the last drop of blood, so that they gain the right, wherever and how they please, to separate a piece of land for themselves."

A distinct history

As Lenin pointed out, such social questions are never abstract. Our starting point for dealing with them must be the concrete material conditions African-Americans have faced. These conditions over the last 400 years of African-American history have led to the development of a distinct African-American people.

U.S. capitalism and imperialism's oppression and exploitation of Africans who came from different backgrounds, different cultural and historical levels, from different tribes and nationalities, from different parts of Africa speaking different languages, led to the creation of a new African-American nationality possessing a common language, common cultural tradition and a common historical experience.

The common oppression in this country, based solely on African origin, developed into a common consciousness and identity among Africans in this country, a consciousness

Black consciousness: imaginary or real?



Bayonet over the Capitol, Washington, D.C., April 1968. 12,000 troops were called in to quell this explosion of Black consciousness.

that has led to the development of Black nationalism and the struggle for African-American liberation.

Just as one cannot deny the objective and historical oppression we have faced, one cannot deny the importance of Black *consciousness* itself—as Monteiro attempts to do—in measuring the national identity of Black people.

While people from European nationalities were assimilated into the cultural, economic and political life of white America, Blacks were consciously excluded. This was done because of the specific role the oppression of Blacks—first as chattel slaves and later as the most oppressed section of wage slaves—has played in the founding and development of U.S. capitalism.

The development of Black national consciousness is not ideological or abstract but historical and concrete. The enforced segregation of Blacks in housing, education and other institutions, even the racist cops, have served to bring together and unify African-Americans.

African slaves arriving in the U.S. were completely stripped of their culture and knowledge of themselves by the slavemasters. African languages, African religious and political rites, African family, clan or tribal ties were seen as dangers to the slaveholders and were suppressed.

The surviving remnants of African

culture and history existed as symbolic manifestations of the refusal of African-Americans to submit to this cultural genocide. Side-by-side with the African roots of Black culture, the experience of the struggle against racist oppression has deepened Black identity over the past 400 years.

The millions of Blacks, slave and free, in both the South and the North, benefitted little from the outcome of the first American revolution. Before the Civil War, not only slaves but "free" African-Americans banded together in independent all-Black organizations to fight against the oppression they faced. As a symbol of pride, many of them used the term African to identify themselves.

After the Civil War

The Civil War freed the chattel slaves owned by Southern slaveholders and began transforming them into wage slaves of the Northern and Southern capitalists.

During the "Reconstruction" period, Blacks in the South were able to make major gains in the direction of attaining democratic rights and held important political, economic and intellectual power in the South. However, as soon as the Northern capitalists regained a firm control over southern society, they pushed African-Americans back into a position differing only in form from what Blacks suf-

fered before the Civil War.

The alliance between northern capitalists and southern Blacks shattered as it became evident that the capitalists were unable and unwilling to grant the economic concessions necessary for "assimilation" of African-Americans into U.S. society—as symbolized by the Black demand for "40 acres and a mule."

It was more profitable for the U.S. capitalists to turn the Blacks into the most exploited sector of the population, deprived of many of the rights that had been gained during Reconstruction. The shattering of the Reconstruction alliance also corresponded to the new needs of U.S. imperialism on a world scale. And the industrialists, concerned with the growing Populist and labor movements, were conscious of the advantages to be gained from turning Blacks into social pariahs and dividing them from their potential allies.

By the close of the nineteenth century, the rollback of Reconstruction, the rise of Jim Crow and other forms of segregation in both the North and the South, and new racist propaganda against all nonwhites meant that the separation of African-Americans as a special oppressed group had deepened since the post-Civil War years.

The industrialization and urbanization of African-Americans in the twentieth century deepened the African-American's sense of "nationhood." Instead of being dispersed throughout the rural South, Blacks are now concentrated in huge urban "ghettos." The majority of African-Americans today live in 12 major cities. More African-Americans born in Mississippi live in Chicago than in Mississippi.

Within the urban Black communities our people are even more "homogenized" than in the rural South. The consciousness of being an oppressed people deepened in the "integrated" North where African-Americans began to see it was not just the "segregationist" hangers of the South, but that all of U.S. society—including the liberal North—is organized so as to perpetuate the oppression of our people.

Thus, Monteiro notwithstanding, the *consciousness* of Black nationality has been a major objective factor in U.S. political and cultural life in the twentieth century. This consciousness has led to major mass Black nationalist movements in the 1920s, 1960s and 1970s. It led to the growth of Black culture in the 1920s and in the current nationalist radicalization. This consciousness has an even greater social weight because it is rooted among Black urban workers, the most powerful section of the Black community.

No boundaries

Many have claimed that despite this historical, national, cultural and political development, African-Americans, unlike other nations, lack definite geographical boundaries and are thus ineligible for the right of self-determination.

They identify nationality and nation with the idea of an already existing nation-state, or at least a people who once had their own nation-state with relatively defined boundaries.

The struggle of an oppressed nationality for self-determination may or may not result in the creation of a nation-state. That is a question to be answered by the oppressed nationality itself. But whatever the oppressed nationality chooses, revolutionists wholeheartedly support and join the struggle to attain it. Whether or not an oppressed nationality or nation can point to geographical boundaries for some future state is irrelevant to the question of whether or not an oppressed people constitute a nation or nationality.

Because many people do not make a distinction in their own minds between "nation" and "nation-state," it is

Continued on page 21

Black community in Jacksonville erupts

By BETSY SOARES

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.,—The three-night eruption of the Black community here June 16-18 was started by the crackdown on demonstrators protesting the killing of Donny Hall, a 15-year-old Black youth.

Hall was shot by a white cop, at approximately 4 a.m., June 10, on the highway. Hall and a friend had stopped beside the road with car trouble. The car belonged to the deceased father of the friend. A cop, named Fouracker, pulled over behind the stopped vehicle, and the youths ran, fearful of the brutal treatment normally meted out to Blacks by the white police.

The two youths hid in a ditch. Fouracker found them and told them to get up. Because Hall was slower in responding than his friend, Fouracker fired. His lame excuse was that he thought Hall had something he was going to throw at him. The Black community protested the killing with a legal, peaceful march to the county courthouse on June 16. It started with about 300 persons and ended with over 1,000. The Blacks carried a wooden coffin with Hall's name on it.

When the demonstration was over and the crowd began to disperse, the police stopped a Black youth driving away, claiming the car was stolen. After finding out the car wasn't, they charged the youth with having an improper license plate. When they moved to tow away the car, the eruption began.

There were about 60 separate fires started, 10 of these major. Over 280 persons were arrested.

The police repression was very brutal and indiscriminate. People were taken from stores, churches, and gas

stations and arrested, beaten, or both. The police used over 400 pounds of tear gas, spewed forth from a mammoth, armored "anti-riot tank."

Representatives of the Black community met with Sheriff Dale Carson and Mayor Hans Tanzler, presenting them with a list of demands. These were: the release of all persons arrested who were not involved in violent acts; the pullback of riot squads; investigation of brutality cases; a stop to the indiscriminate arrest of Black people; human relations training for the police, and removal of undersheriff D.K. Brown from office. Brown directed the police during the eruption.

Sheriff Carson answered this last demand with a firm negative.

James Washington, head of the local NAACP, said he believes the Black community is still on the verge of another eruption because none of the problems have been solved and no action has been taken by Carson. There is also tension due to the delay of the courts to bring to trial two white cops, each charged with raping a Black woman.

Presently, Fouracker is suspended from duties and under grand jury indictment for manslaughter, not murder.

Some of the police and right-wing elements in this city of 300,000 have rallied behind Fouracker, claiming him to be "a sacrifice to racial pressure." One patrolman nonchalantly summed up their feelings with "I think anytime anyone runs from the police, he ought to be pumped full of lead."

Such racist remarks make clear the need for massive organized response from the Black community, not "human relations training."

Repression of left in Puerto Rico protested

By RICHARD GARZA

NEW YORK—At a press conference held here June 25, representatives of the Legal Institute of Puerto Rico and Roman Catholic Bishop Antulio Parrilla denounced the mounting political repression in Puerto Rico.

They pointed out that while bourgeois political parties and movements are permitted to post announcements about their activities, the government of Puerto Rico is prosecuting *independentistas* who engage in the same activity. The arrests are based on a 50-year-old statute that clearly does not apply and so the courts are acquitting the accused. In the meantime, however, the arrests are a form of harassment of militants and clearly deprive them of their right of free expression.

Salespeople distributing *Claridad*, organ of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (Movement for Puerto Rican Independence), are detained and arrested while those of bourgeois newspapers go unmolested.

Independentista-sponsored clubs and restaurants have been raided without motive or cause. A pro-independence ex-supreme court judge and his wife, along with two newsmen, were arrested for loitering under an ordinance directed against prostitutes.

In the aftermath of the May attack by police on students at the Rio Pied-

ras campus of the University of Puerto Rico, Roberto José Maldonado, a lawyer with the Institute, was beaten viciously by police while he was in the process of interviewing some of his clients in the police station.

Reporters at the press conference were given a large dossier describing many more incidents of police attacks and harassment of *independentistas*. The fact that the courts have been forced to release the *independentistas*, in large part due to the efforts of the Institute, has caused Blas C. Herrero, Secretary of Justice of Puerto Rico, to express dissatisfaction with the courts.

The Institute, which was founded to defend the rights of young Puerto Ricans who refused to serve in the United States Army, seeks the support of North Americans in its fight to preserve civil liberties in Puerto Rico. The case load of the Institute has increased with the growing resistance of Puerto Rican youth to the Indochina war.

In addition to moral support in the form of wires and letters of protest to Governor Luis A. Ferré at his palace, La Fortaleza, San Juan, Puerto Rico, the Institute is in desperate need of funds. Contributions can be sent to: Instituto Legal of Puerto Rico, Inc., Calle Georgetti Num. 62, Oficina 2-b, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00928.

In their own words



MY LIFE

by Leon Trotsky

My Life, considered a classic since its original publication in 1930, presents a panorama of Russian life. An autobiography of a Bolshevik, it portrays the tempestuous 1905 revolution, the Bolshevik victory in 1917, and the civil war which followed. There are unforgettable descriptions of the anti-Czarist underground, exile in Siberia, and the emigre circles of Europe and the United States.

It recounts the rise of Stalinism and its overpowering of the Left Opposition which fought for the continuance of Lenin's revolutionary course. In the account of the struggle within the Bolshevik Party, the author sketches political and psychological portraits of Lenin, Zinoviev and Stalin. 640 pp., \$12.50, paper \$3.95

GIS SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE WAR

The Case of the Fort Jackson 8 by Fred Halstead

"As a result of open meetings, especially one early in 1969 which was televised by Huntley and Brinkley, the so-called Fort Jackson 8 were kept in the stockade for 61 days on charges which were dismissed (although high court battles still loom on the issue of GIs' First Amendment rights). . . . An interesting glimpse here of the power of Malcolm X's message to sway young men of both races.—Publishers Weekly

The fight of American soldiers to secure their basic rights—including their right to be against the war in Vietnam—has spread to virtually every base. **GIs Speak Out Against the War**, told in the words of Fort Jackson GIs, outlines their successful attempts to organize against the war, and to subsequently defend themselves from government charges. 128 pp., \$4.50, paper \$1.75

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

by Malcolm X

edited by George Breitman

"Aside from intimations of the direction his militant leadership might have taken had he lived, these glimpses . . . bring him alive in a spontaneous, remarkably virile way for readers just beginning to grasp his moral stature and humanity."—Publishers Weekly

A companion volume to **Malcolm X Speaks**, these speeches, interviews, and a letter from Malcolm X's last year document the direction he was headed during the last months of his life. They reveal Malcolm X's political growth, including his talks at the rallies of the Organization of Afro-American unity. 192 pp., \$5.95, paper \$1.95

BLACK VOICES FROM PRISON

by Etheridge Knight

"Knight is going to be, without doubt, an important figure in American literature."—Kliatt
"These voices from Indiana State Prison serve as reminders of how Black writers are produced and how Black intellectual history is created."—Olumo (Jim Cunningham), **Black World**

In self description, Etheridge Knight wrote: "I died in Korea from a shrapnel wound and narcotics resurrected me. I died in 1960 from a prison sentence and poetry brought me back to life." Stories, articles, and poems written by Knight plus a number of pieces (including a play) by fellow inmates whom he encouraged to write. 192 pp., cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.45

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Out of work

By RANDY FURST

MINNEAPOLIS—Labor officials remain indifferent here despite the heaviest unemployment in a decade. Rank-and-file union members and unemployed workers are confused.

"What can the unions do?" asked one union president whose membership faces the highest layoff rate in memory.

Union officials in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area were interviewed during the past several weeks by *The Militant* in an effort to get a firsthand appraisal of what labor was doing to combat unemployment. Dozens of unemployed workers were also queried.

Unemployment in Minnesota is up 30,000 from a year ago. Hardest hit is the Twin Cities metropolitan area where a total of 43,100 residents were unemployed in April. Unemployment among veterans is also on the upswing. Minnesota already has nearly twice as many jobless Vietnam returnees as a year ago. About 19,000 persons of the more than 101,000 jobless work force in Minnesota are Vietnam veterans. About 45 percent of the unemployed veterans are in the Twin Cities.

The influx of jobless workers seeking unemployment benefits has forced the state unemployment bureau to double its office staff from 25 to 50 in the last year.

"It's a pretty serious situation," admits Vern Doll, president of Branch 9 of the letter carriers, an AFL-CIO affiliate. "There just aren't any jobs." The Post Office has had a freeze on hiring in Minneapolis since March. Doll feels the unions cannot stop the layoffs. "There's nothing we can do," he says. "We don't control hiring and firing." What about pressing for a 30-hour workweek with 40-hours pay? "There'd be a lot of guys who'd like that," Doll said, noting that a proposal had been made to the Post Office Department by the union's national officers to reduce the workweek to 35 hours. But he says that the possibility of a strike over that issue is "not big." His members, he said, "wouldn't be worked up over a 35-hour week."

There have been steady layoffs at the Honeywell Corp., where union membership has plummeted from a peak of 12,500 some 18 months ago to 7,000 today. "We don't know if it's hit bottom," says local Teamster Secretary-Treasurer Melvin Rudinger. "All we can do is hope." Rudinger said that the only way to combat unemployment was to "elect new officials or coach the ones we've got." He shrugs off the idea of 40 hours pay for 30 hours work. "People are too greedy," he contends, arguing that workers with a shorter workweek would go out and get second jobs.

"Some trades are in real rough shape," acknowledges Dick Radman, secretary of the St. Paul Building Trades Council. He says he hasn't seen it this bad since 1946 when he started work as a plasterer. About 10 percent of his 10,000 members are



Scene at Minneapolis "Employment" Office

Photo by Tom Chelstrom

unemployed, rising to 15 percent among carpenters, bricklayers and laborers. The idea of shortening the workweek with no wage cutbacks doesn't appeal to Radman. "By the time we initiate something like that the unemployment would be over," he says. "We raise a little hell. But we do it through our representatives in Congress. That's all we can do. What else can we do?"

"I'd fire Nixon!" is Ed Vasey's solution to unemployment and a common theme among labor officials. Vasey is secretary-treasurer of Typographical Union No. 30. "The Republicans have never been for labor," he explained to *The Militant*. "I think the Democrats would do a better job all the way around."

Cutting the workweek drew laughter from some. "A 30-hour workweek?" The electrical union business agent grinned broadly. "Well," he said, "it took, what, 100 years to get a 40-hour week. I guess it will take another 100 to get a 30-hour week."

Not a single union official interviewed was aware of any union plans locally or nationally to wage a major fight against the continued layoffs. Most officials, in fact, appeared to have never considered the idea. But if the strategy of mobilizing labor against job layoffs seemed foreign to union officialdom here, jobless workers also appeared skeptical. "There's nothing the unions can do," says Charles Miller, 48 and in his fourth month without work. A World War II and Korean veteran, Miller had worked for Lester Steel Co. for 17 years. "I've never seen work as slow in Minneapolis," he said.

Albert Subotin, 51, has been searching for work for three months. A Black man, he's a member of the Hotel, Motel Workers, and he doubts the union could mount a campaign against layoffs.

"The union I belong to," says Robert Shockency, "all they ever did was collect dues. They never talked about getting a raise. Shockency is 40 with 12 years' experience as a machinist and is out of work. "I feel better without a union," he continues. "Just go in and get a raise yourself. A lot of people I work with prefer not having a union."

"Every job you go to there's 50 or 60 guys ahead of you if you aren't there just as soon as they open," says a 29-year-old unemployed clerk. He doesn't know what, if anything, the unions could do.

"Oh, man, six months I've been looking for a job—everywhere, everywhere. There's nothing. It's terrible." The 21-year-old Chicano shook his head. "I come up here [to the unemployment bureau] every week," he explained. He was laid off at Zalk Steel and Supply five months ago. "The unions aren't doing much," he says. But he does not know what they could do.

"The unions don't give a shit," says Kelly Hoff-

stead, 20. "They don't care about our jobs." Marlene Linbloom, 27, adds, "They can't do anything. There just aren't any jobs."

Many of the workers interviewed did not know the names of their unions. They would search their pocketbooks or wallets looking for their union cards. Some thought that the unions might do more to stem layoffs but just don't.

Brian Hayes, 28, thinks it would take "one hell of a recession" to lead to a movement to stop layoffs. In the waiting room of the unemployment bureau last week, he talked to this reporter. He was barefoot. His hair flowed to his shoulders. He had worked at Northland Aluminum for a year and a half before he was laid off seven weeks ago. "If I wanted to go in there and organize to demand one or two things, it would be a hell of a problem on the second shift, and it would be impossible on the first shift." Hayes—who has worked both shifts—said that the second shift was largely students and "longhairs." "They were more politically oriented or politically turned off to the government. They were turned off to the idea of working for somebody. They didn't like the factory." How was this expressed? "There was a lack of consistent production. There was much more horsing around. They had to watch the second shift. You didn't have to watch the first shift." In both shifts, he said, people were uninterested in getting together.

If a movement of unemployed was not yet underfoot here, this reporter was able to piece together indicators that the radicalization process now in full swing among American youth is beginning to penetrate young workers. One labor official told me that he had attended a recent conference of United Auto Workers officials in Michigan. "All of them appeared to be worried about the youth," he told me. "They all reported they had difficulty controlling the younger workers."

"The younger guy is always pushing you harder for a raise," explains union official Ed Vasey of the Typographical workers. "He thinks things drop a little easier than they do sometimes. And they do foolish things. They put me through an illegal strike last July. I spent a few sleepless nights over that one. But they're our people so I had to take care of them."

Vasey said that the union officials came into a union meeting with proposals for a wage raise. But, continued Vasey, the young workers "misinterpreted our offer and thought we had put a ceiling on the contract. They voted to strike. It was an unsanctioned strike. We didn't have the backing of the international. They went out for two weeks. Then they decided that maybe we were right and came back to work."

"It's the young militants who pulled it off—who wanted to strike," Vasey told *The Militant*. "It was a bad thing."

D.C. teachers fight off longer workday

By CALVIN ZON

WASHINGTON, D.C.,—The 4,800-member Washington Teachers Union (WTU), after three months of negotiation, has beaten back the attempt of the D.C. School Board to add 45 minutes to the workday, and two to three weeks to the work-year without any increase in pay. (A D.C. teacher starts at \$7,800; a D.C. policeman at \$8,500.) A new contract, to expire in March 1974, was tentatively approved by a June 18 membership meeting but awaits final ratification by referendum in September.

What the board was trying to impose on the teachers was consistent

with the employing class' nationwide efforts to get more out of workers by using the fear of unemployment. The board has said that over 600 teachers will be laid off in the fall if Congress fails to appropriate more money.

The WTU, an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, has held a series of membership meetings in response to these and other encroachments by the school board, school administration, and Congress. The union is at a unique disadvantage since it cannot bargain with the board regarding salary and layoffs but is at the mercy of the skimpy annual

appropriation from the district's congressional overlords.

The new contract contains a number of provisions which reflect the desire of the overwhelmingly Black union to relate to Washington's 71 percent Black population. These include the school board's agreement to work with the union in establishing a comprehensive drug prevention program; a program to detect sickle-cell anemia and lead poisoning; draft counseling for students; and day-care centers for the children of employees.

Further, a joint union-board committee will be set up to explore the

possibility of a community-student-union-operated Sojourner Truth School with year-round classes. The contract affirms a dual union-board responsibility for the curriculum.

Union activists have also expressed their determination to see to it that women are written into their rightful place in the history books.

A heated dispute between the union and the school administration arose last February over the union's posting of Angela Davis defense information on teachers' bulletin boards. The new contract upholds the union's right to display whatever it chooses.

Why the Quebecois reject bilingualism

The article below has been excerpted from the June 21, 1971, issue of *Labor Challenge*, a biweekly revolutionary socialist newspaper published in Canada. The war measures referred to in the opening paragraph constituted the Trudeau government's reaction last October to the kidnapping of Quebec Minister of Labor Pierre Laporte and British Consul James Cross. The war measures, which were in effect across Canada, suspended virtually all civil liberties. The "Royal" commission, of course, is derived from the fact that Canada is a member of the British Commonwealth and recognizes the sovereignty of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

By DICK FIDLER

Almost unnoticed in the wake of the war measures crisis, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism wound up its work this spring without submitting a report.

The commission functioned for over seven years and cost taxpayers about \$9-million. Yet its accomplishments were few. Only half the reports it had promised were actually submitted, fewer than 10 of the 150 research projects have been published, and the commissioners were unable to reach agreement on their very reason for being, the constitutional question and the future of Canada.

The commission had been instructed by the Liberal prime minister of the day, Lester Pearson, to find a formula for "equal partnership between the two founding races." Was its demise an admission of failure to find that formula?

The answer may be partly found in an important research report for the commission published last year. Bearing the ponderous title "Corporate Adaptability to Bilingualism and Biculturalism," by Robert N. Morrison, it is the product of a joint study by McGill University's Graduate School of Business and the University of Montreal's Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales of the use of French in the operations of private corporations doing business in Québec, and the degree to which French-speaking Québecois are "represented" in the administration and management of those firms.

But it is much more. For, despite the intentions of its author the study demonstrates that the national inequality of the Québecois is rooted in the very nature of Canadian capitalism. And the statistical evidence it pulls together gives powerful ammunition to the growing number of Québecois who see the solution to their oppression in the most far-reaching anti-capitalist measures — nothing less than a socialist revolution!

Reason enough for Trudeau to dissolve the "Bi and Bi!"

The study is based on a detailed examination of over 40 large manufacturing firms in all major industrial sectors with "significant" operations in Québec. Each employs at least 500 workers in Québec. About one-third operate exclusively in Québec and adjacent French-language regions. . . .

The report confirms that French-speaking Québecois are scandalously underrepresented in industry, and that this underrepresentation increases drastically the higher up one goes in the administrative-management hierarchy. Concentrating on the 20,000 salaried workers in the sample making \$5,000 or more a year, the report finds that only 36 percent are Franco-

phones (French-speaking), and that this proportion declines to 15 percent or less in the \$15,000-plus bracket. Yet 85 percent of the total labor force is Francophone in Québec, and over 60 percent in Montreal.

The proportion of French-language employees in the firm varies sharply depending on whether it is owned by French or English capital. . . .

Much of this has been known for some time, if not statistically detailed. But in recent years there has been a big increase in the number of French-speaking graduates in engineering, science and commerce, and large corporations have advertised a desire to

cophone to advance? Examining the language of business, Morrison concludes: "Our study shows that changes are occurring, and that they are in the direction of bilingualism in every case studied, not in the direction of either unilingual French or unilingual English."

Ironically, this growing "bilingualism" seems to increase the English hold on business. For example, the firms studied are spending a quarter-million dollars a year on language courses. Half this amount is spent by English-Canadian firms with head offices in Québec. "Virtually all of this was for courses in French for English-

Bilingualism, then, is at best a one-way street. At worst, for the majority of Québecois, it is gradually and inexorably turning into a dead end.

The Morrison study documents the blatant discrimination faced by the Québecois. For a growing number not only is a knowledge of English essential for promotion beyond the rank of foreman, if not to get the job in the first place, but one having mastered this foreign language, they are still barred from the top posts in management.

So thoroughly has this consciousness of discrimination penetrated every layer of Québecois society that success or failure are actually thought of in terms of language. A few years ago, a team of psychologists at McGill tested the reaction of a mixed group of Québecois to a voice speaking first in English, then in French. To the English-speaking voice the Québecois reacted almost solidly as a group, describing the individual behind the voice as being of large size and having the qualities of a rich and well-educated leader. The same voice in French evoked the anonymous image of an employee of the former.

The development of Québec nationhood is bound up with the defense and extension of French language rights.

Morrison's study shows convincingly that there can be no widespread use of French as the language of business and industry unless and until French-speaking Québecois dominate management. And his study demonstrates that this will only happen if and when those industries are transferred from English to French ownership.

What forces can and will bring about such a transformation? It will not be the Québecois capitalists, dependent on English capital and its control of the state power, in the last analysis the guarantee of their class rule. The Conseil du Patronat [Council of Employers] recently issued a statement categorically opposing demands that French be legislated as the language of industry on the grounds that the "English language is and will remain the priority language of business" in Québec.

For them, as for English-speaking capital, "bilingualism," the preservation of English language privileges, is their means of ensuring that Québec remains a preserve for profitable exploitation—even if it threatens extermination of the French language and Québecois nation in the long term.

The demand for Québec ownership means a workers government that nationalizes the leading sectors of industry, puts them under the control of the Québecois workers, and develops them in the interests of the Québecois.

That is the logic of the demand, increasingly raised in Québec labor struggles and now the policy of such labor bodies as the 250,000-member CNTU [Confederation of National Trade Unions], that French be made in law and in fact the language of work—as a major step toward a Québec where every social activity, the school system, public services, industry, functions in the language of the Québecois.

The battle lines are drawn. The Trudeau government, under cover of the Official Languages Act, has declared the whole of Québec a "bilingual district" effective Aug. 2. The struggle for a French Québec has only begun.



From Labor Challenge

recruit more Francophones into senior staff positions. Surely, Morrison hypothesizes, the proportion of qualified Francophone management personnel has had a tendency to increase.

But the study finds instead that over the 12-month period studied in the mid-1960s, there was a notable decline in recruitment of qualified Francophones. Moreover, "the number of French-Canadians moving into senior positions in large firms is proportionately less than the total number now employed in these positions."

Morrison comments on underlying attitudes:

"The reasons are not entirely clear, but in many cases the employers' requirement of bilingual ability, coupled with the rather cool image many young French Canadians have of 'big business,' tends to predispose them against working for large firms."

Undoubtedly a major reason why young Québecois are "cool" to big business is that in Québec, Capital speaks English.

Is the situation changing? Is it becoming easier for a unilingual Fran-

speaking employees." In other words, it is designed to accelerate the promotion of Anglophones since senior management is now expected to know a few words in French. Thus "bilingualism" serves as a bar to the advancement of French-speaking Québecois.

This "bilingualism" is a fraud. "Virtually everyone interviewed reported that the courses have not been successful as far as the ability to speak French is concerned." But it is considered worthwhile anyway.

"They believe that the morale of French-speaking employees is greatly improved if senior management people can greet them with a few words of French in the elevator or during a tour around the plant, or if the president or vice-president can make a short speech in French at an employees' meeting."

"With a few exceptions," the report concludes this aspect of the study, "unilingual English-speaking employees can rise to the top of an organization," whereas "in most cases, unilingual French-speaking employees are able to rise to the level of foreman."

In Review

Books

Towards an American Socialist Revolution: A Strategy for the 1970s by Jack Barnes, George Breitman, Derrick Morrison, Barry Sheppard and Mary-Alice Waters. Introduction by Gus Horowitz. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1971. 207 pp. \$5.95 cloth. \$1.95 paper.

This book assesses the current period of radicalization and unfolds a strategy through which it can successfully culminate in a socialist revolution.

Everybody knows that the United States has changed profoundly since McCarthyism and the cold-war witch-hunts of the 1950s, and it is clear to most that it has changed in a radical direction. This change is characterized in part by a questioning of the values of this society. What sets this book apart from others on the subject is that the authors, who are revolutionary Marxists, explain the process whereby the questioning of those values leads to their rejection by those who do the questioning; leads to the realization that capitalist society not only has no solution to their problems but has in fact created them and must prevent a solution of those problems if it is to survive.

The authors probe deeply into the roots and characteristics of this radicalization, and analyze its similarities and its differences in comparison to the two previous American radicalizations of this century—that of the Debs period, which lasted through the First World War, and that of the thirties.

In his introduction, Gus Horowitz explains how only revolutionary Marxism has been able to assess the current radicalization correctly. He discusses the "New Left," represented by groups like Students for a Democratic Society, that began by rejecting the Stalinist and social-democratic perversions of Marxism, but made the mistake of rejecting Marxism as well. Their lack of political program and perspective was their fatal flaw.

Horowitz also demonstrates how far removed the methods of revolutionary Marxism are from such groups as the Communist Party, which has not been able to understand the current radicalization but which tries to force it to fit into its own stereotyped conceptions.

The first two-thirds of the book consists of five sections, one by each of the authors, examining the vital components of this radicalization. Each was first presented to a socialist activists' and educational conference in Oberlin, Ohio, last summer.

The first chapter, by Barry Sheppard, goes into the international roots of the radicalization, beginning with the end of the Second World War. Sheppard examines how American imperialism, emerging triumphant from the war, thought it stood on the threshold of an "American century." Instead of docile colonies acquiescing in their exploitation, however, it was confronted with a revolution in the colonial countries. It saw China, Vietnam, Korea, and Cuba breaking loose from its tentacles, and it tried desperately to stem the tide.

Although it has temporarily succeeded in halting the tide in such places as Indonesia, and has waged one of the most cruel and devastating wars in human history in Indochina, it has not been able to halt the revolution's advance. Moreover, its very attempts to do so have sharpened the social contradictions in the advanced capitalist countries so that revolution there too is on the agenda, as it was in France during May-June 1968.

Derrick Morrison discusses the roots of the nationalism of oppressed minorities and its impact on other social sectors. He concludes that the coming American revolution will have to be a combined revolution accomplishing both socialist tasks posed by the working class as a whole and national tasks posed by the oppressed national minorities.

The winning of elementary democratic rights for Black people—a task left unsolved by the bourgeois revolution in this country—can now be achieved only by a socialist revolution, he points out.

Morrison details the way in which the nationalist struggle has influenced and continues to influence other sectors of society, such as GIs, labor, students and women. The key to its strength, he says, lies in its independence—best exemplified by Malcolm X and his refusal to subordinate the Black struggle to any other movement. Morrison points to the Raza Unida Party, the independent Chicano party that now exists in several areas of the Southwest, as the most promising example so far of a political-social movement that has broken with capitalist politics.

The present generation of youth has grown up amid far-reaching international social convulsions, Mary-Alice Waters states in her analysis of the student and women's movements. These convulsions have contributed to the radicalization of today's young people. Just how far this process has gone can be seen in one example: the May 1970 student strike in the U.S.—the largest in history. It not only causes no raised eyebrows to point out that



this nationwide crisis did not develop into a prerevolutionary situation, as, for instance, happened in France in 1968. On the contrary. Rather than ask, "Why *should* it have?" the question asked today is "What prevented it from doing so?"

May 1970 in the U.S. proved that the French May was no aberration, but part of an international phenomenon, as indicated by the occurrence of similar events in Mexico, Pakistan, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere. Waters tells how in 1970 the American Trotskyist youth organization, the Young Socialist Alliance, armed with the strategy of the "antiwar university" (utilizing university facilities and wealth to help reach out and mobilize other layers of the population), was the only political tendency that knew what was happening and could respond with demands and a program that made sense to masses of students in the heat of struggle.

George Breitman compares this radicalization to the two previous ones of this century: the Debsian radicalization and that of the thirties. They differ from one another because they developed out of different conditions: the first, as a reaction to capitalist industrialization and urbanization; the second, out of the Great Depression; and the current one, out of the historical contradictions created by post World War II imperialism, the alienation created by neocapitalist society, and the independent thrust of the struggle for Black liberation.

Breitman concludes—after critically analyzing today's youth movement, the nationalist struggle, the women's movement and the cultural manifestations of rebellion—that the current radicalization is broader, deeper, more powerful than even that of the thirties prior to the rise of the CIO. He cautions against thinking of the thirties as a giant labor upsurge and nothing else; then too, the working class did not move *as a class* until other sectors of society had been involved in anticapitalist struggle: farmers, veterans, students, unemployed. And then it did not move through the established union channels of the AFL, but instead organized the CIO.

Since today the bulk of the workers in the mass production industries are organized, he says, there is little likelihood that a new mass upsurge of labor will take the same course as it did in the thirties and express itself in the same ways. Workers will respond, as they have already been responding, to the same things as everybody else: the war, inflation, pollution, unemployment, and national and sexual oppression. And that response will be much more highly political than it was in the thirties.

Jack Barnes assesses the role of the revolutionary party in this radicalization and in preparing for the coming American socialist revolution. Under the impact of new events, a radical party can panic and forget what's been previously learned, or it can stand aside and let those events pass it by. The Socialist Workers Party has made neither of these mistakes, but rather has applied its knowledge of class struggle through its involvement in real struggles of the day—around Cuba, nationalism, feminism and the antiwar movement, for instance. In the process it has tested both its program and its cadres in the living mass movement—the acid test for revolutionary Marxists.

Through the deep involvement of the Socialist Workers Party and the YSA in these struggles, they have grown to the point where the Communist Party is no longer the central pole of political attraction on the left. No longer will it be able, as it did in the thirties and forties, to strangle a radicalization.

All this leads the authors to conclude that, in Breitman's words, "the building of the Marxist party, so that it can play the central role in the current radicalization and its aftermath, is more possible now than at any time in American history."

The second part of the book consists of three documents: a report by Barnes on the political resolution of the SWP's twenty-third convention in 1969; the resolution itself; and the political report adopted by the SWP national committee meeting in February 1970. The three provide the general framework out of which grew the assessments of the first part of the book.

Taken chronologically, this book provides an excellent example of how the revolutionary Marxist movement develops its program: not by delivering pronouncements into the atmosphere, but by recognizing that the class struggle arises in complex and varied forms, and by taking part in the mass struggles that result from the contradictions of class society, learning from the mass movement and growing with it. The book will be useful to young activists new to revolutionary Marxism and to veterans of the revolutionary movement alike.

"This radicalization will not end until we have had our chance," says Barnes. *Towards an American Socialist Revolution* convincingly demonstrates not only that this declaration of revolutionary optimism is audacious, but that it is true.

—GEORGE JOHNSON

The National Picket Line

In a 4,000 word confession, allegedly given voluntarily last January to the FBI, Claude E. Vealey has admitted his guilt in the Yablonski murders. (Joseph A. Yablonski, who had just been defeated in his attempt to unseat United Mine Workers President W.A. Boyle, and two members of his family were killed Dec. 31, 1969.)

The confession came to light June 23 before a packed courtroom in Washington, Pa. Vealey claimed that someone named "Tony" was the paymaster for the murder. The "Tony" he mentioned was not further identified.

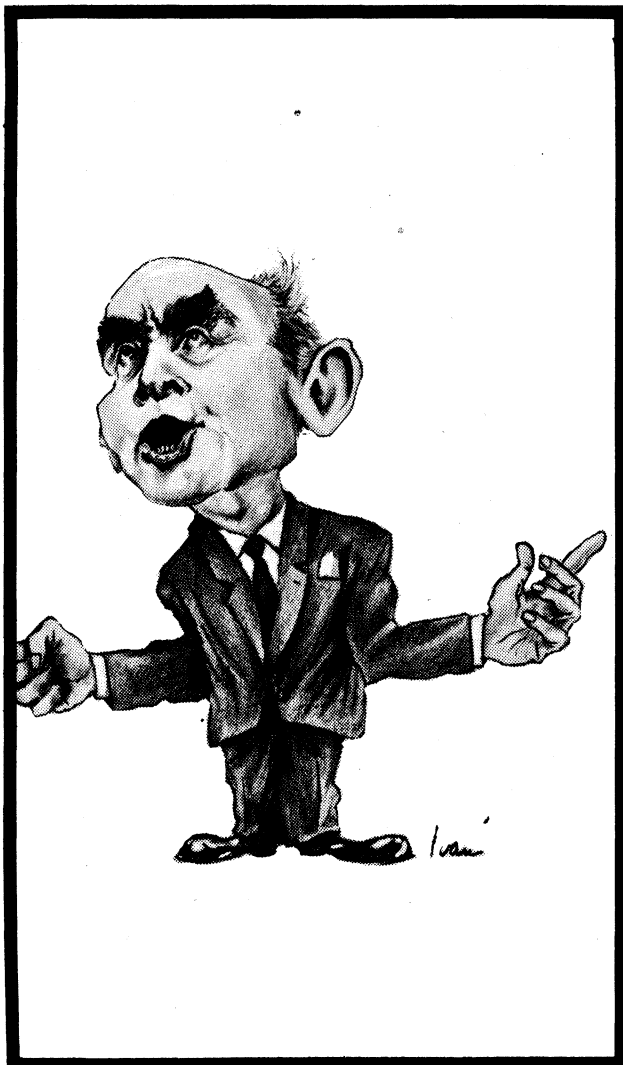
UMW President Boyle is familiarly known as "Tony" among his membership and intimates.

According to Vealey, two of the others charged with the Yablonski murders—Aubran W. Martin and Paul E. Gilly—did not participate in the killings. Two other defendants, Annette Gilly and her father, Silous Huddleston (president of a UMW local in eastern Tennessee), are still in custody and fighting extradition from Cleveland. They are not named in the Vealey confession.

In the portions of the confession read in court, Vealey is reported to have told his FBI interrogator that "Tony was in a hurry and wanted the job done"; that "Tony" had put up the money (\$5,200 to be split among the killers) but had gotten angry because of the month-to-month delay and withdrew the offer, only to reinstate it later.

UMW General Counsel Edward L. Carey's reaction to Vealey's confession was to demand that the government reveal the identity of the mysterious "Tony." "As a matter of decency and fairness, if the special prosecutor knows the man named today, he should make his identity known. If he does not know, he should admit that he does not," Carey stated.

The striking Newspaper Guild and the Evening News of Newark, N.J., agreed June 22 to a federal mediator's call to reopen negotiations in the



W.A. Boyle

strike which had kept the newspaper closed down since June 11.

This meeting will be the first since early June. The newspaper suspended publication on May 27 when the Guild set up picket lines, which other unions of the newspaper industry refused to cross.

The key issue, in addition to an increase in wages, is the newspaper's demand for permission to lay off 238 of its editorial workers "if financial conditions warrant such action."

Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, announced an overwhelming vote authorizing a West Coast strike in all ports from San Diego to Seattle if no agreement is reached with the Pacific Maritime Association. The ILWU's contract with the employers runs out on June 30.

Negotiations were broken off for a period when the Maritime Association closed down the ports of San Francisco and Oakland, claiming that "harassment" by the men "made it impossible for the companies to guarantee safe delivery of shipments."

However, Lincoln Fairley, an arbitrator, ruled that the work stoppage was a lockout, not a strike, and was in violation of the current union contract. Both ports were then opened.

The union is asking a \$1.60 per hour increase over two years, a guaranteed 40-hour workweek for Class A veteran workers, a guaranteed 32-hour workweek for Class B workers, a \$500-a-month pension for men who retire at age 52 with 25 years service, as well as improvements in the health and welfare plans.

Negotiations were resumed June 28, with Bridges promising the men "a last ditch effort to reach an agreement."

—MARVEL SCHOLL

Women block scabs in Cleve. strike

By BARRY SELL

CLEVELAND—Local 363 of the United Auto Workers union, on strike at Borg-Warner's Pesco plant here in Cleveland, circumvented an injunction against effective union picketing by mobilizing the wives of union members to keep scabs out. Pesco had placed ads in suburban Cleveland papers asking students to apply for jobs at the plant. The injunction against the union was thus an attempt to directly break the strike by hiring cheap scab labor.

Despite these scabby moves by the company and the courts, the rank and file of Local 363 decided to mobilize the wives of the union members who were not formally covered by the injunction.

Women on the protest line carried signs like: "Pesco hires scabs," "Pesco makes scabs out of students," "We want cost-of-living clause," "Pesco cries poverty but swims in wealth," and "Borg-Warner: rich-fat-sassy."

Scabs driving in to work were stopped by women pickets, who stood right in front of the cars and greeted them, saying, "Good morning. Roll your window down. Don't be afraid, we're human beings, not animals. Why are you coming in here? You know we're on strike. Don't be a scab!"

The sheriff's department and the police from Bedford Heights and Warrensville were stymied by the pickets and treated them with unusual cour-

tesy. Although the cops were able to get a few small groups of scabs in through the picket lines, the women were able to keep most of the scabs out.

A supervisor at Pesco ran into a woman picket, but she fell down in front of the car, so he had to stop. It took 50 minutes for the cops to get an ambulance for her, while it only took 10 minutes for them to get a truck to pull one of their police cars out of a ditch. Neither the company, the official union leadership, nor the cops could dampen the enthusiasm of these women. As one woman told one of the union men who tried to get her to change gates where she was picketing, "You guys go over there. We came out to run the union today. We won't let anybody in."

...Black

Continued from page 16

often preferable to use the term oppressed nationality when referring to African-Americans in order to avoid this possible misunderstanding.

But those who try to reduce the question of nations or nationalities to one of boundaries miss what is perhaps the most crucial aspect of the question—the common nationalist consciousness of the people that flows from the history of their material conditions. It is the common consciousness of oppression, of self-identification, and the other cultural and social differences that have developed out of those conditions that has given rise to the Black demand for self-determination, not any boundaries or "common economy," which the opponents of Black nationalism are fond of citing.

Nations are not immutable entities with fixed criteria—culture, boundaries, language, etc.—that are always existent. Rather, they are products of definite social and economic conditions.

Before the 1776 revolution, there was no United States of America but 13 independent colonies with independent boundaries and political systems. Boundaries for the U.S. were not established until that "national liberation" struggle was over. These initial boundaries were not secure until another war was fought with Britain in 1812. And the initial boundaries have changed continuously since then, in part due to the national oppression and even extermination of the Native Americans and Mexicans, and the capitalist drive for expansion.

It is indisputable that Blacks are an oppressed people struggling for some of the rights held by other nations. To deny the right of Black people to self-determination on the grounds that we have not yet achieved separate boundaries defined by ourselves and not our oppressors is to uphold U.S. imperialism's decision to bind Blacks within its jurisdiction as an oppressed people.

Rather than being irrelevant, the consciousness developing among masses of Black workers, students, and women of the national identity of Black people is a powerful force that will build a mass movement for Black liberation. This will be a key component in the revolution that will bring U.S. imperialism to an end.

...Mayday

Continued from page 11

movement from being subordinated to the Democratic Party that has kept the movement independent and in the streets. And it has been the fight to reach out to the masses of Americans at their present level of understanding, and not to orient toward a small section of students ready to "put their bodies on the line" in civil disobedience that has enabled the antiwar movement to successfully mobilize millions of people in action against the war.

Lerner's conclusion is that "the notion of the D.C. arrests as tinder for an inflammable country would have worked if the movement had had a national organization to take up the cause."

Lerner's proposed "new" organization is designed to fulfill such a function. But no degree of organizational expertise and efficiency could mobilize masses of Americans around the ultra-left slogan of "stopping" the government and the tactic of submitting to arrest.

What Lerner is really trying to do is to take a section of the Mayday fol-

lowers and transform it into an organization that would resemble the YSA in its national scope, standards for membership, homogeneous political outlook, and so on. The "only" difference would be in the program and the "style." In a future article we will return to the proposals for program and style being circulated by Lerner and his group.



Photo by LNS

Mayday. Only a national organization missing?

Calendar

BOSTON

VOICES OF DISSENT. Wednesdays, 8-9 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Thursdays, 8-9 p.m. on WRBB-FM, 91.7 Wed., July 7 and Thurs., July 8: The gay liberation movement. Wed., July 14 and Thurs., July 15: The struggle for Puerto Rican independence.

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

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

ANTIWAR GIs FIGHT FOR FREE SPEECH IN ALASKA. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, a founding member of Ft. Jackson GIs United. Fri., July 9, 8:30 p.m. at 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Second floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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, students 75c. Call 641-9408 for further details.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE PENTAGON PAPERS AND THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., July 9, 8:30 p.m. at 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

A PANEL OF GAY ACTIVISTS will discuss the significance of gay pride week and the Christopher Street Liberation Day demonstrations. Fri., July 9, 8:30 p.m. at 2744 Broadway (106 St.), Second floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 663-3000.

PHILADELPHIA

TOO MANY BABIES? A symposium on population problems. Speakers: Nancy Strebe, Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Council; Harry Smith, Zero Population Growth; Dan Stuart, SWP. Fri., July 9, 8 p.m. at 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of 10th and Market). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. Inexpensive pre-forum dinner served at 6:30. For further information, call WA5-4316.

Socialist summer school

ATLANTA

SOCIALIST ELECTION POLICY. A series of classes. The Debs Socialist campaigns, Sat., July 10, 2 p.m. History of the SWP campaigns, Sun., July 11, 11 a.m. Capitalist and non-capitalist third parties, Mon., July 12, 8 p.m. Mass independent working class parties, Wed., July 14, 8 p.m. at 1176 1/2 West Peachtree. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further information, call 876-2230.

AUSTIN

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

BAY AREA (CALIF.)

PREPARING FOR THE NEW WAVE OF RADICALIZATION: A series of classes on A Transitional Program for Black Liberation, the Cuban revolution, and the development of the Young Socialist Alliance. July 9, 10, 11 at San Francisco State College. 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. The Resistance and the French Communist Party, Sun., July 11, 7 p.m., at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further information, call 536-6981.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

FIVE SERIES OF CLASSES. Series 1—Principles of Marxism, Wed., July 7, 7 p.m. Series 3—History and organizational principles of the Socialist Workers Party, Sun., July 11, call 596-2849 for exact time. Series 4—Strategies and tactics for the 70s, Tues., July 13, 7 p.m. Series 5—Permanent revolution, Wed., July 14, 7 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Second floor. Series 2—Socialist electoral politics, Tues., July 6 and Tues., July 13, 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. History of the Socialist Workers Party: Post-World War II Upsurge and reaction—the McCarthyite witch-hunt, Tues., July 13, 7:30 p.m. Dynamics of the labor movement today and the youth, Fri., July 9, 7:30 p.m., and Sat., July 10, 10 a.m. 180 North Wacker Drive, Room 310. Call 641-0147 for further details. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

CLEVELAND

HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. A series of classes. A petty-bourgeois opposition in the Socialist Workers Party, Mon., July 12, 8 p.m. Outcome of the factional struggle, Wed., July 14, 8 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. Debs Hall, 4420 Superior. Phone 391-5553 for further details.

DENVER

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. Why Socialists run election campaigns. Sun., July 11, 6 p.m. History of the Socialist Workers Party: Imperialism and World War II, Thurs., July 15, 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 Cochran Fight, Tues., July 13 and Wed., July 14, 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 root causes of Stalinism, Sun., July 11, 8 p.m. Organizing the vanguard party and Marxism and the struggle of women for liberation, Wed., July 14, 8 p.m. U of Houston University Center. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further information, call 741-2577.

LOS ANGELES

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Struggle for a proletarian party (I), Thurs., July 8, 8 p.m. Struggle for a proletarian party (II), Sun., July 11, 4 p.m. Dynamics of the current radicalization in the U.S., Thurs., July 15, 8 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. For more details, call 463-1917 or 463-1966.

MADISON, WIS.

MARXIST SUMMER SCHOOL. The theory of permanent revolution, Wed., July 7, 7 p.m. and Sat., July 10, 1:30 p.m. at Che Guevara Movement Center, 202 W. Gilman St. Call 256-0857 for further information.

MINNEAPOLIS

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED. Every Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. through Aug. 3. International roots of the current radicalization, by Frank Lovell, July 8 and 9 at 7:30 p.m. and July 10 at 1 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin), Second floor. For more information, call 332-7781.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

TOWARDS AN AMERICAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. Series 1—The Minneapolis strikes, Sun., July 11, 1 p.m. Series 2—The struggle against imperialist war: World War I and World War II, Tues., July 6, 7:30 p.m. Series 3—Independent Black political action, Thurs., July 8, 7:30 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA Socialist Summer School. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth floor. For further information, call 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER MANHATTAN

THREE SERIES OF CLASSES: Series 1—History and organizational principles of the revolutionary party: the Socialist Workers Party in the 1930s, Tues., July 6, 7 p.m. Series 2—Socialist electoral policy: the Progressive movement of 1948 and the Peace and Freedom Party, Thurs., July 8, 7 p.m. Series 3—Nationalism and the new radicalization, Wed., July 7, 7 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 2744 Broadway (106th St.), Second floor. Phone 663-3000 for details.

PHILADELPHIA

THE INTERNATIONAL ROOTS OF THE CURRENT RADICALIZATION, Wed., July 7, 7:30 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). For further details, phone WA5-4316.

PORTLAND

TWO EDUCATIONAL SERIES. Marxism and the struggle for national liberation, Wednesdays at 7:30 p.m., through Aug. 4. Marxist economic theory, Thursdays at 7:30 p.m., through Aug. 5. All classes at Portland State University, Room 323SMC. Women's liberation weekend, July 10 and 11. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further information call 288-1063.

SAN DIEGO

SUMMER EDUCATIONAL SERIES. The permanent revolution, Thurs., July 8, 7:30 p.m. The Russian revolution, Mon., July 12, 7:30 p.m. Stalinism, Thurs., July 15, 7:30 p.m. San Diego State, Library East 307. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further details, call 286-9885.

SEATTLE

THREE SUMMER SCHOOL SERIES. The Transitional Program—socialist election campaigns, Sat., July 10, 11 a.m.; Political defense, Sun., July 11, 11 a.m. Dialectical materialism and political economy—labor theory of value, Wed., July 7, 8 p.m.; Basic dilemma of capitalism, Wed., July 14, 8 p.m. History of the American left—a hundred years of deformed workers states? Thurs., July 8, 8 p.m. U of Washington HUB. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further details, call 523-2555.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SUMMER SCHOOL SERIES. Feminism—The roots of sexism, Fri., July 9, 8 p.m.; The first wave of feminism (1848-1920), Sat., July 10, 11 a.m.; The second wave of feminism (1960 to present), Sat., July 10, 2 p.m. The Chinese Revolution, every Monday at 8 p.m. through July 19. Ausp. SWP-YSA, 2000 P. St. N.W., Room 413. For further information, call 833-9560.

...gay

Continued from page 8

women's liberation movements, need to develop their own organizations based on the oppression they suffer as gays and as women.

Women from the conference marched in the June 27 parade as a separate contingent. They carried such slogans as "I came out and I'm glad I did," "Lesbians unite," and "Lesbians fight back."

The Daughters of Bilitis float depicted Sappho and Bilitis standing at a closet door, bearing the legend: come out!

While there was reluctance among some women at the conference to take part in the march, the over-

whelming majority decided to participate, arguing that a visible contingent would help reach out to thousands of still closeted lesbians, letting them know that a gay women's movement is developing.

The June 27 march in Chicago had about 1,200 people, but more than 2,000 others joined the marchers at the Lincoln Park Free Forum where the march concluded for a gay-in. A demonstration organized by Chicago Gay Liberation Front June 25 to protest police harassment brought 400 gays out for a rally and "kiss-in" at the Civic Center Plaza. The action protested the arrest of two gay couples for "lewd fondling" because they had kissed in public.

In Boston, 200 people attended a gay teach-in the evening of June 25 and 300 turned out for a demonstration June 26.

A June 27 march and rally in Atlanta drew 200 people, demanding the repeal of antihomosexual laws and an end to job discrimination against gays. The *Great Speckled Bird*, an Atlanta underground paper with a circulation of over 20,000 came out with a special gay liberation issue, and the local dailies and TVnews gave coverage to both the action and a June 25 news conference announcing the action's demands.

A march and rally in Austin, Texas, drew about 150 people. The group marched from a picnic site to the state capitol on the afternoon of June 26. Among the rally speakers was Neal Parker of the Austin Gay Liberation Front, who urged support for the court fight Austin GLF is waging to win campus recognition.

...abortion

Continued from page 9

abortion forces.

The women's movement can make great gains if it relates to this emerging sentiment for the right to legal abortion. Feminists have the opportunity to demonstrate through a campaign for abortion law repeal that feminism does indeed relate directly to the lives and needs of masses of women.

Rather than sitting on the sidelines of this struggle labeling abortion law repeal a "meaningless reform," feminists should be and will be in the leadership of this national campaign, helping to sharpen it against the government and, while working side by side in common struggle, raising with new women the broader concepts involved in women's liberation and preparing to continue the struggle until we win free abortion on demand and complete liberation.

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.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 607 E. 13th Ave., Denver, Colo. 80203. Tel: (303) 623-9505. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

FLORIDA: Jacksonville: YSA, P.O. Box 8409, Arlington Branch, Jacksonville, Fla. 32211.

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THE MILITANT

Alaska GIs organize to defend rights

By ED JURENAS

FORT GREELY, Alaska—While the Army stalls in pressing its trumped-up charges against me, the GI antiwar movement here is deepening and shaking up the brass at the highest levels.

In spite of the personal desires of Gen. James ("There's nothing I like better than killing Cong") Hollingsworth, the Alaskan Army commander, to stop GIs from exercising their constitutional rights, an enlarged second issue of the *Arctic Arsenal* has been distributed on post and greeted with an even more favorable reaction than the first issue.

The June edition of the *Arsenal* focuses on the defense of GIs' rights and an explanation of why the brass has become so persistent in attempting to deny them to us.

In addition to the distribution of nearly 500 copies of the *Arsenal*, meetings have taken place on post to formally establish a staff to ensure the paper's continued existence. However, we aren't stopping here.

The brass must yet account for its high-handed, illegal actions against us. We are drawing up charges under the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) against Gen. Hollingsworth; Lt. Col. T. L. Williamson, the deputy post commander; and Mr. Jimmie Mc-

Clendon of Ft. Greely Central Intelligence Division (CID). The charges being considered against Hollingsworth consist of three UCMJ violations—Article 81, conspiracy; Article 117, provoking speech; and Article 133, conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman. Williamson will also be charged under Articles 81 and 133, as well as under Article 92, failure to obey an order or regulation, for his role in the use of wiretaps and illegal seizures of the *Arsenal*.

The most serious charges will be pressed against McClendon and possibly against other agents of CID. UCMJ articles will be invoked to show McClendon guilty of conspiracy, failure to obey a regulation, dereliction of duty, wrongful appropriation, and obstructing the mails. We are determined to demonstrate to the public that the real culprits in this case are not GIs standing up for their rights, but the brass and lifers who try to deny those rights.

As our struggle continues, the American public and GIs at other posts have come to our defense. The *Arsenal* has received dozens of letters of support from individual citizens, congresspeople and antiwar organizations. Other GI papers are beginning to publicize our case. Sailors at the

Kodiak Naval Station are circulating a petition of support, raising defense funds and writing letters to the brass.

We have received publicity from the Anchorage and Fairbanks newspapers, as well as from radio and TV stations throughout Alaska. Even AFTV and radio (the Armed Forces TV and radio) have been forced to carry the news, since it originates from Associated Press wires. A reporter from the Anchorage *Daily News* has already visited Ft. Greely, interviewing the post commandant and me.

GIs at Ft. Greely intend to wage a public, political and legal defense of our rights. On the other hand, Gen. Hollingsworth has said he wants to "get" the GIs involved. We feel that our cause is the cause of the entire antiwar movement. With its help, we will undoubtedly win.

NEW YORK—At a GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee news conference here June 29, GICLDC secretary Terry Hillman said that among those who have written to Gen. Hollingsworth protesting the attack on GI rights at Ft. Greely is New York Congressman Herman Badillo.

Hillman also said that two letters sent to Hollingsworth by certified mail from antiwar supporters of GI rights

had been returned to the senders, unopened. This is the same thing Hollingsworth did in the Ft. Jackson Eight case when he was commander for the bases in the Southeast.

The letter from Badillo said:

"I was shocked and amazed to learn of the charges lodged against Private Ed Jurenas at Ft. Greely, Alaska.

"If court-martial proceedings are carried out, or the charges stemming from the publication and circulation of the *Arctic Arsenal* are not dropped by your command, I shall request the House Armed Services Committee to conduct a full investigation of this incident and make the facts in this case known fully to the American people.

"Unless further proceedings are stopped immediately, I shall also request that appropriate action be taken against officials and fellow servicemen responsible for this obvious violation of Private Jurenas' rights under the First Amendment.

"I look forward to receiving your reply outlining the details of this matter; actions you have taken to ensure that the serviceman's rights are fully protected, and that the charges against Private Jurenas have been dropped."

Badillo's letter was dated June 21.

Crystal City to annex DelMonte

JUNE 29—As part of the continuing effort to establish Chicano control of Crystal City, Texas, lawyers for the city won a significant ruling June 23. Federal Judge John Wood Jr. granted the city government the right to annex and tax the property of DelMonte Foods, Inc.

DelMonte is the biggest industry in the area with about 250 workers. It set up its packing plant just outside the city limits for the express purpose of paying no taxes. This was in 1945. And up till 1970 every successive city administration put its stamp of approval on the relationship.

It was in the spring of 1970 that Chicanos, who are 85 percent of the city's 10,000 inhabitants, struck out on their own and organized La Raza Unida Party. Through this independent political formation Chicano militants achieved a majority on the school board and elected two of their candidates to the all-Chicano City Council.

This victory began the campaign to annex DelMonte. Tax revenue from such annexation would amount to about \$13,500 a year.

The campaign gained momentum when La Raza Unida Party took all five seats on the City Council in spring elections this year.

The suit submitted by lawyers for the City Council demanded taxes retroactively to 1963 when DelMonte signed a contract formalizing its relationship with the city. They argued conflict of interest in that City Attorney

R. A. Taylor, who urged the City Council to sign the 1963 contract, was also being retained as a DelMonte lawyer. When the contract was renewed for another seven years in 1970, not only was the same city attorney arguing for renewal, but City Council member Charles Crawford Jr., who worked as a foreman in the plant, voted for renewal.

Judge Wood ruled that the presence of Crawford and Taylor "together in their respective capacities as city councilman and city attorney" probably rendered the 1970 contract void. He upheld the 1963 contract, however, on the grounds that Taylor's dual position as city attorney and DelMonte lawyer was not sufficient in itself to invalidate that contract.

The judge also turned down the

city's request for more than \$500,000 in damages and \$150,000 in lawyers' fees.

According to the June 24 *Austin American*, annexation proceedings will begin at once while city lawyers appeal the ruling on the 1963 contract. DelMonte will also probably appeal, as well as ask for a restraining injunction to prevent annexation pending a final decision.

Pakistan still receiving U.S. arms

By MARCEL BLACK

Despite the supposed "ban" on military shipments to the government of Pakistan announced by the Nixon administration after the invasion of Bangladesh, it was revealed June 21 that the U.S. continues to supply arms to the Pakistanis.

The June 22 *New York Times* disclosed that the Padma and the Sunderbans, two Pakistani cargo ships, left New York for Pakistan in June and May, respectively, with arms for the Pakistani government's war against the Bengali people.

Included in the shipments were eight aircraft, hundreds of thousands of pounds of spare parts and accessories for planes and military vehicles, parachutes, and \$1.2-million worth of ammunition.

The U.S. State Department, which supposedly banned such shipments on March 25, claimed that the shipping of these items was a "result of confusion within the Administration as to how the three-month-old ban in shipments of military equipment to Pakistan should be applied."

The *Times* on June 27 reported even more transparent government lies about "non-lethal" ammunition: "For three days, State Department spokesmen and newsmen argued over the official claim that ammunition was not a 'lethal' item. This stemmed from an earlier State Department admission that military sales to Pakistan, confined to 'non-lethal' items, included ammunition. On the third day, a reporter asked: 'When does ammunition become lethal?' The State Department spokesman replied: 'This is a theological question.'"

This equipment came from "excess" military stocks and was sold to Pakistan by the U.S. Air Force under terms of the Foreign Military Sales Act as part of a long-term program of aid to the Pakistani militarists.

"The program of military sales to Pakistan, begun in 1967, had been running at nearly \$10-million a year, according to Robert J. McCloskey, the State Department spokesman," the *Times* reported on June 22. Even these huge figures were underestimations of the U.S. outlay to Pakistan. The *Times* continued, saying "authoritative sources here, who cannot be identified, said that the flow of military equipment to Pakistan from Air Force sales alone, had reached \$47,944,781 between 1967 and April 30, 1970." [Emphasis added.]

The *Times* stated that these same authoritative sources felt that "additional sales to Pakistan might have been made by the Army and Navy," and "that other ships with military equipment for Pakistan might have sailed since March 25 from East and West Coast ports."

These disclosures point out how much the "humanitarian" statements of the U.S. government about East Bengal are worth. Even if the U.S. had not chosen to continue arming the Pakistani rulers behind the backs of the American people, their 20 years of supplying the Pakistani government with arms and aid helped pave the way for the East Bengal bloodbath.



Crystal City DelMonte plant gate