

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 34—No. 23

Friday, June 12, 1970

Price 15c

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Despite Nixon's promises

U.S. sinks deeper into Indochina war



Photo by Don Dudenbostel/LNS



By DICK ROBERTS

JUNE 3—President Nixon's promise in his June 2 TV address to withdraw all U. S. forces from Cambodia by the end of the month and 50,000 troops from Vietnam by October 15 is one more reflection of the major impact of the massive student antiwar upsurge last month.

The growing hostility to the war in Indochina was also revealed in the two most recent Harris polls. One, published May 28, shows 54 percent wanting to "get out." The other, on June 3, reports 59 percent in favor of continuing U. S. withdrawal from Vietnam whether or not the South Vietnamese government were to collapse as a result.

But the fact that Nixon went out of his way to assert that great military gains were made by the U. S. invasion of Cambodia, and to show that what he set out to do had been achieved, does not make it so.

The day of Nixon's speech, the *New York Times* reported: "Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, commander of the U. S. forces in Vietnam, has indicated to friends that he feels that President Nixon drastically oversold the operation and enlarged its goals beyond realizable dimensions."

In addition to triggering the student explosion, the Cambodian adventure clearly increased the hostility of GIs to the war. This undoubtedly put further pressure on Nixon to announce speeded withdrawals.

Reporters talking to troops on the Vietnam and Cambodian battlefields find virtually unanimous opposition to the war.

At the same time, however, it is evident that the military coup in Cambodia triggered a mighty upsurge of the Cambodian revolution. The press in this country has given only minimal coverage of this. But even a few sentences can tell much.

A report of a major battle of South Vietnamese forces in Cambodia, on the front page of the May 24 *New York Times*, said that: "A dozen men identified as members of the Khmer Rouge, a Cambodian Communist guerrilla force, were reported killed . . . and 15 were reported captured."

On May 31, a *New York Times* correspondent in Washington revealed a significant admission by "a highly placed State Department official":

"The situation in Cambodia at this point already resembles the situation in South Vietnam around 1966, with the North Vietnamese firmly established in one corner of the country and insurgency and guerrilla warfare beginning to rise all over the territory."

In other words, the Cambodian civil war

(Continued on page 8)

Teamsters, students faced Nat'l Guard

Guard requested by Stokes and other Ohio mayors

Cleveland, Ohio

With the return to work May 4 of most of the Teamsters after a 33-day wildcat strike, guardsmen who had been stationed in Akron to protect scabs were shifted to nearby Kent to break up a peaceful student antiwar demonstration—by any means necessary.

The same Maj. Gen. Sylvester T. Del Corso, Ohio Guard commander, who gave his official stamp of approval to the shooting and killing of the Kent State students, hailed the Teamster vote to return to work as a "big change for the good."

William Presser, an international vice president and president of Ohio Joint Teamster Council 41, and 11 members representing strikers in Cleveland and Akron reportedly signed a 12-point back-to-work agreement in Washington. Included were provisions for return to work of all strikers with no reprisals, withdrawal of all injunctions against the strikers, dropping of law suits against the local union and individual strikers, and establishment of a rank-and-file committee to take up grievances with their national officers.

Weakness of the agreement has already become apparent. Some of the trucking firms have refused to rehire some of the strikers and to drop some of the legal actions, pointing out that the agreement was between the strikers and their officers and not binding on the employers.

Sympathy for the striking Teamsters was widespread among other unionists here who share their discontent with wage settlements inadequate to protect them from the ravages of war-induced inflation.

It was not the workers, but the busi-

Letters from our readers

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

nessmen and government and union officials who put up a howl for an end to the strike. And it was Mayor Carl Stokes of Cleveland who led a group of Ohio mayors in calling on Gov. Rhodes to send in the National Guard.

Jean Tussey

A contribution

Detroit, Mich.

Enclosed is a contribution to *The Militant* to help with the publication of the extra issues.

I think the paper has been doing a magnificent job during the past weeks in reporting and analyzing the events that have swept the country and the world.

D. K.

American Indian victimized

Albuquerque, N. Mex.

My brother, Billy Jo, was turned in to the FBI and arrested because he was avoiding the draft. As an American Indian, he believes it is his right to refuse to go to war.

We need whatever help we can get to help us with bail, which is very

high—\$5,000 cash. Also, we need as many people to come to the trial as we can get. We only pray we don't have to fight this alone. If we win it will be won for all Indian people. If we lose, Billy Jo will face 10 years in jail. And another Indian battle will be lost.

I hope you can help in some way. My address is: Susie Madison, Box 7212, Old Town Station, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87104.

Susie (Crystal Waters) Madison

On Chicano high school teach-in

Oakland, Calif.

In an article on national high school antiwar actions, the May 26 *Militant* reported that 800 Chicano high school and junior high school students gathered at Merritt College for an antiwar teach-in May 13 sponsored by the Northern California Chicano Moratorium Committee. Actually, the students met at Fairfax Theater in Oakland, and the meeting was sponsored by the Frente de Liberacion del Pueblo headed by Manuel Delgado, not by the NCCMC.

Froben Lozada

GIs condemn actions of National Guard

Wright-Patterson AFB, Ohio

Sgt. Thomas Shaffer spoke on the U of Dayton campus May 11 condemning the actions of the Ohio National Guard. He is a spokesman for United Servicemen's Actions for Freedom, an antiwar GI organization at Wright-Patterson AFB. Members of the organization emphasized that they either must speak up against this suppression of our Constitutional rights or it will be presumed that we support these criminal acts.

This action is an indication of the renewal of activity at the military base against the war, caused by Nixon's involvement in Cambodia.

United Servicemen's Actions for Freedom will become increasingly more radical because the GIs are beginning to realize what, and who, is causing and continuing this war.

R. B.

Terrifying incident

Rockville, Md.

I have just returned from the emergency SMC steering committee meeting in Boston and have seen the most terrifying incident in the history of the movement. The meeting was attacked by Boston PLP and SDS.

Never before has the need to launch a political attack on Stalinism and ultraleftism been so evident. This incident has shown me the sanity of the YSA position.

L. H.

For open debate and majority rule

San Francisco, Calif.

I write this in light of the events with PL in Boston and the events in Seattle with Stephanie Coontz.

I was attending the City College of San Francisco when the campuses began constituting themselves as antiwar universities. Like many other campuses across the country, City College formed a committee to educate the campus community about the war.

When a mass movement at City College grew out of the events at Kent State and Cambodia, PL proclaimed that we were not addressing ourselves to the issue of racism and then proceeded to tell us what position we should take on racism rather than allow Blacks to determine their program. Eventually, as always with PL,

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING
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Business Manager: FLAX HERMES

Published weekly by *The Militant Publishing Ass'n.*, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$4 a year; foreign, \$5.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada \$13.50, all other countries, \$20.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$20.00; Latin America and Europe, \$40.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent *The Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Volume 34



Number 23

Friday, June 12, 1970

Closing news date—June 4

they could not relate to the mass movement and dropped from the committee.

PL became so frustrated that they threatened the main leaders in the strike committee. We were threatened by such remarks as "You will get yours," or "You will be ripped off soon," or blatantly stating, "We'll kill you."

I appeal to everyone in the movement to condemn this type of harassment and intimidation and to insist that the movement as a whole settle its political problems by open and democratic debate and abide by majority vote.

Sally Moore

A question on MAYO meeting

New York, N.Y.

In a June 5 *Militant* article on the MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization) meeting that took place in Uvalde, Texas, May 10, there seems to be a discrepancy between the headline and story. The headline calls the meeting a national convention, while the story refers to it as a meeting of the board of directors. Which was it?

J. B.

[The headline was incorrect. It was a MAYO board of directors meeting. — Editor]

Servicemen being deprived of their rights

Philadelphia, Pa.

"I believe every man in uniform is a citizen first and a serviceman second."

— President Nixon

This statement by the president was heard last year at the Air Force Academy, but while this speech was being made, servicemen in the U.S. were, and still are, being deprived of their rights as citizens.

Today, the phrases freedom of speech, freedom of press, the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and the right to petition the government for a redress of grievances are only words to servicemen fighting and dying in Vietnam. When a serviceman wants to be heard by writing or saying what he feels is wrong with the military, he faces military court martial.

We demand our rights!

R. D. B.

USN

To make a Revolution...



It takes Revolutionaries.

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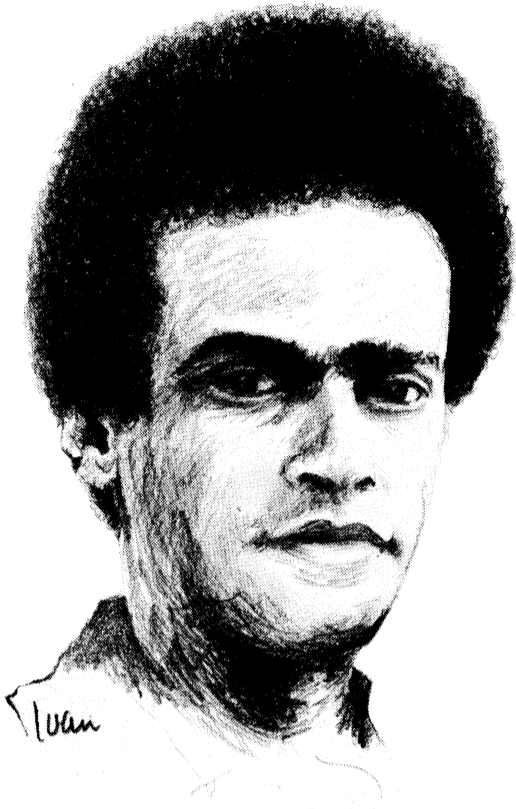
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Important victory for the movement

Newton conviction overturned



By DERRICK MORRISON

On May 29, a California court of appeals in San Francisco overturned Huey Newton's September 1968 conviction for manslaughter. Huey had been originally charged with the murder of Oakland policeman John Frey, and was finally convicted of manslaughter in a compromise verdict. He was sentenced to 2-15 years and is currently in jail in San Luis Obispo, Calif.

According to an article in the May 30 Liberation News Service, based on information provided by the news staff of KPFA in Berkeley, "California authorities have several legal maneuvers open to them to try to keep Huey behind bars, but chances are that he will be freed within a month, if not sooner.

"The appeals court opinion, handed down unanimously by a three-judge panel and written by Judge Radigan, was based on three reversible errors on the part of Judge Monroe Friedman, who presided over Huey's conviction.

"1) Inadequate instructions to the jury. The defense had argued that if Huey was shot first, and if he was unconscious, he could not have shot Frey. The jury should have been instructed that they must acquit Huey if they found that Huey had been unconscious. The defense asked for that instruction, but the judge refused to give it.

"2) An important hearing had been

denied. Huey had a previous conviction for robbery. Because of this, he was denied bail on the charges resulting from the shoot-out. However, Huey had been denied proper counsel in the original robbery conviction, making it invalid. When the defense asked for a hearing on that first conviction, Judge Friedman illegally said no.

"3) Evidence on a key witness's observations was not brought to the jury's attention. Henry Greer, an eyewitness to the shooting, purportedly said in testimony to the cops that he 'did see' the face of the assailant, i.e. Huey. But in the original tape-recorded testimony, Greer, slurring over the words, said he 'didn't see' Huey's face. The evidence concerning this tape was brought in while the jury was deliberating.

The judge ordered the alteration of the transcript, but he did not bring this to the jury's attention, thus allowing them to convict Huey on false evidence.

"Right now, the charges still stand. But Huey's lawyers are already in court asking for bail so that Huey can be set free. The state attorney general can ask the three judge panel to reverse the ruling—but since the decision was unanimous, there is no reason to believe they will change their minds. The attorney general can also appeal the reversal to the state supreme court—a more promising move from his point of view. He has 30 days to do this.

"The case may be re-tried—but only on the charge of involuntary manslaughter (not murder), since that's what Huey was finally convicted of. Even if there is a new trial, it will come only after there is a hearing on the old robbery charge, as suggested by the appeals court. In addition, Huey's lawyers say, the courts will be obligated to grant him bail."

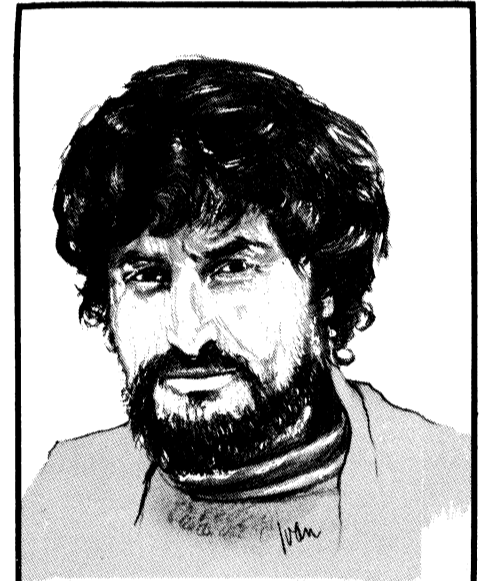
This reversal of Newton's 1968 conviction represents a tremendous victory for the movement. And it is due in no small degree to the massive protests that occurred during and after the trial.

The continuing mobilizations in opposition to the Vietnam war, and the deepening radicalization in this country, have produced a favorable climate in which to defend Panther and other political prisoners. The Panther-led defense demonstrations prior to and during Newton's trial sensitized hundreds of thousands of people to the police frame-up of Huey P. Newton. Getting out the word not only in this country but around the world turned public opinion against the Oakland police. As a result, Newton was convicted of manslaughter and not first degree murder, which would have sent him to the gas chamber.

In the wake of the reversal of this

conviction, mass actions—meetings, rallies, demonstrations, etc.—in behalf of Huey must continue if his complete freedom is to be won. Political power flows first and foremost from the consciousness and organization of the masses, not—as some are fond of repeating—from the barrel of a gun. Once you have won the consciousness of the masses, you can do almost anything. Right now, the U.S. government is more and more losing the trust and respect of millions of Americans as illustrated by events following the Cambodian invasion.

Thus, individuals and forces from many strata of the population can be won to Newton's legal defense. It is imperative that this be done, that the time be seized. The freeing of Huey will help set people into motion around the plight of other Panther political prisoners including the New York 21, Bobby Seale and the Connecticut Panthers. A victory for one is a victory for all.



NEW YORK—Arie Bober, a spokesman for the anti-Zionist, revolutionary Israeli Socialist Organization, now on a North American speaking tour under the auspices of the Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East, will begin the New York and Boston part of the tour June 7. Bober will be in Boston June 10-15.

In addition to a number of campus meetings, Bober's public New York engagements include:

Sunday, June 7, 8 p.m., Humanist Society, Hotel Ansonia, Broadway and 72nd St; admission, \$2.50.

Wednesday, June 17, 8 p.m., debate with a "socialist-Zionist" representative of the Jewish Liberation Project, Academy Hall, 853 Broadway (near 14th St.); admission, \$1.

Wednesday, June 24, 8 p.m., Church Center for the United Nations, 777 United Nations Plaza; admission, \$1.

Friday, June 26, 8 p.m., Great Neck Forum, Great Neck, Long Island.

Friday, July 3, 8:30 p.m., Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.); admission, \$1.

Bober will also appear on NBC's coast-to-coast television show, "Today," on Tuesday, June 9, 7:30 a.m. EST.

For further information, write to Berta Langston, secretary, Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East, 145 E. 16th St., Apt. 9C, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Socialist scholars meeting

NEW YORK—Among the features of the Sixth Annual Socialist Scholars Conference, which will meet here June 13-14, will be three panels on women's liberation. Evelyn Reed, author of *Problems of Women's Liberation* and a leading revolutionary-socialist theoretician, will join Roxanne Dunbar of The Southern Female Rights Union and Debbie Gerson on the panel, "Causes of Women's Oppression." Margaret Benston of Simon Fraser University, Francine Blau Weisskoff of Harvard, and Jacqui Bernard will discuss "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation." And Ann Ferrar, Jennifer Gardner, Lucille Iverson, Sister Everyone, Roberta Satow and others will present "Perspectives in Women's Liberation."

Among the other panels are "Nationalism in Latin America" with Richard Garza of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners and Timothy Harding of California State College in Los Angeles; "Party and Class—State and Revolution" with Raymond S. Franklin of Queens College, Paul Buhle of *Radical America* and Robert Langston of *The Militant*; "Ecology and Socialism" with Murray Bookchin of *Anarchos*, Mike Bass of Ecology Action East and Richard Friedman of Essex County College; and "Radical Fiction in the 1930s" with Edgar M. Branch

of Miami University of Ohio, Richard Greeman of Wesleyan University, Annette T. Rubinstein of *Science and Society* and Paul N. Siegel of Long Island University.

Additional panels slated for the Conference include "Ruling Classes: The Sociology of Elites in Capitalist Societies," "The Catholic Left in America,"

The debate between Evelyn Reed and Roxanne Dunbar on "Causes of Women's Oppression" will take place on Sunday, June 14, at 10:00 a.m.

"The Methodology of William Appleman Williams," "The 'Radical Right' and the Working Class," "Marxism, Socialism and Revolution in Latin America," "Toward a Socialist Strategy," "Economic Imperialism," and "Urban Planning: A Discussion."

There will also be a "Forum on Defense Against Repression."

The Conference will be held at Intermediate School No. 70, 17th Street between Eighth and Ninth Avenues. Registration will begin at 9 a.m., June 13. There will be a registration fee of \$10 for nonstudents, \$5 for students.

For the full conference schedule and to preregister, write to the Socialist Scholars Conference, P. O. Box 933, New Brunswick, N.J. 08903.

The next issue —20 pages—

Throughout May *The Militant* published a number of special issues giving extensive coverage to the unprecedented campus upsurge. Many important articles which had been scheduled were put aside due to lack of space.

Starting next week, we plan to publish several 20-page issues in order to have room for some of the articles we are now holding. The first 20-pager will include special feature material on the Raza Unida Party in South Texas.

Unable to meet new situation

New Mobe group finds itself in blind alley

By HARRY RING

A meeting of the steering committee of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam held in Atlanta May 23-24 graphically demonstrated how a once significant antiwar coalition has been reduced to a small, heterogeneous group of cliques united only by their common opposition to any form of mass action against the war. To hold themselves together, they decided that the time is ripe for massive civil disobedience and undefined "direct action."

This first full meeting of the steering committee since the post-Cambodia upsurge began on Saturday evening with about 75 present. By the Sunday session, attendance had dwindled to 43. The meeting petered out simply because it became increasingly apparent that the Mobe has nothing to offer in the way of a meaningful program of action.

One would have expected the meeting to assess the tremendous political events that have occurred since the Cambodia invasion and the killings at Kent, Augusta and Jackson—such developments as the political crisis of the U.S. government; the explosive growth of the campus movement and the creation of antiwar universities; the significant new layers of the labor movement that have declared against the war; etc.

None of these things were discussed in the reports to the body. Even attempts to discuss the Mobe-sponsored May 9 Washington demonstration were ruled out of order.

There was no time for such discussion, those officiating explained, because now there is a "crisis" and it's time for "action," not talk. The nature of the crisis was explained in reports by Frank Joyce of Michigan People Against Racism and Prof. Douglas Dowd of Cornell. They were assigned to report because they had recently visited Hanoi.

The gist was that by escalating the war into Cambodia Nixon had put himself into such a position that he would have to further escalate the war and that in a matter of two months, or perhaps three, there may well be nuclear war in Southeast Asia.

The recognition that U.S. imperialism is playing for keeps in Southeast Asia represented a step forward from

previous meetings where it was argued that the U.S. government was defeated in Vietnam and it was just a matter of time before it withdrew. But the assertion of imminent nuclear war seemed to be predicated solely on the committee's speculation of what was going on inside Nixon's head.

There was literally no attempt to appraise the social and political forces which set very real limits on Nixon's capacity to wage nuclear war. These are, principally, the Indochinese revolution, the People's Republic of China, the USSR, and the massive opposition internationally and most particularly right here at home.

Yet so superficial a report was uncritically accepted by the bulk of the participants at the meeting. The reason was simple. No matter how farfetched, the report provided the rationale for the assemblage to declare with a great sigh of relief that in this "crisis" the time for mass demonstrations is "past." Now, they agreed, the Mobe must prevent nuclear war by civil disobedience and "direct action." (For not a few, "direct action" includes hustling votes for capitalist "peace" candidates.)

"Marches and rallies are no longer in order," declared Prof. Dowd who on his return from Hanoi had described how the Vietnamese had persuaded him of the enormous worth of mass antiwar demonstrations. A few short weeks apparently sufficed for him to forget all that.

We must "gum up the works," he declared. And, in a burst of enthusiasm, "We can shut down the country."

For openers in shutting down the country, project director Ron Young proposed on behalf of the steering committee's coordinating committee that in late summer a march be organized on the U.S. Army Depot in Oakland, Calif. The depot is the principal embarkation point for troops and materiel going to Indochina.

The purpose of the march, Young emphasized, was not just one more demonstration, but to "shut it down."

This too was gravely agreed upon by the bulk of the assemblage. Then, a few minutes later, someone from California suggested it might be better not to select a specific site for the demonstration. This was also accepted without discussion and the plan to "shut down" the Oakland terminal was simply dropped from the report.

This light-minded approach reflected that the gathering was devoid of any idea of how to proceed in the present situation. Pacifists, confronta-



Sidney Peck

Mounting labor support for antiwar conference

CLEVELAND, June 3—Significant labor support is being won for the antiwar conference to be held here the weekend of June 19-21. Black and Third World, student and women's groups are joining in as well.

More than a dozen delegates to the Ohio state AFL-CIO convention, now in session, have already joined in sponsoring the conference. Among them are Nathan Sands, business agent of Laborers Union Local 860, and Everett Brown, international representative of the United Steel Workers.

Meanwhile it was reported from Detroit that Tom Turner, president of the Wayne County AFL-CIO and president of the Detroit NAACP, has become a conference sponsor. Earlier endorsement was given by August Scholle, president of the Michigan AFL-CIO, and other Detroit-area unionists.

The conference was initiated by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council and several unionists, including Leo Fenster, secretary of the Cleveland district council of the Auto Workers, and Sam Pollock, president of Amalgamated Meatcutters Local 427.

The conference will address itself to the U.S. war in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Its purpose will be to plan antiwar demonstrations and other actions of a mass character. It is open to all groups and individuals opposed to the war.

The conference will be held at Cuyahoga Community College, Cleveland, and will open with keynote speeches Friday evening, June 19, and business sessions Saturday and Sunday. Information, advance registration and sponsorship are being handled from the office of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, 2102 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115. Phone: 216-621-6516.

Additional unionists sponsoring the conference as individuals include Al Lannon, Washington representative of the West Coast Longshoremen's Union; John Williams, business agent of Los Angeles Teamsters Local 208; Valentino Munoz of the National Farm Workers Organizing Committee;

tionists, procapitalist "peace" candidate supporters, all were agreed on but one thing—they will not support any efforts to organize continuing mass actions against the war and will lend themselves to any rhetoric, no matter how absurd, to avoid it.

The one thing the gathering was serious about, however, was its determination to do everything possible—including, for some, redbaiting—to oppose the National Emergency Conference Against the Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam War being organized in Cleveland June 19-21 by a broad array of unionists and antiwar forces.

In the past, the Mobe clique has stubbornly and bureaucratically resisted all proposals that it convene a broad conference of antiwar forces. Now, however, in its frantic efforts to detract from the Cleveland conference, it hastily decided to call a conference of its own in Milwaukee the weekend following.

But it was made clear that this would not be a broad conference with decision-making authority, but a gathering of several hundred to meet in small workshops to discuss "activity."

To give the meeting a "student" cover, it will be held in conjunction with a gathering equally hastily convened by the Brandeis Student Strike Information Center, a self-appointed



Leo Fenster

and Jack Hart, international field representative of the United Electrical Workers in Philadelphia.

The conference is also being sponsored by the Atlanta Federation of Teachers; Prof. Irwin Kelly, president of the San Francisco State College American Federation of Teachers, and Conn Hallinan, president of the Berkeley local of the AFT.

Among the women sponsoring the conference are former Congresswoman Jeanette Rankin; Katherine Camp, president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Ruth Gage-Colby, long-time builder of the League; author Betty Friedan; and Bella Abzug of the New York New Democratic Coalition.

The Cleveland Southern Christian Leadership Conference has endorsed the conference, as has Rev. Reddick of Chicago SCLC's Operation Breadbasket.

Thirteen unionist sponsors have sent an invitation to the conference to a thousand labor people across the country. Washington Labor for Peace has sent material on the conference to its entire mailing list.

The Atlanta Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam is planning to bring two busloads of people to the meeting, and the Chicago SMC and Student Strike Committee have already reserved four buses.

grouping with no significant base in the student movement.

Also, Mobe spokesmen are informally advising that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will cosponsor the gathering. If this is a fact, it is a new development.

At the Atlanta meeting Prof. Sidney Peck reported on a lengthy Mobe subcommittee meeting with SCLC. He said that he was "surprised" by the extent of SCLC "hesitations and questions about the antiwar movement." The most positive thing he could report was that SCLC had agreed on the worth of continuing discussion and would "keep in touch."

One ambiguous element in the meeting was the Communist Party. Arnold Johnson, the party's official representative, expressed hesitation about total concentration on civil disobedience and the writing off of mass demonstrations. But the West Coast CP seemed enthused by the development.

A front-page story on the Atlanta meeting in the May 30 *People's World* approvingly quoted Mary Louise Lovett, a San Francisco Mobe steering committee member. She told the *PW* that most of those at the meeting "shared the view that 'mass demonstrations' of the kind held in Washington Nov. 15 and May 9 'had outlived their usefulness at this time.'"

GIs SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE WAR

The Case of the Ft. Jackson 8

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IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL VS. NEGOTIATIONS

By Caroline Jenness 25c

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National roundup on May 30 actions

Growth of union opposition to war

By DAVID THORSTAD

Memorial Day antiwar actions occurred in a number of cities May 30. Veterans were prominent in many. The endorsement of the demonstrations by unions and the presence of labor speakers at several were a significant sign of the growing hostility to the war inside the organized labor movement.

In New York, approximately 10,000 participated in a rally in the Central Park bandshell following a procession from 91st Street. The march was led by a drummer and veterans who carried body bags labeled "Vietnam," "Cambodia," "Kent," "Augusta," and "Jackson." A car carrying wounded Vietnam veterans accompanied the march.

Several were from the Veterans Hospital in New York City and were enthusiastically received when they addressed the rally. They have been threatened with expulsion for circulating a petition opposing the invasion of Cambodia.

Leaning on a cane, Manuel Vitti spoke of this harassment and then addressed himself to President Nixon. His voice was cracking. "You drafted me and sent me to Vietnam to lose my leg and now you tell me I have no rights. You're wrong!"

Actress Jane Fonda described the growing organized antiwar activity within the military. She concluded by saying, "Nixon's worried about being the first president to lose a war. He might be the first president to lose his Army."

One of the most warmly received speakers was Thelma Dailey, a vice-president of District 65 of the Distributive Workers. She pledged the commitment of her union's members to joining forces with students and fighting "in every conceivable way" against the war.

She scorned the amendments currently being proposed by some Washington doves: "It's like saying, 'I've been bitten by a mad dog, but I'll wait until May 1971 until I go to the doctor!'"

A group of ultraleftists led by Youth Against War and Fascism attempted to storm the platform but were isolated by a well-organized defense guard and the unanimous hostility of the rest of the audience to their intentions.

Other actions

In Los Angeles, the May 30 Antiwar Action Committee sponsored a march to Exposition Park followed by a rally of about 1,500. Speakers included Don Gurewitz, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee; Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate from California's seventh district; and John T. Williams, vice-president of Teamsters Local 208 in Los Angeles.

Williams said he was happy to see the convergence of the labor movement with the students in fighting against the war. He linked the current walk-



Photo by Howard Petrick

Jane Fonda addresses New York rally May 30.

outs of California Teamsters and the struggle against the war. "Our battles will be fought and won in the streets," he said.

Endorsement by the Cleveland Southern Christian Leadership Conference of the national antiwar conference to be held in Cleveland June 19-21 was announced at a rally following a seven-mile march through Cleveland's Black community to Public Square. Rev. E. Randall T. Osburn, Cleveland SCLC chairman, participated in the march of about 500.

Auda Romine, secretary-treasurer of Local 500 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, was a speaker at the rally.

The Detroit Coalition to End the War Now and the SMC organized a march and rally of 2,000. GIs from

Selfridge Air Force Base and the Fort Wayne Induction Station were among the speakers at the rally.

The Air Force Base had scheduled a traditional all-day open house and a dare-devil air show. Antiwar airmen had their own plans, however, and invited those who would be attending the rally to hold a Peace Picnic at the base. In response, the base commander canceled the entire day's activities. Nevertheless, some 500 persons chartered buses to go to the guarded gate of the base where they spoke with the handful of GIs who did not pull duty that day.

Other speakers at the rally included Jackie Vaughn, a state representative; Jacqueline Rice, SWP candidate for Congress from Michigan's first district; and Grady Glenn, president of

the Frame Unit at Ford Local 600.

A rally of 2,000 at Arizona State University in Tempe was marred by right-wing attacks. Threatening leaflets, for which John Birch Society members took credit, had urged "hard hats" to take care of antiwar students. This helped cut down on attendance.

During the rally, at least three assaults on the platform were repulsed by SMC monitors. When Morris Starkey was introduced as a professor under attack for his antiwar and socialist views, the right-wingers sent up a howl, making it clear that he was one of the main targets of their frenzy. The rally could proceed only when they became more subdued.

Memorial Day actions also occurred in Seattle, Chicago, Philadelphia, Madison and Austin.

Bay Area Chicano Moratorium

By ANTONIO RIOS

SAN FRANCISCO, May 30 — The first Chicano Moratorium in Northern California was held here today. It was the largest demonstration of Chicanos and Latinos ever held in San Francisco. Starting in Garfield Park, about 1,500 marched to the Mission Dolores Park. The march visibly grew as it passed through the Chicano and Latino community in the San Francisco Mission District.

Banners from various organizations called for "Self-determination in Vietnam and at Home," "U. S. Fuera de Indochina," and "Bring the Carnales [Brothers] Home Now!"

The spirited and predominantly Chicano and Latino demonstrators repeatedly chanted "Raza Si! Guerra No!" They were received by the onlookers with interest and signs of solidarity.

The call leaflet for the Chicano Moratorium stated that, "Over 8,000 brothers of La Raza have fallen in Indochina. *Ya basta!* We must protest the squandering of our people's lives. Our struggle for equality and justice is at home."

Dolores Huerta of the United Farm Workers and Ade Tapia, president of the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA), were scheduled to speak but were unable to attend.

The main speaker was Rosalio Munoz, chairman of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee from Los Angeles. He stated that during the second world war Chicanos were told to "prove" themselves by fighting for America and therefore "earn" the right to participate in this society. He commented in this connection that, "We

don't have to prove ourselves because this is our land and we are starting to organize against being used as the cannon fodder of this society. Our front line is not in Vietnam. It is here, in the struggle for social justice in the United States."

So far there have been two Chicano Moratoriums in Los Angeles and one each in Fresno, San Diego and Santa Barbara. A national Chicano Moratorium will be held in Los Angeles on August 29. This action was projected at the Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver last March. Since then around 10 Chicano moratoriums have taken place from El Paso and Austin, Texas, to San Francisco. Another 10 are being planned, according to Munoz, between now and August 29.

The Chicano Moratorium Committee has been circulating a petition calling for support of the moratorium and for an end to the war. Its goal is to collect one million signatures by August 29.

The Bay Area Chicano Moratorium Committee, co-chaired by Froben Lozada, head of the Merritt College Latin and Mexican-American Studies Department, and Valentino "Benny" Munoz of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, received widespread support for the May 30 action. Every major Chicano and Latino organization in the Bay Area, as well as other organizations on the left, was represented. Supporting groups included the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, the Merritt College Chicano Student Union, various chapters of MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil de

Chicanos de Aztlan), the Mission Coalition, Frente, Los Siete de la Raza, the Spanish-speaking Unity Council from Oakland, MAPA, the Black Berets from San Jose, the Brown Berets and the Latin Kings from Oakland, the Young Socialist Alliance, representatives of ILWU Locals 6 and 10, and the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. Every political tendency was permitted to participate with its own banners and literature. The non-exclusion policy of the Chicano Moratorium Committee guaranteed the broad support.

Munoz was followed on the speakers' platform by Froben Lozada, SWP candidate for attorney general, who called for a break with the two capitalist parties and the building of an independent Chicano political party.

Other speakers were Gary Perez of Los Siete de la Raza, Jose Garcia of the Peace and Freedom Party, Aaron Manganiello of Venceremos College, Bert Donlin of the ILWU Local 10 and Latin Americans for Peace, Bruce Davis, a Native-American participant in the occupation of Alcatraz Island and Salvador Candelaria of the San Jose Black Berets. A teatro group provided entertainment.

Those interested in building the August 29 National Chicano Moratorium should write to the Chicano Moratorium Committee, 3045 East Whittier Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90023. Speakers and a film are available. Posters and buttons are available from the Northern California Chicano Moratorium Committee at 992 Valencia, San Francisco, Calif. 94110. (415) 282-8160.

CALENDAR

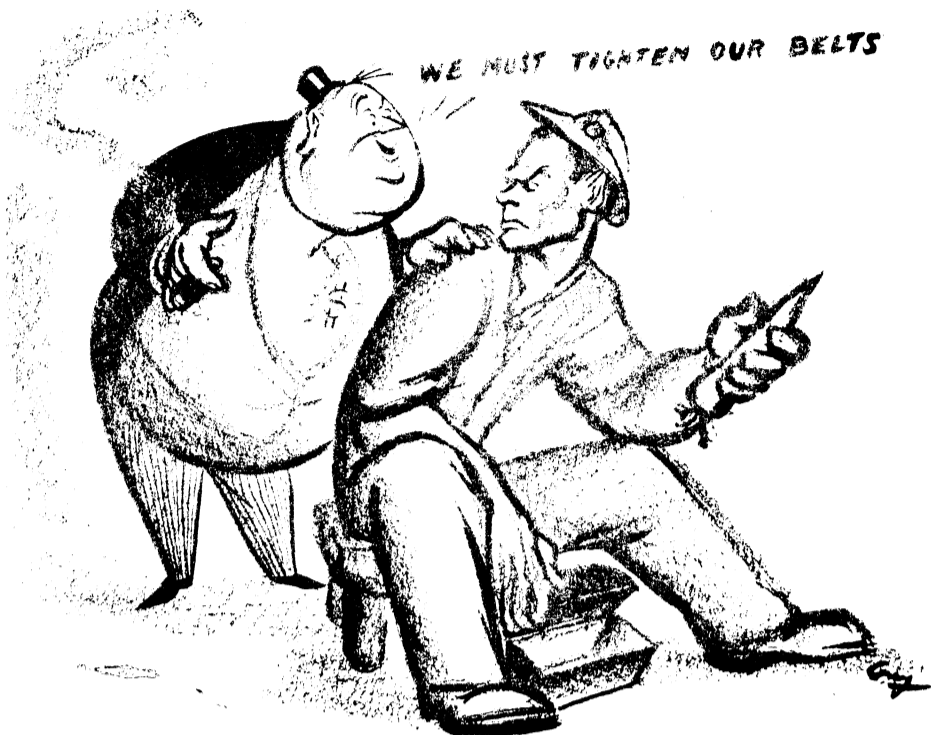
ATLANTA

WHY RADICALS SHOULD OPPOSE VIOLENCE IN THE MOVEMENT? Speaker: Caroline Fowlkes, exec. comm. Atlanta Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., June 12, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 W. Peachtree St. (at 14th St.). Ausp. Militant Bookstore.

NEW YORK

BLACK POWER IN THE WEST INDIES. Eyewitness report from Trinidad by Tony Thomas, associate editor of the Int'l Socialist Review and nat'l exec. comm. member of YSA. Fri., June 12, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Contrib: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Capitalist spokesmen propose wage freeze



By DICK ROBERTS

JUNE 2—Last week, no less than four authoritative sources in the U.S. and international financial world called upon the Nixon administration to adopt some form of government control over wages and prices. The most noteworthy of these was the 22-nation Organization for Economic Development [OECD].

Others calling for some kind of wage and price control moves were: Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, managing director of the International Monetary Fund; Arthur F. Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board; and the New York financial firm of Lionel D. Edie and Co. Some politicians were also sounding off about wage and price "stabilization," including the Democrats on the House Banking Committee, and New York's Mayor John Lindsay.

The national and international significance of this development should not be understated. It testifies to the depth of the problems the world capitalist economy is facing. It foreshadows a further intensification of the class struggle in this country as the monopolists thrash about for new gimmicks to transfer their problems onto the backs of workers.

That the OECD — composed of Japan, Canada, the U.S. and 19 European countries — should make even a "cautious suggestion" of the need for U.S. wage and price controls is significant.

A hint that this influential economic club believes there are deep problems in the U.S. economy can itself risk aggravating world financial problems. This is because the dollar, whose value depends on the stability and relative strength of the U.S. economy, is the main currency used in international trade and investment.

But the OECD apparently decided that the future risks to world finances if Washington doesn't take steps toward wage and price controls are greater than the present risks involved in making its "cautious suggestion."

The U.S. economy is jeopardizing the international monetary structure because of its seemingly uncontrollable inflation.

"Inflation is spreading all over the world," the *New York Times* reported on its front page May 31, "and, as in the U.S., efforts to reduce it have yet to show many signs of success."

The U.S. inflation is central and tends to spread to other nations because of the key role of the dollar in world finance. All of the foreign central banks hold massive reserves of dollars to back the trade of each nation.

But these dollars steadily lose their

value in world trade as the inflation in this country soars. Just as the American family can purchase less and less food with each dollar, so the foreign holder of dollars can purchase fewer goods on the world market.

Pressure on Nixon to control the inflation is being escalated because of the fear that at some moment there will develop a sudden crisis of confidence in the dollar. This could bring world trade to a standstill. It could wreak utter havoc on nations like Japan and certain European countries whose economies are heavily dependent on foreign trade.

The real meaning of the OECD's "cautious suggestion" was to warn Nixon: "All the recent international monetary agreements are only patchwork. You American capitalists said you would end the inflation, and if you don't the whole thing can come down like a house of cards."

Nixon's invasion of Cambodia forced the long-brewing financial crisis to the surface. Regardless of its domestic political effects, the escalation of the war means further inflation. As *Business Week* magazine remarked May 30, jumping onto the wage-price control bandwagon:

"Whatever the military justification, the move has created new doubts and uncertainties that feed inflationary expectations at the same time that they deepen business pessimism."

Business Week proclaimed: "The moment has come to switch tactics and intervene more directly in the wage-setting and price-making process. Otherwise there is a real danger that the economy will stumble into the nightmarish combination of severe recession and continued inflation."

But making wage-price controls stick is not the same thing as announcing their "necessity." The memory of several important clashes with American workers is fresh on the minds of the politicians in Washington:

They remember the total ineffectiveness of Lyndon Johnson's "wage-price guidelines" when the New York transit workers decided to strike in the winter of 1965-66, followed by the airline mechanics' strike that summer.

They saw what happened to GE's attempt to sit out the electrical workers last winter, and they saw just how much respect government pleas had in the postal workers' strike this March.

Now, the OECD "cautiously suggests," Nixon should go to the American workers with the message: "No more wage increases until the inflation-caused-by-the-war-you-hate is over." No wonder they were cautious.

Colorado convention held by La Raza Unida Party

By ORRIN BROWN

PUEBLO, Colorado — La Raza Unida (People United) Party held its first Colorado state convention here on May 16 to nominate candidates for the fall elections. Nominated were Albert Gurule for governor and George Garcia for lieutenant governor, along with candidates for local posts in the Pueblo area.

This was the first of several conferences scheduled to be held at different places around the state where more state and local candidates will be announced. Rather than having one state convention, the party has decided to hold several of them in different areas in order to "take the party to the people" and so that candidates for local offices will be nominated in their own areas. Future conferences will be held in Denver, Boulder, Greeley, Alamosa and other towns.

With the last conference, the party will have nominated a full slate of candidates for state offices.

The party platform, based generally on the Plan de Aztlan (see *The Militant*, Feb. 27), contains planks on housing, education, economic opportunities, agricultural reforms, job development, law enforcement, land reform, redistribution of wealth, and the war in Vietnam.

In general, the platform calls for an end to racist practices in all spheres of life; return of lands seized from the Chicano inhabitants of the Southwest; compensation for the expropriation and oppression suffered by the Chicanos; financial support for the reorganization of the Chicano economy in cooperatives; Chicano control of all aspects of the Chicano community, especially schools, police and draft

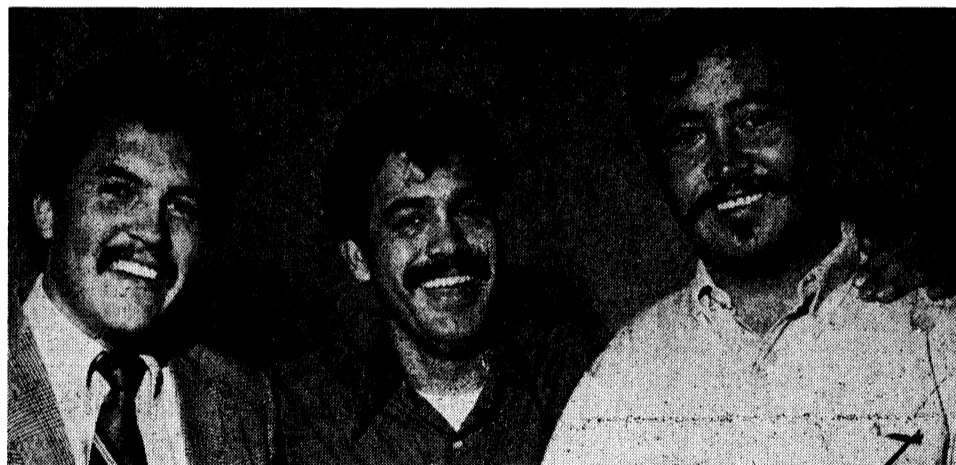
Garcia ousted from city post

DENVER, June 2 — George Garcia, La Raza Unida Party candidate for lieutenant governor, was fired from his job as a staff member of the Denver Community Relations Commission two days after his nomination by the new Chicano party.

The director of the commission charged "flagrant violations" by Garcia. In a statement to *The Militant* Garcia explained that he had "tried to make the commission direct itself to the needs of the people rather than function as a buffer for the city." He added that his firing "was a political reprisal, there is no question about that."

boards; and an immediate end to the Southeast Asian war.

Gurule said, "This is the most beautiful thing that has happened to the Chicano people. For the first time they are coming together politically. La Raza Unida is answering the needs of our people. The other two parties have to be hypocrites because they have to protect the monied interests behind them. We don't need the monied interests because we're basing our platform on the truth, and we are going to disarm the Republicans and the Democrats because they can't relate to facts."



Albert Gurule, left, and George Garcia, right, with Chicano spokesman Corky Gonzales

An appeal to aid La Raza Unida

The following appeal has been issued by the Crusade for Justice in Denver on behalf of La Raza Unida Party.

La Raza Unida Party does hereby condemn the war in Vietnam.

La Raza Unida condemns the atrocities at Jackson State College committed against our Black brothers.

La Raza Unida condemns the exploitation and extermination of our Red brothers.

La Raza Unida condemns the National Guard's actions against the students at Kent State.

La Raza Unida not only condemns the Vietnam war, but feels that the people of Vietnam (not the puppet government) should receive full restitution for the destruction of their land, prostitution of their women and mutilation of their children by U.S. forces.

La Raza Unida is a new political party that is being organized in the southwestern states and now being formed in Colorado. Marty Serna in describing the need for action to help the Chicano wrote:

"What happened to our freedom?

"Are we real or not?

"Can we say we have equality and rights like other men?

"The answer is no, and now is the time for change!"

This third political party has been formed throughout the western states in order to unify and channel the efforts of the Chicano toward goals which will help La Raza. But this growth depends on the contributions of time and money which we ask from all our brothers and sisters everywhere. We need funds to help run our campaign effectively.

All monies donated will be used for postage, travel expenses for candidates, campaign literature, broadcast time, and in general all those things necessary to run an effective campaign.

The needs of La Raza Unida Party are endless, and we need volunteers to bring the word to nuestra raza [our people] and money to continue our Crusade for Justice.

HELP! Won't you? All contributions are welcome. Send them to the Crusade for Justice headquarters, 1567 Downing, Denver, Colorado 80218.

IN THE UNITED STATES: GROWING MOVEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR VIET NAM

The Guardian and the antiwar movement

By RANDY FURST
and HARRY RING
(Third of a series)

The previous articles in this series on the political crisis in the Guardian staff appeared May 1 and 8. The series was suspended for lack of space during the post-Cambodia events. Randy Furst was a principal Guardian staff writer until fired in April for his political views after joining the Young Socialist Alliance. Harry Ring has followed the political evolution of the Guardian since its inception in 1948. The last article in the series dealt with the Guardian's attitude toward the antiwar movement in the period prior to August 1969. Copies are available on request from our business office.

During the period of several years when SDS and assorted ultraleft groupings stubbornly refused to help build mass actions against the Vietnam war, the Guardian also joined in counterposing to such mass actions the notion of "disruptions" and "confrontations" by small but "militant" groupings. The result, the Guardian insisted, would be to promote mass "anti-imperialist consciousness."

Then, in an Aug. 2, 1969, editorial, the Guardian did a political somersault.

The editorial announced that the radical movement had a political responsibility to "build a massive and powerful united movement for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U. S. forces from Vietnam."

To help accomplish this, the Guardian editors modestly offered to "elucidate a few of the mistakes the movement, including ourselves, have made in this area in the past."

The editorial quite cogently observed that it had been a mistake to attack "certain actions because they were 'just against the war, and not anti-imperialist.'"

"The way we see it at this point," the Guardian editors stated, "is that any action demanding the immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam is objectively anti-imperialist, even if its participants have only liberal or pacifist intentions."

Antiwar activists including supporters of *The Militant* who had been fighting for this approach were naturally pleased with the Guardian's shift. Curiously, however, the editorial gave absolutely no indication as to why or how the Guardian editors had changed their minds on so pivotal an issue.

It is always good to rectify a mis-



For a time, Guardian editors deferred to Vietnamese who have consistently pointed to mass demonstrations as most effective approach for antiwar move-

ment. Above photos of mass antiwar demonstrations appeared in March 1969 issue of Vietnamese publication, Vietnam.

taken political position. But if there is no attempt at a serious examination of why the mistake was made, or no clear motivation offered for the rectification, the correction can easily prove to be more apparent than real. This turned out to be the case with the Guardian switch on the antiwar issue.

Vietnamese perspective

Several weeks after the editorial appeared, it became clear that the change in line was not the result of any serious rethinking, but an act of deference to the very realistic and correct approach to the Vietnamese themselves.

In a series of articles by a leading staff member, Carl Davidson, which began in the Aug. 30, 1969, *Guardian*, readers were informed of a July meeting in Havana between a group of some 30 U.S. radicals, including Davidson, and representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In the first article, Davidson spelled out the view of the Vietnamese on the war. He said that "what the Vietnamese believed could play an almost decisive role in bringing the war to an early end at this point is the antiwar movement in the U. S."

"The Vietnamese," Davidson reported, "were well aware that more Americans than ever opposed the war, but were curious as to why the massive antiwar mobilizations had gone downhill since the spring of 1967."

"They understood the differences between and among the liberals and the radicals but asked, pointedly, why they could not unite around the demand for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops."

"The message," Davidson announced, "was clear: Now, more than ever, Vietnam must be a central issue taken to the American people."

But while the message was clear, the Guardian's subsequent stands and activities made it fairly plain that, while they were deferring to the judgement of the Vietnamese, they didn't really understand or accept it politically.

Even while giving formal support to the idea that the best way to defend the Vietnamese revolution (not to speak of the interests of the vast majority of the American people) was to organize mass, united actions for withdrawal, the Guardian continued to believe that such activity ran counter to their perspective of carving out some kind of a new political movement by injecting an undefined "anti-imperialist consciousness" into the antiwar movement.

The only difference was that, while they still mistakenly thought there was a contradiction between developing radical consciousness and building the

antiwar movement, now they decided it was necessary to subordinate the consciousness-raising process to the mass antiwar actions as a means of helping the Vietnamese.

Teetering

Three weeks later, the Guardian was already on the edge of the wagon into which it had climbed with such good resolution. In an Aug. 23, 1969, editorial deploring an ultraleft attack on the platform of a united antiwar rally in New York, the paper wound up agreeing with the central political point of the ultralefts.

"Immediate withdrawal is sufficient to build a big movement," the Guardian opined, "but it cannot build a lasting movement. It is in this area—in agitating for a broad yet more radical antiwar movement, based on anti-imperialist politics—that the left can play an especially useful role."

Two months later, the Guardian had fallen off the wagon completely. An Oct. 25, 1969, editorial reviewed the outcome of the Oct. 15 Moratorium and anticipated the Nov. 15 New Mobilization demonstration in Washington. By now the Guardian seemed to have forgotten completely the estimate offered in August that mass demonstrations for immediate withdrawal were well worth supporting as objectively anti-imperialist.

Indicating no comprehension of the profound significance of the unprecedented grass-roots outpouring for the Moratorium, the editors expressed the hope that Nov. 15 would produce "a greater, more militant and radical impact than the Moratorium. To accomplish this, however, it is necessary not only to bring out hundreds of thousands of people, but to establish a clear political distinction between the compromised liberalism of the Moratorium and what must become a clear anti-imperialist perspective Nov. 15. . . . In the absence of confrontation—none is planned—it is extremely important that the slogans of the demonstration be radical."

Agreeing that the "main slogan" should be immediate withdrawal, the Guardian insisted that the New Mobilization, then a broad coalition, must also officially project such slogans as support to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and also concentrate "on such issues as racism, poverty and other contradictions in American society."

In short—as it was saying prior to its short-lived, fainthearted conversion to mass action—the Guardian was attempting to narrow down the coalition by imposing on it a multi-issue radical political program.

Nor did the Guardian limit itself to ultimatic editorial declarations. At the end of 1969, Guardian general

manager Irving Beinin was in the forefront of a liberal-ultraleft hodgepodge which combined to strip the New Mobe of its coalition character. The Mobe was successfully reduced to an ineffectual assortment of contending cliques held together only by their common opposition to mass actions against the war.

Post-Cambodia

Since the great upheaval touched off by Cambodia, Kent, Augusta and Jackson the Guardian editorials have made a partial switch in emphasis, speaking once again of the need for left unity in opposing the war.

But the switch is more illusory than real. In three editorials that have appeared since Cambodia, there is literally not a single mention of mass demonstrations—either pro or con—and there is no indication of attitude toward the very significant development of antiwar universities. (One news article, in passing, indicated hostility to the development.)

For example, the May 23 *Guardian* featured an analysis of the antiwar movement by Carl Davidson. It included this not unperceptive observation:

"In the past, where a section of the youth movement thought mass demonstrations were passe and called for more militant confrontations, now a large number at the May 9 Washington action felt it was passe too. The difference was that they believed the 'more radical' thing to do was to get back to their local areas to help elect liberal candidates. What is interesting is that both these views—right and 'left'—complement each other in denying the primary tactical necessity of nationally coordinated united-front mass actions for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Indochina."

Well and good. But a week later at a New Mobe steering committee meeting in Atlanta, Guardian spokesman Irving Beinin was enthusiastically helping to re-cement the liberal-ultraleft, anti-mass-action bloc.

In voting for the projected alternative to such mass action—civil disobedience and "direct action"—Beinin offered a bit of tactical advice.

Today, he solemnly intoned, masses of Americans are "ready for action." Therefore, he explained, there's no need to talk about "riots" and "direct action." "You just do it."

But this is not particularly surprising. While at one point or another the Guardian may seek to defer to the Vietnamese by paying lip service to the need for mass antiwar actions, its spokesman within the antiwar movement has consistently allied himself with those forces most stubbornly opposed to building such mass actions.

HAVE YOU MOVED? If so please notify our business office of your new address. Please include zip code number and your old address.

Arson attack on L.A. SWP

By LEE SMITH

LOS ANGELES, June 2 — The latest in a long series of escalating terrorist attacks by counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles against radical and antiwar organizations in this area occurred last Wednesday, May 27, when a gang of more than a dozen armed men carried out a murderous assault on the Socialist Workers Party election campaign headquarters here.

The men, carrying submachine guns, semi-automatic rifles, pistols, and at least four one-gallon bottles of gasoline, or some similar flammable liquid, entered the SWP campaign headquarters at 1702 E. 4th St. in the middle of the day. They threatened to kill the four persons who were in the offices, forcing them at gunpoint to lie on the floor while they set fire to the building. The four managed to leave the building and escaped injury, but the fact that they clearly could have died in the blaze underscores the seriousness of what movement leaders here see as a new stage in the attacks of right-wing Cuban terrorists against people and organizations whose ideas they oppose.

A broad range of organizations and individuals have responded to this attack, expressing solidarity with the SWP. A Citizens Committee for the Right of Free Political Expression is in formation.

This attack took place in broad day-

... Indochina

(Continued from page 1)

has already reached a point that requires massive outside military aid to bolster an isolated dictatorial regime.

Four years later, after tens of thousands of U.S. and Vietnamese casualties, the heaviest bombing ever known in warfare, the physical wrecking of a countryside, the South Vietnamese regime still requires massive outside military aid. Is this the prospect that is in store for Cambodia?

Can Nixon extricate the U.S. from this deepening revolution by the end of this month? The answer must be an emphatic no. And those familiar with the actual military relations between Saigon and U.S. forces have seriously questioned even the withdrawal of troops while Saigon forces stay. *New York Times* reporter Terence Smith wrote from Saigon, May 13: "The South Vietnamese and American military machines, at least in their present state, are linked together. They are bound both by an interlocking supply and transportation network and the active American support that is provided on a routine basis for South Vietnamese troops.

"As a matter of course, American advisers assist every Vietnamese infantry unit, airborne or ranger battalion and artillery group. American pilots transport these units in American maintained helicopters and planes. . . .

"American advisers travel on South Vietnamese Navy boats and sit behind desks at the South Vietnamese Joint General Staff. South Vietnamese soldiers fire American ammunition from American weapons and depend, in a thousand ways, on the complex American logistical system to keep their units supplied with everything from fresh water to spare parts."

Nixon to the contrary, the war in Cambodia is certain to continue past June 30 — as is U.S. involvement. The result can be only a further growth of the antiwar sentiment in the U.S.



Photos indicate arson damage to SWP hall

Photos by John Gray

light on an office directly across the street from a busy exit of the Santa Anna freeway. The new stage of escalated terrorism has also been marked by another recent incident of armed assault and arson. On April 13, 1970, a gang of eight to 10 armed men conducted a strikingly similar raid against the Haymarket, a complex of offices, housing the Revolutionary Youth Movement, the Liberation Union, the National Lawyers Guild, and other groups. The persons there were threatened at gunpoint, sprayed with some kind of noxious gas, and the building was set on fire (see *The Militant*, April 28 and May 4).

The four victims of the May 27 attack were Peter Seidman, SWP organizer in Los Angeles; Carole Seidman, Los Angeles YSA organizer; Sally Whicker, YSA campaign director; and Tiby Alvin, an activist in the socialist movement.

At 12:40 in the afternoon, Peter Seid-

man was working in his office, and heard a short scream which came from the YSA office. He also heard a clicking noise which he could not identify at the time as coming from the same place. Two men had entered the YSA office where Carole Seidman and Sally Whicker were working, and aimed their guns at them.

Almost immediately, another man appeared in the door of Peter Seidman's office, motioning Seidman to the back of the building with a pistol. Tiby Alvin was working in the rear of the building.

As they were being led back into the main meeting hall, both Sally Whicker and Carole Seidman saw a fourth man, carrying a whip and a pistol moving ahead of them in the same direction, but through the kitchen instead of the bookshop where they were.

All four were forced to lie down

on the floor, as their assailants shouted, "You will die for Fidel" and "We're going to kill you, you Commies." Carole Seidman looked up and saw one of the men carrying a rifle and Peter Seidman looked up and saw two of them with submachine guns. The attackers shouted, "Keep your heads down," struck the floor around the four with the whip, and made further threats to kill them.

As they were lying on the floor, with the weighted end of the whip moving around their heads, they heard the sound of more people entering by the front stairway. "It sounded like a stampede" Peter Seidman said. "The next sound," according to Carole Seidman, "was the wrecking of the headquarters. It sounded as though the shelves in the bookstore were being pulled down; then we heard the sloshing of liquid."

The four looked up when they felt the heat from the flames and saw the building was burning. Peter Seidman grabbed a fire extinguisher and put out the fire in the main meeting hall, but when they saw that the entire bookstore was ablaze he and the others escaped by the side fire escape, through which part of the armed gang had also made their exit.

Sally Whicker called the fire department and learned that someone else had already turned in an alarm. A California state highway patrolman pulled up almost immediately on a motorcycle. Peter Seidman heard a report on the patrolman's radio of "armed men leaving a building on the 1700 block of East 4."

The fire department arrived and fought the blaze for 15 minutes before being able to control it. Damage is estimated at \$8,000 to \$10,000.

A long series

This is the sixth attack on the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance here in the last two years. Such attacks, however, go back even further. As long ago as March, 1961, a band of "gusanos" [worms — Cuban counterrevolutionaries] armed with clubs and tire irons tried to break up a Fair Play for Cuba Committee meeting in Los Angeles, at which Robert F. Williams was speaking. A similar attempt was made at a Fair Play for Cuba meeting here in 1963.

Terrorist attacks by gusanos have not been confined to the Los Angeles area, but the Cuban exile community here is the second largest in the United States, with only Florida having a larger number. Such criminal activity on the part of a section of the Cuban

GI antiwar mood reported increasingly widespread

By ROBERT LANGSTON

Opposition among GIs to the war in Indochina has deepened to the point where reporters find few enlisted men who support the war effort. Nixon's Cambodian adventure clearly reinforced the GIs' hatred of the war.

"To ask them if they wanted to go seemed ludicrous," wrote James P. Sterba in the May 24 *New York Times* of some GIs in Vietnam, on orders for Cambodia. "They all said no and supplemented that with dozens of reasons why: No food. Not enough water. Not enough ammunition. The replacements aren't here yet. The war is crazy. The war is wrong. The war is immoral."

And Sterba reports the lunch-break comment of a tank gunner with the Second Squadron of the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment in the jungles of the Cambodian "Fishhook" region: "Man, it's really, really insane, isn't it? But, man, so is the whole, entire war. All I know is that I got 79 days and they can just have it all."

This mood among the GIs in Cambodia is not rare. The May 25 issue of *Newsweek* magazine described what it calls a new problem for U.S. generals: "how to get troops to risk their lives in a war that is unpopular in their own country."

"Increasingly haunted by the specter

of men refusing to go into combat," the *Newsweek* article states, "U.S. Army field officers have begun to adopt a remarkable change of style in the exercise of combat leadership. . . .

"I've got to run a sort of carrot-and-stick operation," admits one young platoon leader. "The idea I got in training was that I give an order and everyone would obey. But when I got out here, I realized things weren't that simple. I found I had to negotiate things; if I did something for my men, they would do something for me."

Sterba talked to GIs in 11 line companies in Cambodia and Vietnam during the past month. "Only a minority in their units, they said, are for the war — 'mostly lifers,' or career soldiers. The rest were against it when they came or have turned against it now that they are in it — mostly, according to those interviewed, because it is 'screwed up.'"

Newsweek summarized the situation: "The current crop of U.S. troops — many of them draftees who make no bones about their opposition to the war — bears little resemblance to the aggressive, gung-ho units that saw action two or three years ago. . . .

"Combat refusals, though rare, are a symptom of this trend — and a symptom that could grow more serious as the war drags on."

community is fostered indirectly by the climate of anticommunism and violence created by the government's war in Indochina, and also directly by the operations carried out by government agencies like the CIA against the Cuban revolution.

Last summer two Cubans were charged with the bombing of the Mexican National Tourist Council, Shell Data Processing Center, Air France Air Lines, and Japan Air Lines offices in Los Angeles. Both of them were convicted and were recently sentenced. During the grand jury investigation which led to the charging of Hector M. Cornillot y Lano, Jr., and Juan Garcia-Cardenas for their part in the bombings, FBI agents testified that the explosive units had been obtained by Cornillot from the CIA for use in the Bay of Pigs invasion (*Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 31, 1968).

According to the same FBI agent, Cornillot was a member of "Los Subversivos," an action group of the militant Cuban Power organization."

On Oct. 16, 1968, the Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters at 1702 E. 4th St., was damaged by a bomb blast when campaign workers were meeting. A "Cuban Power" sticker was left near where the bomb exploded.

Two possibly connected unsuccessful bomb attempts were made on May 10, 1968, and Oct. 22, 1968. On May 10, 1968, an SWP member found a bomb near the entrances of the offices shortly before a meeting was scheduled to take place. Assuming it was a smoke bomb, he defused it, and kicked it downstairs. When it was examined by the authorities later, they discovered it was a plastic explosive. A similar bomb, which proved to be a dud, was discovered on Oct. 22, 1968, just six days after the bombing accompanied by a "Cuban Power" sticker.

During the same spring and fall of 1968, there were numerous other bombings and bomb attempts at offices in the area. On May 1, 1968, the *Los Angeles Free Press* was bombed. On Oct. 20, 1968, another attempt was made on the *Free Press* offices. The SDS office at Long Beach was bombed on Oct. 22, 1968, and the Compton Malcolm X Foundation was bombed the same day. The *Campus News* office at East Los Angeles Junior College was bombed on Nov. 12, 1968.

Gusanos have also assaulted numerous antiwar demonstrations in Los Angeles, including those on Aug. 6, 1967, and April 6, 1969.

Escalation

The first instance marking a more bold and dangerous type of terrorism occurred at a SWP party in a private home on New Year's Eve, 1969. As a celebration of the 11th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution was being prepared several armed men came into the entrance and held those present at close gunpoint, then departed, throwing a firebomb in the middle of the floor as they left.

On March 30, 1970, a man who lives in the same building which houses the SWP and YSA offices, heard the sound of several individuals trying to break into the office some time after midnight. He chased them away, and later about 2:40 a.m., heard what he thought at the time were firecrackers. What he actually heard, it turned out, were shots fired from at least three different weapons into the SWP and YSA offices. The shots were fired from a high powered rifle, a .22 and a shotgun. The attack on the Haymarket then occurred on April 13, and the latest attack on May 27.

The YSAers and SWPers responded by contacting a broad range of organizations and individuals who issued statements of solidarity and support, and by calling a news conference on May 28. The news coverage of the attack was quite extensive and brought even more unsolicited statements of solidarity.

A few of those who expressed their support and solidarity were: Rose



Chernin of the Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights; A. L. Wirin of the ACLU; Art Kunkin of the *L. A. Free Press*; Malcolm Dobbs, president of the Los Angeles chapter of the Social Workers Union, 535; John T. Williams, Vice-President of Teamsters Local 208; the UCLA Asian-American Student Alliance; Carnalismo, a Chicano organization near the SWP-YSA offices; Arnold Kaufman, president of AFT Local 1990 at UCLA; Sisters in Struggle, a women's liberation group.

Also, student strike committees from Cal State Long Beach, San Fernando Valley State College, Los Angeles City College, Occidental, and other schools; Paul Jacobs, author; West Coast regional NAACP; Carol Lipman of the SMC; Leonard Levy, vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO; Ben Leeds of the California Democratic Council; Frank Candida, editor of *College Times* at Cal State L. A.; John Parker, editor-in-chief of the *UCLA Daily Bruin*; and Rev. Reed of SCLC.

A broad Citizens Committee for the Right of Free Political Expression, which will work specifically to secure the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the May 27 attack is in the process of formation.

Police indifference

The indifference of the Los Angeles Police Department and their reluctance to act is evident. In the latest case, for example, even though the attack took place on Wednesday, no one was assigned to the case until Friday. On Friday, Sgt. Loust, one of the two detectives handling the case, told Peter Seidman "we wasted half a day trying to decide who should handle the case."

On Friday, and over the weekend, YSAers combed the neighborhood around the headquarters looking for witnesses and turned up several promising leads. When Sgts. Loust and Luna finally came to the offices on Monday, Sgt. Loust responded with marked hostility to the information offered in an attempt to cooperate with and aid the investigation. "I don't tell you how to run your Socialist Party,"

Loust said. "Please don't tell me how to handle my job."

When Joel Britton, from the national office of the SWP, suggested that they might investigate known hangouts of right-wing Cubans, on the chance that someone involved in the attack might have been bragging about it, Loust said that the idea that someone would brag about taking part in the attack was "ridiculous." When Britton explained that in Chicago, "A right-wing group had carried out a similar raid and even had a press conference to boast of it," Sgt. Luna appeared to be quite familiar with what Britton was talking about—the Legion of Justice. "Yes, that is true," Luna said, "but those people are smart enough that the principals involved don't do the talking. The guy who brags about it is only their spokesman."

The police brought along 75 to 100 mug shots to show to the four victims. Then approximately the following exchange took place:

Austin SWP hall is target of aborted bomb attempt

AUSTIN—A homemade bomb was found at the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party here May 27. The bomb, stuffed in a sock, was made of a squeeze-type lemon juice dispenser, wrapped with nails and tape, and a small glass bottle filled with a liquid. A cigarette which was connected to the fuse apparently went out before burning far enough, possibly due to rain.

The Austin police, who were called immediately, contacted the Army at Ft. Hood. Two members of the Ft. Hood bomb disposal unit were sent to defuse the bomb.

The contents of the bomb are still being analyzed by the police, but at this point they believe the liquid to be a mixture of gasoline and oil and the

Peter Seidman: "We went out into the neighborhood and found several witnesses. No attempt had been made by the police to talk to any of them."

Luna: "Well sure, they will talk to you, but they won't talk to us. They see us and they clam up."

Loust: "They hate us."

Britton: "Are these all of the pictures you have?"

Loust: "Well, this is the first case we have had involving Cubans."

Coover: "You are part of the Los Angeles Police Department, right? You're not some separate entity?"

Luna: "That's right."

Coover: "Well, there has been a whole series of incidents. This place has been bombed and bombs were found here that didn't explode. You have those, or at least you did. There should be a file or report on them somewhere."

Loust: "No. Even if we had the bombs and the fingerprints, you would still have to have a suspect to get somewhere."

Coover: "Every time we make a suggestion, you give us an argument why it can't be followed."

Loust: "You think it's quite easy. Look at the descriptions you gave us. They are a farce. This could be anybody."

At another point, Coover asked the police if they knew that Alpha 66, a gusano organization, had recently held a big public rally where they had openly declared that their purpose was to carry out this kind of attack. Luna responded by saying, "What about the Black Panthers? They are out to destroy the white race."

When Peter Seidman related to the two detectives the conversations he had had at the time of the March 30 shooting with officer John D. Davis of the Community Relations Administration—community programming and liaison section of the Los Angeles Police Department—in which Davis had said they had agents in gusano organizations, Loust and Luna answered, "We never heard of [Davis]."

When Seidman had asked Davis whether they could find out who had done the shooting since they must have agents in these organizations, Davis had told him, "Well, frankly, we do have agents, but it is not worth blowing their cover over a little incident like this."

This record and attitude indicate the need for an energetic campaign by the Citizens Committee for the Right of Free Political Expression to demand that the police do their job and find the men who took part in the May 27 attack.

A rebuilding fund has been launched to help raise money for the rebuilding and equipping of the headquarters. Contributions should be sent to: Rebuilding Fund, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, California, 90033.

contents of the lemon dispenser to be some kind of explosive powder.

Partial fingerprints have been taken from the device, which could aid in the apprehension and conviction of whoever is responsible.

SWP senatorial candidate Mariana Hernandez, at a news conference the following day, scored the capitalist rulers of the country for creating "an atmosphere in which people feel free to attempt clandestine, illegal acts of violence" against antiwar activists and others working for social change. She called upon Nixon, Agnew, and her Republican and Democratic party opponents to condemn such terrorist attacks and declared that this attempt by the right wing to hinder or halt socialist activities in Texas would not succeed.

A Militant interview

Black student leader describes Texas antiwar action

By ANNE SPRINGER

In 1967, students at Texas Southern University, a predominately Black school in Houston, Texas, sought campus recognition for a Friends of SNCC chapter. This simple request led to an escalating chain of attacks by racist authorities culminating in a police riot on campus May 16, 1967. As the cops pumped bullets into a dormitory one of their number died, apparently from a ricocheting bullet. Five students were indicted on frame-up murder charges and have not yet won clearance. Despite the repressive atmosphere that has prevailed at TSU since that time, an effective antiwar demonstration was held there on May 11. Dwight Davis, who gave *The Militant* this interview, is chairman of the recently formed TSU Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which organized the demonstration.

* * *

Houston, Texas—Dwight Davis has been trying to organize TSU students in opposition to U. S. policies in Southeast Asia since he came there as a freshman a year-and-a-half ago. "However," he says, "there was no significant output of dissent until last April, when we showed a movie, a Vietnam documentary called 'In the Year of the Pig.' I was surprised at the turnout for it; it was estimated that between 75 and 100 students attended the movie."

Davis said that "apathy on the campus has been considerable," not only on the war issue but on other issues as well. "Of course," he said, "there are reasons for this—but at the same time, these reasons, in my opinion, are rather groundless."

"In May 1967, you will recall, there was an incident at TSU that I regard as a police riot, in which one policeman was killed and the dorms were machine-gunned. Well, since then, I think, there has been an overall general atmosphere of apathy on the campus—some, I suppose, out of fear, some out of indifference, and some out of just plain innocence—to the

point that people don't want to get involved and they don't want the thing to happen again which happened at TSU in '67.

"But in spite of this incident," Davis continued, "I think the students can be united on the right platform. Of course, they will not, I think, respond to anyone who just jumps up on a soapbox and hollers, 'Let's do this,' just for the sake of doing it."

I asked Davis how he judged the significance of the May 11 rally. He thought it might be viewed by some as ineffective because only about 250 out of the school's 4,500 students participated. "But," he added, "in view of the fact that this was the first antiwar demonstration at Texas Southern, the first Black, really Black antiwar movement here in the Southwest, I think there was a very significant turnout."

On May 11, there was a solidarity march of about 50 white students from the University of Houston to the TSU rally, and I inquired what effect this march had on the TSU students. "Those students who joined us at the rally," he replied, "came as people who sat in the audience, next to us, to indicate to this community and to those students at Texas Southern that there are whites in this country who are willing to join forces in opposition to both the war in Vietnam and to oppression of human rights here in this country."

Commenting on the effect on students at TSU of the students murdered at Jackson State and Kent State, Davis remarked, "The immediate concern of the students at Texas Southern was obvious, in that to them this is no new thing. Things like this have happened here before—it happened at TSU back in 1967. I think the students here can relate to the incident at Jackson State, in that they are Black, like the students at Jackson State, and they can, I think, relate to the Kent State affair in that what they were trying to demonstrate there is essentially what the students here



Los Angeles, April 15

Photo by John Gray

at Texas Southern and at Jackson State were trying to demonstrate.

"Of course," he continued, "at Jackson State there was an accumulation of many different problems, and at Kent State, it was more or less directed essentially at the war in Vietnam. But it demonstrated to white America, I think, that dissent in this country is coming to such a point that Blacks are not the only ones suffering as a result of their dissent, but that whites are too."

I asked Davis what prospects he sees for involving large numbers of Black people in the antiwar movement, especially here in Houston. He indicated that he intends to run for president of the TSU student government next fall, and he believes that if he is elected and the war is still going on—which he is convinced it will be—"the students can be organized and

unified to speak out not only on issues that directly affect them as Blacks at the university, but on issues of the war as well."

Furthermore, Davis said, "I believe that the long range effects of such actions on and off this campus will inspire students as well as Blacks in this community—particularly those who for some reason or other believe that the antiwar movement is a product initiated for and by Anglo-Americans—to become more directly and objectively involved in the movement, the scope of which, I believe, will be intensified considerably. As difficult as this task may seem to some, I believe that Blacks will come to realize that the basic question here is not one of mere selfish concern for Blacks involved in this war, but of objective concern for human lives, both Black and white."

United Black defense rally is held in San Francisco

By MIKE SCHRIEBER

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 200 people attended a May 19 Malcolm X birthday rally, sponsored by the Black Community Defense Committee, at the San Francisco Federal Building to protest the brutal slayings in Augusta and Jackson.

Speakers included representatives from different areas of the Black community: clergy, labor, the Black Panthers, students, candidates for office, and special government programs.

The general tone was one of unity in the face of attacks by the racist administrations of the state and national government. All of the speakers were received enthusiastically as they reiterated the plea for unity, independence, and self-defense for the Black community.

Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate from the 7th congressional district, set the tone by pointing to the need to win the majority of Black Americans to the perspective of a Black political party that could effectively fight for change.

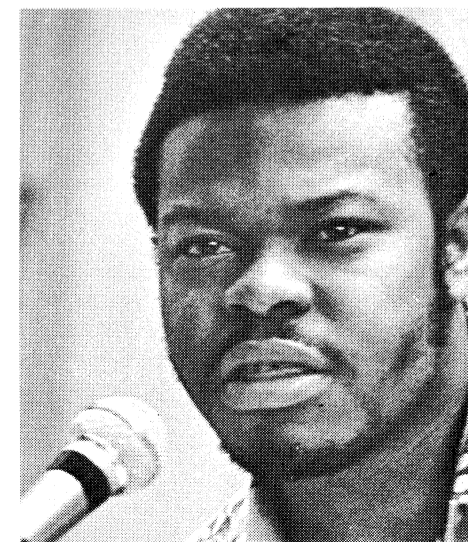
Rev. Cecil Williams of Glide Memorial Church compared the militancy of the rally with Malcolm X's ideas about unity in mass action. He said that Malcolm's ideas and the movement toward independent political action were "only just now coming alive" and would swell into an upsurge of independent political activity. He called on people to support those Black candidates who he felt would truly represent the Black community; like Herman Fagg, SWP candidate for governor of California; Ron Dellums, Democratic Party candidate from the 7th congressional district; and others.

The speakers compared the violence in Augusta and Jackson to U.S. ag-

gression in Southeast Asia. Herman Fagg, who chaired the rally, pointed out that the great majority of Black people are opposed to the war. "It is time," he said, "to demonstrate the power of the Black community by mobilizing for the May 30 national antiwar actions."

Benny Munoz, cochairman of the Northern California Chicano Moratorium, called for solidarity of all Third World people against the war. He urged people to join the May 30 Chicano Moratorium demonstration to express their outrage against this slaughter.

Other speakers included John Turner of the Black Panther Party and the UC Berkeley BSU; Sudie Herbert from the Western Addition Black Security Guards; Clark Covington, former chairman of the BSU at Kent State University; and Ted Walker, a municipal bus driver and antiwar figure.



Andrew Pulley

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How building trades unions are run

By FRANK LOVELL

There ought to be some word of explanation about the building trades workers. They are sadly in need of it after the disgraceful performance in downtown New York on May 20 when an estimated 50,000 "hardhats" from construction jobs marched down Broadway to Battery Park chanting patriotic slogans, waving the flag, carrying "we support the establishment" banners, hailing Nixon, and whooping it up for the war in Vietnam.

This unseemly display of chauvinist fervor climaxed earlier rampages in the Wall Street district by construction workers who attacked and beat up student antiwar demonstrators. And the result is the general impression that building tradesmen are a bunch of Yahoos, such as those Jonathan Swift described as "the most unteachable of animals . . . cunning, malicious, treacherous and revengeful . . . of a cowardly spirit, and by consequence insolent, abject and cruel."

This is a false impression. Not all the 50,000 pro-war demonstrators were construction workers, far from it. Every right-winger in town was there, from the John Birchers to the Cuban counter-revolutionary *gusanos*. But there were a lot of building trades workers present too, more than will care to admit it.

The vast majority of building tradesmen are not much different from those other workers who marched the next day under union banners, demonstrating their opposition to the war. They are not basically different from factory workers or truck drivers or longshoremens. They generally distrust and dislike Nixon. And they are against the war in Vietnam, too. Their sons and brothers are dying there and living here is getting harder.

The truth is that a small detachment of construction workers in downtown Manhattan and a few professional goons from the New York waterfront, led by a gang of Yahoos who serve as business agents in the New York building trades unions, have badly misrepresented and seek to mislead workers in the construction industry.

This fact does not discount the prejudices, the narrow craft outlook, the racist attitudes, the misplaced organizational loyalties of many carpenters,



UNION RESPONSE. New York unionists join with students to protest war May 21. Action was organized to counter pro-war jingoism of racist building trades bureaucrats.

plumbers, brick masons, ironworkers, painters, and other craftsmen who work in the building trades. Their craft traits are imposed upon them and instilled within them partly by the tradition of the trades and mostly by the conditions of their jobs.

All work in the building trades is hard. Much of it is dirty and dangerous. Some requires a considerable degree of skill. The bosses are pushing all the time. The contractors operate on time schedules and they demand production.

A modern building site is no place for a greenhorn unless he comes there under the sponsorship of someone in the know who teaches him the ropes. However, men with little experience and no skills often turn up as journeymen under dubious auspices, always with a protector somewhere in the background. The protector may be the contractor who wants to put some shirt-tail relative on the payroll, or the local union business agent

who has sent someone on the job for "special work," or it may be that one of the job bosses has a brother-in-law or a friend.

Most often these flyers stick around only long enough to make a stake. Some remain to become competent workmen. But most of those who stay fit in as hangers-on around the boss and his group of favorites or drift in with the union pie-card—usually the same bunch, indistinguishable from one another.

What sets this favored few apart from the others who must get the work done is that they always remain protected and produce little because they lack the necessary skills. They serve as informers and messengers and "organizers."

These types are everywhere, but they are more common in the building trades. They tend to concentrate in the big high-rise jobs which have experienced a boom and continuous expansion for the past ten years.

Other sections of the building trades are different. Although more viciously discriminated against than in most industries, and excluded from some trades, there are many Black construction workers. Black carpenters are numerous. Blacks are heavily employed as cement finishers in some cities. Laborers in the construction industry are in the majority Black, usually with a white foreman. But these workers are kept on the less desirable jobs, building forms for highway construction or sometimes in home building. The big jobs are reserved for the "blue eyes" and the "boomers" who go for the overtime and bring home substantial pay checks.

These workers include some men with families to support, but most of them are still unsettled and many are travelers. They are loyal to their craft unions and are sometimes led into jurisdictional fights where millwrights and ironworkers have gone after each other with the tools of the trade, wrecking bars and spud wrenches.

These false issues are kept alive and sharp jurisdictional divisions are promoted by the contractors who connive with the union business agents to cut corners, raise production and squeeze out some extra profits. In the building trades there is always some kind of deal in the making, some arrangement for work to be done easier and quicker and with fewer workers in one craft rather than another. Everything is done under the sign of "the fix."

These working relations between the employers and the officials of the building trades unions, and the job-trust character of these craft unions, made it possible—in fact, "natural"—for the business agents to tell the employers that on May 20 all workers on the job sites would be off with pay in order to demonstrate their loyalty to Nixon. The workers were not consulted about this. They were simply told if you don't sign in for the demonstration you won't get paid for the day. Most of them signed in for the day's pay and marched in the parade because that is the way things are done in the building trades. Not all of them marched. But the messengers were all there to report who it was that only signed in.

In the building trades, more so than in most organized union shops, the watchword has become "what's in it for me?" In this particular demonstration there was nothing in it for the workers except the chance to demonstrate instead of putting in another day on the job, and maybe a new hardhat. But what about the local business agents? What did they get out of it?

These business agents are not great minds and they are not well informed, but they sense when a deal can be made that may redound to their benefit. This idea of a big pro-Nixon and pro-war demonstration got encouragement a few days earlier when Nixon, who has found few others to turn to for signs of support, went before the AFL-CIO Executive Council to explain his policy in Cambodia. The council was flattered that the president of the United States should appear before it and explain his war plans. This august body voted overwhelmingly to support the May 1 statement of its president, George Meany, on Cambodia. At that time, Meany said Nixon "should have the full support of the American people. He certainly has ours."

The alert New York building trades business agents needed no further prodding to organize their anti-student attacks and the May 20 demonstration. They think this gives them claim to special favors from the Nixon administration. And just to make sure Nixon knows who they are, they all went down to Washington in a body on May 26 to present Nixon with a brand new hard hat labeled "commander in chief."

This prize collection of confidence men and shakedown artists included Peter J. Brennan, president of the Building Trades Council of Greater New York, Thomas Gleason, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, and others. They were not there to praise Nixon nor to exhibit their patriotism as they pretended. Their real purpose was to establish the public record so that in the future they will be able to remind the Nixon administration privately that all this talk about a shake-up in the building trades unions ought to stop right there.

They are strictly *status quo* men. They don't want any more Black workers. They don't want anything disturbed, especially not their "way of life" and the lucrative arrangements now obtaining between them and the building trades employers.

From Meany right down the line these union bureaucrats expect of Nixon a *quid pro quo* understanding: we help you, you help us.

Brennan pledged Nixon that the public rallies of support by building tradesmen will continue. But this is a rash promise. Construction workers may well get tired of being so badly used for the selfish aims of the union business agents.

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in the June issue...

... an interview with Chen Pi-lan about women's liberation in China; an article by George Novack on Marxism versus terrorism; an article by Dick Roberts on the contemporary economic status of Third World peoples in the United States; an article by Ernest Mandel on world Trotskyism today; two important documents of the Chicano struggle; a report on "repression" from rural Minnesota; an editorial on the new stage of the antiwar movement plus departments and reviews.

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Witnesses report

Facts about PL attack on SMC meeting



Photo by Dave Wulp

Boston national steering committee meeting of SMC, May 24

Some 55 to 60 people from the Progressive Labor Party and SDS, organized in a body, attacked and attempted to storm into a national steering committee meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee in Boston on Sunday May 24 (see *The Militant*, June 5). This violent assault was repulsed and the SMC meeting continued with its business.

The following fact sheet detailing the events was compiled from individual eyewitness reports, a tape recording of the proceedings of the meeting, and from information on the registration forms that had been filled out by the participants in the meeting. It was released by the Student Mobilization Committee.

* * *

The expanded national steering committee meeting of the SMC on May 24 had been called to discuss the May student strike upsurge and to chart the plans of the SMC for the coming months.

The SMC national steering committee is composed of one representative from each SMC chapter and one representative from each national organization working with the SMC. The May 24 meeting was expanded to include invited representatives of student strike committees. Two hundred thirty-six people registered as delegated representatives and observers from local and regional SMC chapters, student strike committees and other antiwar organizations from every part of the country.

Nine of the people who registered identified themselves as members of SDS or Progressive Labor Party. All

were admitted into the meeting, although none were delegated representatives from SMC chapters or strike committees. Although both SDS and PLP are politically hostile to the SMC and the two national organizations do not work with the SMC, one each from the two organizations was admitted as a delegated representative. The others were admitted into the meeting as observers.

John Pennington, national secretary of SDS, complained about the registration procedure and the presence of SMC ushers, stating to the registrars that "this is the way that fights start."

At the meeting that was just getting underway Nat Goodman, who is a member of SDS and a candidate member of PLP, approached the door and attempted to enter. He was asked to fill out a registration form first, as everyone else had done. He refused and attempted to push his way into the meeting. He was pushed back by the ushers at the door, but was not hit.

At that point, those members of SDS and PLP who had already been admitted into the meeting room rushed out. They demanded that Goodman be admitted without registering although they were familiar with the registration process and knew he would be admitted if he registered. They began a scuffle with the SMC ushers in the hallway in an attempt to force their way in. They were quickly rebuffed and restrained.

When the scuffle was over, those who had left the meeting requested to be let back inside. A discussion took place inside the meeting. The

incident in the hallway was described and a history of PL and SDS assaults on the antiwar movement was reviewed. Most recently this included assaults on an antiwar meeting at Columbia during the strike and two assaults in the Boston area: 1) At the April 15 antiwar rally in Boston, a large PLP and SDS group attacked the speakers platform; 2) On May 3, after threats had been made against him for days, eight members of PLP and SDS attacked and beat Bob Bresnahan, an SMC activist, who had been a marshal captain on April 15.

Despite the scuffle in the hallway, the meeting decided to let the two delegated representatives from SDS and PLP back in. This would enable them to express their point of view, but would guard against the now-apparent danger of disruption of the sessions. This offer was not accepted. The SDS and PLP group withdrew to the main hall, held a discussion, and threatened to return in force.

After the lunch recess, fearing a renewed attempt to disrupt or break up the meeting, many of the people in attendance joined together to set up a defense. Cooperating in this effort were individuals from SMC, Beacon Hill Support Group, Socialist Workers Party, Citizens for Participation Politics, Draft Information Center, Workers League, National Organization for Women, Female Liberation, Vietnam Referendum '70, Young Socialist Alliance, International Socialists, and others.

These precautions proved necessary when, after meeting at the PLP headquarters, a large SDS and PL group returned, to storm the meeting. About 55-60 were observed coming in an organized group. They were met in the hallway outside by the united defense and the two groups stood facing each other. John Pennington and Neil Goldstein of the SDS and PLP group were admitted to the meeting.

Pennington addressed the meeting. He gave his version of the earlier incident and demanded that all the people in the hallway be admitted. He finished his statement by saying that his group was coming in anyway, and that "if people attack us on the way in, we intend to defend ourselves." He passed out a leaflet to the meeting which referred to the earlier incident and which stated, "The SMC leaders are bootlickers of the ruling class who back the liberal politicians by using force against the radicals and communists. Today's attack will not go unanswered."

Pennington left the meeting room, came out into the hallway and called out to his group to come in. The united defense would not let them through. The PLP and SDS group pushed forward, and started fighting in an attempt to force its way in. A pitched battle ensued. Several people were injured. John McCann, the Massachusetts statewide coordinator of Vietnam

Referendum '70 and a member of the SMC defense team, was pulled into the other line and severely beaten by six to eight people. His head and hands were badly bruised, his nose was broken, and an eye injured seriously.

Nevertheless, the defenders were determined not to let their meeting be broken up, and they successfully kept the attackers from accomplishing their purpose. When it became quite clear that they would be unable to force their way through, the PL and SDS group retreated. The SMC meeting then continued with its business. Despite the disruption, discussion of the student strike upsurge continued and plans were laid to build antiwar demonstrations on May 30 and the national antiwar conference in Cleveland on June 19-20.

The first order of business when the steering committee reconvened was a discussion of the attack and the response to it. Two motions were passed:

1) The national steering committee calls for a nationwide campaign against the use of violence within the movement and for the right of all groups to hold meetings without disruption. This motion passed unanimously.

2) The SMC also calls upon members of SDS and PLP to repudiate the attack made upon the SMC national steering committee by SDS and PLP. This motion passed with one dissenting vote.

We, the undersigned, were present at the SMC steering committee in Cambridge, Mass., on May 24, 1970. Although each individual did not witness every event described in the account, our observations coincide with this report, and collectively, we witnessed everything which took place. Signed by: Frank H. Adams, Draft Information Center; Pat Connolly, Workers League; Gus Horowitz, Socialist Workers Party; Mike Kelly, Boston SMC; Jean Lafferty, Boston Female Liberation; Carol Lipman, SMC; Caroline Lund, Young Socialist Alliance; John McCann, Vietnam Referendum '70; Katherine Page, Beacon Hill Support Group; Susan Steward, National Organization for Women; David Tedesco, Citizens for Participation Politics; Mike Urquhart, International Socialists; Tommye Weise, SMC.

Nat'l SMC statement on violence in the movement

The following is the text of the statement being circulated nationally by the Student Mobilization Committee as an important part of its campaign against the use of violence within the movement. The SMC is asking that the statement be endorsed by organizations and individuals across the country.

* * *

We condemn the violent assault on the May 24 Student Mobilization Committee steering committee meeting in Boston by the Progressive Labor Party and SDS. This is not the first such hooligan attack directed at the antiwar movement by a few movement organizations. In fact, the instances of hooliganism within the movement have become all too frequent.

We condemn the use of violence as a means of settling political differences in the movement. This must not be tolerated. The free exchange of ideas is vital to our existence. We must be

able to hear, consider and test all points of view. In addition, hooliganism is self-defeating for all of us because it lends credibility to the government's attempts to slander the movement as basically violent and destructive.

We express our solidarity with the SMC whose meeting was subject to disruption and hooligan attack. We stand unequivocally for the right of all movement groups to hold their own meetings and demonstrations and to define the character of their own activities. Every group in the movement must have the right to make its own political decisions and statements without fear of intimidation, disruption or violence.

We call upon SDS and PLP to repudiate their actions of May 24.

We declare our unswerving commitment to the right of all movement groups to hold their own meetings and carry out their own activities without fear of violence from other groups.

GENOCIDE AGAINST THE INDIANS

Its Role in the Rise of U.S.
Capitalism

By George Novack

50c

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Wide array of groups back SMC on issue of PL attacks

By MIKE KELLY

Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Massachusetts

BOSTON, June 1—More than 120 activists representing 24 organizations tonight endorsed the national Student Mobilization Committee statement condemning the May 24 attack on an SMC meeting by Progressive Labor Party members and their supporters in SDS, and the use of violence to settle political differences within the movement. They vowed to defend each others' meetings.

The resolution was passed unanimously at the meeting, hosted by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Packinghouse Workers Division, Local P11, P575, P616 in Dorchester, Mass.

John Craig, president of Local P575 and vice-president of the state AFL-CIO Labor Board, opened the meeting, chaired by Marilyn Levin of the SMC, by reading a statement from John McCann, state coordinator of Vietnam Referendum '70, who is recuperating from injuries inflicted on him during the May 24 attack.

McCann deplored the use of violence within the movement and called for a united defense committee to be set up. Craig also volunteered to be the treasurer for the John McCann Fund. (Contributions to this fund, which will help defray the high cost of hospitalization for John McCann, should be sent to the John McCann Fund, c/o Vietnam Referendum '70, 19 Brookline St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139.)

George Kontanis presented the na-

YSA condemns use of violence within movement

In a statement released May 29 the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance extended its "complete solidarity to the campaign initiated by the SMC to eliminate the use of violence within the movement."

The statement cited four principal reasons for concern about the use of violence inside the movement: the need for the entire movement to focus attention on the real enemy, the capitalist system and its ruling class; the need to reach masses of people, who are turned away from the radical movement by self-defeating internecine fighting; the need for free democratic discussion as the only effective way of settling differences within the movement; and the importance of the basic democratic right of all organizations to meet, organize their activities and, in the last analysis, to exist.

"Only a politically sterile organization needs to resort to force to convince others of its ideas, or can believe that it can eliminate ideas with which it disagrees through violence," the statement said. "Any group of people within the movement must have the right to hold its own meetings and to decide how they will be conducted—who will be invited, of what the agenda will consist and any other matters on which it chooses to decide. . . . All differences within the movement should be settled politically—in debate and practice—not physically."

Leon Trotsky:

Stalinism and Bolshevism

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Photo by Greenberg

John McCann in hospital after being beaten by PL-SDSers.

tional statement to the meeting, giving a history of earlier attacks by PLP and SDS.

The Revolutionary Marxist Caucus of SDS made a statement at the meeting repudiating the attack, and asked for an amendment noting that not all caucuses or members of SDS supported such attacks. The amendment which was accepted by the meeting said: "The Revolutionary Marxist Caucus of SDS repudiates gangster tactics within the movement and will support all defense efforts against violent attacks."

During the discussion, John Craig emphasized how important united defense efforts were, describing how he and other union members recently helped protect a United Farm Workers organizer in the area at many meetings. All groups present agreed that the most effective way to stop such attacks was by involving other groups in the defense effort.

The groups in attendance at the meeting were: the Bread and Roses Collective at Boston University; the Beacon Hill Support Group; the Belmont Peace Action Council; Boston Women United; Charles St. Meeting House; Citizens for Participation Politics; Computer Professionals for Peace; Draft Information Center; Female Liberation; Gay Liberation Front; Local P575 Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Packinghouse Workers Division, AFL-CIO; Mass. Strike; Mass. Lawyers Guild; North Shore Committee to End the War in Vietnam Now; Revolutionary Marxist Caucus of SDS; Revolutionary Youth Center; Student Mobilization Committee; Socialist Workers Party; Spartacist League; Vets for Peace; Vietnam Referendum '70; Workers Committee for a National Strike Against the War; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Young Socialist Alliance. Also endorsing the statement was the Cambridge *Phoenix*, a local underground paper.

BOSTON—During a press conference held here May 28 at the Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary where John McCann was hospitalized, Nobel Prize-winning Harvard biology professor George Wald condemned the May 24 attack on the SMC meeting. Others who participated in the press conference included John Craig, David Tedesco of Citizens for Participation Politics, and John Businger, an aide of the late Representative H. James Shea, Jr.

Panther lawyers press defense in N.Y. court

By DERRICK MORRISON

JUNE 2—Preliminary hearings in the trial of the New York Panther 21 continue, with defense lawyers attempting to bar illegally obtained information. The hearings concern 13 members of the 21 framed by the Lindsay administration on charges of conspiring to blow up department stores and police stations.

The 21 Panthers were indicted and arrested on April 2, 1969. Guns seized in the raids on Panther homes were then used to indict the Panthers on even more extensive charges encompassing the harboring of illegal weapons. Thus, even if a jury found the conspiracy theory weak, the district attorney's office could still get the Panthers on gun charges.

For this reason, the defense lawyers are trying to establish that the weapons were illegally seized and therefore should not be admitted as evidence. The illegal basis of the seizure is sought in methods the cops used to obtain their information.

For example, defense counsels have made a motion to bar a gun as evidence against Joan Bird, a nursing student, who was in a car on Jan. 17, 1969, when a purported shoot-out occurred between two men standing at the trunk of the car and the police. The two men escaped, but she was arrested and charged with possession of a gun found in the trunk of the car. She was subsequently taken to a police station and viciously beaten during questioning. Yet when called by defense lawyers for questioning, the police denied having laid a hand on Joan. Despite pictures displaying a "mouse" under her eye and bruises on her face, all that Roland McKenzie, a Black cop, could say is that Joan must have bruised her eye on the steering wheel!

The motion to suppress the rifle as evidence will be taken up by Judge John M. Murtagh at the end of the hearings.

This week, Shaun Dubonnet, a police



Black Panther Joan Bird after "questioning" by New York police.

agent who was a member of the Panther Party is expected to take the stand. The D.A.'s office revealed that information supplied by Dubonnet was the basis in obtaining court permission to wiretap Panther telephones from October, 1968, to March 15, 1969. Both the assistant D.A. and Dubonnet were called as witnesses by the defense.

The defense maintains that no information obtained by wiretapping can be admitted into the trial because Dubonnet has a history of mental illness. Dubonnet was also acting as a double-agent, a fact which the D.A.'s office itself learned from the wiretap.

However, when this was discovered, in November of 1968, the D.A.'s office continued to use Dubonnet's false information to reapply for permission to continue the wiretap. It is on this basis that the defense is moving to nullify all evidence procured from the tap.

Israeli gov't apes Kremlin in handling of dissidents

By ROBERT LANGSTON

One of the Soviet bureaucrats' favorite methods of dealing with political dissidents is to consign them to madhouses. The Zionist regime has apparently recognized the advantages of this method when dealing with oppositional Jews. It has been able to imprison, torture and demolish the houses of Arabs pretty much at will without risking all too great a public outcry. But Jewish opponents of the Zionist regime pose a more ticklish problem in the racist Zionist state.

Yair Avramsky, a research assistant in the department of economics at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, refused, for reasons of conscience, to report for military service last month. He was promptly arrested and thrown into the Schneller Military Prison. He went on a hunger strike. He was then severely beaten, both by prison guards and by other inmates, who were incited by prison authorities.

If he were an Arab, he would no doubt simply have been kept in prison, either without a trial or after a quick appearance before a military court, for as long as the military authorities felt it advisable. But the Zionist government couldn't risk such a simple, obvious denial of a Jew's democratic rights. So, Avramsky has now been committed to a mental hos-

pital.

No one has been permitted to visit Avramsky, neither members of his family, nor his lawyer, nor representatives of the Israeli Association of Pacifists or of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights.

The Avramsky case is reported in the first bulletin of the recently reconstituted Israel League for Human and Civil Rights. The League has undertaken the project of documenting as precisely as possible the everyday violations of elementary democratic rights perpetrated by the Zionist regime, especially of Palestinians in the occupied territories and of Arabs holding Israeli citizenship, but also, increasingly, of Israeli Jews. The findings will be presented in a series of bulletins.

On the Mideast

By Peter Buch:

ZIONISM and the ARAB REVOLUTION
The Myth of Progressive Israel

30c

Burning Issues of the

MIDEAST CRISIS

40c

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Interview with Evelyn Reed

Nationwide growth of women's liberation

By ELIZABETH BARNES

After a month-long speaking tour of the Northwest, West, Southwest and South, Evelyn Reed, a revolutionary-socialist leader of the women's liberation movement, says she was extremely heartened by the degree to which the women's revolt has grown and spread into every corner of the country.

The crowded tour schedule was itself one indication of this increased awakening. Evelyn Reed gave 35 lectures in 30 days (18 of these to college audiences), and there was still far from enough time for all the places that wanted her to speak.

On the overwhelming majority of campuses she visited, she found that women's liberation groups either already existed or were in the process of formation.

In Vancouver, Canada, one of the first stops on the tour, she encountered the same high degree of interest as in the U.S. Some 100 students at the University of British Columbia came to her lecture on "The Drive Behind Women's Liberation: How Women Lost Control of Their Destiny, and How They Can Regain It." A hundred more at Simon Fraser University heard her on a panel along with women's liberation spokeswoman Margaret Benston.

Discussing some of the factors responsible for the rising interests in women's liberation, Evelyn Reed said she thought it significant that in all her meetings not one woman asked the familiar question, "What do we need to be liberated from?" "Perhaps it would have been different if I had not spoken mainly to campus groups," she said, "but nevertheless I think it exceedingly indicative of the changes going on. . . .

"There is a general feeling of dissatisfaction. Women feel that they want to stop being dominated. They are tired of having their lives completely planned for them by other people. Many say specifically that they don't want to live the kind of lives their mothers have—penned in and bound down by family life. They want equal educational opportunities with men, and after their education is over, they want this equality continued.

"All of this is not as yet fully artic-

ulated, but there is clearly deep resentment and dissatisfaction at the fact that the only life women see open to them is to find a man, settle down, and have children."

Evelyn Reed emphasized that the women's liberation movement in many areas was still in its beginning stages, and that the development of groups was very uneven.

Some women asked questions which showed they had already probed quite deeply into the history and roots of women's oppression. A women's study class of 45 at the University of California at Irvine had studied Evelyn Reed's pamphlet, as well as other materials, and they came to her lecture prepared with knowledgeable questions.

"One thing is clear," Reed said. "No matter where I went I found a tremendous amount of unity around the central demands being raised by the movement—such demands as free, legal abortions, government financed child-care centers controlled by those who use them, equal pay and job opportunities, and the need to write women back into history."

Evelyn Reed's lectures were open to

men as well as women, and she estimates that the attendance was about half male and half female.

There was a great variation in the reaction of the men. "Some were happy about the development of the women's liberation movement, feeling that this would liberate men too. Others felt threatened by it." While there was general agreement that women are discriminated against in employment and other fields, Reed said some were puzzled by the idea that women suffer oppression because of their restriction to the drudgery and isolation of the home. Quite a number asked, "Who's going to take care of the children?" She pointed out to them how much better it would be for women and children, as well as men, if children were raised on a cooperative basis, instead of being the sole responsibility of individual parents.

Another question raised often by men was, "Aren't women going to become 'unfeminine?'" Evelyn Reed said she began her answer to this by referring to the old stereotype about women, that is, "if they exercise their uterus, they're feminine. If they exercise their brains, capabilities and talents, they're considered unfeminine."

Summing up her experiences with the media, Evelyn Reed said that in general she found a serious attitude on the part of press and TV toward what she had to say. "The women reporters tended to be more sympathetic, but it was also clear that we are far beyond the situation of a year ago where women's liberation was still considered a laughing matter."

In Seattle and Portland, Evelyn Reed was given time on all TV stations, and in most other areas she visited she got

coverage in the press and TV.

The tour ended at the Southern Women's Conference at Mt. Beulah, Mississippi, where Evelyn Reed gave the keynote address. "That conference was an excellent example of what is going on in this country," she exclaimed. "Here were some 300 women, representing almost every state in the South, discussing problems of women's liberation."

"This women's liberation movement is here to stay, in the South and in every area of the country, and it is growing very rapidly. Those of us in the Socialist Workers Party will be continuing our efforts to build it."

An East Coast tour is being planned for Evelyn Reed for the fall.



Photo by John Gray

Evelyn Reed

National picket line

N.Y. printers reach agreement

The long, drawn-out struggle between the International Typographical Union Local 6 and the *New York Times* was finally ended on May 24 with wage increases totaling 41.69 percent compounded over a three-year contract. The *New York Daily News* capitulated the following day with the same terms.

On May 27, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, publisher and president of the *Times*, announced a 50 percent increase in the newsstand price of the paper, effective June 1. The *New York Times* will now cost 15 cents per issue.

The first year's wage increase is 15 percent, with 11 percent each for the second and third years. In addition, a cost-of-living increase of 6 percent per year will be granted, provided the

living cost index goes up by that much in any May-to-May period.

There are also improvements in vacation arrangements, insurance coverage, protection of seniority, and additional payments by the employers into the health, welfare and pension funds.

The work week has been reduced from 35 to 34.5 hours per week. The *Times* also agreed to withdraw its suit against Local 6 for the on-the-job chapel meetings which had been extended to 19 hours out of every 24. It made the *Times* very unhappy to have to pay its workers wages for these meetings.

So far, the *Daily News* has not announced any increase in its newsstand prices, but an official said they are "studying the matter."

The long, bitter and oft-times bloody seven-week strike of the steel haulers has been called off. Now organized into the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FASH), they are petitioning the NLRB for recognition and bargaining rights for their membership, but are officially a part of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Even though it had effectively tied up steel hauling in the Pittsburgh area, the strike was terminated when the independent, owner-operators went back to work in Indiana and Ohio.

The fight between the 15,000 independent steel haulers and the IBT is of long duration. It has been marked by the death of one IBT business agent who tried to break a FASH picket line in Youngstown, Ohio; the bombing of the home of one FASH leader; the destruction of FASH's print shop and magazine by an explosion and fire; and a bloody melee in front of IBT's Local 299 headquarters in Detroit when FASH members attempted to picket.

FASH leaders claim the IBT refuses any assistance whatsoever in settling grievances and gives them absolutely no say in contract terms. "We're just dues payers. When you call them for

help with a grievance, the first thing they ask is if you are an owner-operator. When you say yes, they lose interest right away," Robert Parsons, a FASH official, said.

In the opinion of another FASH leader, one reason the IBT is fighting so hard to keep them inside the teamsters union is fear of the possible "ideas it may put into the heads of the many other owner-operators who haul agricultural products and foodstuffs."

This is a bitter struggle and it is by no means ended—nor will it be regardless how the NLRB finally rules.

* * *

The AFL-CIO Farm Workers Organizing Committee has won two more settlements with California table grape growers. This brings to 16 the number of corporation farms which have capitulated to the Farm Workers' fight. The nationwide boycott of table grapes, instituted by the union and supported by organized labor, has been one of their effective weapons.

Under the new contracts, the Bruno Dispoto Co. and the Bianca Fruit Co. will pay their workers a minimum of \$1.80 per hour in the Coachella Valley (California) and \$1.75 in the Delano Valley (also California) and in Arizona. Beginning next Jan. 1, all minimum wages go up to \$1.90. In addition the workers get 25 cents for each box of grapes picked.

The companies also agreed to recognize the union as bargaining agent in other than grape fields when it produces union cards signed by a majority in the area.

The companies will contribute 10 cents per hour for health and welfare benefits, plus 2 cents per box for the economic development fund aimed at cushioning the effects of automation on jobs.

The union also won its hiring hall demand and the banning of the use of DDT and six other "hard" pesticides which adversely affect the health of field workers directly—and the general public indirectly.

— MARVEL SCHOLL



AFL-CIO National Farm Workers Organizing Committee in L.A. Chicano Moratorium demonstration, Feb. 28

The great society

Ecumenical flexibility—The American Jewish Committee is collaborating with various Christian groups in promoting Billy Graham's new documentary about Israel. It's entitled "His Land," the "his" being Jesus. When shown to non-Christian audiences, the last ten minutes of the film is omitted. The omitted section calls on viewers to "make decisions for Christ."

The image-makers—A spokesman for the New York Patrolmen's Benevolent Ass'n says there's a nationwide plot to tarnish the policeman's image. Meanwhile a couple of New York cops have opened a drive to get their associates to show their sense of humor by wearing I'm-a-pig buttons.

The high cost of dying—Coffin nails will be going up another two cents a pack.

One long one?—People may have misunderstood the president when he said in his Cambodia-invasion speech that he was willing to be a one-term president. We began wondering about this when the RAND Corporation formally denied the recurrent rumor that it had been commissioned to study the possible effects of canceling the 1972 presidential elections.

Keeping flag aloft—William Chamberlain, 18, of Waterloo, N. Y., was sentenced to 30 days and \$100 fine for unlawfully displaying the flag. He confessed to appearing in public in pants fashioned from an American flag. In addition to the jail term and fine, the judge ordered him to raise and lower Old Glory daily. He didn't specify if he meant the original or the replica.

Naturally trigger-happy?—The May 25 *New York Times* observed that "The Dominican security forces have shown strong tendencies to shoot into crowds." Some may think it's an ethnic trait. At any rate, its comforting to know it could never happen here.

Class lines stripped away—Yugoslavia is luring tourists with a chain of "internationally accredited" nudist resorts along the Adriatic. Explained a spokesman: "Nudism reduces everyone to a truly classless society. Here there are no bosses and employees—just naked bodies."

Well-ordered priorities—"As we approach suggestions for improvement of the soldier's lot we must not forget that both the efficiency and effectiveness of the institution [the Army] and the security of the nation are intimately involved, and both have a much higher priority."—Col. Samuel Hays (USA, ret.), in May *Army* magazine.

Deep thinker of the week—The problem of unemployment, explains former U.S. Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz, does not result from too few jobs but from too many people for the available jobs.

— HARRY RING

New feminist play

'Mod Donna' polarizes audiences

MOD DONNA. A "space-age musical soap." Book and lyrics by Myrna Lamb; music by Susan Hulsman Bingham; directed by Joseph Papp. The principals: April Shawhan, Sharon Laughlin, Larry Bryggman, Peter Haig. New York Shakespeare Festival, Public Theater, 425 Lafayette St., NYC.

As the audience left the theater the evening I saw *Mod Donna*, a man turned to a friend and said, "It's nothing but a lesbian turn-on." Behind him a young woman was telling a man she was with, "I've been wanting to say so much for so long, but that play, it said it all for me!" Meanwhile, six members of a small women's liberation consciousness-raising group clustered around author Myrna Lamb, excitedly proposing ways to get the play out to New York City as a whole.

If my experience was any example, *Mod Donna* has left few in its audiences neutral. And the reviews of the play have reflected the same sharp divergence of opinion. Several male—and some female—reviewers reacted as if the play had kicked them in the stomach, vehemently condemning nearly every aspect of it. Others have been more appreciative, even laudatory. (Clive Barnes, *New York Times*: "It is one of the most pertinent and stimulating offerings [the N. Y. Shakespeare Festival] has given us in the three-year history of the Public Theater on Lafayette Street.") To those who are willing to listen, *Mod Donna* makes its points sharply, effectively.

What the hostile reviewers either don't grasp or react against most strenuously is the fact that, as Clive Barnes puts it, "It is basically a political play." He says, "It raises the issues of women's liberation in a persuasive manner that will be of interest to men and women alike." But it does more than that. The *Mod Donna* is a hard-hitting musical speaking bitterness about the dehumanization and brutalization of women—and men—by our "whores and wars" (director Joseph Papp's words) society.

The plot, characterization, and acting live up to the play's subtitle, "A space-age musical soap." The main characters are Jeff, a wealthy businessman, married to Chris, a strong-willed, manipulative woman. Chris has just finished having an affair with Charlie (Jeff's business manager), and an af-

fair between Jeff and Charlie's wife, Donna, continues as a main focus of the play.

Chris persuades Jeff to invite Donna, the stereotype of a sexually attractive "young thing," into their home for their mutual sexual "use." Donna complies because "I'm the type who goes to bed with guys because I can't bear to say no when they ask so politely." She agrees to Chris' proposal that Donna have "their" (Jeff, Donna, and Chris') baby. Chris learns of the success of this effort to "not just invade, but occupy" Donna just as she is approaching Donna to tell her that the game is over, that Chris and Jeff are going to try to find sexual fulfillment without Donna's help. The high point of the play comes when the outraged Charlie murders Donna, an act through which, as the chorus says, "he lost his humanity but gained his manhood."

Punctuating the various scenes, making Myrna Lamb's points in a way which fully complements the parody in the plot, is a series of musical skits performed by a chorus of nine women, accompanied by a six-woman orchestra. The songs extend the mocking bitterness of the play by commenting on aspects and effects of a sex-role and power-oriented society. They mimic the roles of women in society as "sacrificial lambs," "earthworms," worshippers of "beautiful man," and as "ob-

jects staring at objects, longing for objects that can chain us." Their half of the musical, interwoven with the acting out of the story line, ends with a stormy musical demand for "Liberation Now!" sharply complementing the story's climax.

Contrary to the impression some of the most vituperative critics give, *Mod Donna* is not a lecture against sex, but a powerful statement against what has happened to sex (and to human relationships as a whole) in a society in which people are taught that the supreme goal in one's life should be winning power over other people. Her focus is on the effect of this on women, showing that women are beginning to reject this aspect of society and to fight against it. The play also attacks the Jeff-Charlie, boss-servile employee type relationship. Myrna Lamb's Chris is a model of how women who accept "women's roles" can destroy themselves, and other women, as cruelly as can any man.

By provoking her audiences to confront honestly the depth of alienation of capitalist society, Myrna Lamb is in an honorable tradition. Bertolt Brecht antagonized his critics in the same way and for the same reason. He was saying things supporters of the status quo didn't want to hear. *Mod Donna*, in its own way, is putting forward the same kind of challenge.

— KIPP DAWSON



Zodiac Photographers

Donna (April Shawhan), left, and Chris (Sharon Laughlin), right

Local socialist directory

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

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

Hayward: YSA, Gary Sommer, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hillary St., Hayward, Calif. 94542. Tel: (415) 537-3656.

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

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

San Diego: Alan Stancliff, 5058 E. Mt. View Dr., San Diego, Calif. 92116. Tel: (714) 296-4029.

San Joaquin Valley: YSA, c/o Michael Klein, P.O. Box 873, Modesto, Calif. 95353.

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

Denver: SWP-YSA, P.O. Box 18415, Denver, Colo. 80218.

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

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

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

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

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

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

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Randy Green, 732

E. Atwater, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Ft. Wayne: YSA, c/o Bill Cullane, 257 Paulette Pl., Ft. Wayne, Ind. 46825.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wayne: Paterson State YSA, c/o Clyde Magarelli, Paterson State College, 300 Pompton Rd., Wayne, N.J. 07470.

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

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

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

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

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2921 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115. Tel: (216) 861-3862.

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

Oberlin: YSA, c/o Rick Bader, 30 Carpenter Ct., Oberlin, Ohio 44074. Tel: (216) 775-0462.

Oxford: YSA, P.O. Box 321, Oxford, Ohio 45066. Tel: (513) 529-6501.

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Steve Sluchen, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Carol Kershner, 2635 S.W. Hume St., Portland, Ore. 97219.

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

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

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

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

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

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Arrests of students continue at Ohio State

By RANDY FURST

COLUMBUS, Ohio, June 3 — A city-wide dragnet has closed in on student strike leaders at Ohio State University where some 800 students have been arrested since demonstrations began here in April.

Armed with arrest warrants, police and plainclothesmen have jailed an estimated 50 to 60 persons in the last week on charges ranging from disturbing a lawful assembly to incitement to riot.

The new wave of arrests came as the strike that had brought normal functioning of OSU to a standstill in May was petering out.

Shirley Pasholk, Young Socialist or-

ganizer at Ohio State, was arrested by three policemen June 1 as she approached the door to her second floor apartment. "There she is," said a plainclothesman, pointing his finger at Pasholk, a senior and a member of the YSA since October 1968.

Pasholk was surrounded by three policemen and put under arrest. Bail was set at \$1,800. She was released June 2 after arraignment on charges of disturbing a lawful meeting and willfully failing to obey a lawful order of a police officer in a cordoned off area.

The charges apparently stem from a peaceful antiwar demonstration by some 2,000 students at the campus Army and Navy ROTC building on June 1. No details were given Pasholk on the reasons for the charges.

"This is a frame-up and a blatant disregard for civil liberties," she told a televised press conference today. At the news conference, attended by campus, radio and city media, Pasholk announced the formation of a united front to defend the civil liberties of the arrested Ohio State activists and expose police repression in Columbus through a national campaign.

Political arrests in Columbus have been averaging 10 per day. William Crandall, a student strike leader, was seized by police earlier in the week as he emerged from a negotiations session with administrators.

A former staff writer for the *Ohio Lantern*, Doug Newton, was arrested by police who walked into Denney Hall yesterday and seized him as he sat in an office talking to his academic counselor.

Police arrested Bob Rand, a leader of the Committee for Black Unity, May 26 on charges of first degree rioting. Rand was giving a press conference on the other side of town at the time he was supposedly inciting a riot.

Also picked up yesterday was Chester Dilday, a leader in the Third World Solidarity Committee, and Nicholas W. Calverane, an activist in the Student Mobilization Committee.

Paul Telton, a leading figure in the Ad Hoc Committee for Student Rights, a major organization in the OSU strike, was arrested by campus police June 1.

The Student Mobilization Committee was one of the organizations singled out in a suit brought to common pleas court yesterday by nine right-wing students and a parent. Judge Tom Moody said he wanted time to research the case, but indicated that he might grant the injunction, which also names the Third World Solidarity Committee and the Ad Hoc Committee for Student Rights, as well as eight strike coalition leaders and one professor.

The injunction would prevent the



Prensa Latina/LNS

REPORTS ON SUGAR HARVEST. In several speeches May 19 and subsequently, Cuban Premier Fidel Castro (right) reported Cuba would not meet its goal of harvesting ten million tons of sugar this year. The quota had been set as a major objective of the Revolution. Thus far only fragmentary reports of Fidel's speeches are available. The aim now, he said, is to try to reach nine million tons, already the greatest in Cuban history.

JDL attacks Daily World N.Y. office

NEW YORK, June 4 — Forty members of the ultraright Jewish Defense League attacked the offices of the *Daily World* at 2 p.m. here yesterday. "Brandishing iron pipes," according to the June 4 *Daily World*, they "forced their way past receptionists and invaded the city room and business offices. . . ."

The *Daily World*, which reflects the viewpoint of the Communist Party, has been critical of Israel's role in the Middle East.

The *World's* account of the raid continued: "Shouting and threatening *Daily World* staff members, the group, some of whom wore Jewish Defense League buttons, refused to let telephone calls be made or business carried on. Rabbi Meir Kahane, JDL head, led the group.

"One staff member, a pregnant woman, fainted. Three of the JDL group grabbed Bill Andrews, staff photographer, as he was snapping pictures and confiscated his film.

"The group left after 20 minutes, shortly before a police ambulance and two patrolmen . . . arrived."

Simon Gerson, executive editor of the *Daily World*, told *The Militant* that the question of pressing charges against the JDL was under consideration with lawyers and civil liberties organizations.

"Of course we don't intend to be intimidated by such attacks of vigilantes and racists," Gerson commented.

The June 4 *New York Times* reported: "Rabbi Meir Kahane, national chairman of the militant Jewish group, acknowledged in a telephone interview that members of his organization had entered the eighth floor offices. . . ."

defendants from joining or participating in any gatherings on campus of more than 50 persons and from making speeches or distributing leaflets designed to picket or strike Ohio State. The defendants would be prohibited from addressing groups of 50 or more persons on campus.

Defense attorney Gerald Messerman called the injunctive suit "unprecedented." Said Messerman: "The court is being asked to enjoin speech and assembly before such speech and assembly takes place."

The suit also holds the three groups and nine individuals responsible for the lost time during the quarter—school was closed 10 days during the upsurge in May. The right-wingers seek \$1 million in damages from the individuals and groups.

The city police department dispatches squad cars to arrest students on the

basis of demonstration photographs. One strike leader was arrested as he lobbied against a riot bill in the Ohio legislature here yesterday. The measure, passed by the house, and sent to the senate today, will provide automatic dismissal for any student convicted for participation in a campus demonstration.

Meanwhile, outside Shirley Pasholk's apartment, plainclothesmen stand clicking their cameras as people enter and leave. At the edge of campus, police and deputy sheriffs stop students, checking for their IDs, and will allow visitors on campus only after giving them special passes.

Statements of support and funds for those arrested, some of whom are still in jail, can be sent to: Committee to Defend Free Speech in Columbus, Rm. 14, 1874 N. High, Columbus, Ohio 43201.

SWP adds Paul Boutelle to N.Y. campaign ticket

NEW YORK — The New York State Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee has announced the addition of Paul Boutelle to its list of candidates in the coming elections. Boutelle, who was the SWP's candidate for mayor of New York City last year, will oppose Democratic incumbent Adam Clayton Powell in the congressional race in Harlem's 18th district.

Boutelle will be using his campaign to explain the need for a Black political party, independent of the Democrats and Republicans, which would mobilize Blacks in a year-round struggle against every major problem that exists in Afro-America. "In this election campaign," he stated, "I intend to publicize and fight for community control, taxing the rich and not the poor, freedom for the Panther 21, free 24-hour child-care centers, and a Black political party to lead the fight for these demands."

Powell, Boutelle charged, does not represent the people of Harlem. "The fact is that Powell claims to be for civil rights, decent housing, better education and jobs for Blacks — and then he proceeds to work within that very party which represents the interests of big business — the Democratic party.

Powell's attempt to appear independent of the Democratic bosses is a sham. If he is the true representative of the people, I challenge him to expose the capitalist parties instead of running as a capitalist candidate himself."

A central focus of Boutelle's campaign will be to help organize the Harlem community against the war in Indochina. "Black youth have been drafted or enticed into the armed forces for almost 200 years to fight for their masters' interests," he explained, "and in the recent period they are shedding their blood in Southeast Asia. Now we are called upon to send our youth to Cambodia. I say that the enemy is at home, and I call upon Powell to join me in mobilizing the Harlem community in massive street demonstrations against the war."

Boutelle helped organize and was the founding chairman of Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam in 1965, and in 1967 he served as secretary of the Black United Action Front, a Harlem-based antiwar coalition.

In 1963 he ran as a candidate for state senator from Harlem's 21st district as the candidate of the all-Black Freedom Now Party. He joined the SWP in 1965 and was its vice-presidential candidate in 1968.