

THE MILITANT

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

Behind Nixon's lies about Laos

One of the most sinister things about the U.S.-South Vietnamese invasion of Laos is the Nixon administration's attempt to cover up what is happening by almost total news censorship and a barrage of calculated lies. By refusing transport to newsmen wanting to enter Laos, Nixon is trying to conceal the intent and real scope of the U.S. role in the invasion, which he delicately calls an "incursion."

But a few bits and pieces of truth are already filtering through the tangle of lies.

For example, the Feb. 16 *New York Times* carried a front-page headline which cheerfully reported: "Foe's Troop Flow is Reported Cut by Drive in Laos . . . Saigon Says All But Two of Key Ho Chi Minh Trails Are Closed."

The next day, the *Times* again gave front-page headlines to the Laos venture, but the story was rather different. "Laird Expecting 'Some Tough Days' in Laos Campaign," was the new report. And the successful drive that had cut the "foe's troop flow" was meeting increased "enemy resistance." Contrary to reports by White House officials that the Ho Chi Minh trails had been largely severed, leading officers at the Pentagon, according to the *Times*, admitted, "'No responsible military person would make such a claim.'"

One officer working on the operation stated that the South Vietnamese force had penetrated about halfway across the area through which the network passes, "but this does not mean they have severed all the trails inside the area. At best they have disrupted some of them."

Far from being a rapid and easy job to be carried out by quickly advancing South Vietnamese troops, it is already admitted that the invasion of Laos will involve longer-term, large-scale heavy fighting, and U.S.

generals are beginning to talk about the need for a major expansion of efforts.

Already, despite repeated statements by Nixon's henchmen that there are no U.S. troops in Laos, a couple of newsmen who were able to slip into the battle areas have found otherwise. In southern Laos, Howard Tuckner of ABC reported Feb. 11 that he saw an American 25 miles inside the country. When Tuckner tried to speak to the American he "ran off into the bush." Later Tuckner saw the body of an American dressed in the uniform of the Saigon airborne troops.

CBS newsmen in the field reported Feb. 11 that U.S. Special Forces units dressed in Saigon uniforms were being flown into Laos in U.S. helicopters.

A Feb. 10 UPI dispatch from Khesanh, just inside the South Vietnam border, reported that at least 100 American ground troops were known to have been fighting in Laos.

Despite such reports, White House press secretary Ronald Ziegler said Feb. 11, "Our policy is . . . that there will be no United States combat troops in Laos."

Even if the administration wasn't lying through its teeth, and even if there wasn't a single GI in Laos, the fact remains that the invasion would be impossible without the 9,000 U.S. troops involved in the operation, most of them a few miles from the Laotian border. The Americans are providing nearly all the air cover, mechanics, and rescue teams and are maintaining the supply lines.

One of the most ominous developments yet was Nixon's threat, made at his Feb. 17 press conference, to sharply increase the bombing of North Vietnam and his refusal to rule out an invasion of that country. Such threats are carefully calculated to probe

public opinion in the U.S., to test how far the administration can go without risking a sharp response from the American people.

Far from Vietnamizing the fighting in Vietnam, Nixon is Americanizing a war throughout all of Indochina. And each new thrust raises the possibility of a strong reaction not only from Hanoi but from China.

Nixon's lies are designed to accomplish one objective: to mask the nature of U.S. operations in Laos and prevent another massive response such as occurred last May when he invaded Cambodia. But the scope and character of Nixon's deceit, which has dampened the immediate response of the American people, can only serve to provoke a massive and outraged revolt by millions who believed Nixon's rhetoric about troop withdrawal.

Never have the congressional doves proved themselves so bankrupt. Their fundamental agreement with Nixon on the need to maintain pro-imperialist governments in Southeast Asia—that is, their agreement with the right of the U.S. to intervene in other countries—means that they can propose no fundamentally different course of action.

The only alternative is the one for which the antiwar movement has been fighting for the past six years—immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces. Every time the lies of the Washington war-makers are newly exposed, more and more American people come to agree with the call for getting out now. This time will be no exception!

The job of the antiwar movement is to build massive demonstrations in the streets of this country demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. Such an action has been called for April 24 in San Francisco and Washington, D.C. Our job is to build it!

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ANTIWAR SAILOR'S CONVICTION OVERTURNED: Roger Priest, a Navy seaman convicted of "disloyalty" last spring for putting out an antiwar newsletter, had his conviction reversed early this month by the U. S. Navy Court of Military Review, the Navy revealed Feb. 12. The GI Press Service of the Student Mobilization Committee was active in publicizing Priest's case.

NYU CUTS THE HEART OUT OF TDR: For years the Tulane Drama Review served as a forum for writers and critics who were seriously devoted to the relevance of theater to society at large, "radicals" who honestly concerned themselves with the relation of their art to the burning issues of conflict between oppressor and oppressed. In June 1967, TDR moved to New York University and became *The Drama Review*. But it remained TDR. A letter from TDR editor Erika Munk, appearing at the end of Arthur Sainer's review of *The Trial of the Catonsville Nine* in the Feb. 11 *Village Voice*, carried the distressing news: NYU School of Arts Dean David Oppenheim had sacked Munk the week before because he agreed with the school's chancellor that the journal's radicalism was "embarrassing to the administration." Last spring both men had raised with Munk financial problems TDR gave the school. Now, just when Munk and her staff were on the verge of settling these difficulties, they have all been canned. NYU Theater Dept. Chairman Michael Kirby will be the new editor. Munk told *The Militant* the school's action will be denounced in a *New York Times* ad Feb. 22, signed by such figures as Susan Sontag and Joseph Papp. The ad correctly points out that TDR has been the only internationally recognized journal of its kind in the English language and that turning it into a parochial publication such as Oppenheim and Kirby intend is a scandal.

PARTIAL VICTORY IN ARNOLD JOHNSON "CONTEMPT OF CONGRESS" CASE: The Feb. 10 *Daily World* reported a partial victory for the antiwar movement in Communist Party leader Arnold Johnson's fight against the government's attempt to jail him for refusing to testify at witch-hunt hearings of the House Internal Security Committee (HISC) last June. The HISC, a warmed-over HUAC, is trying to smear the antiwar movement by investigating the now defunct New Mobe, of which Johnson was a Steering Committee member. A federal court ordered the Justice Dept. Feb. 9 to produce evidence that New Mobe fits the category of organizations HISC is empowered to investigate. Johnson commented on the partial victory, "I'd be more pleased if they had simply dismissed the indictment."

SUPPORT IN HARRISBURG SIX CASE: In a Feb. 6 article on opposition among Jesuits and other Catholic circles to the indictment of Philip Berrigan and five others on trumped-up "conspiracy" charges, the *New York Times* reported that the student senate at Marymount, a Catholic women's college in New York, had voted their confidence to Berrigan's codefendant Sister Elizabeth McAlister. Three days later the students and faculty announced formation of a defense committee to raise money for the nun's case.

MARTHA MITCHELL WOULD TRADE REVOLUTIONISTS: Martha Mitchell said on the "Today" TV show Feb. 10 that "the revolutionists in this country are worse than the Communists." She added, "I'd like to take some of the people in and trade them off for some good Communists."

VOTE VICTORY A STEP IN SWISS WOMEN'S STRUGGLE: In an interview with the *New York Times* Feb. 8, one day after Swiss men had partially acknowledged the Twentieth Century by voting 621,403 to 323,596 for women's suffrage in federal elections, Gertrude Girard, president of the Swiss Association for Women's Suffrage, pointed out some of the more blatant barriers to sexual equality which still stand in some of Switzerland's cantons: a married woman cannot purchase property or contract debts unless her husband cosigns; the husband legally controls her money; she must have his consent to get a job, a checking account, or a passport. Wages for working women are 25 percent lower than those of men who do the same work.

SCREWS GUN DOWN 20 CONS IN FLORIDA PRISON: An Associated Press dispatch in the Feb. 13 *New York Post* reported that guards at Raiford State Prison fired shotguns into a crowd of 600 prisoners who gathered on the recreation field while officials were trying "to deal with" a hunger strike in the maximum security section. The maximum security prisoners were demanding better food, more vocational training, improved parole procedures and conjugal visits. Officials excused the shotgun-

wounding of 20 inmates in the other section by claiming the men had tried to storm a fence.

GRAND JURY LETS OFF TOMBS GUARDS IN HANGING: A Manhattan grand jury cleared four Tombs guards, in a report issued Feb. 11, neglecting to comment on another guard's testimony that he had seen them beating Raymond Lavon Moore with a blackjack two days before Moore was found hanging in his cell last Nov. 3. The grand jury also ignored a pathologist's testimony that a skull fracture found in Moore's autopsy occurred before his death. . . . **FOUR HOURS LATER, ANOTHER HANGING:** At midnight Feb. 11, Joseph Haimowitz, a heroin addict with a \$100-a-day habit, was found hanging by his belt in his cell at the Brooklyn House of Detention. An official explained that belts were only taken from "potential suicides or people who come in acting very peculiar. . . ." No explanation of why an addict like Haimowitz was not considered a "potential suicide" was offered.

U.S. SHEEPISH ABOUT UTAH WEAPONS TESTS: When more than 1,000 sheep were found dead Jan. 21 near the Dugway Proving Ground where nerve gas had killed 4,000 sheep in 1968, it was discovered that tests of biochemical warfare weapons are still conducted there. According to the *Washington Post*, Jan. 22, although Congress voted "severe restrictions on such tests in late 1969" and Nixon "last year renounced use of germ weapons and ordered stocks destroyed," tests are still permitted for "defensive" purposes. The *Post* quoted a Pentagon spokesman who explained, "There has been very limited testing indoors using micro-quantities of agents."

SPYING RADICALIZES INTELLIGENCE OFFICER: Former U.S. Army Intelligence officer Walter Birdwell told James R. Melton of the *Houston Post* last month that acting as a military spy in radical campus groups at the University of Texas in 1966-67 "radicalized me more than college." He said of those on whom he had spied, "I found out I had more in common with them than I did with my military superiors." When the Army discovered Birdwell's shifting attitude, they transferred him to another assignment.

IN "FASCIST AMERIKA" THIS HAPPENS? One of a group of people who attended a recent Militant Labor Forum in New York described what took place in a tavern he and his companions visited after the program. When people at a nearby table began singing songs from *Marat/Sade*, the forum group followed by singing the *Internationale*. First the *Marat/Sade* group and then everyone in the tavern joined in, ending with fists raised. After the 150 people in the bar were done, the forum table's waiter sang the *Internationale* in Spanish.

NACLA ISSUES GUIDEBOOK TO IMPERIALIST MILITARY ROLE OVERSEAS: The North American Congress on Latin America announced publication Feb. 3 of a 32-page booklet entitled *U.S. Military and Police Operations in the Third World*. The contents include a map-chart and detailed list of the location and size of U.S. military and police installations in the colonial countries, chronologies of military interventions overseas from 1789-1945 and of Naval activity 1946-1969, documents on military and police assistance programs, and three articles dealing with this kind of activity in Latin America. Copies are 50 cents and can be ordered from NACLA at P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10025, or P.O. Box 226, Berkeley, Calif. 94701. The price for orders of 100 or more is 25 cents each.

NEW AMERICA REVIEWS THE YSA CONVENTION: Judging from the article he wrote for the Jan. 27 issue of the Socialist Party's *New America*, Tom Milstein must have been upset by the strength the Young Socialist Alliance demonstrated at its 1970 convention in December. In his unconvincing effort to explain away the growth of the revolutionary movement as a passing phase, "Marxist" Milstein has this to say about the new mass movements and the YSA's role in building them: YSA "managed to endorse virtually every crank organization and bizarre idea that offered the slightest hope of disrupting American society. In keeping with the petrified traditions of its parent organization, the SWP, however, it demonstrated little imagination in inventing kooky causes, preferring instead to sign up . . . the entire sideshow which had sprouted up outside the main tent on the new left's circus grounds. Black nationalism, gay liberation, women's liberation, the Arab quest for Israel's destruction, high school 'blow-outs,' etc. . . ."

— LEE SMITH

Nationwide actions hit Laos invasion

NEW YORK, Feb. 15 — Rallies, teach-ins, marches, and picket lines protesting the U.S. incursion into Laos exploded from one end of the country to the other last week.

Demonstrations called by SMC and other groups took place on Feb. 10 in New York; Boston; Washington, D.C.; Philadelphia; Seattle; San Francisco; Newark; Chicago; Detroit; Cleveland; Ann Arbor; Denver; Boulder, Colo.; Dayton, Ohio; Minneapolis; DeKalb, Ill.; New Haven, Conn.; and other cities.

Considering the short notice on which they were called, in some areas the actions were very large. In Ann Arbor, 4,000 University of Michigan students followed their rally with a mass meeting that voted to launch an antiwar strike of the school. In Boston, feeder marches from MIT, Harvard, Boston University, and Northeastern University swelled the antiwar crowd on Boston Common to 10,000. Students from the University of Washington organized a demonstration of 2,000 in Seattle. In New York, the SMC, New York Peace Action Coalition, Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, and other groups built a massive picket line of 3,000 in Times Square. More than 1,000 marched in San Francisco.

In these cities and elsewhere, actions and different forms of protest were organized on other days. Daily antiwar meetings of from 1,400 to 2,000 at the University of Wisconsin in Madison built a demonstration of sev-



Photo by Peter Voorhees

Boston protest of Laos invasion, Feb. 10

eral thousand at the state capitol on Feb. 13, which involved participation from the community as well as the campus.

An SMC meeting Feb. 9 in Berkeley at the University of California was attended by representatives and members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union (AFSCME) as well as by students.

Despite the earthquake, SMC rallies and meetings of 250 to 300 were held at Los Angeles City College and Cal State, L.A., Feb. 11, followed by a Feb. 13 action in Los Angeles, which

turned out 200 demonstrators. A teach-in at Georgia State University in Atlanta Feb. 15 followed a week of vigils and meetings at Emory University.

Approximately one hundred people turned out for a rally in downtown Cleveland Feb. 10 despite below-zero temperatures.

High school students figured prominently in the Laos invasion protests in New York and other cities. Feb. 9 walkouts at Washington Irving, F.D.R., and Stuyvesant high schools led to an organized strike at Stuyvesant Feb. 11, which the principal

described as 80 percent effective. A high school Student Mobilization Committee was formed in the city Feb. 12 at a meeting of 50 representatives from 16 high schools.

Meetings of from 100 to 300 at New York University, organized by the SMC, the student newspaper *The Ticker*, the All Square Students Congress, and other groups Feb. 9, 10 and 11, formed working committees to operate out of an antiwar center in the Loeb Student Center, publicizing the Washington SMC conference and educating the community about the events in Laos.

NPAC meeting shows coalition's growth

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A meeting of the Steering Committee of the National Peace Action Coalition was held here Feb. 13. With more than a hundred participants from 28 cities, the meeting reflected the progress being made by NPAC in building its spring offensive against the war.

A number of people were added to the NPAC Steering Committee, including Nathaniel Schwerner, father of one of the three youths slain by Mississippi racists in 1964; Charles Cheng, an official of the Washington Federation of Teachers; Edell Lydia, NPAC staff member and member of the Washington Committee to Defend Angela Davis; Ray Markey, president of New York AFSCME Local 1930, Dan Rosenshine of the West Coast NPAC staff, Peter Dunkelburger, a naval officer from the Concerned Officers Movement, and Bob Bresnahan, of the

Cleveland Area Peace Action Council.

With NPAC's Washington office established only a few weeks previously, it was reported, there is now a full-time staff of eight, plus a number of part-time volunteers. The plan is to expand the staff quite rapidly.

Attorney Philip Hirschkop, who has been the legal representative for the antiwar movement in negotiating permits and march routes for previous major demonstrations in Washington, reported on a series of proposals for the April 24 action, with a march to the capitol building and a rally on its steps as a central focus.

After a discussion of the present escalation of the war, a motion was adopted authorizing NPAC's coordinators to issue a call for a national antiwar demonstration prior to April 24 if events should require it.

There was also extensive discussion

on involving the labor movement and Third World communities in the antiwar action. The report on labor was given by NPAC Coordinator John T. Williams, a California Teamster. The Third World report was given by Edell Lydia. There were about a dozen Black participants in the meeting, a small but significant number by comparison to previous antiwar coalitions, and there was extensive discussion—which was summarized in a unanimously adopted motion—on the need for special efforts by NPAC to relate to the Third World communities.

A representative from the Connecticut Peace Action Council reported on a projected April 18 demonstration at Danbury federal prison in support of Father Berrigan and the others of the Harrisburg Six. He proposed that other areas consider solidarity actions that day.

A motion was presented by NPAC Coordinator Jerry Gordon that in conformity with NPAC's commitment to basing its programs on the broadest movement decision-making, an NPAC convention be slated for July 2-4 in Cleveland or Detroit. The convention will map NPAC's fall program.

James Lafferty reported on a proposal from the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice that NPAC cancel its April 24 demonstration to support a "mass assembly" the group said it had just called for May 2. Lafferty read a proposed response welcoming the group's statement of need for a united mass demonstration against the war and proposing that it would be much more effective for them to instead join the broad range of forces already involved in building the April 24 action. After a brief discussion, Lafferty's report was unanimously approved.

Prominent figures back NPAC's spring program

A three-quarter-page ad placed in the Feb. 14 *New York Times* by the National Peace Action Coalition is a dramatic indication of the mounting support for the spring antiwar actions. The ad, which announces four NPAC-sponsored events in April and May and appeals for funds, will also appear in the Feb. 17 issue of the *Times*. The list of 69 prominent figures who signed it is one of the broadest ever assembled to urge support for an antiwar demonstration.

Appearing under the headline "Stop the Escalation—Stop the War Now!", the ad emphasizes that "only a broad and massive mobilization of the American people" can prevent further escalation of the war in Indochina. "With

the widespread rebellion of GIs in South Vietnam, with more and more American workers rejecting the idea that they should sacrifice their real wages for military and industrial interests in Southeast Asia, the opportunity exists to bring these constituencies into the antiwar movement in greater numbers than ever before," it asserts. "Massive mobilizations on the scale of Oct. 15 and Nov. 15, 1969, are possible."

The calendar of spring antiwar actions announced by NPAC are local demonstrations April 2-4 to mark the assassination of Martin Luther King; the April 24 mass march on Washington, D.C., and San Francisco "in support of the demand for immediate

withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia and the abolition of the draft"; nationwide demonstrations May 5 to commemorate the murders of students at Kent State and Jackson State; and Armed Forces Day (May 16) demonstrations at military bases in solidarity with antiwar GIs.

Those signing the ad include eight members of Congress, among them Shirley Chisholm of New York, John Conyers of Michigan, and Ron Dellums of California. Labor leaders include Leon Davis, president of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Union in New York; Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; David Livingston,

president of District 65 of the Distributive Workers of America; and Martin Gerber, director of District 9 of the United Automobile Workers.

Leaders of the women's movement who signed the ad are Betty Friedan, Kate Millett, and Gloria Steinem. Other prominent individuals include Jules Feiffer, Dick Gregory, Linus Pauling, authors Joseph Heller and Norman Mailer, actress Shirley Maclaine, actor Tony Randall, producer Kermit Bloomgarden, poet Louis Untermeyer, and Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, national secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Int'l Women's Day actions planned

Reports on actions and conferences planned around March 8, International Women's Day, have continued to come in to *The Militant* since the roundup of events in last week's "Insurgent Majority" column.

Associated Women Students at Cal State L.A. are planning "Women's Days" for March 4 and 5. The campus "Women's Days" are oriented to building toward the city-wide March 8 activities in Los Angeles. The March 8 events will include guerrilla theater by Asian women, a film on the media by Sisters in Struggle, a panel discussion of issues in the women's liberation movement locally and nationally, and workshops on various topics.

In addition, the Los Angeles Intergroup Council has called for an action March 8 oriented toward working women.

Women in the Chicago Women's Liberation Union, Women Mobilized for Change, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Women for Peace are planning a day-long educational celebration of International Women's Day on March 6. There will be a keynote speaker, a panel on aspects of women's oppression, a women's play, and films on the history of the women's movement. Also, action workshops will be held dealing with women and war, abortion, child care, Third World women, and many other questions.

Women from the March 8 Committee will be appearing on TV and radio programs to speak on women's liberation and to build the International Women's Day activities.

The Chicago sisters ask for help in publicizing this event. If you can help, call La Dolores Women's Center, 2150 N. Halsted, Chicago. Tel: (312) 935-0364 or 549-4789.

Women's Liberation at the University of Illinois Circle Campus plans a teach-in with panels on Angela Davis, women's history, and women's sex roles. Also planned is a skit on the university health service, revolving around the demand for gynecological services and information and dispensation of birth control devices at the University.

In Nashville, Women's Liberation is sponsoring a Women's Festival on March 7. Arts, crafts and skills of women will be demonstrated and displayed, as well as music, entertainment, and women's liberation literature.

In Philadelphia, Temple University Women's Liberation is sponsoring a panel discussion of women's liberation around the world, March 4, with international women speakers. A similar international panel will be held at the University of Pennsylvania March 4, and on March 6, Univer-

sity of Pennsylvania Women's Liberation is holding a conference, including a series of 12 workshops.

A women's liberation conference is also planned for March 6 and 7 in Norman, Oklahoma.

In New York City the Women's Strike Coalition, which now includes almost one hundred organizations, is sponsoring a women's liberation conference March 6 and 7. The conference is being organized by Columbia and Barnard Women's Liberation, and will be held at Barnard College.

The main purpose of this conference will be to mobilize women to build a mass statewide demonstration at the state capitol in Albany March 27 to protest attempts by legislators to further restrict the right of New York women to legal abortions. In addition, the conference will focus on problems of organizing campus and high school women. Workshops will be held on a variety of topics, including Third

World women, high school women, professional women, and women and the war in Southeast Asia. Women from New York University, Queens College, Lehman College, Wagner College, Hunter College, as well as Barnard and Columbia and several high schools and junior high schools are actively involved in building for the conference, in addition to the Professional Women's Caucus, the Third World Caucus of the Women's Strike Coalition, and a variety of other groups.

On March 8, the Coalition plans a teach-in on women's oppression, also at Barnard. For more information on the New York activities, call (212) 280-2373.

Contributors to this roundup include: Barbara Peterson, Linda Sheppard, Salm Kolis, Elizabeth Lariscy, Jean Savage and Ruthann Miller.



L.A. quake: man-made disaster?

By BARBARA PETERSON

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 16 — Last week's earthquake resulted in over 60 dead, more than 1,000 injured, 80,000 homeless, and millions of dollars in damage. It received unprecedented coverage by all the media, deep concern from public officials, and was the number one topic of discussion by every resident of Los Angeles County.

The biggest question, barely mentioned and not answered, was, "What can be done to minimize the blow of an earthquake?"

The Midnight Mission, in L.A.'s skid row, was closed after its roof collapsed, leaving one dead and 200 homeless. The building was 75 years old and in a run-down condition. Capitalist society created this tragic situation, not the earthquake, and is responsible for the similar skid rows all over the city. Before the quake, there was no move on the part of L.A.'s rulers to do away with outdated and dangerous housing. And there is no attempt to do so now.

Two hospitals in the San Fernando Valley were completely destroyed. One was over 40 years old, built before the 1933 earthquake building codes,

and never had major structural work done to make it conform to the code's safety provisions. The other was six months old, and its contractors have refused to comment on the building's total collapse.

A letter in the *L.A. Times* by a consulting structural engineer raised several proposals which could prevent the earthquake damage that the public is led to believe is inevitable. He suggested "a 50 percent increase in seismic coefficients, more restrictive statutes to control aseismic structural design, to control the quality of construction under that design, to control public agencies' checking of that design, and above all, severe disciplining of incompetence in the ranks of engineers."

An ironic comment on his remarks was an announcement by the Structural Engineering Association of Southern California that they were canceling a meeting on the day of the earthquake. The meeting was scheduled to urge "updating of state laws on earthquake safety standards on older buildings."

LOS ANGELES—The 1971 Socialist Workers Party Campaign Headquarters is continuing operation here at 1702 East Fourth Street. To enter, go to the east side of the building and up the back stairs. Phone number is (213) 269-4953. The Los Angeles weekly Friday night Militant Labor Forum will be held at King Hall, lecture room 1, Cal State, L.A., at 8:30 p.m., until further notice.

Gay rights demanded in N.Y. march

NEW YORK—With a march on the state capitol demanding rights for homosexuals scheduled for March 14 by the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) of the Tri-Cities in Albany and supported by virtually every gay organization in the state, a group of state legislators has introduced a series of bills into the legislature's current session to repeal New York's consensual sodomy law and add homosexuals to the other groups already covered in the state laws on employment and housing discrimination.

Democratic-Liberal Manhattan Assemblyman Antonio Olivieri told *The Militant* Feb. 16 that he and a dozen other assemblymen had introduced the legislation because "the state has no business interfering in people's private lives," and because "people are becoming more aware that this is a problem, that this is a group of people that's being discriminated against very unfairly. . . ."

Olivieri said the bills have "fairly wide support" and referred to an editorial in the Feb. 11 *New York Post*. The editorial stated that the reform was "overdue" and urged "bipartisan backing—and passage—at this Albany session."

Asked if he was aware that the *New York Times* had ignored the whole issue, Olivieri said, "Yes, I am upset by that," but added he thought this omission was due to the *Times'* general policy of focusing on international instead of local and state news.

However, on Feb. 10, when the *New York Post* was reporting the bills in Albany, the *New York Times* saw instead, as news that was "fit to print," an article by Jane E. Brody headlined: "Homosexuality: Parents Aren't Always to Blame."

Brody's article, permeated with the backward notion that homosexuality is a sickness, did not escape the notice of New York City's Gay Activists Alliance (GAA). Neither did GAA fail to notice that the *Times* had given the campaign for anti-gay law repeal the same treatment it gave other recent fights for gay rights—that is, the silent treatment.

A spokesman for GAA said the group was first seeking satisfaction through a series of meetings with *Times* officials, but that if the meetings do no good, they would organize "escalating actions." GAA leaflets and posters on the subject are being distributed in the gay community.

A spokesman for GLF of the Tri-Cities said he thought the sheer size of the march in Albany on March 14 would force the *Times* to cover it, but he hoped to see coverage before the event occurs.

7,500 by March 15!

Sub drive lags at end of 2nd week

By DOUG JENNESS

At the end of the second week of the six-week *Militant* subscription drive, the Long Island local of the Young Socialist Alliance has surpassed its quota, and Chicago has jumped from 36 to 166.

The Chicago subscription drive director writes that "The majority of these subs (some 105 of them) were obtained last weekend at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, by a three-member team." High person was Miki Turney, who obtained 57 subscriptions. Black students from Chicago were especially receptive to *The Militant*, he reported.

Unfortunately, these gains do not reflect the overall progress of the subscription campaign. Only 10 areas, with quotas totaling less than 4 percent of the 7,500 goal, are on schedule, and the total number of subs is nearly 1,000 behind where it should be at this point.

Subscription scoreboard

Area	Quota	New Subs
Long Island, N.Y.	40	49
Santa Cruz, Calif.	40	20
Cincinnati, Ohio	40	18
Portsmouth, N.H.	20	9
Highland Park, Ill.	12	5
Hartford, Conn.	5	2
New London, Conn.	10	4
Paterson, N.J.	20	8
Tampa, Fla.	50	19
Ann Arbor, Mich.	40	15
Amherst, Mass.	50	15
Bloomington, Ind.	50	15
La Crosse, Wis.	30	9
Pensacola, Fla.	10	3
Pittsfield, Kan.	10	3
Logan, Utah	25	7
Riverside, Calif.	50	14

Given the shortness of the drive—only six weeks—this lag is serious.

Several areas have written into the *Militant* business office indicating that sub sellers are being arbitrarily kicked out of college dormitories much more frequently than during last fall's drive. One way that has been suggested for dealing with this discriminatory policy is to apply for permits to sell. This has worked in the few places where *Militant* sellers have tried it. Since the capitalist papers are nearly always permitted to sell subscriptions and make daily deliveries in campus dormitories, the *Militant* sellers should certainly be entitled to the same right.

Some areas have begun supplementing door-to-door sales in dormitories with more sub sales in cafeterias and lounges.

Another approach many areas are trying is to send teams to campuses that have never been visited by *Militant* sellers before and may be as far as several hundred miles away. The subscription director obtains a copy of *Lovejoy's College Guide*, makes a list of all the campuses in the area, arranges transportation and volunteers, and sends teams to campuses with packets of *Militants*, subscription blanks, and maps.

Boulder-Denver, Colo.	110	29
Milwaukee, Wis.	50	13
Twin Cities, Minn.	320	83
New York, N.Y.	1,000	257
Seattle, Wash.	200	48
Chicago, Ill.	700	166
Detroit, Mich.	350	82
Houston, Texas	125	29
Portland, Ore.	75	17
Albany, N.Y.	40	8
East Lansing, Mich.	20	4
Edinboro, Pa.	10	2
Oshkosh, Wis.	25	5
San Bernardino, Calif.	5	1
San Jose, Calif.	5	1
Schenectady, N.Y.	5	1
Atlanta, Ga.	250	47
Kansas City, Mo.	50	9
Dallas-Ft. Worth, Texas	35	6
Newark, N.J.	30	5
San Francisco, Calif.	400	61
Phoenix, Ariz.	35	5
Philadelphia, Pa.	325	46
San Diego, Calif.	100	14
El Paso, Texas	25	3

In last fall's drive in New York, saleswomen organized special women's liberation teams to visit women's campuses.

Nixon's invasion of Laos and the increased number and size of antiwar meetings and rallies is creating good opportunities to sell subscriptions.

In addition, during the first week of March there will be hundreds of teach-ins, rallies, meetings, and demonstrations held by the women's liberation movement around International Women's Day on March 8.

Sales at these meetings are most effective if sellers are organized in advance and are prepared with enough subscription blanks and sample copies. The key to obtaining the goal of 7,500 subscriptions in the four weeks that remain is to utilize every opportunity to organize people to sell regularly and systematically.

Along with the *Militant* subscription campaign, the *International Socialist Review*, a monthly magazine, is conducting a drive to obtain 1,250 new readers. Their special offer is three issues for \$1. One-third of the way through the drive, 320 new readers have been obtained, which is nearly 100 behind schedule.

Murfreesboro, Tenn.	25	3
New Haven, Conn.	25	3
Washington, D.C.	150	17
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	325	36
Los Angeles, Calif.	500	55
Gainesville, Fla.	50	5
Wayne, N.J.	10	1
Yellow Springs, Ohio	65	5
Binghamton, N.Y.	60	5
Columbus, Ohio	25	2
Modesto, Calif.	25	2
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	50	4
Oxford, Ohio	25	2
Providence, R.I.	75	6
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	2
Austin, Texas	175	12
Burlington, Vt.	15	1
Boston, Mass.	600	31
N. Boston	(150)	(9)
S. Boston	(150)	(4)
Cambridge	(150)	(4)
New Britain, Conn.	20	1
Madison, Wis.	120	5
Colorado Springs, Colo.	25	1
Norman, Okla.	25	1

Help sell Militant subs

The *Militant* will send you a complete subscription kit. Your area will be added to the scoreboard if you wish.

I would like to sell subscriptions to *The Militant* this fall.

Please set for me a quota of (circle one) 5 10 20 30 40 50

List the above quota in *The Militant's* weekly scoreboard.
 Do not publish my quota.

Name (please print)

Address

City State Zip

School

Sacramento, Calif.	25	1
University, Ala.	50	2
DeKalb, Ill.	65	2
Cleveland, Ohio	300	6
Worcester, Mass.	65	1
Red Hook, N.Y.	30	0
Pittsfield, Mass.	25	0
Pullman, Wash.	20	0
Newport, R.I.	15	0
Baltimore, Md.	10	0
Farmington, Maine	10	0
Indiana, Pa.	10	0
New Orleans, La.	10	0
State College, Pa.	10	0
Wakefield, R.I.	10	0
Jacksonville, Fla.	6	0
Carlinville, Ill.	5	0
Geneseo, N.Y.	5	0
Kalamazoo, Mich.	5	0
Mission Viejo, Calif.	5	0
General	175	134
TOTAL TO DATE		1,503
SHOULD BE		2,500
GOAL		7,500

Hussein opens new attacks on Palestinians

By TONY THOMAS

FEB. 16—The last week has seen a renewal of fighting between the Jordanian government and the Palestinian resistance. On Feb. 7, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) charged the Hussein government with breaking the agreements that ended fighting between fedayeen and the Jordanian army in early January. In a statement quoted in the Feb. 8 issue of *Le Monde*, the PFLP charged that the Jordanian army was carrying out provocative acts, stationing armed guards around the headquarters of the Palestinian resistance and several refugee camps.

On Feb. 11, fighting broke out in Amman, with the Jordanian army

trying to force the fedayeen out of Amman. The army charged that the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO, a coalition of 10 commando groups led by Fateh) had redistributed arms to part-time commandos and militias contrary to the January agreements, or had never really collected them.

Apparently, Hussein was unsuccessful in driving the fedayeen out of Amman. The PFLP claimed several victories against the Jordanian authorities, including having chased them out of Jebel Hamlan, a suburb of Amman where the provocative actions by the Jordanians began.

A truce agreement was reached on

Feb. 13, including Jordanian evacuation of Jebel Hamlan, although fighting continues.

In the wake of this renewed fighting, the divisions within the commando movement have continued. Fateh stressed a campaign aimed chiefly at Israel, while the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine replied in a declaration published Feb. 15, "The basic question is the attacks by the reactionaries in Amman against the commando movement with the aim of liquidating the movement. To discuss any other subject would be putting the cart before the horse."

Meanwhile, a united military command was announced by Fateh, PFLP,

and the Baathist As Sa'qa commando groups. Despite this unity, the Palestinians reportedly are divided over the question of whether to support establishment of a Palestinian state solely on the west bank of the Jordan. This proposal has been opposed by many as a diversion from the goal of liberating all of Palestine.

Yasir Arafat, leader of the PLO and Fateh, and Suheir al Alami, a member of the Central Committee of the PLO, said that they rejected this proposal and would "condemn anyone who could accept or propose these plans." Their statements were made to a conference on Palestine held in Kuwait this week.

GI victories

In three separate court battles this month, three GIs victimized by the brass for their antiwar activity won important legal victories with far-reaching implications for the rights of all GIs.

On Feb. 4, a U.S. district court ruled that Howard Petrick, given an undesirable discharge by the Army in 1968, must be awarded an honorable discharge because the Pentagon's disapproval of his antiwar and socialist views was not grounds for punishment.

On Feb. 9, another district court ruling ordered Sp/4 David Cortright, who had been punitively transferred to Ft. Bliss, Texas, returned to duty at Ft. Wadsworth on Staten Island. Federal Judge Jack B. Weinstein said in his decision on the Cortright suit that the case revealed a lack of adequate regulations "compounded by a failure of the command structure" to protect GIs' First Amendment rights.

On Feb. 12, the Navy disclosed that the U.S. Navy Court of Military Review had reversed the court-martial conviction of Seaman Roger Priest on charges of "disloyalty" for putting out an antiwar newspaper. The Navy court said the conviction mistakenly confused "disloyalty to an authority of the United States" with "disloyalty to the United States."

All three of these victories are due in large part to the direct support the cases received from the organized antiwar movement. The growing opposition to the war among the majority of Americans in and out of uniform has made it incomparably easier to fight for and win free speech rights for GIs. The size, strength and power of this opposition has been vastly increased by the continuing mass mobilizations for immediate withdrawal organized by the antiwar movement.

Few people—even among antiwar activists—would have predicted in 1965 when the antiwar movement began that in just six years courts would be upholding the basic First Amendment rights for GIs. At that time both civilian opponents of the war and GIs themselves often accepted the Pentagon's assertion that joining the armed forces meant surrendering the rights of citizenship.

But a courageous few—Petrick, Howard Levy, Susan Schnall, the Ft. Jackson Eight, and others—dared to act in behalf of their rights and against the war. They were backed up by united campaigns of the whole antiwar movement; defense committees like the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee helped publicize the cases and raise funds. Some of the most outstanding constitutional lawyers in the country provided their services.

Today there is a widespread awareness among GIs of the rights they have. This awareness, combined with the heightened hostility to Washington's policy of aggression which GIs share with most Americans, has contributed to the explosive growth of a real antiwar movement within the military forces of U.S. imperialism.

The GI antiwar movement, already a key military-political factor limiting Nixon's ability to expand U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia, shows no signs of abating. On the contrary, every day the evidence multiplies of an accelerating growth of GI antiwar activity. For example, on Feb. 14 the NAACP called for the government to help finance the sending of Black civilian attorneys to West Germany to defend Black GIs prosecuted by the brass there. The growing nationalist consciousness of Black GIs is a sharp spur to the fight to extend the rights of citizens under arms.

The recent victories will provide a great impetus to the GI antiwar movement, encouraging GIs previously reluctant to participate in antiwar activity. It is important that the Student Mobilization Committee, the National Peace Action Coalition, and other antiwar forces do everything possible to reach the GI movement with the news of these victories and their full implications for antiwar GIs.

The battle to defend and extend GI rights will continue. The recent victories point the way. Getting the word out on them can help assure that GI participation in the April 24 mass actions for withdrawal of troops from Vietnam will be the biggest ever.

YPSL

Your reporter does things the hard way. He could have asked us (we're in the telephone book) whether or not we were part of the Connecticut Campus Coalition [In Brief, Feb. 5 *Militant*]. And we would have gladly answered his question (the answer happens to be no). But instead he and apparently *The Militant* prefer secondhand sources—especially if they're ultra-conservatives.

Max Green
National Secretary
Young People's Socialist League
New York, N. Y.

Lee Smith replies—First of all, let me say that, as a journalist, I prefer sources who are honest, whatever their politics. Grover Rees III may be a conservative, but the veracity of his statements stands up well in comparison with that of Max Green's letter. It is true that I got most of my information about the "anti-extremist" coalition from Rees, including the name and phone number of Bob Cottrol, whom I tried but was unable to reach. I wrote that YPSL belonged to the coalition on the basis of Rees' corroboration of the facts reported in the *New York Times*. I was concerned by Green's charges when we received this letter, and I called Green up. The following exchange took place. It speaks for itself.

Smith: Is Bob Cottrol at Timothy Dwight College a member of YPSL?

Green: Yeah.

Smith: He is. Did he appear at the news conference that announced the formation of the Connecticut Campus Coalition?

Green: Yeah, I believe he did.

Smith: Did he have the understanding that YPSL was participating in the Campus Coalition at that time?

Green: He certainly didn't have mine.

Smith: But he believed that YPSL was a member, and he had given that understanding to the organizers of the Coalition too. Isn't that correct?

Green: Well, it's not correct in my opinion.

Smith: Isn't it true that even Alex [Spinrad, chairman of the New Haven YPSL] thought that they were part of the coalition up until this weekend?

Green: No.

Smith: That's not correct?

Green: No, I had talked to him before that.

Smith: I see. So Alex at no time had the understanding that YPSL in New Haven was part of. . . .

Green: He at one time thought that they might participate. It was during a time in which they thought the Campus Coalition was associated with another group which you might have heard about, an international committee with . . . well, I can't remember all the sponsors but with Charles Franklin and Richard Lowenbach. It turns out this Campus Coalition is *not* part of that. When they were thinking of participating in the group, that was their understanding.

Smith: In other words, my facts weren't wrong. What's happened is that there's been a change and

YPSL's no longer part of the Coalition.

Green: No. First of all, YPSL had never been a part of it.

Smith: Well, are Alex and Bob members of YPSL?

Green: Yeah. Well, a member can participate in something. . . .

Smith: Without the organization participating?

Green: Right.

D. C. 12

Four gay men are currently on trial in Washington, D. C., on charges of assault, destruction of property, and unlawful entry in connection with a disturbance at a Washington restaurant Nov. 28.

The arrests were made after a confrontation between 50 gay liberation men and the management, patrons, and security guards of the Zephyr, a heterosexually oriented bar and restaurant. The confrontation stemmed from the management's refusal to serve four gay men.

The D. C. 12 (charges against eight other gays were subsequently dropped, but they still consider themselves part of the defense) will attempt to focus the case on the obvious antihomosexual prejudice of the Zephyr management. In order to insure a fair trial by jurors who do not share this prejudice, the defense will seek to get the judge's permission to question prospective jurors about their attitudes toward homosexuals. In the past, judges have admitted this kind of questioning to expose racist attitudes of potential jurors that would make it impossible for them to fairly consider evidence in the case of a Black or Latin defendant. This is the first attempt, however, to use this procedure to discern antihomosexuality, or any other form of sexism.

Contributions to the defense of the D. C. 12 can be sent to 1620 "S" Street N.W., Washington, D. C. 20009.

Chicago Gay Liberation
Chicago, Ill.

Suggestions

How about some articles on the consumer movement? I also would like to see more attention paid to the kidnappings and terrorism in Latin America. I'm in contact with many young people here and analysis of the groups such as the Tupamaros and Sandinists [Nicaraguan guerrilla organization—*Editor*] and the situation in Guatemala would be most helpful.

Keep up the good work on the paper. It gets better and better.

J. C.
San Pedro Sula, Honduras

Discriminating reader

I have been reading a lot of underground papers like *100 Flowers*, *East Village Other*, *Militant*, *Oz*, *Black Dwarf*, and others. Like yours best.

I'd like to know if there would be some way to sell *The Militant* in Albert Lea. I am presently in Central High School, and I think this is a good place to start.

D. G.
Albert Lea, Minn.

The Great Society

Page from FBI history

In the year 1955, John Lupa was employed at the Detroit Arsenal. Lupa had served for 19 years in the Army and Navy and had an honorable discharge.

On a certain morning in 1955 as Lupa reported for work, he was informed he was being suspended as a security risk and told to pack up his belongings and report immediately to the FBI office in Detroit.

At the FBI office he was directed to see a certain FBI agent. This agent informed Lupa that they wanted him to become an undercover agent and report on the activities of certain Auto Workers Union officials, particularly Ernest and Emil Mazey. The FBI knew that Lupa had been active in the union and knew many leaders intimately.

Lupa stated that he would have to think it over. The very next day, however, this FBI agent came to Lupa's home and repeated his proposal. He said that if Lupa would consent to so act he could have his job back at increased pay; otherwise he was all washed up. This was said before Lupa and Lupa's wife. After thinking it over for a day or so, Lupa decided to have nothing whatever to do with the proposal.

As was his right, Lupa demanded a hearing on the charge of being a security risk. I was retained to defend him. The hearing took place at the Detroit Arsenal before three government officials. Affidavits giving in detail the FBI agent's proposal were introduced by both Lupa and his wife and full newspaper publicity was had.

At the beginning of the hearing, I demanded that the Hearing Board produce the FBI agent for cross-examination. I stated that this was a most serious matter and that if the FBI resorted to this type of outrageous and inexcusable pressure and tactics to recruit undercover agents, the public should be fully informed regarding it.

The Hearing Board stated they lacked the power to produce the agent. I then sent a telegram giving all the details to J. Edgar Hoover in Washington, requesting that he produce the agent so that we could determine exactly what had gone on. No answer to this telegram ever came.

At this hearing—which took two days—John Lupa was completely cleared. His job was restored and he was given full pay for time lost. But it was a deeply disturbing and shocking occurrence which never, never should have happened.

*Charles C. Lockwood, attorney
Detroit, Mich.*

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

Leaping Lenin!—A Spalding ad advises: "This ski is so revolutionary we almost called it the Trotsky."

Travelers' Aid—Douglas Hofstadter, a U.S. pacifist who worked with refugees in South Vietnam, was surprised to learn that according to current Saigon figures there were no more refugees in the South Vietnamese province where he had worked. He returned there and found that the refugees were now termed "intraprovince travelers."

Unlike now—Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) favors extending the draft, because otherwise "You'll have poor people fighting rich men's wars."

Rationalizing the arts—Robert Anderson, chairman of the Business Committee for the Arts, says companies will contribute more to cultural institutions and will, accordingly, have to take a closer look at them. Not to influence their policies, just to be sure

they're needed. "With so many museums, orchestras and other organizations," he said, "it is reasonable to ask if they are all necessary and whether some mergers would not be in order."

Godspeed—Perhaps as a prelude to ground-breaking ceremonies for a Holiday Inn, Commander Edgar Mitchell placed a fireproof packet containing the first verse of the Book of Genesis on the moon. The action symbolized the determination of the United Bibles Societies to distribute the Good Book everywhere. Meanwhile, 25 Swedes reading in relays completed the full text of the Bible in 67 hours, topping the previous world's record of 90 hours.

And it's good to wipe around with—Abercrombie & Fitch is offering a men's chamois shirt, \$90.

Data dep't—Interest on the national debt, the bulk of which goes for pay-

ments on past, present and future wars, is now a bit more than \$39,000 a minute, according to a House Appropriations Committee estimate.

Pedagogy dep't—New York's New School now accepts major credit cards in paying tuition fees.

Double indemnity for murder?—The head of the Interstate Commerce Commission says the bankrupt Penn Central line had no right to buy and charge to business expenses \$10-million in insurance to protect its officials against penalties for wrongdoing. An official responded that such insurance, now legal in 11 states, does not cover wrongful acts "entered into for personal gain or resulting from dishonesty. . . ." But if it's good for business, how could it be dishonest?

Thought for the week—Wouldn't it be nice if the government were willing to limit itself to doublespeak?

—HARRY RING

♀ The Insurgent Majority

Gidra, an Asian-American newspaper published in Los Angeles, has just put out a special issue (January 1971) on women's liberation. Many of the articles focus on women and the war.

An article by Evelyn Yoshimura on "GIs and Asian Women" runs down the way Vietnamese women are used by the U.S. military to encourage racism among servicemen. Boot camp classes are filled with jokes about Asian prostitutes. Racist slander against Vietnamese women perpetuates the idea that Asians are somehow not quite as human as white people and therefore should be easier to kill in Vietnam.

Elaborating on how Asian-American GIs are divided from the Vietnamese through the use of women as sexual objects, Yoshimura relates the experiences of an Asian-American GI when he tried to marry a Vietnamese. One military officer told him, "Man, you don't want to marry one of those 'gooks' over here. If you take her back home with you, people won't be able to handle her 'cause she's not civilized. You think you want to marry her now, but that's because there are no 'round-eyed' chicks around."

Another officer told him, "Once you get back, you'll see all these blondes and you'll look at your wife and she'll be this old farmer chick—this gook—and you'll want to get rid of her. You'll be embarrassed because she's Vietnamese." This same GI to whom "round-eyed" women back home were put on a pedestal, had been called a "gook" himself all through basic training and was forced to stand in front of his platoon as an example of "what the enemy (the Vietnamese) looks like."

Yoshimura concludes, "We as Asian-American women cannot separate ourselves from our Asian counterparts. Racism against them is too often racism against us. The morality that keeps Suzy Wong, Madam Butterfly, and gookism alive; the morality that turns human beings into racist, murdering soldiers; also keeps Asian-Americans from being able to live and feel like human beings."

Something's happening and they don't know what it is. Or so a mailing from the Cleveland section of the moribund Socialist Labor Party would seem to indicate. Friends are invited to attend a meeting at which "A fine home-cooked dinner will be prepared by the ladies of the Section and Peter Kapitz, organizer of Section Akron

and well-known SLP speaker will give a talk entitled 'Can There Be a "Women's Liberation" in a Class Divided Society?'"

Growing outrage at the large numbers of rapes, robberies and murders committed on women every day is starting to be expressed in the feminist movement. A letter written to **Everywoman** by Mary St. John, expressing her reaction to the fatal stabbing of a UCLA female student in a university parking lot, is an example of the way many women feel.

Referring to the fear such incidents create, St. John asks, "Is our self-imposed curfew to be extended until we cower in our houses and apartments 24 hours a day?" She continues, "Women believe that they are delicate, fragile, weak. They often believe that, if attacked, they will lose the battle automatically because women have been defined by recent tradition as losers. Women's own attitudes make them vulnerable. Woman as victim. It is an outdated concept—and a myth. Enough of this myth!

"Let women discard, once and for all, their roles as things, receptacles, prey. Let them respect themselves as persons—and resolve to vigorously defend that personhood, if necessary. It isn't ladylike? Neither is a bloodied, battered, and very dead body."

In response to the trained vulnerability St. John describes, women are waging fights for self-defense courses in high schools, colleges, and the community. Recently, the Mt. Sinai School of Nursing was pressured into adding a karate class to its courses. New York's Radical Feminists held a speak-out on rape this month that drew close to 500 women.

And one of the best actions was one taken in Berkeley last fall, where feminists placed a series of demands before the City Council. Aware that more protection from a racist, sexist police force is no solution, the women demanded that funds be diverted away from the police budget into self-defense training programs for women.

Some of their other demands were that the city require Berkeley landlords to install adequate locks, provide free transportation for women during the dusk-to-dawn hours when most rapes occur, and end present restrictions on pets in apartments, so that women can keep dogs for protection.

—DEBBY WOODROOFE

Socialist Campaign '71

Houston SWP to sue city

HOUSTON—At a Feb. 9 news conference, the Houston Socialist Workers Party announced a slate of four candidates for the 1971 Houston city elections. Plans for a legal challenge of the city's discriminatory election laws were also announced.

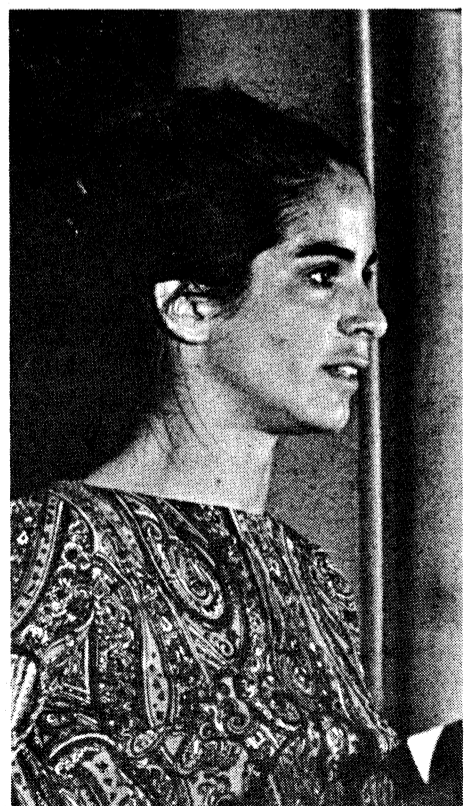
Mayoral candidate Deborah Leonard explained that three separate suits on behalf of herself and SWP City Council candidates Mareen Jasin, Paul McKnight, and Jeannette Tracy will attack provisions in the Houston city charter requiring a five year residency, real estate ownership for two years, and filing fees of \$1,250 and \$500 for mayoral and City Council candidates respectively.

Lawyers for the American Civil Liberties Union, which is handling the case on behalf of the candidates, expressed confidence that the restrictive measures would be knocked down in time for the November election.

Leonard, a women's liberation activist and prominent Houston spokeswoman for the Texas Abortion Coalition, said, "There is an increasing resentment rising to the surface in Houston and throughout Texas against undemocratic legislation which restricts political freedom. More and more people are beginning to look for answers to their problems outside the capitalist political framework."

Mareen Jasin, running for an at-large City Council position, is an active participant in the women's liberation movement and recently helped in mobilizing a large number of Houstonians for the Texas Abortion Coalition hearings in Austin on Jan. 30.

McKnight, also campaigning for an at-large position, has been a leading activist in Houston's antiwar movement, serving on the Executive Committee of the Houston Committee Against the War last year and currently a member of the newly-formed Houston Peace Action Coalition. In his press statement, McKnight announced that part of his campaign effort would be to help build support for the April 24 antiwar demonstra-



Deborah Leonard

Photo by Brian Shannon

tion in Washington and to fight against city ordinances restricting the activity of the antiwar movement.

Jeannette Tracy is running for City Council from a district with a large student population. She focused her attention on support for the struggles of high school and college students in Houston.

Announce Minneapolis campaign

By RANDY FURST

MINNEAPOLIS—A 24-year-old Socialist Workers Party member and prominent leader of the Minnesota antiwar movement will run for mayor of Minneapolis this spring.

The candidate, Susan Vass, announced her campaign at a kick-off banquet in Minneapolis on Feb. 12. She was the coordinator of the antiwar march of 50,000 to the state capitol in St. Paul last May 9.

She will be running in the April 27 nonpartisan primary along with Greg Guckenburg, another SWPer who is a candidate for councilman from Minneapolis' downtown Sixth Ward.

Guckenburg is the organizer of the Young Socialist Alliance in the Twin Cities and was previously active in the YSA and the antiwar movement in Boston.

Vass, a senior at the University of Minnesota, directed her remarks at the kick-off banquet to recent newspaper reports that the student movement is dead. "I would hate to count the number of times," said Vass, "that the press has eulogized over the student movement only to have the corpse pick up its coffin and walk away in the middle of it."

Earlier at a midday news conference, Vass called for an all-out Minnesota mobilization for the mass antiwar march on Washington, April 24.

She also gave her full support to the April 3 statewide mass march that is demanding the repeal of Minnesota's reactionary abortion law.

"If we do not win abortion repeal this year," Vass said at the banquet, "we will be back a thousand times, next year and every year, until we win control over our bodies and our lives."

Vass' principal opponent is Charles Stenvig, mayor of Minneapolis, who received national attention in 1969 when he was elected as a "law and order" candidate. Stenvig's attempts to prevent the granting of parade permits for antiwar marches has made him the target of increasing attacks.

Another announced candidate is Harry Davis, a Black liberal.

Schools are focus in Boston

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—At a well-attended kick-off rally at Harvard Hall on Feb. 12, Lisa Potash, 18, announced her campaign as the Social-

ist Workers Party candidate for School Committee in the coming municipal elections.

"I feel I am the candidate of all the people of Cambridge who are concerned with and are struggling over the issues of police brutality, rent gouging, and the general lack of quality in the Cambridge schools," she said, "and these issues will play an important part in my campaign."

"But first and foremost," she told the campaign rally, "I will be the 'high school' candidate. I am concerned with the lack of democratic rights of the freedom of press, speech and assembly, rights systematically denied high school students, not only in Cambridge, but all over the country."

Continuing, she stated, "I say that students should be able to conduct really free elections in the schools."

She called for an end to high school complicity with the Vietnam war and the end of sexist discrimination in the high schools.

"I hope," she said, "to be able to bring my campaign to all the voters in Cambridge, and with the new voting laws giving 18-year-olds the right to vote, this includes high school students." The proportional voting laws in Cambridge, she feels, give her a real chance of winning a seat.



Antonio Camejo

Camejo for control of police

BERKELEY—Antonio Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Berkeley, issued a statement on Jan. 26 supporting an amendment to the city charter to reorganize the Berkeley police force. The amendment, which will be on the ballot in the April city elections, would allow for the election by the community of boards which would hire and fire police. Camejo is the only mayoral candidate who supports the amendment. Since Camejo issued this statement, the Black liberal candidate, Warren Widener, has expressed his opposition to the amendment. Camejo stated:

"The police reorganization proposal introduces more levers of democratic control over the police and opens the opportunity for the Black and Chicano communities to fight for complete control of the police in their communities.

"The justice of this proposal is obvious to anyone who has experienced the vicious and contemptuous treatment we get at the hands of the police. We know that the reason for this is not that police have bad personalities or poor education. The police are hired to protect the wealth and political power of the rich. This is why they frame up Black militants and shoot down student demonstrators.

"This amendment can begin a struggle for real community control of the police. But even if it passes, the amendment can remain a dead letter if political power remains in the hands of Democratic or Republican politicians like Mayor Johnson and Warren Widener.

"Why is Widener so quiet about his position on this amendment? Widener knows that even if he promises to support the police-control amendment, his political party, the Democratic Party, will undermine it at every step."

Camejo added that independent political parties, like the Raza Unida Party, had a key role to play in defending the right of Black and Chicano people to full control of their communities.

Opponents challenged on war

PHILADELPHIA—Jean Savage, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Philadelphia, urged her Democratic and Republican opponents to join her in a Feb. 10 demonstration protesting the U.S. invasion of Laos. To former Philadelphia Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo, she wrote:

"In announcing your candidacy for mayor of Philadelphia, you indicated that the major factor influencing your decision was a concern for the welfare of the people of Philadelphia. Clearly, the war in Southeast Asia has had a severely detrimental effect on the city of Philadelphia.

"We are paying for the war with an inflated economy, the lives of thousands of young men, and the waste of billions of tax dollars. The invasion of Laos has underlined the fact that the war is not only continuing but expanding, despite its unpopularity and the hardships it creates here at home.

"On Feb. 10 at 4 p.m. a legal, peaceful demonstration will be held in Philadelphia to protest this invasion and to demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina. . . . I feel, as do all the candidates on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, that there can be no more significant gesture of concern for the people of Philadelphia than to participate in this demonstration. I encourage you to join us in this action."

Similar letters were sent to other candidates or potential candidates for mayor. None of them showed up for the march.

For the information of our readers, we are publishing a statement by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice and excerpts from a response by the National Peace Action Coalition. The PCPJ statement was released the second week in February, and the response was adopted by a Feb. 13 meeting of NPAC's Steering Committee.

PCPJ statement

There has been a great deal of confusion about the types of activities planned or contemplated by various segments of the antiwar movement in Washington, D.C., on or about May 1. Now after an initial period of wide-ranging discussions and movement brainstorming, a clear pattern has emerged. Both the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice and the Ann Arbor Youth Conference on a People's Peace Treaty have called for peaceful assemblies, movement workshops, and similar gatherings in Washington on the weekend of May 1 and 2, to be followed during the week of May 3-7 by more militant forms of protest such as a People's Lobby and a nonviolent moratorium on "business as usual." These activities are being planned in Washington and in cities and towns throughout the country.

Now that it has been made clear that no direct action is planned or contemplated for May 1 and 2 in Washington, we invite all groups and individuals who may have political or other reservations about civil disobedience and other direct action, to unite with the People's Coalition and the Youth Conference in a truly massive outpouring of antiwar sentiment in and near Washington on that weekend. On May 1, there will be a variety of assemblies, workshops, concerts, rap sessions, and training sessions for the People's Lobby and nonviolent direct action. On Sunday, May 2, beginning at 11 a.m., there will be a mammoth assembly raising the following demands: 1) Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military air, land

Mobilization Committee and was largely responsible for the formation of the two present coalitions. Your present statement suggests a greater prospect for common action against the war. However, there are a number of important issues that we both must consider if we are to move forward together against the war.

One question immediately comes to mind. If your group is, in fact, now in favor of massive, legal, peaceful demonstrations against the war and related social injustices, then would not the most reasonable and practical thing be for you to join in a united effort to build the April 24 demonstration in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco, which has been in the process of organization since last December? We believe there are a number of cogent reasons why you should do so.

The April 24 date is, in movement terms, an authoritative one. It came out of a conference of 1,500 antiwar activists who met in Chicago last Dec. 4-6. The gathering was as representative as it was large, including for the first time at any peace movement gathering, representation from 34 unions, as well Third World groupings, GIs, and others now joining the antiwar movement. The date of April 24 was set by a near-unanimous vote of the body after a full, democratic discussion in which all points of view had been given opportunity to be expressed.

Since then, there has been an extremely gratifying response to our spring program in general, and April 24 in particular. As you can see from the enclosed list, more than 400 organizations and individuals have already endorsed the April 24 demonstration. . . .

Further, April 24 has the significant merit of being clear-cut in its political character. A written action proposal was adopted at the December convention of our coalition. It makes clear that the April 24 demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco are to be disciplined, orderly and massive in character, and that they will have as their central political demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal and return home of all

mean, in effect, not getting to work on Monday. There would be similar problems for GIs on a weekend pass and students with classes on Monday morning. . . .

An additional question is posed by the demands adopted for the May 2 demonstration which go beyond the issues of immediate withdrawal and abolition of the draft. The National Peace Action Coalition has secured endorsement and support for the April 24 demonstration from an extremely broad range of people and organizations, including trade unions. While these forces are prepared to move to end the war, some may not be ready to support other demands or to support them in the manner you do.

We believe maximum participation in antiwar demonstrations results from focusing on the immediate withdrawal demand and relating that demand not only to such programs as guaranteed annual income and freedom for political prisoners, but also to racism, the draft, and other social issues as well. But people who come to the demonstration should not feel they must agree on other demands as a precondition for participating.

Perhaps more important is the continuing lack of political clarity surrounding May 2. Your statement states, "Now that it has been made clear that no direct action is planned or contemplated for May 1 and 2 in Washington. . . ." But it hasn't been made clear. For example, in reporting a Feb. 10 speech by Rennie Davis at American University, both the *Washington Post* and the *George Washington University Hatchet* gave almost identical accounts of the speech, and both reported he called for "action" in Washington on May 1. The character of such action was not spelled out by Davis. This was several days after the *Guardian* carried the statement on May 1 which he signed and which has been referred to earlier.

Further, if there were to be a workable, united effort in building a massive, orderly and disciplined demonstration, it would presumably be on the basis of actual agreement concerning the efficacy and desirability of such action. At least

NPAC urges 'People's Coalition' to back April 24

and sea forces from Vietnam, and that the U.S. set the date now for the completion of that withdrawal. 2) \$5,500 Guaranteed Annual Income for a family of four, with the date set for its realization. 3) Free all political prisoners, with a date set for the achievement of this freedom.

(Signed) Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger, William Douthard, Sid Peck.

NPAC response

This is in response to the statement recently issued by Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger, William Douthard, and Sid Peck on behalf of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ).

We welcome their desire to continue discussion aimed at united mass action this spring against the Indochina war. Needless to say, the current invasion in Laos adds further urgency to the need for a maximum effort by all concerned to achieve such unity in action. This response is offered in that spirit. . . .

We think it is good that you now express a recognition of the need for mass action against the war, as distinct from civil disobedience. This was a key political issue that divided the New



Nov. 15, 1969, demonstration in Washington, D.C. showed power of united antiwar actions.

Photo by Hermes

U.S. forces from Indochina and an end to the draft.

We are impelled to state frankly at this point that we do see some serious disadvantages to your proposal that the date of April 24 be put aside. . . . The proposal for the May 2 action, as we understand it, was agreed upon by a closed meeting of some 30 people on the weekend of Jan. 30-31, nearly two months after nationwide building for April 24 was underway. The only publicity we have seen thus far for your proposed May actions is a button and poster issued by a group called "May Day Tribe" and which advertises not May 2 but May 1.

Similarly, the only specific date referred to in the press release from the Ann Arbor Student and Youth Conference on a People's Peace Treaty is May 1. We make these points to suggest that it would be relatively easy for you to reconsider the May 2 date. . . .

Another disadvantage to the May 2 date is that it is on a Sunday. There can be little question that a Sunday demonstration would be significantly smaller than one on a Saturday and that extensive participation by certain key constituencies would be largely precluded. . . . Participating in a Sunday demonstration would for many people

two of the signers of your statement, Rennie Davis and Dave Dellinger, have been, at least up to this point, outspoken critics of mass action.

At a Washington press conference, Feb. 8, 1971, Dellinger characterized such demonstrations as "expressions of opinion" and asserted "we must move from expression of opinion to action. We have to move to the stage of force without violence."

Further, in an interview in the Jan. 30-Feb. 12 issue of the Washington underground newspaper the *Quicksilver Times*, Davis expressed the hope that NPAC would give up the April 24 action, stating that he did not see how such a mass rally "could particularly help the Vietnamese." Is it unreasonable to ask, if he thinks a peaceful mass rally on April 24 will not help the Vietnamese, why does he think that the same kind of rally on May 2 would . . . ?

A final ambiguity relates to the vital political question of the central aim of the demonstration. Your statements in your 1971 Spring Action Calendar are quite unclear on the key issue of immediate withdrawal. Your first demand, you state, is "immediate withdrawal of all military and land, sea and air forces from Vietnam, and that the U.S.

Continued on page 22

'Women'-a journal of sisterhood

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

BALTIMORE—An important part of the women's liberation movement has been the many publications that have emerged from the struggle. They have been key in providing an exchange of ideas and bringing new women into the movement. There are now dozens of feminist newspapers, magazines, and literary journals in circulation. One of the earliest of these, and one of the most serious and professionally done, is *Women: A Journal of Liberation*. Recently, I went to Baltimore for *The Militant* to meet with its staff and find out about the origins of *Women*.

Women began with a small ad placed in the *Guardian* in the summer of 1968. The ad stated that some women in Baltimore were interested in initiating a women's liberation magazine and wanted to know what other women thought of the idea. Although women's liberation was virtually an unknown idea at that time, except to handfuls of already radicalized women in a few major cities, letters poured in, encouraging the Baltimore women to go ahead.

Buoyed by this response, they sent a mailing to a nationwide list of 2,500 women who had participated in actions such as the Jeanette Rankin [antiwar] Brigade, asking them to send \$5 for a year's subscription and articles for the first issue.

Some \$700 was sent in. So deep was the sentiment among women, even then, that it was time we had our own publication, 140 women were willing to subscribe to something they had never seen and had no reason to be sure would ever come out.

Four Baltimore women — Donna Keck, Vicki Pollard, Dee Ann Pappas, and Carmen Arbona — immediately went to work on the first issue. The four had been active in the Baltimore Defense Committee, an antiwar group in which the Berrigan brothers were involved, and had been in a consciousness-raising group together. Only Carmen Arbona, an art student, had any knowledge of layout.

With the \$700 in subscriptions covering half of the printing costs, 3,000 copies of the first issue of *Women: A Journal of Liberation* came out in the fall of 1969, just as the women's liberation movement was moving onto the campuses and getting increasing attention in the mass media.

The first editorial reported that a women's liberation movement is sweeping the country, and stated that *Wom-*



Photo by Caroline Lund

Staff of "Women: A Journal of Liberation" pose with their families for photograph to be included in the upcoming issue on "How We Live and With Whom." Subscriptions to the magazine are \$4 for 4 issues from 3028 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. 21218.

en would serve as a forum for this growing movement. The editorial expressed the openness to every woman's ideas and feelings that remains an outstanding feature of *Women* today.

"At this time, we do not believe any one person or group can speak for the diversity of women in this country. We are confident of the approach which says: let dialogue take place; let action occur; the truth will be learned in the struggle. . . . We want everyone to have her say," it continued. "That is what the whole upheaval today is about: people have not had their say about what is happening to them. We are dedicated to that end."

Since then, four more issues have followed. In an attempt to explore the situation of women in depth, each issue is built around a theme. Issues have covered the areas: what is liberation, women in history, women in revolutions, and women in the arts.

Today, *Women* has a circulation of 20,000 and a subscription base of 2,500—in every state in the country and throughout Europe and Canada as well. A distributor gets 10-11,000 copies of the magazine into bookstores and newsstands. However the staff reports that this has had its drawbacks. "He puts the journal in cigar

stands next to the pornographic magazines and women never find it." They hope that as the women's liberation movement grows, groups across the country will take on distribution of *Women* as feminists in New York, Los Angeles, and other areas have already started doing.

The magazine has not been profit making. So far, it has just managed to pay for itself. There are no financial angels; the largest single contribution was \$500 mailed in anonymously. The staff is largely volunteer, with only three women paid token salaries of \$10-20 a week to cover their child-care expenses.

Although the range of politics on the staff of 15 is as broad as it is in the women's movement itself, the women describe themselves as "generally Marxist." They see the interrelation between struggles against racism, the war and sexism and think this system must be replaced with socialism. But as one staff member said, "Instead of talking about capitalism and imperialism all the time, we try to explain what they are and how they affect women. It's a lot harder that way," she continued, "but new women don't understand what you're talking about when you just use a lot of rhetoric."

Two staff meetings are held every

week; one a consciousness-raising session. Each staff member reads every article submitted to *Women*, writes down her comments, and then after discussion, a consensus is reached. The editorials are written collectively. Office and production jobs are rotated every few issues.

Correspondence to *Women* has indicated the impact it has had on women across the country. For each issue they receive a pile of manuscripts about 6 inches high. Letters come in every day from women who have just discovered the magazine. There are letters from women who claim that *Women* has changed their life by giving them a new idea of what women can do; letters from women who have been inspired to make their writings public for the first time. Each letter—"I've got some old poetry I'm getting up my nerve to send you" or "I've a germ of an idea for an article, but I don't know if it makes any sense"—is answered by the staff, and the sister is encouraged to write up her idea.

Women: A Journal of Liberation is an example of how women are breaking out of their social conditioning—asserting their ability to create, to master technical problems, and to think out a strategy for our struggle.

Boston women set spring activities

By CHRIS HILDEBRAND

BOSTON—On Feb. 6, more than 200 women met at Boston University to map out spring activities for the women's liberation movement in the New England area. The meeting was organized by the New England Women's Coalition, a newly formed group which grew out of the coalition that organized the Aug. 26 Women's Strike.

The coalition is at present composed of about 15 organizations, including Radcliffe Women to Keep Mind and Body Together, the Northshore Feminists, National Organization for Women, Female Liberation, Lexington Women's Liberation No. 1, Northeastern University Female Liberation, the Young Socialist Alliance, YoungWom-

en Committed to Action (a caucus in the YWCA), Boston University Female Liberation, Boston Women United, Socialist Workers Party, High School Women's Liberation, Black and Third World Women's Alliance, Daughters of Bilitis, Women Towards Awareness, and several unnamed collectives.

The Feb. 6 meeting passed a series of action proposals for the spring. The first is that there be a massive demonstration of women from all over New England on Sat., April 17, called Women's Liberation Day. The demands of the demonstration will be: 1) we demand complete control over our own bodies—free abortion on demand, repeal all abortion laws, no forced sterilization, free birth control

information and devices; 2) we demand complete control over our lives—including free, 24-hour, community-controlled child-care centers, equal employment opportunity, equal access to education and job training, and repeal of all laws regulating sexual behavior.

Another activity being planned is a New England-wide "Congress to Unite Women" to be held the weekend of March 19-21. This three-day conference will include educational workshops and panels as well as workshops to help plan and carry out the demonstration on April 17 and other actions. The Congress was seen as a way of bringing together all the women's liberation groups in New England. Plans will also be discussed

for how to broaden the April 17 action through bringing in new women.

It was also decided to build mass picket lines and actions during the week of March 23. These will coincide with hearings held by the state legislature on bills to repeal the Massachusetts abortion law.

In addition, a committee was set up to work on child care and to investigate the possibility of placing a referendum on the ballot in a city like Cambridge in the 1971 elections, on the issue of free, 24-hour, community-controlled child care.

The meeting, which was widely covered by the Boston mass media and underground press, voted to send telegrams of solidarity to Angela Davis and Ericka Huggins.

Vietnam: Three decades of imperialist counterrevolution



Lyndon B. Johnson, 1948—No matter what else we have of offensive or defensive weapons, without superior air power America is a bound and throttled giant; impotent and easy prey to any yellow dwarf with a pocket knife. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1952—We now know that the Indochina war is not merely a colonial problem but a fierce strategic struggle against despotism. John Foster Dulles, 1953—If Indochina should be lost, there would be a chain reaction throughout the Far East and South Asia. . . . We would all like to think the war there might be successfully concluded in the next calendar year. . . . A grave threat to Malaya, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand. John F. Kennedy, 1954—I

am convinced that American military aid, no matter how extensive, cannot crush an enemy who is everywhere and nowhere. Dulles, 1955—The situation is difficult but the present problems are neither unexpected nor insoluble. Richard Nixon, 1956—The militant march of Communism has been halted. Robert S. McNamara, 1962—I think our mission in Vietnam is very clear. We are there at the request of the South Vietnamese government to provide training. General Maxwell Taylor, 1963—On the military side, however, we have recognized the importance of the area as a laboratory. We have had teams out there looking at the equipment requirements of this kind of guerrilla warfare. Kennedy, 1963—Withdrawal of United States troops would be a great mistake. Johnson,

1964—Some others are eager to enlarge the conflict. They call upon us to supply American boys to do the job Asian boys should do. . . . We seek no wider war. Nixon, 1965—We must never forget that if the war in Vietnam is lost . . . the right of free speech will be extinguished throughout the world. Hubert H. Humphrey, 1965—Only the Vietcong has committed atrocities in Vietnam. Dean Rusk, 1965—I think pacification of the country would be easy if the external aggression were stopped. Johnson, 1965—We seek no wider war. Nixon, 1966—If our aims were better understood, our effort would be more appreciated. General William C. Westmoreland, 1967—The military picture is favorable. Westmoreland, 1968—Militarily, we have never been in a better relative position in South Vietnam.

. . . The enemy has been defeated at every turn. Westmoreland, 1969—I have never made the prediction that this would be other than a long war. Nixon, 1969—I think that history will record that this may have been one of America's finest hours. Nguyen Cao Ky, 1969—At the end of 1970, we will replace all American combat troops. Nixon, 1970—In cooperation with the armed forces of South Vietnam, attacks are being launched this week to clean out major enemy sanctuaries on the Cambodian-Vietnam border. . . . We shall avoid wider war. . . . Ky, 1971—[Plans should be made] to attack the rear and the bases of the North Vietnamese on their own territory. (See "Quotations Vietnam, 1945-1970" by William G. Effros, Random House, 1970.)

By **DICK ROBERTS**

Washington's central objective in Vietnam has remained the same for over 15 years—since President Dwight Eisenhower's administration took over from France after the battle of Dienbienphu in 1954.

The task, as the U.S. rulers see it, is to crush a peasant-based revolution under the leadership of Communist forces and thereby to stabilize a pro-Western regime in Saigon.

But this peasant revolution had been advancing for at least 15 years even before Dienbienphu. Ho Chi Minh and his followers first established the "League for the Independence of Vietnam" ("Viet Minh" for short) in 1941, during the Second World War Japanese occupation of Indochina. And the Viet Minh had come to power in Indochina in 1946, following Japan's defeat.

The years of repression before 1946; the nine-year war against the French, which lasted until 1954; the brutal, reactionary South Vietnamese regimes of the 1950s; the last 10 years of U.S. occupation and slaughter—in short, three decades of imperialist counterrevolution—have produced in Indochina a deeply entrenched and widely supported revolutionary struggle.

To crush this revolution today requires crushing its base in the populace, that is, destroying the people of the countryside—destroying their homes, villages and towns, destroying their crops, destroying their forests, and forcing them into heavily-guarded concentration camps.

This is Nixon's "Vietnamization" plan. Its roots go back to the "counterinsurgency" programs of the Kennedy administration, and before the

U.S. occupation of Vietnam, to the colonial policies of the French.

Knowledge of this history can be a powerful weapon of the antiwar movement. It underlines unambiguously that Washington's basic strategy in Indochina is what used to be called *scorched earth*: the terrorization of a people through unrelieved destruction and repression. From the very start, the antiwar movement has had the

responsibility of exposing for the American people the real character of Washington's war in Southeast Asia. This is an important part of the crucial job of mobilizing millions and millions in the struggle once and for all to bring an end to the war.*

Indochina as a French colony

"Indochina is, from all points of view, the most important, the most

*In order to economize on space, many of the sources for the information in this article are not given. However, all of the quotations and source material unless otherwise noted have been taken from the following five books, all of which are paperbacks in print, and which, in addition, are indispensable reading for antiwar activists:

The Struggle for Indochina, 1940-1955,

by Ellen J. Hammer, Stanford University Press; **Vietnam: Between Two Truces,** by Jean Lacouture, Vintage Books; **How the United States Got Involved in Vietnam,** by Robert Scheer, Fund for the Republic; **The Indochina Story,** by the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, Bantam Books; and **At War with Asia,** by Noam Chomsky, Vintage Books.

developed and the most prosperous of our colonies," Albert Sarraut, colonial minister of France, declared in 1923.

This lush land was the third most important exporter of rice in the world. It exported rubber and corn. It had mineral and timber wealth: anthracite coal, which was exported, iron ore, tin, zinc, phosphates, manganese, and tungsten.

French economic policy typically favored development of the raw materials for export and suppressed domestic industrial development. "In Tonkin," Ellen Hammer writes, "Vietnamese were employed in French textile industries and in French-owned mines. Vietnamese laborers also worked the French rubber plantations in Cochin China. Many of these plantation workers were recruited in the villages of Tonkin . . . and sent south far from their homes to work under a semimilitary system."

Most of the land was owned by absentee landlords. In the Mekong Delta, out of a population of four million, only 225,000 owned land. In one province, 9.6 percent of the landowners held 65.5 percent of the cultivable land. Most of the populace existed as penniless tenants indebted to the absentee owners and banks.

Long before the organization of the Viet Minh, Vietnamese nationalists chafed against imperialist domination. As in North Africa and the Fertile Crescent, revolutionists met the guns of the Foreign Legion, whose generals ordered whole villages to be destroyed in reprisals for individual acts (a policy only later to be adopted by Hitler and perfected by the Pentagon). The years 1930-31 saw a savage repression of rebellion in Indochina in which thousands were killed and many thousands imprisoned, including Communists and nationalists of other revolutionary groups.

Paris maintained its hold on Indochina during most of the Second World War, despite Japanese occupation, through the maneuvering of a pro-Vichy regime. While Japan used the ports of Haiphong and Camranh Bay and the air bases it constructed as the springboard for attacking the Philippines, Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies, the French administration occupied itself with quelling Vietnamese resistance. The Viet Minh called upon the French to work with them against the Japanese occupiers. They were met with the bullets of the French occupiers.

1945: Viet Minh betrayed

But the end of the war brought a new upsurge of struggle. By the summer of 1945, the revolution was in full sway under Viet Minh leadership. In the northern provinces of Tonkin, revolutionary forces took power without a shot being fired. In other provinces, they were meekly opposed by Japanese troops. "People's Committees" sprang up throughout the countryside abolishing the old "Councils of Notables" that had been fostered by the French.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was established in August. The flexible emperor Bao Dai negotiated with the People's Committee in Hue: in return for support for the new republic, Bao Dai was promised state protection of the temples and tombs of the Royal Family.

"Never before had Vietnam seemed so united," Ellen Hammer writes. "Emperor and people, Catholics and Confucianists, conservatives and Communists, they all seemed to support the new republic. In Hanoi, now the capi-

tal of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh reorganized the National Liberation Committee, bringing in a Catholic and several more moderate nationalists to form the Provisional Government of the new republic. . . . Sept. 2 was Independence Day for Vietnam. The people of Hanoi cheered wildly. It looked to them as if the war were over and Vietnam were free."

But this proved to be short-lived. On one side, as a result of reformist illusions of the Viet Minh Communist leaders, and on the other side, as a result of machinations by British armies and French administrators, the imperialists were able to regain a military foothold in Saigon within a few months and subsequently to launch the long counterrevolutionary war against the new Vietnamese government.

The big powers that emerged victorious from the world war—Britain, the U.S., and the Soviet Union—determined that the defeated Japanese forces in Vietnam should be disarmed, north of the 16th parallel by Chinese armies and south of it by British troops.

Revolutionary socialists in the Viet Minh, as well as others, warned against this imperialist maneuver. They urged against any negotiations with the imperialists and refused to give up their own weapons to the British and Chinese troops, which were supposed to be there only to disarm the Japanese.

But Ho and the other Communist leaders of the Viet Minh bent to Moscow's pressure for "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist war victors. This meant cooperating with the Chinese and British disarmament and ultimately negotiating a status for Vietnam *within the French Union*.

The Trotskyists and the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao groupings, who denounced the British troops and demanded guns for the people, were ruthlessly crushed by Communist Viet Minh forces. "The Viet Minh closed in on Trotskyites who belonged to the 'Struggle' group as well as to the International Communist League, and a number were killed," writes Ellen Hammer. This included the prominent revolutionary leader Ta Thu Thau, who was murdered despite his acquittal in three trials by local People's Committees.

On Sept. 22-23, a British coup in Saigon displaced Vietnamese rule and reestablished the nucleus of a French administration. (In northern Vietnam, there was no such move against the Viet Minh on the part of the Chinese. Chiang Kai-shek had no wish to restore Hanoi to his imperialist rivals in Paris. This gave Vo Nguyen Giap time to consolidate and extend the arena of Viet Minh control.)

The French then stalled for time, conducting a series of negotiations with Ho. Just over one year later, in November 1946, Paris was ready to launch its counterrevolutionary war. This was precipitated by an air bombardment and naval artillery shelling of Haiphong, Nov. 23, in which some six thousand Vietnamese were killed—thus employing once again the classical model of imperialist colonial warfare: destroying the populace in order to "save it."

Franco-Vietnamese war

The nine-year-long "dirty war" followed. Its details, which in many respects were repeated on a bigger scale in the latter half of the 1960s, need not be considered here. The French raised an army of over 400,000 (in

addition to the Saigon army which came to number about 200,000).

Napalm bombing of civilians was frequent and there was an extraordinarily high rate of infant mortality. ". . . all the Viet Minh could offer its adherents was more of the same misery and the continuing prospect of an unending and destructive war," Hammer writes.

"In view of the terrible circumstances of life in the Viet Minh zones, the striking fact is not the number of people who left, but the number who stayed behind. They seemed dedicated to a single purpose. 'All the prisoners we question are unanimous,' Nguyen Van Tam, prime minister of the Bao Dai government, said; 'they are fighting for the independence of Vietnam.'"

Three points about the Franco-Vietnamese war, however, should be stressed. One of these points is the almost complete lack of support of the world Communist movement to the Viet Minh. Just the opposite of the cold war myths that Democratic and Republican administrations have repeated down to this day, the Indochinese revolution was above all a national revolt against foreign domination. It received little help "from outside."

The Stalinist policy of "peaceful coexistence" has taken a deep toll on the Vietnamese revolution. The Communist Party of France supported "its" government in the suppression of the revolution. On July 24, 1946, the French CP newspaper *l'Humanite* asked: "Are we, after having lost Syria and Lebanon yesterday, to lose Indochina tomorrow, North Africa the day after?" And Maurice Thorez, the CP vice-premier of France, co-signed with the Socialist Premier Ramadier the orders sending French troops against the Viet Minh. These "revolutionaries" consequently never questioned why Moscow refused anything close to sufficient aid to the Vietnamese—and is still far from providing the measure of economic and military aid the Soviet Union is capable of producing.

When Mao came to power in China in 1949, the Viet Minh looked hopefully to the new Communist state on their boundaries for desperately needed help. And they did get some aid from Peking as they have since. But it also has been far less than is needed: "Perhaps the most significant aspect of this aid was . . . what it failed to bring," Hammer states. "Most conspicuously lacking was Chinese help in building and supplying a Vietnamese air force, without which each Viet Minh offensive was bound to end in a bath of blood. . . ."

The second general point that should be made about the Franco-Vietnamese war concerns the character of the Saigon regime. It was not until June 1949, almost four years after the establishment of the DRV, that the French were able to patch together a Vietnamese government in Saigon—with the still flexible Bao Dai as its head. The former emperor had very little support.

Even men like Ngo Dinh Diem refused to join the Saigon government. They recognized it wouldn't last a minute without French support and they feared associating themselves with the hated colonialists.

So from its very inception, the government in Saigon—which is the same one that Nixon is defending today—has had no base among the Vietnamese masses; in fact, it was set up by France as a means of combatting the independence forces. It has always existed solely through repression of

the masses with the financial and military aid of foreign imperialism.

The third general point is that U. S. recognition and aid to the Saigon regime began immediately after its inception, that is, during the Truman administration. A June 1949 State Department document welcomed the formation of Bao Dai's regime, describing it as "the new unified state of Vietnam" which would "form the basis for the progressive realization of the legitimate aspirations of the Vietnamese people."

From then on, the flow of dollars to back one after another Saigon regime steadily increased. From \$150-million in 1950, it soared to \$1-billion four years later. By 1954, Washington was underwriting 80 percent of the cost of the war being fought by French troops. On April 6, 1954, in the middle of the battle of Dienbienphu, Washington announced that in the next fiscal year it would increase its aid to \$1.33-billion.

1954: Geneva accords

When the French forces finally collapsed after the famous 55-day siege, it was evident that the Viet Minh was more deeply rooted in the countryside than it had been nine years earlier at the war's outset. The journalist Joseph Alsop traveled in Viet Minh-controlled areas of the Mekong Delta in the winter of 1954:

"I would like to be able to report—I had hoped to be able to report—that on that long, slow canal trip to Vinh Binh, I saw all the signs of misery and oppression that have made my visits to East Germany like nightmare journeys to 1984. But it was not so. . . . At first it was difficult to conceive a Communist government's genuinely 'serving the people.' I could hardly imagine a Communist government that was also a popular government. But this is just the sort of government the palm-hut state actually was while the struggle with the French continued. The Viet Minh could not possibly have carried on the resistance for one year, let alone nine years, without the people's strong, united support."

Dwight D. Eisenhower recalled the same period in his memoirs. Eisenhower was "convinced that the French could not win the war. . . . I never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indochinese affairs who did not agree that had elections been held as of the time of the fighting, possibly 80 percent of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh as their leader. . . ."

Yet the Eisenhower administration seriously considered intervening to save the French at Dienbienphu and possibly even using nuclear weapons to do the job. In a trial-balloon speech April 7, 1954, the then vice-president Richard Nixon stated: "The United States as a leader of the free world cannot afford further retreat in Asia . . . if this government cannot avoid it, the administration must face up to the situation and dispatch forces."

But a surge of opposition from the American people, pressure from the U. S. Congress, and disagreement with the intervention plan by the British government as well as important sectors of the French government persuaded Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles to hold back.

What the imperialists could not win militarily, however, they succeeded in winning diplomatically with the help of Moscow and Peking. This is the main significance of the 1954 Geneva

accords. By artificially dividing Vietnam into two regroupment spheres along the 17th parallel, north of it for the Viet Minh forces and south of it for the French, the imperialists won a crucial breathing spell to once again attempt to stabilize their hold in Saigon.

The fact that the accords also promised elections for two years later in 1956 and reunification of the country, could not be taken seriously under the circumstances. Douglas Pike, a former USIA officer, writes in the Center for International Studies publication *Viet Cong* (MIT Press) the following:

"Only the Viet Minh, the winners, lost. Or were sold out. Ho Chi Minh somehow was persuaded—apparently by a joint Sino-Soviet effort—to settle for half the country. . . . The shock of understanding that they had been betrayed, when it came a year later to [the] North Vietnamese, must have been great indeed—nine years of sacrifice in the name of independence and unity washed down the river of abstraction."

Ngo Dinh Diem

Diem, following his refusal to take

pattern of these manhunts is clear: . . . denunciation, encirclement of villages, searches and raids, arrests of suspects, plundering, interrogations enlivened sometimes by torture . . . deportation, and regrouping of populations suspected of intelligence with the rebels, etc.'

"Seventy-five thousand or more people were killed in this campaign. As many or more were incarcerated. . . . Conditions in Diem's 'reeducation centers,' brought to light only after his overthrow in 1963, were sordid indeed. Deliberate starvation, deliberate blinding, deliberate maiming."

The National Liberation Front

Unlike the nationalist religious sects, which attempted unsuccessfully to oppose Diem from 1955 on, the members of the Viet Minh who had remained in the South after Geneva attempted to make peace with the new Saigon regime.

This was because Hanoi sustained the illusion that Diem would eventually live up to the Geneva accords. Elections, if held, would certainly bring about a reunification of the nation

the Lao Dong (Workers [Communist] Party) in Hanoi called for the liberation of South Vietnam from American imperialism. On Dec. 20, 1960, about 100 persons who had gone underground in South Vietnam announced the formation of the "National Liberation Front of South Vietnam."

Pacification: 1955-1964

" . . . at the beginning, pacification was not a response to rebellion. On the contrary, rebellion was a response to pacification," the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars writes. That is central to understanding the present conflagration in Southeast Asia.

At no time in the last three decades has a regime existed in Saigon that has had the support of the Vietnamese peasant masses. Their sympathies have been on the side of those fighting against imperialism.

The Viet Minh did not even completely abolish the absentee-ownership plantation system, it did not give all the land back to the peasants, it did not succeed in eliminating rents, and it had to inflict heavy taxes in order to pay for the end-

others* have done an excellent job of showing the paths from the ivy-covered Southeast Asia institutes of various U.S. campuses to the State Department and the Pentagon and then to the battlefields where the pacification projects reach bloody fruition. The "strategic hamlet" program, initiated in 1961, is described by the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars:

"The peasants were forced to work in the 'hamlets,' digging moats and ditches, etc., while the crops in their own fields wasted away either from lack of care or from the first effects of the chemical crop destruction program, which began in 1961. The burning down of peasant homes outside the 'hamlets' was continued and increased. Peasants were not reimbursed for their burned homes, nor were they compensated for their forced labor. . . . Many thousands suffered hunger and starvation."

To guide and oversee such operations, Kennedy had set up a "Special Group for Counterinsurgency" on the top level of his administration, headed by General Maxwell Taylor.



part in the Bao Dai government of 1949, spent some time in the United States and gained influential backing, particularly from the Catholic Church, of which he was a member.

Senators John F. Kennedy and Mike Mansfield (who became an important architect of the Kennedy administration's Vietnam policies) saw in Diem a pro-Western Vietnamese leader who could provide an alternative to both France and the Viet Minh by forming an "independence" government that would exclude the Viet Minh.

In a speech at the time of Dienbienphu, Kennedy said that his concern was "for the security of the free world, and for the values and institutions that are held dear in France and throughout the non-Communist world, as well as in the United States." Such an institution apparently resulted from the Geneva accords, and Diem became its ruler in July 1954, even before the Geneva conference was terminated.

At first he waged war against the politico-religious sects of the Cao Dai, Hoa Hao, and Binh Xuyen, which had at one time fought with the Viet Minh against the French, but many members of which had gone over to the French side in the protracted war. Then Diem turned on the peasant masses, including members of the Viet Minh who had stayed in the South following the Geneva accords.

"Full-scale manhunts against dissidents were organized in the rural areas in 1956," states the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars. "The

favorable to Hanoi. Ho also apparently believed that it would be possible to get desperately needed economic help from the Saigon government.

But no such aid was forthcoming. The terror was stepped up, with a "guillotine on wheels" traveling from village to village. Jean Lacouture, a French journalist familiar with the Vietnam of this period, describes Hanoi's dilemma: "The installation of the fanatically anticommunist Ngo family in Saigon, Washington's unrestrained support of that dictatorship, and the constant increase of American forces in the southern zone made it clear to the men in Hanoi that they faced . . . a final partitioning. . . and moreover a platform was perhaps being established in the South from which some day a military action might be launched against them.

"The pitiless 'witch hunt' conducted against their comrades in the South, resulting in the latter's pathetic appeals for help to Hanoi leaders . . . led them, after 1959 and five years of honest application of the Geneva Agreements, to intervene progressively in the South. . . ."

In March 1960, a small group of old resistance fighters met in eastern South Vietnam and issued an appeal to patriots to regroup with a view toward ultimate collective action. A letter was read from Nguyen Huu Tho, a Saigon lawyer serving a five-year prison term as president of the Saigon "Committee of Peace," which called for resistance.

In September 1960, a Congress of

less war. As at Geneva, the Viet Minh subordinated the needs of the Vietnamese revolution to the interests of Stalinist world policy.

But the peasants supported the revolution and still support it because it offers fundamental improvements and it is fighting to end oppression; it is not the oppressor. The rule by terror comes from Saigon. There is no other way to impose the oppressive rule of capitalist property relations on revolutionized masses.

Whether directly in the form of bullets and bombs, or thinly veiled in the form of pacification, terror has come to be known by whole new generations of young people in Southeast Asia as the only thing to expect from Saigon and its Washington backers.

Averell Harriman, the powerful ruling-class diplomat influential in six administrations, has admitted in his recent book, *America and Russia in a Changing World*, that ". . . the Diem government was entirely dependent on the U.S. for military, political and economic support. Before the end of 1961, the situation became so grave that President Kennedy sent a team . . . to review the situation and recommend action. They reported that further American involvement was essential if the Diem regime were to survive. . . . President Kennedy increased substantially our military advisers and supplied tactical air training and support. . . ."

This was the birth of full-scale U.S. pacification. Robert Scheer, the Student Mobilization Committee, and

Diem's fall and U.S. escalation

Building an army in Saigon capable of maintaining a pro-Western regime has always been an object of imperialist policy.

By 1960, the U.S. had helped to build up the so-called South Vietnamese Army to 350,000 troops—armed, clothed, paid, and trained by Americans. By 1965, the year of Johnson's major escalation, the Saigon army numbered 500,000, and it had grown to nearly 800,000 at the end of Johnson's administration. Nixon has built it to about one million—in a country of about 14 million people!

The growth of the Saigon army was one of the causes of Diem's collapse in 1963. The fact that Diem had destroyed the bases of rival factions in Vietnam contributed all the more to the power of the Saigon military. Buddhist groupings showed the world how much the Vietnamese hated Diem's regime, with their demonstrations and horrifying self-immolations in the spring and summer of 1963, but the Buddhists never offered a strong political alternative to Diem or to the

*See particularly: "Germ Warfare Research for Vietnam: Project Spicerack on the Pennsylvania Campus," Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam, January 1966; "The University on the Make, or How MSU Helped Arm Madame Nhu" by Robert Scheer, *Ramparts*, April 1966; and "Counterinsurgency Research on Campus Exposed," *Student Mobilizer*, April 1970.

subsequent military regimes.

It was logical for the Kennedy administration to orient toward unadulterated military dictatorship and to dump Diem when world public opinion rose so sharply against him as a result of the Buddhist protests—and Madame Nhu's remark: "I would clap hands at seeing another monk barbecue show."

Diem was assassinated in November 1963. There followed one and a half years of coups and countercoups until June 1965 when Gen. Nguyen Cao Ky emerged as the first durable successor to Diem.

In this period, Saigon's rule had steadily deteriorated. However, there was still no substantial "infiltration from North Vietnam." In June 1964, Thomas Hughes, State Department director of intelligence, declared that "by far the greatest part of the Viet Cong forces in South Vietnam are South Vietnamese, the preponderance of Viet Cong weapons come not from Communist countries but from capture, purchase, and local manufacture."

Johnson ordered the massive escalation of the war in the spring of 1965, the continuous bombing of North Vietnam, the attack on South Vietnam by U.S. combat troops, for three essentially related reasons: in the first place in order to stave off the imminent collapse of the regime in Saigon; second, to demonstrate to revolutionary movements throughout the world the cost of armed uprising against imperialism; third, to stabilize imperialism's hold in Southeast Asia and to provide a military base in order to "contain and roll back" the advance of revolution in Asia—ultimately, perhaps, in China itself.

James Reston wrote in the Aug. 27, 1965, *New York Times*: "The U.S. bases and supply areas are being structured on a scale far larger than is necessary to care for the present level of American forces. . . . In fact, the U.S. base at Camranh . . . is being developed into another Okinawa, not merely for the purposes of this war, but as a major power complex from which American officials hope a wider alliance of Asian nations, with the help of the U.S., will eventually be able to contain the expansion of China."

Noam Chomsky has commented on this explanation of U.S. motives in Vietnam, "The phrase 'contain the expansion of China' must be understood as code for the unpronounceable expression 'repress movements for national independence and social reconstruction in Southeast Asia.'"

The truth of Chomsky's observation is all the more apparent on the rare occasions when the unpronounceable is blurted out. Gen. Maxwell Taylor told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Feb. 17, 1966: "Like the Communists, we have secondary objectives derived from the basic one. We intend to show that the 'war of liberation,' far from being cheap, safe, and disavowable, is costly, dangerous, and doomed to failure."

The war: 1965-1968

Former Army Chief of Staff General Matthew B. Ridgeway has stated, "The Korean War taught that it is impossible to interdict the supply route of an Asian army by airpower alone."

Bernard Fall, the late expert on Indochina, wrote in 1967 before his death: "What changed the character of the Vietnam war was not the decision to bomb North Vietnam: not the de-

cision to use American ground troops in South Vietnam: but the decision to wage unlimited aerial warfare inside the country at the price of literally blowing the place to bits."

Colonel James A. Donovan in *Militarism, U.S.A.* (from which the two previous quotations are taken), writes that "at the end of October 1968, when bombing of the North halted, the total bomb tonnage dropped in both North and South Vietnam was given as 2,948,057 tons. (Total tonnages dropped by U.S. aircraft in World War II, in both European and Asiatic theaters, was 2,057,244.) So we dropped 50 percent more bombs on Vietnam than in both Europe and the Pacific. . . . Only about one-fifth of the total bomb tonnages were dropped on North Vietnam. . . ."

"It has been generally agreed," Donovan writes, "that the psychological effect of the heavy bombs falling from unseen aircraft has probably been tremendous: they have terrorized the enemy, the inhabitants, and even nearby friendly troops. . . . In the populated coastal provinces of South Vietnam . . . approximately 70 percent of the villages have been destroyed by our bombing, artillery shelling, and fire."

A leaflet that was sometimes dropped on villages before they were destroyed declared: "U.S. MARINES WILL NOT HESITATE TO DESTROY, IMMEDIATELY, ANY VILLAGE OR HAMLET . . . USED AS A VIET-CONG STRONGHOLD TO FIRE AT OUR TROOPS OR AIRCRAFT." Once the village was destroyed, another leaflet was sometimes dropped. It declared that the survivors should turn to the Saigon government, which will "help you to live in peace and to have a happy prosperous life."

Based on news dispatches of the time, "Operation Cedar Falls," one of the bigger "search and destroy" missions, was described in *The Militant*, Jan. 23, 1967: "In essence, the campaign is designed to demolish every single hut, including four villages, in a 60-square-mile area 30 miles northwest of Saigon. . . . the area has first been bombarded by an undisclosed number of B-52s for a considerable period of time; it is daily bombed by aircraft supporting the ground troops; and it is saturation shelled in addition by ground artillery. Following massive bombing and shelling, troops have moved into the villages, murdered most of the men, removed the women and children to refugee concentration camps, and finally burned the villages to the ground."

Towards the end of 1967, after a full year of "search and destroy" missions in the same area northwest of Saigon ("War Zone C"), Westmoreland announced that the NLF was "through forever in War Zone C." Shortly after, however, the NLF launched the famous "Tet offensive"—the largest attack of the war—whose main thrust came from War Zone C.

The NLF demonstrated that despite the years of terror and the holocaust of bombs, the revolution was still strong—perhaps stronger than ever. It had the support of the people in virtually every town and city of South Vietnam. In brutal retaliation, Washington made the people pay a horrifying price for this courageous demonstration of solidarity.

Former Undersecretary of the Air Force Townsend Hoopes describes the U.S. retaliation in *Limits of Intervention*: In Saigon, "artillery and air

strikes were repeatedly used against densely populated areas of the city, causing heavy civilian casualties"; in Hue, "80 percent of the buildings had been reduced to rubble, and in the smashed ruins lay 2,000 dead civilians. . . . Three-quarters of the city's people were rendered homeless. . . ."

The war since 1968

Tet forced Washington to undertake a major tactical turn. It was forced not only by the heroic stand of the Vietnamese revolution but also by the cry of horror which swept the world at Washington's murderous counter-attack.

The long work of the American antiwar movement to bring out ever larger and broader forces had a major impact too. By early 1968, not a single leading architect of the war could show his face in public. The president grandstanded to closed army bases—and there were indications that GIs might put a stop even to that. Further, the antiwar movement here had gained massive support from abroad. In October 1968, there were demonstrations against the war of 100,000 in London and 800,000 in Japan!

The imperialists were forced to abandon the continuous escalation of U.S. troop shipments; they were forced to cease bombing North Vietnam for a long period; and most importantly, they were eventually forced to begin cutting down on the total number of U.S. troops in the war arena.

This did not mean they were forced to give up the perspective of winning the war. What was unclear to many Americans a year ago is becoming increasingly obvious now: Nixon's "secret peace plan," "Vietnamization," "gradual withdrawal," etc., etc., are all nothing more than a hoax designed to keep U.S. troops in Indochina indefinitely. The basic aim in Washington remains what it was from the start: to crush the revolution. But the conditions under which the administration is attempting to carry this out have significantly changed.

Nixon was and remains caught in an inextricable dilemma: on one side is the dire necessity to world imperialism of winning the war; on the other side is the massive and growing antiwar pressure which consistently narrows the president's room for maneuver.

Each new aggression is a desperate lashing out to deal further punishing blows to the revolutionary forces and the peasant masses who refuse to surrender. Each blow is designed to extend the arena of terrorization. Pacification efforts have been reduplicated and even intensified in Cambodia and Laos.

Laos has been bombed even more intensively than Vietnam. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* of April 16, 1970, declares: "For the past two years, the U.S. has carried out one of the most sustained bombing campaigns in history against essentially civilian targets in northeastern Laos. The area is a carpet of forest dotted by villages and a few towns. Refugees report that the bombing was primarily directed against their villages. Operating from Thai bases and from aircraft carriers, American jets have destroyed the great majority of villages and towns in the northeast."

"Severe casualties have been inflicted upon the inhabitants of the region, rice fields have been burned, and roads torn up. Refugees from the Plain of Jars report they were bombed

almost daily by American jets last year. They say they spent most of the past two years living in caves or holes."

But the counterpart of the attack on Cambodia was the biggest student antiwar strike in history. And this even further limited the Pentagon's military options. Thus the present invasion of Laos cannot openly make use of American combat troops on a large scale even for several weeks. It is, however, a "search and destroy" operation making use of Saigon ground forces and perhaps an even more intense artillery barrage and aerial bombardment than in earlier campaigns.

It sometimes seems to escape the notice of the war-makers in Washington that in the last analysis every intensification of the war effort in the 30-year history of the war has failed. This is because terrorization is not designed to win the masses of people to political support of the Saigon regime. The horrendous slaughter of millions has not convinced those who are still alive that Washington and Saigon really want peace and democracy.

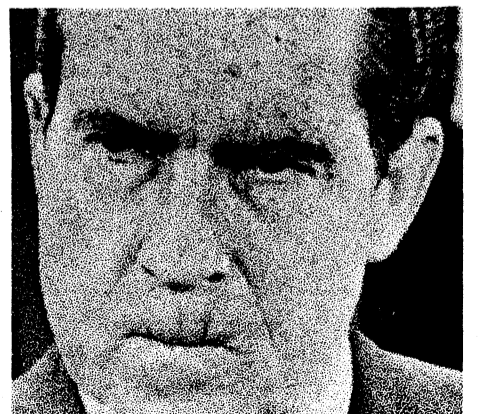
Those who remain, like their sisters and brothers who have fallen in struggle, continue to wage what must be counted the most courageous and most inspiring stand of a people against oppression in history. One important testament to what they have accomplished is the deepening worldwide radicalization of young people, which owes its origins above all other factors to the example set in Vietnam.

But the vital task of once and for all ending imperialist oppression in Southeast Asia remains to be fulfilled. The antiwar movement, coupled with the struggle of the Vietnamese liberation fighters, has limited Washington's room for maneuver and this has begun a process of withdrawing some U.S. troops.

But the process is not irreversible. The present lashing out into Laos, for example, (and it could soon be followed by a similar thrust into North Vietnam) brings the war dangerously close to China's boundaries.

Can anyone guarantee that Washington would not attempt to seize some pretext for "armed reconnaissance missions" against China? Can the danger of a third world war that this would risk and nuclear annihilation be ruled out so long as Washington is continuing its aggression in Southeast Asia?

Short of this ominous danger, is an incontrovertible fact that Washington has once again expanded the boundaries of slaughter. This is the inevitable logic of a war whose central purpose is to liquidate a revolution based in and supported by the masses. But that is Washington's aim. And Washington will continue to prosecute that aim until it is compelled to withdraw all military forces from all of Southeast Asia. This is the task of the antiwar movement here and around the globe.



N.Y. jails: broken promises, more repression

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—In the wake of the August and October New York City jail rebellions, the media is pouring forth with all types of facts, figures and interviews on the abominable conditions in the jails.

There is no lack of sympathy for the plight of those locked away in America's dungeons. One study revealed that over half of the more than 160,000 inmates in the nation's jails have yet to be convicted of a crime. In other words, they are just waiting for trial. In New York City, the figure approaches 67 percent.

Yet, the Constitution presumes an accused person innocent until proven guilty.

It is this flagrant violation of the Constitution that has come under fire by the inmates. They demand an end to high bails which result in lengthy detention, a speedier judiciary procedure, and that the jails be made fit for the habitation of human beings.

But while government and prison officials engage in talk and write reports in verbal agreement with inmate demands, nothing is being done to alleviate the conditions. In fact, a new wave of repression is being unleashed in the jails.

That repression began in New York as soon as the city government began to "retake" the jails in the October rebellion. At Long Island City Men's House of Detention in Queens, the inmates had agreed to surrender hostages and the jail if there were no reprisals. Despite Mayor John V. Lindsay's agreement over radio and in negotiations at the jail itself, inmates coming out of the jail on the morning of Oct. 5 were beaten senseless by guards wielding axe handles, baseball bats, and nightsticks. These beatings were recorded and photographed by newsmen.

Yet Lindsay, upon emerging from the jail that morning, said, "I understand there have been a few injuries on both sides. . . ." What logic! Jail officials even went farther than that, however. They denied such incidents ever took place!

In early December, inmates at the Kew Gardens Men's House of Detention in Queens filed suit, through the Legal Aid Society, against guard brutality. In an affidavit, one inmate described the situation after the rebellion: "A man named Rabbi is still in Kings County Hospital with a broken leg. Someone named Shorty, a Black man, was killed. Although the guards said he died of an overdose, he was seen in a sheet with his head wide open, and the sheet with large red stains, by at least two men: Raymond Minori and Happy Gray. . . . From Sunday, Oct. 4, to Friday, Oct. 9, the entire prison population was subjected to beatings. I heard many screams and saw with my own eyes three men, naked, being beaten with sticks down the stairs, in three separate incidents.



Prisoners Victor Martinez, Ken Sender, and Robert Blake negotiated for inmates during Queens House of Detention strike last October.

. . . The official in charge of these beatings was Captain Hall" (*Village Voice*, Dec. 17).

The actions of these guards was not out of line with the attitude of Lindsay's liberal government. In late October and November, 42 inmates in Queens and Brooklyn were indicted on charges ranging from first degree kidnapping to criminal mischief.

Eight of these inmates are from the Queens Long Island City jail. Members of the Black Panther 21 were incarcerated there before the rebellion (they and the rest of the inmates are now in Rikers Island jail) and two of the eight indicted are of the 21.

In answer to these indictments, Victor Martinez, one of the eight indicted from Long Island City jail, held a press conference on Jan. 13 in the offices of the newly organized Inmates Liberation Party. That press conference, held mainly for the benefit of the radical media, was an extensive discussion on the conditions of the city's jails. Brother Stanley, who was recently bailed out of the Manhattan Men's House of Detention (known as the Tombs), was present.

Martinez acted as spokesman for the Long Island City inmates during the October rebellion. He is now one of the leaders of the Inmates Liberation Party.

Brother Stanley started off. "There is a great deal of misconception as to what took place, and the real message as far as the brothers were concerned was never really conveyed. The city government made an economic problem out of it by saying the guards needed more pay, that more institutions were needed, everything but the main thing which was the judiciary system. All they have to do is implement the legal procedures that are

supposed to affect any citizen. . . . When we made our move in August, it was for one and one purpose only, to expose to the public the inhumanities, gross neglect, and lax attitudes of the officials. If these officials were doing their job, 1,400 men would not be in the Tombs, the Women's House of Detention would not be full. Brothers and sisters spend five, 10 months, a year, waiting for just the simple procedure of appearing in court."

Martinez made the point that overcrowding is nothing new. "In 1870, it was written that the Tombs was overcrowded. We are living now in the year 1971 and the same conditions prevail. So what are our people supposed to do? Wait? How long can they wait, they only have one life, not two."

He talked at length about the language problem. Most of the judges, prosecutors, and jail officials do not speak Spanish. And the interpreters employed are usually not Puerto Ricans or Latinos, but an Anglo who learned Castilian Spanish out of a book. Thus, many Puerto Ricans go through the whole judicial procedure without any knowledge of what is really happening. Martinez estimated that over 50 percent of the inmates formerly at Long Island City jail did not speak English.

Most of the men and women in jail never come to trial. After spending several months waiting, many are "persuaded" to plead guilty. This reduces the judicial procedure to one of appearing before a judge for sentencing.

Brother Stanley sketched some of the conditions in jail. He was incarcerated on a charge of burglary. But because he couldn't raise the money for bond on \$1,000, he remained in the Tombs from January to November of last year.

Continued on page 22

S.F. cops continue to harass Los Siete

SAN FRANCISCO (LNS)—On Nov. 7, six young Chicanos were acquitted of charges of murdering a San Francisco policeman 18 months earlier. The acquittal of Los Siete de la Raza was a great victory for the Chicano community in San Francisco, for the movement, and for the six youths who had faced the gas chamber. A great victory and a great lift—"like the impossible had been done," said Jose Rios, one of the group.

Less than three months later, Rios lay in a bed of the San Francisco county hospital, his head bandaged up, his jaws wired together—the victim of a continuing campaign of harassment by the San Francisco police. It was the second run-in with the police for Rios since his release (and he's still up on burglary charges left over from the first incident some 21 months ago).

In December, Rios and Nelson Rodriguez, another member of the Los Siete group, stopped outside a house

one night on the way home from a party to let Rios' brother get a jacket. The night turned cold. The stop provided ample opportunity for two vigilant cops to start questioning them, discover who they were, exclaim to one another that "We struck gold," and haul the two off to the station where they were congratulated by the other cops. Later, Rios and Rodriguez were informed that they were being charged with possession of marijuana and dangerous drugs.

About a month later, Rios and a companion, Michael Georgopoulos, were approached by policemen while sitting in their car and charged with illegal parking. According to the police version of the incident, one of the cops noticed Rios reaching under the seat, yanked him out of the car, and saw a large automatic pistol sliding out into open view. At this point, Rios and Georgopoulos attempted to run away and had to be subdued with "minimum force."

Rios and Georgopoulos deny that there was any gun or any attempted escape. The "minimum force" resulted in a broken jaw and severe bruises on the head and back of the neck for Rios. And, apparently, in some satisfaction for one of the cops who did the beating. Rios says that during the assault one of the policemen knocked him to the ground, yelling, "Don't you remember me. . . . I'm going to kill you!" The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that the officer, Raymond Montaverdi, had testified against Los Siete last October.

The solid support of the Chicano community built up during the long murder trial has seen to it that Rios and his companions have been bailed out quickly on both occasions. They go right back into the community to work on the programs that have grown out of their long struggle: La Raza Legal Defense office, La Casa de la Raza (a halfway house), and

El Centro de Salud, the health center.

Still they all have charges hanging over them—and the bitter hostility of the police force. The drug bust seems almost laughable in light of testimony given by the ex-wife of the chief prosecution witness, Officer Paul McGoran, during the murder trial. She told the court that her former husband kept a bag full of marijuana and drugs always handy, ready to plant as evidence on anybody he arrested.

But the harassment goes on. "In a way," Rios said recently, describing his feelings about being out of jail after a year and a half, "you're not in bars anymore, you're in a different type of cell. A blue uniform is looking at you wherever you go."

Adds Danilo Melendez, "The only one of us [Los Siete] definitely free is Gio." Gio Lopez managed to evade the police dragnet two years ago and is now living in Cuba.

By FRANK LOVELL

George Morris, labor reporter for the Communist Party's *Daily World* has discovered "something new in strikes." Cops have caught "the spirit of rebellion we see everywhere today," writes Morris in his Jan. 26 "World of Labor" column.

"The fact is that their dollar militancy has forced them to use forms of struggle followed by the working class. Through those struggles, they were led to discover how reactionary their leaders are and how their interests are neglected by the old bureaucracy."

Morris opines further that, "Without exaggerating the level of development and noting that the rebels (!) are also strongly infested by racism, we can say that it is a good sign when patrolmen begin to see themselves in much the same position as other city employees and workers."

This exposition is supposedly a "socialist" view of the six-day "job action" held by most of New York City's cops in January. Apparently Morris believes that simply by using the weapons of the working class to fight for wage demands cops may be influenced "to behave more like workers and to show less eagerness to serve reactionary purposes."

Nothing could be further from the truth. The cops are not beginning to think of themselves as anything different than cops. They are simply demanding and fighting for greater compensation (to the tune of \$16,000 a year) for carrying out their reactionary duties as protectors of the ruling class—strikebreaking, suppression of Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican struggles, and clubbing antiwar demonstrators.

Wages isn't the only grievance, however. According to a Jan. 19 *Wall Street Journal* report, cops feel "a frustration from being scorned and castigated by the young, the poor, the Black and the liberal, from being ignored by politicians and intellectuals in and out of government, and perhaps from being enshrined by those on the far right. Says one young New York cop: 'I've been shot at, kicked, spat on—for what?'"

The most common complaints of these cops, who Morris thinks are beginning to act like workers, is that they are not heavily enough armed and protected against the "criminal element" and that laws protecting civil liberties and civil rights protect only "criminals" and hinder "police work." In short, they regard the vast majority of citizens as "the enemy."

More than half of New York's cops do not even live in the city. They drive into Manhattan every morning from suburban Queens or Staten Island or from suburbs outside the city. As a Feb. 1 *Newsweek* article accurately commented, "And when he comes into the city to earn his pay, his attitude perforce approaches that of the Hessian soldiers sent to quiet the colonists."

One cop told a *New York Times* interviewer, "Don't give me that rhetoric about 'community involvement'! . . . We see a lot of blood and death on this job. We want to go home to peace and security."

"Even soldiers in the front line are sent back for rest and recreation. Well, our 'r and r' is going home to Nassau."

Typically this cop does not express sympathy for the problems of workers, Blacks, or Puerto Ricans but his desire for a little peace and quiet after a hard day of clubbing and killing. George Morris, please show us even one tiny sign that this cop or any other cop has begun a metamorphosis!

Cops are not like soldiers who are forced by law into the Army. They willingly choose to become gendarmes for the ruling class. If they are

The CP discovers 'progressive' cops

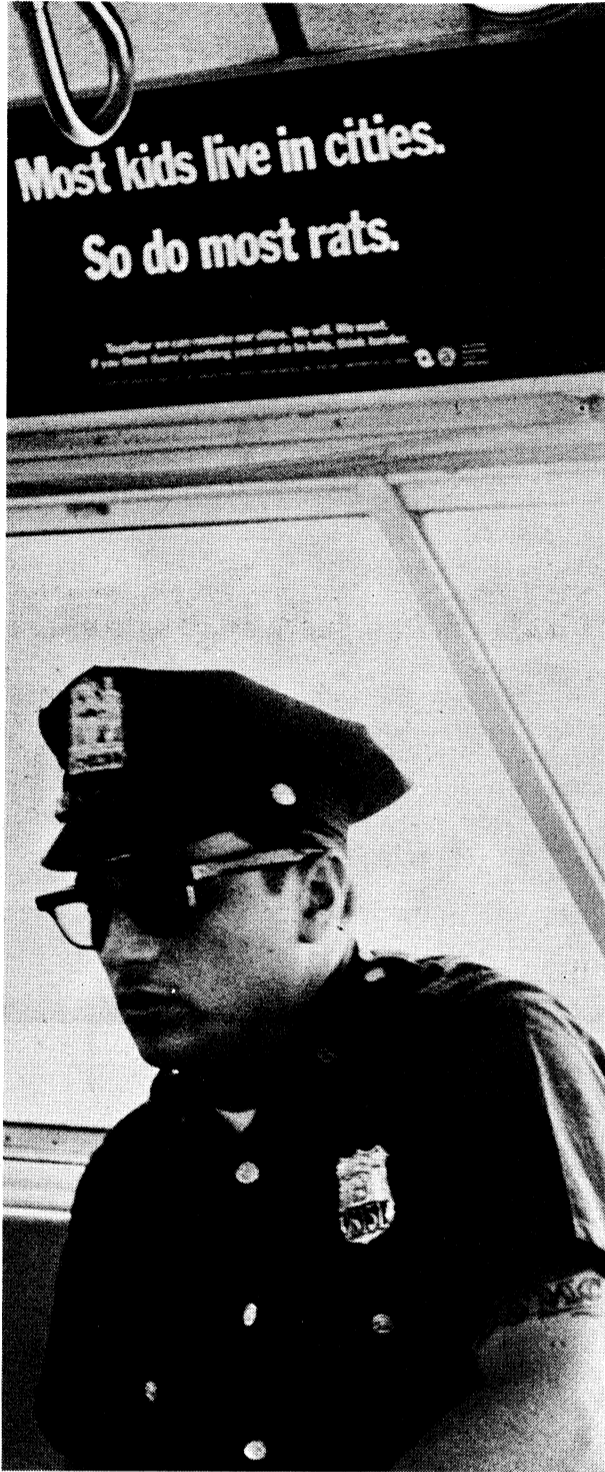


Photo by Alan Mercer

One of New York's finest "progressives"?

not willing to carry out the orders of their masters, they are either fired or quit.

In this sense, cops are mercenaries and even occasionally admit it, as Patrolman Demurjian did to a *New York Times* reporter. "If you're going to buy a policeman as a mercenary," said Demurjian, "then you have to pay him top dollar. We ought to get combat pay."

The employing class *selects* and *trains* these mercenaries. They are not hired as workers, are not subject to the conditions of the work shop,

do not live like workers, do not associate with workers, and do not think like workers.

They are amply rewarded with "fringe benefits" which include shakedowns and bribes from small businessmen, gangsters, and the like.

It was not the cold January weather that kept crime levels down during the six days New York's cops stayed off the streets. The truth is that there were just that many fewer criminals and petty chiselers out.

When cops begin to think of themselves as an independent force, capable of extracting greater privileges for themselves, they may, as Morris observes, use the tested weapon of labor struggles—the strike. But this does not mean they should get any support from the labor movement.

When the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association in New York sought a charter from the AFL-CIO in 1969, the application was never acted upon, and several union journals editorially opposed taking organized strikebreakers into the union movement.

The Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities view the cops and all their activities with even greater disfavor. In a Jan. 25 *New York Times* article headlined "Recruiting of Negro Police Is a Failure in Most Cities," Paul Delaney writes: "In the Black community, the image of the police is still very negative. Black youngsters just do not want to be policemen. This attitude, combined with discrimination on the force, seems to be the major reason police recruiters meet with stiff resistance." Delaney appears surprised that this should be the case. But the vicious suppression of Black revolts as well as the day-to-day harassment by the cops occupying their communities arouses the justified hatred of Black youth.

Despite the fact that both the labor movement and the Black community know that cops are not workers and that their "strike" was an attempt to squeeze more special privileges and higher pay from their capitalist masters, George Morris advises us: "The new trends revealed in the New York experience cannot be ignored. The fight against police brutality, racism and anti-unionism must be pressed with greater vigor than ever, but the fight has to be directed mainly against those really involved in such crimes against the people. *Fire should not be blunderbussed against all on the police force.*" (Original emphasis.) Does Morris really believe that there is a "progressive" wing of the cops? Where is it? Why doesn't he point to a few benevolent actions by the "good cops"? He can't because they don't exist. He apparently doesn't understand that it isn't a question of "good" or "bad" cops but that all cops by the very role they must play in our society are reactionary.

"The labor and progressive movement," he preaches, "should make it clear to the younger and newer recruits among the policemen who resent the bad name that their real complaint is against those who want them to act like pigs and strikebreakers, and not against the victims."

For those who are familiar with the history of the Communist Party's reformist support to "progressive" capitalist politicians like Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, their attempt to find the "progressive" wing of the capitalist cops will not come as a surprise.

We hope Morris will report in the *Daily World* on how much success the Communist Party has with putting into effect the proposal to convince "progressive" cops not to act like cops. Our suggestion, however, is that if Morris knows some young cops who still have a shred of conscience, and if he wants to give them some advice, he ought to tell them to quit.

Shah condemns prisoners to life

(From *Intercontinental Press*)

"Pak-Nejad has been condemned to life imprisonment and consequently could be tortured for the rest of his days," the shah of Iran declared in late January. "Why then should he have been tortured before his trial? . . . These accusations are without foundation and do not deserve the least attention."

Shah Reza Pahlevi's brutal outburst was directed at reports in the foreign press of torture inflicted on a group of eighteen young Iranian sympathizers of the Palestinian revolution given harsh sentences December 31 by a Tehran military tribunal.

The shah's remarks seemed to have been as much provoked, however, by the courage of the young revolutionists in their appeal trial January 16-19. Despite the fact that the government was calling on the appellate judge to stiffen the already harsh penalties handed down by the original court, many of the prisoners continued their denunciations of the frame-up and tortures to which they had been subjected.

The most outspoken were the three who had been given life terms—Shokrollah Pak-Nejad, Naser Kakhsaz, and Massoud Bathai. Their sentences were upheld. One of their codefen-

dants, Mohamad Rez Shal-Guni, had his sentence increased from five to ten years at hard labor after he had denounced the government's political persecution.

On the other hand, seven of the defendants expressed opposition to "Marxist-Leninist subversion" and avowed support of the government. Their sentences were reduced. From three to fifteen years, they were given terms running from one to four years.

The shah's peculiar hangman's logic in denying the charges of torture also contained a threat—it was a reminder that reprisals could be

taken against the young anti-imperialist fighters at will, now that they are "convicted criminals."

Despite this intimidation, Pak-Nejad accused the regime of torturing him for ten days after his arrest. He gave the names of two political prisoners who died under torture, including the religious leader Aytollah Saedi.

"Our only crime," Pak-Nejad said, was that we wanted to fight Zionism. . . . We are being sentenced for this in Iran despite the government's pro-Arab statements. In reality this government is bound hand and foot to imperialism."

Czech youths to go on trial for 'Trotskyism'

(From *Intercontinental Press*)

According to reports reaching the West, twenty-five young persons, held for more than a year in Czechoslovak prisons on charges of belonging to a "Trotskyite" organization, were scheduled to go on trial in Prague February 8.

An Agence France-Presse dispatch from Prague in the January 30 Paris daily *Le Monde* credited "a generally well informed source" with the news that the student case would finally be brought to court. The prisoners were arrested in December, 1969. Agence France-Presse gave this background to the case:

"In January 1970, the Czech press reported discovery of a 'Trotskyist' organization hostile to the state, whose aim was to disrupt the process of consolidation and to create a political crisis. According to [the Prague daily] *Rude Pravo*, the goal of this organization, known as the 'Revolutionary Socialist party of Czechoslovakia' and 'arising from the so-called Revolutionary Youth Movement,' was to 'over-

throw the socialist regime not only in Czechoslovakia but also in other socialist countries, including the Soviet Union.' The newspaper also specified that this movement was mainly composed of students and young workers, and that it was active primarily among the steel workers, the printers, and among students."

The Husak regime has long pledged that there would be no show trials of political dissidents such as there were in the Stalinist purges of the Novotny era. The present government's words have been belied by its actions, however, and since 1969 a growing number of fighters for socialist democracy have been jailed. A broad spectrum of political figures have fallen victim to the witch-hunt. These range from members of the ruling bureaucracy itself who merely wanted to institute a few reforms, to genuine revolutionists who called for a return to the program of Lenin in face of the August 1968 Soviet invasion.

The biggest wave of arrests, includ-

ing the youths about to go on trial, occurred in December 1969 when 1,700 persons were "investigated" by the police. No figures were ever released on the number of arrests.

The specific accusations against the twenty-five "Trotskyites," outlined in a communique issued January 12, 1970 [see *Intercontinental Press*, January 26, 1970, page 64] by the Czech Ministry of the Interior, were entirely limited to the dissemination of political ideas. The students were charged with such "crimes" as having "distributed various publications," having maintained political contacts abroad, and having received "Trotskyist literature" from outside Czechoslovakia.

For the Stalinist bureaucrats in Prague and Moscow, "Trotskyite" is used primarily as an epithet, synonymous with "heretic" for the Inquisition of the Middle Ages. It may refer to anyone in opposition to the totalitarian-minded party chiefs.

It is significant that the Husak regime has waited so long to bring its youthful captives before a court. It

seems clear that the trial of the "Trotskyites" is to be a test case for the bureaucrats. If it can be brought off without arousing too much internal and international protest, more show trials can be expected to follow. Many of the writers and unionists who played important roles in the "Prague Spring" of 1968 are now under indictment. They will have their turn in the dock if Husak succeeds in railroading the student activists to prison.

Solidarity has already been expressed for the twenty-five youths in an open letter to the Czechoslovak government drafted December 14 by a number of well-known European intellectuals and left-wing figures, including Jean-Paul Sartre, Ernest Bloch, François Maspéro, and Ernest Mandel.

The open letter, which is still being circulated for additional signatures, demands the immediate release of the prisoners accused of belonging to the "Revolutionary Socialist party," and appeals for "a public political discussion . . . on their activities and views."

17 Mexican political prisoners released

(From *Intercontinental Press*)

Making its first significant concession to protests against the political repression, the new Mexican government of President Luis Echeverria released seventeen critics of the regime on bail January 26. These persons had been imprisoned since the student and popular movement of 1968 was met with massacres and sweeping arrests.

The group released included the leading scholar and educator Eli de Gortari, Professor César Nicolás Molina Flores, Romeo González, Félix Lucio Hernández, Antonio Pérez Sánchez, Pedro Castillo Salgado, and Roberto Avendaño. All of them had been held in Lecumberri prison, except the one woman of the group who had been confined in the Cárcel de Mujeres (Women's Jail).

The release of the seventeen was abrupt and obviously political in character. Late in the evening of January 26, the warden of Lecumberri told the prisoners, without any advance indication, that they were free. He ordered them to leave the prison forthwith. Bail of 500 pesos each had been provided by some unknown benefactor.

Because of the lateness of the hour, most of the prisoners were unable to arrange for friends or relatives to pick them up. Those who had no money were obliged to find their way home on foot.

The government was as contemptuous of legal norms in freeing the prisoners as it had been in jailing them in the first place, *Intercontinental Press's* Mexico City correspondent reports. The seventeen were ordered released by Federal District Court judges on a motion by the prosecution, that



Mexico City's Lecumberri Prison

is, the state repressive apparatus. However, by that time their case had gone to a higher court, the Tribunal Unitario, which alone had the legal authority to release them.

It was clear that the government's action represented a grudging concession to the broad campaign for immediate release of the political prisoners. The academician Eli de Gortari, for example, was apparently jailed only because of a sweeping witch-hunt against all well-known leftist and progressive intellectuals.

After more than two years, this sort of obscurantist hysteria could be expected to wane, making such imprisonment of "ideological corrupters" in-

creasingly embarrassing to the government and a source of division within ruling-class circles themselves.

For several months the Mexican regime has shown signs of discomfort under the heat of public condemnation of its repressive policies. But it has also been apparent that the government was reluctant to relax its suppression of political opponents.

The government's latest move, a partial but real concession, indicates that the pressure on the regime has continued to build up. The release of the seventeen came in the midst of new disclosures embarrassing to the regime.

In its January 22 issue, the popular Mexico City magazine *Sucesos para Todos* published an article giving a detailed picture of the all-pervasive brutality and corruption in Lecumberri.

In the last week of January, Amnesty International, an eminently respectable civil-liberties organization, which even the Mexican witch-hunters could not accuse of having leftist sympathies, announced the results of its investigation into the 1968 jailings of student and intellectual leaders.

Despite the Mexican government's claims that the persons arrested were common criminals, Amnesty International found that "the prisoners are

being held not because they can be proved guilty of criminal offenses but because of their membership or support for left-wing organizations that have opposed the policies of the regime."

Also at the end of January, a prominent French lawyer, Mrs. Nicole Dreyfus, accused the Mexican government of torturing political prisoners and intimidating their families. Mrs. Dreyfus had conducted an on-the-spot investigation for the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and the International Association of Catholic Lawyers.

The Mexican government's belated and partial concession should encourage every defender of civil liberties to increase the pressure for releasing all the political prisoners. By this move and the way it was carried out, the regime further exposed the political nature of its persecution of supporters and sympathizers of the 1968 movement. The manner in which the seventeen political prisoners were released did not leave a shadow of doubt about the servile role of the Mexican judiciary.

Demands for the release of all the political prisoners can be sent to President Luis Echeverria, Palacio Nacional, Mexico 1, D. F., Mexico.

Support Basques, Angela Davis

The Dec. 31 Mexico City journal *Solidaridad* published a declaration by almost 60 of the political prisoners in Mexico's Lecumberri Prison. The statement expressed "complete solidarity with the victims of the Francoist dictatorship" then on trial in Burgos for Basque nationalist activities, and with Angela Davis. "We demand the release of Angela Davis and all revolutionary activists imprisoned in the jails of American imperialism," it said. The prisoners called on Mexican unions, students, and political organizations to organize mass protests "and to make every possible demonstration of solidarity with these political prisoners and condemnation of the Francoist dictatorship and Yankee imperialism."

Is Zionism a movement of national liberation?

By GUS HOROWITZ and BARRY SHEPPARD
(Last of a series)

"The Jews in Israel are no conquerors. They're refugees; the remnant of the biggest massacre in history," states Prof. George Wald in "A Letter to Huey Newton" reprinted in the February 1970 issue of the left-Zionist magazine *Jewish Currents*.

Wald's statement sums up the emotional and political position of those who attempt to combine generally socialist and left views with support to Zionism.

In the same letter, Wald says that what the Israeli Jews want "is one small place in the world where Jews can manage their own lives. After 2,000 years of being kicked around, the universal scapegoat, burned out, murdered, exterminated."

Wald is expressing the underlying assumption of the key arguments in defense of Zionism and Israel: that the Zionist movement is the national liberation movement of the oppressed Jewish peoples of the world, and as such should be defended by socialists. In the same issue of *Jewish Currents*, editor Morris Schappes refers to both Lenin and Trotsky's characterization of the Jews as an oppressed nationality, supposedly something which the "Trotskyites" "ignore."

(The material by Trotsky which Schappes quotes is available in the pamphlet *Leon Trotsky on the Jewish Question*, Pathfinder Publishers, 410 West Street, New York, N. Y. 10014.)

The argument that Zionism is a national liberation movement begins with a correct premise, that the Jewish people constitute an oppressed nationality in certain areas of the world. But it reaches a false conclusion through a series of verbal sleights-of-hand.

Zionism does not prove the *cause* of the modern oppression of the Jewish people — not even the cause of the holocaust unleashed by German imperialism against the Jews of Europe. As that holocaust demonstrated for all to see in the most horrible way, capitalism breeds and exacerbates all forms of racism in the modern world. German capitalism, which spawned Nazi fascism, was responsible for the slaughter of six million Jews; the same forces which gave birth to German fascism breed anti-Semitism in the imperialist nations today, and if the imperialists are not overturned in time, they may once again unleash racist slaughter that could include Jews as victims.

The struggle of the Jewish people against this oppression has always been supported by revolutionists.

Revolutionists have also consistently fought anti-Semitism and the oppression of Jews in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In order to bolster its own rule there, the privileged and socially backward Stalinist bureaucracy perpetuates and even fosters the racial and national oppression inherited from the capitalist past. The Trotskyist Left Opposition in the Soviet Union arose in the 1920s to combat the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy and its policies, including the resurgence of anti-Semitism. Though severely repressed, this revolutionary struggle continues today in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It is closely linked with the struggle against imperialism, because the anticapitalist revolutionary struggles in other countries reinforce the antibureaucratic struggles in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

In the colonial and semicolonial countries, which have yet to break out of the bounds of capitalism and attain genuine national liberation from imperialism, the capitalist rulers perpetrate national oppression against their own indigenous national minorities, including Jews in the Arab states, Latin America, and some other parts of the world. Rev-

olutionists support the struggle of Jews against their oppression in these countries. This struggle is tied and allied to the revolutionary struggle against imperialist domination.

In all of these cases, the struggle of the Jewish people against their oppression is a progressive struggle, a part of the struggle of all oppressed nationalities throughout the world.

A diversion of the struggle

But Zionism is not the expression of this struggle on the part of the Jewish people, either in the imperialist countries, the neocolonial countries, or in the Soviet bloc. Zionism does not direct the struggle of Jews in these countries against their oppression. Zionism is not a national liberation movement.

Zionist ideology denies that the oppression of Jews in the modern era is materially rooted in capitalism and the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy. (There were other social forces which produced a different kind of oppression of Jews under feudalism.) Instead, Zionism insists that the basic cause of the oppression of Jews is anti-Semitism as a psychological phenomenon, which has always existed and always will. Thus, Zionism diverts the struggle of Jews away from their actual oppressors.

In place of attempting to organize a revolutionary struggle by Jews against capitalism and Stalinism, the Zionists, with the support of imperialism, organized a colonial venture to establish the settler state of Israel at the expense of the indigenous Arab people of Palestine. The Israeli state could only come into being and can only continue to exist by denying the national rights of the Palestinians and by relying on world imperialism, which uses the Israeli state as a beachhead in the Arab world to help it contain the Arab revolution.

Herein lies the great tragedy Zionism has created for the Jewish people: imperialism generates anti-Semitism and led in Germany to the mass slaughter of Jews. Instead of organizing a struggle against imperialism, Zionism, in alliance with imperialism, leads the Jewish masses to support a state which oppresses a colonial people. When the imperialist allies of the Israeli state once again whip up anti-Semitism, the next act in this tragedy will be played.

The question involved here is not the right in general of the Jewish people to establish a state of their own—a demand, which if directed against imperialism, is one possibility in the course of the struggle against the oppression of Jews. Demanding such a state from imperialism (*not* in a colonial country dominated by imperialism!) is one thing. Establishing the Israeli state by trampling upon the rights of the Palestinians, who were never responsible for the oppression of the Jews in the first place, is the *opposite*.

Oppressor and oppressed

A related argument in defense of the Israeli state which is raised by left Zionists is that since the Jews are a nationality, and Lenin called for the right of all nations to self-determination, then revolutionists should support the state of Israel as a concrete expression of that right for the Jewish people.

This argument confuses the Leninist position. Lenin, the Bolsheviks, and the Communist International in its early, revolutionary years made a fundamental distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations. Leninists (and in today's world that means Trotskyists) are unequivocal fighters for the right of oppressed nationalities to self-determination, i.e., the right to wrest from their oppressors whatever state forms they feel are necessary to guarantee an end to their national op-

pression, including the right to set up a separate state.

In this Leninist conception, the oppressor nationality has no right to decide this question for the oppressed nationality—otherwise there would not be self-determination for the oppressed nationality. For example, revolutionary socialists in the United States fight for the right of Black people, an oppressed nationality, to self-determination. In the coming American revolution, this right will be won and put into effect. Black people will themselves decide what form of state structure they need to end their national oppression. White people will not have the right to set up a white state, which could only be used to perpetuate white privilege.

In the concrete situation in the Middle East, the Israeli Jews, unlike the Jews in Europe for example, are not an oppressed nationality, but an oppressor nationality vis-a-vis the Arab peoples. The Israeli state is not an instrument to protect Jews from national oppression by the imperialists, but is an instrument of national oppression against the Arabs.

This distinction is fundamental to the revolutionary process all over the globe, in which one of the central features is a conflict of two kinds of nationalism: the nationalism of the oppressed versus the nationalism of the oppressors.

The nationalism of the oppressor nationalities has conditioned, molded, and in some cases even wholly created the nationalism of the oppressed, which represents a response to and struggle against their national oppression. The two forms of nationalism are opposite in content and dynamic, in addition to being in mortal combat. The basic dynamic of the nationalism of the oppressed is against oppression—beginning with national oppression and extending to all forms of oppression. The masses of the oppressed nationalities, waging a struggle against their national oppression, tend at the same time to raise demands for an end to every form of exploitation and oppression. This is one of the reasons that the movements for national liberation from imperialism are a part of the worldwide socialist revolution.

The nationalism of the oppressors, on the other hand, is directed towards maintaining oppression. It is reactionary through and through, a prop and support of imperialism and capitalism everywhere.

The Vietnam war illustrates the opposing contents and dynamics of these two forms of nationalism. On one side, there is the chauvinist American nationalism that Washington tries to drum up to bolster its attempt to crush the Vietnamese national liberation struggle and preserve Vietnam as part of its colonial empire. On the other side, are the masses of Vietnamese, whose nationalism is part of the fight to free themselves from their oppression by the U. S. imperialists. Another example is reactionary white chauvinism versus Black nationalism in the United States.

In the Middle East, the nationalist-chauvinism of both imperialism and the Israeli state, aimed at the oppression of the Arab peoples, stands opposed to the rising tide of Arab nationalism, whose fundamental characteristic is struggle against national oppression.

Putting the matter another way: The nationalism of the Jewish people in Europe, the Soviet Union, and the United States, for example, insofar as it is directed against the real oppression of Jews, is progressive and should be supported. But Zionism turns this fight against oppression into its *opposite* by perverting this healthy nationalism into support for imperialism and Israeli chauvinism against the Arab peoples. In the long run, this works against the interests of the Israeli Jew-

ish people, even though at present the Israeli Jews are privileged in relation to the Arab peoples.

The best long-term guarantee of the security of the Israeli Jews and the preservation of their national culture lies in their support for a democratic Palestinian state rather than the settler-colonialist Israeli state which will always be on a war footing in relation to the Arab peoples.

The experience of Zionism thus underlines the revolutionary position of giving support to the nationalism of oppressed peoples directed against their oppressors. A counterpart to the Zionist perversion of the nationalism of oppressed Jews can be found in those reactionary forces in the Arab world who fan Arab chauvinism against Kurds, South Sudanese, and Jews living in the Arab states. This works against the interests of the Arab liberation struggle. (Just imagine, for example, the effect that a revolutionary-socialist policy towards these national minorities in Iraq, Sudan and Syria would have in helping to win the Israeli Jewish

ists do not conceive of the right of self-determination as an abstract moral right for oppressor and oppressed nationalities alike. Leninists raise the demand for the right of oppressed nationalities to self-determination in order to guarantee them by more than promises alone that the process of socialist revolution will not result in the continuation of their oppression. Further, in the modern era, the only way for oppressed nationalities to achieve self-determination is through the process of socialist revolution. Self-determination for oppressed nationalities will hasten the process by which all nationalities can unite—on the basis of equality.

We should keep in mind that in talking about a separate Jewish state in the Middle East, we are not talking about institutions like the post office. The essence of a state is a separate army, police, courts, jails, etc., in other words, a system of organized force and violence. To call for this right for oppressor nationalities contains within

pression at the hands of the Arabs, when the real situation today is the exact opposite: Israel oppresses and threatens the Arab peoples. To raise a demand which is actually designed to guard against a possible future danger, is at best abstract and obscure, and a diversion from the real struggle going on right now.

To raise such a slogan now plays into the hands of the Zionists by reinforcing the fears of the Arab people that the Zionists foster among the Israeli masses. (At bottom these fears are based on projection—the assumption that the Palestinians would do to the Israelis what the Israeli state is now doing to the Palestinians.) This slogan could also be twisted by the Zionists to their advantage in another way. The Zionists would argue that the Israeli Jews have self-determination today through the Israeli state and the duty of those who believe in self-determination for Israeli Jews is to fight now to preserve Israel even though they may disagree with many aspects of the Zionist state.



masses away from support to the settler-colonialist Israeli state.)

Self-determination

Some spokesmen for the Israeli Socialist Organization have raised a different argument concerning "self-determination" for the Israeli Jews, which should be discussed here. The ISO has grouped together courageous revolutionists in Israel who have taken a stand against Zionism and the Israeli state.

Moshe Machover, an ISO leader presently in Europe, expressed the view in the British journal *Peace News* of July 1969 that revolutionists should be for the right of the Israeli Jews to self-determination after a victorious socialist revolution in the Middle East. If the Hebrew-speaking people now in Israel should decide to opt for a separate state, he argues, it would not be on the present Zionist basis, which he is opposed to, but as part of a socialist federation in the Middle East.

Machover implies that this is the Leninist position, showing the same confusion that has already been discussed above, that is, neglecting the key distinction that Leninists call only for the right of oppressed nations to self-determination.

As internationalists, Leninists do not support the nation-state per se, and in fact foresee its eventual abolition throughout the world. Thus, Lenin-

ists do not conceive of the right of self-determination as an abstract moral right for oppressor and oppressed nationalities alike. Leninists raise the demand for the right of oppressed nationalities to self-determination in order to guarantee them by more than promises alone that the process of socialist revolution will not result in the continuation of their oppression. Further, in the modern era, the only way for oppressed nationalities to achieve self-determination is through the process of socialist revolution. Self-determination for oppressed nationalities will hasten the process by which all nationalities can unite—on the basis of equality.

At bottom, Machover's argument expresses the unwarranted fear that a successful socialist revolution, which would necessarily guarantee the Palestinian right to self-determination, would in all likelihood result in the national oppression of the Israeli Jews by the Arabs. But there is no reason to believe that the Arab liberation movement—contrary to the dynamic of such struggles everywhere, contrary to the basic principles being put forward by its most advanced contingents, the Palestinian liberation fighters, and especially after a socialist revolution—will result in such oppression of the Jews. These are the very fears fostered by both imperialism and Zionism and tend to mobilize people against the Arab revolution.

The theoretical possibility of oppression of Israeli Jews in the future cannot be excluded of course. If the revolution were to be bureaucratized, for example, this could be a result, although another more likely result of a bureaucratized revolution would be the preservation of the inherited special privileges of the Israeli Jews and the continuation of oppression of the Arabs.

However, it would be wrong now to raise a concept which could become appropriate if at some future time the Israeli Jews suffered national op-

This is the position of *Jewish Currents*.

While rejecting the concept of self-determination for the Israeli Jews, revolutionary socialists fight for the concept of full and complete cultural, linguistic, religious, etc., rights for all nationalities, including Jews, in a future democratic Palestine. This happens to be the basic thrust of the program of the Palestinian liberation movement.

It is this call for a democratic Palestine that most clearly exposes the chauvinistic program of the Zionists, who are absolutely determined to support the maintenance of an exclusively Jewish Israel as against a democratic Palestine. As the statement by Al Fateh, "Towards a Democratic State in Palestine" (see the Oct. 9 and 16 *Militant*), put it: "The Israeli racists are greatly irritated by the idea of a democratic Palestine. It reveals the contradictions of Zionism and bares the moral schizophrenia that besets world Jewry since the creation of Israel. The adoption of the new goal by several significant progressive Jews scares world Zionism. . . . The force of logic and the effect of years of persecution in exclusive societies at the hands of racists are opening the eyes of Jews and others in the world to the only permanent solution that will bring a lasting peace and justice to our Palestine: building a progressive, open, tolerant country for all of us."

In Review

Film

The Confession. Directed by Costa-Gavras. Screenplay by Jorge Semprun, based on the autobiography of Artur London. Starring Yves Montand and Simone Signoret. Paramount Pictures.

Costa-Gavras' latest film, *The Confession*, is an account of the suffering and frustration of Artur London, a former Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs in Czechoslovakia who became a victim of the infamous Slansky purge trials in 1952.

The film opens with London being tailed through the streets of Prague by and kidnapped by state security agents. After being arrested and imprisoned, he is tortured, interrogated, and forced to confess to actions he never engaged in.

Not only does the movie portray London's courage, but it also shows his frustration and confusion in the face of events. He has been a loyal member of the Communist Party for 20 years. He fought in the Spanish Civil War as a member of the International Brigades and took part in the French Resistance during World War II. Now he is accused of being a Trotskyist, a Titoist, a Zionist, and a spy for the capitalist West. Twenty-two months later he is brought to trial along with 13 other government officials. He denounces himself and the other defendants for their nonexistent crimes and "confesses." He is sentenced to life imprisonment.

Costa-Gavras (who also directed *Z*) is by no means a revolutionary socialist, although his presentation and point of view are clearly sympathetic to socialism. This film presents a

straightforward and honest description of the Stalinist purges.

The fact that Costa-Gavras does not present the revolutionary-socialist alternative to Stalinism does not thereby make his film antisocialist, as some might argue. The artist can be asked only to present his or her view of reality, not to draw the proper political conclusions from the subject matter. Costa-Gavras does this with great forcefulness.

The Confession is momentous in that it provides a vivid insight into the methods utilized by Stalin to convict and eliminate thousands of heroic

Bolshevik fighters during the infamous purge trials of the 1930s. The film dramatically lays bare the twisted logic and terrific physical and mental pressure that forced people to bear false witness against both their comrades and themselves.

London was freed in 1956. The final scene shows him reentering Czechoslovakia in 1968 to publish his autobiography, only to be stranded as 600,000 Russian troops and 6,000 tanks invade to put an end to the process of liberalization. Again London stands dumbfounded, unable to grasp the meaning of events. He looks

on as some students paint on the wall "Lenin, wake up—they have all gone mad!" Yet he understands as little about all this as he did about his own trial.

To those who are wondering what can be done to eliminate the lack of socialist democracy in countries like Czechoslovakia, Costa-Gavras' use of this scene as the conclusion to the film suggests an answer: Only a mobilization of the masses to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy will be able to restore real socialist democracy.

—BERNIE SENTER



"Lenin, wake up—they've all gone mad!" Prague students during 1968 Soviet invasion.

Books

Leon Trotsky on Literature and Art. Edited by Paul N. Siegel. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1970. 248 pp. \$6.95 cloth; \$2.45 paper.

Among those who call themselves Marxists there have been all too many who have been willing to distort the Marxist method in the field of art (as in other things). They have made the crucial error of identifying Marxism with the ideological dictates of the Stalinist bureaucracy that grew upon the political degeneration and deformation that followed the early years of the Russian Revolution.

Leon Trotsky on Literature and Art not only presents the important contributions of a powerful mind to the development of a Marxist esthetic. It also presents an explanation of the falsification of that esthetic by Stalinism.

Discussing the role of the ruling bureaucratic caste in the sphere of culture, Trotsky wrote in 1936: "The present ruling stratum considers itself called not only to control spiritual creation politically, but also to prescribe its roads of development. The method of command without appeal extends in like measure to the concentration camps, to scientific agriculture, and to music. The central organ of the party prints anonymous directive editorials, having the character of military orders, in architecture, literature, dramatic art, the ballet, to say nothing of philosophy, natural science, and history. The bureaucracy superstitiously fears whatever does not serve it directly, as well as whatever it does not understand."

Trotsky rejects the notion that a Marxist critic or even a revolutionary Marxist regime—to say

nothing of a conservatized Stalinist regime—has the right to dictate to the artist.

In his illuminating introduction, Paul N. Siegel, who edited this excellent anthology, explains the policy of literary censorship followed by the government of Lenin and Trotsky during the first desperate days of the Russian Revolution: "Trotsky formulated this policy in agreement with Lenin with regard to the relation between the state and the different literary schools in this manner in 1924, at a time when it was being increasingly threatened: 'While having over them all the categorical criterion, for the revolution or against the revolution, to give them complete freedom in the sphere of artistic self-determination.' Fidel Castro took this position, probably without knowing it was 'Trotskyite,' in a notable speech to the intellectuals in 1961: 'What are the rights of revolutionary writers and artists? Within the revolution, everything; against the revolution, no rights whatsoever.'"

The purpose of these enforced and temporary measures of revolutionary self-defense was to prevent the publication of overtly counterrevolutionary works, but not to interfere with basic literary freedom in form and content as long as it was not harmful to the new regime. In Trotsky's view, these measures must give way as soon as possible to make way for a regime of individual liberty in the realm of intellectual creation.

According to Trotsky, "Culture is the organic sum of knowledge and capacity which characterizes the entire society, or at least its ruling class. It embraces and penetrates all fields of human work and unifies them into a system." He sees art as being a part of culture and not the whole

of it. Science and technology are also a part of culture. However, Trotsky firmly rejects the notion that art is somehow a subordinate part of culture. "It is unquestionably true that the need for art is not created by economic conditions," he argues, "but neither is the need for food created by economics. On the contrary, the need for food and warmth creates economics. It is very true that one cannot always go by the principles of Marxism in deciding whether to reject or to accept a work of art. A work of art should, in the first place be judged by its own law, that is, by the law of art. But Marxism alone can explain why and how a given tendency in art has originated in a given period of history; in other words, who it was who made a demand for such an artistic form and not for another, and why."

In a 1938 letter to *Partisan Review*, Trotsky wrote: "Generally speaking, art is an expression of man's need for a harmonious and complete life, that is to say, his need for those major benefits of which a society of classes has deprived him. That is why a protest against reality, either conscious or unconscious, active or passive, optimistic or pessimistic, always forms part of a really creative piece of work. Every new tendency in art has begun with rebellion."

This should not be read, however as a contention on Trotsky's part that the need for art will end with the establishment of a worldwide communist society. Rather, when the last vestiges of class society have faded into the past, the true history of civilization and culture will have just begun.

—ARTHUR MAGLIN

Rail unionists in Chicago rally

By PAUL ANDERSON

CHICAGO—Three hundred unionists from the United Transportation Union, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and other rail unions attended a rally Feb. 13 demanding the right to strike and opposing any further congressional interference in current contract negotiations. The rally was called by the Association of UTU Local Chairmen (Chicago switching district), the Right to Strike Committee, and local union officers.

Robert Groah, UTU general chairman on the Belt Railway of Chicago, reported to the meeting that invitations had been sent to President Nixon, Senators Percy and Stevenson, and all members of the House of Representatives from northern Illinois. None came. Groah pointed out, "We all know they could be here if they wanted to be here. The obvious conclusion that we can draw is that these people have given us their position by their non-attendance. They are going to pass laws in the next 15-day period, and yet

they are not interested in what we have to say."

UTU International President Charles Luna and C. L. Dennis of the Clerks union also were invited to address the rally. Luna did not reply to the invitation, and C. L. Dennis sent a telegram expressing regrets.

Maurice Radrizzi, UTU Illinois State legislative director, told the meeting: "The membership is ill because they now doubt the organization and its leadership. . . ."

"John L. Lewis," Radrizzi remembered, "called a strike. He called a strike when the entire government was opposed to it, and the international paid a fine. He paid a personal fine, but he gave his membership what was rightfully theirs."

Larry Kroenert, UTU local chairman, representing Illinois Central workers, said he is "one of those foolish people who believe that the control of this union belongs to the rank-and-file. . . . Why should railroad men become the scapegoats of

Congress? Let us for once, the rank-and-file, run this union. We're tired of wrong legislation, and we're tired of union leaders that won't stand up," declared Kroenert.

Ed Heisler, secretary of the UTU Right to Vote Committee, spoke briefly. He called for nationalization of the railroads under workers control, "in order to better serve the public and improve the conditions of railroad workers."

"It seems like everybody in this country is standing up and fighting for their rights," he said, "and it's about time that we stand up and fight for our rights. If we're really serious about going out on strike on March 1, and if we're really serious about keeping our jobs and improving our conditions, I would urge that the responsible officers of the United Transportation Union here organize strike committees in their locals to prepare for March 1."

A few days before the rally, Chicago area representatives of the

United Transportation Union held a news conference to protest any further government strikebreaking legislation when the current antistrike bill expires on March 1, and to attack the failure of the railroads to pay retroactive wages ordered by Congress as part of the strikebreaking bill passed on Dec. 11.

Robert Groah, UTU general chairman in Chicago, said at that press conference, "We have lived up to the law that took away our right to strike on Dec. 10, but the railroads have not lived up to their responsibilities under the law providing a 5 percent salary increase retroactive to Jan. 1 [1970]."

The *Chicago Sun Times* reported a carrier spokesman representing the Western Railroad Association as saying that none of the lines intended to violate the law, but that they were attempting to pay the back wages without damaging their financial positions.

The National Picket Line

According to New York mailmen, a postal strike is possible again this spring, better organized than the historic first that occurred last March.

The first board meeting of the new corporate-style U. S. Postal Service appointed former Postmaster General Blount "director" at a salary of \$60,000 a year.

The corporation has announced increases in first-class postal rates of as much as 33 percent, raising the price of a six-cent stamp to 8 cents. Current contracts over wage increases for postal workers are kept secret. Even mention of a 33 percent wage increase is too "inflationary."

Serious talks and some important developments are occurring outside the current wage negotiations in Washington. Most important was a recent conference of the newly elected leaders of New York Letter Carriers Branch 36 with James Rademacher, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers. One of the things the new president of Branch 36, Vincent Sombrotto, told President Rademacher was that postal workers in the big cities will not be satisfied with a national wage scale based on wages in rural areas. The metropolitan centers are demanding "area negotiations and more power to the branches or locals," according to *New York Letter Carriers' Outlook*, official publication of Branch 36.

This is one of the demands pressed by the powerful Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union, an affiliate of the National Postal Union, which is not part of the AFL-CIO craft setup for postal workers and not represented in current negotiations with the U. S. Postal Service.

Letter Carriers Branch 36 and the M-BPU sparked the 1970 postal strike and now have close ties. The leaderships of the two unions appear to have established a working relationship to win higher wages and better job conditions.

Chances of a successful railroad strike were undercut Feb. 14 by C. L. Dennis, president of the Railroad Clerks union, when he signed a contract with the carriers. Dennis agreed to wage increases in stages from the present \$3.60 per hour to \$4.22. The contract expires at midyear 1973. The rate of pay is fixed at \$3.97 through 1972, with a 25-cent raise for the first six months of 1973. There is no escalator clause to provide for wage adjustments in accordance with the rising cost of living. Dennis is reported to have made some concessions on work rules.

The other major union involved in current national negotiations is the United Transportation Union. The deadline for settlement is March 1, when the rail-strike ban imposed by Congress last Dec. 10 expires.

The Transport Workers Union (different and separate from UTU, but also an AFL-CIO affiliate) is the collective bargaining agent for workers on the Penn Central system. On Jan. 14, the TWU opened negotiations with Penn Central, demanding more than \$4 per hour, or wages equal to carmen working for the Metropolitan Transportation Authority. Another demand of the TWU is a 32-hour workweek.

The mismanagers of Penn Central have bled the treasury dry, allowed equipment to deteriorate, failed to provide service, and finally put the company in receivership. But on Feb. 10, in Philadelphia the trustees of Penn Central told a federal district court that "labor relations policies and costs is the most critical single condition to making the railroad viable and permitting its re-organization."

They said they have "solid plans" for reducing employment by 5,000 workers this year, in addition to the 5,000 that were dropped in 1970, according to a *New York Times* report.

The Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 provides for an advisory council of experts on coal mine safety to establish guidelines for government action. The act specifies that the chairman and a majority of those on the advisory committee shall not be government officials, mine operators, miners, or "individuals who have an economic interest in the coal mining industry." It further specifies that the advisory committee shall be persons "who



N.Y. postal workers on strike last spring. Will there be another postal strike this year?

are knowledgeable in the field of coal mine safety research."

It was revealed in Washington on Feb. 11 by the Interior Department that the safety law was first violated by the very department that is responsible for its enforcement, the Interior Department. It turns out that a majority of those appointed to the advisory board are Republican Party fund-raisers and and timeservers with no mining or engineering knowledge whatsoever. The majority, if not all, "have an economic interest in the coal mining industry."

Heads of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO, enjoying the winter sun and balmy climate at Miami Beach, Fla., declared in unison on Feb. 10 that they are unalterably opposed to "quotas under any name" for hiring and training Black youth in the skilled trades apprenticeship programs.

Their arguments were:

- 1) No quota system is necessary because Black youth are presently being hired and trained in increasingly larger proportions.
- 2) Any quota system will necessarily "substitute quotas for quality."
- 3) All quota systems "inundate apprentice programs with unqualified short-term dropouts at the expense of dedicated future craftsmen."
- 4) A quota system in the building trades is unworkable anyway because there are no jobs where Black applicants can be assigned for on-the-job experience.

5) Finally, "racial quotas, under any guise, are repugnant to all Americans."

The occasion for this most recent outburst of racist rage is some modest rules changes governing apprentice programs, announced by Labor Secretary Hodgson Jan. 29. Few present apprentice programs will qualify for federal aid under the new rules, which prescribe higher quotas of Black youth.

The lie that "more Black youth are being trained" was exposed in a Feb. 8 report of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. It shows a decline of Black membership in the building trades unions from 7.4 percent in 1968 to 6.8 percent in 1969.

—FRANK LOVELL

Black Nationalism And The Revolution In Music

by Frank Kofsky

"In the 1920's and 30's, black musicians like Tricky Sam Nanton, Billie Holliday, Jelly Roll Morton, to name but a few, were rarely listed among the artists of standing in the "legitimate" (white) music world. Instead such rank imitators as Paul Whiteman, Gene Krupa, Benny Goodman, etc. were roundly hailed by white America as the leading stylists of the day. These men reaped small fortunes while black musicians starved.

"Frank Kofsky in a very important work, *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music*, devotes considerable space to showing that black musicians in general have advanced little further than their predecessors. The circumstances that black musicians find themselves in today have not appreciably changed. In a series of thirteen essays and interviews written over the past five years, Kofsky conclusively demonstrates that black musicians continue to be economically exploited." Earl Ofari, *Los Angeles Free Press*, November 13, 1970

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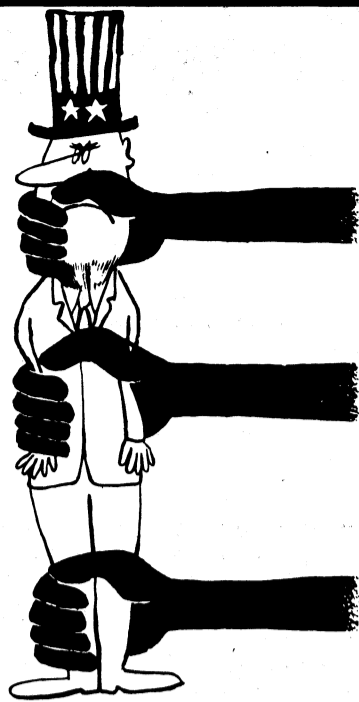
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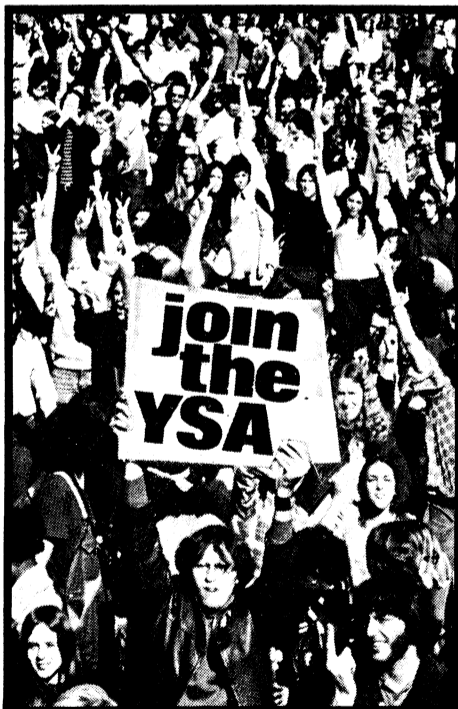
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THE MILITANT

New stage in Irish struggle

By DAVID THORSTAD

FEB. 16—The recent confrontations in Northern Ireland—the most widespread and violent since August 1969—mark a new stage in the struggle. Most significant is the fact that all imperialist and pro-imperialist forces have closed ranks for an assault on the nationalist Catholic minority.

This is reflected in press reports designed to whip up support for the current attacks by the British Army. Some reports in the American press go so far as to attribute almost supernatural powers to the Catholic nationalists by which they are allegedly even able to induce small children to throw themselves under the wheels of British army vehicles.

The *New York Times* today printed a vicious editorial blaming the Provisional faction of the Irish Republican Army for what was clearly a planned, provocative raid on the Belfast Catholic community by the British. Even more brutal measures might be taken against the Catholic minority, it warned: "With the rebels using automatic weapons, bombs, and land mines, the fighting has escalated to the point where the British may see no alternative to far more drastic tactics."

The fighting began Feb. 3 with raids—ostensibly in search of weapons—by the British forces and the Royal Ulster Constabulary in the Lower Falls-Springfield Road Catholic ghetto in Belfast. "The searching of Kashmir Road was the most unfortunate," reported Henry Kelly and Denis Coughlan in the Feb. 4 *Irish Times*. "This street runs perilously close to the peace line between the Catholic Falls and Protestant Shankill areas and is bounded at one end by Bombay Street where about 40 Catholic homes were razed to the ground in August 1969."

Patrick Kennedy, representative of Central Belfast in the Belfast Parliament and a member of the moderate nationalist Republican Labor Party, was touring the area when the fight-



New York demonstration Feb. 6 protests British attacks in Northern Ireland.

Photo by Arthur Hughes

ing began. His description was reported in the Feb. 5 *Irish Times*: "The people of the area had become incensed at the insults of the troops and had thrown stones. The troops then roared into the area in Land Rovers at speeds of up to 70 m.p.h. and one jeep hit a middle-aged woman and carried her for 70 yards. When the driver was asked how he had hit her, he replied: 'I mowed her down.'"

As word spread that troops were attacking people on Kashmir Street, thousands of people came out onto the streets from other ghettos as well. According to Kelly and Coughlan, one community group, the Central Citizens Defence Committee, attempted to calm the situation and "evidence seemed to suggest that barricades were thrown up spontaneously and whatever organization there was on the spot [was] done simply by men and youths enraged by the searches."

Deadly weapons were used against the British in several areas. The clash-

es left five soldiers wounded from gunshots and another from a homemade gelignite bomb. After less than a week of fighting, 11 persons had been killed and around two hundred civilians arrested.

These raids were clearly intended to terrorize the Catholic population. They turned up only one shotgun, some picks, pick handles, shovels, and some Republican literature.

A statement by Northern Irish Prime Minister Chichester-Clark in the Belfast Parliament Feb. 4, reported in the *Irish Times*, revealed the explicitly provocative nature of the raids: "The army [was] splendidly self-disciplined. They were firm, but kept their tempers. When the guns came out, as we anticipated they would, the army took very firm action indeed." (Emphasis added.)

At a press conference the same day, British Chief of Land Operations General Tony Farrar-Hockley singled out for the first time as the main enemy

an organization of the Catholic, nationalist ghetto dwellers. "Battle has been joined with the Provisional IRA," he said. "It is not war, but it is definitely battle."

The Provisional IRA is a right-wing split-off from the republican movement. In its efforts to combat the left-wing leadership of the official IRA, it has resorted to boasts about attacking British forces which have given the imperialists a cover for their provocations.

One effect of the assault on the nationalist ghetto population—whom the British were ostensibly brought in to protect in August 1969—and the singling out of nationalist forces as the enemy appears to be a growing reconciliation between the ultraright and "moderate" wings of the Protestant Unionists. It was the prospect of reforms and concessions to the Catholic population which had created divisions in the Unionist ranks and insecurity among large sections of the Protestant population in the first place. With this threat out of the picture for the moment, a reconciliation among the Unionists is on the agenda. A sharpening political polarization between the Protestants and Catholics is also assured. In the present situation, even a move toward massive internment of nationalist forces cannot be excluded. Some Unionists are pressing for this.

The day after the outbreak of new fighting, the Belfast Central Citizens Defence Committee, which is dominated by the Catholic hierarchy, issued a statement denouncing the army searches as a pogrom. The statement, which is quoted in the Feb. 4 *Irish Times*, concludes on a plaintive note. General Erskine Crum, the new British commander, "must bear in mind that every day the actions of his troops are increasing the number of people without hope," it warns, "and people without hope soon become extremist. Those of us who have tried to be a moderating influence are left with less and less to offer."

What really happened at Wilmington?

WILMINGTON, N. C. (SCEF)—Reports distributed by major news services on recent racial violence here have not told the truth about what took place, a Black reporter charges.

Jim Grant, who writes for the *Southern Patriot*, was on the scene for five days at the height of the crisis.

"What happened here was as close to an insurrection as anything I've ever seen," Grant said. "About 1,300 students were involved in one way or another. The real cause of the trouble was a conspiracy between police, school officials, and city government—a conspiracy to try to crush those students."

Grant declared that the following specific falsehoods were generally stated as facts in news reports sent out of Wilmington:

1) That violence erupted in the city because of sniper fire from young Black people.

The facts, Grant said, are that students were peacefully protesting against conditions in so-called inte-

grated schools. They had been meeting in the Gregory Congregational United Church of Christ for several days—when on Feb. 4 there were anonymous threats that the church would be bombed.

People in the community armed themselves to defend the church and built barricades to keep white attackers out. But there was no firing from those defending the church until "marauding bands of Klansmen began to invade the area close to the church, coming in cars and pickup trucks loaded with weapons." They passed easily through police lines a few blocks away and fired at the young Black people.

"We have it on reliable authority that Klansmen came in from all the surrounding counties," Grant said.

2) That a 19-year-old Black youth, Stephen Mitchell, who was shot and killed by police, was armed at the time and that police shot in self-defense.

The fact, Grant said, is that Mit-

chell was unarmed. He, along with other unarmed young Black people, was fighting a fire at a store and two Black homes one block from the church. Firemen were refusing to come into the area. They did not arrive until an hour after the blaze started. The fire is believed to have been arson.

"It was cold-blooded murder," Grant said. "He was shot several times, and police dragged him 50 feet and threw him in a car. We all believe he was still alive when they started dragging him." Mitchell was a member of the student steering committee that has been pressing demands on school officials.

3) That a white man fatally wounded on Feb. 7 just happened to wander into the area on his way to the grocery.

Actually, Grant said, the white man came into the area in a truck, rode up to the barricade near the church, and got out pointing his shotgun at the young Blacks there. This was one

of numerous such incidents, Grant said, and this particular man had been seen in the area before during the crisis.

"I guess he figured he could just walk into the area and start shooting," Grant noted. "Maybe he could have 25 years ago—but things aren't like that anymore."

The trouble in Wilmington started when school officials refused to even negotiate with Black students in three schools who were demanding Black studies courses, more Black participation in academic and athletic affairs, and other such changes. Students began a boycott of classes Feb. 2, and on Feb. 4 staged a mass march of close to 2,000 persons to City Hall.

Wilmington quieted down—at least temporarily—after the weekend of Feb. 7.

But, Grant said, "Nothing is solved in Wilmington—and the School Board is still refusing to budge an inch, although the students have offered a compromise proposal. Things are not likely to stay quiet very long."