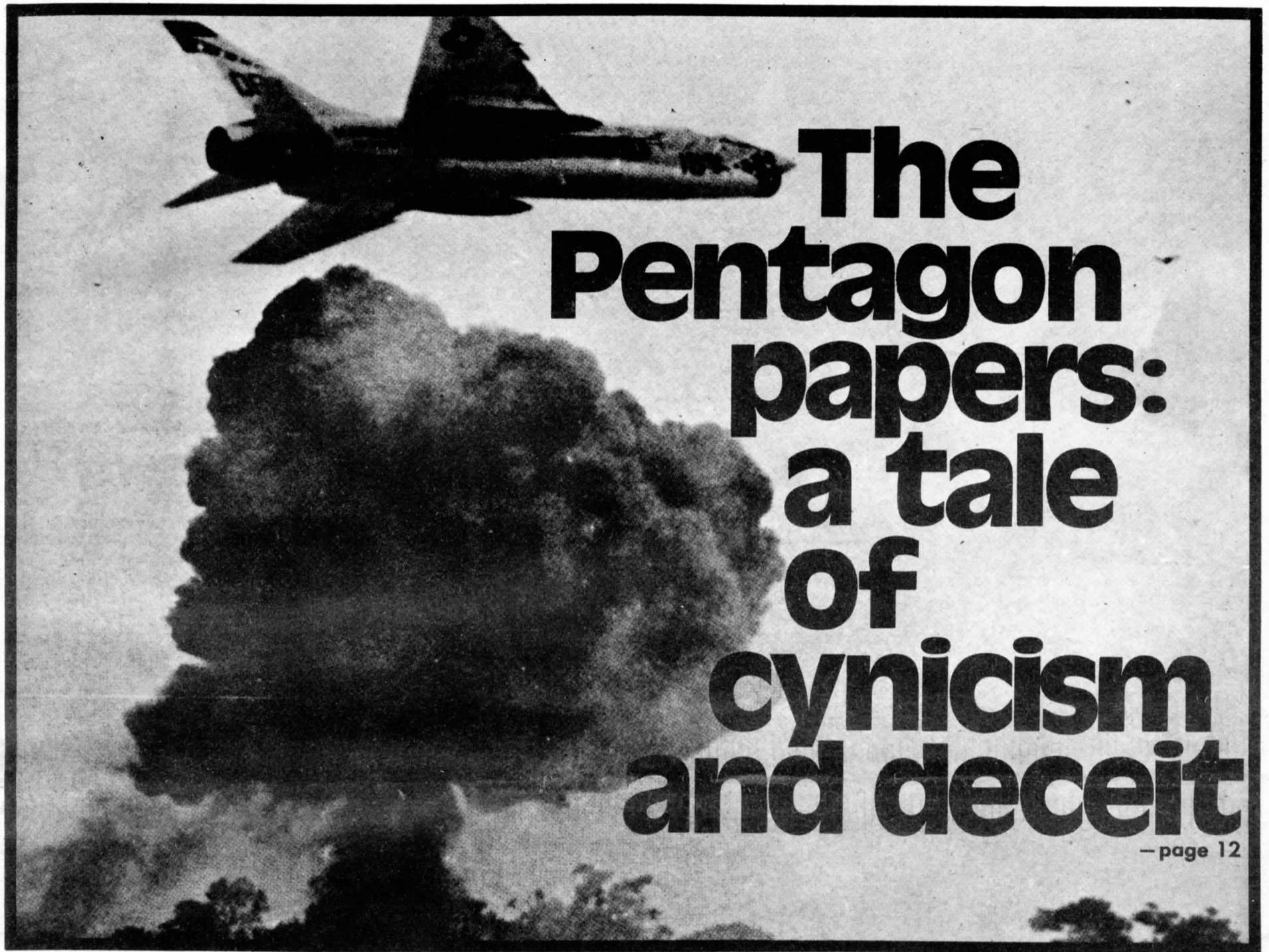


# THE MILITANT

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



## The Pentagon papers: a tale of cynicism and deceit

—page 12

The spectacle of the White House taking to court the most powerful capitalist newspapers in the country in an attempt to prevent the publication of documents exposing part of the truth about imperialist policy is the most dramatic manifestation to date of the deep division in the ruling class of the United States.

The magnitude of these events is indicated by the importance of the issue of policy involved—imperialist war. That the New York Times would go to such lengths also indicates the despair this section of the ruling class has of influencing Nixon behind the scenes in ways that would not reveal so much of the naked truth about all the capitalist politicians. The full impact of these events is only just beginning to be felt.

The majority of Americans have believed for some time that they were not getting the full truth about Vietnam. They suspected that they were being lied to, manipulated and maneuvered. That was the source of the credibility gap that developed during the early years of the Johnson administration and has continued to widen ever since.

This distrust of the government was one of the sources of the growing opposition to the war that finally led to the abdication of the discredited Johnson.

Nixon at first had some success posing as a "peace seeker," as the majority of Americans took a wait-and-see attitude just after the election. But his credibility too was rapidly eroded as the war continued and was escalated to Cambodia and Laos.

Now the Pentagon papers confirm what many suspected or feared was true, but didn't want to believe. Many tried to close their eyes because the conclusions to be drawn from the truth would be too damaging to their faith in the values and even the system upheld by capitalist politicians in Washington.

But just as the Calley trial confirmed the reality of the U.S. atrocities in Vietnam for masses of Americans who only suspected them, the Pentagon papers portray the utter ruthlessness, cynicism and calculated deception which are the standard operating procedures of the gangsters in Washington.

As the full extent of the government's deception sinks in—and as tens of millions

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## THE MILITANT

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Technical Editor: JON BRITTON  
Business Manager: FLAX HERMES

Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING, 1102 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: (213) 463-1917.

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**HIGH SCHOOL RIGHTS VICTORY:** Facing a suit filed by the New York Civil Liberties Union March 18, the New York Board of Education agreed to the following provisions June 21: The board agreed to take disciplinary action against school officials who interfere with students' distribution of literature in the schools; to assure that all nonofficial publications be allowed if normal functions aren't disrupted; to assure that contents of publications need not be approved as a condition for distribution; to assure that no entries be made in the records of students acting within their rights; and to post copies of these provisions at specified high schools. The NYCLU agreed to withdraw its suit on or before Nov. 30 if it is satisfied with the board's enforcement of these provisions.

**MILITANT SALESMEN ARRESTED:** Two members of the Providence, R.I., Young Socialist Alliance, Bob Trudelle and John Gornley, were illegally arrested June 18 while selling *The Militant* at the University Heights Shopping Center. They were arrested on the complaint of manager James F. Reynolds, despite having explained to both Reynolds and the cops that a U.S. Supreme Court decision two weeks earlier, defining privately-owned shopping centers as "semipublic" land, gave them the right to sell. Two hours after their arrest, the phony charge of "obstructing a passageway" was cooked up to try to get around this right. The trial is slated for July 14. The case has received coverage in the local papers and on local radio stations.

**COOL HEAD:** On April 1, 1970, Peter Lemon, a GI stationed in a back-up position as part of a support group for a U.S. military action in Vietnam, had his position attacked by the liberation forces. In fighting off the attack, Lemon used grenades, rifle, machine gun and hand-to-hand combat. He dragged a wounded buddy to safety, and while wounded himself, refused treatment until more serious cases were cared for. This action won him the Medal of Honor. The June 22 *New York Times* quotes the former GI as saying of that action, "It was the only time I ever went into combat stoned." Lemon explained that in his unit, "All the guys were heads. . . . We'd sit around smoking grass and getting stoned and talking about when we'd get to go home." The medal winner said of the war, "The war is ridiculous. How would we like it if we went to war with Canada, and the Russians or the Chinese came over here. . . .?"

**MADISON VETS GET BOOT:** The Veterans of Foreign Wars has suspended Memorial Post 10203 in Madison, Wis., the "Peace Post," because its members marched in the Memorial Day antiwar action in Madison. The June 20 *New York Times*, reporting that the post planned to take court action if the suspension is not rescinded, quoted post Vice-commander Peter Hermanson as saying, "We've got more important things to do than playing Bingo and getting falling-down drunk. They are telling us that if we can't be warmongers, we have to get out. But we are tired of playing Army." Most of the post's members are Vietnam veterans.

**LEGION HOLDS YOUTH UNDER "HOUSE ARREST":** The American Legion Boys' State program is not set up to accommodate dissent. At the Texas program in Austin this year, the Legion supervisors were so angered by 16-year-old Keith Deen's attempt to print in the Boy's State paper an editorial critical of them that they "arrested" him. The head Legionnaires packed up Deen's luggage, removed him from his dormitory and led him to a guarded room in a separate building. "You've had your way all your life," the big brave beer bellies told the youth. "You're not going to get away with this." More quick-witted than his captors, Deen fled on the second day of his "house arrest" by pretending to have to go to the bathroom and ducking out an exit. He ran to a gas station where he called his mother. The Legion defended the bullying of the young man, saying he was "radical" and "a subversive."

**POISON KILLS EAGLES:** Liberation News Service reports from Casper, Wyo., that 43 golden and bald eagles have been found dead in recent weeks in Wyoming. The birds, part of species threatened with extinction, appear to have been killed by thallium, a poison outlawed in 1967 by federal agencies. The poison is used by livestock growers to kill large predators that threaten their herds.

**THE SST AND THE CP:** The American Communist Party has joined in the justified outcry against U.S. plans to build an SST because of the ecological disaster the plane represents. But in the Soviet Union, the parasitic bureaucracy, to which the CP looks for political leadership, is relatively nonchalant about the effects of the Russian SST on the environment. The June 19 *New York Times* reports Soviet aviation official Aleksandr F. Akseyonov's comments: "If the plane flies at a high enough altitude, there is absolutely nothing dangerous in the sonic boom. . . . Concerning pollution of the atmosphere, this

is one segment of the very serious problems that worry the modern world. . . . But it is only a small part and not a very significant one." Akseyonov compared the addition of the SST's waste in the atmosphere to the addition of two or three cars to a traffic stream. The *Times* added, "There has been no public debate in the Soviet Union on the value of supersonic planes, and no details have been made public on how much the 120-seat TU-144 has cost the Soviet government."

**JAILERS CELEBRATE NEW "HOUSE OF D":** The New York corrections commissioner called the new facility on Rikers Island housing women prisoners formerly kept in the House of Detention in Greenwich Village "New York's newest and perhaps best hotel." While the commissioner's statement is a cynical and unfunny exaggeration, the new facility is a relative improvement in terms of its physical layout. Inmates have private, color-coordinated rooms with a bed, desk, sink and toilet, and the grounds have grass, gardens, tennis courts, a gym, etc. The prison is still a cage, however, and the trimmings are byproducts of a move brought on not by concern for women prisoners, but for Greenwich Village residents who complained about the noise made by inmates shouting back and forth with their friends on the street at the old Greenwich Avenue location.

**"CRUEL AND UNUSUAL":** The Eighth Amendment supposedly protects Americans from "cruel and unusual punishment," but it is usual for the capitalist system of "justice" to confine men and women in prisons—which are all cruel. In May, West Virginia Circuit Judge George R. Triplett handed down an unusual decision for a U.S. court, setting aside the sentence of a convicted man because he ruled that sending anyone to Moundsville, the state penitentiary, constituted "cruel and unusual punishment." Triplett's decision said, in part, "Where rehabilitation is a clearly understood objective of confinement, it would seem entirely proper for the judiciary to accept at least part of the responsibility for carrying out that purpose. For, if prison officials engage in action which makes rehabilitation impossible, judicial sentencing is pointless. . . ." It was not so much Triplett's extraordinary humanity that motivated the decision as the conditions at Moundsville, which are—even by U.S. standards—exceptionally barbaric. County prosecutor W. Thomas Gall has said, "I won't now as a policy of my office ask the court to sentence a man to the penitentiary unless I consider him . . . an irrevocable loss to society. . . ."

**MOUNDSVILLE:** The warden and guards at the West Virginia State Penitentiary control only the perimeter, the outer wall of the 1866 structure. Inside, the 629 prisoners are left to their own without training or recreational programs or facilities (except for one auto mechanics course with fewer than 30 students). In April, a case came to light revealing that Moundsville guards use means that fit in with the prison's medieval character to discipline inmates—a man had been kept nude in "the hole" for 53 days, handcuffed to the top of his cell with his feet barely touching the floor for 23 out of every 24 hours.

**ALCATRAZ SPOKESMAN IN NEW YORK AREA:** John Trudell, a Native American leader of the group that occupied Alcatraz and the Richmond missile base (see story page 3), will be in the New York area June 26 to July 10 or so. He is available to speak to groups interested in the Native American struggle. For more information, contact Marie Helena (212) 556-4532 during the day or (212) 263-7257 in the evenings.

—LEE SMITH



Poster put out by antiwar group of advertisers organized by Yale student Ira Nerken. The group has also produced TV commercials.

# Alcatraz occupiers continue struggle

By JEFF BERCHENKO

SAN FRANCISCO—In a predawn raid on an abandoned missile site near Richmond, Calif., close to 100 Native Americans were thrown off land occupied by them in their latest attempt to regain land taken away by hundreds of years of white oppression. The raid by Richmond police and Contra Costa County sheriffs, with Army military police in reserve, climaxed a series of actions in which the Native Americans, after being thrown off the Island of Alcatraz, which they had occupied for 19 months, later took over the abandoned Nike missile base.

On June 11, using the pretext of the "need to restore navigational aids" on Alcatraz, 35 armed U. S. marshals invaded the island, removing 15 Native Americans. They immediately set up an elaborate defense of the island, including the erection of barbed wire fences at all landing sites, patrols by armed U.S. marshals with police dogs, and patrols by Coast Guard cutters circling the island.

John Trudell, a Sioux and spokesman for Indians of All Tribes, charged the government with a doublecross. Trudell and four other Native Americans had been negotiating with U.S. Attorney J.L. Browning and other U.S. officials for the rights to the island.

"The first guarantee that they made when the negotiations began was that nobody on the island would be arrested or taken off the island," Trudell said.

"Browning wanted to settle the issue some way. They told us they wanted to give us the island and still look good. Word was that no one—no one—would be taken off the island while the negotiations were underway."

In a racist attempt to portray the inhabitants of the island as "vandals living in knee-deep filth," Thomas Hannon, regional chief of the General Services Administration (which now has custody of Alcatraz), conducted a tour of the island for newsmen on Sunday, June 13, showing many windows broken out and living quarters strewn with litter.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* quoted a federal marshal as saying "This is the way it was. We haven't changed anything." However, this lie was exposed when radio KSAN-FM quoted a source it had in the Coast Guard, who reported that the marshals, in going through the facilities on the island, deliberately wrecked things and scattered rubbish through the living quarters.

Raymond Cox, a member of the

Governing Indian Council on the island, in an interview with the *San Francisco Examiner* said that when he left the island Friday morning, June 11, before the raid, "Everything was in good shape."

Many of the published statements by the Native Americans have linked up their struggle with opposition to the racist war in Vietnam. In a rally two days after the police takeover of Alcatraz, one of the residents of the island, Vickie Lee, a Shoshone, told how her children were dragged from a hiding place at gunpoint. She said her husband was serving in Vietnam at the time, adding, "I don't think my husband should carry arms for the United States while his children are at gunpoint at home."

On June 14, in a dramatic retaliation to the government's seizure of Alcatraz, the Alcatraz Native Americans invaded an abandoned Nike missile base in Richmond, Calif. Their ranks soon swelled to over 100 as they began to settle in the 13 vacant homes on the base, which they planned to convert into a cultural center and Native American university.

In the overriding interest of maintaining white capitalist rule, inter-agency wrangling was put aside and a joint raid of city, county and military police was carried out June 17. The government felt a particular need to rush the raid because, in the words of Richmond Police Chief Phelps, "If

the Indians are not evicted immediately, Berkeley militants will rush in and cause trouble."

One thing is clear. The struggle of Native Americans will not be stopped by this most recent government attack. As John Trudell explained, the Nike-base takeover was an assertion of "the Indian people's right to control their own lives. Other tribes in other places will take up the fight."

## Chicago base seized

By GEOFREDO VEGA

CHICAGO—At 2:00 p.m. on June 14, 50 Native Americans from the Chicago Indian Village began an occupation of a defunct missile base in Chicago.

The Chicago Indian Village was set up over the last year as a result of the rising militancy of Chicago's Native-American community. The village has organized a series of actions to emphasize the desperate conditions in housing and unemployment of Native Americans in Chicago.

The overwhelming majority of Chicago's Native Americans are trapped in a North Side ghetto known as Up-

town. Uptown is populated by Apalachians, Native Americans and transients.

Native Americans—contrary to popular belief—are city dwellers in their majority. The conditions they face in the reservations are even worse than those they face in the city ghettos.

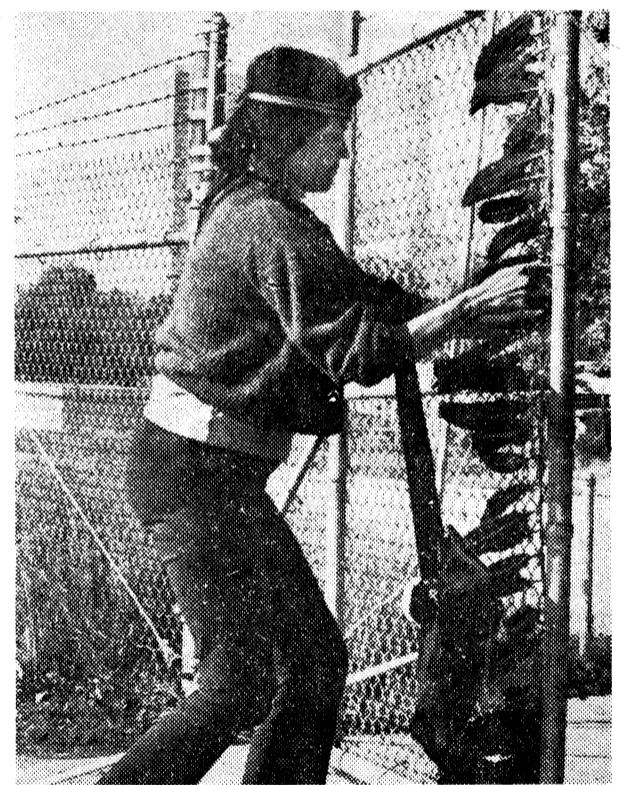
On most reservations unemployment is around 50 percent. In Chicago, currently it is about 6 percent. On reservations incomes average less than \$1,500—in some reservations much less. This, along with disease, contamination and a life expectancy 25 years below the national average, creates the sort of dehumanizing climate which makes Native Americans leave the reservations.

The missile city the Village chose for occupation is a defunct Nike base. Only a few days before, it was announced that this unoccupied federal land was to be levelled and transferred to the Chicago Park District.

After the site was seized, it was surrounded by military and Chicago police, who made no attempt to enter, although they did lock the occupiers inside. The Park District has called for a public meeting June 19 to decide the fate of the missile base, claiming that it is not located on federal land and thus not open to Native American claims. Michael Chosa, veteran leader of Red Power struggles in Chicago, has made it clear that his people have no intention of vacating the site.



Native Americans removed from Alcatraz June 11 shown on left after occupation began Nov. 20, 1969. On right Carol Warrington places tribal flag at Nike missile base entrance outside Chicago where occupation began June 14.



## Abortion rally hits Calif. law

By CAROLE SEIDMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—At least 120 women jammed into Glide Church for the first Bay Area "Women's Speak-out for Abortion Law Repeal" held June 17. *But What Have You Done For Me Lately*, a play by feminist playwright Myrna Lamb, was performed, followed by a succession of speakers who condemned the California state abortion law.

Marijean Suelzle of the Berkeley National Organization for Women and Female Liberation gave a report on the National Abortion Conference to be held July 16-18 in New York City and the June 12 planning meeting for the conference held in New York City. She expressed the well-received

idea that a women's abortion repeal campaign could unite the broadest number of women into a movement that could win this basic right.

The speakers who elicited the most enthusiastic response from the women assembled were those who related their experiences of having illegal abortions. All of them stressed a common theme: "No sister should be forced to go through what I had to go through."

A Latina sister who is a member of La Raza Unida Party and a representative of a new organization called Black Sisters in Struggle both spoke about the particular relevancy of the abortion struggle to Third World sisters. Professional women, including a doctor, a public health counselor, a physiology teacher, a psychologist and a lawyer spoke out for abortion repeal.

The breadth of the meeting was evident from the number of organizations represented. Present at the meeting were women from Society for Humane Abortion, Association to Repeal

Abortion Laws, Planned Parenthood, Female Liberation, San Francisco Women's Liberation, the Communist Party, the *Women's Page* newspaper, the Young Socialist Alliance, several gay women's groups, and the Socialist Workers Party. The speakout was sponsored by the "Women's Ad-Hoc Abortion Coalition," which announced a follow-up meeting to plan actions to lead to the repeal of California's abortion laws.

## Abortion issue gets priority

CLEVELAND—The Cleveland chapter of the National Organization for Women is gearing into a full-scale campaign for the repeal of the Ohio antiabortion laws. At its regular meeting May 13, Cleveland NOW ap-

proved the recommendation of its board to make the struggle for abortion repeal its top priority activity this year.

On June 15, Lois G. Adams, president of Cleveland NOW, submitted the following statement to the Judiciary Committee of the Ohio legislature, although she was not permitted to speak, on the occasion of Judiciary Committee hearings on abortion law:

"Ohio women today give notice that we are launching our campaign for repeal of all abortion laws and other measures restricting our right to control our reproductive life.

"By swift action for total repeal of state abortion laws the Ohio legislature could demonstrate national leadership in acting on a fundamental aspect of a major social issue of our times—women's rights.

"We sincerely hope the legislators measure up to the opportunity and the need. But if they should fail, we shall not. We shall continue the struggle with the same determination as our predecessors until we win."

By CAROLINE LUND

Under growing mass pressure for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, organized by the antiwar movement, liberal members of Congress have in the past few months mounted a timid campaign asking the Nixon administration to "set the date" for withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia. The Hatfield-McGovern amendment, which would have sanctioned the continuation of the war for the rest of the year (then supposedly ended it providing the Vietnamese complied with certain conditions), was defeated in the Senate on June 16. Another bill, endorsing a one-year continuation of the war, was similarly voted down.

Unfortunately, some sections of the

U.S. ruling class, the June 23 *Guardian* editorial concludes: "In this context, the meaningful and concrete slogan, 'Set the Date!' has become urgent."

### Backing for "doves"

The *Daily World* article, written by Gil Green, a national committee member of the Communist Party and its representative to the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, writes: "It is clear that the main peace slogan that should unite the movement is 'Set the date for total withdrawal.'"

One of the central reasons given by Gil Green for supporting the "set the date" approach is that this slogan "helps best to organize pressure upon

dercut if it capitulated to the doves and retreated to a position of asking the administration to please let us know when it thinks it may get out of Southeast Asia.

If the Pentagon papers have taught the American people anything, it is the lying cynicism of the U.S. government. There is no reason to believe in *anything* said or promised, and that's just one more reason why we demand action, not words.

### Form of withdrawal?

The *Guardian* tries to say that "set the date" is complementary, not contradictory, to the demand for immediate withdrawal. They say that "set

power to end the war. The only reason that some members of Congress are now willing to half-heartedly oppose the war is because they know the overwhelming majority of the American people want to get out of this war. The May 3 Harris Poll found that 60 percent of Americans are for withdrawal from Southeast Asia whether or not it meant a communist victory in Vietnam. Immediate and unconditional withdrawal has won majorities in referendums held in Madison, San Francisco, Detroit and other cities.

The American people are ready and willing to fight for immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Southeast Asia, as demonstrated by the massive response to April 24 and the other mass demonstrations around that demand in the past years. They have no stake in staying in Southeast Asia for one more day, much less for months or years longer. The best way to mobilize the power of the mass of the American people—which is the only power that can force Congress or the administration to withdraw—is around the clear demand for "out now!" This is the demand that makes the most sense to the American people, and especially to the GIs. As John Kerry of the Concerned Officers Movement told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings in Washington the week before April 24, "How do you ask a man to be the last to die in Vietnam for a mistake?"

The concern of the American ruling class has been to try to keep as many prerogatives as it can in Southeast Asia, to wring as many concessions as possible from the Vietnamese, and to legitimize its presence in Southeast Asia as much as possible. To this end they have lied to the American people ever since U.S. intervention began, as is documented in the Pentagon study. Even if the administration agreed to set a date for withdrawal in the future, it would mean that Nixon would be given the go-ahead to conduct the war with impunity for a certain period, and when the date for withdrawal arrived, he could simply say that other factors had arisen which made withdrawal impossible. The only way to expose Nixon and cut through all the lies about "Vietnamization," "winding down the war," and "gradual withdrawal" is the unambiguous demand for immediate and unconditional withdrawal.

### The Vietnamese

One final argument used by the *Daily World* for supporting "set the date" is that it is the demand of the Vietnamese at the Paris talks. Green says that since the Vietnamese have called on the U.S. to set a date for withdrawal, it is not a violation of their right to self-determination for the American antiwar movement to also call for withdrawal at some future date rather than immediately. What Green ignores is that the U.S. is the aggressor in Vietnam. It is one thing for the Vietnamese—who are fighting off a foreign invader and who are forced to negotiate with that invader—to call for the U.S. to set a date. But it is quite another thing for *Americans* to promote the idea that the U.S. is justified in remaining in Vietnam until a future date.

The debate over "Out Now!" or "Set the date" is an extremely important one for the antiwar movement. Rather than capitulating to the "set the date" position of the liberal capitalist politicians, the antiwar movement must continue to build its power through reaching out to broader and broader layers of the American people around the demand for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia. As is becoming clear to increasing numbers, the U.S. has no right whatsoever to remain in Southeast Asia for another day. This approach will mobilize the full power of the American people against the war and will be the greatest help to the Vietnamese.

# The Daily World, The Guardian and "Set the Date"



Banner carried by Wisconsin marchers in Washington, D.C., April 24 reflects the views of most Americans.

antiwar movement have adopted the approach of these "liberal" members of Congress, most of whom have supported the war ever since it began by voting for war appropriations and other measures and are only now dissenting half-heartedly under the pressure of the antiwar sentiment of the overwhelming majority of the American people.

Both the June 23 issue of the news-weekly the *Guardian*, and the June 19 issue of the *Daily World*, which reflects the views of the American Communist Party, came out clearly with the position that the demand "set the date" for withdrawal from Southeast Asia should become the major thrust of the antiwar movement, rather than immediate and unconditional withdrawal, which has been the demand of the largest antiwar demonstrations to date.

This difference—over whether the antiwar movement should fight for "out now" or "set the date" for withdrawal some time in the future—has become a major dividing line for the current split in the antiwar movement. The People's Coalition for Peace and Justice has concentrated on raising the "set the date" demand, while the National Peace Action Coalition has fought for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia.

The fact that the *Guardian* and the *Daily World* are supporting the "set the date" demand is nothing new. But their most current positions are the clearest to date in counterposing "set the date" to the demand for immediate withdrawal. After explaining the importance of the growing split in the

Congress for the setting of a Congressional cut-off date such as is called for in the McGovern-Hatfield amendment." With this statement Green indicates the real thrust of the "set the date" position: it is a capitulation to the "dove" politicians in Congress.

The "set the date" demand being raised by sections of Congress is in total contradiction to the right of Vietnamese self-determination. It is based on the assumption that U.S. troops have a right to remain in Southeast Asia for a certain period, and that the U.S. government has a right to exact conditions from the Vietnamese regarding the internal affairs of their country.

The *Guardian* editorial tries to deny that the logic of the "set the date" position is a capitulation to the Congressional doves, saying: "We have no desire to allow the leadership of the mass antiwar movement to fall into the hands of these representatives of the American ruling class either by default or sectarianism." But the logic of their position is just that. As the *Daily World* clearly explains, the "set the date" position lays the basis for that wing of the antiwar movement to turn into a support group for the doves in Congress.

The most effective way for the antiwar movement to win *any* concessions toward an end to the war—including a commitment to a future date for withdrawal—is to continue to mobilize masses of Americans around the principled position that the U.S. has no right whatsoever in Vietnam and must withdraw all troops immediately and unconditionally. The power of the antiwar movement would be severely un-

dercut if it capitulated to the doves and retreated to a position of asking the administration to please let us know when it thinks it may get out of Southeast Asia. It would be quite difficult to explain this reasoning to Vietnamese villagers who would be bombed for the rest of this year, or to American GIs who would have to continue to die and to participate in the slaughter until the end of the year, or to the American people, whose sons may lose their lives in Southeast Asia between now and the end of the year.

Both the *Daily World* and the *Guardian* try to assert that the "set the date" demand serves to expose and isolate Nixon. What exposes Nixon better—the demand to stop the slaughter now and get out now, or a demand which implicitly recognizes the right of the U.S. to continue the war for a certain period? The antiwar movement does not expose Nixon by accepting his premise that the U.S. has a right to be in Vietnam.

Underneath this difference over slogans lies the question of who the antiwar movement is appealing to. Should the movement orient toward the Congress, toward trying to convince these capitalist politicians—most of whom have backed the war in principle all along—to support steps like the Hatfield-McGovern amendment? Or should we orient toward winning over and mobilizing the American people, who have no interest in remaining in Southeast Asia?

The answer is obvious. The antiwar movement has been built by appealing to the American people to use their

# Antiwar forces to meet July 2-4

By HUGH MORGAN

As the Nixon administration maneuvers to keep further disclosures about the warmakers' policy out of the papers, antiwar activists around the country are mobilizing forces to attend the July 2-4 National Antiwar Convention in New York City where they will map plans for more mass action to oppose that policy and get the U.S. out of Indochina now.

The staff of the National Peace Action Coalition reports that attendance



James Lafferty, NPAC coordinator, will be among keynote speakers at July 2-4 antiwar convention.

at the convention will be large, and an even broader range of forces will be represented than at the student antiwar conference in Washington, D. C., last February.

The convention has been endorsed by representatives of the organized labor movement, the Chicano movement, the Black movement, the Puerto Rican movement, the women's liberation movement, antiwar GIs and veterans, the gay liberation movement, the ecology movement and churches, as well as student groups.

Keynote speakers who will address the opening session on Friday eve-

ning, July 2, include U.S. Senator Vance Hartke; James Lafferty, NPAC coordinator; Deborah Bustin, Student Mobilization Committee coordinator; Victor Reuther, International Department director of the UAW; and David Livingston, president of District 65, Distributive Workers union in New York.

Following the opening session, there will be a series of workshops to discuss special contingents in fall antiwar marches and special days of antiwar activity related to the particular sectors of the antiwar movement.

The New York PAC and New York SMC are on a mobilization footing for the final days before the conference to cover the city with leaflets and posters advertising the convention. Similar activity is going on in other centers, and most major cities will be sending at least one busload of delegates to the convention.

National speaking tours by both Lafferty and Jerry Gordon, another NPAC coordinator, have helped to increase interest in the convention. On the final leg of his tour in New England, Gordon spoke to one meeting of 250 in Connecticut organized by the PAC there. In Boston, he found that more than 90 people had already reserved seats on chartered buses for the convention.

The Young Lords Party and U.S. Congressman Herman Badillo have added their names to the list of convention endorsers.

Another method of building for the convention has been the mailing of thousands of letters to organizations representing the different antiwar constituencies, signed by convention endorsers from the particular group or movement.

Signers of the letter to trade unions include Victor Reuther, David Livingston, Mae Massie of the International Union of Electrical Workers, Harold Gibbons from the Teamsters, Abe Feinglass of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and others.

The Chicano letter has been signed by Carlos Trevino, chairman of the Seattle Brown Berets; Armando Mendoza of the Huelga Support Committee in Western Washington; Corky Gonzales of the Crusade for Justice; Froben Lozada of the Merritt College Chicano Studies Department; and others.

The letter to Black organizations has among its signers the Rev.

Charles Koen and Leon Page of the Cairo Black United Front; Congressmen Ron Dellums, John Conyers and Parren Mitchell; Leon Davis, president of Local 1199 Hospital Workers union in New York; Bill Tate of District 65; the Rev. Willie Barrows of SCLC; John T. Williams, NPAC coordinator; and others.

The letter to gay organizations has been signed by Troy Perry of the Metropolitan Community Church; Frank Kameny, president of the Washington, D. C., Mattachine Society; Jack Baker, president of the University of Minnesota Student Association; and others.

The letter to veterans includes the signatures of Gen. Hugh B. Hester, USA (ret.); Louis Font, West Point Class of 1968; Bob Muller, a Vietnam veteran; Leroy Wolins of Chicago Veterans for Peace; and others.

The letter signed by GIs has among its signers Private Ed Jurenas, Sp/4 Dave Cortright, Sp/4 Verne Windham and others.

The letter to women's organizations has been signed by Jacqueline Michot Ceballos, president of New York NOW; Betty Friedan; Myrna Lamb; Susan Schnall, former Navy lieutenant; and others.

## NATIONAL ANTIWAR CONVENTION

New York City

July 2-4, 1971

HUNTER COLLEGE 695 Park Avenue (at 68th Street)

Registration begins 6:00p.m. Friday, July 2

On December 4-6, 1970, the National Peace Action Coalition held a national convention in Chicago. That gathering, open to all, called the historic April 24 demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco.

On July 2-4 of this year the National Peace Action Coalition is sponsoring a national antiwar convention in New York City. All organizations and individuals who oppose the war are invited. All who register will have voice and vote. The convention will begin with a rally on Friday night, July 2, at 7:30p.m. There will be discussion groups and plenary sessions Saturday and Sunday, July 3 and 4.

Keynote speakers at the Friday night rally will include: Sen. Vance Hartke; Victor Reuther, UAW; Jim Lafferty, NPAC; Debby Bustin, SMC; Bob Mueller, Vietnam veteran; and David Livingston, President, District 65 Distributive Workers Union and Alliance for Labor Action.

**BE WITH US IN NEW YORK CITY TO ANSWER THE LIES OF THE WARMAKERS. BE WITH US TO PLAN AND BUILD THE NEXT ROUND OF PEACE ACTIVITIES.**

Partial list of convention endorsers (organizations for identification purposes only):

RAUL TEILHET, President, California Federation of Teachers	HAROLD GIBBONS, International Vice-President, Teamsters
ABE FEINGLASS, Vice-President, Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen	DAVID LIVINGSTON, President, District 65, National Council of Distributive Workers
DR. GEORGE WALD, Nobel Prize Winner in Science, Labor University Alliance	MOE FONER, Executive Secretary, Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers
NOAM CHOMSKY, Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology	LEON DAVIS, President, Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers
DOUGLAS DOWD, People's Coalition for Peace and Justice	Rep. RON DELLUMS, California
Rev. E. CRANDALL T. OSBORN, SCLC, Cleveland	Rep. WILLIAM F. RYAN, New York
EARL STOUT, International Vice-President, AFSCME	BETTY FRIEDAN, author
VINCENT HALLINAN, Attorney	CORKY GONZALES, Crusade for Justice
MURRAY FINDLEY, Vice President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers	Rev. CHARLES KOEN, Cairo, Illinois, Black United Front
ROBERT ABRAMS, Bronx Borough President	DICK NIEBUR, International Vice-President, United Electrical Workers
PERCY SUTTON, Manhattan Borough President	CONRAD LYNN, attorney
	MAE MASSIE, Civil Rights Director, District 3 IUE, New Jersey

For information and registration materials, write:  
NATIONAL PEACE ACTION COALITION  
150 Fifth Avenue, Room 911  
New York, New York 10003  
FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED

# Gay Pride Week begins across U.S.

By LEE SMITH

Gay Pride Week activities building toward massive gay liberation marches began in cities around the country more than a week in advance of June 27, the date when the marches are scheduled in New York, Los Angeles and Chicago.

Some of the cities where activities have begun are New York, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Houston.

In New York, the Gay Activists Alliance held the official opening of its new headquarters, the Firehouse, at 99 Wooster St. on June 18. Both GAA and the Daughters of Bilitis hosted dances at their separate headquarters June 19 and other activities June 20, including banner-making for the June 27 march.

The New York Mattachine held a legal clinic the evening of June 21 and GAA held a "Roundtable Rap" panel discussion.

In Chicago, gays went cruising on

a chartered boat in Lake Michigan June 19, and panel discussions and other programs took place at the University of Chicago Circle Campus and the Gay Alliance Center June 20 and 21.

"Gay Power!" chants echoed through Union Square in San Francisco June 19 when members of gay women's and gay men's groups gathered for a rally demanding California sex law reform. Speakers from DOB, the Metropolitan Community Church, Society for Individual Rights and the Bay Area Gay Alliance urged passage of a bill currently before the state legislature amending restriction on homosexual acts, but pointed out that ultimately all restrictions discriminating against homosexuals have to go.

On June 20, a march began in San Francisco that is scheduled to conclude in Sacramento June 25 with a rally at the state capitol to demonstrate support for the reform bill.

About 200 persons attended a gay-

in in Los Angeles June 20.

A conference at the University of Houston, sponsored by U of H Gay Liberation, drew close to 200 gays to two days of sessions June 19-20. Speakers at the Gay Pride Conference included Frank Kameny of Washington, D. C., Mattachine, Tina Mandel of New York DOB, and John Lauritsen of the Socialist Workers Party.

Also included in the Houston conference program were workshops on psychiatry, sexism and sex roles, and the law and women. The discussion of sexism and sex roles was organized around the showing of the two films, *Boys in the Band* and *Flesh*. Gay Liberation obtained the \$1,200 to finance the conference from the University Student Council Association and Program Council.

On June 26, there will be a statewide gay liberation march in Austin leading to a rally on the state capitol steps. Gays are organizing for this march not only in cities like Houston

and Dallas, but in smaller places like Amarillo, Alice, Denton and Beaumont.

The Boston Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee sponsored a forum on gay pride at Hill House in the center of Boston's gay community June 18. Forum speakers included Ellen Ratner of DOB, Howard Segars of the Student Homophile League, and Kipp Dawson of the Socialist Workers Party. About 70 people attended, and there was a lively discussion.

Ratner emphasized the importance of gay pride, Segars stressed mass action, and Dawson related gay liberation to women's liberation.

Gay Pride activities are scheduled in Boston every day until June 26 when there will be a mass demonstration before people leave to take part in the New York march June 27.

## ...Pentagon papers

Continued from page 1

of Americans come to believe that there must be much more that still remains hidden—the American people are going to be drawing the obvious conclusion that the policies of the Nixon administration are merely a continuation of this deception. There will be a significant deepening of antiwar sentiment and a broadening of the antiwar movement to new layers of the population as a result.

The struggle between Nixon and the press and all the accompanying disclosures thus present the antiwar movement with powerful new ammunition and new opportunities.

Even the information revealed so far corroborates what the antiwar movement has said from the beginning. It is a payoff for the movement's years of telling the truth about the war and the warmakers. As the credibility of the government sinks to new lows, millions more Americans will be listening to the antiwar movement with new respect and trust.

The widening breach in the ranks of the ruling class is itself due in no small measure to the existence of an organized antiwar movement of increasing mass proportions. It again confirms the correctness of the lines along which the antiwar movement has been built. In turn, the impact of the White House-press fight will give new impetus to and bring new forces into the antiwar struggle.

All this simply reconfirms the correctness of the strategy on which the antiwar movement has been built from the beginning. The fact that the thieves who misrule this country have fallen out and let slip part of the truth is a result of *not* relying on them but only on the independent power of the mass mobilization of antiwar sentiment in the streets. Continuing to build the antiwar movement on this basis will deepen that split and even force the liberals to give some support to the independent antiwar movement. Any program of turning away from independent mass mobilizations toward support to the liberals—including their various schemes of "setting-a-date" for authorized continuation of the war—would take the pressure off them as well as off the White House, and lead to a dispersal of the antiwar movement and the strengthening of the warmakers.

Likewise, the slogan for immediate withdrawal of all troops from Vietnam is once again confirmed by these events. There can be no reliance on any "promise" made by any of the thieves and crooks in Washington that they will withdraw from Vietnam "at a certain date" or "have such a date in mind." They can and will break any promise, as the Pentagon papers show, if they feel they can get away with it. The only way to make any impact on them, "doves" and "hawks" alike, is to make it crystal clear that an ever more massive independent movement demanding the complete and immediate withdrawal of all troops is going to continue to be mobilized in the streets until that objective is accomplished.

The job now facing the antiwar movement is to seize the new opportunities these events present. The next few days must be utilized to build the July 2-4 convention of the antiwar movement being organized by the National Peace Action Coalition in New York, drawing in representatives of the new layers and forces which it will be possible to mobilize in the fall antiwar offensive the NPAC convention will launch. In the weeks and months ahead, the movement must reach out to involve those new layers and forces, utilizing the powerful new ammunition now placed at our disposal.

## United Action

An article by Gil Green, national committee member of the Communist Party, in the June 19 issue of the *World Magazine* calls for unity of the antiwar movement around a common antiwar action in the fall. Noting that two conferences are being held this summer to plan antiwar actions for the fall—one called by the National Peace Action Coalition and the other by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice—Green urges that "this division should not stand in the way of seeking maximum unity in action as a prelude to complete unity later." Green states: "Unity should also be sought for common days of action in the fall. Should NPAC insist on only one type of action and for but a single day, unity should be attained for that action."

This statement from the Communist Party is a very welcome development, since the past experience of the antiwar movement has shown that a united massive antiwar action offers the best opportunities for reaching out and involving ever wider layers of the American people.

Hopefully the Communist Party will attend and participate in the July 2-4 conference of the National Peace Action Coalition to help shape plans for such a united, mass antiwar protest in the fall. We urge them to do so.

### From a new subscriber

I was in Washington on April 24 and I bought the socialist newsweekly *The Militant*. I liked it quite a bit. I just got back from Vietnam three months ago and I'm interested in the antiwar movement. I'm enclosing a check for a subscription.

L. M.

Cleveland Heights, Ohio

### Taiseer Al-Zu'bi

At this period of time, the Palestinian-Jordanian masses stand resolutely under the heavy-handed repression of the Jordanian regime. The Jordanian authorities have arrested a member of the National Student Union of Jordan, Taiseer Al-Zu'bi.

Taiseer Al-Zu'bi was sought a long time by Israeli forces until he crossed the Jordan where he immediately joined the resistance movement to continue the revolutionary struggle in Jordan. Though the Israelis were unable to arrest him, the Jordanian reactionaries have now done so. He is being brutally tortured and his life is in grave danger.

We appeal to all Arab and international revolutionary forces to condemn the crimes committed by the reactionaries in Amman against our people. Among the crimes are the mass arrest of Palestinian people.

We appeal to all the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist forces to intervene on behalf of our comrades whom the reactionaries are attempting to eliminate in the interests of Israeli Zionist imperialism.

We emphasize at the same time a stern warning to the Jordanian regime that any harm done to Taiseer Al-Zu'bi will not pass without a decided and firm resistance.

H. W.

Detroit, Mich.

### Uri Davis

A recent event at Brandeis University (Waltham, Mass.) stands as another important indication that American universities often contradict their own claims of serving as centers for the free exchange of ideas. The university's department of sociology, which maintains a certain reputation for the high quality of its graduate program, recently granted admission to Uri Davis, an Israeli socialist and pacifist who holds a master's degree from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Mr. Davis, who is vice-chairman of Israel's League for Human and Civil Rights, has often spoken out in his own country against the present Israeli government's repressive policies toward Arabs living within Israel and in the occupied territories. He has also been imprisoned in the past as a result of engaging in a campaign against the expropriation of Arabs' lands.

Davis' admission was overruled by Eugene C. Black, the dean of graduate studies at Brandeis. Black said that he had taken this step because, *inter alia*, "Davis is concerned with action, with propaganda, which flies in the face of the canons of scholarly research."

This outrageous meddling in the affairs of Brandeis' department of sociology has been matched by the stance of Charles Schottland, the president of Brandeis. A faculty member has reported that Schottland stated to him that he was "afraid

Davis would use Brandeis as a center for a nationwide campaign against Israel," and that he feared Davis' admission would adversely affect private individuals' donations to the university.

We ask: Is Brandeis University open solely to students who support the present Israeli government, or who withhold criticism?

We appeal to all individuals, organizations and publications to lend their assistance in bringing this flagrant violation of Uri Davis' rights and of academic freedoms in general to the attention of the public.

Lawrence Lockwood  
Waltham, Mass.

### Sudan

Although I regard *The Militant* as the best radical paper in the country, you have disappointed me by your lack of news coverage on the mass genocide in the Sudan and the struggle of Sudanese Blacks for self-determination.

The massacres have been going on since 1955 with the support of the Soviets, the U. S. State Department, and the Arab League—23 villages in the district of Torit alone were destroyed. Yet *The Militant*, which supports the Black liberation movement, hasn't mentioned one word about the struggle carried on for Black self-determination in the Southern Sudan! Not one word about the Anya Nya (Freedom Fighters) or the over 11,000 refugees!

Week after week I read the tirades of Tony Thomas against Tony Monteiro for Black liberation and Black nationalism—in which Tony Thomas ignores a dramatic current situation which obviously shows where the Stalinists (the Communist Party) really stand on the issue of Black self-determination.

Kathryn Murphey  
Weatherford, Texas

### NYCLU

The New York affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU) is currently waging a seven-month battle with its unionized secretary force over union recognition, higher wages, a more equitable hospital plan, and possible layoffs which could result in increased work "speedup" on its already taxed secretaries.

The 10 employees joined the National Council of Distributive Workers of America, District 65, in December of last year.

Although the minimum wage earned by the "executives" of the NYCLU is \$9,000, Ira Glasser, executive director, making \$21,000, refuses to negotiate a living wage of at least \$5,700 for members of its staff.

The organization, well-known for defending democratic causes throughout the country, appears to maintain antiunion policies by not recognizing the workers in their own labor force.

The NYCLU argues that other nonprofit organizations do not pay employees their worth, although the NYCLU administration is slicing big chunks of the pie—close to \$160,000 in 11 executive salaries.

An NYCLU employee  
New York, N. Y.

### Boston vets' action

Local supporters of *The Militant* are apparently guilty of not providing you a direct report of the Vietnam veterans' antiwar actions in Boston. In reporting their Memorial Day actions across the country, all you knew of the action here was that the

# The Great Society

*New York Times* reported a veteran-led demonstration of 200. You wisely noted your source, anticipating the possibility that the *Times* was lying. It was.

Even the actions in the Boston suburbs were bigger than that. For instance, on the Saturday of Memorial Day weekend some 400 people, almost all Vietnam veterans, were arrested by the good aldermen of Lexington, Mass., for trying to camp overnight in a public park.

The popular uproar over that act assured that the Monday demonstration on Boston Common would be massive. One indication of the size of the crowd was that *Militant* sellers (receiving the best response we've ever gotten here—perhaps half of those approached bought a copy) sold out the well over a hundred copies we had in a matter of minutes. We had regrettably in no way anticipated either the receptivity of the crowd or its size. I'd estimate the total crowd as possibly close to 5,000. The weekend of Vietnam vets antiwar actions were front-page news here for several days.

Bob Geb  
Boston, Mass.

## Ceylon solidarity

The Ceylon Solidarity Campaign has been established to unite all progressive forces in this country to raise their voices and campaign against the murderous anti-people policies of the Bandaranaike coalition government and against the stream of imperialist arms, planes, helicopters and warships which raced to the help of the reactionary government, followed immediately by Soviet arms aid. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have joined hands against the people of Ceylon. The entire country and people of Ceylon have risen in revolt against the regime of Bandaranaike and its betrayal of its election pledges. The "anti-imperialist" mask has dropped off the reactionary regime of the Coalition. The veil has been lifted off the secret deal between U. S. imperialism and the Soviet Union.

The aims and objectives of the Ceylon Solidarity Campaign are: 1) to provide concrete and up-to-date information on the political and social situation in Ceylon; 2) to mobilize support for the Ceylonese people against mass murder, imprisonment and execution without trial, and to ensure the preservation of the legal and democratic rights of the people; 3) to defend the Ceylonese revolutionary struggle against the armed might and economic stranglehold of imperialism and its agents and to condemn the Soviet Union's arms support for the capitalist Bandaranaike regime.

Ceylon Solidarity Campaign  
c/o Arthur Rubens  
444 Fillmore N. E.  
Minneapolis, Minn. 55413

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.

**They stop at nothing**—Maj. Gen. William Knowlton, superintendent of West Point, confided to Congress that "young ladies of liberal persuasion" may well have influenced Academy graduates to tell those stories about atrocities in Vietnam.

**It's good for the crops**—New York City officials estimate that the town's half million pups make daily deposits on the streets of some 110,000 pounds of solid (but slippery) waste, plus 2,000 to 3,000 gallons of urine.

**Sounds right**—A while back we reported that residents of the English town of St. Ives were unimpressed by police arguments that they should change the name of Pig Lane because they were building a stationhouse there. The town council has now formally rejected the police plea. The council acted after hearing a police official explain that the term "pig" is often used to describe a "greedy, dirty, salty, obstinate or annoying person."

**Keeps trying**—While "investment losses" prevented California's Governor Reagan from paying any state taxes last year, he may do better next year. With the pluck and grit that helped him accumulate his millions, the governor now plans to augment his meager \$44,000 salary by moonlighting. He hopes to speak at Republican fund-raising dinners for a fee of \$25,000 or 20 percent of the take. His subject, presumably, will be the parasites among us who feed on the labor of others.

**Freudian slip**—An account of Denmark's third annual porn fair, which was a smashing flop, appeared in the *New York Post*. According to the way the *Post* spelled it, an industry spokesperson said, "... fortunately we export the bilk of all we produce."

**Practically on welfare**—A director of the bank which handles the private funds of the British royal family took umbrage at suggestions that Queen Elizabeth was displaying royal

chutzpa in seeking a cost-of-living increase in her \$1.14-million annual allowance. He said reports of the queen's private wealth are greatly exaggerated and actually she's not worth a dime more than \$4.8-million.

**Sorry about that**—After assuring the public that the lead in pencils has nothing to do with lead poisoning, New York's Bureau of Lead Poisoning announced it had found that a significant number of the pencils are coated with lead paint. The announcement came after a case of lead poisoning in an infant was traced to chewing pencils.

**Don't get personal**—The antismoking campaign is part of a general effort to upset "the very foundations of our American way of life," the Chicago Rotarians were advised by Horace Kornegay, president of the Tobacco Institute.

—HARRY RING

# By Any Means Necessary

In the wake of the disaster of the Chicago plan for hiring Blacks into the construction industry, the federal government is now moving to impose on Chicago an even greater disaster—the Philadelphia Plan.

The Chicago plan resulted from massive street demonstrations by Blacks in 1969. The protests, led by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, shut down several construction sites. SCLC demanded 10,000 jobs and community control of the hiring and training process. However, after Mayor Richard "Boss" Daley stepped in, SCLC leaders whittled their demands down to 4,000 jobs, relinquishing community control. Without Black control, it was only a matter of time before the 4,000 jobs evaporated into thin air. They did, as of May. The so-called community leaders, racist union heads, and contractors could not come to any real agreement on hiring. In addition, the director of the plan, Fred Hubbard, described as a "boss" protege, disappeared with close to \$100,000 of the funds.

So on to the scene comes Arthur A. Fletcher, assistant secretary of labor for wages and labor standards, and in charge of the Philadelphia Plan. Fletcher is not a House Negro, but a Cabinet Negro. The plan he proposes for Chicago hasn't worked in Philadelphia.

The plan, also initiated in 1969, applies only to federal government projects costing more than \$500,000, not to private projects. At the end of four years' operation, according to the plan, Blacks and other oppressed nationalities are supposed to comprise 19 percent of the construction labor force on federal projects.

But in Philadelphia, where there were 97 Blacks in six high-paying craft unions at the outset of the plan, as of last December, after two years' operation, the labor department estimates there are now between 112 and 147—hardly a cause for optimism.

Furthermore, the plan doesn't actually call for men, but manhours. This is what the government counts. For example, a contractor doing a job worth 1,000 work hours may be asked to give 100 of those hours over to the oppressed nationalities. So what does he do? He doesn't train any new Black workers for the job, he just takes the required hours and spreads them among the token Blacks already in unions. The same Black workers may do 100 hours work on the beginning of one federal project, and 100 hours on the completion of another. Thus, no new Blacks are trained or hired. Contractors just rotate the existing ones, and the federal government does little in the way of monitoring the situation.

The only way this impasse will be broken is with a renewal of the 1969 mass action protests conducted by the African-American community. Essential to any such struggle will be demands calling for preferential hiring, community control of the training process, and a 30-hour work week with no reduction in pay.

"It's a question of Christianity versus communism" orated

an elder of the United Presbyterian Church. He was fuming over the \$10,000 granted by a church agency—the Council on Church and Race—to the Angela Davis legal defense fund. The grant was made May 14. At a general assembly meeting of the church in Rochester, N. Y., several days later, a motion was passed raising "serious questions concerning the propriety" of the grant. But no motion to rescind it was passed.

According to news accounts, the money came from the Emergency Fund for Legal Aid, administered by the council. Some of the \$100,000 in the fund went for bail and legal defense of the recently acquitted 13 New York Black Panthers. The fund was created out of gifts and dividends accumulated by the church. In reply to criticisms, Rev. Edler Hawkins, council chairman, said, "... we cannot limit justice to those with whom we agree, or there is no justice for any of us."

At the June 9-12 convention of the all-Black National Council of Police Societies, the more than 250 delegates let all types of militant thoughts hang in the air. The group voted not to support any Black cop who "accepts assignment in the Black community as an undercover officer dealing with investigation of politically oriented cases unless a violation of existing law occurs." Part of the motivation for this resolution came from the role of Black agents in attempts to frame the 13 New York Black Panthers.

According to the June 13 *New York Times*, the conference also went on record against "'indiscriminate' use of stop-and-frisk laws and against 'indiscriminate' use of preventive detention." The conference also voted to support seven Black cops fired in Columbus, Ga., recently for picketing police headquarters and tearing off American flag shoulder patches on their uniforms.

Standing opposite the NCPS is the Fraternal Order of Police. The FOP selected the Alabama racist George Wallace as "Man of the Year." Such are the divisions within the mercenary army in blue—the domestic agency called upon to maintain "law and order" in the 20th century slave quarters known as Black communities.

The three crackers from Drew, Miss., who shot down in cold blood Joetha Collier had the audacity to plead not guilty upon their arraignment June 14. Not only that, but the father of two of the defendants was deputized and allowed to carry a gun into the courtroom, according to the June 18 *Muhammad Speaks*.

For those who didn't catch this column last week, a building fund has been established to help the 10 members of the Collier family move out of the tarpaper shack they now inhabit and build a new home. Send contributions to: The Joetha Collier Building Fund, c/o Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, 721 James Street, Ruleville, Miss.

—DERRICK MORRISON

The following article on the new upsurge in the Mexican student government was written just prior to the recent developments and provides valuable background information on events that have occurred over the last few months. The article originally appeared in *Intercontinental Press*.

By RICARDO OCHOA

MEXICO CITY—Two important victories in May highlighted the new upsurge of the Mexican student movement. On May 3 the government was forced to permit the return of a group of exiled leaders of the 1968 struggle. On May 31, more than 2,000 students stormed the administration building of the Universidad de Nuevo León in Monterrey, Mexico's second largest city, driving out the police and the new rector whom the state governor had tried to impose on the students by armed force.

The May 31 battle was the culmination of a whole phase of struggle. The conflict began in September 1969, when the students of the liberal arts school went on strike, demanding university reform.

The strike forced the state governor, Eduardo Elizondo, to make important concessions. He issued decrees authorizing the students and professors to elect the heads of schools and departments and empowering the Consejo Universitario [Academic Council] to choose the rector of the school. At the same time, he agreed to let a parity commission draft new statutes to govern the university.

But the governor very soon began to try to take back what he had given. He apparently did not like the way democracy worked in practice. Under student self-management, among other things, the study of Marxism was made compulsory for all majors.

In March 1970, the state legislature rejected the statute proposed by the parity commission. At the same time, a campaign of economic and political intimidation was opened up against the university. From February to December 1970, the state subsidy was withheld, threatening the school with bankruptcy.

On March 26, the state legislature passed a new law regulating the university. The bill, which had been drafted and discussed behind closed doors, set up an "Asamblea Popular" [People's Assembly] to run the school. Most of the members of this assembly were to be appointed by the government-controlled unions, peasant organizations, mass media, and financial and business interests. Out of thirty-seven members, three were to represent the students and another three the professors.

Meeting in the first week of April, the Asamblea Popular appointed Colonel Arnulfo Treviño Garza as the new rector of the university. Since the governor had promised that the Asamblea Popular would "end the political agitation" on the campus, it seemed that Treviño Garza's military rank was not the least of his professional qualifications. But he found the university a very difficult "command."

The students mobilized to prevent the colonel from moving onto the campus. "It was 2:00 in the afternoon on April 11 when Doctor and Colonel Arnulfo Treviño Garza arrived at the Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León," the electrical workers' weekly *Solidaridad* reported in its April 30 issue. "He wanted to take possession of the rectory offices. But hundreds of students blocked his path."

The colonel left to make a formal protest to the Asamblea Popular. He then returned, accompanied by a "special commission."

"In the suffocating heat, hundreds of students were waiting for the new rector—to explain to him respectfully but energetically that they would not let him in," *Solidaridad* continued.

The colonel was forced to retreat and try to assert his authority from his law offices. The students mounted a constant guard on the university and continued to recognize the freely elected rector, former head of the civil engineering department Héctor Ulises Leal.

To counter the propaganda put out by the state government and the local conservative interests, the students of Nuevo León waged an extensive protest and publicity campaign. "The students, one of the few mainstays of the struggle for democracy in Nuevo León, have won the streets and the support of all the oppressed sectors of society not only in their state but throughout the republic," *Solidaridad*

In the period leading up to the confrontation May 31, the COCO [Comité Coordinador de la UNAM, Politécnico, Chapingo, y Iberoamericana—The Coordinating Committee of UNAM, the Polytechnic Institute, the Chapingo Agricultural School, and the Ibero-American University] held three mass meetings to inform the national public about the Monterrey situation and demonstrate the solidarity of the national student movement. Ulises Leal and members of the Comité Central de Lucha [Central Struggle Committee, the leading body of the Monterrey student movement] addressed one of these rallies.

On the eve of the decisive battle in Monterrey, the COCO passed a

# Behind the events in Mexico



1968 photo shows students arrested in crackdown on protests in Mexico City.

wrote. "They have won this support because they represent a struggle that is increasingly important to the great mass of the people—the struggle for democracy."

In the face of the sharpening student struggle in Nuevo León, the ruling circles divided. The academic community came out against Elizondo. Speaking for the UDUAL [Unión de Universidades de América Latina—Union of Latin American Universities], Efrén C. del Pozo said, in a statement quoted in the June 1 issue of the Mexico City daily *El Universal*: "The loss of academic and financial freedom, as well as the rights of self-government, is extremely harmful to the free development of a genuinely scholarly atmosphere in the universities."

The president of APUM [Asociación de Profesores Universitarios de México—Mexican University Professors Association] argued that Elizondo was following a dangerous tactic: He called for repeal of the Asamblea Popular law and for beginning a "dialogue" in order to "prevent agitation from developing and to prevent the expression of genuine university interests from being diverted into alien channels."

The rector of UNAM [Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México—Autonomous National University of Mexico], Pablo González Casanova, warned that the situation in Monterrey could lead to an "escalation" of similar conflicts in other universities.

The student movement in Mexico City gave full support to the Monterrey students, trying to give national prominence to their fight.

resolution pledging that if the Asamblea Popular law were not repealed "by next week, we will hold a demonstration in the Zocalo." The enormous square where the government buildings are located was the scene of huge student and popular demonstrations in 1968.

Thus, when the confrontation came, the student public and broad layers of the people had already been alerted to the issues that were at stake.

Recognizing that he could not break the students' resistance by indirect means, Elizondo ordered the police in to occupy the school. But they were unable to hold it.

The army was standing by, but Echeverría refused to send it in. Instead he sent his secretary of education, Victor Bravo Ahuja, to mediate between the governor and the students. This move also gave the government-controlled press and its official spokesmen the green light to begin making Elizondo the scapegoat for the entire affair.

The effectiveness of the student movement in Monterrey and the national campaign of support forced Echeverría to back off from resorting to open repression. The new president is trying to maintain the image of a "reformer." He does not want to incur—at the very outset of his administration—the disgrace that marked the end of former President Díaz Ordaz's term.

The victory in Monterrey marked a high point in the resurgence of the student movement throughout the country. In particular, UNAM, the brain and center of the student movement, has been intensely active in the past weeks. This revival, which began

in April, was clearly shown on May 3 by the reception given to a group of leaders of the 1968 movement returning from exile.

Secretary of the Interior Moya Palencia had claimed that the students released from Lecumberri prison and flown immediately to foreign countries could return any time they wanted. Mexico had "no political exiles," he said. (It is not supposed to have any political prisoners, either.) A group of eight former leaders of the CNH [Consejo Nacional de Huelga—National Strike Council, the leading body of the 1968 movement] took him at his word.

On May 3, Raúl Alvarez Garín, Gilberto Guevara Niebla, Luis Tomás Cervantes Cabeza de Vaca, Eduardo Valle, Federico Emery, Roberto Escudero, José Tayde, and Lino Osegueda arrived at the Mexico City airport.

They were greeted with a demonstration reminiscent of the most intense moments of the 1968 mass rallies, with more than a thousand students chanting slogans and singing songs. Later a caravan of hundreds of cars proceeded up the Avenida de los Insurgentes to the University. Although it tied up traffic badly, it got an immense show of sympathy from the population.

In the afternoon, more than 5,000 students attended a giant press conference given by the newly arrived leaders.

At the conference, all eight leaders declared their support for the COCO's project of building a student congress representing all of the Mexican campuses. They called for reviving the best sides of the 1968 struggle, but with greater ideological depth and a higher level of consciousness. They all said they wanted to rejoin the ranks of the movement and learn from it.

Another former political prisoner, Heberto Castillo, got especially enthusiastic applause when he said that the student and popular movement would exhaust every means to convince the Mexican people that they could not continue living under the present system. We are struggling for power, he said.

Finally, in a statement read by Guevara Niebla, the former prisoners noted that since they were released, they had been tacitly absolved of any responsibility for the massacre of Tlatelolco. At the time of this slaughter, the government claimed that snipers and political provocateurs had incited the troops into firing on the peaceful and unsuspecting crowd.

Now, as a result of this, it was more urgent than ever for the new president, Echeverría, to bring to trial the person really responsible for this atrocity—former president Díaz Ordaz. This was the only way he could prove that he really wanted to offer the country a new deal. The only way he can show that he really intends to renovate the system is to try all those officials guilty of complicity in the massacre of hundreds of Mexicans, mostly youth and many of them children.

At the end of the meeting, the former prisoners pledged to keep up the fight for the release of their compañeros still in prison. They reminded the crowd that dozens of political prisoners are still being held in Lecumberri prison.

While they were greeted with enthusiasm by the mass of students, the return of these leaders inspired panic in all the left political groups, with the sole exception of the GCI [Grupo Comunista Internacionalista—Internationalist Communist Group, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International]. In particular, the PCM [Partido Comunista Mexicano—Mexican Communist party] and its youth organization did everything possible to discredit this student vanguard that

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# Mexican government faces new crisis

By JOHN SORUM

JUNE 23—The murderous attack by a right-wing gang on students demonstrating in Mexico City June 10 has precipitated the first major crisis for the Echeverría administration. The assault on the demonstration by a gang called the Halcones (Hawks) left 16 students dead, according to police estimates, although the scope of the gang's operations indicates that it could be as high as 50.

The demonstration was called in solidarity with students at the University of Nuevo Leon in Monterrey, and drew at least 8,000 (some estimates range as high as 30,000). It was the first mass demonstration of the Mexican student movement since the Tlatelolco massacre in October 1968, during which hundreds died when police viciously attacked a student protest. It signalled a new rise in the militancy of the Mexican student movement.

The current president of Mexico, Luis Echeverría, was minister of the interior in the Díaz Ordaz government that ordered police to attack the students at Tlatelolco. Since taking office last fall, however, he has tried to clean

up his image and present a more liberal look. These efforts were jeopardized not merely by the June 10 attack on the students itself, but by the fact that the Hawks carried out their attack with the complicity of the police.

In addition, Echeverría may find it awkward to claim his own innocence in the matter since the Hawks were created as a paramilitary gang of goons under police supervision in 1968—when he himself was minister of the interior.

The Hawks attacked the peaceful June 10 march armed with long bamboo staves, pistols, electric prods and M-1 rifles. (The M-1 rifle is the standard weapon of the police and the army.) The young high school and university students were completely unprepared for such an attack and had to fight with their bare hands against militarily armed and trained professionals.

"... throughout the battling," reported Alan Riding in the *New York Times* June 20, "the police made no move to restore order. As the 'hawks' rampaged through the streets and occupied several hospitals where the

wounded were being taken, it became clear that the police were passive accomplices."

One hospital invaded by the goons, the Rubén Leñero city hospital, was a scene of macabre horror, according to a report from Mexico City: "The goons invaded the hospital to take away the dead and wounded piled up there. They were trying to remove the evidence of their operation. Their eyes reddened by narcotics, they paraded through the corridors, exhibiting their M-1 rifles, laughing wildly, and mowing down anyone in their way."

The deliberate use of fascist-like goons to do the dirty work of the police was a new element in this assault. It left public opinion stunned and horrified.

It also brought out into the open a political confrontation that has been building up for months between conservatives in the ruling Revolutionary Institutional Party and the Echeverría government. Implicated in the "Hawk" movement was the mayor of Mexico City himself, Alfonso Martínez Domínguez, who is also one of the strongest

men in Echeverría's ruling party. Martínez blamed the whole thing on "Communists and Trotskyists" as well as other "extremist" groups.

Echeverría was confronted with a dilemma. Either he could launch a witch-hunt of the left, as his predecessor Díaz Ordaz would have done; or he could move against the conservative elements in his own party. Both solutions would be damaging to his government.

He chose the latter course of action and forced the resignation of Martínez. Mexico City's police chief, Colonel Rogelio Flores Curiel, also resigned. Echeverría announced that an investigation of the city government would be undertaken.

Forcing the resignation of a top official, however, is bound to cause a split in the government. This is especially likely in light of the fact that President Echeverría himself cannot credibly claim that he was unaware of the existence of these fascist-like gangs, since they were formed when he was minister of the interior.

By DERRICK MORRISON

From the dead end of "we can't wait," "shoot to kill," and "revolutionary suicide," the Huey Newton wing of the Black Panther Party has now turned to embrace God, the church, and the Democratic Party.

These changes were laid out in a May 19 address by Huey P. Newton to the Black Odyssey Festival at the Center for Urban-Black Studies, Graduate Theological Union, in Berkeley, Calif.

As quoted in the May 29 issue of the *Black Panther*, Newton, minister of defense of the BPP, said, "After a short harmonious relationship with the church, in fact a very good relationship, we were divorced from the church, and shortly after that we found ourselves out of the good favor of the whole Black community.

"We found ourselves in somewhat of a void where we were alienated from the whole community; and we had no way of being effective, as far as developing the community is concerned. . . . We feel that with our new direction . . . we go to church and we are involved in the church and we're not doing it in any hypocritical way. I think that it is a thing that man needs at this time, and he needs it because of what? Because we scientists cannot answer all of the questions."

And this from the man who some believed had recently made a turn to dialectics!

Prior to this pronouncement, in the April 17 issue of the *Black Panther*, a box appeared telling people to "Vote April 20, 1971, For Oakland City Council: Rev. Frank Pinkhard; Paul Cobb." Pinkhard and Cobb were part of the Oakland Coalition, a group of Black, Brown, Yellow and white Democrats who ran on the plank of "we have a dream." They tried to repeat the feat of the liberal Democratic April Coalition in Berkeley, but they did not succeed. The twisted explanation for the BPP giving support to them was presented in the same issue of the *Black Panther*.

In an article entitled, "On the Defection of Eldridge Cleaver from the Black Panther Party and the Defection of the Black Panther Party from the Black Community," Newton states: "Because the Black Panther Party grows out of the conditions and needs of oppressed people, we are interested in everything the people are interested in, even though we may not see these particular concerns as the final answers to our problems.

## The Panthers: from bullets to Bibles



"We will never run for political office, but we will endorse and support those candidates who are acting in the true interests of the people. We may even provide campaign workers for them and do voter registration and basic precinct work. This would not be out of a commitment to electoral politics, however. It would be our way of bringing the will of the people to bear on situations in which they are interested. We will also hold such candidates responsible to the community, no matter how far removed their of-

fices may be from the community. So we lead the people by following their interests, with a view toward raising their consciousness to see beyond particular goals."

The Panthers can hardly be faulted for pausing to discover what the interests of the masses of Black people are and starting from there to raise their political consciousness. However, that does not seem to be what is occurring. On the contrary, the Panthers seem to be drawing the conclusion that wherever the masses are, the BPP

will follow, even if it is into the mysticism of the church or the clutches of the political parties designed to perpetuate the rule of the oppressors.

The real meaning of the call to vote for Cobb and Pinkhard is all the more obvious in the absence of any mention of the candidates of the Raza Unida Party, the only party offering a real alternative to the capitalist political parties in the Oakland elections.

These positions are only further confirmation of the continued flight of the Panther Party from struggle, of its retreat from Black nationalism. To dress up this retreat, the Panthers talk of "survival" programs, their basically utopian attempts to provide free breakfast, free health care, and free clothing to the Black community. They are utopian because their implementation does not flow from organizing the Black community to establish bases of independent Black political power and forcing concessions from those who control the wealth sufficient to really provide free meals, health care and clothing for all. On the contrary, the perspective is to provide such services out of the meager resources of the Panther Party.

In his speech to the festival, Newton revealed the essential error from which the Panthers' actions proceed. He says, "What we will not do in the future is to jump too far ahead. We can jump too far ahead and say that the system absolutely cannot give us anything, which is not true. The system can correct itself to a certain extent. What we are interested in is for it to correct itself as much as it can do, and after that, if it doesn't do everything that the people think is necessary, then we'll talk about reorganizing things."

That is, Newton now recognizes that capitalism can reform itself "to a certain extent." In acknowledging this he seems to indicate that the strategy in the past of "picking up the gun," or "revolutionary suicide" stemmed from a lack of such understanding. This strategy was pursued because the Panthers believed that the capitalist government could respond to the struggle of the masses with *only* the stick, never the carrot.

Thus it is either/or with the Panthers, never any comprehension of how the white capitalist power structure uses both reform and repression against the mass movement. Repression—the Panthers shout fascism. Concession—the Panthers begin to

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# Fight against abortion laws is worldwide

The following are major excerpts from an article distributed by the research committee of the Committee for a Women's National Abortion Coalition. Copies are available on request (see address this page).

While the United States has some of the most restrictive abortion laws in the world, it is by no means the only country which puts legal barriers in the way of women deciding for themselves whether or not to bear children. As a matter of fact, in no country in the world today does a woman have the full right to decide for herself whether or not to have an abortion.

Fortunately, the United States is not the only country with a burgeoning movement for woman's right to abortion. In the last few months, women in West Germany, France, and Ireland have begun to organize campaigns against restrictive abortion laws and practices. We can be sure that this is just the beginning of an international movement which can unite women around the world in struggle for the right to control our own bodies.

Although abortion laws in all countries share the attribute of denying women the right to decide for themselves, they vary in terms of when abortions are permitted. In Ireland abortion is prohibited under any and all circumstances. Other countries, including Albania, Italy, Portugal, Spain, France, Venezuela, and Chile, along with a majority of the states in the United States, permit abortion only when deemed necessary to save the life of the pregnant woman. According to Ruth Roemer (writing in the *American Journal of Public Health* in November 1967), in these countries abortion is the largest single cause of maternal death, accounting, for example, for 40 percent of Chile's maternal deaths.

In England, Switzerland, West Germany, Syria, Tunisia, Honduras, Greece, the Netherlands, and East Germany, as in a growing number of states in the United States, abortion is allowed for specified medical reasons. This sometimes includes protection of the mental health of the pregnant woman. Some of these countries have begun to liberalize their laws or practices on abortion in the last few years. An example is England, where until 1967 abortion was governed by a 1938 court ruling (*Rex v. Bourne*) which held that abortion was legal "if the doctor is of the opinion . . . that the probable consequences [of continued pregnancy] will be to make the woman a physical and mental wreck" or if done to save the woman's life. A 1967 law extended the right to abortion, allowing it upon the approval of two doctors for eugenic reasons (because of a deformed fetus) or if done to preserve the physical or mental health of the woman and her family. Following the passage of the 1967 law the number of therapeutic abortions in England tripled.

Nevertheless, in all of these countries, as in states with similar laws in the United States, the woman's opinion as to whether or not she wants to have a child is not considered an important factor.

## Scandinavia

The Scandinavian countries of Iceland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden were among the first to liberalize their laws. Most took the first step in the 1930s, allowing abortions for medical reasons and, as the 1934 Swedish law stated, "when the birth of the child would place a woman in a state of permanent need or distress which could not be avoided by other means." For a time Scandinavian countries were an international haven for wom-

en seeking abortions for eugenic or other medical reasons.

Despite their early moves toward opening up the right to abortion, the Scandinavian countries have not continued the trend they began, and woman's right to abortion is still restricted by law. The 1956 Danish law, which is still in effect, exemplifies the current Scandinavian approach. It allows abortion to save the life or health of the woman, in case of rape or incest, when there is a danger of the child being mentally or physically diseased, or when medical problems of the pregnant woman lead to her being incapable of caring for the child. The decision as to whether or not a woman can have an abortion is made by a committee, and abortion can be performed only by doctors in hospitals or in private nursing homes. A wom-

in the case of the woman's "advanced age," if the woman had numerous children, in case of the loss or disability of the spouse or a broken home, if the woman had predominant economic responsibility for the maintenance of the family or the child, in case of rape, or if the woman was unmarried, in case of "difficult circumstances." In 1961 an amendment made all abortions free, but tightened the language of the law and specified that a medical board must rule on all abortions. This amendment was passed following a decline in the birth rate, and indicates once again a refusal to grant the woman the right to decide.

Other Eastern European countries have more liberal abortion procedures, but they too proceed on the assumption that someone other than the woman has the right to determine

tion of pregnancy." The woman must pay for any but a medically-motivated abortion. To make things worse, when the birth rate decreased in Bulgaria new regulations were issued in 1968 tightening up on the availability of abortion.

China and the Soviet Union appear to come the closest to recognizing the woman's right to decide. It is not totally clear how abortions are handled in China, but a recent article in the *New York Times* indicates that birth control and sterilization information and services are free and available to all women.

In the Soviet Union, abortion is regulated by a 1955 decree entitled "The Repeal of Prohibition of Abortions." The preamble to this decree lists among its aims "the limitation of the harm caused to the health of



March 28, 1970, demonstration of 3,000 women in New York, organized by People to Abolish Abortion Laws.

Photo by Brian Shannon

## Support grows for national abortion conference

The Committee for a Women's National Abortion Coalition reports rapidly growing support for a national women's abortion conference to be held in New York City on July 16-18. The purpose of the conference is to share both information and experiences on the abortion struggle going on all over the country and also to discuss proposals for national actions on the abortion issue.

New endorsers of the national women's abortion conference include (organizations listed after names for identification purposes only): Susan Adley, Metropolitan Abortion Alliance, Washington, D.C.; Mary Aull, Women's Center Abortion Project, Phila.; Renee Blakkan, Guardian writer; Brooklyn NOW; Jane D. Brown, Lexington, Ky., Women's Liberation Abortion Counseling Project; Susan Brownmiller, Radical Feminists; Alva Buxenbaum, National Women's Commission of the Communist Party; Jacqui Ceballos, president, New York NOW; Phyllis Chesler, psychologist; Lucinda Cisler, New Yorkers

for Abortion Law Repeal; Helen DePree, Indiana Abortion Repeal Coalition; Faye Dunaway, actress; Joan M. Gombos, New Haven Women's Liberation, Women vs. Connecticut; Jane Gordon, United Farm Workers Organizing Committee; Kate Kazin, Dalton High School Women; Peggy Makon, R.I. Coalition to Repeal Abortion Laws; Kate Millett; Kaza Mora, Young Workers Liberation League; Debbie Notkin, Socialist Workers Party; Queens Women's Center; Ruth Robinett, Young Socialist Alliance; Evelyn Sell, Texas Abortion Coalition; Anne Siuek, Women vs. Massachusetts; Nancy Stearns, attorney; Gloria Steinem, feminist writer; Maryanne Weathers, Black and Third World Women's Alliance and Female Liberation, Boston; and Inocencia Alvarez, Casa Aztlan, Chicago.

For leaflets on the conference and for more information, contact the office of the Committee for a Women's National Abortion Coalition, 137A W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel: (212) 924-0894.

an can be prosecuted and faces criminal penalties for self-induced abortion, or if she seeks abortion from anyone other than a "qualified" doctor.

In Japan, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, laws passed from 1948 to 1960 have extended a woman's right to abortion, allowing abortion for a variety of medical, eugenic, humanitarian and social reasons.

## Eastern Europe

In 1956 the Polish government amended its 1954 regulations to allow abortion for medical reasons, for rape, and in the face of "a difficult social situation," which has been interpreted to include economic and psychological factors.

In Czechoslovakia, a 1957 law allowed abortion for medical reasons,

whether or not she should have an abortion.

In Bulgaria, for example, the 1956 "Instructions of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare" provide for abortion for any woman who wants it in the first three months of pregnancy, providing that it be performed in obstetrical or gynecological institutions. However, Section 4 of the law reads, in part, "any woman wishing to have an abortion induced shall notify the women's consultation center for the area in which she resides. The staff of the consultation center shall inform the woman of the harmful nature and danger of abortion, of the necessity of carrying the pregnancy to term, etc., and, in short, do everything in their power to dissuade all women who express a desire for the interrup-

women by abortions carried out outside hospitals" and to "give women the possibility of deciding themselves the question of motherhood." Abortion is now permitted at the request of the woman with the authorization of her physician. The only restrictions are the health of the woman, and a provision that abortions be performed in hospitals or other medical institutions. However, the *New York Times* has reported that some officials in the Soviet Union are currently discussing possible cutbacks in the right to abortion.

It is clear that while women have made a few gains in some places around the world, all of us have a long way to go before our right to decide what happens to our own

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# Seventeen months in a Czech prison

Sibylle Plogstedt, a German student at Charles University in Prague, was one of nineteen persons arrested in January 1970 and charged with "Trotskyist" and "antisocialist" activities by the Husak regime in Czechoslovakia. The nineteen were accused of being members of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia, an organization of young anti-Stalinist activists. They were tried, convicted and sentenced in March of this year, despite an international defense campaign on their behalf.

Sibylle Plogstedt was given two and a half years in prison. Including the long pre-trial detention, she served 17 months before being released in the manner described in the following interview, which was obtained for *The Militant* at the beginning of June in Paris.

*Question: When were you released from prison?*

*Answer:* I was expelled from Czechoslovakia on May 13, 1971, on the basis of a law permitting early release of foreigners.

*Q. Were you deported at once?*

*A.* I was taken to the border by the political police detectives assigned to my case and handed over to the security organs of the German Democratic Republic. After the seventeen months I had spent in Czechoslovak prisons, the East Germans asked me to head up a big peace campaign in the Federal Republic. In exchange for this, they let me know that I would have a chance to publish in the Democratic Republic and get financial support for extensive "anticapitalist" sociological research in the Federal Republic. When I refused, they told me that the East German security organs would have to begin a new investigation of my activity in the Democratic Republic.

*Q. After that were you deported from East Germany?*

*A.* I was released at the West Berlin border. Contrary to the claims of *Rudé Právo*, I was not turned over to the West Berlin security organs. Unfortunately, you cannot conclude from the fact that these forces were absent on the border that the left has been strong enough already to abolish the state in Berlin and establish a classless society.

*Q. How many comrades are still in prison in Czechoslovakia and what are the prospects facing them?*

*A.* In the trial court we were sentenced to terms ranging from a year of probation to four years in prison. Immediately after the verdict was pronounced, the prosecutor asked for permission to appeal. But this was granted only in six cases. That is, the state prosecutor's office is preparing to appeal the sentences of Petr Uhl, Petra Sustrová, Egon Cierny, Ivan Dejmal, Vavrinec Korcis, and Pavel Sremer. In Petr Uhl's case, they are appealing the type of sentence, not its severity. In the other cases, the state is demanding harsher penalties.

I have no information at this time as to what comrades have entered an appeal. Altogether, ten comrades are still in prison, although some are due to complete their terms in the next few months, since the period of pre-trial detention was included in their sentences.

*Q. What sort of prison conditions did you find in Czechoslovakia?*

*A.* I can only speak firsthand about my own experiences, but I assume those of my comrades were similar. In pre-trial detention, prisoners do not work. If they are convicted, they have to pay their maintenance costs for this period after they have served their terms. These costs come to about 25 krona [7.2 krona equal US\$1] per day. Since the comrades were held a year and a half before being sentenced, they will owe the state 13,500 krona each when they are released.

In comparison with the high cost of board, the food is exceptionally bad and often uneatable. Thus, the only ones who can bear up physically under a long imprisonment are those whose relatives can send them financial help and food packages. However, since the general turn for the worse in prison conditions in January 1971, prisoners have been allowed only three kilograms per month in packages.

Prisoners are kept in solitary confinement for long periods only in rare cases. That was true also for our group. Solitary confinement was threatened only as a disciplinary measure. During almost all the time I was in prison, I lived with people from the lowest strata of society—prostitutes, illiterate gypsies, etc. You can see a system in the way they choose your cellmates. It is used against political prisoners especially.

Anywhere from two to nine prisoners are kept in one cell, depending on its size. I was mostly in cells with two to four other prisoners. The selection of cellmates is designed first of all to make it impossible for a political prisoner to think or work. This favors an atmosphere where a cop can be slipped in as a person "you can talk to."

*Q. What sort of case did they have against you when you were arrested?*

*A.* Immediately after my arrest—even before Petr and the others were arrested—they asked me to testify about the part Petr took in mimeographing leaflets. They promised to release me in return for this. After I refused, I was charged with antistate activity against the government of Czechoslovakia. I assume, therefore, that they had no concrete evidence against me at the time of my arrest.

Unfortunately, the promise of release for those who turned state's evidence had more effect on some other members of the group. Thus, in two weeks' time I received a copy of my indictment from the prosecutor. The situation was similar in the cases of the other comrades.

Originally there were eight of us. In the three months that followed, as the result of statements from some of our codefendants, the number of persons arrested rose to nineteen.

*Q. How long did the interrogations last?*

*A.* Individual interrogations lasted from one to twelve hours. We underwent questioning up to mid-June [1970]. Then, over a period of about six weeks, we were confronted with the existing evidence and testimony. The prosecutor took five and a half months (from August 21, 1970, to January 8, 1971) to get the indictment in "legal" form. They were finally able to set the opening of the trial for March 1, after the court had taken cognizance of about 2,000 pages of statements from the defendants and witnesses, as well as 10,000 pages of evidence (leaflets, stencils, pictures, and publications of the international revolutionary left, put out after our arrest, which, according to the prosecutor, proved that there was a "Trotskyist plot").



Sibylle Plogstedt

*Q. What kind of defense did you put up against these charges?*

*A.* On the witness stand most of the defendants withdrew statements extorted from them by blackmail during the questioning. This enabled some comrades to take back confessions of things they had not done but had taken responsibility for in order to protect others.

Despite all our attempts, it was impossible for us to defend ourselves politically, that is, to explain the political basis of our activity. The judges cut off all such attempts and threatened to impose penalties. In the same way, they threw out an important part of our case, which consisted of showing the provocation staged by the political police. All of this enabled them to maintain the appearance of formal legality at the trial.

The sentences were determined not by how large a role defendants were shown to have played in the activities of the group, but by the attitude they took toward these activities in testifying before the court. This applied also to the cases the prosecutor decided to appeal.

In all the time he spent in detention, Dejmal never incriminated anyone, neither himself nor the others. Korcis made no deposition until after they learned the results of the investigation of his activity. Cierny admitted his

activity in the group, but since this activity ended in May 1969, the prosecutor did not trust his statements. Sustrová took back all the statements she had made previously and thus ceased to be a prosecution witness.

*Q. What did you learn about the demonstrations on your behalf while you were in jail?*

*A.* The Czech publications we were able to subscribe to in prison reported that the Czechoslovak embassy in Paris had been occupied by hooligans. During the trial, the judges and the prosecutor made a point of attacking the coverage in the bourgeois press. If the prosecutor had not carefully included materials on our arrest published in *Rouge* [weekly paper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International] and the *Cahiers Rouges*, we might have easily thought that our trial had only been used by the bourgeoisie for anti-Communist propaganda.

*Q. You were accused of antisocialist propaganda. What did you say in your defense and what is your position now?*

*A.* Since we were denied any opportunity to make a political defense, all we could do was say that none of us ever had antisocialist conceptions and therefore there was no basis for invoking Paragraph 98 of the penal code, which prohibits activity hostile to socialism.

All you have to do is look at our leaflets and programmatic statements. Our objectives have been the objectives of the revolutionary workers' movement for more than 100 years. If we were tried in this day and age for proposing the abolition of the repressive bodies of the state—the police, prisons, the army—the end of the state and its replacement by workers' councils (we proposed a revolutionary people's militia as a protection against imperialist aggression), this only proves that the Communist parties have gotten off the road leading to socialism and communism and that the ruling bureaucracy has only one aim, that of maintaining its position.

As bad as the position of the Communist party was under Dubcek, it offered a real opportunity for breaking out of the straitjacket restraining the class consciousness of the workers and for laying the foundations of a revolutionary opposition outside the frozen bureaucratic structures of the party and the state.

*Q. What should be done to support the comrades who are still in prison?*

*A.* Even though the campaigns of the left organizations have achieved nothing so far but my expulsion, I think that an extension of these campaigns—which should be supported by all the anti-Stalinist and antirevisionist groups—can bring sufficient pressure to bear on the Czechoslovak government to win the quickest possible release of the other comrades. The law formally provides for the chance of parole once half the sentence has been served and the objective of these campaigns would be to get this right extended to the political prisoners.

# The Pentagon papers: A tale

By DAVID THORSTAD

JUNE 22—As the U. S. government pursued its legal maneuvers to prevent the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* from continuing publication of the Pentagon documents on the origins of U. S. involvement in Vietnam, its case sprang a new leak when the *Boston Globe* today published what it claimed were hitherto unpublished portions of the Pentagon study. Whatever the courts decide, the rulings will be appealed by one side or the other to the Supreme Court, which is expected to make a final ruling before it adjourns its session June 28.

The *Times* series ran for three days last week before it was halted in Federal District Court pending a final decision on the government's suit. The *Post* subsequently ran two installments before a temporary restraining order was brought against it as well.

What was in these reports that made the government so anxious to suppress them? How did the *Times* come to publish them? What kind of reaction have the portions already published provoked?

## How the Times did it

The Pentagon study consists of 47 volumes and a total of 7,000 pages. There are reported to be only 15 "authorized" copies in existence. The *Times* said it had a Xerox copy, but has refused to say how it obtained it.

There is general speculation now in the press, however, that its source was Daniel Ellsberg, a former employee of the State Department and the Defense Department. Ellsberg was described by the *Times* on June 17 as a former "hawk" on the war who became convinced that U. S. policy was wrong. He participated in the spring antiwar demonstrations in Washington.

While Ellsberg refused to comment on rumors that he had turned over the classified material to the *Times*, he was quoted in the June 21 issue

of *Newsweek* as stating, "I'm glad it's out. I'm flattered to be suspected of having leaked it."

The mystery surrounding the leak is topped only by the stealth with which the *Times* went about publishing the material. Its cloak-and-dagger precautions hardly reflected the smug confidence in an "open society" that so often finds its way into its editorials.

First, in late April, *Times* writers Neil Sheehan, Hedrick Smith, E. W. Kenworthy and Fox Butterfield were secretly installed in the New York Hilton Hotel along with the Pentagon study. A small library on Vietnam followed. Three copy editors then quietly moved into another suite in the hotel, and security guards were posted outside both suites.

In the *Times* building itself a clandestine composing room was set up, a team of trusted typesetters brought in, paid double time, and sworn to secrecy. Even the galley proofs they produced were read in a special room under the watchful eye of a uniformed guard.

Workers preparing the Sunday edition were told late Saturday, June 12, to hold free the top of the first page and six full pages inside for a special item. Less than one hour before the press run began, the first installment was delivered, already set and laid out.

The issue caught everybody, including the government, by surprise. By the night of June 14, the *Times* received a telegram from Attorney General John Mitchell requesting that it voluntarily cease publication of the material. The paper refused. That's when the government, citing the Espionage Law, filed suit against the publisher of the *Times* and 21 reporters, editors and corporate officers.

## What is in the study?

What does the Pentagon study contain that the government wants to suppress?

It provides incontestable proof of

the aims of U. S. imperialism. Even if the Nixon administration succeeds in preventing the continuation of the series (which has so far dealt primarily with the years 1964 and 1965), sufficient material has already been published to largely discredit 20 years of government propaganda about the war in Indochina.

The so-called "government" of South Vietnam, for instance, is clearly revealed to be a puppet whose strings are pulled in Washington. Following a mini-coup in December 1964, the U. S. "ambassador," Maxwell Taylor, lectured the rebel officers, including Nguyen Van Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky, as if they were small children:

"Do all of you understand English? I told you clearly at General Westmoreland's dinner we Americans were

tired of coups. Apparently I wasted my words. Maybe this is because something is wrong with my French because you evidently didn't understand. I made it clear that all the military plans which I know you would like to carry out are dependent on governmental stability. Now you have made a real mess. We cannot carry you forever if you do things like this. . . ."

The Pentagon study admits that over the years, irrespective of who was president, the aims of U. S. policy in Indochina have remained constant. Among the study's conclusions, Sheehan wrote, were the following:

"That . . . four succeeding administrations built up the American political, military and psychological stakes in Indochina, often more deeply than



# Why Nixon tried to

By JOSEPH HANSEN

When the *New York Times* began publication of the Pentagon documents on how the U. S. came to engage in an undeclared war in Southeast Asia, top Republican circles at first viewed the exposure as a political windfall.

"Among Congressional Republicans," Washington correspondent John W. Finney reported in the June 16 *Times*, "a common opinion was that the material published by The *Times* was far more damaging to the Democrats and the Johnson Administration than to the Nixon Administration."

The Senate Republican leader, Hugh Scott, said flatly: "It is not harmful to this Administration."

According to Finney, "After a White House meeting with Republican legislative leaders, Senator Scott told reporters that there was a general feeling at the White House that the report was made public as a result of 'an intraparty dispute' within the Democratic party."

Then came the sudden decision to try to gag the *Times*. An expression of bipartisan solidarity with the Democrats? It was a gesture that came at heavy political cost to the Republicans and without much gratitude from the

Democrats. What were the real reasons?

The first explanations were so tortured as to strain credibility. They were obviously dictated by the attempt to utilize the espionage laws, in the absence of any legislation sanctioning government censorship.

Thus in the complaint he filed against the *Times* June 15—the first installment in the series was on the streets the evening of June 12—Attorney General Mitchell argued that "immediate and irreparable harm" to the "nation's security" was involved.

This contention failed to convince Judge Gurfein, and Mitchell had to take his implausible argument to a higher court.

Administration spokesmen supplemented this with another argument—the need to "uphold the law" and recover the "stolen goods" utilized by the *Times*.

This line was not pushed with much conviction, possibly because those who thought it up were not exactly without sin themselves. It is common practice to "leak" classified documents to the press as a way of gaining publicity, and correspondents in Washington were quick to hint at previous leaks involving figures going right up to the White House.

Secretary of State Rogers tried a different angle. In a press conference June 15, Rogers contended: "If governments can't deal with us in any degree of confidentiality it's going to be a very serious matter."

The obvious answer to this is to give up secret diplomacy, which has no other aim but to facilitate lying to the people. That answer, however, is hardly likely to be advanced by any capitalist spokesman today. This is not the time of Lenin and Trotsky, who published the secret agreements made by the Czarist government, thereby impelling Woodrow Wilson to espouse open diplomacy—at least in words.

Rogers's defense of the try at muzzling the American press—out of concern for the feelings of foreign accomplices in the war crimes of the U. S. government—was followed up by Ronald L. Ziegler, the White House press secretary.

In a "briefing" June 19 in Key Biscayne, Florida, where Nixon was spending the weekend, Ziegler told reporters that the one compelling reason for the legal action against the *Times* and the *Washington Post* was the belief that the government "cannot operate its foreign policy in the best interests of the American people if it

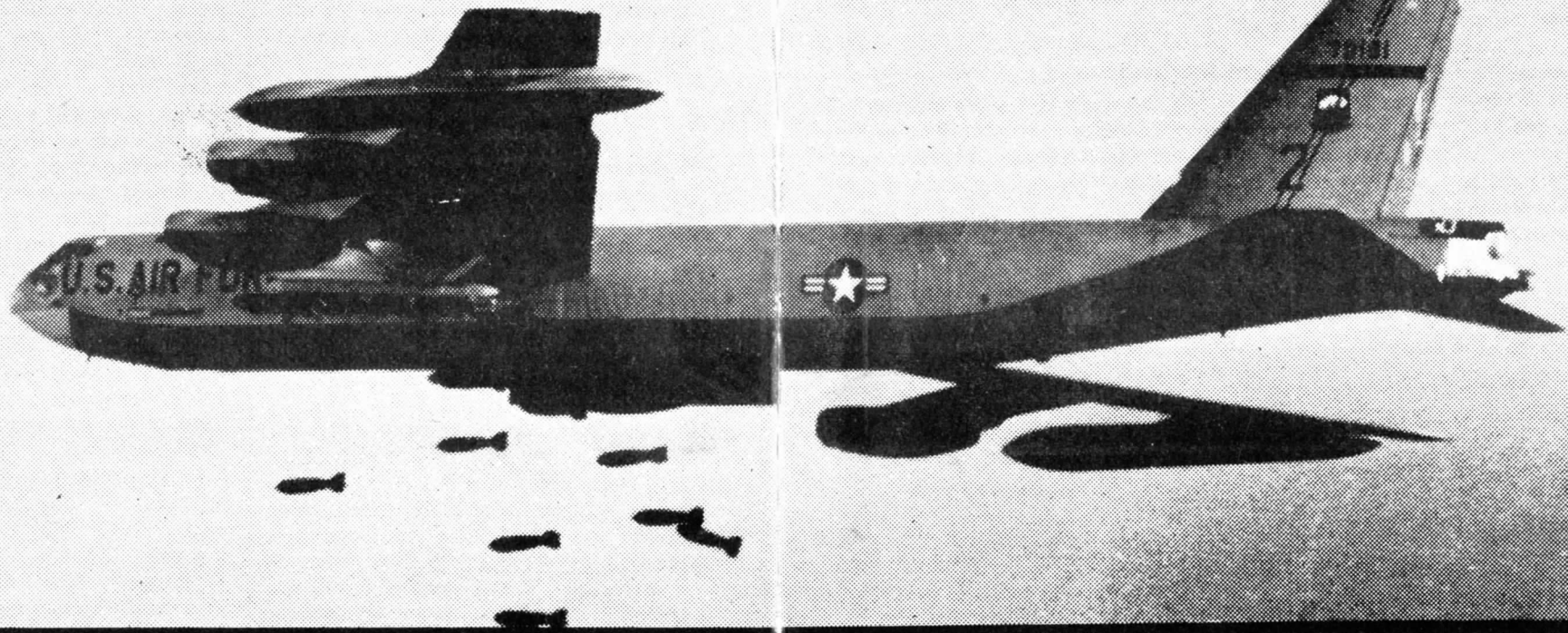
cannot deal with foreign powers in a confidential way."

Still another reason, however, had been advanced the previous day by another White House spokesman. The June 19 *Times* reported that Herbert G. Klein, Nixon's director of communications, told newsmen in Washington "that the President's principal concern in The *Times* case was to discourage officials opposed to the Vietnam war from giving other classified documents to the press." Nixon was "more concerned" over this than over whether national security had been "endangered."

Writing in the June 20 *Times*, Max Frankel observed: "As the White House acknowledged, the Government now saw the damage as already done. It wished to salvage only a precedent for future restraint and perhaps some evidence for later criminal prosecution of the sources, the newspapers, or both."

This clearly suggests the main political reason for Nixon's decision to disregard all precedents in the United States and undertake a court action that was in patent violation of the constitution he had sworn to uphold.

The Pentagon study goes only up to 1968. It includes no secret documents or assessments of what has oc-



# tale of cynicism and deceit

they realized at the time, with large-scale military equipment to the French in 1950; with acts of sabotage and terror warfare against North Vietnam beginning in 1954; with moves that encouraged and abetted the overthrow of President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam in 1963; with plans, pledges and threats of further action that sprang to life in the Tonkin Gulf clashes in August 1964; with the careful preparation of public opinion for the years of open warfare that were to follow; and with the calculation in 1965, as the planes and troops were openly committed to sustained combat, that neither accommodation inside South Vietnam nor early negotiations with North Vietnam would achieve the desired result."

On Feb. 1, 1964, Lyndon Johnson

ordered the escalation of U. S. aggression against North Vietnam in what the Pentagon study calls "an elaborate program of covert military operations." The offensive was given the title Operation Plan 34A. In a memorandum to Johnson on Dec. 21, 1963, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara described 34A, then under discussion, as "an excellent job."

Of the proposals included in it, he said, "They present a wide variety of sabotage and psychological operations against North Vietnam from which I believe we should aim to select those that provide maximum pressure with minimum risk." Among the actions carried out under 34A were U-2 spy plane flights, kidnapping of North Vietnamese civilians, parachuting of sabotage teams into North Viet-

nam, commando raids to blow up bridges, and shelling of coastal installations.

## Tonkin Gulf

The Pentagon study makes clear that long before the Gulf of Tonkin incident in August 1964, the U. S. government was already waging war against North Vietnam. The "attacks" on U. S. ships in the gulf were directly related to raids against North Vietnam.

"At midnight on July 30," wrote Sheehan, "South Vietnamese naval commandos under General Westmoreland's command staged an amphibious raid on the North Vietnamese islands of Hon Me and Hon Nieu in the Gulf of Tonkin." On Aug. 2 the first clash occurred between U. S. and North Vietnamese ships. This was followed the next night by further sneak attacks against North Vietnam and then by air raids against coastal installations.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Marshall Green admits in a paper Nov. 7, 1964, that American planes had attacked North Vietnamese civilians immediately prior to Tonkin.

At a news conference following these Tonkin Gulf events, McNamara was asked, "Have there been any incidents that you know involving South Vietnamese vessels and the North Vietnamese?"

He replied, "No, none that I know of. . . ."

Following the Tonkin Gulf incidents, a "strategy meeting" at the White House was scheduled for Sept. 7. A memorandum prepared for this meeting by Assistant Secretary of Defense John McNaughton illuminates the bald cynicism of the imperialists. After describing the "deteriorating" situation in South Vietnam and the consequent need for "actions outside the borders of South Vietnam," McNaughton listed five desirable characteristics of such actions:

"... (1) from the US, GVN [Gov-

ernment of (South) Vietnam] and hopefully allied points of view, they should be legitimate things to do under the circumstances, (2) they should cause apprehension, in the DRV, (3) they should be likely at some point to provoke a military DRV response, (4) the provoked response should be likely to provide good grounds for us to escalate if we wished, and (5) the timing and crescendo should be under our control, with the scenario capable of being turned off at any time. . . ."

In a memorandum recording the "consensus" of the meeting, William P. Bundy recommended a course of action that included resumption of naval patrols in the Gulf of Tonkin and of 34A operations, "limited GVN air and ground operations into the corridor areas of Laos," and preparation to "respond" to attacks on U. S. units. "The main further question," Bundy's memorandum continued, "is the extent to which we should add elements to the above actions that would tend deliberately to provoke a DRV reaction, and consequent retaliation by us." (Emphasis added.)

According to the Pentagon study, the warmakers had reached a "general consensus" on bombing by this meeting—in the midst of the presidential campaign from which LBJ emerged as the victorious "peace" candidate. In fact, says the study, the campaign was one reason why the bombing was put off until the following year.

A number of "scenarios" for escalation were worked out during the period leading up to the invasion of South Vietnam by large numbers of U. S. ground troops in the summer of 1965. From these eventually emerged the decision to launch the continuous bombing of North Vietnam. Presidential assistant McGeorge Bundy described this as "A Policy of Sustained Reprisal" in a Feb. 7, 1965, memorandum, which read in part:

Continued on page 21



# I to gag the press

curred since Nixon relieved Johnson as commander in chief.

The revelations made by the *Times* naturally bring up the question: What has happened since 1968? Specifically—has Nixon been lying to the public about his policy of "Vietnamization" and "staged withdrawal of troops" the way Johnson lied about his course?

It seems clear that after first considering how the series in the *Times* could be used against the Democrats, the Republican strategists suddenly realized that they, if anything, were even more vulnerable. Nixon campaigned for office on the pledge that he had a secret plan for peace. He has maintained a public stance of having opted for getting out of Vietnam . . . eventually if not now. What if someone were to "leak" documents to the press exposing the truth? This would mean the definitive end of any prospects for reelecting Nixon in 1972.

Thus we are entitled to conclude that Nixon's attack on the *Times* and the *Washington Post* was really aimed at blocking similar disclosures involving his own administration.

The publication of the Pentagon documents probably gave Nixon the feeling—after he had thought it over—that a pistol had been pointed at his head.

The owners of the *Times* had no doubt weighed this possibility. In fact this may have been paramount in their decision to print the material, rather than what they claim to have had in mind: the obligation to do their bit in maintaining a free press—an obligation they have failed to live up to on some notable occasions, such as the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

From this, we may judge how deep the differences have grown within the American capitalist class over the military adventure in Indochina and Nixon's course of keeping it going in hope of winning a Korea-like settlement.

The *Times*, from an initial position favoring U. S. military intervention in Vietnam, became increasingly reserved. What it found most disturbing was the growing tendency of the antiwar movement to engage in mass demonstrations. These pointed to mounting difficulties for the political demagogues in trying to co-opt the antiwar movement, to divert it into the safe channels of electoralism.

The reaction of the American people to war crimes like Mylai, and to the invasion of Cambodia and then of Laos did nothing to allay the fears of the *Times*. Its editorial columns have spoken more and more insistent-

ly of the need to find a way out of the morass.

Even though it was interrupted after the first three installments, the exposure printed by the *Times* has already had big impact.

Besides widespread indignation over Nixon's attempt to gag the press, and demands from all sides to know what the still unpublished documents contain, congressmen are beginning to talk about launching an investigation of their own on how the U. S. got into an undeclared war on the mainland of Asia.

The public image of Congress was particularly damaged by publication of the documents, for the legislators were shown to have acted like sheep wearing the brand "LBJ."

Some effort will be made to repair the damage, but not a great deal; for actually they were only in sheep's clothing and knew exactly what it was all about. Most of them will count on the public soon forgetting, as in previous scandals.

At this point, the antiwar movement is still looking over the materials provided by the *Times* and the *Washington Post*. What the outcome will be is not difficult to forecast.

First, the revelations, serving as fresh fuel of unusual potency, will add

considerably to the dynamic thrust of the antiwar movement.

Secondly, while the demand for a thorough investigation of the origins of U. S. involvement in Indochina can be expected to rise, partly in an effort to cast doubt on the "objectivity" of the current revelations and to rehabilitate Congress, a vast section of the population will conclude that the case has now been proved to the hilt and that only one response is possible—*get out now!*

Thirdly, the antiwar movement is certain to mount heavy pressure to find out the truth about Nixon's course, whether by an investigation in which genuine confidence can be placed or by "leaks" like the present one.

Fourthly, it can be expected that Nixon will do his utmost to block any new "leak" or any investigation that is not a whitewash. The consequence of that will be an ever-widening credibility gap of the kind that finally compelled Johnson to retire.

The antiwar movement thus stands to make big gains in the immediate future if it proves capable of taking full advantage of the exposures, particularly in utilizing them to help bring further mass demonstrations to a new pitch in scope and organization.

# Homosexuality: Fact versus Myth

By DAVID THORSTAD

Few, if any, subjects are as clouded with fears, misunderstanding and irrationality as that of homosexuality.

One of the most widespread misconceptions about homosexuality is that it is a variety of sexual behavior limited to only a small minority of the population. While homosexual behavior does occur among a minority of the population, scientific findings indicate that this minority is a very large one, encompassing not thousands but millions of Americans.

Very few thorough and objective studies of homosexuality have yet been done. The most authoritative studies thus far dealing with the incidence, frequency and forms of homosexual activity were two done by Alfred Kinsey and his associates: *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) by Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin; and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953) by Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin and Gebhard.

## Statistical data

Here are a few of the facts they uncovered in their studies:

Fifty percent of all males are conscious of erotic responses to other males.

Thirty-seven percent of the total male population (2 out of every 5 males) has had at least one homosexual experience to the point of orgasm between adolescence and old age.

Eighteen percent have at least as much homosexual as heterosexual experience for at least three years between the ages of 16 and 55.

Ten percent are more or less exclusively homosexual for at least three years between these ages.

Four percent are exclusively homosexual throughout their lives after adolescence.

Ten percent of *married* males between the ages of 16 and 25 are involved in some homosexual activity.

is generally accepted as rigorous and valid by statisticians and other scientists.

If, despite the pervasive efforts of American society to suppress it, homosexual activity persists on such a broad scale, Kinsey concludes, "there seems some reason for believing that such activity would appear in the histories of a much larger portion of the population if there were no social restraints."

## The sexual continuum

The very terms "homosexual" and "heterosexual" serve to reinforce the rigid sex stereotypes of heterosexual society by forcing people to see each other in terms of mutually exclusive categories. In reality, however, human sexual behavior falls on a continuum between the two extremes of exclusive heterosexuality and exclusive homosexuality. Forty-six percent of American males fall somewhere in between these two extremes. The tendency to regard sexuality in terms of exclusive categories not only distorts reality, but it inflicts considerable harm on gay people by branding us as sick, criminal and "queer" for deviating from the prevailing norm of exclusive heterosexuality.

Adherence to this norm is, however, as much a product of social conditioning as is exclusive homosexual behavior. "Men and women who are totally lacking in any conscious homosexual leanings are as much a product of cultural conditioning as are the exclusive homosexuals who find heterosexual relations distasteful and unsatisfying," write the anthropologist Clellan S. Ford and the psychologist Frank A. Beach in their book *Patterns of Sexual Behavior* (Harper & Brothers, 1951).

In his second study, Kinsey too asserts the predominance of societal conditioning in determining sexual response: "The inherent physiologic capacity of an animal to respond to any sufficient stimulus seems, then, the basic explanation of the fact that some individuals respond to stimuli origina-

rights of homosexuals. Homosexuality exists in noncapitalist societies as well as precapitalist societies. It has flourished in societies during their prime (Greece) as well as during periods of decline (Rome).

The Ford and Beach study of sexual phenomena employs data on 190 human societies, subhuman primates and lower mammals.

Only about one-third of the existing cultures about which there is any specific knowledge in regard to homosexual activity attempt to suppress it, they found. In societies that do not attempt to suppress it, it coexists with heterosexual behavior. The Keraki of New Guinea regard a man as "abnormal" if he refrains from participating in homosexual relations prior to marriage. All men and boys among the Siwans in Africa engage in homosexual acts. ". . . Males are singled out as peculiar if they do not indulge in these homosexual activities," report Ford and Beach. "Prominent Siwan men lend their sons to each other, and they talk about their masculine love affairs as openly as they discuss their love of women. Both married and unmarried males are expected to have both homosexual and heterosexual affairs."

Most human societies either encourage or tolerate some form of homosexuality. American society, however, not only discourages homosexual behavior, but it takes an extreme position: It condemns *all* homosexual activity, in either sex and at any age.

## Mammalian heritage

Ford and Beach analyze the phenomenon of homosexual behavior among animals in considerable detail, a subject which Kinsey too discusses. "It may be true that heterosexual contacts outnumber homosexual contacts in most species of mammals," says Kinsey, "but it would be hard to demonstrate that this depends upon the 'normality' of heterosexual responses, and the 'abnormality' of homosexual responses.



Gay liberation demonstration in Albany, N.Y., March 14 demanded repeal of anti-gay laws and passage of fair employment and housing acts to protect gays.

Photo by David Thorstad

Twenty-eight percent of the female population is conscious of erotic responses to other females.

Thirteen percent reach orgasm through homosexual contacts by their mid-forties.

Between 2 and 6 percent are more or less exclusively homosexual.

Homosexual behavior in both sexes occurs in all social classes, without appreciable distinction between them, although Kinsey's figures suggest it is more common among the working class than professionals. Kinsey adds, moreover, that due to the sensitive nature of the subject, his figures on homosexual activity may if anything be too low.

The studies of Kinsey and his associates were based on the case histories of more than 8,000 males and more than 7,000 females over a period of 15 years. Kinsey requires 150 pages of his first volume just to explain the intricacies of his method of investigation and analysis. His work

ting in other individuals of their own sex — and it appears to indicate that every individual could so respond if the opportunity offered and one were not conditioned against making such responses."

## Other societies

Another misconception about homosexuality is that it is the product of decaying cultures, whether capitalist or otherwise. Though without foundation, this assertion is even made by some who call themselves Marxists. As recently as January of this year, for instance, Carmen Ristorucci of the American Communist Party wrote in that organization's theoretical journal, *Political Affairs*, that homosexuality is "a product of a decaying capitalism which confuses and corrupts the minds of people."

Such views are based either on ignorance, or, as in Ristorucci's case, also upon defense of the Soviet bureaucracy's reactionary position on the

"In actuality, sexual contacts between individuals of the same sex are known to occur in practically every species of mammal which has been extensively studied."

The conclusion Kinsey and Ford and Beach draw from the study of homosexual behavior among mammals is that in human beings such behavior cannot rationally be regarded as some kind of peculiar behavioral deviation, but rather that it belongs to the mammalian heritage of general sexual responsiveness as modified by the influences of experience. In Kinsey's words, "the homosexual has been a significant part of human sexual activity ever since the dawn of history, primarily because it is an expression of capacities that are basic in the human animal."

Uncovering the historical, anthropological and sociological truth about homosexuality constitutes an essential weapon in the struggle for sexual freedom.

# Soviet 'hijack' trials serve as warning to national minorities

From *Intercontinental Press*  
By ALLEN MYERS

The sentencing of four Jews in Riga, the capital of Latvia, on May 27 brought to twenty-five the number of Soviet citizens convicted in trials growing out of an alleged plot to hijack an airplane in June of last year.

Twenty-three of the twenty-five sentenced so far are Jews. Another group of nine defendants, also Jews, is expected to be tried shortly in Kishinev, the capital of Moldavia.

The first arrests took place at the Leningrad airport on June 15, 1970, when twelve defendants were seized before they were able to board the aircraft they allegedly intended to hijack. In the next two days, an additional forty-seven persons, nearly all of them Jews, were arrested in different parts of the country. The fate of those not yet tried or scheduled for trial has not been reported.

The three carefully managed trials that have been carried out so far reveal a good deal about what the Soviet bureaucracy hopes to gain from the affair.

The first trial, which occurred in Leningrad in December, involved eleven of the "conspirators" arrested at the airport. (The twelfth, a military officer, was tried separately by court-martial.) The sentences handed down included two death penalties, which were later commuted to fifteen years' imprisonment after worldwide protests that even included criticism from Western Communist parties.

While the defendants were described as "Zionists" by the Soviet press, the charge on which they were convicted was treason—that is, attempting to emigrate without permission of the bureaucracy.

The second trial, also in Leningrad, opened in January but was immediately adjourned, presumably to await a cooling of the worldwide interest in the case. It did not resume until May 11.

The charges in the second trial were more obscure than they had been in the first. The nine defendants, unlike the twelve tried in December, appeared to have no direct connection with the attempted hijacking. Unofficial sources reported that the charges in the closed trial involved Articles 70 and 72 of the criminal code, which cover "anti-Soviet" propaganda. The Soviet news agency TASS asserted that the nine were accomplices in the planned hijacking.

At the conclusion of the trial, the agency reported that "in one way or another" the defendants had participated "in preparations to hijack a passenger plane," but it seemed more concerned with claiming that the nine had "maintained illegal ties with the Government and Zionist circles of Israel" and had sent abroad "information containing vicious slander about the position of the Jews in the Soviet Union." According to some reports in the Western press, the "hijacking" involved in the second trial was not the same incident for which the original defendants had been sentenced.

In the Riga trial, which began May 24, several defendants in the Leningrad trials were reported to have testified for the prosecution, but TASS did not report any charges except "anti-Soviet slander."

The only connection with hijacking

mentioned by TASS was in an assertion that the four accused had distributed material that "favored the commission of the dangerous crime against the state."

The agency added some fanciful-sounding testimony by Silva Zalmanson, a defendant in the December trial. Zalmanson reportedly said of Arkady Shpilberg, who was billed as the chief villain in the Riga case:

"I delivered to Shpilberg at his home dozens of anti-Soviet books for distribution. We both dug up in the dunes of Riga beach a suitcase with reprinted copies of pamphlets from Israel."

When it got down to specifics, however, the Soviet press described activities far more prosaic than public advocacy of hijacking or the recovery of literature presumably hidden by an Israeli submarine. In the June 2 *New York Times*, Theodore Shabad described the account of the trial given by the Riga daily *Sovetskaya Latvija*:

"According to the latest account, the four defendants were accused of having produced and circulated an underground publication called Iton—Hebrew for newspaper—which was said to have been Zionist and anti-Soviet in content.

"In an article circulated before the Soviet census of January, 1970, the four were said to have urged Jews to declare Yiddish as their native language 'regardless of whether they spoke it,' as the account put it. This was presumably meant to be a demonstration of national identity among Soviet Jews."

The trials in the hijacking case have been aimed precisely at suppressing such a sense of national identity. The fact that most or all of the defendants have been Zionists—itsself a result of officially permitted anti-Semitism and the oppression of national minorities—is being used by the bureaucracy to equate Jewish nationalism with the reactionary ideology of Zionism and support for the state of Israel.

The cynicism and hypocrisy involved in the bureaucracy's "anti-Zionism" is demonstrated by its willingness to permit the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel when this can be done without harming Moscow's diplomatic relations with Arab governments.

In the first four months of this year, at least 6,000 Soviet Jews left for Israel. The Zionist government has done its best to save the Kremlin any embarrassment by withholding immigration statistics and censoring news of the arrival of Soviet Jews.

Despite the prominence given to the Zionism of the defendants, the hijacking trials are not directed against Zionism as such. The bureaucracy, in fact, has reason to be grateful to that ideology to the extent that it diverts the struggle of Soviet Jews and "exports" Jewish nationalism.

The willingness of the defendants to be identified with Israel made it easier for the ruling caste to warn that any attempt by minorities to oppose their oppression will be treated as an alliance with imperialism. It was not, however, indispensable. As Soviet Jews struggle for their rights, the bureaucracy can be expected to charge with "Zionism" fighters who recognize that those rights can be won, not in Palestine, but only in the Soviet Union.

# Yugoslav students protest jailings

From *Intercontinental Press*

Some 500 students sat in May 26 at the University of Ljubljana in the Yugoslav province of Slovenia. The action protested the continued imprisonment of three students arrested April 24 when police broke up a demonstration against French Premier Jacques Chaban-Delmas, who was visiting the province.

The 500 students demanded the conclusion of an "investigation" that has required the jailing of the suspects for more than a month.

The only concrete charge the police have mentioned in the case, Albert Friendly Jr. reported from Belgrade



President Tito

in the May 30 *New York Times*, is that "the three young men being held are suspected of insulting President Tito and disseminating hostile propaganda."

The Tito regime has taken other steps recently in an effort to curtail student political activity, particularly around the issue of the proposed new constitution, which would grant increased autonomy to the six provinces that compose Yugoslavia.

The proposal has triggered opposition both from nationalists, primarily Croatian, who believe that the plan is a form of continued Serbian domination, and from "centralists," who feel that the proposal is a capitulation to regional chauvinism. National disagreements within the Communist party were papered over at the end of April at a special meeting of the leadership called by Tito.

Following the establishment of a unified front in the party, Tito moved against the students.

The April 30 edition of the University of Belgrade student union's official publication was banned because it contained extracts from discussions on the national question that had taken place at the university. Nearly 40,000 copies of the paper were confiscated.

Later, a Belgrade prosecutor tried to prevent distribution of the law faculty's journal, which contained similar material. The faculty opposed the move and was upheld by a district court judge.

# Balaguer marks his foes for death

From *Intercontinental Press*

SANTO DOMINGO—As the Balaguer regime's isolation deepens, it strikes out with increasing savagery against all real or potential opponents.

Two recent developments illustrate the degeneration into gangsterism of this government, "elected" under the supervision of U. S. troops sent in to crush the revolution of April 1965.

On May 23, Maximiliano Gómez, general secretary of the MPD [Movimiento Popular Dominicano—Dominican People's Movement], was found dead in an apartment in Brussels. The circumstances made it plain that he was murdered. He had fled to Brussels from Paris, where he was living, to escape a murder team, the May 27 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported.

Gómez was released from prison in Santo Domingo March 1970, along with a number of other political prisoners, in exchange for U. S. Colonel Donald Crowley, an "adviser" to the Dominican armed forces kidnapped by urban guerrillas.

Not long after Gómez's murder, the May 30 issue of the Santo Domingo weekly *Renovación* published a report smuggled out of La Victoria prison. About 2,000 persons are confined in this jail, including Marcos, the organizational secretary of a Trotskyist

group that supports the Fourth International.

Marcos was detained on the charge of "communist activity" without a hearing. About half the prisoners in La Victoria have been tortured, according to the *Renovación* report, 300 of them three times. And this does not include random beatings by the guards, and other pressures.

As in South Africa, the police can arrest anyone on "suspicion" and keep them in jail for long periods. Prison officials refuse to release most political prisoners when their terms are up. Sometimes the officials even refuse to let prisoners be taken to court.

About 300 prisoners in La Victoria are in serious danger of dying from burns and other wounds, according to the *Renovación* report. On April 24, 500 prisoners were savagely beaten to "celebrate" the anniversary of the 1965 revolution.

Besides being tortured by professionals in a special torture chamber called "the fun house," prisoners are subjected to outrages by administration stooges among the inmates. This happened, for example, to Maximiliano Gómez's wife Carmen, who was jailed March 10 and held while the government murder team tracked down her husband.



# The Paris Commune and revolutionary internationalism

Ernest Mandel, editor of the Belgian revolutionary-socialist weekly *La Gauche*, gave the following speech May 16 to the 30,000 demonstrators assembled at the Mur des Fédérés in Paris for the Fourth International's commemoration of the Commune (see *The Militant*, June 11, 1971). It was against this wall that the counterrevolutionary forces, who invaded the city from Versailles, carried out their mass executions of Communards after the Paris Commune fell in May 1871. Mandel's speech was published in the May 28 issue of *La Gauche*. The translation is by Intercontinental Press. Readers who find their curiosity aroused by Mandel's many allusions to the history of the Commune are urged to read Trotsky on the Paris Commune (64 pp., 95c) which can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The Paris Commune opened the historical era of proletarian and socialist revolutions. It offers us history's first example of a real dictatorship of the proletariat. It enabled Marx and Lenin to round out the Marxist theory of the state. Those who aborted two socialist revolutions in France, in June 1936 and May 1968, cannot hold their heads up in front of the Mur des Fédérés. Only the revolutionists who work untiringly for the victory of new socialist revolutions, in France and throughout the world, can celebrate the centenary of the Commune by carrying on its work.

The Paris Commune gave a brilliant demonstration that proletarian dictatorship can be combined with the broadest workers' democracy involving freedom of action for all currents in the workers' movement. Those who have just stamped out all vestiges of workers' democracy in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; those who deny the East European working masses any freedom of action in the trade-union or political fields; those who continue to hold our comrades Kuron and Modzelewski in prison, despite the fact that the magnificent mass uprising of the Baltic port workers confirmed these comrades' diagnosis of Polish society and largely adopted their program of action; those who justify a privileged bureaucracy holding a monopoly of power—these people cannot hold their heads up in front of the Mur des Fédérés.

Only the revolutionists who fight for a state run by democratically elected workers' councils, like the Commune, who fight for a low-cost state administration where no functionary will be paid more than a skilled worker, can celebrate the centenary of the Commune by carrying on its work.

Despite the little time at its disposal and the timidity its Proudhonian leaders exhibited toward the Bank of France, the Paris Commune inaugurated the era of expropriating the expropriators by decreeing socialization of factories abandoned by their owners, and by establishing a system of workers' self-management in them. This system was anticipated, moreover, in a prophetic article by Eugène Varlin, leader of the First International in France. In 1870 he wrote of the revolution whose outbreak he foresaw: "In order to be definitive, the coming revolution must not stop with simply changing the label of the government and passing a few minor reforms. . . . Society can no longer let control of the public wealth, the product of col-

lective labor, be decided by the whim of birth or success. This wealth can only be put to use for the benefit of the collectivity." (*Les Sociétés ouvrières*, *La Marseillaise*, March 11, 1870.)

Despite its Jacobin-nationalist character, the Paris Commune opened a new chapter in the tradition of proletarian internationalism. It thus provided an initial example of the process of permanent revolution. It is well known that it chose for its banner the red flag of the worldwide republic of labor. It is also well known what a prestigious role was played by foreign revolutionists like Fraenkel and Dombrowski. Less well known is the fact that sixty-five years before the Spanish revolution of 1936, the Commune inaugurated the tradition of workers' brigades, creating a Belgian brigade and a French-American brigade. Several thousand foreign revolutionists and workers fought in the ranks of the Commune forces; the Versailles

future general staff of the world revolution. But it exists, it lives, it is struggling on five continents and in more than forty countries.

After today's demonstration, no one can doubt any longer that the Fourth International has thousands and thousands of well-organized and battle-tested cadres. It is important above all to realize that over the last several years, the Fourth International has undergone a real metamorphosis. From a small nucleus whose numerical weakness restricted it essentially to propaganda activity—to transmitting the program to the new generations—it has been transformed into a revolutionary vanguard already capable of taking the initiative, of drawing masses of people behind it, of influencing the course of events.

In the strike wave sweeping Europe since May 1968, the sections and activists of the Fourth International have pursued basically a threefold objective:

French-speaking Switzerland, in the first major strike in that country for thirty years. I recognize the Belgian comrades who gave the stimulus for electing the strike committee at the Vieille-Montagne factory in Balen Wezel in the Antwerp Campine. I recognize the French comrades who provided the thrust for similar experiments in workers' struggles. I recognize the comrades who were among those who initiated the election of shop delegates at the FIAT plant in Turin, the starting point of the movement for workers' councils, so important in Italian big industry.

I recognize in the crowd the German comrades who were the driving force in organizing a vast movement of apprentices that enabled the working youth in their country to determine its own demands and become a force in its own right in the unions. I recognize the comrades of Luxembourg who were a driving force in the recent mobilization of high-school students



May 16 demonstration of 30,000 in Paris, organized by the Communist League (French Section of the Fourth International) and other groups, commemorating the Paris Commune.

Photo by Elie Kagan

arrested more than 1,700 so-called foreigners in the course of the battles.

The remarkable thing about the audacity of the Paris workers is that the fundamental problems they took up in March 1871 have not yet been solved to this day. We know the main reason for this. It does not lie in the immaturity of the objective conditions nor in any lack of vigor in the mass struggles. It lies in the absence of an adequate revolutionary organization.

Such an organization is indispensable to concentrate the enormous spontaneous energies of the working masses, with all their inevitable and healthy diversity, on one central goal—overthrowing the bourgeois state, eliminating private ownership of the means of production, creating a democratic government of the workers running their own economy and their own state.

In the wake of the Communards, the great socialist revolution of October 1917 in Russia, the Communist International in Lenin and Trotsky's time, endeavored to accomplish these tasks. The Fourth International has taken up the same task, embodies and carries on the same tradition. Of course, it is still weak, it is still only the initial nucleus of the future mass revolutionary international, of the

1. To popularize the experiences of the most advanced workers' struggles—both in the kinds of demands put forward and the forms of organization and struggle adopted—and to spread these regionally, nationally, and internationally.

2. To propagate the idea of challenging the authority of the bosses, the struggle for workers' control, and get it rooted in the working masses. It is through challenges like this that the workers will acquire the consciousness and practice necessary for them to take control of the factories and socialize production when future general strikes and revolutionary explosions develop.

3. To encourage setting up organs to lead strikes that are controlled by the mass of the workers, that is, democratically elected strike committees reporting regularly to general assemblies of the strikers. If the workers learn how to run their own strikes, they will learn all the more quickly tomorrow to run their own state and their own economy.

All this activity of the Fourth International has ceased to be limited to publishing periodicals and tracts. I recognize here in the crowd our comrades who gave the impetus for electing strike committees at Paillard in

in their country against repression. I recognize the British comrades who are playing an exemplary role in organizing solidarity with the victims of their own imperialist bourgeoisie—the Irish, Ceylonese, Pakistanis, and Arabs. I recognize the French comrades who, along with all their other activities, have revived the real communist tradition by their campaign against repression in the armed forces and by their bold actions against tendencies to reconstitute a fascist movement.

And finally there are all those who, because of material difficulties or repression, cannot be among us today but who testify no less to the international rise of the Trotskyist movement. There are our comrades in the United States who gave impetus to the impressive antiwar mobilization of April 24, which assembled 800,000 demonstrators in the streets shouting: "Immediate and Unconditional Withdrawal of U. S. Troops from Indochina!"

There are our Ceylonese comrades who are trying to fuse the revolutionary forces scattered throughout the island—the insurgent rural youth, the city proletariat, and the plantation workers—into a single bloc. There are our Indian comrades who have begun mobilizing the most exploited

# Maoists back Ceylon regime's actions to crush youth revolt

of all the exploited sectors on the land to win their liberation—the poor peasant untouchables in Bengal who are now beginning to occupy the lands of the rich and organize themselves.

There are our Bolivian comrades, already influential in the unions, who are beginning to win broad influence within the new peasant movement and the student movement, with the aim of preparing the masses of their country for the armed struggle to seize power. There are our Argentinian comrades who have written a magnificent page of revolutionary audacity by their role in the insurgent working masses of Córdoba. There are our Greek comrades, the "hard core" in the prisons and concentration camps. The military dictatorship will not release them, and at the same time they have to defend themselves against supplementary terror by Stalinist goons. There are our Spanish comrades of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria [Revolutionary Communist League], who are giving impetus to the struggle for boycotting the fascist union elections, in a united front, I believe, with other far-left groups.

This is the real picture of the Fourth International today. It is still a modest organization by comparison with the audacious goal it has set itself—achieving the victory of the world socialist revolution. But it is already a combat organization capable of incisive actions coordinated nationally and internationally.

Comrades, the overall crisis of capitalism is continuing and deepening. This system which refuses to die is incapable of solving any of its fundamental contradictions. The critical decline of the dollar is the latest glaring demonstration of the economic contradictions rending the capitalist system. The heroic Vietnamese masses, who, aided by the antiwar movement in the U. S., are driving American imperialism inexorably to defeat in Indochina, have given a brilliant demonstration of the social and military crisis of capitalism. This defeat is the harbinger of new revolutionary tempests throughout Southeast Asia.

Listen, listen to the bell that is tolling in Indochina, you Versailles in Djakarta, your hands red with the blood of 500,000 Communists and revolutionists! It is sounding the death knell of your abject dictatorship; it heralds new and victorious Communes in Indonesia!

Listen to the bell that is tolling in Indochina, you hangmen in Karachi, who massacred the dock workers in Chittagong, who murdered the workers, women, and children of Dacca. The Bengali Commune will punish all your crimes mercilessly!

In Europe the young revolutionary vanguard has also heard the message of the Vietnamese revolution. It has steeled itself for combat. It is forging the instrument of victory—the revolutionary party and the revolutionary international. It is preparing to avenge the victims of the Mur des Fédérés and Le Châtelet, and with them Karl Liebknecht, Rosa, and all the victims of the counterrevolution, those killed by Hitler and Franco, and the Bolsheviks shot by Stalin. With the help of our old friend the mole, this vanguard will dig the furrow tomorrow in the soil of our planet, the furrow that will lead from the Paris Commune, triumphant at last, to the French Socialist Republic, to the Socialist United States of Europe, to the Worldwide Republic of Workers' Councils.

From *Intercontinental Press*

The Mao regime is currently practicing the policy of "peaceful coexistence" in such a brazen way as to suggest an attempt to outbid the Kremlin in reaching an amicable understanding with U. S. imperialism.

Mao's friend Yahya Khan received full support in putting down the rebellion of Bangla Desh, in a mass slaughter that has few parallels.

Mao is carrying out the same policy in Ceylon, where the coalition government headed by Sirimavo Bandaranaike is stamping out an uprising involving tens of thousands of the flower of Ceylon's youth.

On May 27 the Mao regime granted the hard-pressed Bandaranaike government a most substantial loan. The June 3 *Ceylon News* reported the timely assist as follows:

"It is a gesture unprecedented as far as Ceylon is concerned and unprecedented in the annals of economic assistance—Dr. H. A. de S. Gunasekera, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Planning and Development, said on Friday [of] China's Rs. 150 million [about US\$30,000,000] interest-free loan to Ceylon.

"Dr. Gunasekera was speaking after Mr. Ma Tzu-Ching, Ambassador for the People's Republic of China in Ceylon, and he had signed the loan agreement yesterday.

"The gesture is all the more appreciated because China herself has enormous problems of economic development", Dr. Gunasekera said.

"The loan", said Dr. Gunasekera, "would be used to support the Government's program of economic development.

"It will help in supporting our ability to pay for imports when the

five-year plan of economic development now under preparation will come into effect from 1972. In this way it will help ease our liquidity crisis", said Dr. Gunasekera."

Even more important than the cash was the accompanying letter from Chou En-lai to Bandaranaike, offering the Chinese government's political support in crushing the rebellion led by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP).

The full text, as reported by the June 3 *Ceylon News*, is as follows: "I am grateful to Your Excellency and the Ceylon Government for your trust in the Chinese Government and your friendly sentiments towards the Chinese people.

"The friendship between China and Ceylon is in the fundamental interests of the two peoples and can stand tests. The Chinese Government and people highly treasure the friendship between our 2 countries and no one with ulterior motives will ever succeed in trying to sow discord and sabotage our friendly relations.

"Following Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teaching, the Chinese people have all along opposed ultra 'left' and right opportunism in their protracted revolutionary struggles.

"We are glad to see that thanks to the efforts of Your Excellency and the Ceylon Government, the chaotic situation created by a handful of persons who style themselves 'Guevarists' and into whose ranks foreign spies have sneaked has been brought under control.

"We believe that as a result of Your Excellency's leadership and the cooperation and support of the Ceylonese people these acts of rebellion plotted by reactionaries at home and

abroad for the purpose of undermining the interests of the Ceylonese people are bound to fail.

"We fully agree to the correct position of defending state sovereignty and guarding against foreign interference as referred to by Your Excellency. The Chinese Government and people admire this and firmly support Ceylon in her just struggle towards this end.

"As Your Excellency is deeply aware the Chinese Government has consistently abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence, has never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, and is also firmly opposed to any country interfering in other countries' internal affairs, and particularly to foreign reactionaries taking advantage of the opportunity to carry out armed intervention.

"I would like once again to reaffirm this unshakable stand of the Chinese Government.

"In the interests of the friendship between China and Ceylon and in consideration of the needs of the Ceylon Government the Chinese Government in compliance with the request of the Ceylon Government, agrees to provide it with a long-term interest-free loan of 150 million rupees in convertible foreign exchange.

"We would like to hear any views which Your Excellency might have on this matter.

"We are prepared to deliver a portion of the loan in May and sign a document on it.

"As for other material assistance, please let us know if it is needed."

The *Ceylon News* reported—perhaps needlessly—that the "Prime Minister has replied [to] Premier Chou En-lai thanking him for the message."

## Restrictions on trade with China lifted by Nixon administration

From *Intercontinental Press*

By ALLEN MYERS

On June 10, the Nixon administration announced the relaxation of a twenty-one-year-old embargo on trade with China. More than 1,000 items were placed on the list of approved exports. They included everything from iron and steel to grain, live animals, and sporting goods—the latter category presumably including ping-pong paddles.

Not approved for export to China were certain goods considered to be of "strategic" value, such as aircraft, petroleum products, locomotives, and advanced computers. "But the White House statement," Robert B. Semple Jr. reported in the June 11 *New York Times*, "suggested that 'consistent with the requirements of U. S. national security' such items might well be granted special licenses on a case-by-case basis after review by the Department of Commerce and other agencies."

No one pretended that the relaxation of the embargo was primarily concerned with trade. The *New York Times* pointed out in an editorial:

"In the short run, this step has far more political than economic significance, and it represents a logical advance as the Chinese People's Republic and the United States move toward normal relations. Two months ago Peking opened its borders to American visitors, and now President Nixon

has opened American doors to a wide variety of goods that may be exported to or imported from China."

In fact, on April 14, as the U. S. table tennis team was touring China, Nixon had declared his intention to lift most trade restrictions. In the intervening two months, the Mao government has demonstrated its ability to behave in a manner that imperialism considers "responsible" by backing the bloody repression of revolutions in East Bengal and Ceylon.

Nixon made it clear that further improvements in relations between Peking and Washington would depend on Mao's willingness to show additional support for imperialist "peace." In announcing the new trade regulations, White House press secretary Ronald Ziegler declared:

"President Nixon looks upon these measures as a significant step to improve communications with a land of 800 million people after a 20-year freeze in our relationships.

"The President will later consider the possibility of further steps in an effort to re-establish a broader relationship with a country and a people having an important role for future peace in Asia."

Nixon's greatest hope, of course, is that Mao will cooperate to the extent of persuading the Vietnamese to accept an indefinite U. S. occupation of at least part of their country. Figures as high in the administration as Secretary of State William Rogers

have all but said as much publicly. (See *Intercontinental Press*, May 10, p. 429.)

In the *New York Times* editorial quoted above, the influential daily suggested that Nixon would be willing to pay a good deal for such a token of Mao's desire to improve relations:

"... Washington might open the way for a massive infusion of American capital and technological expertise into the still relatively small and slow Chinese industrialization effort. This would require an end to existing legal barriers to loans to China and encouragement of private American corporations to advance credits. Economically large-scale aid to Chinese development would worsen, for the near future, this country's already unsatisfactory balance-of-payments situation. The prospect for major commercial and financial interchange is therefore probably slight until after American forces are out of Vietnam and after there is substantial improvement in this country's foreign accounts."

If agreement can be reached on Vietnam, Nixon is willing to work out further accommodations with Mao, Tad Szulc wrote in the June 11 *Times*:

"... Mr. Nixon and Secretary of State William P. Rogers are known to be tailoring the China policy to what they believe will be the realistic needs of Washington as well as Peking when the Indochina war has ended and new Asian security arrangements have to be worked out."

By MARVEL SCHOLL

On June 1, the United Steelworkers negotiators and the aluminum manufacturers announced a wage settlement for the industry. The steelworkers won 31 percent over three years, plus a guaranteed cost-of-living bonus of 12.5 cents for the second and third years of the contract. If the cost of living rises more than the 25 cents provided for, the bonus will go up accordingly.

The aluminum workers won improvements in vacation bonuses, increased pensions, and a 25 cent per hour pay differential for work on weekends or other odd times.

Immediately after announcement of the wage increases, the largest corporation, Aluminum Company of America, announced that it was increasing its prices by 6 percent. Other major aluminum corporations immediately followed suit.

President Nixon, through his press secretary Ronald Ziegler, expressed his "disappointment" with the "inflationary" wage settlement. When asked what the White House intended to do, Ziegler said, "About all we can do now is express a point of view."

the gross pay of the wage earners in the family might be, there is never enough money to go around.

Let's take an imaginary family of four and see what that wage scale that Nixon thinks is "inflationary" actually means.

When Jim and Alice were married in 1960, Jim's take-home pay was about \$80, Alice's about \$55. Alice planned to work for several years, but David was born in 1961 and Mary followed in 1964.

When Jim and Alice were married they had a small family wedding. Since they both came from working-class families, there were no big wedding gifts to start them on the way—no refrigerator, washer and dryer, no furniture. The women in Alice's office gave her a shower where she got some useful household items and more pretty useless doo-dads.

In order to furnish the small apartment they rented, they had to go into debt to the furniture store. When the baby was born, the apartment was crowded but they hung on. When the second baby came, they decided to buy a house.

They obtained a Federal Housing Authority loan, which covered real estate taxes, insurance and interest. Their monthly payment is \$100 but

labor, clothing costs have risen as prices on material climbed.

And shoes! Children can and do wear out or outgrow a pair of expensive shoes about every two months.

Then all the necessary work-saving appliances they had bought on time did what they are designed to do—wore out and stopped running at about the same time the last payments were made. More debts—add another \$20 a month to the regular payments.

Jim and Alice did what most people do to try to solve their clothing problems—they opened a revolving charge account. Add another monthly \$50 to the budget.

Although Alice spent her days working at washing, ironing, sewing, shopping and cooking, the \$100 a week Jim brought home just couldn't be made to stretch. Every Friday, payday, was Blue Friday as the young couple tried to make the money fit the budget.

The only thing they could scrimp on was food—and even though Alice prepared economical meals, she very often ran out of food money before payday and had to charge a few things.

So Jim and Alice discussed two possible solutions—and ended up doing them both. Either Jim could moonlight as a helper in a service station or

life. And they were still sinking further into debt.

Transportation to and from Alice's job was a major problem. Not only was bus fare expensive but the buses were very unreliable. Then the old car Jim had been driving broke down. He fixed it up, but they decided they needed a second car for Alice anyway.

That meant another monthly payment besides additional license, insurance and upkeep expenses.

The cost of living kept going up, so Jim took a second job. With more taxes and social security off the top, he only cleared about \$25 a week.

This is an endless story. But right now it reaches a climax. Unemployment mounts. Alice loses her job. And Jim loses his moonlighting job.

Jim's wages had gone up to \$145 gross in 1969. But by the time the 1971 contract was signed, the cost of living and increased taxes had eaten up the \$25 increase the 1969 contract had brought in.

Now Jim will get approximately \$174 gross per week. But the debts that inflation has imposed on this young couple mean that they are still not making enough money to make ends meet. They have sold one car but the house is falling apart. It needs painting, general repairs, especially new plumbing.

# How does a family of four get by?



According to the *New York Times*, the "average" hourly wage of aluminum workers before the settlement was \$3.60 per hour. It is now supposed to go up by \$.75-1.09 per hour. But taking the lowest and probably the truest figure of a 75 cent per hour increase over three years, that will bring the gross pay of an average worker to about \$174 a week—if he or she works a full 40 hours every week.

It sounds like quite a lot of money, doesn't it? But is it? And how "average" is this pay scale?

According to Leonard S. Silk, writing a think-piece in the June 6 *New York Times*, the real average take-home wage of the American worker is \$109.54 for a breadwinner with three dependents.

Statistics are cold, hard estimates which have very little real meaning to a worker's family. All they know for a certainty is that no matter what

little of that applies to the principal. A large share goes to pay interest. It will take them 30 years to pay off the mortgage. Additional money also has to be spent on upkeep of the house.

They also have to heat the place and pay their own water bill. That takes another \$40 a month.

Jim's union medical benefits pay for most of their medical bills, but not for the dentist. Let's estimate roughly that the children's dental bills take another \$25 a month off the family income. Jim and Alice ignore their own teeth as much as possible.

Meanwhile, Jim's wages have gone up to \$120 a week. But by the time the federal, state and city income taxes, the social security and the check-off union dues come out of the gross, he brings home at most \$100 a week.

The children have been growing apace. Alice makes most of their clothes, but even with all her unpaid

Alice could go back to work (for pay, that is).

Alice got her old job back, at \$100 a week gross by this time. But by the time the government deductions were taken off she brought home about \$75. Right off the top of that she had to pay out \$20 to keep Mary, now five, in kindergarten half days, in a nursery school for the balance of the day. David was alone from 3 p.m. until the family got home. David was only eight, so Alice paid a neighbor to keep an eye on him. Another \$10 off the top of her pay check.

Then she was told that if she wanted to keep her job she would have to dress better. So she had to increase her charge account payments.

Because both Jim and Alice worked hard every evening trying to keep their home clean, the clothes washed, ironed and mended, etc. after putting in a hard day at work, neither of them had much energy left to enjoy

The children still outgrow or wear out a pair of shoes in two months. They still get toothaches.

Jim and Alice are 11 years older than they were when they married. They no longer even dare to talk about money because it only means a quarrel. And there is nowhere or anybody to whom they can turn.

Nixon's description of the aluminum wage package as "inflationary" can only seem that way to the bosses, who live very well off the profits that the Jims and Alices make for them.

The severe impact of growing unemployment and rising prices on the relatively "well off" family just described, whose main breadwinner is a member of a powerful industrial union, underscores the much more desperate situation current economic trends and government policies impose on the millions of unorganized and unemployed workers, a disproportionate number of whom are from oppressed national minorities.

# So. Houston Chicanos oust racist mayor

By KEN STANTON

HOUSTON—South Houston, Texas, is a small community of about 10,000 people and 2,000 oil derricks surrounded by the city of Houston. The people are at the lower end of the economic ladder and the oil derricks are at the other end.

The town is situated between downtown Houston and the spacecraft center. A Chicano community comprises about 15 percent of the population. Some of the city has no electricity, gas, running water, sewage system or paved streets.

The industry of the city is made up of oil wells and an asphalt plant. The city has had the same mayor for the past 19 years. There have been no Chicanos on the police force or on the City Council.

After the victory of La Raza Unida Party in Crystal City, PASO (Political Association of Spanish Speaking Organizations) started to rally the Chicano people of South Houston to get some action on their community demands.

PASO tried to make some demands on Mayor George Christy and the City Council and got thrown out of the meeting for their trouble. One of those thrown out yelled at the mayor, "You're violating our civil rights!" The mayor yelled back, "Come back after the elections and you can have all the civil rights you want."

After that the mayor appointed a Chicano as a part-time policeman to represent the Chicano people. This man has been an engineer for the government for the past 24 years and is considered very conservative by the Chicano community.

So PASO started rallying the people of South Houston for the election held this past April. Ascension Razo, a 26-year-old computer programmer, ran

for City Council. A man named Gene Ketch, who has long been in opposition to Mayor Christy, ran for mayor. Like in many other municipalities, the elections are "nonpartisan" and the candidates run without party designation.

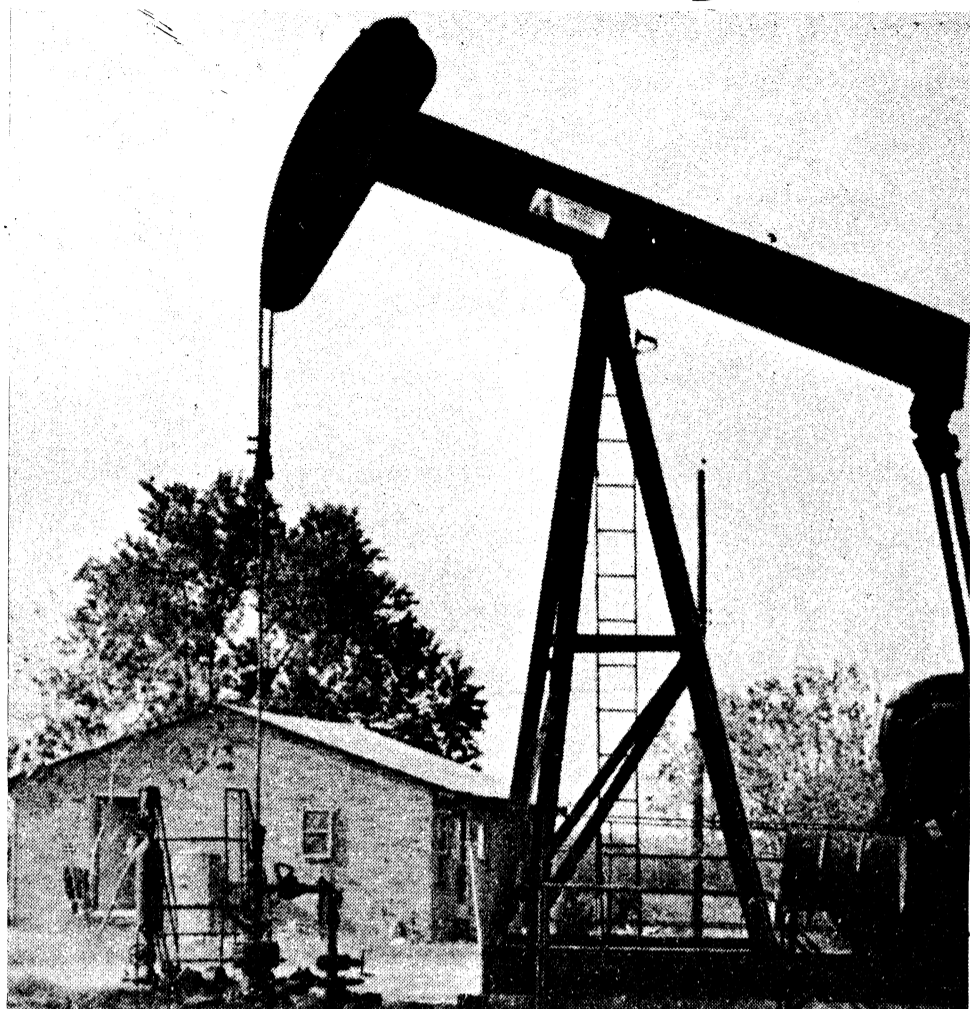
During the campaign, and on election day, Mayor Christy referred to Chicano political activists as a "bunch of drunken Mexicans." He tried to intimidate them and to create fear in the Anglo community. But all it did was scare the Anglos away from the polls. He had the town's 20 cops around city hall on election day. But it intimidated the Anglos, not the Chicanos.

There are about 1,500 Chicanos in South Houston and PASO got almost all of the eligible Chicanos out to vote. They proved a deciding factor in the election. Gene Ketch was elected mayor and Razo was elected to the City Council. It was the first time a Chicano ever got elected to anything in South Houston.

South Houston showed that people can organize and mobilize public opinion to bring about change. George Christy was like a king in South Houston. He controlled the city with an iron hand with the support of a hand-picked police force. He used racism to divide the city and frustrate the people.

Christy lost the election because the Chicano people took a lesson from Crystal City. They organized and went out in a bloc and in mass and voted for the candidates of their choice.

This election in South Houston showed some of the repercussions of the victory of La Raza Unida Party in Crystal City. Seeing what the people of Crystal City could do when they got together and formed their own



Oil profits pumped from South Houston wells do not benefit Chicano residents.

political party, the people of South Houston took a beginning step in the same direction. They had a victory, as small as it was.

After the election, PASO held a parade in South Houston to let the newly elected mayor and city councilman know that they're going to keep the pressure on them to keep their election promises of paved streets and new sewers and other improvements in the community.

The election gave the people new confidence in themselves and they're now talking about running for mayor and running more people for City Council in the next election.

Before the election, racist, red-baiting leaflets were passed out urging Anglos to be sure to register. The leaflet said, "Don't let South Houston become a Crystal City." Maybe they see the handwriting on the wall.

## The National Picket Line

The Chicanos in the Cannery Workers union Local 857 have won an important victory. On June 11, a state arbitrator ruled that the canning firm of Libby, McNeil and Libby could not fire a foreman who had hung a poster of Emiliano Zapata, the Mexican civil war hero, in his office.

The foreman, Ruben Reyes, was reinstated with full back pay from the date of suspension, March 4.

During most steel contract negotiation years, steel users build up their stocks to protect themselves from a possible steel strike. This means more overtime than usual for steelworkers.

This year, with negotiations to begin formally on July 1, with a strike deadline set for Aug. 1, steel orders are already beginning to fall off. According to the June 11 New York Times, this is "the first time within memory of steel industry observers that layoffs and shutdowns have begun so far in advance of labor contract deadlines."

On June 11, the Wheeling-Pittsburgh corporation announced it was laying off 250 workers and closing two of its Pennsylvania blast furnaces.

Other producers who have recently closed some of their facilities and either laid off or transferred their workers to other plants include U. S. Steel, Bethlehem, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, and the Sharon Steel Corporation. Although in part this is due to a decline in the demand for steel, one securities analyst points out "there's a little politics involved here" too. "It looks to me like they're trying to muscle the union a bit."

Whatever the analysts think, the truth is that I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers Union, is between the devil and the deep blue sea. His membership wants a better settlement than he negotiated for either the can or aluminum workers. They also want the removal of an old clause which forbids local unions to strike over local issues during the life of the national contract.

They are willing to strike to get these demands. Abel knows it.

The companies, fully supported by the Nixon administration, don't want to grant these demands for higher wages, an escalator clause, and safer working conditions. And they are apparently ready to stand a strike to protect their monopoly profits.

June 16 midnight was zero hour for a strike of the Civil Service Employees Association against the State of New York, to attempt to force the state government to rescind its lay-off orders affecting more than 8,250 civil servants. As reported in a recent National Picket Line, the CSEA was a hastily orga-

nized company union, engineered by Governor Rockefeller, to head off a projected organization drive among upstate state employees by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Estimates of CSEA's membership range from 105,000 to 150,000.

When Rockefeller announced that his new austerity budget would mean laying off 8,250 state civil service employees, CSEA President Dr. Theodore C. Wenzl, in a union-delegate meeting, promised a strike on June 16 if the governor did not back down.

Midnight June 16 came and went. At 1 a.m. the next day, Wenzl announced that the strike had been called off.

Although Wenzl said the state had never entered into any negotiations sessions with his organization, it had "yielded significantly" by agreeing to stop further layoffs of permanent employees, by speeding up rehiring opportunities, and by changing the "mix" of layoffs to put the burden on the temporary and provisional employees not represented by CSEA.

All of these "concessions" were denied immediately by Dr. T. Normal Hurd, director of state operations.

As things stand now, the state plans to immediately terminate 6,057: 4,657 permanent civil servants and 1,400 temporary or provisional workers.

The scheduled strike was not expected to get much support from upstate government employees but to get full participation from downstate workers in mental hospitals, hospitals for crippled and retarded children, and other state-operated institutions for the medically indigent. All of these institutions are already seriously understaffed. These workers have gone on strike in several instances during the past few years. Their wages are low, their working conditions miserable.

Rockefeller and New York Mayor John Lindsay both intend that the brunt of the drastic state and city budget cuts—most of them in the areas of health and education—be borne by the workers. In addition, all working people of New York will be hit by new payroll tax deductions and higher taxes on nearly everything they use. The city's sales tax has already gone up to 7 percent, the state's to 4 percent.

Just how concerned about the people the politicians who govern New York or any other state really are was demonstrated during the final days of the New York State legislature. They pushed through Rockefeller's drastic budget cuts and then passed a bill allowing themselves an additional \$2,000 expenses for this session—up from \$3,000 to \$5,000. These unreported expenses have been nicknamed "lulus." And that's exactly what they are.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

# In Review

## Film

**Investigation of a Citizen Above Suspicion.** Directed by Elio Petri. Produced by Daniele Senatore. Columbia Pictures.

*Investigation of a Citizen Above Suspicion* takes the standard old movie theme about the supposedly exceptional criminally corrupt policeman and wrings the truth out of it. The film tells the story of a police official who kills his mistress.

If done in Hollywood this theme would be used to show that whenever a cop goes astray, the wheels of justice never stop until the dastard who has violated his sacred trust is found out and put behind bars. All of which may be very comforting to the conservative or liberal mentality, but it in no way resembles reality.

*Investigation of a Citizen Above Suspicion* shows that, far from being exceptional, the very nature of being a cop in a bourgeois democracy tends to promote a criminally authoritarian mentality. In other words, the police—especially high police officials—are beyond the law because they are the law.

From a purely technical-aesthetic standpoint this is a superlative film. It is fast paced and suspenseful—reminiscent of *Z* in this regard. It is well-acted, has a striking musical score and beautiful color photography.

Petri's antihero is the ex-chief of the homicide division, newly appointed to head up the police department's political section. He has been driven slowly into insanity by his police career. On the one hand, he is supposed to be the upholder of democracy. On the other, he daily violates elementary democratic norms in his work. He



oversees phone tapping and political dossiers. He uses his position to intimidate people into false confessions—when fear of authority doesn't work, he uses torture.

He has come to equate radical politics with criminality. He is terrified by the suspicion that the revolutionists' contemptuous critique of the authoritarian structure of "democratic" capitalism and of his own police role might in actuality be true.

He no longer knows whether he is hero or criminal. He develops a psychotic sado-masochistic outlook which finally leads him to murder his mistress to prove a point, or rather two (contradictory) points: He wants to prove that he is above the law, and he wants to prove that the law ultimately punishes all equally. He proves only the first.

The massive evidence that he has left behind at the scene of the crime is ignored by his underlings. In the end, he confesses. But we are left with the impression that the department will smooth everything over.

Throughout, everything is done to show that his psychosis is not really so atypical, that it is really just an extreme form of the social psychosis that surrounds him. All the police in the film have a zombie-like quality about them, as if they had become completely divorced from any feelings of humanity. We are told early in the film of a cop killing a striker and shown the casual willingness of the police to accept this as normal.

Elio Petri used to be a film critic for *L'Unita*, the Italian Communist Party newspaper. His background in the radical movement comes through clearly in this film's expert exploration into the functions of the armed bodies of men that constitute the backbone of the state.

—ARTHUR MAGLIN

## Books

**The Gay Militants** by Donn Teal. Stein and Day. New York, 1971. 355 pp. \$7.95.

The publication of Donn Teal's book is an important event since it constitutes the first assembled history of this new, controversial, highly diverse and turbulent movement for social justice.

Teal began soliciting material last summer and has relied mainly upon newspaper clippings, original leaflets, pamphlets, and documents supplemented with interviews with leading gay liberationists. His method gives the book somewhat of a scrapbook character, but it's a fascinating scrapbook.

Teal begins his account with the 1969 Stonewall incident and Christopher Street uprising, where gays unexpectedly stood up against the routine police harassment of a gay bar and probably for the first time in history fought back against their oppressors. Articles from the *Village Voice* (snidely written) and interviews with actual participants convey the excitement of these opening events.

Existing gay groups such as Mattachine, developed new militancy. Anti-gay vigilantes in Queens absurdly cut down thousands of dollars worth of trees in a park allegedly favored for gay cruising, thus adding new fuel to the fires. The last of the old-line picketing was held in Philadelphia (dresses required for the women and suits and ties for the men—on the Fourth of July to boot). Numerous meetings were held in New York, with a pattern of increasing militancy at each. "Do you think homosexuals are revolting? You bet your sweet ass we are!" reads a brash leaflet announcing a meeting from which New York Gay Liberation Front soon developed.

The profound radicalization of the 1960s had reached gays also, and the gay movement would never again be merely a defensive plea for tolerance. Gay people would become increasingly conscious of the links between homosexual oppression and other forms of oppression and exploitation; and they would have the courage to struggle militantly for their own freedom.

Barbara Gittings, a homophile activist since 1958, aptly sums up the difference between the old and the new gay movements: "During the movement of the 1950s, homosexuals looked inwards, focusing on themselves and their problems; and they sought tolerance, understanding. In the 1960s, we looked outside ourselves for the roots of the trouble."

Teal gives a brief history of the early homosexual groups, such as the "leftish" Bachelors for Wallace (a group that supported Progressive Party candidate Henry Wallace's presidential campaign in 1948), which was to develop into the Mattachine Foundation (precursor to Mattachine Society). This group was "underground-hierarchical" in structure and even expressed such appalling sentiments as the desire "to demonstrate by our efforts that our physical and psychological handicaps need be no deterrent in integrating 10 percent of the world's population toward the constructive social progress of mankind."

The book goes on to chronicle early GLF participation in antiwar demonstrations; confrontations with bourgeois politicians; actions against the *San Francisco Examiner*; and confrontations with old-line homosexual organizations.

Gay newspapers begin to appear, manifestos are issued, conferences held. Police harassment in New York leads to a second Greenwich Village riot. Links are formed with other parts of the movement, and suddenly gay liberation is a recognized and legitimate movement to which even bourgeois politicians are forced to relate. Feminism and gay women's liberation collaborate and overlap. *Time* magazine attempts to weaken the women's liberation movement by lesbian-baiting Kate Millett. This time the approach backfires: the women of the Women's Strike Coalition put on lavender armbands in solidarity with their gay sisters.

A substantial portion of Teal's book is devoted to New York's Gay Activists Alliance (GAA), of which he is a member. His detailed descriptions of GAA's ability to struggle around concrete issues since it split from GLF near the end of 1969 make interesting reading.

One chapter contains a fascinating account of gay confrontations with religion and the psychiatric profession.

The shrinks, who have sometimes condoned literal torture as permissible treatment for homosexuality, lost all self-control when gays and women's liberationists invaded the national convention of the American Psychiatric Association in San Francisco in May 1970. "They should be killed," one psychiatrist shouted. "Give us back our air fare," shouted another.

Teal concludes his book with exuberant descriptions of the first Christopher Street Liberation Day march in June 1970, commemorating the first birthday of the gay liberation movement.

The book has weaknesses, foremost being a lack of organization and the absence of an index. It is, moreover, confusing and difficult to follow—even for someone involved in the events themselves. In addition, a lack of critical evaluation, the tendency merely to strip together clippings and quotes, could lead to misinterpretations by the politically unsophisticated. Indeed, a serious analysis of the gay liberation movement and the history of the struggle for homosexual freedom remains to be done.

Certainly no such history will be complete without a study of the revolution of 1917 in the Soviet Union. Within months of taking power, the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, scrapped the old czarist laws penalizing homosexual acts. All legal discrimination against homosexuals was eliminated.

It was only after the death of Lenin, the triumph of Stalinism, and the exile of Trotsky, that official anti-gay prejudice cropped up again in the Soviet Union. In 1934, a law punishing homosexual activity reappeared and the Stalinized Communist parties began to propagate myths about homosexuality being "a sick product of decaying capitalist society," "the fascist perversion," and so on *ad nauseam*.

Despite its weaknesses, however, Teal's book is indispensable and welcome. It is something from which we can all learn—whether we are gay or not.

—JOHN LAURITSEN

# Militant action by Philly garment workers

By PEARL CHERTOV

PHILADELPHIA — Rank and file members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union here and in the surrounding area walked out of the garment shops the first week of June after realizing what a poor contract their union representatives had signed. They agreed on June 17 to return to work pending "discussion" of the contract terms.

During the 10 days when 15,000 workers were out, I had an opportunity to talk with one of them about conditions in the industry, the causes of the strike, and what he thought would result. He is a skilled worker, a cutter by trade, has been in the industry for more than 47 years, and prefers to be known as "a dissident member of the Amalgamated." He told me he had almost given up hope of ever again seeing militancy and solidarity like that shown during the strike. "It was beautiful," he said.

What caused the walkout?

"We've finally reached the point where it was just about the most disgraceful contract that has ever been negotiated by a union, I suppose, in the history of unions in the United States."

Nothing was negotiated. "Nothing. The contract allows 20 cents an hour

for each year over a three-year period, with only three pennies going into fringe benefits. Outside of that, there was nothing. There was no increase in pension, nothing else to go with it."

I asked him how the young people felt about the contract.

"Naturally, they all felt terrible. They felt it was a disgraceful contract. It's a disgrace to accept 20 cents."

"But an interesting thing happened at Daroff's Botany 500 factory that day the walkout started. Many of the young women in the office, when they first heard of this contract, and the young kids on the floor who are just beginning to learn cutting, they resisted it more than many of the older workers because the oldtimers, many of them have been submissive and docile for a generation."

"The last strike was in 1929 when they came in to gain union recognition in Philadelphia!"

What are the wages now?

"The average rate is only \$3.25 an hour, far below other workers. People all over the nation are getting raises of 9.5 up to 18 percent, and we get 4 percent. That is not right. Yet the manufacturers say there will be 15 percent increase in the price of suits."

"The highest skilled worker is probably the cutter and most make about

\$4.80 per hour. The workers in the shops though, the operators, are lucky if they go home with \$100 or \$120, the best they can possibly make. In many cases they never get a full week because of the operation they're in. Maybe they make 32 or 33 hours, and if they do that, then they go home with \$75."

"We are supposed to get paid according to a 36-hour week. However, we never get overtime pay until after 40 hours."

Working conditions in the garment trade have deteriorated gradually, he said, since the end of World War II. "The cutters and many of the tailors who did the highest grade of work used to make more money than plumbers, bricklayers, auto workers, steelworkers, rubber workers and oil workers—more than any of these. We were among the top three trades in the United States. Today everybody has gone by us."

Garment workers in other cities are in much the same situation, he said. "After this thing here was practically 100 percent effective, someone got the idea to go to New York. We raised \$500 in no time and got two busses that took our pickets right into the New York garment center. The workers there wanted to know where we

came from and we told them from Allentown and Philadelphia and asked them why they were working under the 'bad contract. They told us they had been out all the week before and the only reason they went back to work was because they were told that the workers in Philadelphia had returned."

He didn't want to venture any opinions about the outcome of the strike, "But I will say this: the strike is a challenge to the leadership of our union, and the membership will drive out this corrupt administration and put sincere people in office, dedicated people, people who want to do something worthwhile for the workers."

"As far as I am concerned, I consider it a major victory even if everybody went back to work and had to work under these conditions right now. It is still a major victory because it shows finally that the workers have the power to close the shops and can fight these big manufacturers and their stooges in our union."

Anthony Cortigene, manager of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Joint Board in Philadelphia, has promised the Manufacturers Association that he will get the workers back in the shops.

In New York, ACW President Jacob Potofsky says, "Everything is under control."

## ...papers

Continued from page 13

"1. In partnership with the Government of Vietnam, we should develop and exercise the option to retaliate against any VC act of violence to persons or property [Emphasis in original].

"2. In practice, we may wish at the outset to relate our reprisals to those acts of relatively high visibility. . . .

"3. Once a program of reprisals is clearly underway, it should not be necessary to connect each specific act against North Vietnam to a particular outrage in the South. It should be possible, for example, to publish weekly lists of outrages in the South and to have it clearly understood that these outrages are the cause of such action against the North as may be occurring in the current period. . . ."

The main purpose of the devastation of the air war against the North, Bundy went on to admit, was to terrorize the population in the South:

"We emphasize that our primary target in advocating a reprisal is the improvement of the situation in South Vietnam. Action against the North is usually urged as a means of affecting the will of Hanoi to direct and support the VC. We consider this an important but longer-range purpose. The immediate and critical targets are in the South—in the minds of the South Vietnamese and in the minds of the Viet Cong cadres."

The same day that Bundy prepared this memorandum, the White House issued a statement claiming that recent attacks on North Vietnam were an "appropriate and fitting" response to a National Liberation Front attack on the U. S. base at Pleiku. It cynically added that ". . . we seek no wider war."

This lying cynicism was part of a well-developed pattern. In every stage of the escalation, the decision the U. S. government adopted was always denied publicly until it was no longer possible to do so.

### 'Key allies'

In its efforts to deceive American and world opinion, the warmakers were very careful to enlist the aid of their allies (some of whom now find themselves a bit embarrassed by the

revelations in the Pentagon study). Among the "key allies" consulted were Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada.

One of the most helpful appears to have been the Canadian government. It made its representative on the International Control Commission, J. Blair Seaborn, available for U. S. missions.

In March 1965, when Maxwell Taylor wanted to argue for stepping up the air raids, he was able to draw on information gathered by Seaborn. According to Sheehan, Taylor "cited as evidence a report from J. Blair Seaborn . . . who, in Hanoi earlier that month, had performed one of a series of secret diplomatic missions for the United States."

Just how independent Seaborn was on these missions is indicated by the following blunt reference in a Nov. 5, 1964, paper by William Bundy:

"For more direct communication Seaborn can be revved up to go up to Hanoi the 15th if we think it wise."

### Reactions to revelations

The publication of the secret study brought immediate reactions on all sides. Some, like the announcement by both the Senate and the House that they planned investigations, were designed to cover up past "errors" and restore a measure of lost credibility. "The military said the disclosures might compromise America's secret codes of the '60s," reported *Newsweek* June 28. "The Soviet press splashed the story. Hanoi crowed over it. Friendly governments worried that it infringed on their confidential dealings with Washington—and in some cases made them look like accomplices in the war. Democrats were stung, Republicans nervous. And the will to go on fighting flickered perceptively lower. 'This,' said a current U. S. official in Saigon, 'is just one more nail in the coffin of America's involvement in Vietnam.'"

Sen. William Fulbright, who personally guided the Gulf of Tonkin resolution through the Senate in August 1964, stated shamefacedly: "I felt strongly because I played a part personally. It all seems terribly naive now, that we would believe it [Johnson's claim that the Tonkin resolution would shorten the war]. But the president, you know, had us down to the White House, and there was

this fever of excitement."

Hubert Humphrey said he did not believe the people had been lied to. But had they been told enough of the truth? "How do I know?" he replied. "I'm not Jesus. I'm not Solomon. I'm just Humphrey."

A more straightforward comment came from Barry Goldwater, the 1964 Republican presidential candidate: "See, I was being called trigger-happy, warmonger, bomb-happy, and all the time Johnson was saying, he'd never send American boys. I knew damn well he would."



Miami Herald

## Fort Hood GIs arrested

By LEE SMITH

Eight Ft. Hood GIs and two civilians were arrested June 15 in Killeen, Texas, as a result of their participation in a campaign against the exploitative practices Killeen merchants use to separate GIs from their pay.

The arrest victims were picketing Tyrell's Jewelers, a shop on Avenue D in Killeen, a street the GIs refer to

as "rip-off alley." The picket was organized by the Ft. Hood Spring Offensive Committee, the group that organized the May 15 antiwar march of more than 1,000 GIs in Killeen.

Like other Avenue D shops, Tyrell's seeks profits through preying on the homesickness of draftees stationed at Ft. Hood. A big Tyrell's item is the Golden Clover Pin, an expensive diamond pin Tyrell's high-pressure salesmen push GIs to buy for their mothers. The salesmen stand outside the shop door, stop passing GIs and go through a spiel outlined in a 20-page sales manual.

Killeen merchants recognize a threat to their profits in the Spring Offensive Committee's call for a boycott of Tyrell's. Ted Connell, owner of the local Chevrolet franchise and of a shuttle airline serving Killeen and Dallas, is heading up a red-baiting drive to close down the Oleo Strut, an antiwar coffee house used by Ft. Hood GIs as an organizing base.

The June 15 arrests are part of this drive by merchants to protect the profits made in gouging GIs with high-pressure sales and high-interest time payments. The law under which the pickets have been charged is the state prohibition against "secondary boycotts," designed to prevent organized labor from mobilizing support behind a strike or job action by a particular local union.

The American Civil Liberties Union is coordinating the Killeen defense with a suit challenging the law, filed by the state AFL-CIO. A Committee to Defend the Right to Boycott has been formed in Killeen, and the Spring Offensive Committee has called for a statewide mobilization by antiwar groups to mass picket Tyrell's on June 30 as part of the fight against the secondary boycott law.

The defense committee has been endorsed by Noam Chomsky, Dave Dellinger, Jane Fonda, Donald Duncan, Howard Levy, Gen. Hugh B. Hester (ret.), Howard Zinn, Pete Seeger, Barbara Dane and others. It is asking that letters of protest against the arrests be sent to Mayor James Lindley and City Manager Lloyd Moss, City Hall, Killeen, Texas 76541. Copies of such letters should be sent to the Committee to Defend the Right to Boycott, P. O. Box 1265, Killeen, Texas 76541. Contributions to help pay legal expenses can also be sent to the committee at this address.



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by Doug Jenness

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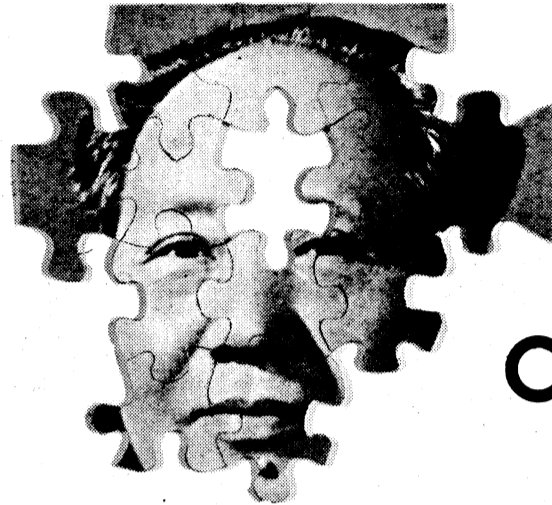
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# THE MILITANT

## Columbus ghetto explodes

By JACK LIEBERMAN

COLUMBUS, Ga., June 23—The Black community here erupted this week, stemming from the May 31 firing of seven Black policemen. The sporadic street actions began June 19 after a rally of over 500 Blacks in behalf of the seven.

The actions continued on Sunday, June 20, and at around 3 a.m. Monday morning, police shot and killed a 20-year-old Black youth Willie J. Osborne Jr.

The next day, June 22, Mayor J. R. Allen declared a state of emergency and brought in 85 state troopers.

The seven policemen were fired after they tore off American flag shoulder patches on their uniforms while picketing police headquarters. They all belonged to the Afro-American Police League, which was organized to fight racial discrimination in the Columbus Police Department. There are about 50 Black cops out of a force of 400. This is in a city of around 160,000, of which 35 percent are Black.

Over the past several months, 13 Black cops have been fired from the department. It was the May 29 dismissal of Patrolman John L. Brooks that sparked the present situation.

Brooks called in sick May 28, the day he was supposed to appear in traffic court as a witness. On the same day, coincidentally, 22 Black cops protested racial discrimination within the department by refusing to report for work.

Despite the fact that Brooks had a note from his doctor, he was arrested at home the next day, by white cops, and charged with contempt of court. Moreover, he was further framed on resisting arrest and on disorderly conduct after his "fellow" officers beat him during the arrest.

Upon getting word of this action, members of AAPL picketed police headquarters that night. The May 31 picket line and the removal of the American flag decals occurred when police officials refused to meet with AAPL leaders concerning Brooks.

The picketing was continued on June 4.

Hosea Williams and field organizers from the Atlanta-based Southern Christian Leadership Conference, arrived. On June 11, Williams and AAPL requested that newly elected Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter investigate racism in the Columbus force. But the governor, despite his "New South" image, turned a deaf ear.

So on June 18, 38 people including 27 Black cops, filed a \$120,000 damage suit in federal court against the city of Columbus for racial discrimination on the police force. The following day, the march and rally of over 500 Blacks took place. It was sponsored by AAPL, SCLC, and the People's Panther Party.

The demands, as voiced by Williams, called for reinstatement of the 13 Black cops fired in the past and of the recent seven; appointment by the City Council of a citizens committee, 50 percent Black, with subpoena power over the police; desegregation of the jail; an increase of Black police on the force to 35 percent; and appointment of seven Black lieutenants and four Black captains.

Another mass meetings of 200 was held Monday after the Osborne killing.

## 300 at N.Y. rally for Davis

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—Over 300 people attended a rally here June 21 to free Angela Davis. Held at the Canaan Baptist Church in Harlem, the featured speakers were Sallye Davis, Angela's mother, and chief defense counsel in the Davis case, Howard R. Moore Jr. Henry Winston, national chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A., also spoke.

Davis brought greetings from Angela. She gave a moving account of how her family had responded to the frame up of her daughter. "Angela must be defended to protect your own rights. For what happened to her can happen to any of us," she told the audience.

Davis is a school teacher in Birmingham, Ala. She is speaking around the country now as part of the move to get bail for Angela. Judge Richard E. Arnason refused bail June 15, despite a contrary recommendation by the Probation Department.

It was to this situation that Moore directed his remarks. The audience was visibly dismayed as Moore described the conditions under which Angela is incarcerated. She is allowed a total of one hour a week for outdoor exercise, which is the only time she gets fresh air and sunlight. Visitors are admitted two days a week, and then the time allotment is 20 minutes for each person. Only two visitors are allowed each visiting day. Thus Davis is in virtual solitary confinement.

She is not allowed to converse with the other prisoners, and her outdoor exercise is done alone. Because she is contained within very limited space, not allowing her eyes to exercise long distance focusing, Moore says there has been some impairment of her vision.

He talked of Ruchell Magee's case, its history, and how the press has sought to place people's attention on alleged differences between the defendants rather than on the severity of the indictments. He mentioned that before the Aug. 7 incident, Magee had



Angela Davis

been sentenced to "life without possibility of parole."

He attacked Arnason for not granting bail, and said an appeal would take place.

David Poindexter, who was acquitted recently of harboring Angela as a fugitive, gave the fund appeal. Close to \$700 was collected. The meeting was sponsored by the New York Committee to Free Angela Davis. The committee is located at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 736, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 243-8555.

## Chicanos meet in Denver



Photo by Howard Petrick

Jose Angel Gutierrez

By MIRTA VIDAL

DENVER—Several hundred Chicano activists from around the country met here June 17-20 for the 3rd annual Chicano Youth Liberation Conference sponsored by the Crusade for Justice, a local Chicano community group. The attendance was lower than the 1969 and 1970 conferences due to the last minute announcement of the conference.

Workshops discussed the building of independent Chicano parties, Chicano student and community control of education, the struggle against the war in Southeast Asia and the draft, and other important issues.

The workshop on Raza Unida parties called for a national conference of Raza Unida party activists and those interested in building such parties to be held on Thanksgiving weekend in November. A planning meeting will be held in Denver on July 31 to decide where to hold the conference and how to build it.

The workshops which discussed Chicano studies programs and the struggle for community-controlled schools agreed to call a national Chicano student conference also on Thanksgiving weekend, and in the same city as the Raza Unida party conference. It will take place one or two days before the Raza Unida conference so that activists can participate in both. A plan-

ning meeting for the national student gathering will also be held in Denver on July 31.

In a continuing effort to organize and mobilize La Raza against the Vietnam war, the draft and war workshop resolved that the theme of the traditional September 16 (Mexican Independence Day) actions in the Chicano communities be one of opposition to the war, around the slogan "Bring our Carnales Home Now!"

A highlight of the conference was a speech by José Angel Gutierrez, president of the Crystal City, Texas, school board and a leader of the Raza Unida Party there. He blasted the Democratic and Republican parties and encouraged everyone to build Raza Unida parties.

The conference concluded on Sunday evening with a rally on the steps of the Colorado state capitol in downtown Denver. Corky Gonzales, chairman of the Crusade for Justice, chaired the rally, at which all the workshop resolutions were read.

## Brooklyn vets hit Viet war

By GEORGE JOHNSON

BROOKLYN—Vietnam veterans here led a June 19-20 demonstration against the Indochina war.

Sponsored by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Take Brooklyn Out of the War Coalition, the action drew a thousand participants at its peak and perhaps twice that altogether.

The actions began Saturday night, June 19, with a camp-in by the veterans in Prospect Park. The next day, a march led by a Black drill team and drum corps started at the campsite and led to a rally at the band shell in the park.

Speakers at the rally were Brooklyn Borough President Sebastian Leone; Sister Elizabeth McAlister of the frame-up Harrisburg Eight case; Congresswoman Bella Abzug; Sam Meyers, president of Local 259, United Automobile Workers, and also a leading figure in the Take Brooklyn Out of the War Coalition; Victor Gotbaum, president of AFSCME District Council 37; Alex Barnett, business agent for Bakers union Local 3; and Al Hubbard of Vietnam Veterans Against the War. In addition, speakers representing Women Strike for Peace, various Democratic Party clubs, and Young Republicans for McCloskey appeared.

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War held a guerrilla theater, which included a mock search-and-destroy operation that ended with the taking over of the platform and "killing" the chairman to "protect the democratic way of life—just like in Nam."

The demand for immediate withdrawal was voiced by Meyers, who declared that withdrawal "cannot come at the end of this year, or next year, but now!" Other speakers mainly dealt with the need for the antiwar movement to reach out, particularly to the labor movement.

The Brooklyn Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, at their first large-scale local action, sold 160 *Militants* and 30 *International Socialist Reviews*.