

THE MILITANT

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

Women's conference launches national abortion campaign



Vietnamese struggle threatened by Nixon's meeting with Mao

President Nixon's decision to visit China and meet with its leaders marks a new stage in U.S. imperialism's relations with China. This action will probably be accompanied by diplomatic recognition of China by the U.S. and its admission into the United Nations. Those who have consistently defended the Chinese revolution against its foes of over 20 years, as *The Militant* has done, will welcome the fact that Washington has finally been compelled to recognize that the People's Republic of China does exist.

For China, U.S. recognition has its advantages. In the arena of world diplomacy, it means enhanced prestige and greater influence. The economic gains will also be considerable, the most immediate being

widened access to the world market and increased possibilities of obtaining badly needed materials. Already the Nixon administration has listed a series of commodities that can now be shipped to China and has likewise approved entry into the U.S. of previously banned Chinese goods.

For the American rulers, however, these are not so much concessions as gains. The policy of blockading China became disadvantageous long ago, and Wall Street has had many reasons for wanting to shift to a more flexible approach. In fact, the change has been advocated for years by a sector of the American ruling class.

The circumstances in which Nixon took this step at this particular time can only cause grave concern to defenders of the Chinese

revolution. Nixon has been feeling sharp effects from the combined blows of the Indochinese people and the U.S. antiwar movement, including large-scale GI opposition in Vietnam.

The disclosure of the Pentagon papers by a section of the U.S. ruling class itself and Nixon's refusal to agree to the new seven-point proposal put forward by the Vietnamese have exposed any pretense that Nixon has plans to end the Indochinese war soon. What Nixon is really looking for is a Korean-type settlement that would leave the U.S. with a beachhead in Vietnam.

Henry Kissinger, Nixon's assistant for national security affairs, has admitted that in his negotiations with Chou En-lai agreements

Continued on page 6

In Brief

CANADIAN COMPLICITY IN NIXON'S WAR: A large wall poster detailing Canada's complicity in the Vietnam war is available from the York Committee to End the War in Vietnam (Box 272, Richmond Hill, Ontario, Canada). The poster describes Canadian military, political, financial, diplomatic and industrial aid to the Vietnam war, including the harassment of U.S. "exiles" in Canada by Canadian cops and the training of Canadian troops for Vietnam-type operations.

JUAN FARINAS: On June 30, the United States Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, took oral arguments on the Juan Farinas case. The decision on whether to uphold a Jan. 29 lower court ruling convicting Farinas for obstructing the selective service system will be announced later, probably at the end of the summer. Farinas, a supporter of the Workers League, is being framed up for passing out antiwar leaflets when he was called for induction in 1968. Contributions and letters of support can be sent to the Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14th St., Sixth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10011.

COMMUNIST PARTY TO ANNOUNCE PRESIDENTIAL TICKET: The July 13 *Daily World* announced that a recent meeting of the CP's national committee decided to name a Communist Party presidential ticket for the 1972 elections. The candidates will be nominated at a later date. The meeting also called a national convention of the CP, to be held next Feb. 11-14.

HOUSTON SMOG: Noxious fumes strong enough to turn white ambulances yellow have attacked the Houston waterfront. On July 12, 30 dock workers were forced off their jobs by three waves of poisonous fumes emanating from the nearby sulphuric acid plant of the Stauffer Chemical Company. Half of the workers were hospitalized. Over 200 dock workers and a family of tourists have been sickened by the fumes since April 22. Howard Zeh, director of Stauffer's plant, denied responsibility for these attacks of illness, claiming that the plant operated within the lenient city and state pollution regulations.

L. A. COPS SUED: The father of Gustave Montag, a 24-year-old garment worker who was fatally shot Jan. 21 during a Chicano Moratorium demonstration, filed suit in Los Angeles Superior Court for \$250,000 damages against the county and Sheriff Peter J. Pitchess. The complaint sues the sheriff and his deputies for negligence in handling their weapons and for delay in summoning medical aid.

U. S. GRAND JURY PLANNING INDICTMENTS: According to the July 15 *New York Times*, a federal grand jury in Boston was planning to hand down criminal indictments against Neil Sheehan, a *Times* reporter, for his role in the publication of the Pentagon papers. Sheehan led the *Times* to the papers. This follows Attorney General John Mitchell's statements that the Supreme Court ruling in favor of the *Times* and *Washington Post* would not prevent him from punishing the two newspapers for exercising freedom of the press.

CULVER'S CONVICTION CONDEMNED: The National Peace Action Coalition, which organized the massive April 24 antiwar demonstrations, condemned the conviction of Air Force Captain Thomas Culver for participating in an antiwar action and petition in London on May 31. Stephanie Coontz, an NPAC spokeswoman, said that "American servicemen retain their constitutionally guaranteed rights while in uniform . . . and the government has no business at all interfering with the rights of citizens as it has done in the case of Captain Culver. . . . We demand complete vindication of Captain Culver." Coontz linked the defense of Culver to the building of the massive fall antiwar offensive culminating in the Nov. 6 demonstrations called in 15 different cities. She particularly stressed the importance of the Oct. 25 Veterans Day actions called by the July 2-4 NPAC convention.

EVELYN REED, WELKE EMANCIPATIE? This is the title of the recently published Dutch edition of Evelyn Reed's book *Problems of Women's Liberation*. The English-language edition published by Pathfinder Press has currently sold over 20,000 copies.

MORE ON PATHFINDER BOOKS: In a short review of *Towards an American Socialist Revolution* (published by Pathfinder Press a couple of months ago), the July 5 *Publishers' Weekly* states: "The authors of this book are Marxists—revolutionary socialists active in the Socialist Workers Party, but their statements are lucid and forthright, refreshingly unlike the rhetoric of the Old Left, with its tedious harangues and clichés. These are revolutionaries who offer specific constructive suggestions for building a new political party that could turn this country around." The book is available in paperback for \$1.95 from Pathfinder, 410 West Street, N. Y., N. Y. 10014.

ARMED FORCES ATTACKED FOR OPPRESSION OF GAYS: A new study of homosexuality from the Institute for Sex Research, founded by the late Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey, has condemned the U.S. Army's attitude toward gays as "unwise, unjust, and in essence unenforceable." The study indicated that over 3,000 servicemen are given less-than-honorable discharges for being gay. The study concluded, "We know too that over 90 percent of servicemen receive honorable discharge. It appears obvious, therefore, that most homosexuals remain undiscovered by military authorities and complete their service with honor."

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR STUDENT ACTIVISTS: On July 19, a three-judge federal panel struck down as unconstitutional a 1969 Pennsylvania law that enabled the state to cut off scholarships of students involved in campus struggles. U.S. district court Judge Joseph S. Lord III stated that the law violated students' Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination and free speech rights guaranteed by the First Amendment. The suit was brought by Goddard and Haverford colleges. Lawrence Silver, attorney for the two colleges, said, "The consequence of the ruling is that 447 students previously denied aid under the statute will now receive aid."

ILLITERACY IN THE SOUTH PERSISTS: According to the U.S. Office of Education and the Bureau of the Census, nearly one million people in a dozen Southern states are unable to read and write in any language. Another study has indicated that there are an additional one million who are functionally illiterate. The study reported that Blacks make up one-half of the Southern illiterates. It reported that programs to teach Blacks to read are viewed by many whites as "civil rights activities" and are therefore discouraged.

LOS ANGELES GAY FORUM: "The Struggle for Sexual Liberation: A Report on Gay Pride Week," was the subject of the July 2 Los Angeles Militant Labor Forum. Speaking were Johanna Gullick, a member of the Gay Women's Intergroup Council; Morris Kight, one of the organizers of the Christopher Street West parade; Don Kilhefner, L.A. Gay Liberation Front; and Natalie Harary, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and an activist in the recent L.A. Gay Women's Conference. Kight described how the activists who built the Christopher Street West parade started only 44 days before the action and faced the handicap of a media blackout from the major networks and newspapers.

FILIPINOS AND THE U. S. NAVY: From a report in Liberation News Service we learned that at cocktail parties in the captain's quarters, or during fancy state dinners in Washington, most of the stewards who wait on the officials are Filipinos. In 1970, approximately 14,000 Filipinos were serving as stewards in the U.S. Navy. As many as 100,000 young Filipinos apply for enlistment annually since the Philippines has an estimated unemployment rate of 30 percent. His paycheck—\$125 a month—puts a Navy man in the upper quarter of Filipino wage earners. Most Filipino recruits can't meet requirements for higher Naval ratings, however, since most ranks require U.S. citizenship and high grades on competitive English language examinations.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE BANNED: Six GIs and ten civilians were arrested at Ft. Lewis, Wash., recently for handing out leaflets carrying the Declaration of Independence. They were charged with "distributing dissident literature." Later, when Military Police found someone to tell them what was on the leaflets, the charge was changed to passing out literature "without prior approval" of Ft. Lewis' commanding officer, General Bolling. This follows Bolling's previous refusal to allow GIs to circulate the U.S. Constitution's Bill of Rights.

Schedule change

The next issue of The Militant, dated Aug. 6, will be 32 pages and will include a special five-page feature on Chile. Following that issue we will take a three-week vacation. Publication will resume with the issue dated September 3.

MORE FREEDOM OF SPEECH: At a July 13 meeting, Trustees of the California state colleges discussed a plan that would give university presidents the right to veto speakers receiving fees over \$500. Trustee Robert Hornby of Los Angeles said a list of speakers at the colleges displayed the "current fascination with anarchists, revolutionaries and felons. We don't have to speculate what their purposes are." What worried Hornby most, after reading a list of speakers from San Jose State College, was that "There are few Anglo-Saxon names."

— MARCEL BLACK

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Telephone workers strike
War of attrition on rail lines
- 4 Women launch abortion campaign
- 5 Abortion rally
- 8 Geneva Accords
- 10 Black Conferences in San Diego and Brooklyn
- 11 Where we began and where we are going
- 14 'People's Assembly' in Bolivia
- 15 New election coalition
Attacks on Palestinian fighters
- 16 Journalist reports on Bangla Desh
- 17 PLP-SDS and the politics of disruption
- 18 What is needling PW editor?
- 19 UFWOC takes offensive
- 24 Rev. Koen jailed
Davis, Magee to have separate trials

- 2 In Brief
- 6 In Our Opinion Letters
- 7 Great Society
Insurgent Majority
- 9 National Picket Line
- 20 In Review

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 35/NUMBER 29
JULY 30, 1971
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JULY 21, 1971

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Technical Editor: JON BRITTON
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS

Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: (213) 463-1917.

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$6 a year; foreign, \$7.50. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$22, all other countries, \$24. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$26; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, Asia (including U.S.S.R.), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Union leadership ends phone strike; N.Y. locals still out

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK, July 20—Last night, Joseph Bierne, president of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), agreed to accept a new contract and asked his 400,000 members to return to work after a week-long, nationwide strike.

The new contract calls for a 33.5-percent increase in wages and fringe benefits over three years.

Settlement for another 100,000 telephone workers who belong to other unions has not been reached yet.

Yesterday, presidents of the 23 CWA locals in New York State, representing 38,500 workers, voted to reject the contract accepted by Bierne, though they have since softened their position. Local presidents in the Northwest region also voted to reject the contract.

In an all-night emergency meeting last night, the executive board of Local 1101, which covers Manhattan, the Bronx and Brooklyn, voted to tell their members to continue to honor the Western Electric picket lines that have kept Local 1101 members off the job for a week. They also voted to tell their members to reject the contract.

According to Local 1101 vice-president Dennis Serrette, telephone workers nationally have been offered a \$29-a-week raise in the top pay scale for the first year of the three-year contract. The second year the offer is for \$7.50, and \$8 for the third. Workers in New York and other big cities get an additional \$5 to \$9 a week because of the "hazardous duty" and high cost of living. There is also a 4 percent cost-of-living clause that can be used after 12 months of the contract.

In addition, the new contract provides for a "modified agency shop" that requires all employees who have been with the Bell system for 30 days to pay dues to the union.

Serrette considers the offered contract "far from adequate" and even the money offer is not satisfactory for the large number of women workers whose pay now averages only 62 percent of men's pay, according to the union. Serrette feels that "wages should

be on a par with men for the same job." The CWA nationally was asking that its women members, most of whom are clerks, receive 80 percent of the wages now paid to men. The new contract does not close this gap.

One reason the CWA raised higher wage scales for women workers as a major demand is that it wanted the support of the telephone operators in the strike. Without their cooperation, a strike by craftsmen is greatly weakened.

In New York, the CWA made a big effort to educate the operators on their rights in the strike and on crossing CWA picket lines. Most of the operators belong to the Telephone Traffic Union (TTU), a company union, and many were told by the company that if they stayed out they would be fired. In spite of this intimidation, more than half of the operators here did stay out. (In some areas, operators belong to the CWA, but are in different locals from the craftsmen and do not always support their strikes. The CWA in New York State is challenging the TTU in an election sponsored by the National Labor Relations Board on Aug. 2. Also on the ballot is District 65 of the Distributive Workers.)

A major issue of the strike was "absence control," a policy which now allows the telephone company to fire any worker during the first year of employment despite membership in the union. This issue was not settled to the satisfaction of the New York locals.

In January, the New York State locals went out in a wildcat strike when men from out of town were brought in to do repair work and given priority in overtime. This strike began in New York City and spread to the rest of the state, eventually involving 48,000 workers. After two weeks, the international endorsed the strike and the union was able to get the out-of-towners sent back home. During this strike, fines of over \$1-million were imposed on the locals and the international, but these have since been reversed by the courts.

'Ma Bell couldn't work without us!'

By RANDY FURST

MINNEAPOLIS, July 19—Rock-bottom wages, poor working conditions and continual harassment—that's the story at Ma Bell.

As telephone operators deserted their switchboards last week and maintenance men walked off the job, the mood was angry. "They treat you like a slave in there," says Janice Wilson, 20, a Black woman who walked the picket line last week. She is the sole supporter of a two-year-old child and she earns \$2.16 an hour as a telephone operator—after eight months on the job. She started at \$2.13 an hour.

"You can really make it on our wages," she says sarcastically.

Local 7200 of the Communication Workers threw up round-the-clock picket lines at the main offices of Bell Telephone here. They jeered at supervisors who crossed the picket lines. "Better count your money now," one maintenance man shouted at a strike-breaker, "cause you won't want to work there after the strike."

Strikers say that Bell Telephone began training supervisors to take over for switchboard operators as soon as the current contract ran out April 30. Supervisors here are working 14 hours a day.

If Bell Telephone was determined to keep the switchboards running, strikers were also adamant. They say the strike is solid here. They want \$1 more an hour.

Local telephone operators' wages start at \$80 a week, according to the union. Weekly pay can rise to \$110.50 after five years, but then stops. Top pay for a clerk at Ma Bell is \$109 a week. "You can work 20 years and not go any higher," says Vicki Eckman, 21. "It's not fair."

More than pay is at issue. In interviews, phone workers reeled off a list of grievances. Operators said that seating was cramped and uncomfortable.

"You have to get permission to go to the bathroom," one operator said.

"You have to ask to get a drink of water."

"You can go in the cafeteria—if you have enough money," says another operator. "Of course, the same menu's up Friday, Saturday and Sunday, and if there's anything left over, it's up on Monday too."

"Although customers never see us, we have to follow a dress code," says one phone worker. "It's really trouble, what they make you go through." She said that women must wear heels and nylons.

Most irritating is that operators cannot hang up or answer back crank calls. "If someone calls you a dirty something-or-other, you have to be nice," says an operator. "You have to say, 'Yes, sir, that's what I am.'"

Operators report that the company even hesitates to allow workers to go home when they are sick. Worse still is what happens when workers are out sick—they get visits from the telephone company. "I was out for three days," says Pat Bohmer, a maintenance man. "I had a temperature of 103 degrees, and the doctor said to stay in bed. The next day, the boss came out to see if I was home."

Other interviews confirmed that this was a common practice at Bell Telephone.

A Black telephone repairman leaned against the back door of the main offices here. It was after 10 p.m. and some dozen pickets were standing nearby talking. The man, in his thirties, carried a picket sign. A supervisor walked out past the catcalls and slurs. Someone shouted, "How do you like pimping for Ma?"

The man nodded in the direction of the supervisor disappearing into the night. "That's management," he said quietly. "He's a different kind of animal."

He thought for a moment. "They talk about how this company is being automated. But you know, we are the people who make this company click. It couldn't work without us," he smiled. "We're the majority."

Work rules spark battle in rail industry

By C.E. SCHEER
and W.E. PETERSON

ST. PAUL—The imposition of new rules and regulations by every major railroad company has sparked a battle of attrition between management and the railroad workers.

Railroad management sees the struggle as its opportunity to escape responsibility for the dilapidated rail transportation system in this country. Railroad workers begin with their backs to the wall, forced to defend themselves with improvised weapons. Neither side is confident of the outcome.

After finally getting the nod from the U.S. Supreme Court on its legality, the "selective strike" strategy of United Transportation Union President Charles Luna is underway. The Southern and Union Pacific were the first carriers struck. Others are to follow.

Luna's "selective strike" strategy is his alternative to arbitration on the one hand and all-out strike struggle on the other. The latter course, which he seeks to avoid, would mean defying court injunctions and would bring

a showdown with the mismanagers of the railroads and their benefactors in government.

The carriers, for their part, seek to provoke a nationwide wildcat strike, hoping in this way to blame undisciplined railroad workers for the breakdown in rail transportation. A typical example of the drastic effect of the rules changes is found in St. Paul, Minn., where road brakemen and conductors, responsible for intercity freight and passenger operation, have suffered a 50 percent layoff and even worse effects in their working conditions. Under the new work rules, a train crew was sent to LaCrosse, Wis., 130 miles away from home, and released from duty with no room or board or transportation home.

The ranks of the UTU have responded to this assault on their working conditions and wage scale by slowing down operations, working "strictly according to rules" handed down by the company. This tactic was initiated in Minneapolis-St. Paul on July 16, the day the new "agreements" were put into effect by the carrying court injunctions and would bring

Continued on page 22



Denver Post photo

Denver Communications Workers taunt Mountain Bell workers who are not on strike.

1,000 women launch nat'l abortion campaign; call Nov. 20 march on Washington

By CAROLINE LUND

On July 16-18, the 123rd anniversary of the first women's rights conference, held in Seneca Falls, N.Y., more than 1,000 women gathered in New York City to work out a united plan of action aimed at winning total repeal of all laws restricting the right of women to abortion.

The conference, open to women only, overwhelmingly approved a proposal for a national campaign demanding repeal of antiabortion laws, no forced sterilization and repeal of anticontra-

the women's liberation movement in the past few years. Previous conferences have stressed education and discussion on how we are oppressed as women and what we should stand for. At this conference women came together to decide how we can unite in action to actually *win* some victories that will have a decisive impact on the lives of millions of women. This conference dealt with the question of how best to mobilize women so that we can have an effect on the concrete political reality of the United States—so that we can force a change in the laws which restrict our right to control our own bodies.

Participation in the conference from every area of the country and every sector of society indicated the tremendous breadth of potential support around the issue of repeal of abortion laws. There were old and young women, Black, Chicana, Asian-American and Puerto Rican women, working women, professional women, gay women, welfare women, church women, and women from the military. The University of Tennessee student government sent six sisters to the conference and paid their way. Several groups had brought their own banners and hung them around the auditorium—"New Haven Women's Liberation," "Grand Rapids, Michigan—Women Unite," and "University of California, Berkeley Female Liberation."

One theme that ran through the workshop discussions, which took place all day Saturday as well as Sunday morning, was the necessity for the women's movement to confront the various antiabortion forces emerging around the country. A sister from Wisconsin reported in the legislation workshop that one house of the Wisconsin legislature had voted to require fetal death certificates for any legal abortions performed. A Los Angeles woman described billboards around the Los Angeles area with a picture of a fetus holding a telephone, calling for help to "Birthright," an antiabortion counseling agency. Connecticut women told of nuns bringing third grade children with antiabortion placards to fill legislative hearings on the abortion laws.

During the 50 different workshops that took place in the course of the conference, a great many ideas were expressed regarding ways of reaching new women who have never been involved in the abortion struggle before, and also ideas for coordinating and intensifying the abortion struggle nationally. Enthusiasm for the national demonstration was high.

Workshops were held on topics as varied as "women and the war" and "child liberation," in addition to legislation, legal action, demonstrations and different interest groups.

In the three-hour-long workshop on legislation,

laws, and that the coalition encourage the organization of contingents of class action suit plaintiffs to march in the Nov. 20 demonstrations.

The conference endorsed the recommendation of the high school workshop to plan a national day of leafletting high school women about the abortion campaign. It was suggested that this be undertaken in conjunction with the ACLU, in order to be ready to defend the legal rights of high school women to leaflet and organize on the abortion issue.

The Third World women's workshop of about 45 women voted unanimously in favor of the national abortion campaign and discussed ways of reaching Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, Asian-American and Native American women. The workshop recommended that literature issued by the national abortion campaign should also be printed in Spanish and should emphasize the involvement of Third World women in the campaign.

Lesbian sisters at the conference discussed how to involve gay women, and presented the following proposal, which was approved by the conference: "We propose that at the massive marches for the repeal of all abortion laws, we march in a contingent as lesbians. We propose also that the abortion coalition put out literature on why lesbians support abortion law repeal, that gay speakers be included in all meetings that take place during the course of this campaign and that they be available to speak in the name of the campaign for abortion law repeal when speakers are requested for other meetings."

The working-women's workshop discussed many ways to reach out to working women: through the YWCA and the PTA, both of which have taken positions in favor of abortion law repeal; through approaching trade unions and unionists for endorsement of the campaign; and through leafletting and special efforts at reaching telephone workers, nurses, nursing students and municipal workers.

Even during the first workshops held on Saturday morning a thorough political discussion took place, and it became clear that the overwhelming majority of women present were in support of the major abortion action campaign proposal, including the national demonstration Nov. 20.

Free abortion

One of the major political debates that took place at the conference was over a proposal that the main demand of the campaign should be "free abortion on demand," instead of repeal of abortion laws. A number of women formed a caucus in support of this position. It was discussed in virtually every workshop as well as at the plenary sessions on Saturday night and Sunday. It became clear that most women at the conference agreed with this demand, but the vast majority felt that a more effective, broader campaign could be organized and more women mobilized at this time by focusing on the demand for repeal. The women present overwhelmingly rejected the contention that abortion law repeal would be "meaningless" for working-class and poor women, or that anything short of free abortions would be only "an abstract right."

For instance, at the plenary session Saturday night, Olga Rodriguez, a Chicana from Los Angeles and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, stated: "A sister got up here and talked about how this campaign was about 'just repeal.' I want to say here and now that Third World women do not in most states in this country even have 'just repeal.' We are dying on the tables of butcher abortionists. We are at this conference because we have a stake in this campaign. We have a bigger stake than most women sitting in this room."

Debby Deegan, from Wayne State University Women's Liberation and the Michigan women's class action suit, explained how women in Michigan had learned from experience that focusing on free abortion on demand excluded many women who were willing to fight for repeal. She said regarding the March 13 demonstration of Michigan women at the state capitol in Lansing: "We would have had a demonstration twice as big if we had centered on the demand for repeal."

WISE

Another caucus present from the beginning of the conference was Women for the Inclusion of Sexual Expression (WISE). WISE favored adding "freedom of sexual expression" as a central demand of the campaign for the repeal of abortion laws.

The WISE proposal, like the free abortion on demand proposal, was discussed in virtually every workshop on Saturday and it rapidly became clear that the overwhelming majority of women

Continued on page 21



Photo by Sally Feingold

ception laws. The campaign will build toward a mass march on Washington, D.C., on Nov. 20 of this year, with a parallel demonstration in San Francisco.

In reaching this decision to call the first women's march on Washington since the suffrage movement, the conference was characterized both by great enthusiasm about the prospects for a unified national abortion campaign and also by intense and often bitter debates, which culminated in a walkout by about 150 women on the last day of the conference.

In the course of the hours of discussion and debate over all the various points of view represented, one thing became clear: This conference was different from the numerous conferences of

attended by about 100 women, the sisters decided to recommend to the conference as a whole that the national abortion coalition establish a communication service which would relate both positive and negative lessons learned through struggles in the legislatures of each state. The workshop also felt that the coalition should form a committee to investigate the possibilities of demanding federal legislation that could invalidate all state laws restricting the right of women to abortion.

Recommendations from the workshops on litigation, passed by the conference as a whole, included the proposals that the coalition become a clearing house for information and coordination of the class action suits being waged in many states to challenge the constitutionality of abortion



Photos by Lora Eckert and Sally Feingold

Among those addressing the Friday night rally were Marsha Coleman (top left) of the Michigan Black Women's Abortion Class Suit; Elma Barrera (top right), an organizer of the recent national Chicana conference in Houston; Dr. Barbara Roberts (bottom left), an organizer of the national abortion conference; and Janet Wringle (bottom right) of the Detroit Welfare Rights Organization.

"We need a plan to unite!"

On July 16 the Women's National Abortion Conference opened with an inspiring speak-out of women from all viewpoints and walks of life, united in our determination to fight until we win the abolition of all laws restricting the right of women to abortion.

It set the tone for the entire conference and provided striking confirmation of the breadth and depth of support for the campaign projected by the more than 1,000 women who participated in the weekend activities. Many of us came away with a new sense of conviction about the importance of the fight we are undertaking.

The rally appropriately opened with a talk by Ruth Gage-Colby, a long-time feminist and peace activist who was arrested on a suffrage demonstration in 1918.

Author Kate Millett spoke of the depth of the fear of unwanted pregnancy which unites us around the issue of abortion. "The common ground is that we are all impregnable. That terror lives with all of us." She also brought out a point which was to come up again and again in the course of the conference—that in a sense the issue of abortion has been chosen for us. Millett spoke of the importance of making a demonstration of power to "confront the backlash" of antiabortion forces. She also solidarized herself with the position of a caucus of women at the conference who favored adding the demand for "freedom of sexual expression" to the national abortion campaign.

Speaking for the thousands of Catholic women who support the right to abortion was Dr. Mary Daly, a theologian teaching at Boston College. She began by noting that "One hundred percent of the bishops who say abortion is immoral and illegal are men, and 100 percent of the people forced to have abortions are women." She also pointed out how the distorted mentality that calls abortion murder is the same mentality that condones wars. "If instead of dropping the atom bomb on Hiroshima we had dropped contraceptives, there would have been a big protest from the Vatican."

Janet Wringle, a Black woman from Detroit Welfare Rights Organization, said, "Hell yes! It's important for a Black woman to relate to the issue of abortion." She described her \$50 back-alley abortion in the Detroit ghetto, and said "We need a plan to unite."

Paula Mueller, legislative assistant to Constance Cooke, brought greetings from New York State Assemblywoman Cook. And Pat Maginnis, who has just been convicted under a California law forbidding the dissemination of information on abortion, gave a hilarious dramatic reading of the section of the Comstock law which prohibits sending information on abortion and contraception through the mails.

Dr. Barbara Roberts, one of the organizers of the conference, spoke from the point of view of a doctor who has to see women who have been mutilated by illegal abortionists, has to see battered and unwanted children, and has to affirm that a woman is mentally unfit in order to give her a legal abortion.

From the Michigan Black Women's Abortion Class Suit, Marsha Coleman stated, "We must say no to Nixon—No! You will not control my life. No! You will not control my community. No! You will not control my body."

Representing Third World Women Uniting for Abortion Law Repeal was Hanna Takashiga, who discussed why Asian women support abortion law repeal.

One of the high points of the rally was the speech by Nancy Stearns, an attorney who has worked on several of the East Coast class action suits against abortion laws. She stated her opinion that we can't depend on the courts any more than on the legislatures to simply grant women the right to abortion—we have to win over and organize public opinion so that we are a force.

Stearns went on to tell the conference about the case of woman in Florida, Shirley Wheeler, who has recently been convicted of "manslaughter" for simply having an illegal abortion. The manslaughter charge carries a sentence of up to twenty years in prison. The conference participants were outraged at this brutal treatment of a sister for simply exercising her right to control her own body, and a petition was later circulated at the conference protesting the arrest and conviction of Shirley Wheeler and sent to Florida Governor Ruben Askew.

Another speaker was Elma Barrera, an organizer of the recent national Chicana conference in Houston attended by 600 Chicanas. She read some of the resolutions passed by the conference, including one which labeled the Catholic Church "an oppressive institution," and another which read: "Whereas unwanted pregnancies are the basis of

many social problems and whereas the role of Chicana women has traditionally been limited to the home, be it resolved that the national Chicana conference go on record as supporting free and legal abortions for all women who want or need them."

Jeanne Walton from the Washington, D. C., teachers union told about the problem of forcing the union to fight for the needs of women workers. At the last convention of the American Federation of Teachers, she said, a women's caucus presented resolutions calling for abortion and birth-control counseling for both teachers and students, but the women delegates were hooted down on the floor of the convention. She said that many teachers were particularly concerned with fighting for the right of their students to birth-control and abortion information.

Other speakers included Dorothy Dillon, a gay activist from Chicago, and Pam Denning, from the Toronto Women's Caucus, who reported on the abortion repeal struggle in Canada. Messages were read from Betty Friedan and Representative Bella Abzug.

The rally presented living proof of the breadth of support from all sectors of women for abortion law repeal, and set the stage for the historic conference which followed it.

—CAROLINE LUND

They came from everywhere

The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition has released the following statistics about the participants at the July 16-18 national abortion conference, based on questionnaires filled out by those who registered.

Total registration was 1,025 women, who came from 29 states and four countries (24 from Canada, three from France, two from Germany and two from Sweden). The largest delegations were 403 from New York State, 112 from Massachusetts, and 65 from Illinois. The age span was from 13 to 72 years old. The largest number of women—417—were between 20 and 24 years old.

Two hundred forty-four different organizations were represented, 47 of which were abortion groups, 36 campus women's liberation groups, and 21 chapters of the National Organization for Women. Representatives of publications who registered as participants in the conference (other media attended press briefings) included *Off Our Backs*, *Womankind*, *Women's World*, *Family Circle* and *The Militant*.

Of particular interest was the representation at the conference from Daughters of the American Revolution, Scott Air Force Base Committee to Restore Military Women's Abortion Rights, the Women's Party, and Pioneer High School Women for Women's Rights from Michigan.

Eleven trade unions were represented, in addition to Pennsylvania State Employees for Women's Rights, and Women In City Government United from New York City. Also represented were five welfare rights organizations, the Lutheran Women's Caucus, Michigan Catholics for Abortion Reform and the Women's History Library in Berkeley, Calif.

The largest occupations represented were students (298 women) and secretaries (102 women).

Of the 612 women who filled out a separate questionnaire on their experiences with abortion, 26 percent had had an abortion, which is the same as the national average. Thirty-seven percent of the pregnancies aborted were due to the unavailability of contraceptives or contraceptive information. The most common reasons given for the unavailability of contraceptives were that doctors wouldn't give them to single women, or state laws prevented women under 21 from obtaining contraceptives.

Twenty-seven percent of the pregnancies were due to the failure of contraceptives. Twenty-three percent of the abortions were for women raised as Catholics. Seventy-four percent of the abortions were illegal. Of the 65 women who had never had an abortion but did have children, 31—or 48 percent—said they would have aborted at least one of their children but were afraid to do so because of the dangers of illegal abortions.

In Our Opinion

...Nixon-Mao

Continued from page 1

were made that lay the basis for even more fruitful "negotiations" when Nixon, Mao and Chou meet in Peking. Such negotiations between Washington and Peking will likely lead to agreements at the expense of the Indochinese revolution.

Putting its own narrow, national interests above the interests of the world revolution, the Maoist regime has most recently shown its willingness to betray revolutions in Pakistan and Ceylon. The Chinese bureaucrats supplied arms, aid and "radical" political cover for both Yahya Khan's genocidal suppression of the Bengali independence struggle and the Bandaranaike regime's slaughter of young revolutionists in Ceylon. This was done so brazenly that it could be interpreted as nothing less than an advertisement to U.S. imperialism that China was willing to make any sacrifice to "improve" relations with Washington.

Not even Nixon could misunderstand that language—if he had not completely grasped the meaning of Mao's consistent policy over the years of seeking alliances with "progressive" sectors of the colonial capitalists, a policy that in 1965 helped pave the way for the slaughter of as many as a million Indonesian Communists.

Thus, it appears quite likely that Chou spelled out what they are prepared to do in Vietnam. Otherwise why the secret diplomacy?

Leading spokesmen for the Nixon administration believe that some sort of preparation for "settling" the Vietnam war is in the offing. Gerald R. Ford, House Republican leader, stated, "I would expect, for instance, that one subject the president and Chou En-lai would discuss is the convening of an Indochina peace conference."

Senate Republican leader Hugh Scott put it more bluntly: "Hanoi is bound to look over its shoulder wondering how much longer China would support its war effort."

This is the fear of the North Vietnamese government. An editorial in an official Hanoi newspaper, *Nhan Dan*, warned: "... the Nixon Doctrine consists in ... dividing the socialist countries, winning over one section and pitting it against another in order to oppose the national liberation movement. ..."

"Nixon's policy also consists of trying to achieve a compromise between the big powers in an attempt to make smaller countries bow to their arrangements."

The Vietnamese had bitter experience with such a "compromise between the big powers" in 1954 when the Geneva conference divided their country after they had defeated the French. Along with the Kremlin, Peking participated in this betrayal that forced the Indochinese to allow U.S. imperialism to establish a beachhead on their soil. (See article p. 8.) The clear implication of Kissinger's trip and the planned visit by Nixon is that an attempt to force a similar solution on the Indochinese people is in the works.

The behavior of the Maoist regime is not an incidental quirk but rather the logical extension of Peking's policies for the last 22 years. The Maoist regime, like that in the Soviet Union, represents a privileged bureaucratic strata. Like the Soviet regime, the Maoist bureaucracy is totally alien in its outlook and actions from any consistently revolutionary policy. Both learned their trade from the master betrayer of revolutions and the architect of "peaceful coexistence"—Joseph Stalin.

Nixon's "ping-pong" diplomacy is also aimed at attempting to defuse the antiwar movement in the United States. Instead of "setting a date for withdrawal," as many of his congressional critics are demanding, Nixon has set a date for a meeting with Mao and Chou. Antiwar doves in the U.S. Congress and mouthpieces of "dovish" capitalists like the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, who only recently were locked in combat with Nixon over the publication of the secret Pentagon papers, are now attempting to create the impression that Nixon's proposals will end the war. They are trying to convince us that all we need to do now is wait a few months for Nixon and the Chinese leaders to sit down behind closed doors, come to an agreement, and the war will be over. Thus, while these critics take some of the heat off Nixon while they wait to see what comes out of these meetings, the slaughter in Vietnam continues.

The antiwar movement cannot accept this course. After the hypocrisy of Nixon's negotiations in Paris and his phony peace plans, antiwar activists can place no hope in Nixon's negotiations with China or in any settlement that violates the Indochinese people's right to self-determination.

Instead, it is essential, now more than ever, that mass actions in the streets be built to demand immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina. As many people as possible must be mobilized for the Aug. 6-9 Hiroshima-Nagasaki memorial actions, and for the fall antiwar offensive culminating in massive demonstrations on Nov. 6, called by the National Peace Action Coalition. Participating in and building these actions around the demand "Out Now!" is the best reply to all of Nixon's schemes to prolong the war.

Letters

Pentagon papers

I have never voted for a capitalist candidate, and I am not sorry, even though I took a lot of abuse through the years for "wasting" my vote by voting socialist.

This abuse reached its height in 1964, when Lyndon B. Johnson and Barry Goldwater were the presidential candidates. Johnson, the great "peace" candidate, had to be elected at any cost. Goldwater, the conservative archreactionary, had to be defeated in order to prevent war and other dire consequences.

The Communist Party had more of an excuse than ever to continue its line of supporting the Democratic Party, a policy they have pursued since Franklin D. Roosevelt's second candidacy in 1936 (except for their support to Henry A. Wallace and the Progressive Party in 1948).

The religious fervor with which the reformist of all types supported Johnson knew no bounds. As the campaign rhetoric heated up, people I had worked with for years grew colder and more distant. Since I wasn't voting for Johnson I was, ipso facto, supporting Goldwater in their eyes. The Stalinists, as expected, were the worst, and some of them stopped talking to me until long after Johnson was safely ensconced as the savior of peace and this great American "democracy."

Some of these reformist types have been badly shaken up by the revelations of the Pentagon papers and may learn the lesson that there is no fundamental difference, and no lesser evil to choose from, between the two major parties.

In my opinion, these revelations have created a broad opening for the Socialist Workers Party in the coming election campaigns.

Hopefully more and more people—and particularly the youth—will come to the conclusion that Eugene V. Debs was right when he said that it's better to vote for something you want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it. This is exactly what happened to the many millions who voted for Johnson in 1964.

E. P.

New York, N. Y.

Thinks we're fair

I find *The Militant* very good, especially on the unions, the GI and antiwar movements, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance campaigns, and fairness on your opponents.

T. J.

Davenport, Iowa

Thinking it over

I have been receiving *The Militant* for several months, and am impressed with the quality of its information. However, due to the clash of philosophies—both moral and socio-political—that are represented by you and me, I feel I should cancel my subscription forthwith and let things settle a bit while I try to get it together.

You have provided me with a lot of thoughtful reading, though.

Thanks.

K. G.

Springfield, Ill.

PCPJ at NPAC conference

I've just read the *Militant* report of the National Peace Action Coalition conference and see that Harry Ring makes repeated reference to a resolution introduced on Sunday, July 4, as being a "People's Coalition for Peace and Justice" resolution. (The resolution was critical of Fred Halstead and the marshals for the way they handled the PL-SDS disruption of the conference on Friday night and Saturday afternoon.)

To the best of my knowledge, the official delegation from the PCPJ did not ask for a workshop room—this was done on the initiative of a single person who is not on our steering committee but who has been active in various nonviolent training programs. I sat in on the workshop briefly and saw only one member of our steering committee present.

The resolution did not reflect the views of the People's Coalition and it was not authorized by them. Under any circumstances, it would have been inappropriate for us to have introduced such a resolution—or any other resolution—since we were present only as guests and observers.

On the basic question of how the disruption was handled, one might argue that pacifists would not have carried people out bodily, but neither the NPAC or the PCPJ are pacifist coalitions, and NPAC certainly had the right to defend its conference in the ways it felt most effective. The most deplorable aspect of the events on Friday and Saturday was not the action of NPAC marshals but the deliberate attempt to disrupt a meeting and deny freedom of speech.

David McReynolds

New York, N. Y.

[The July 23 *Militant* carried a statement from the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice along the same lines as McReynolds' letter.]

Farm workers protest

The following are excerpts from a statement we have issued in response to the administration of a \$20-million U.S. Department of Labor grant. The grant is supposed to benefit farmworkers. The attached statement was sent to the president of the United States, U.S. secretary of labor, and Florida state officials:

We, in United Farm Workers of Florida, Organized Migrants in Community Action, and Florida Farm Workers Organization, would have liked to commend the Department of Labor for initiating a long overdue program to assist farm workers in overcoming the circle of economic poverty which has always been a part of farm workers lives, but we cannot.

We cannot commend them because all we know of the program is what we read in the papers. Once again the federal government has planned a program without consulting the very people the program is supposed to serve.

We have read that the program is supposed to be administered by the Farm Labor Service. We strongly protest the choice of the Farm Labor Service as the agency to administer the grant for the following reasons:

The Great Society

First, the Farm Labor Service is well known to be totally unresponsive to farm workers. The Farm Labor Service has been run as a labor recruiting office designed to benefit the growers.

Secondly, the Farm Labor Service has been accused by many diverse organizations of racism, discrimination, violation of minimum wage laws, referral of farm workers to labor camps in violation of state and local sanitation laws and of issuing fraudulent statistics as the availability of farm jobs and of farm labor.

United Farm Workers of Florida, Organized Migrants in Community Action, and Florida Farm Workers Organization believe that farm worker organizations throughout the United States are the most able of all to administer this or any other program designed to assist the farm worker.

*United Farm Workers of Florida
Organized Migrants in Florida
Florida Farm Workers Organization*

Need help

A number of peace and social action groups in New York City are about to lose their home. We need your help!

Last year the Psychologists for Social Action, New York Sane Council, Vets for Peace, Medical Committee for Human Rights, Computer People for Peace and other groups established a headquarters at a wonderful central location at 137 West 14th St. It is known as the Dolphin Center and it has become a beehive of effective organizing and nonviolent action.

Dolphin Center served as an operating base for much of the planning for the recent spring antiwar demonstrations. Meetings at the Center have been addressed by Congresswoman Bella Abzug, Seymour Melman, and other leading figures. The 2,500 foot loft is a service and communication center for groups who make daily use of the Center's mimeo machine, typewriters, meeting and office facilities, telephones and staff. If you know of groups looking for an office at moderate cost, the Center presently has space.

However, shortage of funds will force us to shut our doors unless you and others act quickly. If each person receiving this letter will send us as generous a contribution as possible, we will be able to continue and to service our present peace and social action groups, who are trying to make this country a better place for all of us.

Doris K. Miller, Ph.D., Psychologists for Social Action; Robert J. Schwartz, Ph.D., N.Y. Sane; Martin Schiffer, M.D., Medical Committee for Human Rights; Howard E. Gruber, Ph.D., co-founder of Dolphin Center; Ron Wolin, Vets for Peace; Theodore Wertz, Committee for Social Responsibility in Engineering. New York, N.Y.

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.

Calling Dr. Marx—Dr. Jesse Steinfeld, U.S. surgeon general, said coffin-nail consumption is the nation's top health problem and has resulted in an epidemic of lung cancer as well as great increases in heart disease, emphysema and bronchitis. The puzzled medic said the government seems to have a schizophrenic approach to the problem. On the one hand it requires cigarette manufacturers to print health warnings on their packages. At the same time it subsidizes tobacco growers.

Downright totalitarian—The Pentagon said that a senatorial proposal to limit U.S. "assistance" to Laos to \$200-million a year would constitute a curb on Nixon's constitutional prerogatives "as commander-in-chief to direct military operations in Southeast Asia."

Waning flag wavers—Flag Day did not come off well in San Diego, a long-time stronghold for flag wavers. A survey disclosed that at best one home in 50 posted Old Glory. The **San Diego Union** explained: "Little participation in the Flag Day observance . . . was laid primarily to lack of interest and confusion over dates of patriotic holidays—despite the fact that newspapers and radio stations

carried reminders and announcements."

Remedial advertising—The New York Times reported ad writers were intrigued with Bon Vivant's botulin problem, at least imagewise. One suggested: "I'd stop all advertising and recall the product. Then, I'd reintroduce it. I'd run ads about the totally revamped production facilities and try to make hay out of the improvements, something like, 'From the Sparkling New Plant of Bon Vivant.' But," he added, "say nothing about the reason for the new plant—that way you calm fears without spreading the story."

You pay your money and you take your chances—The federal Environmental Protection Agency said it would not make public key data which would help to determine whether the permits it issues to industry to discharge wastes actually contain adequate safeguards against water pollution. "The public has no way of keeping us honest," a spokesman explained. "That's a chance they have to take."

No apple in his mouth—Patrolman Bill Gilstrap of the Salem, Ore., police department set a 50-mile jogging rec-

ord. The image-conscious officer explained he did it because, "I'm trying to make people overcome the idea that all policemen are fat, apple-eating cops that have no heart and no feelings." If that doesn't help prove all cops aren't that way, he could try belting the idea out of people's heads with a billy.

Now, if it dissolved into a martini—A patent has been issued for a button-like piece of synthetic rubber which, when moved about in the mouth like a hard candy, will allegedly satisfy the craving for coffin nails and help dieters reduce their food intake.

Soul food—Members of the Apostolic Christian Church moved their community from Bell Gardens, Calif., to Kennet, Mo., after their pastor had a vision that California is going to be destroyed by earthquakes because area residents have "spurned the word of God." Television, doctors, smoking, short dresses and equality for women are ruled out in the devout community. All of which may seem a bit stiff but apparently not as much so as the congregation's peanut brittle, the sale of which helps keep it afloat.

—HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

Twelve-year-old Sharon Poole was the only girl on the Little League baseball team in the town of Haverhill, Mass., until she was kicked off the team by a special meeting of the league's 10 managers. The managers felt so threatened that they even fired the coach who had recruited Sharon Poole to the team.

Why the panic reaction? Sharon Poole says: "Just because I'm a girl, I guess." All the boys admitted she was a very good player.

When she appeared on the field for her first game, said the July 7 **New York Times**, she faced "a torrent of verbal abuse from the stands." The real opposition to her playing came from the parents rather than the boys in the league. The July 6 **Boston Globe** editorial put its finger on the problem: "Obviously, a parent may lose his or her sense of self-importance if some girl strikes out his or her son, or hits a homer off of him, or throws him out at second base."

Meanwhile, one of the officials at the Little League headquarters in Williamsport, Pa., tried to justify the exclusion

of Sharon Poole with the absurd contention that, "While many girls are exceptionally proficient in baseball, fundamental physical and metabolic differences between growing boys and girls make it hazardous for girls." However, the American Medical Association's committee on the medical aspects of sports told the **Times** that there was no medical reason why girls should not compete with boys in noncontact sports.

At the end of the **Times** article, the author said that Sharon Poole had "denied speculation that the experience (of being excluded from the team) would make her join women's liberation." This sort of response is very common in news interviews with women who have asserted their right to move beyond the traditional fields of activity allotted to women.

The reason so many of these women do not yet identify with the women's liberation movement is largely because of the false image presented in the mass media that the women's liberation movement is a bunch of bra-burning freaks. Although they don't realize it yet, young women like Sharon Poole are very much a part of the development of the feminist movement, which is asserting the rights of women to fulfill themselves as human beings, not restricted to a "woman's place" or a "woman's role."

Some developments in the struggle of women to control our own bodies . . . Criminal charges have been filed against Romy Schneider and Vera Tschechova, two prominent German actresses, because they were among 374 German women who publicly declared they had had illegal abortions to challenge the antiabortion laws. The German law stipulates imprisonment for up to five years for women who undergo an abortion. . . . The May 16 **London Times** reported that an acute shortage of beds for legal abortions in England has led to a rise in the number of back-street abortions. The clinics licensed to perform abortions under the 1967 Abortion Act cannot keep up with the demand, and women are also having increased difficulty getting the British National Health service to pay for their abortions. The **Times** says that the Ministry of Health is deliberately not licensing any more abortion clinics to meet the demand because it fears an outcry from the antiabortion lobby. . . . In San Antonio, Texas, Chicanas have come together to form the Concerned Chicana Women's Organization in response to the use of poor Chicanas as guinea pigs in a birth-control pill experiment without their knowledge. A meeting of the Concerned Chicana Women's Organization drew 20 women to protest this action by the research foundation, which was done for a federal agency and a birth-control pill manufacturer.

—CAROLINE LUND



Sharon Poole

This is the second in a series of articles on the top-secret Pentagon papers revealed by the New York Times. The series will review the history of the war in Indochina and The Militant's coverage of the war.

By DICK ROBERTS

The year 1954 opened with the Vietnamese liberation armies near to victory in Indochina. The Eisenhower administration was preparing a massive U.S. military intervention to stave off French defeat.

But there were obstacles to this plan. It was only one year after the Korean war armistice. The unpopularity of

Korea out of Indochina, up to and including the sending of U.S. troops to fight and die in Indochina, to make the French colony safe for imperialism."

This editorial also quoted an article by New York Times correspondent James Reston, written from Washington, March 30. Reston said, "The feeling has been growing here that the French and the Associated States [Saigon regime] will not win the war by themselves and that, while they might well need the help of the United States, public opinion in this country is not prepared for armed intervention by the United States. This has alarmed officials at the State and Defense departments."

The Militant had a different opinion: "The American people are resolutely

and that failing this, the U.S. actively oppose any negotiated settlement in Indochina at Geneva.

"(3) It be the U.S. position in event of failure of (2) above to initiate immediate steps with the governments of the Associated States aimed toward the continuation of the war in Indochina, to include active U.S. participation and without French support should that be necessary."

A memorandum dated May 26, from Adm. Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson, proposed a plan of attack which included "Employing atomic weapons, as well as other weapons [and conducting an] offensive air operation against selected military targets in Indochina and against . . . military

action. And the military situation in the Red River Delta near Hanoi deteriorated so badly in late May and early June that Washington felt intervention would now be useless. On June 15 Secretary Dulles informed [the French ambassador to the United States] Bonnet that the time for intervention had run out." (Emphasis added.)

The Geneva Accords

This revelation of Dulles' position completely validates The Militant's estimate of the meaning and consequences of the Geneva conference. As the conference was opening, the White House had given up on its program of immediate military intervention. The only hope, in its view, was to salvage imperialism's hold on Vietnam at the bargaining table.

The Militant warned about the dangers of Geneva while the conference was being planned in early May. It declared May 10, "With all reporters rigidly excluded from any of the sessions, the Big Five (U.S., France, England, the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic) began to work out possibilities for a deal as the basis for settlement of the Indochinese war.

"Through such a deal the Stalinist representatives from the Soviet Union and China might barter off the success of the Indochinese revolution and future revolutionary movements throughout Asia in return for a 'peace pact' with American imperialism."

The Militant further pointed out that Eisenhower had already been dealt a serious blow by being prevented from sending in U.S. troops. This was not the result of diplomacy. It was brought about by the sweeping power of the Indochinese revolution, hostility to U.S. imperialism in all the countries of Southeast Asia, and the mass opposition of the American people shown in their letters of protest to Congress and newspapers.

"American imperialism," The Militant continued, "is not negotiating with authentic revolutionary and trustworthy representatives of the aspirations of the Indochinese people and of the working class everywhere who want an end to the war.

"Washington is dealing with the Stalinist leadership in Moscow and Peking, who are quite ready to use the negotiations to get a settlement that will be favorable to the bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and China at the expense of the Indochinese revolution." (Emphasis in the original.)

The New York Times series is conspicuously short on documentary material exposing the diplomatic relations between Washington and both Moscow and Peking. This in itself is undoubtedly an indication of the imperialists' ambitions at the present stage of the war in Southeast Asia. As the diplomatic moves of the last weeks make crystal clear, the ruling class still holds open the hope that Moscow and Peking can be utilized — as they were in 1954 — to bring pressure against the revolution for a settlement favorable to imperialism.

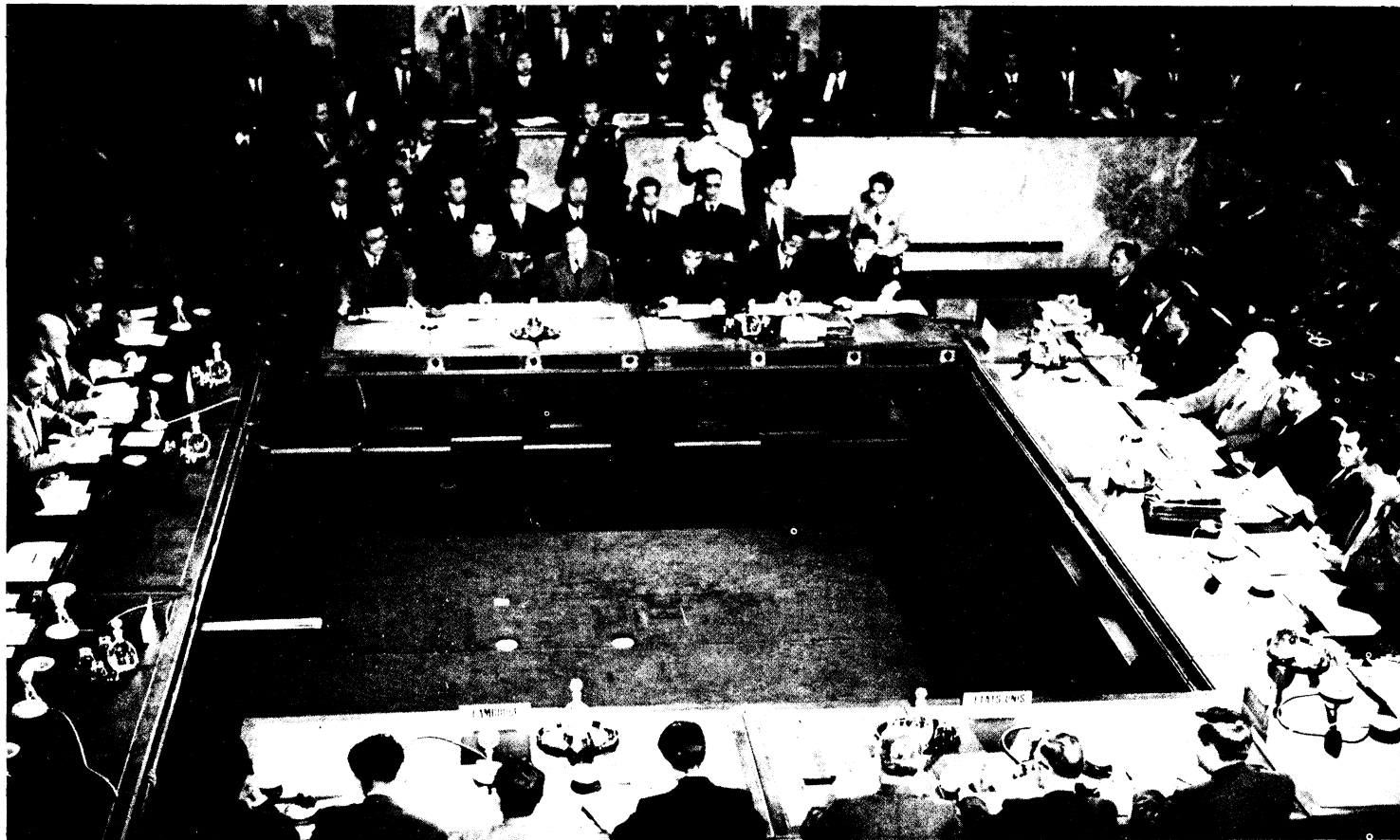
One document in the Times series, however, reveals that Washington knew that Moscow and Peking would go along with a partition in 1954. This is a dispatch from Undersecretary of State Bedell Smith at Geneva to Secretary of State Dulles, July 18. The dispatch contained an Associated Press news item:

"The Communist bloc has demanded that the United States guarantee the partition peace plan for Indochina and join in an agreement to neutralize the whole country, a responsible informant said today. . . .

"The informant said the Communists are pressing for the stamp of American approval on the armistice agreement — already okayed in principle by Britain and France — which could divide Vietnam between Com-

Pentagon papers

The Geneva Accords: revolution betrayed



Closing session of 1954 Geneva Conference. "When the agreement to partition Indochina was signed in Geneva," wrote The Militant in 1954. "everyone had been consulted but the Indochinese people."

that war and the reluctance of the American people to get involved in another one placed severe restrictions on the policy makers in Washington.

This was so despite the years of anti-Communist propaganda and the "Red-scare" witch-hunt hysteria cooked up by Senator Joseph McCarthy, which was reaching its peak in the same months of 1954.

Officially pretending that the American people shared with them the conviction that "Chinese Communism" must be stopped in Southeast Asia, spokesmen for U.S. imperialism actually proceeded with the utmost caution. "Trial balloon" speeches and "leaks" to leading newspapers were used at every point to test public reaction.

An editorial in The Militant, April 5, 1954, exposed the White House efforts. "Secretary of State Dulles," it declared, "speaking before the Overseas Press Club in New York on March 29, clearly confirmed the warning that The Militant has been sounding for several months: The Eisenhower administration is preparing to make another

opposed to being dragged or driven into such a war. . . . And that is one of the most hopeful signs in the whole situation."

Eisenhower moves to intervene

The New York Times summary of secret Pentagon documents underlines how far the Eisenhower-Dulles team went in laying the groundwork for U.S. intervention.

On the diplomatic arena, Washington was pulling out all the stops to prevent a settlement of the war at the Geneva convention scheduled to open in June. On the military arena, it planned to send Special Forces teams headed by the CIA agent Col. Edward Lansdale into action during the Geneva conference.

The main directives were recommended by a "Special Committee Report on Southeast Asia," April 5:

"(1) It be U.S. policy to accept nothing short of a military victory in Indochina.

"(2) It be the U.S. position to obtain French support of this position;

targets in China." Washington's strategists were ready to launch an atomic war against China!

But these schemes soon had to be postponed. A "trial balloon" speech recommending U.S. intervention in Indochina by Vice-President Richard Nixon was answered by a flood of letters to Congress and editorials in the papers crying out against another war. The French and British governments opposed military escalation.

And on May 7, the French fortifications at Dien Bien Phu collapsed before the powerful revolutionary offensive. "The Indochinese peasants and workers have dealt a major political and military blow to French and American imperialism and have further paralyzed Wall Street's ability, for the time being, to intervene with U.S. troops," The Militant declared May 17.

According to the New York Times summary, ". . . all of the arguments in favor of intervention came to naught. The French cabinet felt that the war-weary National Assembly would balk at any further military

munist leader Ho Chi Minh's Vietminh and Bao Dai's pro-Western regime."

Under pressure from Moscow and Peking, the Vietminh leadership agreed to the fateful partition of Vietnam. The depth of this betrayal is clear from a two-sentence observation made by columnist Marquis Childs, writing from Geneva July 23: "There was every reason why the Communists should not have granted an armistice," said Childs. "The Vietminh had ample resources to sweep on to victory."

Imperialism had gained its cherished foothold in South Vietnam. It was now only a matter of time before the counterrevolutionary war could be reescalated.

A phony argument

Apologists for Moscow's role at Geneva have seized Washington's objections to the settlement as proof that the accords actually made gains for the revolution. Thus W.W. Weinstone wrote in the April 17, 1971, *Daily World*:

"The 1954 accord was not imposed on the Vietnamese. It was achieved by the victory of the Vietnamese over the French. The U.S. took part in the conference on the accord but John Foster Dulles would not agree to it and stalked out of the conference. His deputy Bedell Smith declared that the U.S. would implement the accord, which it never did. The U.S. never liked the 1962 Geneva agreement on Cambodia and Laos any better and violated that agreement as well."

This is the end of Weinstone's argument and the reader might very well ask, what does it prove? The imperialists violated the 1954 accords and they violated the 1962 accords.

You have to be familiar with the tortured logic of the American Communist Party's apologies for Kremlin foreign policy to get it. In Weinstone's mind, an accord which the imperialists violate has merits—because it exposes the character of imperialism.

But for Marxists the permanent war drive of imperialism had been demonstrated well before the twentieth century and does not need to be proved once again at the expense of the lives of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese.

The aggressive character of world imperialism was brutally demonstrated over and over again on the bloody battlefields of the Far East in the aftermath of the Second World War. The U.S., France and Britain intervened to crush the wave of colonial revolution that swept from Bombay to Seoul.

The *New York Times* revelations only make this point clearer. Washington never had any intentions of abiding by the Geneva Accords. Lansdale's CIA gangs were carrying out sabotage operations around Hanoi while the big powers were meeting. Dulles was taking steps to assure that whatever was agreed upon in Geneva would not be carried out.

The Weinstone argument is completely false. Neither Moscow nor Peking agreed to the betrayal of Geneva in order to expose Washington's policies. They agreed because they are always willing to sacrifice the revolutionary movement in any country if it is in the immediate, narrow interest of the ruling bureaucracy in China or the Soviet Union.

No elections

According to the *New York Times*, Dulles sent the following message to Geneva on July 7: "We realize of course that even agreement which appears to meet all . . . points cannot constitute guarantee that Indochina will not one day pass into Communist hands. . . .

"Since undoubtedly true that elections might eventually mean unification Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh this makes it all more important they should be only held as long after cease-fire agreement as possible. . . . We believe important that no date should be set now and especially that no conditions should be accepted by French which would have direct or indirect effect of preventing effective international supervision of agreement ensuring political as well as military guarantee. . . .

"We consider 'respect' as strong a word as we can possibly employ in the circumstances to indicate our position with respect to such arrangements as French may evolve. . . ."

Militant correspondent Art Preis (writing under the pen name of Joseph

Keller) analyzed the situation in Vietnam at the close of 1954:

"When the agreement to partition Indochina was signed several months ago in Geneva, everyone had been consulted but the Indochinese people. Their weight, however, is now being felt in South Vietnam, that portion of the eastern section of Indochina handed over to the French and their native agents. That is the basis of the complaint being voiced by the pro-imperialist press in America that 'from all accounts, South Vietnam seems doomed to fall to the Communists within a year.' (*N. Y. World Telegram*, Dec. 24.)

"The South Vietnam government headed by ex-emperor Bao Dai . . . is visibly crumbling apart. The people are starving while official graft and corruption run riot. . . .

"Thus the complaint that South Vietnam 'seems doomed to fall to the Communists' is not an expression of concern lest the revolutionary North Vietnam regime renew the military struggle, but of fear that the people in the southern section will kick out their present rulers, who keep power only with the aid of French forces and U.S. arms, and that all Vietnam will be united under the regime of Ho Chi Minh.

"The imperialists look with foreboding toward the South Vietnam elections scheduled by the Geneva conference for 1956."

'South Vietnam'

The *Times* summary shows the crucial role that Lansdale and his Special Forces played in stabilizing the shaky regime of Ngo Dinh Diem against the revolts of Vietnamese nationalist groups.

"During the fall of 1954 Colonel Lansdale helped Mr. Diem recruit, pay and train reliable bodyguards. . . . With the permission from the [U.S.] embassy, the [U.S.] Saigon Military Mission then began secretly paying funds to a Cao Dai leader, Gen. Trinh Minh The, who offered his services to Premier Diem.

"Colonel Lansdale also brought from the Philippines President Magasaysay's senior military aide and three assistants to train a battalion

of Vietnamese palace guards. When the sect crisis broke out in the spring of 1955, Colonel Lansdale visited Mr. Diem nearly every day. . . .

"During the sect armies' uprising, the Saigon Military Mission helped premier Diem plan measures against the Binh Xuyen and Colonel Lansdale repeatedly pressed the embassy to support the Premier." And so forth.

The rival Vietnamese factions that attempted to displace Diem were crushed one after another with Lansdale's advice and financial assistance.

The *Times* states that "The American aid effort . . . was focused almost entirely on security. Eight out of every 10 dollars went to security, and much of what was intended for agriculture, education, or transportation actually went to security-directed programs.

"For example, the [Pentagon] account says, a 20-mile section of highway, built between Saigon and Bienhoa at the insistence of the MAAG [U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group] commander . . . received more aid money than all the funds provided for labor, community development, social welfare, health and education from 1954 to 1961."

Washington's intelligence, military and diplomatic apparatus in Saigon was quietly preparing for the day when war would be resumed against the revolutionary insurgents. This required a cover for imperialist operations—the "South Vietnamese government."

According to the *Times*, the secret Pentagon study for this period concludes: "Without U.S. support, Diem almost certainly could not have consolidated his hold on the South during 1955 and 1956. Without the threat of U.S. intervention, South Vietnam could not have refused to even discuss the elections called for in 1956 under the Geneva settlement without being immediately overrun by the Vietminh armies. Without U.S. aid in the years following, the Diem regime certainly, and an independent South Vietnam almost as certainly, could not have survived. . . .

"*South Vietnam was essentially the creation of the United States.*" (Emphasis added.)

[To be continued.]

The National Picket Line

It appears that a deal has been arrived at between the Nixon administration and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters executive committee regarding the fate and future role within the union of James Hoffa.

In late June, Hoffa announced from his prison cell that he would not be a candidate for the presidency of the international union. He urged that the delegates to the coming convention elect Frank E. Fitzsimmons to his place.

Almost immediately after this announcement, President Nixon paid a "surprise" visit to the IBT executive committee meeting in plenary session in Miami Beach. It has not been reported what he said at that meeting except that it was a very cordial session.

The convention elected Fitzsimmons president by an almost unanimous vote. They made Hoffa president emeritus, a newly created honorary post. They also granted him a pension of \$78,000 a year for life or a lump sum settlement of over \$1-million. Hoffa chose the latter. His wife Josephine remains on the union payroll at \$45,000 a year as head of the Women's Division. His son has been retained as a lawyer for the Washington, D. C., headquarters at \$30,000 a year.

The parole board, which had just recently turned down Hoffa's plea for parole, decided that "new evidence" had been uncovered and granted Hoffa a new hearing on August 20.

With Hoffa seeming to be safely out of the way, the administration demonstrated its satisfaction in two ways: President Nixon sent the convention a friendly letter in which he said the IBT and his administration "should work together on economic problems," and that he had found it "personally gratifying" to have visited the committee meeting. He also sent his secretary of labor to bring greetings to the convention.

Fitzsimmons was granted a \$25,000 a year increase over Hoffa's old salary—to \$125,000—making him the highest paid bureaucrat in the business.

In addition, the convention granted him the right to spend whatever he wants of the \$90-million treasury to lobby, make political contributions and carry on organization drives.

What did this convention do for the more than two million IBT members? They raised the dues and increased the amount of per capita tax paid the international office. This is expected to enrich Fitzsimmons's treasury by \$50-million a year.

Fitzsimmons announced he would grant more "democracy" to the union.

But little of that "democracy" will filter down to the ranks. It just means more power for the four chiefs of the area fiefdoms.

Under these area dictators, hundreds of IBT local unions are already under receivership, with no power to elect their own officers, decide upon their own local contracts, or spend their own money.

The convention made sure these dukedoms would have more money to spend in maintaining their control—they raised the monthly 10-cents-per-member assessment to 20 cents.

When questioned by reporters about rumors that if and when Hoffa gets out of prison, he would turn power back to Hoffa, Fitzsimmons replied that he will not relinquish his position. Hoffa will be president emeritus, he said, and that is all.

Some delegates believe that Hoffa will run the union from behind the scenes, but others described the new president as a "shrewd, stubborn man who has outlasted many other leaders in struggle for power."

I like better the description of one worker-teamster some years ago. He said, in words to this effect—"Whenever a situation arose (whether with a boss or within a union), Hoffa was right in the thick of it. With Fitzsimmons, you call the office, and if he happens to be in, he answers the phone."

The first break in the 18-day-old United Steelworkers union strike in the copper mines came on July 18 when a small operator, the Magma Copper Co., and the union arrived at a tentative agreement affecting about 3,000 of the 35,000 copper miners.

Magma Copper operates only in Arizona. According to the July 19 *New York Times*, the proposed agreement would raise average wages by 92 cents per hour, increase pension payments by 50 percent, and includes an unlimited cost-of-living escalator clause to go into effect in May 1972.

This proposed settlement is far below the wage and fringe benefits agreement won in the can and aluminum industries earlier this year.

In addition, workers in the steel industry, whose contract is currently being negotiated in Washington, D. C., are demanding an improvement over the can and aluminum settlements. The strike deadline in steel is August 1—and such a strike has already been authorized by a referendum of the membership.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

Conference of Pan-Africanists on West Coast discusses political action

By JOHN HAWKINS

SAN DIEGO—Close to 250 people from six states and the Caribbean attended the Western Regional Conference of the Congress of African Peoples (CAP) in San Diego June 18-20. Called around the theme of "Nation Time West," the conference held a number of workshops and two plenary sessions to discuss the development of institutions necessary for the liberation of African-Americans.

At the Friday night session of the conference, after introductory remarks by Jo Cochezi, coordinator of the Black technology workshop, Chaka Stevens, coordinator of the San Diego CAP, and Imamu Vernon Sukumu, chairman of the western regional chapter of the CAP, Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) delivered the keynote address.

Using his experience in the politics of Newark, N.J., for illustration, Baraka spoke on the need to form a Black political party and outlined three spheres of political development in the Black community: the initial gathering of cadre dedicated to the liberation of Black people; second, "operational and organizational unity"—the unity of various groups within the Black community around a program in order to influence and mobilize the masses; and last, alliances with other oppressed nationalities.

To illustrate these "three spheres," Baraka pointed to the Committee for a Unified Newark as an example of the type of cadre organization he had in mind and the 1970 effort to elect Kenneth Gibson mayor of Newark as an example of "operational organizational unity." Ironically, as an example of alliances formed with other oppressed nationalities in Newark,

Baraka was forced to refer to the slander campaign against him and his organization, the Committee for a Unified Newark, on the part of the Gibson administration, and the alliance formed between Black and Puerto Rican militants to publicly combat it.

Baraka noted that Gibson and the other Black politicians in Newark were totally controlled by the conservative and traditional leadership of the Democratic Party and the local barons of organized crime. Rather than call for a complete break with the Democrats and for struggle against them, Baraka confined his alternatives to the Gibson experience, to the hope that "a more militant mayor" of unspecified affiliation could be elected next time.

This lack of clarity on the nature of the Democratic Party and Black political action pervaded the workshops at the conference. In particular, the political liberation workshop was dominated by Democratic Party speakers. Although the workshops heard presentations on Pan-Africanism by Rosie Douglas, a leader of the Black movement in Canada, and Mamadu Lumumba, a Black student leader at San Fernando State College, the main discussion revolved around the necessity of preparing for the 1972 elections by beginning to investigate the Democratic Party.

The main advocates of this course of action were California Democratic state senator Merv Dimally, who projected Black involvement in a third force movement for 1972, with the nomination of a Black vice-presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket as one of its major goals, and Booker

Griffin, an independent candidate from Los Angeles for state senate during the last elections.

The political liberation workshop failed to outline any specific plans for the mobilization of Black people in the struggle for control of the institutions in our community. The discussion indicated that independent Black institutions that would serve the interests of African-Americans could come about in only three ways—by constructing counterinstitutions, by Africanizing "Negro" institutions, or by Blacks gaining control of currently white-controlled institutions. The greatest emphasis was placed on the construction of counterinstitutions (the least productive of the three).

The mass mobilization of the Black community was subordinated to electoral activity by the workshop leaders, and was generally seen as only a way by which the local CAPs could win membership.

This lack of a mass-action perspective characterized all the other workshops, which dealt with such topics as Black economics, law and justice, religion, education, and social organization.

Among the proposals approved by the Sunday plenary were the establishment of a regional CAP newsletter for the western region, the distribution of *Black News*, published in Brooklyn, as a CAP publication, and the calling of a regional convention sometime in the fall for the nomination of candidates for the 1972 elections.

A film of the conference is being produced and will be available toward the end of the year from Cold Productions, 1531 Monroe #6, Los Angeles, Calif. 90038.



Imamu Baraka

No gains at Brooklyn Black convention

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—Despite the convening of a second Black political convention in Brooklyn, July 3-5, to establish an independent Black party, no real headway was made in the formation of such a vehicle.

The first convention was held last Nov. 7 at The East, an African-American cultural and educational center that publishes *Black News*, a nationalist weekly. It attracted 300 people and excluded no political tendency within the African-American community. It attempted to assess the present juncture of the Black liberation struggle in order to get together a program on which to establish an independent political party. The organizers were inspired by the talk of such a party at the first Congress of African People, which was held in Atlanta last September. But rather than continue talk of a Black political party, they decided to set out and actually build one.

Despite their good intentions, however, The East organizers had no plan, strategy, nor even an initial program of action to offer at this first gathering. After the meeting, a steering committee constituted by the conference met. It concentrated purely on organizational matters—creation of a secretariat, constitution, and research bodies.

The vacuum in respect to a program of action characterized the sec-

ond convention as well.

About 200 people attended the second meet, held at a nursery school facility near The East. A little over 100 people came from New York, approximately 30 from Washington, D.C., and about 25 from the Committee for a Unified Newark (CFUN). The rest came from Pennsylvania and a smattering of other states. Many of the militants present were there as individuals. The political experience of some was rooted solely in government-funded poverty agencies.

The eight workshops ranged from financing the new party and structuring community organizations, to strategy and tactics of the new party. Paul Boutelle of the Socialist Workers Party cochaired the workshop on electoral politics along with a CFUN representative. This was on request of the convention's steering committee.

On the second day of the convention, CFUN representatives, who chaired or cochaired most of the workshops, introduced position papers on the organization of a party. The chief paper submitted, entitled "Strategy and Tactics of a Pan-African Nationalist Party" and discussed mainly in the strategy and tactics workshop, was signed by Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones).

However, when these papers are stripped of all their verbiage about cadre organization, new value sys-

tems, and delivering goods and services, it is clear that CFUN is about working in the Democratic Party, the party of the white capitalist oppressor. Baraka disclosed that in 1972 CFUN will organize with others to run as "African Nationalist Democrats" in opposition to the "regular Democrats" in the New Jersey Democratic Party primary. This face-lifting effort was palmed off as the road toward a Black political party.

Only the electoral politics workshop repudiated the line advocated by the papers. All the other workshops fell hook, line, and sinker for the verbiage.

A rally at The East that evening featured Doug Moore of the Black United Front of Washington, D.C., and Baraka. Moore, who ran as an independent in D.C.'s election of a nonvoting delegate to Congress last spring, lashed out at the Democrats and Republicans, particularly the Black members of Congress. But he presented no workable strategy toward a Black party.

Baraka read his 11-page "strategy" paper, making extended comments.

On July 5, the last day, workshop reports were read and approved. A CFUN representative reported on the electoral politics workshop but failed to include much of the actual discussion in that workshop.

The convention adopted the name of the African National People's Party.

A brother from Pittsburgh reported to the Brooklyn Black political convention on the brutal murder of a Black youth in that city. The youth, Ernest T. Williams Jr. was shot and killed by a white cop, Howard Landers, on mistaken identity. (We all look alike.)

The Ernest T. Williams Jr. Memorial Fund was subsequently organized and began to hold rallies throughout the Black community protesting the killing. In a *Militant* telephone interview with Brother Yusef, he related that a six-member coroner's jury met July 7, all white and aged from 35 to 70. The next day, they declared the cop guilty of involuntary manslaughter, not murder in the first degree.

Because the city district attorney publicly declared that he didn't see any reason why Landers should be arrested in the first place, militants of the Fund are moving to get the state attorney to try Landers.

Contributions to the effort and the family can be sent to: Ernest T. Williams Jr. Memorial Fund, c/o Pittsburgh National Bank, 618 N. Homewood, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15208. Information on the campaign can be had by writing: Ernest T. Williams Jr. Memorial Fund, c/o FACE Center, 521 N. Homewood Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15233.

JAMES P. CANNON

HOW WE BEGAN AND WHERE WE ARE GOING

The following is the major portion of a speech delivered by James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, at a rally in New York City celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the SWP, Oct. 30, 1953. The occasion was also the wind-up rally of the SWP city-wide election campaign in New York City.

This speech is included in the book *Speeches for Socialism* by James P. Cannon, which will be available early in August from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014, for \$3.45 (paperback).

I want to talk a little bit tonight about the party. The Socialist Workers Party represents a program, first of all and above all. This program, as Engels once expressed it, is the conscious expression of the unconscious historic process which is operating relentlessly and inexorably to transform society from capitalism to socialism. But when we say that we and our program are the conscious expression of this unconscious historical process, it does not mean that we are simply observers, analysts and commentators. Just because we are the conscious expression of the historic process we also have the duty to participate in the process and help it along. That's the difference between a party of action in struggle and a mere circle of academicians, analysts and observers. Quite different.

It has also been said by Engels that we, the Marxists, the revolutionists, represent the future of the labor movement in its present. That is another excellent and accurate way to present it. But we don't merely represent the future in the present. As active revolutionists, we strive, by every means, every day, by every form of activity, including such great activities as you carried on in this election campaign—we strive to transform the present into the future at a little earlier date.

The program we stand on goes back a long way. It is by no means our invention, by no means new. It goes back in an unbroken line of continuity to the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels of 105 years ago. Our party goes back to that program along an unbroken line of continuity and, by that same token, is connected in its actions with all the actions and efforts of all the working class of all countries of the world for 105 years; and all their experiences, all their victories and defeats, are assimilated and generalized into the program of the party today, and are a part of our strength and our confidence.

More specifically, in this country the Socialist Workers Party goes back to all the great struggles and movements of the past, of the American working class, and represents their tradition too. So we speak here not only for ourselves. We speak for all those who went before us, and whose banner we carry, and whose cause we represent.

We are the direct descendants and the sole heirs of the Haymarket martyrs of 1886, the pioneer fighters for the eight-hour day, to whom every union man who enjoys a shorter workday and union conditions today, whether he knows about it or not, whether he ever heard their names or not, owes a debt of gratitude that someday will be recognized. We go back to the old Socialist Party of the time of Debs, which roused a whole generation to an elementary understanding of the

class struggle, and to the movement which they created, which made it possible for us to build on, and to be here today. We are the direct descendants and heirs of the old IWW, the heroic IWW of Bill Haywood and Vincent St. John and Frank Little.

And we are also the heirs and the sole continuators of the Communist Party in this country, which was founded in 1919. It grew up out of the left wing of the Socialist Party which had fought the struggle against the first imperialist war, and out of a section of the IWW which had suffered persecution of all kinds in its strikes and battles during the war and the prewar period.

That whole movement of left-wing radicalism of the American workers, which was unified and given a sharpened program by the great Russian Revolution of 1917, was all brought together and concentrated in the Communist Party as it was launched in 1919. That's where we come from. We come from the party that took shape in the fight against the first imperialist war, out of the cadres of American radical workers who first responded to the great Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky.

The Socialist Workers Party is the heir of all that. It represents all of that. And we can say proudly that in its twenty-five years it has represented it honorably and creditably. In addition to all that has gone before us, on which we built and which is part of our strength and our confidence, we have made our own contribution in twenty-five years of battle.

Origin of SWP

We date the origin of our party to twenty-five years ago because it was at that point when it seemed, for a time, that the chain of continuity of the revolutionary movement and of revolutionary thought and revolutionary program was almost broken. Under the impact of world events, the reaction that set in after the first revolutionary postwar wave, the old program of revolution, the old program of Lenin, was revised and discarded by the usurping clique of Stalin, which had gained power in the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party in this country had been softened up by the long prosperity, the long period of hopes deferred. Its leadership had turned conservative and Stalinized—and it seemed, for a moment, that the continuous line of revolutionary activity according to the program of Marxism was suddenly about to break. But not everybody gave way. Not everybody capitulated.

Those who resisted the degeneration in this country found inspiration and guidance from the writings of Trotsky in faraway Russia. Trotsky was conducting the great heroic fight against the degeneration, against the revision and discarding of the program. And we who heard his voice, who had the opportunity, after many years of suppression, to get hold of his writings, revolted against the Stalinist degeneration of the Comintern and of the Communist Party in this country. We raised the banner of Trotsky on October 27, 1928.

That's why we trace the origin of our party, the origin of the SWP as a distinct party, of our own making and our own building, to that day,

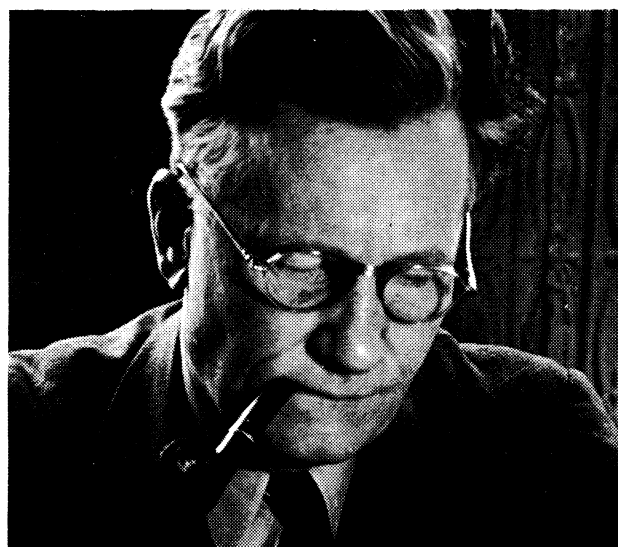
twenty-five years ago this week, when a small group in the Communist Party raised the banner of Trotsky and his program. They expelled us for that, and we struck out on a new road, to build a new party, to replace the one that had been corrupted and degenerated, to build a new party on the old program.

The issues that were raised that day, at that meeting, have been put to the test of twenty-five years—and surely, those have been the biggest and the most eventful years in all history. I think no one can deny tonight that the test has shown who was right and who was wrong. You have it vividly illustrated at this very meeting in the speech of David Weiss, recounting the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party against the whole capitalist war setup, and his scornful denunciation of the campaign program of the miserable Communist Party, wiping the spittle of Wagner off their faces and still saying "Vote for Wagner."

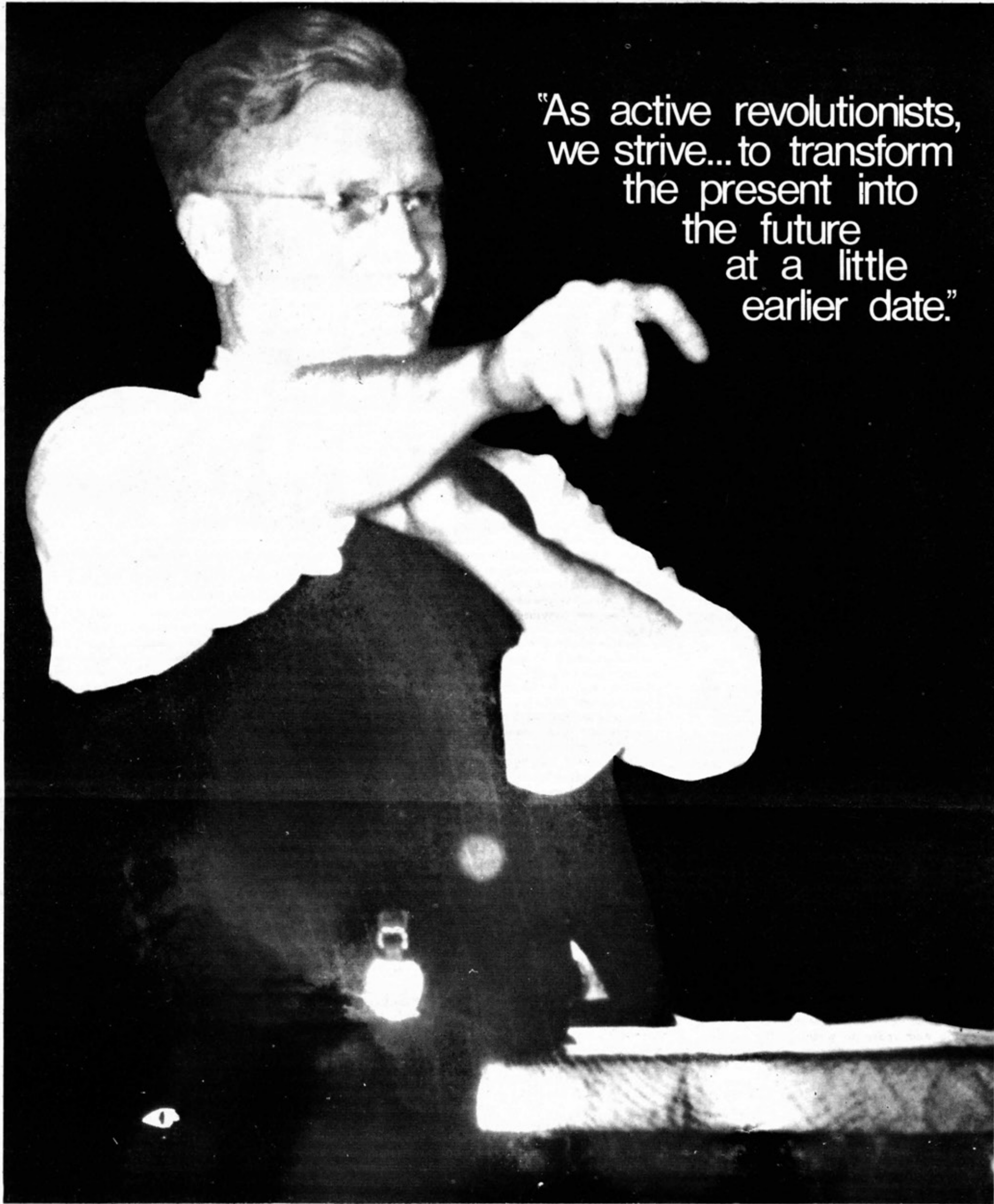
In that alone is strikingly illustrated the verdict on the dispute that was raised in the meeting twenty-five years ago—who would be revolutionary and who would capitulate. And by showing who was right, and who was wrong, the events of the last twenty-five years have shown to whom the future belongs. The future belongs to those who link themselves with the progressive course of the historic process and help it along. The future belongs to those who stand firmly by the program.

That wasn't so clear to many people in October 1928. Now, if some comrades, feeling the weight of the long war boom and the conservatizing effect of it on the working class, and on the labor movement, and the accumulated effects of the reaction and the witch-hunt—if they find that it is not so easy to stand firm for revolutionary principles and to be active and aggressive for them—if you think it's difficult now, I can tell you there have been harder times.

There have been harder times to be a revolutionary socialist, and October 1928 was one such time. The situation then was somewhat different from now. Certainly the prospects for socialism didn't look very promising to anybody. And many got discouraged and lost all perspective of the future. The reason was they saw things from too close a view—what was before their eyes—and



James P. Cannon in 1938



"As active revolutionists,
we strive...to transform
the present into
the future
at a little
earlier date."

did not see them in process, with a historical perspective and a Marxist analysis.

Capitalist prosperity

Why, in 1928, don't you know, there were people who thought that the boom was going to last forever! The world situation seemed to have turned definitively to the stabilization of capitalism. The great hope that had been raised by the Russian Revolution of 1917, which carried with it a great revolutionary wave across Europe for five years, had finally subsided. The Russian Revolution survived, but it was isolated in a capitalist world. The German revolution, which had been counted upon as the great reinforcement, which would seal the doom of capitalism all over Europe, which had every possibility of success, had been finally defeated in 1923 for lack of a revolutionary party capable of leading it to victory as Lenin's party did in Russia.

And on the basis of that terrible defeat, capitalism got restabilized in Europe. Reaction set in.

In one country after another, the labor movement, the communist movement was pushed backward. And in America, the great boom of the twenties was roaring along at such an unprecedented rate that almost everybody began to believe—it's hard for you to realize it now, perhaps, or to recall it, after the experiences later—but almost everybody believed, including the capitalists themselves!—they thought that out of their own thick heads they had found the solution of the contradictions of capitalism. And the economists in the colleges were writing, writing, writing: "Marx has been refuted! American capitalist genius has solved the problem!"

And social democrats from Germany sent delegations over here to study the workings of American capitalism, so that they could go back home and tell their own capitalists: why don't you do like that and solve the problem, and then we won't need a revolution or anything like that! And every labor faker in the country was sure that what was going on then would go on forever. And

virtually all the leaders of the Communist Party eventually got reconciled to the idea that the Marxist prognosis of the contradictions of capitalism leading to crisis and revolution were no longer operating in this country, that the "old books" didn't have the answer anymore.

The Stalinist gang in the Soviet Union, nationally limited and narrow in their outlook, concerned only with their own privileges, abandoned all hope of the international revolution. They began to think only in national terms and evolved a new "theory," revising Marx and Lenin and their theory of the international revolution developing in stages from one country to another until it engulfed the world and transformed the world. They evolved the monstrous conception of "socialism in one country," by which they really meant—revisionists never tell the truth, they never say what they really mean, they always speak in double-talk—"No revolution outside of Russia!"

One revolution is enough, they thought; let us try to save what we have here, come to terms with

the capitalists on the status quo in the rest of the world, and transform the Communist parties from revolutionary organizations, aiming to lead the masses in revolution, into miserable pressure groups in the service of Soviet diplomacy. That was the program foisted, step by step, upon the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by the Stalinists in the period of reaction in the twenties. This monstrous revisionism and betrayal—revisionism has always been the prelude to betrayal—culminated in 1927 with the expulsion from the Communist Party of Trotsky and the other great leaders of the revolution.

Here in the United States the long boom of the twenties with no intervening crisis, softened up the Communist Party in this country and got it ready for the corruption of Stalinism. The leaders of the Communist Party became convinced that there could be no revolution in this country in the foreseeable future; that the United States, in any case, was an "exception" to the Marxist law.

Now I must say the theory of the leaders of the Communist Party, as it was evolved in that long, difficult period of the boom and the prosperity, was agreed to by nearly everybody else in the country. That was almost a unanimous opinion.

But we didn't agree. A few of us didn't agree. A few of us had read "the books." And from the books we derived a theory and a conviction that what was before our eyes was only temporary and superficial. We held on to the old theory that the contradictions of capitalism would explode and upset it and create the conditions for revolution.

In the very first issue of *The Militant*, comrades, in the very first issue of our *Militant*, published a few days after we were expelled from the Communist Party, we printed an assertion that the boom, which had everybody fascinated, already showed signs of cracking and was heading for a bust and a crisis; that this crisis would shake U.S. capitalism to its foundations, and that out of the crisis and the misery and oppression and horrors that would follow would come a new working class and a new labor movement and the conditions for building a revolutionary party.

And we said about the Soviet Union and the Stalinist program, in our first number of *The Militant* twenty-five years ago: the Stalinist program of socialism in one country is a revisionist betrayal of Marxism. The Trotsky program of international revolution is realistic and right and we will support it at all costs, no matter how small our numbers may be, because we believe the program will carry us to victory in the end.

And we said that the issue would not be decided by the vote at the meeting where we made our declaration and were expelled from the Communist Party. We said we would support the program of international revolution as advanced by Trotsky, and on that rock we would build a new party in this country. That's what we started out to do twenty-five years ago.

Against the stream

I'll admit now what I wouldn't admit then—that it was not easy at the start. The Stalinists gave us a rough time. We were only a handful of people. They expelled us. They broke up our meetings. When we tried to hold a meeting they brought in a mob and broke up meeting after meeting, and beat up all the Trotskyists. Beat us up on the streets. Burglarized our houses. In the same *Daily Worker* that is today boosting Wagner the Democrat for mayor, they slandered us every day as "agents of American imperialism" and "counter-revolutionists."

That sounds funny doesn't it? That the supporters of Wagner, the finks who broke strikes during the Second World War, the finger-men of the FBI during the war, the advocates of the incentive-pay speedup of the workers during the war—that these people called us "agents of American imperialism" and "counterrevolutionists" twenty-five years ago! I say it sounds funny now, but it wasn't so funny then.

We were isolated and alone. They had the audience; they had the daily press; they had the apparatus; they had the money—and nobody was listening to us. It makes me laugh ironically when I hear people say these days, "What's the use of running an election campaign, nobody is listening to you." I wonder what such fainthearted people would have said in 1928, when we tried to explain the problems arising out of the great theoretical fight in the Russian Communist Party and nobody would listen because nobody was interested.

Did I say nobody listened? That's not quite correct. A few listened. And a few more. And out of our constant pounding and talking and talking, whether the people would listen or not, we assembled the original cadres of this party. People listen now a hundred and a thousand times more. We didn't have the forces for an election campaign then. We couldn't dream of getting on the radio.

We couldn't dream of having a meeting of this size, to say nothing of having a television audience in those days.

But we had something else. We had conviction in our program, and that's a mighty strong prop of support. In the fight for socialism you have to expect and encounter difficulties. You have to expect hard times on some occasions. But you can stand them on certain conditions—if you have a clear historical perspective, if you are not overwhelmed by the events of the moment, but see in the events of the moment that a different thing will develop tomorrow. If you have a class historical perspective and a clear head, you can be a revolutionist under any conditions. Of course, it helps too if you have a good "belly," as the boys say, to be able to take punishment. That helps. As a matter of fact, if you haven't got a good "belly" it's very difficult to be a consistent revolutionist in good times and bad.

We had all that in the early days. That's a fact. And we still have it. And in addition, we had on our side in that unequal fight in the beginning, we had the greatest political thinker of modern times. That was Comrade Trotsky. That made the difference.

When we started our fight, he was in exile in Alma Ata, in Asian Russia, thousands of miles away. We had no contact with him, but we had some of his writings in our hands, his criticism of the program. That was our only connection with him at the start. Later on, after he was deported to Turkey, we got direct contact with Trotsky and had him and his advice and his thinking all the time.

And we still have Trotsky, despite the fact that the Stalinists finally assassinated him. The greatest political thinker, the greatest revolutionist, the most heroic man of modern times—they finally assassinated him in 1940. But we still have Trotsky's writings and example as our guide.

And we are convinced by all the evidence that the whole course of world development in the last twenty-five years has confirmed Trotsky's analysis. The stabilization of capitalism in 1928, which the Stalinists took for permanent, which was supposed to last indefinitely, lasted only one more year. Just one year and two days after I made my speech in that Stalinist Central Committee meeting, and told them that this boom would not last and would run into a crisis which could change the whole thing and open up the perspectives of the revolutionary party—just one year and two days after we were expelled and organized the original nucleus of the SWP, the great boom blew up.

On October 29, 1929, the stock-market crash sent its reverberations throughout the world, and capitalism began to writhe in the death agony of crisis and war and revolution, from which it can never be extricated. We were confident of that when we started out twenty-five years ago. Today, on our twenty-fifth anniversary, we are more confident than ever for firmer reasons and with stronger proofs from all the events of the past twenty-five years.

We are frequently spoken of as "optimists." Throughout the labor movement we Trotskyists have become known far and wide in these twenty-five years because we have been active on many fronts. They all see the Trotskyists always with the same attitude and the same spirit, and our "optimism" has been frequently noted and spoken about by friends as well as enemies. "The Trotskyists," they say, "are very optimistic people." Now, there's a certain justification for this opinion of us, but it shouldn't be taken one-sidedly. We are not cheerful idiots by any means. We are not optimistic about everything. Our optimism is a discriminating, selective, reasonably based optimism.

About some things we are pessimistic. For example, we are pessimistic and have not a trace of confidence in the future of capitalism. In that, I think, we have a common bond with the highest brains of American capitalism who are very doubtful in their own minds too. They don't know what's going to be, and say so frankly in their financial organs. In 1928 they were all happy and confident, but now they're all full of doubts and gloom, and they wish somebody would tell them that things are not as bad as they look. We can't tell them that because we're honest, we always tell the truth, and the truth is that things are worse than they look for capitalism. That's all we can tell them. We have not a trace of confidence in the future of capitalism in this country or in any other country.

"We are optimistic"

On the other hand, we are optimistic, and for good sound reasons, about the prospects of revolution in all countries, including this one.

We are pessimistic, profoundly pessimistic, about



Cannon at New York election rally 1945



James P. Cannon, national secretary of the International Labor Defense, speaks to 1926 ILD meeting. Sitting behind him is Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who chaired the meeting.

anybody's chances to revise the basic program upon which our party and our world movement has been founded and built. Our party was born in struggle against Stalinist revisionism, don't forget that. Our party began in a doctrinal struggle against a revision of the Marxist program. The party was steeled and strengthened in a great doctrinal battle against Burnhamite revisionism in 1939-1940, in the last year of Trotsky's life, when he directly participated and led the party in our fight against the revisionists. In the course of these and other doctrinal battles we became real Trotskyists, and proud to bear the name.

Trotsky's teachings have been assimilated into our flesh and blood and bone. His teachings have sustained us for twenty-five years, and enabled us to stand up against all pressure, and to endure all hardships, and still persevere and continue and fight and hope and believe in the future. And if someone asks: "What are the chances now to change us after all this, to 'revise' us, so to speak, at this late date?" we would have to answer pessimistically: "No chance whatever." The Trotskyists are fixed the way they are and there's no chance to tamper with their orthodox doctrines or the program of their party. That they will not allow, and it's an utterly pessimistic enterprise for anybody to even contemplate.

On the other hand, we are optimistic and we have unlimited confidence in the program upon which we have built our party—the program derived from the basic doctrine of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. As we start off on the second twenty-five years of our struggle for a socialist America there are only two things we need, and these two things we've got. First, we have the conviction, based on theoretical analysis and living evidence of development in the last twenty-five years, that capitalism cannot survive and that international socialist revolution is already knocking at the door. That's our profound conviction of the state of the world as it looks from here tonight. And the second asset we have is the conviction that the program formulated by Trotsky in his lifetime—in the latter eleven years in direct collaboration with us—is the only program to organize the revolution and to lead it to definitive victory and the transition to socialism.

We celebrate our glorious twenty-fifth anniversary tonight at the halfway mark of our journey and our task, with only half done. Twenty-five years ago last Wednesday, we started from scratch, with only a handful of people and a program, to build the new party of the American Revolution. We've succeeded with that half of the task. On the basis of the Trotskyist program, we have built a party whose cadres can never be broken.

In the next twenty-five years the cadres of this party, armed with the same program, will grow and expand and become leaders and organizers of the socialist revolution in the United States. That's the way it's going to be.

'People's Assembly' in Bolivia moves to strengthen its role

The following includes major excerpts from an article that appeared in the July 19 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

A "People's Assembly" has begun to function in Bolivia. Its formation represents an intensification of the class struggle in Bolivia and a strengthening of the workers' and peasants' movements.

The 221 deputies in the assembly who took their seats in the Palacio Legislativo June 22 did not look like the stereotypes of legislators in bourgeois democracies, reported the June 29-July 5 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly *Panorama*. "They were the shirtless ones of Bolivia—Indian features, small dark heads, calloused hands, work clothes, no ties.

"To make up for this lack of elegance, these legislators had a quality few of their foreign counterparts could boast of. They represented their constituencies directly and in a distinct spirit of class solidarity. In short, they combined all the characteristics anyone could ask for to frighten the meager bourgeoisie that exists in the Andean highlands."

The Asamblea Popular (People's Assembly) was the outgrowth of a united-front leadership that sprang up to head mass resistance to an attempted rightist military coup Oct. 4, 1970. Born out of the mass mobilization that brought General Juan José Torres to power as a "left" representative of the army, the Asamblea Popular has continued as a center of authority parallel to the military government.

In its June 22 issue, the Paris daily *Le Monde* took note of the invasion of the bourgeois parliament building, closed for years under the military regime, by an organization leading the masses in the streets, factories, and mines. In an editorial entitled "A 'Workers' Government' in Bolivia?" *Le Monde* wrote: "Generals hostile to a policy of trying to reduce U.S. influence in Bolivia, and representatives of the middle classes worried by the perspective of nationalizations are not concealing their dismay at seeing the new 'People's Parliament' take the place of the old legislative assembly.

"Composed of delegates from all the country's working-class sectors and members of all of the left parties, this 'People's Assembly' met for the first time in May. It was accepted—without

great enthusiasm, it seems—by General Torres. The president, of course, cannot cut himself off from the miners' unions and the most 'committed' student leaders without running the risk of falling victim to a new rightist plot."

In face of the mass mobilization touched off by the Oct. 4 coup of pro-American rightist General Rogelio Miranda, the Bolivian military and its U.S. backers were forced to accept the government of Torres. It seemed to be the only alternative to full-scale civil war and direct intervention by Washington. The Bolivian military establishment, including its commander in chief General Reque Terán, however, has not concealed its fears that Torres would be forced to make dangerous and perhaps fatal concessions to the mass movement.

In its first 10 days in the Palacio Legislativo, Juan de Onis pointed out in an article in the July 8 *New York Times*, the Asamblea Popular passed resolutions calling for the expulsion of U.S. military and intelligence forces and for workers' self-management of the state-owned tin mines. "Judging from the record of the past seven months," he said, "the government will be under constant pressure, including the threat of a general strike, to comply with these demands."

The Torres government grants the Asamblea Popular only a consultative role. It has the potential, as de Onis recognized, however, to take command of the fundamental areas of the Bolivian economy. *Panorama* pointed this out with special clarity:

"Its resolutions are obeyed by its members, who represent almost all the organized workers. In equipping themselves with this assembly, the workers have emerged from the sphere of purely trade-union activity. They have entered fully into the political arena, and with a socialist program.

"In this assembly the workers coexist with politicians and students, but they are a majority, with 60 percent of the seats. This is why the right is sounding an alarm, blowing up the proportions of the scandal, calling the Asamblea Popular a soviet and proclaiming that dual power has been established in Bolivia."

Judging from the reports in the international press, the move of the Asamblea Popular into the parliament

building assumed the characteristics of a revolutionary crisis.

Panorama reported the mounting tensions: "Alarming reports spread from the comfortable neighborhood of Sopocachi and its surrounding areas. While the delegations from the interior of the country crowded the accesses to the capital and roused a tumult in the steeply sloping streets of La Paz with their enthusiasm, the well-to-do citizens spread shocking rumors: 'After they take over the Palacio Legislativo, the workers will storm the state offices and there will be a blood-bath.' That is, they were prodding the discontented officers to stage a preventive coup before the red peril plunges Bolivia into the abyss.

"The nerves of the military officers surrounding General-President Juan José Torres were also strained to the breaking point. . . .

"Military seniority was respected reluctantly, and the plotters let the zero hour go by without coming out of their barracks. Of course, at least as far as their intentions go, they were only postponing the coup. But the fact that the rebels had to defer their strike is quite indicative. It means that a good part of the officers, 'touched' by fears of the Asamblea, hesitated. They knew that the extent of popular mobilization, along with the existence of a nationalist sector in the armed forces committed to supporting Torres, meant that a coup would probably ignite a civil war of unpredictable consequences."

In its opening session in the Palacio Legislativo, the Asamblea Popular adopted a resolution declaring it would not avoid any confrontation necessary to defend the democratic rights of the Bolivian working people: "In the likelihood of a coup, the Asamblea Popular, as the expression of workers' power, will take the political and military leadership of the masses in struggle and will carry on the fight until the rightists, fascists, and imperialists are driven definitively out of the country. . . . If a coup d'état takes place, the Asamblea Popular will call for a general strike and occupation of the factories and mines as the first response of the working masses."

By and large, the program of the Asamblea seemed confined to demanding that the Torres government carry

out its promises to the working people of the country. The measures it recommended flowed clearly and logically from this position.

As a result, the forces willingly or unwillingly supporting the Torres government have had little apparent basis for objection. "The deputies of this embryonic organ of workers' democracy were careful not to offer their antagonists any provocation," *Panorama* noted. "And now that this body has been installed in the parliament building, it is growing stronger and stronger."

In calling for the ouster of imperialist military and intelligence personnel, the Asamblea Popular was only drawing the logical conclusion from Torres' promises to safeguard the independence of the country.

Moreover, since it was the workers who blocked the right-wing coup of Oct. 4, thus enabling Torres to set up a reformist regime, and since there is still a continual threat of a new rightist coup backed by imperialism, it is only reasonable that the workers should be armed.

It is reasonable also that the workers should assume control of their factories and mines, since the agents of the imperialist companies and the managers linked to the previous military regimes cannot be trusted not to sabotage the economic basis of Bolivian independence. Furthermore, the production centers are the natural fortresses of any resistance to a rightist takeover.

Despite this reasonableness, the government has not been spared discomfiture. It was eminently reasonable for the workers to demand that the ruling faction of the army—since it claims to be an ally of the workers and can hold power only with their support—purge the officer corps of men responsible for crimes against the working people.

"The question of how to build a new country is being hotly debated in the barracks and the union halls," *Panorama* pointed out. And the workers of Bolivia represented in the Asamblea Popular seem to think that they cannot build a new Bolivia without a thorough investigation of the established power structures—especially the army, which continues to rule the country.

July 26, marking the eighteenth anniversary of the 1953 attack on the Moncada barracks led by Fidel Castro, is hailed by revolutionaries throughout the world. Photo is of New Year's Day 1968 celebration on ninth anniversary of victory of the revolution.



Electoral coalition formed

By BILL PERDUE

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.—A conference of "radical, independent" parties meeting here over the July 4 weekend formed a new organization called The Coalition. Its perspective will be the formation of a new national third party for the 1972 elections. Around 200 persons from 19 states attended the conference, more than half of them from New Mexico and California.

The platform adopted by the conference was referred to a committee for "editing." It will then be presented, along with a slate of candidates, to a later, delegated convention of The Coalition in November.

Among the positions adopted by the conference were the following:

- A proposal that the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution be passed "with the stipulation that protective legislation be extended to men."

- Support for "fully equipped, parent-controlled child-care centers."

- "Free birth-control and abortion clinics staffed by qualified physicians and personnel" financed by the government.

- Opposition to forced sterilization and forced abortion.

- A call for natural resources to be owned and controlled by the people."

- An end to the laws discriminating against homosexuals.

In addition, the proposals of the racism and foreign policy workshops were not adopted in the plenary session but were referred along with the rest of the platform to the editing committee. The racism workshop affirmed "to the non-white national minorities their right of self-determination." The foreign policy workshop called for abolition of the draft and the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

While the coalition born at this conference is projected as a "real alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties," nowhere in the platform is there any mention of the necessity to break in a fundamental way from capitalist politics. The program contains no analysis of the mass radicalization that is presently shaking loose whole sectors of society from the ideological domination of the ruling class.

The leaders of The Coalition do take note, in the conference call, of the "serious dangers of polarization of our society and the alienation of our people," but for them the solution lies essentially in the electoral process, not in independent mass action.

One of the major shortcomings of the conference was that it did not take up the question of building a mass independent antiwar movement to fight for the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. from Indochina. Instead, the platform offers options of voting for the candidates of The Coalition and support for the "People's Peace Treaty." The foreign policy workshop, in fact, spent most of its time not discussing how to build the antiwar movement, but methods for bringing about nuclear disarmament; strengthening the United Nations; rejecting a proposal to call for a trade boycott with Rhodesia and South Africa; and rejecting a proposal to support the nationalization of U.S.-owned properties by governments in Africa, Latin America, and Asia.

In addition, the conference proceedings were characterized by a disregard for the opinions of the female delegates, despite the fact that the conference leaders, who included Gore Vidal and Dr. Benjamin Spock, declared their support for women's lib-

eration. At one point, when a woman was nominated for an important committee position, a man in the audience yelled out in disgust, "Yeah, a woman — and a faggot too."

At another point, a bitter confrontation occurred between Spock and some members of Albuquerque NOW. During the confrontation, the Independent New Mexican Party's 1970 gubernatorial candidate, John Salazar, tried to cut off debate with the statement, "I'm for women's lib, male chauvinism, and lunch!"

Bitter fighting was not limited to the question of the role of women at the conference. A hot debate also took place over who might be The Coalition's presidential candidate in 1972. Although consumer advocate Ralph Nader was discussed as a possibility, no final choices were agreed upon.

The conference represented a largely unsuccessful attempt to revitalize the remnants of the New Party and the Peace and Freedom Party. Like those parties and the "peace" candidates of 1968 and 1970, The Coalition fails to provide a real alternative to capitalist politics.

Jordan attacks fedayeen

By TONY THOMAS

The Jordanian Army continued its offensive against the Palestinian resistance forces in Jordan with a series of attacks on Palestinian positions in northern Jordan July 13. These attacks are part of the overall offensive of U.S. imperialism and Israel to destroy the resistance as a political factor in the Middle East and to better secure a peaceful settlement between the Arab capitalist states and Israel.

The Palestinians have faced a grim situation since the September 1970 Jordanian civil war, during which Hussein was able to establish military superiority over them and halt the growth of the resistance and decrease its power and influence among the Palestinian and Jordanian masses. The Jordanian Army has carried out a number of campaigns since then, slowly reducing the rights and operating room of the Palestinians in Jordan. The Arab governments, who feel threatened by the militant Palestinian leadership, have become increasingly open in their opposition to the Palestinian fedayeen. Syria, for instance — which once attempted to appear as the Arab state most favorable to the resistance — has just interdicted a shipment of arms sent from Algeria to Fateh, according to the July 7 issue of *Le Monde*.

On July 13, fighting between the Palestinians and the Jordanian Army began. The Jordanians attacked fedayeen in the area between Jarash and Ajlun, eight miles to the northwest. The Jordanians view the attacks as an attempt to push the Palestinians away from Israeli-occupied territory.

A dispatch from Amman in the July 15 *New York Times* claimed that several thousand Royal Jordanian troops were involved in the operation. In the first few days of the action, according to the *Times*, commandos were driven out of the villages of El Kitta, Saqeb, Raimun and Sahla, and Jordanian troops occupied the nearby Gaza refugee camp "which had been the last camp under guerrilla control."

These attacks, with artillery, tanks and armored cars, turned into a rout of the Palestinians, who were armed with light weapons. Hundreds of Palestinians fled from Jordan into Syria and Israel.

On July 19, Wasfi Tal, prime minister of Jordan, claimed that over 2,300 commandos had been captured

in the operations, and that only about 200 were left. Tal slanderously claimed that hundreds of Palestinian commandos were Israeli agents. He singled out the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Popular Front, and Al Ansar (the Partisans—a group associated with the Communist Party) for special condemnation and banned them from Jordan. He also stated that Yasir Arafat and other leaders of Fateh were to be banned.

On July 19, Iraq broke off relations with Jordan because of these attacks, but refused to lift a finger to stop the slaughter. Shelling between Jordan and Syria in areas where Palestinians had fled was reported by the July 21 *New York Times*. The *Times* quoted Arafat as saying: "We are not finished as people are alleging; we will continue to exist in Jordan with all our means in order to safeguard the unity of the people of both banks [of the Jordan river]."

Union fires Black organizer

By WALTER LIPPMANN

In the spring of 1970, Social Services union, Local 535, AFL-CIO, which organizes welfare workers throughout California, hired the first Black business agent in its history. Previously, the only Blacks hired by the union had been in clerical positions.

Errol Frazier got the job after a persistent campaign by militant Black and white members and stewards of the Los Angeles chapter of the union.

Local 535 was the only local in the Service Employees International Union in Southern California that had never had a Black organizer, despite the fact that nearly a third of the membership of the Los Angeles chapter is Black.

Frazier lasted about 14 months. His ouster was tied in with a general crisis confronting the union and its officials. Faced with massive welfare cutbacks in the state and nationally, the union bureaucrats have sought to limit response to lobbying liberal Democrats and supporting Nixon's reactionary welfare "reform" program.

They saw Frazier's presence on the staff as a threat to their ineffectual reformist approach. Not that Frazier was a particularly militant leader. But since he had won his job through the pressure of Black and white militants, he was more responsive to their demands for stronger action to stop the welfare cuts.

By a recent state executive board decision, a southern coordinator, Chuck Egbert, was appointed with virtually total control over the Southern California chapters of the union. He could suspend staff and make most decisions on policy. Egbert decided to get rid of Frazier. With the support of the president of the L.A. chapter and the state president, Frazier was suspended on a series of charges that were either false or true of all the paid union officials.

The racism involved in the ouster move was dramatized when Frazier's desk in the union office was draped in black and a toilet brush placed on it.

Black unionists responded to this by circulating leaflets denouncing this racist act and built a modest protest demonstration outside union headquarters. The Los Angeles chapter executive council, consisting of the stewards and officers, unanimously passed a motion demanding Frazier's return. It also censured the chapter president for his role in the affair. A motion was narrowly defeated calling for the firing of the southern coordinator.

At the July 10-11 state executive board meeting of the union, the suspension was lifted. Frazier won his back pay. But a further motion was passed that he be transferred upstate or be fired if he refused. Such transfers are a traditional way of getting rid of unwanted organizers. Frazier refused to be taken away from his Los Angeles base of membership support and was thus dismissed.

For the first time in recent years, the union is suffering a decline in membership. Its failure to effectively fight the welfare cuts and this racist incident have been key factors behind the decline.

A number of Black workers are now dropping out of the union and are reportedly checking out the possibility of forming a new union that would hire Black staff and move more effectively to fight the welfare authorities.

Suit filed against FBI

By JEAN SAVAGE

PHILADELPHIA—A suit on behalf of local peace groups and individuals against the FBI was filed by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in federal district court on July 14. The action seeks to enjoin the FBI from continuous and malicious harassment, intimidation and open "surveillance" of the plaintiffs, who include the Philadelphia Resistance, American Friends Service Committee, and numerous individuals from the Powelton neighborhood of Philadelphia. It also seeks to collect damages and secure the return and destruction of all FBI records obtained as a result of this illegal activity.

The defendants, including U.S. Attorney General John Mitchell, FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover and the local FBI, are charged with physical violence; threats; excessive, continuous, open and unjustifiable surveillance; illegal searches, seizures, arrests and limitations on freedom of movement; illegal electronic surveillance and wiretapping; illegal harassment through intimidation of friends, relatives, employers and associates; and denial of the right to counsel. The brief cites such violations, which began in early April, as part of an alleged investigation of the theft of some files from the Media, Pa., FBI office.

The brief describes the purpose of the FBI's conduct as "to chill, deter, discourage and inhibit" those who would challenge the government "from freely associating with others in political activity to advance their objections to governmental policies and social conditions, and from engaging in free speech, assembly, and petition; to coerce plaintiffs into involuntary waivers of their constitutional rights; and, as the defendants, by their agents have stated, to 'enhance the paranoia' in the New Left."

At a news conference in connection with the filing of the suit, several of the plaintiffs described the harassment they had experienced. Lisa Schiller, a Resistance worker, was followed by FBI agents and her mother was questioned and intimidated. Jim Hart, a Powelton resident, was assaulted, arrested and interrogated by agents who had been haunting the neighborhood claiming to be "insurance agents" and "bird watchers." Anne Flitcraft, of the AFSC staff, described an FBI raid on her home and physical threats on herself and her attorney.

The plaintiffs are optimistic about the chances of winning the suit. David Rudovsky, of the NECLC and one of the lawyers in the case, said at the news conference, "We expect the court will agree with us."

Genocide in Bangla Desh seen by Pakistani journalist

From Intercontinental Press

"We are determined to cleanse East Pakistan once and for all of the threat of secession, even if it means killing off two million people and ruling the province as a colony for 30 years." This was the message, Anthony Mascarenhas wrote in the June 13 London *Sunday Times*, that he heard "repeatedly" from high Pakistani military and civilian officials in East Bengal.

Mascarenhas's account of Yahya Khan's genocidal war against the Bengali people is all the more convincing in that the writer is a West Pakistani. He is, or was, the assistant editor of the Karachi *Morning News*, as well as Pakistan correspondent of the *Sunday Times*.

In early April, Mascarenhas and seven other Pakistani journalists were flown by the Yahya government to East Bengal. They were clearly given to understand that their task was to confirm the dictatorship's propaganda.

Mascarenhas, however, was so appalled by what he saw that he felt he had to publish the truth. In mid-May, he arranged for the *Sunday Times* to print his story, asking only that it be delayed until he could get his family out of Pakistan.

Mascarenhas's experiences left no room to doubt the kind of war that Yahya is waging:

"... as I travelled with the officers of the 9th Division headquarters at Comilla I witnessed at close quarters the extent of the killing. I saw Hindus, hunted from village to village and door to door, shot off-hand after a cursory 'short-arm inspection' showed they were uncircumcised. I have heard the screams of men bludgeoned to death in the compound of the Circuit House (civil administrative headquarters) in Comilla. I have seen truckloads of other human targets and those who had the humanity to try to help them hauled off 'for disposal' under the cover of darkness and curfew. I have witnessed the brutality of 'kill and burn missions' as the army units, after clearing out the reb-

els, pursued the pogrom in the towns and the villages.

"I have seen whole villages devastated by 'punitive action.'

"And in the officers mess at night I have listened incredulously as otherwise brave and honourable men proudly chewed over the day's kill."

The army justifies its actions on the basis of reactionary religious and racial prejudices. Hindus are the enemy and Bengalis are regarded as corrupted by Hinduism.

"The Hindus had completely undermined the Muslim masses with their money," one officer told Mascarenhas. "... It had reached the point where Bengali culture was in fact Hindu culture, and East Pakistan was virtually under the control of the Marwari businessmen in Calcutta. We have to sort them out to restore the land to the people, and the people to their Faith."

"The people here," said another officer, "may have Muslim names and call themselves Muslims. But they are Hindus at heart. ... Those who are left will be real Muslims. We will even teach them Urdu."

Mascarenhas described the army's activity as "genocide conducted with amazing casualness."

"Sitting in the office of Major Agha, Martial Law Administrator of Comilla City, on the morning of April 19, I saw the off-hand manner in which sentences were meted out. A Bihari sub-inspector of police had walked in with a list of prisoners being held in the police lock-up. Agha looked it over. Then, with a flick of his pencil, he casually ticked off four names on the list.

"'Bring these four to me this evening for disposal,' he said. ...

"Later that evening I saw these men, their hands and legs tied loosely with a single rope, being led down the road to the Circuit House compound. A little after curfew, which was at 6 o'clock, a flock of squawking mynah birds were disturbed in their play by the thwacking sound of wooden clubs meeting bone and flesh."

Yahya's policy, Mascarenhas wrote, is to convert the formerly semicolonial province into an open colony.

In army headquarters in Dacca, the three-point government program was explained to him as follows:

"(1) The Bengalis have proved themselves 'unreliable' and must be ruled by West Pakistanis;

"(2) The Bengalis will have to be re-educated along proper Islamic lines. The 'Islamisation of the masses'—this is the official jargon—is intended to eliminate secessionist tendencies and provide a strong religious bond with West Pakistan;

"(3) When the Hindus have been eliminated by death and flight, their property will be used as a golden carrot to win over the under-privileged Muslim middle-class. This will provide the base for erecting administrative and political structures in the future."

"The first consideration of the army," Mascarenhas discovered, "has been and still is the obliteration of every trace of separatism in East Bengal. This proposition is upheld by the continuing slaughter and by everything else that the government has done in both East and West Pakistan since March 25. The decision was coldly taken by the military leaders, and they are going through with it—all too coldly. ...

"The crucial question is: will the killing stop?

"I was given the army's answer by Major-General Shaukat Raza, commanding officer of the 9th Division, during our first meeting at Comilla on April 16.

"'You must be absolutely sure,' he said, 'that we have not undertaken such a drastic and expensive operation—expensive both in men and money—for nothing. We've undertaken a job. We are going to finish it, not hand it over half done to the politicians so that they can mess it up again. The army can't keep coming back like this every three or four years. It has a more important task. I assure you that when we have got through with what we are doing, there will never be need again for such an operation.'"

Shah's foes die before firing squad

From Intercontinental Press

In an apparent attempt to keep international protests from marring his celebration of the 2,500th anniversary of the "Persian monarchy," Shah Reza Pahlevi decided to condemn and execute opponents of his regime in secret.

The Comité de défense des prisonniers politiques iraniens [Committee to Defend the Iranian Political Prisoners] learned that seven alleged guerrillas were sentenced in secret to speedy executions, according to *Le Monde* of July 3. Not even the names of the condemned were made public.

In response to this report, the International Association of Democratic Jurists called on the Iranian regime to reveal the names of the twelve "guerrillas" supposedly captured in an unsuccessful raid on the Siakhhal police headquarters in the north of the country. It asked in particular for the names of the seven sentenced to death. The organization demanded that the twelve be given public trials with respect for the rights of the defense.

Despite this appeal, two of the seven were executed July 5, according to the July 7 issue of *Le Monde*. However, Iranian officials explained that the sentences of four had been commuted to life imprisonment because they had "expressed regret" for their action. The sentence of the seventh was reduced to ten years in prison.

The article did not explain by what authority the sentences of these five prisoners had been changed. Nor did it report whether the shah's government had yet revealed the names of any of the "guerrillas," even of the two executed.

In its protest, the Paris defense committee asked if the Teheran government intended to commemorate two and a half millennia of autocratic rule in Iran by "sacrificing several human lives to a divinity symbolized by the shah."

Resistance grows in Dacca

By MARCEL BLACK

On July 5, Bengali liberation forces knocked out the electric power station in Dacca, capital of Pakistani-occupied East Bengal. Action by Bengali guerrillas had earlier blocked out power in Comilla, a town about fifty miles from Dacca.

According to a dispatch in the July 6 *New York Times*, the bombing of the power station was part of a stepped-up campaign by the Bengali Mukti Fouj (liberation army) in response to a speech Yahya Khan, the Pakistani dictator, made July 5.

Yahya dismissed the rumors that he was planning to return East Bengal to civilian rule and allow even a rump Awami League, composed of Pakistani stooges, to function. Yahya "said that martial law would continue even after a civilian government was established. ... He said that the Awami League, the East Pakistani party that won a national majority in last December's election, was still, and forever, banned," the *Times* reported.

According to the *Times*, resistance in the wake of Yahya's statement "appears to be widening and growing more effective."



Bangla Desh bombing victims

PL-SDS and the politics of disruption

By TONY THOMAS

Does the antiwar movement have the right to hold meetings, demonstrations and rallies without being disrupted? Was the physical ejection of members of Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) who disrupted the July 2-4 National Peace Action Coalition convention justified? Why did the disruption take place?

All of these questions were posed at the July 2-4 NPAC national conference in New York City. Individual PLP and SDS members were removed from the opening rally for disruption and banned from the conference for their stated intention of continuing this disruption. Similar actions of disruption and violence by PLP members over the past few years were convincing evidence that they would in fact continue to try to disrupt the gathering.

PLP and the small remnants of SDS opposed the inclusion of Senator Vance Hartke and Victor Reuther, an official of the United Auto Workers, as speakers in the July 2 rally that opened the NPAC convention. They claimed that such speakers have "sell-out" positions on many issues and thus should be excluded from participation in the rally.

If this policy were actually carried out, the antiwar movement would be reduced to supporting one or another of the different political tendencies, since overall political program would be the basis for admission to the antiwar movement rather than support to mass actions to end the war.

But the real issue was not who was on the speakers list, a decision which was democratically approved by the opening session of the conference. The real issue was whether a small minority has the right to enforce their views on the majority through physical disruption, as the PLP and SDS members tried to do. After the overwhelming majority of the conference approved the agenda, PLP members hooted, hollered, used sound equipment, and charged the speakers' platform in an effort to drown out or prevent from speaking those speakers they disliked. When marshals and ushers asked them to stop, and tried to eject several disrupters, PLP and SDS supporters attacked them. This led to the removal of about 100 disrupters, which was fully approved by the conference of over 2,000 people (see July 16 *Militant*).

The logic of PLP's assertion is that it alone has the right to determine who are "sell-outs" and that it has the right to take upon itself the responsibility for silencing them. It could thus label any position that it disagrees with as a "sell-out," including those of organizations and individuals in the radical movement, and use that as a justification for disrupting their meetings and attacking them.

NPAC had no choice but to eject the PLP and SDS disrupters. Any other course would have denied the right of

the antiwar movement to hold meetings, rallies and demonstrations without disruption.

One of the strengths of the antiwar, Black liberation, Chicano and women's liberation movements is the practice of democratic decision making at their meetings and conferences. Ideas are presented from all points of view, there is discussion, and decisions are made on the basis of majority votes. Every organization has the right to organize itself without attacks and disruptions from those who oppose it.

Disruption vs. debate

If these procedures and the right of NPAC or any other group to hold meetings without disruption were rejected, it would be a serious blow to all the mass movements.

For instance: since the majority of the people at the NPAC conference were against PLP's politics, would it not have been correct, following the logic put forward by the disrupters, for this majority to have interrupted and physically threatened and attacked the PLP and SDS members who spoke throughout the conference? Would it not have been justified for persons from NPAC to go to PLP meetings and rallies and demand that no PLP members speak and hoot down disagreeable speakers or physically threaten or attack them?

If such a policy were accepted within the movement, brute force would replace political discussion. Anyone not willing to undergo physical combat to participate in a radical meeting would be discouraged from taking part in the antiwar movement. Energy now spent on organizing mass actions against the Indochina war would be diverted into internecine combat within the movement and lead to tragic injuries and even deaths.

Organizations with large memberships, powerful resources and/or the favor of the police would be best able to function in such a situation. Attempts by police provocateurs to disrupt the antiwar movement would be enhanced by this atmosphere.

Furthermore, physical attacks and

clashes between various tendencies in the antiwar movement would be an open invitation for the police to come in and "settle" the disputes in their own way. This would lead to serious victimization of all those involved and help pave the way for increased government attacks on the antiwar movement.

Stalinist methods

PLP's support of physical attacks and disruption within the movement flows from its admitted and open adherence to the methods of Stalin. The U. S. Communist Party during its ultra-left "third period" in the late 1920s and early 1930s—the period of the CP's history that PLP models itself on—organized physical attacks on members of the Socialist Party (whom they called "social fascists"), Trotskyists and other groups that opposed their politics.

This was an attempt to transplant the brutal methods of the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Soviet Union to the U.S. radical and labor movements. Just as Stalin attempted to silence criticism by revolutionary socialists within the Russian workers movement, the American CP tried to substitute goon-squad tactics for political debate.

The CPUSA was forced to curtail these tactics only after it had created a scandalous image for itself, and also because other groups began to organize an effective defense against these tactics.

PLP has sought to revive these methods. In 1967, PLP members attacked *Militant* salespeople and SWP election campaigners outside of a PLP rally in San Francisco. In New York, in that same year, PLP members physically set upon supporters of the New York Vietnam Peace Parade Committee who were trying to get signatures to put an antiwar referendum on the ballot.

Since the splintering of SDS and PLP's growing isolation from the radical movement, PLP has, in desperation, resorted increasingly to the use of physical disruption to combat ideas

and organizations that it opposes.

When antiwar organizations around the country rejected PLP and SDS proposals that capitalist politicians and reformist labor leaders be excluded from the April 15, 1970, demonstrations, PLP organized its followers to attempt to "trash" the demonstrations. The April 15 antiwar rally held by the New York Vietnam Moratorium Committee was broken up by SDS and PLP-inspired disrupters shortly after it began.

Similarly, following the May 1970 student upsurge, in which PLP opposed turning the universities and high schools into organizing centers for the antiwar movement, PLP launched a series of physical attacks on Young Socialist Alliance and Student Mobilization Committee activists.

The center of these attacks was the Boston area—once a PLP stronghold—which had become one of the main centers of the antiwar movement. On May 3, 1970, Bob Bresnahan, an SMC and YSA activist who was a marshal captain in defense of the Boston April 15 demonstration, was attacked at a YSA educational conference by eight SDS members who beat him after knocking him down.

On May 24, a national steering committee meeting of the SMC held in Boston was attacked by over 50 PLP and SDS members led by SDS National Secretary John Pennington. John McCann, an SWP member who was coordinator of the fight that led to the successful Massachusetts 1970 antiwar referendum, was savagely beaten at this meeting.

PLP's proposals were rejected by increasing majorities at the NPAC conferences in June and December 1970.

Having given up the idea of winning support for their ideas through open discussion, they cynically decided to break up the July 1971 antiwar conference by disruption. This attempt was thwarted because the overwhelming majority of participants in the NPAC convention believed in the right of NPAC and everyone else in the movement to hold their meetings.



PL-SDS hooligans disrupting recent NPAC antiwar convention

Photo by Ed Weaver

NPAC statement on La Raza

Carmen Pola of the Oakland chapter of the Raza Unida Party read the following statement, along with the National Antiwar Convention Raza workshop proposal, at a West Coast National Peace Action Coalition news conference July 13 in San Francisco.

The people of La Raza have been against every war this government has initiated since the beginning of its bloody history. The war in Indochina is no exception.

We have been some of the biggest victims of these foreign adventures. In 1917, for example, Puerto Ricans were gratuitously granted U.S. citizenship so that we could be used as cannon fodder in World War I. Today, Raza casualties for the five-state

area known as the U.S. Southwest (California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Texas) account for about 20 percent of the total number of U.S. casualties in Indochina for this area, although we comprise only about 11 percent of the population in these five states. So it becomes very clear which people in American society fight the wars started and fostered by its civilian rulers and their bloodthirsty generals.

We of La Raza have demonstrated our opposition time and again in the past four years to this war in dozens of antiwar marches throughout the Southwest and in other places as well. Over 30,000 Raza marched in Los Angeles last Aug. 29 to protest this

war. That march we won't easily forget. Three of our people died at the hands of the brutal Los Angeles and Los Angeles County pigs, and scores were injured. I should add, however, that the pigs got a good fight for their money, for our people defended themselves bravely until hundreds of pig invaders overwhelmed our barrio and began beating men, women and children indiscriminately, in their usual style.

It almost goes without saying that we support any actions against the war in Indochina which we think will bring our brothers back here where they should be, fighting the social and economic injustices inflicted by this government on a large portion of its society.

from the People's World

"Australian opportunism"

SAN FRANCISCO—It has been quite painful for over a year to watch certain developments in Australia. In the aftermath of the Czechoslovakian crisis of August, 1968, the Communist party of the country has been wracked by terrible internal controversy. Some of it was principled, and dealt with important questions prompted by the events in Prague, but much of it has read like petty bickering. A lot of it has reflected political tendencies which as they have developed over the months leave little room for optimism over the future of the Left down-under.

It has become clear, week after week, reading the party's newspaper, the Australian Tribune, that what was involved there was not merely criticism. A political direction was being taken by the leadership of the party and that direction was opportunism. I have watched it operating not just in Australia but also in other parts of the world. In fact, the reason I am putting these thoughts into print is that I've seen it happening here.

Whether the disagreement starts with differences over the Middle East, Eastern Europe or Latin America, all too often it turns into an avalanche of anti-Sovietism and quickly results in a breakdown in international solidarity.

To me it seems that's what's been happening in the pages of the Tribune. Every break or seeming contradiction in the world working class movement has been seized upon. Never mind that some of the things being hailed were contradictory to each other, logic is sacrificed to the grand goal of being "respectable" by disassociating from the main currents of international socialism.

The rush these days amongst some folks in the Australian Communist party seems to be toward the grand masters of opportunism—the Trots.

This situation was brought home to me directly a few months ago when lo and behold a member of the Socialist Worker's party shows up in Australia speaking about the black liberation movement in the U.S. and was interviewed by the Tribune. In the process he was asked all sorts of things about the movement and, weirdly enough, the U.S. Communist party and his replies were printed like he was some kind of expert.

The gall of the Tribune editors to take the word of a Trot on the subject of reds and blacks in the U.S. struck me as a real affront and not the way for a Communist organ to behave.

On March 17, the Tribune carried an authoritative sounding interview on Ceylon by Bala Tampoe who it identified as a "Ceylon revolutionary." What it didn't say is that Tampoe is a member of the orthodox Trotskiest [sic] party in Ceylon. Then on April 14, using such people as Tampoe as sources, a Tribune "special writer" (unidentified) lectured the Ceylonese government on what it should do to solve its current political crisis.

Then on March 31, following the Vietnam Moratorium in Australia, the Tribune found another Trot expert on the U.S., "international anti-war activist" Patti Iiyama, formerly of Berkeley, now of New York.

Iiyama gave out with the usual Trotskiest [sic] line on the struggle for peace in the United States, true to form not discussing the multi-issue nature of the struggle here.

I have only the scantiest notion of how the Australian Communist party makes its political decisions. And I am not much interested. What concerns me is the decisions. I have no intention of meddling in their affairs. They can take any position they want, on anything they want. But when they start sticking their noses into the Left movement in the U.S., I think we have a right to complain and I would imagine the Ceylon comrades would feel the same way.

— CARL BLOICE

What is needling editor of People's World?

By DOUG JENNESS

When the editor of the American Communist Party's West Coast weekly attacks another Communist Party, one can't help wonder what's needling him.

It is apparent from Carl Bloice's attack on the Australian CP in the May 22 *People's World* that he is disturbed. And he makes it clear that it was not "merely" their "criticism" of the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia that roused his ire against the errant Communist leadership in Australia. Rather, it is the political direction he has noticed from reading the Australian CP's newspaper, the *Tribune*, week after week. That direction, we learn, is toward "opportunism."

It's been nearly a year since the first signs of this "opportunism" cited by Bloice appeared, and it would at first seem strange that he has taken this long to warn his readers.

But if one reads his article (reprinted in full on this page) closely, it becomes clear that what is really getting under his skin is that he's noticed the same problem in "other parts of the world," and most significantly, "the reason I am putting these thoughts into print is that I've seen it happening here."

There it is—out of the bag! Bloice is worried about "opportunism" right here, in the American Communist Party! And apparently it has got him so shaken up that he had to write a warning to his readers.

But what is the nature of this "opportunism" that Bloice fears "will turn into an avalanche of anti-Sovietism," quickly resulting "in a breakdown in international solidarity?"

Rather than directly raising his concerns about the CPUSA, he tries to make his points indirectly by aiming his fire at the dissident Communist Party of Australia. And in the course of this attack he reveals that this "opportunism" is a "rush . . . toward the grand masters of opportunism—the Trots [sic]."

So that's it. The Australian CP is soft on Trotskyism and Bloice has noticed the same thing here at home.

As examples of how the Australian CP is making a "rush" toward Trotskyism, Bloice cites interviews printed in the *Tribune* with two American Trotskyists, Andrew Pulley and Patti Iiyama, and a Ceylonese Trotskyist leader and trade-union secretary, Bala Tampoe.

The interviews with Pulley, Tampoe and Iiyama appeared in the *Tribune* on July 22, 1970 (hardly "a few months ago," as Bloice states); March 17, 1971; and March 31, 1971, respectively. The interviews with Tampoe and Iiyama were reprinted in the May 10 and June 14 issues of *Intercontinental Press*.

"The gall of the *Tribune* editors to take the word of a Trot [sic] on the subject of reds and blacks in the U.S.," opines Bloice about the interview with Pulley, "struck me as a real affront and not the way for a Communist organ to behave." Bloice doesn't specify what mode of behavior a Communist organ should adopt, although it's clear that printing interviews with Trotskyists is not included.

But then Bloice gets down to another specific charge, which may well have bothered him even more. He chastises the *Tribune* for lecturing "the Ceylonese government on what it should do to solve its current political crisis."

This would seem to imply that a well-behaved Communist organ like the *People's World* would never be so rash as to include analyses and positions on political developments in other countries. Of course, this is ridiculous because the *PW* has carried many such articles.

What burns Bloice, although he doesn't come right out and say it, is that since the Communist Party of Ceylon is part of the Popular Front government headed by Bandaranaike, it should be supported and praised, not attacked.

Bloice has the gall to attack the *Tribune's* criticism of the Ceylonese government while that government, with the assistance of Soviet arms, was

savagely suppressing a massive student upsurge. Bloice, however, doesn't have one word to say against this reactionary meddling by the Soviet Union.

It's no wonder that Bloice is so upset. There must be more than one member of the CPUSA who is uneasy about the counterrevolutionary position of their comrades in Ceylon.

But Bloice isn't through. He also states that when the CPA starts "sticking their noses into the Left movement in the U.S., I think we have a right to complain and I would imagine the Ceylon comrades would feel the same way." If this is what Bloice dishes up and serves as "internationalism,"



Photo by Brian Shannon

Andrew Pulley, whose interview with Australian CP newspaper has American CP editor upset.

we want no part of it, and apparently the CPA feels the same way.

But how can interviews with two members of the Socialist Workers Party be considered interfering in the American Left movement (i.e. the Communist Party)? Unless, of course, there are those in the CPUSA who are "soft" on Trotskyism and might see the CPA's views as offering legitimacy to their position.

As indicated earlier, this was apparently Bloice's reason for writing his article. His article is actually part of a pattern of attacks on the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance that are primarily designed to educate CP members about Trotskyism. For example in May 1970, Mike Zagarell, CP youth director, gave a public speech in New York entitled "The Inside Job—Trotskyism in the Movement," which has since been reprinted as a pamphlet. In April of this year, Tony Monteiro of the CP and the Young Workers Liberation League gave a speech at the Center for Marxist Studies in New York entitled "Trotskyism: Racist Voice in the Left" reprinted in the July *Political Affairs*. In addition there has been a significant increase in the number of attacks on the SWP and the YSA in the CP's *Daily World*.

All of these taken together are testimony to the profound impact that the growth and influence of the SWP and YSA are having even on the members and periphery of the Communist Party.

Women hold L.A. speak-out

By JANE MELTON

LOS ANGELES—"Repeal all abortion laws; no forced sterilization" was the demand that set the tone for the July 11 Women's Speak-Out for Abortion Law Repeal sponsored by Los Angeles Women's Abortion Action Committee. Over 65 women gathered to listen and speak about abortion experiences and antiabortion laws.

After a moving reading of Myrna Lamb's play *But What Have You Done for Me Lately?* by Constance Pfeifer and Ryan McDonald, approximately a dozen women spoke. Their comments reflected the many facets of the feminist movement as well as specific ideas about how to win the demand for abortion law repeal.

Olga Rodriguez, who had recently returned from a national conference of Chicanas in Houston where the demand for free abortion on demand and no forced sterilization was unanimously adopted, discussed the relevancy to Chicanas and Latinas of a campaign to repeal abortion laws based on the right of women to control their own bodies.

Testimony from Rona Fields, a national coordinator of Psychologists for Social Action, pointed to the psychological damage done to women who wish to terminate unwanted pregnancies and cannot do so in the state of California without declaring themselves mentally unfit.

Lana Phelan, a West Coast vice-president of the National Association to Repeal Abortion Laws, a leading figure in the Los Angeles National Organization for Women, and co-author with Patricia Maginnis of *Abortion Handbook*, gave a harrowing account of her attempt to obtain an illegal abortion at age 15 when doctors told her that a continued pregnancy and delivery would probably kill her. "I didn't know much at that age, but I just knew that what had happened to me was wrong." She resolved then to fight against the cruel antiabortion laws.

Mary Petrinovich, a feminist long identified with abortion law repeal efforts in the Los Angeles area, gave a

presentation on why women, and only women, can be entrusted with control over our bodies. Natalie Harary of Lesbian Feminists spoke about the relevance of an abortion repeal fight to gay sisters. Two sisters from the Medical Committee for Human Rights testified. High school women, older women, paramedics and others were represented by various speakers.

Carol Downer represented a small group of women who oppose campaigning for law repeal and who think women can easily learn how to perform self-abortions, a process they hope to facilitate.

Andrea Davis, one of the organizers of the speak-out, emphasized the importance of an abortion repeal fight. "We have the potential now for building a movement that can win."

The Los Angeles Women's Abortion Action Committee will hold a meeting open to all women on Wednesday, July 28 at 8 p.m., at 8864 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles (near Robertson Blvd.), to discuss the Women's National Abortion Conference held in New York City July 16-18. For further information, contact the committee at P. O. Box 25744, Los Angeles 90025, or phone (213) 826-5246.

Catholic theologian supports abortion

The following statement in favor of repeal of all antiabortion laws was made by Dr. Mary Daly, a Catholic theologian at Boston College, before the Social Welfare Committee of the Massachusetts legislature March 23, 1971. Dr. Daly's entire statement is being distributed by the Committee for a Women's National Abortion Coalition. For additional copies and other literature to build the abortion law repeal movement, write Women's National Abortion Coalition, 137A W. 14 St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel: (212) 924-0894.

I wish to express my support of Bill S996, which would repeal the abor-

tion laws of Massachusetts. It should be clearly understood that the Catholic community is by no means monolithic in its views. Many Catholics are convinced that abortion is not appropriately a matter of criminal law. It is important, moreover, to distinguish the legal question of abortion from the moral question. It would be difficult to justify the imposition of the monolithic moral stance of official Catholicism—which hardly corresponds to the views of all individual Catholics—by legal means upon society at large. . . .

It is evident that the thought of Catholic scholars on abortion is not as monolithic as some spokesmen would have it appear. Moreover, official Catholic positions have changed over the centuries. Finally, the fact that it has been estimated that countless thousands—probably millions—of Catholic women have had abortions says so loudly what the words of no ecclesiastical leader can drown out: that the problem is not a simple one and cannot be resolved equitably by labeling abortion as "murder" and as a "crime."

One of the significant events of our time is the women's liberation movement, which is bringing about a widespread recognition of the fact that anti-abortion laws should be seen in the context of the long history of the oppression of women. Such laws are not helpful to women who must make difficult moral choices, and they should be repealed.

UFWOC takes offensive

By JESSIE SMITH

SAN DIEGO—The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, which has been facing pressure from the government on four fronts in its efforts to begin organizing San Diego County, is back on the offensive against Egger-Ghio Farms.

The Egger-Ghio strike was decertified June 24 by the U.S. Labor Department. After UFWOC sued the government, U.S. officials admitted they had made a "mistake" and recertified

the strike July 6.

This means it is again illegal for the growers to hire non-citizens as strikebreakers—but enforcement of this law will probably require more pressure from the union.

UFWOC won a second victory July 7 when a California assembly bill banning secondary boycotts and harvest-time strikes was killed in committee. The UFWOC had organized a demonstration of 7,500 persons in Sacramento, the state capital, that day.

A third showdown was won by the growers. On July 9, a state court issued an injunction against picketing of the growers' houses, on the grounds it was an invasion of privacy and not First-Amendment-protected free speech.

John Porter, attorney for the union, said he plans to appeal the injunction to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary, and announced in court he would advise his clients that the order is unconstitutional. Judge Roscoe Wilkey threatened to cite him for contempt if he did so.

Meanwhile, boycott activities have centered on the Navy, which has stepped up buying of scab tomatoes—while the struck grower's quality, below usual Navy standards to begin with, has gone down during the strike.

The Defense Department multiplied its purchases of grapes and lettuce during the nationwide boycotts of those crops.

San Diego is said to be the largest naval base in the world, and the Navy's strikebreaking power is considerable. UFWOC and supporters have been picketing the naval air station, and leafletting sailors and civilian employees at the gates.

The Catholic diocese in San Diego, caught between its more radical clergy and Chicano mass base on one side and the growers—who are important financial contributors—on the other, has tried to maintain a public stance of neutrality.

But this position was exposed when Bishop Leo Maher suspended the workers' priest, Father Victor Salandini, for his active role in the strike.

Father Salandini has been saying mass on the picket lines for the predominantly *mexicano* farm workers, using a corn tortilla instead of a wafer. Instead of the traditional vestments he wears a serape decorated with the red UFWOC flag.

Socialist Campaign '71

Boston

The Boston Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee filed nomination papers July 12 for its mayoralty candidate John Powers. Petitions were filed July 13 for School Committee candidate Mark Friedman and for City Council candidate John McCann.

The SWP had little difficulty in obtaining the required valid signatures. The committee managed to file before such big name candidates as Mayor Kevin White, Congresswoman Louise Day Hicks, and seven other candidates.

The signatures have already been checked by the SWP validation team and from 50 to 100 percent more signatures than required were obtained.

The entrance of Louise Day Hicks into the race for mayor has given the campaign national importance. Hicks, at present in Congress, has a long political history on the Boston School Committee. She gained national prominence when she tried to prevent busing

of Boston children into integrated schools.

Opposing Hicks are 10 other candidates, including incumbent Mayor Kevin White and City Councilman Tom Atkins. Atkins is trying to become Boston's first Black mayor.

The campaign of John Powers stands out in stark contrast to those of the other candidates. This campaign marks the first time since 1948 that the SWP will have candidates on the ballot in Boston. It is the first time the SWP has ever run for mayor. In a city long known for its political corruption, the SWP campaign is a refreshing change. To date Powers has been the only mayoralty candidate to talk about the issues facing the voters of the city.

An indication of the character of Powers' campaign was the serious coverage given by the media after his first press conference on June 24 when he announced his candidacy. That day both he and White announced they were running. Almost all of the radio and TV stations gave them both equal time.

Among the candidates for Boston School Committee is Pat Bonner-Lyons, a Black hospital worker and a member of the Young Workers Liberation League. She is in the process of gathering the necessary number of signatures to be placed on the ballot.



John Powers

Houston

The Socialist Workers Party campaign in Houston, Texas, is intensifying its pace of activity. An important part of this activity is being spearheaded by the Young Socialist Campaigners, a group of young supporters of the campaign. In addition to sponsoring a candidates' meeting at the University of Houston July 20, it has just published a campaign brochure aimed at youth which it is distributing throughout the city.

The SWP is running four candidates in Houston—Debby Leonard for mayor and Paul McKnight, Jeanette Tracy and Mareen Jasin for City Council. The candidates, in cooperation with the American Civil Liberties Union, are challenging election law restrictions that require candidates to own real estate for two years previous to the election; to have been residents of Houston for five years; to pay unreasonable filing fees to gain ballot status; and to sign a loyalty oath.

Theater

Black Girl by J. E. Franklin. Directed by Shauneille Perry. Presented by the New Federal Theatre at Theatre de Lys, New York.

J. E. Franklin's *Black Girl* portrays the psychological oppression of the Black family in society. The characters in the play represent what is missing in capitalist society: stability, warmth, security and the fulfillment of basic human needs. *Black Girl* also portrays the nuclear family as an oppressive institution that makes impossible any type of human relationship and dialogue. This society places so much emphasis on individual achievement, it makes Black people aspire to achieve, and yet at the same time it denies us the right to achieve. The end result is self-hatred and a feeling of individual inadequacy.

Mama Rosie's (Louise Stubbs) life has been one of self-hatred, and she has projected this onto her daughters. For she saw them re-living her own life—bored, with babies, and with half a man around the house half of the time. Her feeling of insecurity is so great that instead of telling friends she is a cleaning woman at school, she replies that she is one of the staff.

As women, and especially poor women, we are taught to sell ourselves in order to be appreciated. So when Earl (Arthur French), Mama Rosie's husband, comes to see her after six long years, her first and primary thought—before she can develop any kind of emotional feeling after being deserted with children—is to get money. Although she never bothered to fix herself up before, she even primps and changes clothes for this task.

Earl, this "jive-ass nigger" with a maroon suit, a flashy shirt and processed hair, is the epitome of the blood who, chained by socio-economic conditions, seeks lots of women, a fast buck and expensive cars in order to "feel like a man." But in trying to break from these chains, he senses that his shining moment is going to be short-lived. For pimping too often has its ups and downs. He flashes around and hands out green bills to his family not just because they could use the money, but in order to impress them. And in so doing, he proves to himself that he is somebody.

Mr. Herbert (Timmy Hayson), the docile man, is taken aback when Earl comes home and is greeted enthusiastically — with the exception of Billie Jean (Kishasha)—by the rest of the members of the family. Earl represents what he does not have: money and youth. As a result, Mr. Herbert, who is merely a shadow in the family, is made to feel like a nobody. This scene is so real that one can almost forget one is seeing a play.

The daughters are portrayed as jealous, bickering, cynical women. This society has all but drained them of any use for living. Billie Jean is the object of her two sisters' hostility because she had the audacity to be someone. She is the antithesis of everything they had in their lives. This hostility is especially directed toward Netta (Saundra Sharp)—the adopted daughter. Mama Rosie adopted children because it was her only means of fulfilling herself. Netta is the antithesis of her daughters; she is Mama Rosie's dream deferred—everything she wanted to be but was not able to be, everything she wanted her children to be but that they were not. She pinned her hopes on Billie Jean, the youngest, but she begins to have doubts about her too. She almost destroys Billie Jean in the process of trying to keep her from turning out like her sisters.

Franklin has described her play as a "play about choices." Billie Jean takes the path presented to her by Netta and leaves home to go to school.

Mu'Dear (Minnie Gentry), the protective grandmother overlapping three generations, has remained strong despite everything. She is called Mu'Dear because she is seen as a woman in the Black family who commands that respect. You do not talk smart to Mu'Dear, you do not disobey her, you do not cuss her, and heaven forbid you should strike her. Mu'Dear is the one who tells her

daughter when she is being too harsh with the children, the one who guards us, and most important, the one who tells us how to make it in an oppressive society. Mu'Dear, without the economic resources, substitutes for the state: Society places on individual families the burden for caring for its members.

Some critics may look at this play as a story of the Black matriarchy. Yet, in spite of the fact that both the mother and the grandmother are strong figures, they have no actual power or control over their lives or the destiny of others.

Although under capitalism all women are oppressed as women, *Black Girl* portrays the special oppression of Black women. Due to the nature of our class and national oppression, Black women face the most brutal and perverted form of exploitation. We are confined to the lowest paid jobs, the object of sexual exploitation (the Black Amazon stereotype being only one form), and the most bestial form of national oppression. *Black Girl* is about that oppression—not the oppression of white women or women in general.

—MAXINE WILLIAMS and
MARSHA COLEMAN



Black Girl, written by a woman and directed by a woman, reveals clearly and poignantly how women, motivated by envy and despair because of the powerlessness and frustration of their lives, turn on other women to destroy them.

In the rapid, glittering dialogue that both undercuts and emphasizes the brutality of the play, one can appreciate the skill of the fine new playwright, J. E. Franklin. She already made her feminist debut with the play *Two Flowers*, performed by the New Feminist Theatre.

Black Girl, which grew out of the New Federal Theatre project sponsored at Henry Street Settlement House by the New York State Council on the Arts, is a feminist statement about women. It is set in the home of a family of women—a mother, grandmother, three daughters and an "adopted" daughter—in a small Texas town. It is about women betrayed and destroyed, but ferocious and struggling against the power world of men and white skin.

The mother, Mama Rosie, is the controlling figure of the family, but Mu' Dear, the grandmother, unlike old women in white families, commands a position of respect. For Black women, thrown more heavily onto their own resources, band together to combat both men and the white world. Mama Rosie works at a school and brags to

strangers that she is "on the staff," but neglects to mention, as her snickering daughters point out, that she is the maid.

The two eldest daughters, Norma (Gloria Edwards) and Ruth Ann (Loretta Greene), are both married and have children, but spend their days in their mother's house out of loneliness and boredom. Billie Jean is almost 18, and, determined to break out of the women's cycle of maturity, pregnancy and dependency, is studying ballet. However, Billie Jean, like her sisters, is a high-school dropout, and is now a truant. She has a room of her own, decorated with pictures of idealized dancers, but is seldom alone to practice because her envious sisters send their two little children on errands through the room, and a gentleman boarder, a friend of the grandmother, stumbles in and out.

But Mama Rosie's hopes are not centered on any of her daughters. Perhaps it is too risky to dare to invest love in those who can so easily fail; or, even more significant perhaps, how can mothers feel love and acceptance for children who are indeed directly tied to their own lack of achievement and consequent economic and psychological dependency? For Mama Rosie "had to" drop out of school in the fourth grade. So now she takes in young women boarders and urges them on to fulfill her own thwarted ambitions.

The latest and most beloved of these young women is Netta, who comes to visit Rosie on a semester break from college and finds the three sisters at home alone. Netta, greatly interested in the struggle of Billie Jean, and recognizing her danger, wants her to come back with her to continue school and her dance training.

Netta is ridiculed by Norma and Ruth Ann, who, upon questioning her about her sexual experience and finding that she is still a virgin, declare that "Book stuff can sure kill that feminine stuff," and cause one to end up "funny." They also call her "freak" and say she's "just like a man." Netta walks out and tries to persuade Billie Jean to come along. But Billie Jean, uncertain about her loyalties—and feeling angry at Netta for the love and attention she receives from her mother—hesitates.

Mama Rosie, who is half persuaded that Billie Jean is going to run off and "ruin her life," yet truly ambivalent in her attitude toward this daughter who might escape, enters into the conspiracy against Billie Jean. The three women hold her down and attempt to call the truant officer who will send her to reform school. But Mu'Dear comes in and takes command, declaring, "It's her life. If she don't make nuthin' out of it, then it'll be her nuthin'." She adds that Billie Jean couldn't do much worse than her sisters.

Billie Jean then escapes to Netta, school, and freedom as Rosie sobs: "I didn't try to hurt her. I was just afraid all my children were gonna end up just like me."

The men in the play represent typical men in Black women's lives. Mr. Herbert is docile and dependent; Earl, the father of Norma and Ruth Ann, is a pimp. Earl has just returned, flashy and fresh, from a six-year pimp job in Detroit. He sizes up Billie Jean for his stable and tells her "That'll sell when cotton won't."

With the myth of "freakiness" imposed on young girls if they do not have sex with men, and the dependency produced by the arrival of unprepared-for children who turn up because women "couldn't keep their skirts down," women are trapped in a vicious cycle of dependency, anger and despair. This is all powerfully dramatized by *Black Girl*.

But it could also be *White Girl*, for this is a play about all women. Not very different are the myths of white culture that trap women in the same dependency. Nor do white women have any more control over their own bodies. Even when white women have men around to throw them a few crumbs, the men are still there to give orders and hold the reins.

Thus *Black Girl*, sensitively directed by Shauneille Perry, truly makes a woman's statement: White or Black, we are all controlled through our bodies; and white or Black, we are still turning on each other in our anger.

—LUCILLE IVERSON

...conference

Continued from page 4

at the conference disagreed with it. As this became evident, however, many of the WISE women, instead of pursuing the political discussion around the issue, turned to denouncing the participants in the conference as dupes and "stupid," and began to red-bait everyone who disagreed with them. When this failed to alter the opinions of the majority of the women there, WISE turned to organized disruption of the conference, in utter disrespect for the views of the majority of women present.

Supporters of WISE launched a red-baiting attack on the conference early Saturday, when they passed out a leaflet in all the workshops called "What Every Woman Should Know." This leaflet charged that the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance had "attempted to co-opt many movements; they have successfully co-opted the peace movement. . . . Do we wish to be co-opted by a political party to be used to forward its own ends? This is the basic issue being debated here as well as in many other cities and states."

The red-baiting and disruption of the conference continued at the Saturday night general assembly, when a WISE supporter took the floor at the very opening of the general discussion and made a witch-hunting motion that each member of the staff identify herself and state her political affiliation.

After some discussion, this motion was soundly defeated.

Carol Lipman, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and part of the staff that helped organize the conference, pointed out that red-baiting and witch-hunting tactics within the women's movement would destroy it, but that McCarthyite methods which succeeded in intimidating people during the 1950s don't work in the radical movements of the 1960s and 70s. She pointed out that such red-baiting was always introduced in order to try to obscure the political issues and prevent people from considering different ideas on their own merits.

Another sister got up and said: "What I'd like to know is what purpose is going to be served by getting women up here and having them tell their political organization? I can get up here and identify myself as a life member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, which I'm perfectly entitled to do, and a member of the Unitarian Church, and what goddamn good is that going to do? . . . And what has it got to do with the National Abortion Coalition of people who have come from two and three thousand miles away?"

Instead of participating in the political discussion that took place Saturday night, the WISE women walked out to caucus while the plenary was taking place. An hour later, about 55 of them marched back into the auditorium, down

the aisles, and noisily swarmed around the platform where the chairwoman's podium was. After disconnecting the microphones, several even physically threatened staff members who tried to stand in their way.

The 700 to 800 women in the auditorium stayed in their seats, despite this threat of physical takeover of the meeting, and used the tactic of "verbal resistance"—such as chanting "Sit down!" and "Out of order!"—to bring the meeting to a point where the political discussion could continue.

Finally, the WISE caucus became quiet enough so that, between their shouts, the discussion could go on, but the WISE women remained seated on the floor occupying the front of the hall. Spokeswomen from WISE were given the floor to present their views, but instead of discussing the issues, or trying to convince the women there to support their proposal, they continued their red-baiting attack on the conference.

Marge Sloan, a Black sister from the Chicago Gay Women's Caucus, challenged the assumption by WISE that women from the conference could not think for themselves and were being manipulated. "I'm a woman and no man or woman has ever made decisions for me," she stated.

The Saturday night session ended after the WISE supporters again left to caucus.

During the Sunday plenary session, which heard workshop reports and voted on the major proposals before the conference, the red-baiting and disruption by WISE culminated in a walkout.

After an hour of general discussion, the major action proposal for repeal of abortion and contraception laws and no forced sterilization was passed overwhelmingly by the women present, with only three or four votes in opposition. When a vote was taken on the free abortion on demand slogan and it failed decisively, the WISE women—who were standing in the aisles, refusing to sit down and participate—began to shout "Racists!" and "Pigs!" at the conference participants. When the demand for freedom of sexual expression was also decisively voted down, the WISE women chanted "Anti-gay!"

After the main votes were taken, and the WISE perspective was clearly defeated, Magora Kennedy, speaking for the caucus, announced the walkout. Beginning by saying "You all look like lambs being led to the slaughter," she continued: "I hope that when you go back to your various homes, you will stop, think, and realize what is happening to you in the future. The women's liberation movement disowns any affiliation or relationship with the Women's National Abortion Coalition. . . . We are calling for a caucus now to form a women's liberation national abortion campaign."

About 150 women walked out after this statement, chanting "Off the Trots!" [Trotskyists—meaning the SWP and YSA]. Between 60 and 70 of these women held a caucus meeting outside on the lawn.

At the end of the conference, two women who had been sponsors of the Committee for a Wom-

en's National Abortion Coalition, Cindy Cisler of NOW and author Kate Millett, stated they were temporarily withdrawing their names as sponsors of the coalition.

Many women were confused and discouraged by the prevalence of red-baiting, disruption and threats of physical violence from the WISE caucus. But on the other hand, a common understanding of the urgency of the abortion issue united the vast majority of the conference participants in a determination to launch this national abortion repeal campaign and get on with the business ahead of us. The complete seriousness of the sisters at this conference was indicated by the fact that about 600 women stayed for the entire plenary Sunday afternoon, from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m., although there was no lunch break.

Women attending the national abortion conference purchased \$440 worth of revolutionary literature from the table set up by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. In addition, the participants bought 238 copies of The Militant and 76 copies of the International Socialist Review.

After the final WISE walkout, the conference proceeded to hear all the workshop reports on how to build the abortion campaign, and adopted a structure proposal setting up a national coordinating committee. This committee will be composed of one woman from every national organization, area coalition and committee that supports and wants to build the abortion action campaign. It will be responsible for implementing the decisions of the conference.

New stage

The sharp debates and divisions at the conference reflected the fact that it marked a new stage for the women's movement—the first time since the rise of the women's liberation movement that sisters have gotten together and mapped out a national campaign of action around a specific issue of life and death concern to every woman in the country.

The decisions made there open up the possibility for building the most powerful movement of women since our sisters fought for and won the right to vote.

Dr. Barbara Roberts, from the Women vs. Connecticut class action suit, most clearly expressed this seriousness and determination of the women who took part in this abortion conference when she commented Sunday morning: "Let's get on with the work at hand, because this abortion campaign has got to win. We've got very powerful enemies, and we've got millions and millions of women all around the world depending on us to save their lives and to save their liberty, and no one else is going to do it for them but us."

Third World sisters: No forced sterilization

The recommendations of the Third World women's workshop at the national abortion conference were reported to the conference by Marsha Coleman, who is on the staff of the Women's National Abortion Coalition and is part of a class action suit by Black Michigan women against the Michigan abortion law. She reported that the Third World workshop of about 45 women had voted unanimously to support the main proposal for a national abortion campaign.

The statement passed by the workshop reads in part:

"There is a myth that Third World women do not want to control our bodies, that we do not want the right to contraception and abortion. But we know that Third World women have suffered the most because of this denial of our rights and will continue to suffer as long as the antiabortion laws remain on the books. We know that more Third World women die every year from illegal back-street abortions than the rest of the female population. We know that Third World women are the first victims of forced sterilization. And we know that we intend to fight for our freedom as women.

"Part of this struggle to control our own bodies is the fight against forced sterilization and population-control schemes. The campaign to get rid of abortion laws is one of the best ways to fight forced sterilization because the lack of legal abortion has been used for years to force women to undergo sterilization. As part of this campaign, we will also fight the racist laws which have been proposed in some states, which stipulate that welfare mothers must be sterilized after they have had a certain number of children. **WE ARE AGAINST FORCED STERILIZATION AND**



Third World workshop

Photo by Sally Feingold

FORCED MOTHERHOOD. IT IS A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE. . . .

"One of the best ways we can make a powerful show of force of Third World women demanding our rights will be to organize large contingents of Third World women marching in the demonstrations this fall, united as Blacks, as Chicanas, as Puerto Ricans, as Asians, and Native Americans.

"We also recommend that this conference send

a telegram to Angela Davis, supporting her in her fight to win bail, and expressing our wish that she was here free and here with us taking part in our discussions."

Coleman also brought the recommendation that the literature of the abortion coalition be printed in Spanish as well as English and point out that there are Black, Chicana, Latina, Puerto Rican, Asian-American and Native American women involved in the campaign. The report and recommendations were accepted by the conference.

Calendar

AMHERST, MASS.

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

BOSTON

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

VOICES OF DISSENT: Wednesdays, 8-9 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1 Thursdays, 8-9 p.m. on WRBB-FM, 91.7. Mondays and Fridays, 4-5 p.m. on WBUR-FM, 90.9. Wed., July 28 and Thurs., July 29: Sex Roles in Rock. Mon., Aug. 2; Wed., Aug. 4; Thurs., Aug. 5; and Fri., Aug. 6: Anais Nin.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN PALESTINE TODAY. Speaker: Peter Buch, contributor to The Militant, author of Burning Issues in the Middle East. Fri., July 30, 8:30 p.m. at 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information call 596-2849.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

WILL THE STEELWORKERS STRIKE? Speaker: Frank Lovell, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., July 30, 8 p.m. at 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 982-6051.

ATLANTA

THE NEW FEMINIST MOVEMENT: The history of the struggle for women's rights, Wed., July 28, 8 p.m. The oppression of Black women, Fri., July 30, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 West Peachtree. A usp. SWP-YSA. For more information, call 876-2330.

BAY AREA (CALIF.)

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Socialist electoral policy. Two classes by Doug Jenness, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., July 30, 8 p.m., Sat., July 31, 11 a.m. San Francisco State College, Education building, Room 117. For more information, call 626-9958 (San Francisco) or 654-9728 (Berkeley). A usp. SWP-YSA.

BOSTON

FRANCE IN REVOLUTION. Series on French history from the 1789 revolution to the present. Since the May explosion, Sun., Aug. 1, 7 p.m. at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. Repression and fascism, Wed., July 28, 7:30 p.m. at Boston University School of Public Communication, 640 Commonwealth Ave., Room 206. A usp. SWP-YSA. For more information, call 536-6981.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

SERIES OF CLASSES. Socialist electoral politics, every Tuesday, 7 p.m. July 13-Aug. 3 at 1015 Washington Ave., Apt. 6. History and organizational principles of the Socialist Workers Party, every Sunday through Aug. 1. Call 596-2849 for exact time. Strategies and

tactics for the 70s, every Tuesday, 7 p.m., through Aug. 3. Permanent revolution, every Wednesday, 7 p.m., through Aug. 4. At 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). A usp. SWP-YSA.

Socialist summer school

CHICAGO

HOW TO MAKE A REVOLUTION IN THE U.S. A series of classes. Stalinism: the political revolution against bureaucracy: East Berlin, Poznan, Budapest, Prague, Gdynia. Tues., Aug. 3, 7:30 p.m. How and why do revolutionary socialists conduct election campaigns? Fri., July 30, 7:30 p.m. and Sat., July 31, 10 a.m. 180 N. Wacker Drive., Room 310. For more information, call 641-0147. A usp. SWP-YSA.

DENVER

HISTORY OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. The 1950s—revolutionaries and the witch-hunt. Thurs., July 29, 8 p.m. A usp. SWP-YSA. Contact Rocky Mountain Socialist Summer School, 607 E. 13th Ave. Phone 623-9505.

LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Socialist electoral politics. Thurs., July 29, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. For more information, call 463-1917 or 463-1966.

MADISON

MARXIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Stalinism—past and present: the revolution betrayed, a case study. Sat., July 31, 1:30 p.m. at Che Guevara Movement Center, 202 W. Gilman St. For more information, call 256-0857.

MINNEAPOLIS

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED. Every Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. through Aug. 3. At 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin), Second Floor. A usp. SWP-YSA.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

TOWARDS AN AMERICAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. Series 1—World War II and the Schachtman fight, Sun., Aug. 1, 1 p.m. Series 2—Trade union politics today, Tues., Aug. 3, 7:30 p.m. The international roots of the current radicalization, Wed., Aug. 4, 7:30 p.m. Series 3—Independent campaigns and the tactic of critical support, Thurs., July 29, 7:30 p.m. A usp. SWP-YSA Socialist Summer School. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. For more information, call 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER MANHATTAN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Socialist electoral policy. Tues., July 27, 7:30 p.m. The new radicalization: feminism, Wed., July 28, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (106th St.), Second Floor. Phone 663-3000 for details.

PHILADELPHIA

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. The new radicalization and the revolutionary party, Wed., Aug. 4, 7:30 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). For more information, call WA5-4316. A usp. SWP-YSA.

PORTLAND

THREE EDUCATIONAL SERIES. The revolutionary party, Mondays at 7:30 p.m. through Aug. 2. Marxism and the struggle for national liberation, Wednesdays at 7:30 p.m. through Aug. 4. Marxist economic theory, Thursdays at 7:30 p.m. through Aug. 5. Portland State

University. Room 323 SMC. For more information, call 288-1063. A usp. SWP-YSA.

SAN DIEGO

SUMMER EDUCATIONAL SERIES. Trade unions and the revolutionary party, Thurs., July 29, 7:30 p.m. Socialist electoral policy, Mon., Aug. 2, 7:30 p.m. San Diego State College New Library, Room 307. A usp. SWP-YSA. For more information, call 286-9885.

...rail

Continued from page 3

riers. Switchmen and conductors are now carefully inspecting roadbeds and equipment, shoving cars to a stop instead of "kicking" them while making up trains. As a result, one industry job that is accustomed to receive 20 cars from St. Paul for switching purposes received only three the day after the carrier imposed the new work rules. This makes it hard for the carriers to handle their own freight, virtually impossible for them to take over the jobs normally handled by the lines that have been struck.

It appears as if the rail transportation system will grind slowly to a halt, and again the U.S. Congress will be asked to find a solution. The carriers are hopeful that Congress will appropriate large sums of new capital to rebuild the railroad system and keep the same old management in control of big profits at public expense.

The *UTU Transportation News* reports that "at least three government studies are underway to determine the cost of nationalizing the bankrupt Penn Central (PC) railroad," and notes "a growing feeling in Washington that Federal Judge F.P. Fullam, who is in charge of PC's reorganization, may entertain a motion to nationalize or liquidate the railroad in late August.

"Fullam is using the liquidation threat to back his plan to eliminate 8,900 PC employees," says the UTU paper.

The matter of nationalization ought to be easy, requiring less than three government studies certainly. All that is needed is for the government to take back some of what these rail-

roads have stolen over the years from the public.

The elimination of railroad workers to cut down on expenses is not so easy. What is needed is not fewer workers but more—for maintenance, more inspection and repairs. The elimination of the costs of wrecks and breakdowns would pay a lot of wages.

On the Illinois Central alone, the five worst wrecks in the past 30 months killed 13 crewmen and 10 other people, while injuring more than 150.

Over the years, railroad workers have suffered delayed, sub-standard wage settlements. Our escalator clause, designed to keep wages abreast of the rising cost of living, was given away by UTU President Luna for two wage increases of only 2 percent each, spaced over two years. Our last contract ran out more than one and a half years ago.

If cuts of "unnecessary" workers are in order, they should begin and end with the platoons of supervisory personnel, lawyers, bankers and financial manipulators of all kinds who have bled the railroads white through mismanagement and piracy.

Union demands for the enforcement of job-protection agreements and elimination of jobs only by attrition are good as far as they go, but such demands leave out the "unprotected" workers and add to the unemployed rolls.

A six-hour shift or a four-day work week for yard crews and "continuous time" payment for road crews, with a meaningful mileage limitation, should also be demanded.

The steady decline of real wages in this industry calls loud and clear for an escalator clause and a large catch-up raise.

It is not the inherent inefficiency of rail transportation that stands in the way of meeting the workers' needs. This can be a very efficient form of transportation for both freight and passengers.

The real problem is that the railroads are controlled by capitalist profiteers backed up by the government. The only real solution is nationalization—nationalization under workers' control. This should be the central demand of the UTU.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: University: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Aris Scarla, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 959-5932.

Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Woody Diaz, 5724 Warren St., Arlington, Calif. 92503.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Mark Lampson, 2307-A 24th Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95822.

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

San Diego: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

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

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

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-8776.

Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 228-4655.

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

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

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 753-4445 (night).

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o John Heilers, West University Apts. #22, Indiana U, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Mary Bee, 402 Yorkshire, Lawrence, Kan. 66044. Tel: (913) 843-8083.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, Box 324, Student Activities Office, Campus Center, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981, 262-9688.

Pittsfield: YSA, c/o R.G. Pucko, 77 Euclid Ave., Pittsfield, Mass. 01201.

Worcester: YSA, Box 1470, Clark U, Worcester, Mass. 01610. Socialist Workers Campaign '71, P.O. Box 97, Webster Sq. Sta., Worcester, Mass. 01603.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 14, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 924-3714.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, P.O. Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP—(212) 982-6051, YSA—(212) 260-0976, Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill: YSA, Box 2448, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Sarabeth Carr, 3653 Shaw, Cincinnati, Ohio 45208. Tel: (513) 871-4725.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Val Moller, 1944 N.W. Johnson, Room 103, Portland, Ore. 97209.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Tel: (401) 863-3340.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, c/o Charles Kelly, Box 187, Melrose Hall, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916.

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

Houston: SWP, YSA and Pathfinder Books, 3806 Wheeler, Houston, Texas 77004. Tel: (713) 741-2577.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, c/o Dayne Goodwin, 855 North 7th St. East, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 2000 P St. NW, Rm. 413, Wash., D.C. 20036. Tel: (202) 833-9560.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: La Crosse: YSA, c/o 431 N. 9th St., La Crosse, Wis. 54601.

Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.

Milwaukee: YSA, c/o Tom Tank, 1314 12th Ave., Grafton, Wis. 53024.

Oshkosh: YSA, 572A Boyd St., Oshkosh, Wis. 54901. Tel: (414) 233-6155.

Philosophers interpret the world...



We are changing it. Join the YSA

— I WANT TO JOIN THE YSA
— I WOULD LIKE MORE INFORMATION
— ENCLOSED IS \$1 FOR YSA CONVENTION
RESOLUTIONS

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____
ZIP _____ PHONE _____
CLIP AND MAIL TO YSA, BOX 471 COOPER
STATION, NY, NY 10003

Classified

TIMES CHANGE PRESS publishes quality pamphlets and posters on women's liberation, hip culture, Third World struggles, gay liberation, Marxism, revolutionary poetry, anarchism, ecology, etc. Write for free illustrated catalog: 1023-M Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10018.

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

A handbook for revolutionaries...

Towards an American Socialist Revolution

"... their statements are lucid and forthright, refreshingly unlike the rhetoric of the Old Left, with its tedious harangues and clichés. These are revolutionaries who offer specific constructive suggestions for building a new political party that could turn the country around." -- **Publishers Weekly**

207 pp., \$5.95, paper \$1.95

PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 (212) 741-0690

The Militant- SUBSCRIBE NOW

SPECIAL TO NEW READERS/10 ISSUES FOR \$1.00

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____ CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

\$6 For 1 year regular subscription/ For GIs-\$1.50 for 6 months

Make checks payable to **The Militant**, 14 Charles Lane, New York 10014

ইন্টার কন্টিনেন্টাল প্রেস পড়ুন
ইন্টার কন্টিনেন্টাল প্রেস এর গ্রাহক হোন
এর মাধ্যমে সমগ্র বিশ্বের বিপ্লবী আন্দোলন
মস্তকে অব্যাহত হোন

If you read Bengali, then you already know what our friend in Bangla Desh wrote. If you haven't brushed up on your Bengali recently, we can help you with a literal translation:

"Read Intercontinental Press.

"Be a subscriber of Intercontinental Press.

"Know the revolutionary movement of the world through it."

Intercontinental Press
P. O. Box 116
Village P. O. Station
New York, N.Y. 10014

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

() Enclosed is \$7.50 for 26 issues.

() Enclosed is \$15.00 for one year.

() Please send a sample copy.

International SOCIALIST review

JULY-AUGUST 1971

FIFTY CENTS



Feminism and 'The Female Eunuch'

Evelyn Reed
answers
Germaine Greer

SOME COMMENTS ON MAYDAY by Fred Halstead
... **NEWARK: CASE STUDY OF A CITY IN CRISIS**
by Derrick Morrison ... **THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM**
a new play by Myrna Lamb ... **CATALYSTS OF
WORKING-CLASS RADICALIZATION** by Frank Lovell
... **"LABOR RADICAL"**—A Dishonest History of
the CIO by Milton Alvin

CLIP AND MAIL TO: **INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW**, 14 CHARLES LANE,
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10014

☐ ENCLOSED IS \$1.00 FOR SPECIAL THREE MONTH INTRODUCTORY OFFER

☐ ENCLOSED IS \$5.00 FOR ONE YEAR (11 ISSUES)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP _____

THE MILITANT

Separate trials for Davis, Magee

By HOLBROOK MAHN
and MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN RAFAEL, July 20 — Pretrial activities in the murder-kidnap-conspiracy case of Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee took a dramatic turn on July 19 when Judge Richard E. Arnason severed the trial of the two defendants.

Arnason granted a motion by Sheldon Otis, one of a battery of six lawyers constituting the Davis defense, who requested separate trials because Davis and Magee have conflicting defense strategies. Earlier, Magee had also recommended severance, stating, "Miss Davis wants the case heard by Judge Arnason, and I do not."

Arnason's decision allows prosecuting attorney Albert Harris to move at a later date to rejoin the two cases if the state should wish. A separate hearing for Davis resumed promptly today when another Davis defense counsel, Dennis Roberts, requested an investigation into the selection of the grand jury which had indicted Davis. Roberts claimed that the grand jury was unrepresentative of the population of Marin County in age, sex, wealth, and race.

Of 19 members of the grand jury, only one was Black. Their average income was \$20,900 a year. And one of the grand jurors was a personal friend of Judge Harold Haley, whose death during the attempted Aug. 7 prisoner escape last year is a central feature of the indictments against Davis and Magee.

Clifford Thompson, a deputy prosecuting attorney, admitted to the court that the grand jury "may seem an aristocratic body." But its aristocratic character was necessary, he said, to gain the expertise needed in order to perform grand jury functions such as reviewing both the performance of county government and the salaries of the state legislators.

At this point, Howard Moore, chief Davis defense counsel, asked to be excused from the courtroom "because this kind of racism is very upsetting." When Judge Arnason asked Davis if she objected to her counsel's leaving, she replied, "I'd like to leave myself," and both she and Moore walked out.

After the spectators were brought back to order, an exchange of remarks occurred between deputy prosecutor Thompson and defense attorneys Roberts and Otis.

Thompson repeated an earlier statement that the grand jury did not have a youthful composition because young men were either in school or in the Army. And young women were either in school or at home taking care of children. "If this statement is male chauvinist," he replied to charges by the defense, "then I guess I am a male chauvinist."

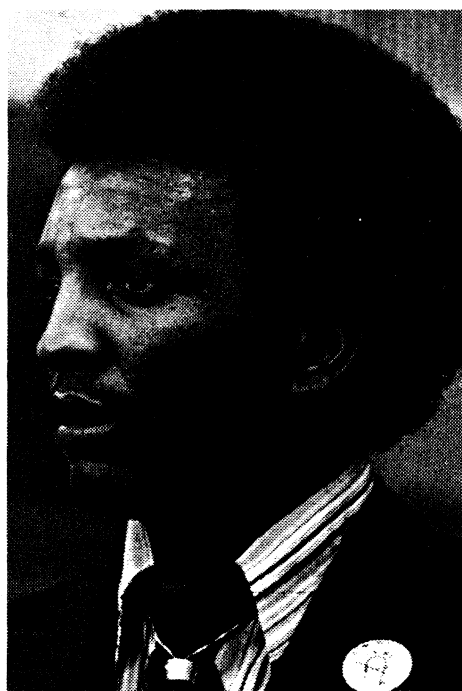
"Right on!" remarked Otis. Judge Arnason, who had been struggling against sleep at the bench, awoke at this remark and rebuked the person in the audience he thought had made it. Otis then informed the judge that he and not a spectator had shouted "Right On!"

Continuing his remarks, Roberts

stated that in all of his years of practicing law in Georgia he had never encountered the "racist, elitist filth" expressed by the state prosecutors. When Arnason asked Roberts to restrain himself, he replied, "Your Honor, I am choosing my words very carefully because if I use the words I have in my heart I'd be cited for contempt."

The defense motion to review the grand jury selection will be ruled on this week.

Rev. Koen jailed in St. Louis



Rev. Charles Koen

Rev. Charles Koen, one of the leaders of the United Front of Cairo, Ill., was jailed July 19 on frame-up charges of assaulting policemen in St. Louis several years ago. These charges stem from Koen's activities organizing the African-American community of St. Louis.

The Cairo United Front, a Black community organization that is leading a boycott against racist hiring practices and has organized political and armed self-defense against racist police and vigilante attacks, issued the following statement July 19:

"The United Front of Cairo has announced today that the Rev. Charles Koen has been taken into custody at the St. Louis workhouse, for a period of approximately six months. Rev. Koen is charged with assault against police officers, stemming from a 1968 case. The Supreme Court of Missouri has decided at this point to uphold the decision of the lower court.

"As it stands now, Rev. Koen will be launching a liquid fast to protest his arrest. We would like supporters of Cairo to send protests to Missouri Governor Warren Hearnes and to U.S. Representative William Clay. Representative Clay is from the district where Rev. Koen is being held, and is a Black representative whom Rev. Koen helped to get elected. The leadership of the United Front will now be controlled on a collective basis until Rev. Koen is set free. The need for money and support for Cairo is very great because a lot of funds raised by the Front were based on Rev. Koen's speaking engagements. We see this as harassment to try to break the back of the United Front."

Contributions can be sent to United

Front of Cairo, P. O. Box 544, Cairo, Ill. 62914.

Mistrial in Houston frame-up

By JERRY FANNING

HOUSTON — An all-white, predominantly middle-aged jury deadlocked 7 to 5 in favor of acquittal of Barte Haile here July 16. Haile, a member of the John Brown Revolutionary League, was on trial for the frame-up charge of shooting at a cop during the assault on People's Party II headquarters by the Houston police on July 26, 1970. A mistrial was declared and a new trial set for Nov. 29.

The shoot-out last summer occurred following a tense week of political harassment and intimidation against Blacks in Houston. Carl A. Hampton, chairman of People's Party II, was killed by a police sniper stationed on a nearby church when he left the party headquarters to investigate shots heard outside. Eight others, including Haile, were wounded. None of the wounded were policemen.

The cops, who entered the church without permission, arrived in unmarked cars and wore plain clothing. An officer in charge of the police snipers admitted they never identified themselves as policemen nor gave any warning to people on the street to clear the area.

More than 100 cops descended on People's Party II headquarters moments after the shooting. Office equipment was damaged and slogans such as "Pig power" and "Wallace in '72" were written on the walls.

At a news conference July 12, the eve of the trial, Houston Mayor Louie Welch stated that surveillance of revolutionary groups, "right or left," with special attention to People's Party II, will continue until "we get them in jail or they cease to be revolutionaries." Police chief Herman Short has stated that this surveillance policy has been in effect for years.

These statements are especially hypocritical in light of the fact that right-wing terrorists have operated with impunity here for years. The Houston police, which has well-known ties with the Ku Klux Klan, did not indict any of these terrorists until a national outcry forced them to do so.

Debby Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, stated at a recent City Council meeting that "the views advocated by the mayor and police chief are reminiscent of Nazi Germany."

"If they had been alive 200 years ago," Leonard said, "they would have arrested the leaders of the American revolution."

D.C. Arab office occupied

By ELOISE LINGER

WASHINGTON, D.C., July 21 — Around 70 Palestinians and supporters of the Palestinian revolution occupied the Arab Information Center

of the Arab League here yesterday. Using the Telex facilities and the telephones, the supporters cabled all the Arab leaders, the Middle East News Agency, U Thant of the United Nations, Yasir Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), individual radical newspapers in the Middle East, and the Arab League headquarters in Cairo, with the following message:

"In view of the bloody massacres against the masses of Palestinians in Jordan, we, the supporters of the Palestinian revolution, have occupied the Arab League's information center in Washington, D.C., in protest against the Arab regimes—specifically those among them that claim to be progressive—for their failure to render any meaningful support for the Palestinian masses and their revolutionary movement. Our condemnation is clearly directed against the Syrian, Iraqi, and Egyptian regimes, all of which share borders with the Palestinian-Jordanian front. Their inaction at this crucial stage of the struggle has proved them to be tacit partners in the genocide conducted by the Jordanian regime against the Palestinian-Jordanian masses. Therefore, we strongly demand the following: 1) immediate intervention against Hussein and his imperialist-financed mercenary forces; 2) effective military support for the Palestinian movement against the regime and against the racist Zionist state; 3) unequivocal denial of the regime's legitimacy over the Jordanian-Palestinian masses and its expulsion from the Arab League; 4) immediate cessation of the negotiations with imperialism that are being conducted at the expense of the rights of the Palestinian people and their revolution.

Until these demands are met, the Arab masses will consider all Arab regimes, without exception, among the ranks of the imperialist lackeys led by Hussein. The Arab masses will no longer tolerate this treason. Victory to the Palestinian revolution!"

A special telegram was sent to the PLO containing a message of support and solidarity to the fighters in the name of the Palestinians in exile and supporters of the Palestinian revolution. From an office in Beirut, news was received that although the situation was severe, morale remained high. The barbarity of the Hussein regime has been demonstrated by a campaign of wanton murder, including the burying alive of wounded fighters. The Jordanian regime has succeeded in driving many fighters to the Israeli border by this vicious campaign.



Yasir Arafat