

# THE MILITANT

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

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## THE MILITANT

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**NEW TESTIMONY ON 'THE WAR FOR SURVIVAL':** The Zionist establishment justified the Israeli blitz against Syria, Egypt, and Jordan in 1967 by claiming that the Arab states threatened Israel's Jewish population with "extermination." Israeli military officials have since admitted that the Egyptian tank mobilization in the Sinai desert—the immediate pretext for the Israeli aggression—was a defensive formation, not an invasion force.

Recently, Israeli General Matahiou Peled was quoted in *Le Monde* and *Le Nouvel Observateur* as saying that "at no time, in May or June, 1967, was the existence of the state of Israel in danger." Peled's statement was followed by a similar one from General Ezer Weizman, operations commander of the Israeli general staff in June, 1967.

In an interview with the Israeli newspaper, *Maariv*, published April 18 and reported in the July 13 *Christian Science Monitor*, former Israeli Chief of Staff Haim Bar Lev said, "No, there was no danger of extermination on the eve of the six-day war. We neither thought nor spoke in those terms."



Israeli armored car on patrol in Jerusalem

**ISRAELI DRAFT RESISTER SENTENCED:** Giora Neumann has been sentenced to eight months in prison for refusing to sign a pledge of loyalty to the Israeli armed forces, part of the procedure for Israeli military service. Neumann, a member of the Israeli Socialist Organization, has already served five sentences of 35 days each for refusing induction.

The military court that tried Neumann claimed that he had made no attempt to substantiate his charges that the Israeli army was "an army of conquest." The court also challenged his contention that Israeli occupation of Palestinian areas involved "oppression, degradation, and expulsion."

Yet the Israeli press has reported many instances in which Arab residents have been expelled from their homes in the occupied areas. On March 26, for example, an official government statement announced that a number of Israeli officers had been disciplined for the methods they used to expel the Arab population from more than 12,000 acres in the Rafah area of southern Gaza. The displaced inhabitants, however, were not allowed to return.

**THE CASE OF THE CONTRABAND KEY:** The University of Illinois Chicago Circle administration is trying to evict the Young Socialist Alliance from its office in the student union. Why? The administration claims the YSA violated a rule that prohibits duplicating keys to student union offices except through means provided by the administration.

This represents one more example of a university administration moving to force radical student organizations off campus. The YSA is fighting this attack and is confident that it will force the university to back down.

**CHICAGO FEMINISTS VICTIMIZED:** Seven women in the feminist movement in Chicago have been arrested and charged with abortion and conspiracy to commit abortion. Each woman faces 14 charges. Contributions to their defense can be sent to: Abortion Defense Fund, c/o Pildes and Bizar, 127 N. Dearborn, Room 908, Chicago, Ill. 60602.

**'REHABILITATION':** A federal judge "recently ordered the Indiana Boys' School to stop using corporal punishment on youngsters, censoring their mail, putting them into solitary confinement without fair hearings, and administering tranquilizing drugs without proper medical

supervision," reports the July 11 *Christian Science Monitor*.

**LAW AND ORDER IN TRENTON:** Two prisoners recently confined in the Vroom Building in Trenton, N.J., attacked their guards, according to state prison officials. The Vroom Building is used to confine prisoners who are supposedly insane.

However, the Fortune Society reports that one of the prisoners involved, Arnold Banks, wrote a letter in which he said, "My left hand is partially paralyzed, which is the result of being shot in this hand in February of 1971, while on the street. Tell me what I used for hands to fight with. I have had my right hand in two casts since June 17th. After stomping, beating, and hitting me on this hand with clubs that are as large as baseball bats, and throwing me down the stairs of the segregation unit, they beat me through the center and out the front door."

**A NEW TURN FOR SDS?:** Militant reporter Steve Beck writes, "On July 11, 50 supporters of SDS, Workers' Action Movement, and the Committee Against Racism, among them several members of the Progressive Labor Party, gathered at the Civic Center in San Francisco and marched to the nearby local headquarters of the Democratic Party. They presented a list of demands, insisting that the Democrats adopt a 'People's Platform.' The aim of the demonstration, according to a leaflet handed out at the action, was 'to pressure the Democratic Party into taking some positive action.'"

"In addition to demands that SDS has organized around before, such as an end to racist textbooks and intelligence tests in public schools, the leaflet included demands from movements that SDS has previously dissociated itself from, such as the women's movement.

"SDS demanded that the Democrats set the date for withdrawal from Southeast Asia: Oct. 1, 1972. Previously they had been for immediate withdrawal.

"It is strange to see a movement that was so recently given to chanting 'Don't vote, organize!' and 'Ally with workers, not the (Student) Mobe' bending to the illusion that the demands of the independent movements will be fulfilled within the Democratic Party."

**DRUMGO GRANTED CHOICE OF COUNSEL:** Fleeta Drumgo will be permitted to have Richard Hodge represent him when he faces trial as one of the San Quentin Six. The San Quentin Six are charged with murder and conspiracy in the events of Aug. 21, 1971, in which George Jackson was killed.

The California Court of Appeals revoked a July 7 ruling by Judge Warren MacGuire, which had denied Drumgo's request that Hodge be his attorney.

The state has 30 days to appeal the decision by the district court. If the decision is upheld, hearings may begin for similar requests for appointments of attorney by other members of the San Quentin Six. Contributions to help cover the legal case are requested by the newly formed San Quentin Six Legal Defense Fund, c/o the National Lawyers Guild, 588 Capp St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110.

**RUCHELL MAGEE TO FACE INSANITY CHARGES:** Militant reporter Michael Schreiber sent us the following item.

"In its continuing efforts to prohibit Ruchell Magee from acting as his own attorney, the state of California filed charges of insanity against him on June 27. The state's brief, if accepted, would subject Magee to an examination of his competency to act as counsel, but would not necessarily declare him 'too' insane to be convicted of first-degree murder, kidnapping, and conspiracy in the alleged plot for which Angela Davis was acquitted.

"The Friends of San Quentin Adjustment Center will sponsor a demonstration on July 28 demanding that the insanity charges be withdrawn. The action will take place at noon in front of the state attorney general's office at 350 McAllister St. in San Francisco."

**DISCRIMINATORY FILING FEES CHALLENGED IN WASHINGTON:** The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) announced at a news conference in Seattle on July 18 that it is filing a suit aimed at abolishing discriminatory filing fees for candidates in Washington.

Present at the news conference were a representative of Senator Martin Durkin's gubernatorial campaign; Richard Garcia, the executive secretary of the Washington State Commission on Mexican-American Affairs; Barry Barnes, cooperating American Civil Liberties Union attorney in the case; and Gary Johnson, the candidate for superintendent of public instruction supported by the Socialist Workers Party. Filing fees such as those required in Washington have long been used to exclude Blacks, Chicanos, and working people from the ballot. — DAVE FRANKEL

## Pentagon officials change line

# U.S. admits bombing dikes in N. Vietnam

By DICK ROBERTS

JULY 19 — U.S. authorities have admitted to bombing the vital dike system of North Vietnam's Red River delta. The admission was provoked by a series of firsthand accounts.

On July 11, Agence France-Presse correspondent Jean Thoraval reported that he and other foreign journalists in Hanoi had personally seen a U.S. bombing attack on the dikes.

"The jets went into a dive and released several bombs and rockets against the dikes on which we were standing," Thoraval wrote.

U.S. authorities had begun switching their story the previous week. On July 6, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird reported in a news conference that "Some of the dikes and dams may be on roadways that are being used or they may be in a position where antiaircraft weaponry is placed and, of course, our pilots are given the opportunity and they should have this capability to attack North Vietnamese gun emplacements."

The war secretary then tried to cover up this direct admission that U.S. bombs are hitting the dikes. "... the real damage to the dams and dikes of North Vietnam is the damage that was suffered in weakening those dams and dikes last year during the very, very heavy flooding of North Vietnam," Laird stated.

But it is hard to take this story at face value. The peasants of northern Vietnam have been constructing dikes to control the annual high waters of the Red River for more than 2,000 years. *New York Times* correspondent Seymour Hersh described the dike system July 13. Hersh visited Hanoi in mid-March.

"To meet the crest of the Red River and its tributaries, which usually peak between July and late September, Vietnamese societies have constructed about 2,500 miles of earthen dikes with sluice-gates and dams," Hersh explains.

"The pressure on the dikes at the height of the flood season is immense. Specific data on the flow of the Red River near Hanoi was impossible to obtain, but last month *Le Monde*, the Paris newspaper, published a dispatch predicting that the flow of the Black River, a main tributary, would reach 32,500 cubic meters a second at Sontay about 25 miles northwest of Hanoi (a cubic meter is about 35 cubic feet). The dispatch also noted that the peak flow of the Seine in Paris during the floods there in 1910 was 2,500 cubic meters a second."

According to Hersh there are also a number of sea dikes to prevent the seepage of brackish water from the Gulf of Tonkin into crop-growing areas. These have also been bombed by U.S. aircraft, according to Hanoi.

Hersh interviewed Pentagon officials about the bombing of dikes July 12. They vehemently denied AFP correspondent Thoraval's story. At the same time they made remarks that can only be construed to support what Thoraval said. For example, according to Hersh, "pilots are apparently authorized, without obtaining clearance, to attack supply convoys or equipment stockpiles on roads on top of dikes."

An unnamed "high-ranking officer" told Hersh: "Given the number of irrigation systems up there, and given all the ordnance being dropped, there's always the possibility of an accident."

### Bombing Quangtri

The immensity of the U.S. bombing in South Vietnam has been described by reporters who are covering the battle for Quangtri. John Parcell, a

Reuters correspondent, stated that the area around the command post in Quangtri "is nothing but a desert of charred sticks pointing out of craters, with here and there a church and brick pillars of villas of the rich still partly intact."

The city has been extensively bombed since it was captured last March during the revolutionary offensive. The South Vietnamese army counterattack is supported by massive U.S. bombing. A July 18 Associated Press dispatch from Saigon declared: "The South Vietnamese counteroffensive in Quangtri Province was reported backed yesterday by some of the heaviest United States air and naval attacks in the war."

"Nearly 100 B-52's and a naval force of more than a dozen cruisers and destroyers bombarded North Vietnamese positions on both sides of the demilitarized zone, which straddles the border between North and South Vietnam."

A signed AP dispatch from Quangtri province the same day was headlined "Quang Tri, Province of Death." "Hard, inhospitable, little bigger than Rhode Island," AP correspondent Holger Jensen wrote, Quangtri "has become a vast free fire zone for the warring armies of Indochina, a place where killing has priority over political control and territorial objectives stop at the next bunker line."

"The Saigon regime has announced that destruction of the enemy takes precedence over the recapture of lost ground. . . ."

"Civilian refugees have been told they cannot return for many months. Bullets have replaced bureaucracy in the ruined province capital. Those who hoped for a smashing American-style victory in this Vietnamized war now envision a long drawn-out meat-grinder."

### U.S. air support

With more bombs raining down on Vietnam North and South than were ever used before in warfare, U.S. authorities are slowly and reluctantly being forced to admit the obvious. The revolutionary offensive launched last March would have been victorious without this massive United States air support. "Vietnamization" means, for the time being, Saigon ground troops and thousands of U.S. support troops, troop transport planes, bombers, and offshore naval artillery.

"Almost all military experts here, American and South Vietnamese, agree that these planes—flying in from bases in Thailand and from carriers off the Vietnamese coast to drop their loads of bombs, rockets and napalm—were what saved the South Vietnamese from complete defeat after the North Vietnamese began their offensive on March 30." So writes *New York Times* correspondent Sydney Schanberg from Saigon, July 18.

Not only did the hated dictatorship in South Vietnam require this historic bombardment to prop it up against the spring offensive, but it will continue to need this support indefinitely into the future.

Schanberg writes, "For the moment, the military outlook is for a long and possibly indecisive battle in Quangtri Province, with neither side risking everything in one big push. . . ."

"In any event, virtually all observers here, civilian and military, believe that regardless of what happens in the current North Vietnamese offensive, neither the war nor General Giap is going to fade away—unless something dramatic happens at the Paris peace talks."

## Newsman versus the White House

● JUNE 26 — "Then [Agence France-Presse correspondent Jean Thoraval] went to some of the dikes protecting Nam Dinh, about fourteen miles from town. He reported:

"One of the dikes was completely cut. Several were gutted, with gaps in the dike itself and hollows, evidently caused by bombs, alongside. Deep cracks were visible everywhere. The landscape was almost what one might have expected to find on the moon." — *New York Times* correspondent Anthony Lewis, London.

● JUNE 28 — "The Americans are expending enormous resources on . . . destroying small workshops, small bridges, small railway stations, everything."

"The biggest worry at the moment is the dams. The Red River has already begun to rise and it reaches its highest point in July and August. The Americans are aiming at the dams and dikes. If the river swells to the same level as last year there will be an immense catastrophe." —

● JUNE 29 — "The United States has used great restraint in its bombing policy, and I think properly so. We have tried to hit only military targets. . . . We have had orders out not to hit dikes, because the result in terms of civilian casualties would be extraordinary."

"As far as any future activities are concerned, those orders still are in force. I do not intend to allow any orders to go out which would involve civilian casualties if they can be avoided. Military targets only will be allowed." — President Richard Nixon, Washington.

● JULY 5 — "State Department officials said today that there was a strong likelihood North Vietnam would be flooded later this summer, but they said North Vietnam's dike system would be responsible rather than American bombing raids."

"In separate interviews, responsible State Department officers did not deny that some bombs were falling on the dikes. But they again



LNS/Vietnam Veterans Against the War

North Vietnamese dike partially destroyed by U.S. bombs. Photo taken June 18.

Swedish ambassador to Hanoi, Jean-Christophe Oeberg, Stockholm.

● JULY 2 — "... the A.F.P. correspondent visited Phu Ly, forty miles south of Hanoi, and reported that a dike there had been demolished by American aircraft. He said he saw destroyed sluice gates, houses bombed nearby and bomb craters being filled by women with their hands. . . ."

"In the long run, Americans will not be able to keep the facts at arm's length. History will remember. In due course our children will ask, as German children did: What was the reason for the terror? What did America expect to gain? Where were you?" — Anthony Lewis, London.

● JULY 12 — "Foreign correspondents stationed in Hanoi, including the A.F.P. correspondent, viewed on Tuesday morning, July 11, how American planes bombed North Vietnamese dikes. . . ."

"The attack was definitely aimed at an entire dike system. . . ."

"The American planes dropped their bombs more or less at random, with each bomb in fact not being able to help causing damage in a region consisting essentially of important dikes and embankments." — Jean Thoraval, Hanoi.

insisted that there has been no systematic targeting of the dike system, which runs throughout the Red River basin." — *New York Times*, Washington.

● JULY 6 — "Some of the dikes and dams may be on roadways that are being used or they may be in a position where antiaircraft weaponry is placed and, of course, our pilots are given the opportunity and they should have this capability to attack North Vietnamese gun emplacements." — Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, Washington.

● JULY 13 — "Pilots are apparently authorized, without obtaining clearance, to attack supply convoys or equipment stockpiles on roads on top of dikes."

"A military target is targeted and if it happens to be near a dike, a military source said, 'then it gets hit.'"

"One high-ranking officer who has access to much of the daily bombing information said: 'Given the number of irrigation systems up there, and given all the ordnance being dropped, there's always the possibility of an accident.' — *New York Times*, Washington.



# N. Ireland: Catholics face growing threat

By DAVE FRANKEL

JULY 18—Since the breakdown of the truce between the British army and the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) on July 10, some 6,000 Catholic refugees have fled British-ruled Northern Ireland. The size of this exodus—the entire Catholic population of Northern Ireland numbers about 500,000—gives an inkling of the savagery of the renewed attacks on the nationalist minority.

The British army, which has increased its strength to 17,000 troops, now occupies two sections of the Catholic ghetto in Belfast. In Derry, it attempted to cut the Catholic ghetto off from the city's center by erecting a wall across the only road that does not pass through Protestant areas. Demonstrations by women forced them to give up this plan at least temporarily. The British have also offered to withdraw their troops from the Suffolk area in Belfast in return for an end to IRA attacks there.

Despite these developments, it is still possible that a large-scale pogrom could be unleashed against the Catholic minority in the next few weeks. The period of marches celebrating the British conquest of Ireland has just begun. Traditionally, they represent an occasion for Protestant attacks on the Catholic population. Moreover, the British army has done nothing to check the growing boldness of the right-wing Ulster Defense Association (UDA).

*Hibernia*, a moderate biweekly published in Dublin, pointed out in its July 14 issue that "No-go areas were being set up week by week in Protestant areas, without resistance, and often with polite deference from the British Army. Not merely that: whenever the U.D.A. chose to extend their authority to a new sphere of activity, the opposition of the British Army never seemed wholehearted. When the U.D.A. decided to increase the area of the Woodvale no-go area the British Army massed a large number of men to prevent the implementation of this: but the outcome of the subsequent negotiations was that the U.D.A. patrols wandered virtually unmolested through mixed areas."

Moreover, *Hibernia* continued, "while U.D.A. barricades remained untouched, Catholic barricades put up in Portadown to prevent an Orange

[right-wing Protestant] march passing through a Catholic area were removed (along with local residents) with surprising ferocity by the British troops, to make way for the Orangemen."

The nationalist minority originally established no-go areas as a defense against attacks by right-wing vigilantes acting in collaboration with part of the Northern Ireland police, the Ulster Special Constabulary. Because Belfast is 75 percent Protestant, the spread of Protestant no-go areas has tended to surround the nationalist ghettos with hostile citadels that pose a chilling threat to the oppressed minority population.

One result of the struggle has been the polarization of mixed areas. In the last 10 months it is estimated that 25,000 people have left integrated areas in Belfast. Most of them are Catholics who have been intimidated by the UDA.

The breakdown of the truce was sparked by the refusal of the British army to protect 16 Catholic families who had been forced out of their homes and were attempting to move into other houses that had been legally allocated to them. Rather than confront the UDA, which opposed the move, the British attacked those trying to install the homeless families in the empty houses.

The thinking of some British policy makers and military men was reported by Jonathan Harsch in the July 18 *Christian Science Monitor*. Harsch suggests that one course William Whitelaw, the British minister for Northern Ireland, could take would be to "allow the two factions—Protestants and Catholics—to meet head-on, with the British Army shooting from the sidelines to pick off the worst extremists and gunmen."

In reality this course would entail launching a pogrom against the Catholic population, with the British army standing aside, waiting to occupy the ghetto areas after they had been "pacified."

While holding this threat over the heads of the nationalist population, the British appear to be feeling out the prospects for a second truce with the Provisionals. At this point the British recognize the Provisionals as an influential force and are willing to negotiate with them. What the Provisionals will do next remains to be seen.



Right-wing Protestant rally in Belfast.

14 years ago

# Eisenhower sent U.S. Marines into Lebanon

By LEE SMITH

To many young people today, direct U.S. military intervention in the Middle East may seem a rather remote prospect. George McGovern's repeated pledges to give all-out U.S. backing to the Zionist settler state of Israel, for example, if they do not sound exactly right to his youthful supporters, at least fail to dissuade most of them from viewing him as a positive alternative to Nixon.

But the threat of Washington using U.S. troops in the Middle East is not at all abstract. It is a very real danger. That this is so can be con-

had escalated into full-fledged civil war.

Chamoun charged that the rebellion was an invasion by forces from the United Arab Republic that "infiltrated" across the Syrian border. Such a charge was an invitation to imperialist military intervention. But a report by a team of United Nations observers concluded in early July that Chamoun's charges could not be confirmed. The UN report said the "vast majority [of the rebels] was in any case composed of Lebanese."

The UN report proved an embarrassment to both Washington and



Demonstration outside Los Angeles Federal Building July 19, 1958, protested sending of U.S. troops into Lebanon.

firmed by recalling what happened just 14 years ago this month.

On July 14, 1958, President Dwight Eisenhower ordered 5,000 Marines into Lebanon. The Marines were covered by air and naval forces that had been poised off the coast in readiness for the invasion. Their arsenal included nuclear weapons.

The Republican president's action was endorsed by Richard Nixon, who was then vice-president. It was also promptly supported by leading Democrats, including House Speaker Sam Rayburn, Harry Truman, and Adlai Stevenson.

The underlying reasons for this use of troops have not disappeared. Basically, the 1958 invasion was aimed at keeping the Arab nations weak and divided to preserve European and U.S. control of the oil-rich area.

The order to invade Lebanon came directly on the heels of King Faisal's downfall in Iraq. Riding the crest of a massive popular uprising, a group of army officers toppled Faisal's regime on July 14 and declared the Republic of Iraq.

The mass upsurge of Arab nationalism that overturned the monarchy in Iraq also shook the regimes in Lebanon and Jordan. Lebanese president Camille Chamoun and Jordan's King Hussein were solidly pro-imperialist, just as Faisal had been. Eisenhower swiftly invaded Lebanon and the British sent troops into Jordan to save the two rulers from the same fate that had befallen their friend on the throne in Iraq.

In Lebanon, the massive opposition to Chamoun erupted on May 10 in response to his announcement that he would seek a change in the constitution permitting him to remain in office for six more years. Barricades went up in the center of Beirut. Soon the barricades were supplemented by concrete pillboxes and the rebellion

London when the revolt in Iraq prompted both capitals to order their troops into Lebanon and Jordan, respectively, despite what the report had said.

Eisenhower used an appeal from Chamoun as the pretext for his invasion order. Both the U.S. and Britain argued in the UN that they acted in response to "indirect aggression" by the Soviet Union, which allegedly used Nasser as its tool.

However, as the Aug. 5, 1958, *Wall Street Journal* commented, Washington was faced with some "difficulty" in its attempt at "pinning indirect aggression on the Soviets. . . . The chief force in the Arab world at present is Nasserism. . . . To complicate matters further, it has yet to be shown that Mr. Nasser was directly behind the disorders in Iraq and Lebanon . . . ."

As for Chamoun's appeal, not only was it immediately opposed by his own parliament, which vigorously protested the U.S. invasion, but it was also opposed by his successor, who was elected under the guns of the occupying U.S. troops. General Fouad Chehab was elected to form a government replacing Chamoun's. The Associated Press reported from Beirut Aug. 5, 1958, that Chehab "wants U.S. troops to get out of Lebanon." The dispatch said Chehab counted withdrawal of U.S. troops "foremost among our national aims."

From this embarrassing position, U.S. and British diplomats engaged in some parliamentary fencing with the Soviet Union when the UN General Assembly met in August to consider the Middle East crisis. But after a few thrusts and parries, both sides joined the rest of the Assembly in unanimously approving a resolution calling for the "early" withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and Jordan.

Continued on page 22



## McGovern's campaign is not the answer

# The need for a mass antiwar movement

By DAVE FRANKEL

The National Peace Action Coalition convention in Los Angeles July 21 through 23 will discuss final plans for the Aug. 5-9 nationwide antiwar actions and decide on perspectives for fall activities.

Nixon's intensified bombing of both North and South Vietnam underlines the urgency of these actions. According to North Vietnamese reports, U. S. planes attacked its vital system of dikes and dams on 77 occasions in the three months ending June 29.

These charges have been substantiated by photographic and eyewitness evidence. The Vietnamese also claim that U. S. planes have dropped anti-personnel bombs on workers attempting to repair the dikes.

The U. S. bombing threatens to destroy the Vietnamese flood-control system. This would submerge an area with a population of more than 15 million and render unproductive the most fertile land in North Vietnam.

Such an action would be totally in keeping with U. S. policy in Vietnam. This policy has meant that between 1965 and 1971 bombs equaling the energy of 450 Hiroshima atomic explosions have been dropped on Vietnam.

The renewed U. S. bombing—coupled with the blockade of North Vietnam's ports and the massive buildup of air and sea power—has been an open attempt to destroy the economic potential of North Vietnam and terrorize its population. The principal force holding back an all-out attack on the dikes is the reaction such a crime would provoke from people all over the world, particularly in the United States.

Unfortunately, in the face of this unparalleled savagery, many antiwar activists are putting their hopes in electing George McGovern instead of in building mass demonstrations. Others have illusions that Nixon's summit meetings with Russian and Chinese leaders will result in a negotiated settlement to end the war.

Many who support McGovern recognize the value of the antiwar movement. But they think that the McGovern candidacy is a more realistic way of bringing the war to an end. "If McGovern is not elected," they reason, "we will simply turn back to the antiwar movement." In discussing these views it is worthwhile to look at the accomplishments and history of the antiwar movement.

When Lyndon Johnson undertook his massive escalation of the war in February 1965, he had just won election to the presidency in one of the biggest landslides ever recorded. The intervention into Vietnam was called "the first consensus war in American history." The leaders of the trade union movement were lined up solidly behind the war. So were virtually the entire crew of Democratic and Republican party politicians.

But in the face of repeated, visible,

bers are due to the activity of the antiwar movement.

The antiwar movement scored a similar victory in cutting short the invasion of Cambodia after the huge student strike in May 1970.

The antiwar movement helped destroy the witch-hunt atmosphere of the 1950s, when anyone who dissented from the government was automatically suspect. It has also been one of the most important factors in the radicalization of a whole generation

it refuses to get out now.

All of the accomplishments of the antiwar movement have been registered *against* the politicians carrying out the war. What little action vote-hungry politicians have taken has been in response to the massive pressure generated by the antiwar movement. The way to force more concessions from these politicians is to continue building the movement that forced them to admit that the war and their previous support for it were



Militant/Lora Eckert

April 22 antiwar march in New York. George McGovern refused to speak at or endorse this national antiwar action.

and massive demonstrations, the Johnson "consensus" broke down. The myth that opposition to the war was limited to a few malcontents and intellectuals was shattered by the tens of thousands, and then hundreds of thousands, of marchers seen on television screens and in newspaper photos across the country.

The antiwar movement not only made the war an issue in American politics. It also won the majority of the American people to an antiwar position. Nixon's "silent majority" went the way of LBJ's "consensus."

The Pentagon papers repeatedly refer to domestic antiwar sentiment as a factor limiting military options in Vietnam. Nixon's withdrawal of several hundred thousand U. S. ground troops from combat in Vietnam and the difficulty he would have in reintroducing them in any significant num-

of American youth.

One of the things that stands out in this experience is that to unite masses of people of different political persuasions, the antiwar movement has had to maintain its independent character and identity.

By focusing on the issue of the war and refusing to become a support group for one or another political personality or party, the antiwar movement has been able to mobilize the broadest possible support. It has been able to present its goals clearly to the American people.

Millions of Americans understand that the antiwar movement wants the U. S. to get out of Vietnam—immediately and with no strings attached. It is becoming harder for the U. S. government to ignore that demand, to substitute something less than immediate withdrawal, or to explain why

"mistakes."

The antiwar movement was built for the last seven years regardless of who was in office or running for office, regardless of temporary setbacks or difficulties, and regardless of promises that the war would be ended by passing one or another bill or by electing one or another politician.

Such a movement cannot be "turned off" for the elections and then "turned on" again. It requires constant activity to maintain its supporters and its perspective. Otherwise it tends to lose ground. And just as it is necessary to maintain the independent antiwar movement no matter which Democrats and Republicans are *running* for office, it is necessary to maintain it no matter which of them are *in* office.

We hope that many McGovern supporters will participate in the Aug. 5-

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## Justice Dep't victimizes Vietnam veterans

By ED SMITH

JULY 17—The Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) plan daily actions at next month's Republican national convention to protest the new rash of federal victimizations of their members.

Twenty-three members of VVAW were subpoenaed to appear before a grand jury in Tallahassee, Fla., July 10, the opening day of the Democratic Party convention. Most of the 23 were VVAW leaders who were planning antiwar actions in Miami Beach. The subpoenas were served by federal agents Friday night and Saturday morning, July 7 and 8, before the vets arrived in Miami Beach.

On July 13, federal district Judge David Middlebrooks imprisoned four of the 23 for refusing to "assist" the Justice Department's grand-jury witch-hunt.

The four—all in their 20s and wearing Army or Marine fatigue uniforms

—were ordered held in custody for up to 18 months.

Then in a style typical of the previous attorney general, John Mitchell, the Justice Department on July 14 charged that six other VVAW leaders "had conspired to disrupt the Republican National Convention next month with firebombs and shootings." According to the July 15 *New York Times*, "the Government accused the six veterans of conspiring last April 1 to cause death and destruction during the Republican convention."

"The weapons to be used, the Government said, included bombs, crossbows, automatic weapons and wrist rocket slingshots—rubber-thonged devices that can propel projectiles accurately for up to 100 yards."

The six vets charged with conspiracy were jailed in Tallahassee July 14 under \$25,000 bonds.

The next day the veterans group moved to expose the frame-up charges. VVAW members Martin Jordan and

Donald Donner filed affidavits stating that the conspiracy charges were based on the testimony of an FBI informer named William Lemmer.

The antiwar veterans stated that they had tape recordings in which the FBI provocateur "documents that 95 per cent of his testimony to the F. B. I. and the Justice Department is false and was given to them in order to raise his own income as an informant."

Meanwhile, on July 13 the Democratic convention passed a special resolution condemning the administration's attack on the antiwar veterans. The resolution stated that the issuing of the subpoenas "represents an attempt by the Nixon Administration to deny to the Veterans their most fundamental constitutional rights to express their dissent and opposition to the War in Southeast Asia."

The resolution called upon the Justice Department "to withdraw imme-

diately the subpoenas served upon the Veterans so that they may stage their protests at the national political conventions free of harassment."

The 10 VVAW members now imprisoned in Tallahassee include Jack L. Jennings and William Bruce Horton of Gainesville, Fla.; John Victor Chambers of St. Petersburg, Fla.; and Wayne Beverly of Austin, Texas. They are charged with refusing to answer the grand jury.

Also imprisoned are Scott Camil of Gainesville; William J. Patterson of El Paso, Texas; Peter P. Mahoney of New Orleans; Donald P. Perdue of Fort Lauderdale, Fla.; John W. Kniffin of Austin; and Alton C. Foss of Miami. They are charged with "conspiracy."

For information on protest plans and preparations for the defense, contact VVAW Defense Committee, 25 W. 26 St., New York, N. Y. 10010. Telephone: (212) 725-5860.

# In Our Opinion

## Labor and the '72 elections

For the first time in the 17 years since the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the AFL-CIO's Executive Council decided not to endorse a candidate for president. Previously it has always campaigned for and helped fund the Democratic ticket.

By a vote of 27-3 it adopted a policy of placing maximum effort on electing its "friends" to Congress. Affiliates are free to endorse any presidential ticket of their choice.

This decision by the council of the country's largest labor organization does not represent a break with the two parties that protect the interests of big business against those of workers. Rather, it's an expression of AFL-CIO president Meany and his colleagues' ire at being bypassed in the selection of the Democratic Party's 1972 ticket.

Meany and his moss-backed cohorts fought against McGovern in the primaries, the state conventions, and the national convention. These champions of U.S. imperialist foreign policy couldn't stomach McGovern's criticisms of the Vietnam war nor his attempts to draw more leaders and activists from the various protest movements into the Democratic Party. They don't think he can win and feel that even if he does, he won't owe them anything.

Meany abhors even the pale reflection at the Democratic convention of today's struggles for social change. In the face of this, his statement that he'll "seriously consider" a labor party if the two-party system fails to voice workers' needs is so much bombast. All he offers is support to the big business candidates for both houses of Congress and efforts to reestablish a more favorable position for the labor bureaucrats in the Democratic Party before its next convention. This is scarcely a fighting program to help solve the pressing problems of working people.

Meany's view has not been unanimously acclaimed in the labor movement, not even in the AFL-CIO hierarchy. Some union officials have already endorsed McGovern, including United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock. Others are expected to follow suit. A couple of unions, including the Teamsters, have signed up with Nixon. In the AFL-CIO council meeting the three union presidents who voted against Meany advocated endorsing McGovern and Eagleton.

These labor officials recognize that the radicalization is affecting union members and that they must relate to this to protect their own bureaucratic interests. They feel that supporting McGovern will help serve this purpose. But this proposal for what workers should do in the elections is no better than what Meany offers.

In spite of all their promises, neither McGovern nor Eagleton, a former corporation lawyer, are friends of labor. The McGovern-Eagleton platform calls for wage controls and for strikebreaking legislation against railroad workers. Furthermore, the candidates are 100 percent for the capitalist profit system that is responsible for the social evils of our society, including the Vietnam war, unemployment, and inflation. McGovern supports a military spending program great enough to keep U.S. imperialism "second to none" as a world power.

What is needed is a complete break with the two-party con game. A labor party based on the country's unions and responsible to them should be formed. An independent political organization of labor could run candidates against those of the capitalist parties.

It could fight against U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia and demand that the billions spent on war be used for socially constructive purposes. It could fight to abolish the government Pay Board and all wage controls.

To fight inflation, clauses must be written into all union contracts providing for automatic wage increases with each rise in the cost of living.

To fight the scourge of unemployment, a labor party would demand a massive public-works program. Such a program would hire millions of unemployed workers at full union wages to build schools, hospitals, parks, and other socially useful projects. Employed workers should not be laid off. Instead, their hours of work should be reduced, with no reduction in pay, to share the available work.

The only candidates campaigning for this perspective in the 1972 elections are those of the Socialist Workers Party. All workers fed up with the dead-end strategy of supporting Democrats and Republicans or Meany's phony neutrality should cast their votes for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley for president and vice-president.

### Political education

Recently I had the great opportunity to read your newspaper. I find the articles of a political nature excellent and of great importance to me. I am deeply concerned and involved in the areas which you deal with. Such priceless knowledge (political education) I prize more than material possessions.

*A prisoner  
New York*

### USSR reports

#### antiwar protester

Your mention in the "'72 Socialist Campaign" column (July 7) of the young woman thrown out of the Bolshoi Ballet by Soviet cops was a rather mild understatement. According to the NBC News on the day after the incident occurred, she had called out "Freedom to Vietnam" in "thickly accented English." But the accent was not Russian. That young woman was the 20-year-old wife of an Italian newspaper correspondent stationed in Moscow.

For the simple act of calling public attention to the criminality of Nixon's intentions, this young supporter of the antiwar movement was not only arrested by Brezhnev's police. She was also thrown out of the country! I wonder how Gus Hall [U.S. Communist Party presidential candidate] would go about explaining this to her.

*S.M.  
Pittsfield, Mass.*

### Returning to women's movement

Would it be possible for you to send me the addresses of the National Organization for Women and the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition? I am a lower-middle-class housewife with one child, one puppy, and one three-bedroom, two-bathroom house I don't own.

Before I became pregnant and was forced to marry, I was active with Women's Lib at the University of Miami. Although there are absolutely no revolutionary activities or even ideas here, I'd like to become involved in some way.

*M.S.  
Lake Tahoe, Calif.*

*In reply*—NOW's national headquarters is located at 1952 E. 73rd St., Chicago, Ill. 60649. You can write to WONAAC's national office at 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011.

### Bombing the dikes

President Nixon's claim that the U.S. is not bombing the dike system of North Vietnam is reminiscent of the Johnson administration's denials when confronted with overwhelming evidence of the use of antipersonnel fragmentation bombs against the civilian population of the Southeast Asian war zone.

Johnson's lies were exposed, and it is now a well-known fact that the use of these bombs against civilians has been and remains a part of U.S. policy. Now evidence is mounting to expose the lies of President Nixon.

Jean Thoraval, a correspondent for the French daily *Le Monde*, visited a bombed dike at Phuly in Namha Province. He reported cracks in the reinforced-concrete sluice gates and wide cracks in the dike itself, in addition to direct hits.

The dike damage reported by Tho-

# Letters

raval can easily be compared to the effects of an earthquake. It is enough to note that the effects of the 7.5-ton "Daisy Cutter" bombs have been described as producing "a localized earthquake."

July and August are the dangerous months when the floodwaters are at their highest. The National Peace Action Coalition has called for a week of antiwar protests against the bombing of the dikes and for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, to coincide with the Hiroshima-Nagasaki demonstrations Aug. 5-9. Everyone who is opposed to this genocidal action by the U.S. government should unite for these actions.

*Glen Boatman  
Minneapolis, Minn.*

### Lettuce boycott

Cesar Chavez, director of the United Farmworkers National Union, has once more called for a boycott of all nonunion lettuce. Now it is up to the consumer to decide whether the lives of superexploited migrant farm workers are more important than a cool, crisp lettuce salad.

The lettuce boycott first began in September 1970. Economically crippled by the boycott, the lettuce magnates agreed to negotiate "in good faith," and the boycott was called off.

To the growers, "in good faith" meant working with the National Right-to-Work Committee, the John Birch Society, the Farm Bureau Federation, and various other right-wing groups to attack the union. It meant calling the union's Chicano, Black, and Filipino workers "orangutans." It meant firing prounion workers. It meant promoting anti-farm-labor legislation in over 20 key agricultural states.

The United Farm Workers have taken enough of the growers' "good faith." The lettuce boycott has resumed.

Because lettuce is harvested by backbreaking stoop labor, many field workers develop chronic back trouble after no more than a couple of seasons. Because the growers insist that the use of such lethal pesticides as DDT, Aldrin, and parathion (first developed as a nerve gas by the Nazis) is among their "managerial rights," 80,000 farm workers are poisoned each year. One thousand die.

Because he need not supply toilets or drinking water in the fields, or pay decent wages and provide adequate housing for the workers, the average cost per head of lettuce to the nonunion grower is only 1.2 cents. The average annual income of farm workers is \$1,300.

Are not the "rented slaves" worthy of higher wages and better working conditions? Are you not entitled to eat lettuce free from the residue of dangerous pesticides?

You can help to put an end to the use of lethal pesticides in the fields—and in the food you eat. You can help achieve a fair standard of living for the agricultural laborer, the poorest worker in America.

Refuse to purchase iceberg lettuce unless the United Farm Workers emblem, a black Aztec eagle, is displayed. Refuse to patronize supermarkets carrying nonunion lettuce.

*United Farm Workers  
19 W. 34th St.  
New York, N.Y. 10019*

# The Great Society

## Democratic Party convention

Last night (July 10) I watched the opening session of the Democratic Party convention. The scenario was typical: first, of course, a prayer, and then the pledge of allegiance, the national anthem, a "patriotic musical presentation" of the flags of the states and territories (!) of the U. S., and finally the welcoming speech, which talked of the "divine destiny" of the U. S. In short, the beginning combined all the major components of bourgeois ideology—religion, national chauvinism, war, racism, and imperialism.

Who then should pop up on the screen but Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin. They were inside the convention this year, praising its progressive nature, i.e., more women, Blacks and young people, McGovern's antiwar stand, etc. To super-revolutionaries Jerry and Abbie, this proved that the "system" can work.

The truth is that such tokenism and "peace" rhetoric is the liberal politicians' response to the growing independent mass movements they find to be a nuisance in the way of their prime goal—a stable domestic environment to pursue their imperialist policies.

Despite the infantile ravings of Rubin, Hoffman, and Rennie Davis, the Democratic Party is owned by and committed to the preservation of monopoly capitalism. These pseudo-revolutionaries who would lead radicalizing people into the Democratic Party foster illusions about the nature of the capitalist enemy and his two-party system, and serve to prevent people from realizing that only their independent collective power is capable of wringing reforms from the ruling class as well as leading to a socialist revolution.

Some radicals find it incomprehensible that yesterday's leaders of ultraleftist schemes are today urging other people to join them in George McGovern's back pocket. But if you think about it, nothing is more logical. Liberalism and ultraleftism have one very important thing in common: both have no faith that the independent power of the people expressed in mass actions can change reality.

Since they lack this fundamental understanding, one finds the ultra-lefts one day involved in meaningless trashings (always "in solidarity with the Vietnamese people") and the next day lining up behind a "savior"—this year it's McGovern. To the ultra-lefts, anything is preferable to building the independent antiwar movement and "another demonstration"; though this is the only way, along with the unparalleled heroism of the Vietnamese liberation fighters, to force the U. S. out of Southeast Asia.

The SWP candidates are the only ones committed to total self-determination for the Indochinese peoples and for building the independent mass movements. For this reason they have my vote.

Ike Nahem  
Cincinnati, Ohio

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

A winning team—"SAIGON (AP)—Some American helicopters in Vietnam now are carrying tear gas cannisters to prevent panic-stricken soldiers or civilian refugees from dragging them down in efforts to scramble aboard."

Oh—Treasury Secretary George Schultz explained why the government says it thinks relaxed curbs on imported meats from Australia and elsewhere will stave off further price rises. Most of the imports, he said, go into hamburgers and hot dogs (kangaroo burgers?). This means, he explains, that some of the displaced local products will now substitute for "special cuts," presumably without a further price hike.

The fly in the ointment—A San Francisco waiter who puts in a regular week's work at age 105 explains that he runs five miles in Golden Gate Park every morning and then walks briskly to work. He doesn't smoke or drink, he explains, but he does drink lots of pure water. The question, of course, is: where does he get the water?

Vanishing institution?—Partisans of holy wedlock who are concerned because socialism foreshadows the end of the nuclear family should really focus their attention on a more im-

mediate problem. There are now 455 divorces for every 1,000 marriages in the U. S. (Montana is out front with 803 divorces for every 1,000 marriages.) And with a number of states liberalizing divorce laws, a further increase is expected in the number of couples that fail to stick it out until death do them part.

Separate bed and bedlam—British scientists report that undue noise is an obstacle to proper sexual functioning. They recommend that bedroom noise levels should not be above 30 decibels (aircraft noise is above 120). It was noted, however, that residents in the vicinity of London airport had a slightly higher birth rate than the rest of the city, which could simply indicate that they were too rattled to plan.

Tight squeeze—From various reports over the years we've gathered that while the Kremlin officialdom may be comfortably quartered, ordinary Muscovites are pretty tightly squeezed in. The extent of the problem may be indicated by a Pravda complaint that in a one-year period Moscow dog owners evicted 21,000 of their pets onto the streets.

Finger wave?—Jack Block, the thinking person's mayor of South Miami,

Fla., feels police-community relations would improve if policemen waved at people. "It's simple," the mayor explained. "If only our policemen would wave at everyone, then pretty soon everyone would be forced to wave back." Or get a ticket, right?

Bet no one asked the dog—To win a bet with a politically naive neighbor, a Los Angeles resident got his poodle certified as a member of Mayor Yorty's Community Advisory Committee. Apprised of the true identity of the new committee member, the good mayor said it was fine with him.

—HARRY RING



## Women: The Insurgent Majority

**ABORTION DEBATE IN LATIN AMERICA: DOMINICAN PSYCHIATRIST SUPPORTS WOMEN'S RIGHT TO CONTROL THEIR OWN BODIES**—The July 15 WONAAC Newsletter, published by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, contains an article by Candida Barbarena on "Abortion in the Latino Press." Barbarena writes:

"The international scope and impact of the abortion (law) repeal movement was recently witnessed by the June 19 issue of the weekly Dominican magazine *Ahora!*. The publication has a broad circulation in the Dominican Republic and the U. S., especially New York, among social reformers and young leftist members of the Juventud Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Youth) of the party of Juan Bosch, the PRD (Partido Revolucionario Dominicano—Dominican Revolutionary Party).

"In an article entitled 'Se acabara el aborto legalizandolo?' (Will Abortion End with Legalization?), the psychiatrist Dr. Maximo Beras Goico lays bare several of the moral and social stigmas whose weight is at odds with pro-abortion reformers and repeal advocates. . . . he makes an example of the North American repeal campaign and quotes from one of its uncompromising spokeswomen, Dr. Barbara Roberts.

"Beras agrees that legalized abortion means not only physical control of one's body, but alleviation of psychological problems of unwanted pregnancies. 'In order to preserve a woman's mental health,' he states, 'a physical abortion is not enough; psychological abortion is necessary, and in precise terms this means that abortion be legalized and stop being considered a crime or a sin.' Beras supports the feminist position of WONAAC (national) coordinator Barbara Roberts (who says), 'Only with the end to restrictions on abortion will we be able to decide if we want or don't want a child. This will free our minds at the same time it frees our bodies.'

"The same article in *Ahora!* must be an encouraging call to action for millions of Latin women who are daily confronted by the bludgeoning weight of motherhood as perpetrated by paternalist society. . . .

"The stigma attached to having so-called illegitimate children is also covered in Beras's article. He correctly condemns this labeling as a social contradiction, the product of a society that teaches a woman 'that abortion is a crime' and at the same time forces her to abort out of social and economic necessity. 'This contradictory reality is absurd and cruel, but it is actually the reality.'

"Overriding the moral issues, Beras argues for legalized abortions. . . . 'The problem consists of whether we should condemn women to illegal or legal abortions,

in bad hygienic conditions and irresponsible hands, or give her the opportunity to legally abort with dignity under clean conditions and medical care.'

"The very slogan of WONAAC that poses the abortion struggle as one that verifies a woman's right to choose is also considered by Beras, (who) asserts that 'No one should (dispute) that women have a fundamental right, the right to control their own bodies. We cannot thus legislate and prohibit the opposite. It is with this prohibition that they have spread secret and discreet quacks, butchers and doctors whose business is abortion. . . .'



Sid Sattler

**Abortion law repeal demonstration in New York, March 1970.**

The *Ahora!* article is one indication of the international impact the abortion law repeal movement in the United States—particularly through WONAAC—is having. Women in Latin America are challenging centuries-old reactionary social institutions upheld by their governments and the Catholic Church. As they organize to demand their rights, the abortion issue is sure to be one focus of their struggle.

—CINDY JAQUITH



# Should we abolish the military?

## From a reader

I've been reading *The Militant* for about one and one-half years, and I am generally in agreement with everything I read in it. I even intend to vote for Jenness and Pulley in November. In your June 16 issue, however, the rhetoric got too heavy for me. In the McGovern-Humphrey article on page three, this statement was made: "The U.S. has no need for

a defense budget because no country is out to attack it. . . ."

I agree completely that the U.S. is the main force of brutal aggression in the world today, but don't you think you're going overboard when you say that we have no need for a defense budget? I have as little faith in the ruling bureaucracy of the Soviet Union as I have in the ruling class of the U.S. It will take a long time for you to convince me that we should abolish our military.

Furthermore, even if your statement

were correct, it is poor journalistic technique to present such a controversial statement without any supporting material. The statement is presented as if it is a scientific fact. I'm sure that this statement and others like it have alienated your 10-week trial-subscription readers. *The Militant* is probably the best radical newspaper available today, but unfounded rhetoric like that alienates large numbers of potential readers.

Ken Klucsor  
Fairfield, Calif.

## Broad Portland defense for SMC activists

PORTLAND, Ore. — Trade unionists, antiwar activists, a broad range of political candidates and figures, and civil libertarians attended a June 30 cocktail party here in support of the Portland Committee to Defend the Right to Protest (CoDRP).

CoDRP was formed to defend the Portland Student Mobilization Committee and 15 antiwar activists who are being sued by the Georgia-Pacific Corporation as a result of an anti-war demonstration on May 11.

The SMC had organized a legal, peaceful demonstration to protest Nixon's escalation of the war. A small group of individuals split off from the march to throw rocks at the induction center and at the offices of Georgia-Pacific. The Georgia-Pacific suit seeks \$120,000 damages and a permanent injunction against future protests at or near their downtown headquarters.

This suit is an attempt to create an atmosphere of fear and intimidation in which protest activity is linked with violence. The suit aims to establish the precedent that organizers of protest actions can be held responsible for the actions of all who participate in them.

The cocktail party was scheduled for the same day as the filing of CoDRP's first brief calling for the suit to be thrown out. The party became a hot topic of debate for three days on local radio talk shows and in the column of Doug Baker, Portland's best-known daily columnist. Baker gave the time and place of the party, reported that it was being hosted by Portland's liberal community, and reprinted in full CoDRP's statement of purpose.

Three cochairpeople of the committee hosted the party. They are: Shirley Gold, executive secretary of the Portland Federation of Teachers; Hollis Ransom, chairman of the Multnomah County Democratic Central Committee; and Steven Kafoury, Democratic candidate for state representative.

More than 50 people came to the party, including Ralph Bunche and Wally Priestly, two other candidates for state representative; Susan Welsh, coordinator of the SMC and one of the defendants in the case; Larry McCabe, president of the Portland Federation of Teachers (PFT); and a number of other PFT executive board members.

Helen Gordon and Phoebe Friedman, well-known leaders of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Nick Chaivoe, noted civil-liberties attorney, also attended. John Toran, treasurer of the Oregon Black Political Caucus was unable to attend because of a conflicting caucus convention but sent greetings.

A number of new endorsers were gathered, and \$275 was raised for CoDRP. Anyone interested in further information or in sending a contribution to help with the legal costs should write to: CoDRP, 408 S.W. Second, Room 230, Portland, Ore. 97204. Telephone: (503) 226-3104.

## In reply

By DOUG JENNESS

Ken Klucsor, whose letter appears on this page, raises a question related to military expenditures that deserves serious consideration. We admit that our article in the June 16 *Militant* didn't explain our views as well as it might have.

The context of the article's statement on the "defense budget" was a criticism of McGovern's and Humphrey's support to U.S. military expenditures. The article stated, "Both candidates hid the truth that the U.S. 'defense' budget is not a defense budget at all but a war budget. The U.S. has no need for a defense budget because no country is out to attack it; instead, it is the U.S. that is the main force of brutal aggression in the world today."

What the author was attempting to do was to show that military appropriations made by the capitalist government in Washington have nothing to do with defending the American people. The terms "defense budget" and "defense department" are euphemisms used by capitalists and capitalist politicians to describe their war budget and their war department.

Like "national security," "defense of the fatherland," and "war for democracy," these terms are used to try to fool the American people into thinking that the military expenditures and wars of the capitalist rulers will help defend their homes and families from invasion and bombs.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The armed forces—just like the FBI, the CIA, the state and local police, the courts, and the huge governmental bureaucracy—are an instrument used by the ruling class to help maintain its domination at home and abroad.

This domination is not peaceful or defensive. It is aggressive and expansive. The very nature of imperialism drives the businessmen and bankers who run this country to go beyond the borders of the United States to find new markets for their products, new arenas for investment, and new sources of raw materials. This ceaseless drive for profits brings the U.S. imperialists into conflict with other countries in three principal ways.

First is the conflict with other imperialist countries generated by competition for spheres of influence. This was the central cause of World War I and World War II. Today, however, the significantly greater military and economic strength of the United States makes it unlikely that competition between the U.S. imperialists and those of Western Europe and Japan will result in war.

A more basic conflict today is created by the fact that a huge part of the world is no longer subject to imperialist exploitation. This includes the USSR, China, Eastern Europe, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Cuba—the countries where capitalism has been abolished. The example of what

these countries have accomplished with nationalized and planned economies, along with the fact that they have reduced the arena for capitalist expansion, brings them continually under the threat of U.S. attack.

The scope of this threat is shown by the ring of U.S. military bases encircling the USSR, China, and Eastern Europe. It is also shown in Vietnam, where step-by-step escalation, calculated to test the response of China and the USSR, continually risks war between the U.S. and these countries. If the U.S. warmakers are successful in crushing the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam, the stage would be set for the U.S. to move in and reestablish capitalism in North Vietnam.

It is American imperialism, not the USSR or China, that is the aggressor in the world today. Where private ownership of the means of production has been abolished and the pred-

of Pigs invasion of Cuba. In addition, millions of dollars in military aid is sent each year to bolster reactionary regimes against workers and peasants fighting for a better life.

In these three types of conflict the goal of the capitalist rulers is the same—to defend their own profiteering interests. What do American working people get? Higher taxes to pay for the armaments and the drafting of their sons. Cutbacks are made in education, housing deteriorates, and other social needs go unfulfilled.

What position should American working people take in respect to military appropriations and the armed forces? Our slogan should be: "Not one man and not one penny for the capitalist government." If the Socialist Workers Party candidates running for Congress were elected this year, they would vote against all appropriations to the capitalist war budget and for and end to the draft.



U.S. military crushed 1965 revolution in Santo Domingo.

atory drive for profits eliminated, the imperialist motive for expansion no longer exists. The most outstanding feature of both Soviet and Chinese foreign policy today is not aggression but their failure to come to the defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

The third basic conflict stems from the fact that the U.S., as the most powerful capitalist country in the world, has assumed the task of policing the globe to prevent other nations from abolishing capitalism. This has pitted U.S. imperialism against all those nations where struggles for independence and social justice threaten the end of capitalism.

This was demonstrated by the U.S. invasions of Korea, Lebanon, Santo Domingo, and Southeast Asia. It was shown in the 1961 U.S.-backed Bay

But someone might respond, "Yes, I recognize that the policy of the capitalists who run this country is to defend their right to plunder. But what if another country attacks our cities and homes? Don't we need a military force to defend ourselves?"

The socialist answer is that we can't depend on the capitalist government to defend our homes. To defend our country we must first bind our own capitalists hand and foot and prevent them from attacking other countries.

The workers must become the country's real masters, the wealth must be transferred from the hands of the tiny minority to the hands of the people. Only then will the exploiters' weapon of aggression be replaced by an armed force that will defend the interests of working people.

# McGovern praises George Wallace, pledges to maintain U.S. military might

By CAROLINE LUND

In his July 14 speech accepting the Democratic Party presidential nomination, George McGovern continued to backtrack from his earlier, more radical statements. This is part of his attempt to woo the more conservative sectors of the Democratic Party. He feels he is in a position to do this since he already has broad support from antiwar and women's liberation activists and other radical-minded people.

One example of this shift was the

## Jenness demands equal time

On July 14, Linda Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, formally requested that TV networks grant her equal time to answer the televised acceptance speech McGovern made at the Democratic Party convention.

Jenness's letter to the networks states: "The telecast of this campaign speech of a nominated candidate for office does not fall into any of the exempted categories as defined by Section 315a (of the Federal Communications Act), and I am therefore entitled to equal time."

In a news release, Jenness stated that in her opinion the telecast of McGovern's speech does not fall within the exempt category of "coverage of bona fide news events" because of the uninterrupted coverage and the partisan nature of the speech.

section early in his speech praising Governor George Wallace. "I was as moved as all of you," said the Democratic nominee, "by the appearance at this convention of the Governor of Alabama, George Wallace, whose votes in the primaries showed the depth of discontent in this country, and whose courage in the face of pain and adversity is the mark of a man of boundless will."

McGovern thus demonstrated he has greater concern for getting support from Wallace backers than he has for the feelings of the millions of Black people in this country who justly despise the Alabama segregationist and his thinly disguised racism.

Another indication of McGovern's bending to Wallace was his treatment of the welfare issue. Echoing Wallace's denunciation of "welfare loafers," McGovern stated, "America cannot exist with most of our people working and paying taxes to support too many others mired in the demeaning, hopeless welfare mess."

While McGovern called for "putting millions back to work," he failed to project the steps necessary to accomplish this: a crash program of public-works projects to provide jobs at union wages; low-cost, 24-hour child-care centers; and a shortening of the workweek to spread the available jobs.

## Cold-war ideology

Concerning the Vietnam war, McGovern was cheered as he repeated his promise to withdraw all American troops within 90 days of his inauguration. He received a much less enthusiastic response, however, when he went on to devote much of his speech

to the need to maintain U.S. military might.

"It is necessary in an age of nuclear power and hostile forces," he asserted, "that we be militarily strong." He echoed Nixon's arrogant boasts that the U.S. is and must remain the "number one power" in the world when he stated that "America must never become a second-rate nation." He went on to say: "National security includes schools for our children as well as silos for our missiles, the health of our families as much as the size of our bombs, the safety of our streets, and the condition of our cities and not just the engines of war." (Emphasis added.)

The relatively low-key response to this section of his talk reflected the fact that many delegates, like most Americans, do not feel any more secure because of the U.S. war machine and its stockpiles of nuclear weapons, missiles, and bombs.

McGovern also pledged to defend "those who deserve and need the shield of our strength—our old allies in Europe, and elsewhere, including the people of Israel, who will always have our help to hold their promised land."

This rhetoric about "defending our allies" comes straight from the ideology of the cold war and the "fight against communism." It has been used by the rulers of this country for years to justify U.S.-supported aggression in Korea, Lebanon, the Congo, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Vietnam to crush popular revolts against pro-capitalist regimes.

And McGovern admitted that he would use this justification again to intervene on the side of the Israeli settler regime against the Palestinian people, who are fighting to reclaim the right to live and control their lives in their homeland.

Because of the U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia, many Americans question whether pro-imperialist regimes such as the Saigon regime are in fact "allies" of the American people. They question the whole "fight against communism," and believe that the Vietnamese should have a right to insti-



Some delegates at Democratic convention carried placards and banners with antiwar slogans on convention floor.

tute a socialist system if they want to.

McGovern, however, took pains in his acceptance speech to assure the ruling capitalists and bankers of this country that he was ready to defend their allies around the world and to oppose—by military force if necessary—the struggles of oppressed peoples, peasants, and working people for social change.

As is typical of Democratic and Republican politicians, McGovern made many sweeping promises but projected few specific programs for achieving those goals. He advocated tax reform, jobs for everyone, and a decent income for those unable to work.

He did not oppose the wage controls but only criticized the way the Nixon administration is applying them. He did not mention such important issues as the right of women to abortion or the need for a national network of child-care centers. He made no mention of the rights of Afro-Americans or Chicanos.

McGovern tried to assert that his nomination by the Democratic national convention was "a nomination of the people." He promised to "restore the government to the people," and stated, "we stand today not as a collection of backroom strategists, not as a tool of ITT or any other special interest, but as a direct reflection of the public will."

## Party of big business

But while the Democratic Party convention included more activists from protest movements than any previous convention, the real control over the

right to abortion, gay rights, and a \$6,500 guaranteed annual income. But the discontent was reflected in other ways as well.

For example, many delegates felt strongly that the convention itself, not McGovern and his advisers, should be able to choose the party's vice-presidential candidate.

This sentiment was reflected in the large number of protest votes for such people as "Archie Bunker" and Ralph Nader. More than 300 votes were cast for Frances Farenthold, the candidate supported by the Women's Political Caucus. And Senator Mike Gravel received a standing ovation for his speech nominating himself for the vice-presidency. In it he attacked government repression against Angela Davis, the Berrigan brothers, and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

The issue of party reform also evoked protest from many McGovern supporters. In response to vehement opposition by some Democratic elected officials to a proposed party reform charter, McGovern forces compromised and put off passage of the reforms for two more years.

The reform charter would expand the Democratic National Committee to include members elected at a local level, establish periodic policy-making conferences of the party, and require the representation of women, Blacks, Indians, Spanish-speaking people, and youth.

Protesting this deal by McGovern, the New York delegation walked out of the convention for 40 minutes on July 13. The walkout was staged de-

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# McG VOWS ARMS SECOND TO NONE

Even the New York Daily News, one of the most openly reactionary voices of the capitalist class, felt this message was the most significant aspect of McGovern's acceptance speech.

Democratic Party has not been changed. The larger numbers of women, Blacks, Chicanos, and young people who attended the 1972 Democratic convention will have no control over McGovern's actions if he is elected. The platform they helped construct is in no way binding upon thousands of Democrats in office.

The actual performance of politicians committed to the Democratic Party will continue to reflect the interests of big business. Democratic politicians are tied to these ruling capitalist interests by their support to the "free-enterprise" system. Corruption, bribes, and favors serve to cement this relationship.

Although most of the young delegates at the Democratic convention felt that perhaps McGovern was an exception to this rule, many of them went away with doubts about the honesty of his campaign.

This disillusionment with McGovern was most evident during the consideration of the Democratic Party platform, when McGovern caused the defeat of planks supporting women's

spite the pleas of McGovern aides not to embarrass the candidate and despite the fact that the walkout helped delay McGovern's acceptance speech until after prime TV time.

In another incident, some McGovern supporters made a dramatic attempt to confront McGovern with the need to take a stronger position on amnesty for deserters and draft resisters. On July 13, McGovern delegates from California managed to smuggle into the convention hall a Vietnam combat veteran who deserted three years ago because of his opposition to the war.

The veteran, Private Thomas Michaud, turned himself in on the convention floor and was arrested in an attempt to publicize the amnesty issue.

As McGovern faces Nixon in the coming months, it can be expected that his campaign will move even more to the right and that many of his current supporters will seek more fundamental solutions to the problems of this country than McGovern and the Democratic Party provide.

## At Democratic Party convention

# McGovern abortion stand angers women

By CAROLINE LUND

The failure of the 1972 Democratic national convention to approve a plank on the right of women to abortion angered many women delegates supporting George McGovern.

Delegates discussed and voted on the minority pro-abortion plank between 2 and 4:30 a.m. on July 19, guaranteeing that not many television viewers would be able to watch it. The plank supported "each person's right to privacy, freedom of choice and individual conscience" in matters relating to human reproduction.

Women delegates already knew that McGovern did not want the abortion plank approved. Throughout the last part of his primary campaign the South Dakota senator had taken great pains to disavow his earlier stand in favor of a woman's right to abortion.

For example, the June 26 *Time* magazine reported that "In Nebraska last month, responding to accusations that he favors abortion, McGovern insisted that there must be regulating legislation: 'You can't just let anybody walk in and request an abortion'."

But many women delegates were still astounded and disgusted with the crude way in which McGovern subordinated women's interests to improve his chances of election.

The voice vote first taken on the abortion plank was so close that delegates called for and won a roll-call vote. This occurred despite the instructions of McGovern aides not to demand a roll call.

As the roll call was being taken, it appeared for a while that the plank might even have a chance of winning. But then, reported the July 13 *Washington Post*, "McGovern strategists . . . told their delegates that there was a

Humphrey-Wallace coalition voting yes to saddle McGovern with an embarrassing and possibly defeating plank, and the votes began dropping sharply."

The *Post* noted the cynicism of McGovern representative Frank Maniewicz, who "could not suppress his smile at their victory [in defeating the abortion plank]. . . . 'We have good bench strength,' he joked, knowing full well that no matter how mad the women were with the tactics, they had no other place to go."

As McGovern aides pressured delegates to change their votes and defeat the abortion plank, arguments erupted in many of the state delegations. Feminist Gloria Steinem confronted Gary Hart, McGovern's campaign manager, calling him and other McGovern aides "bastards."

The day following the platform discussion women delegates supporting McGovern called a caucus meeting to discuss the "credibility gap" in the McGovern campaign concerning women's issues and to air complaints about how McGovern engineered the defeat of the abortion platform plank.

Ruth Walsh, an alternate delegate from Boston, Mass., opened the caucus meeting of about 100 by saying that she had joined the McGovern campaign through her involvement in the women's movement. "I find," she told the delegates, "that somehow the women's issues have become muddled and sacrificed."

Just prior to the caucus meeting I spoke with Kathy Wood, a 21-year-old McGovern delegate from Illinois who has been involved in the abortion movement through the National Organization for Women. I asked her how she felt about McGovern's stand

on the abortion plank.

"I was very, very upset about it," she began. "The truth is that a lot of women worked very hard for him, and they did it because they thought that he was for these issues."

"When I heard that McGovern had said to vote against it [the abortion plank] I didn't believe it."

I asked whether she was planning to protest McGovern's action in the women's caucus meeting, and she replied, "Well, I think I know what the answer will be—that it's not worth

losing the presidency, and that McGovern can come out for abortion once he becomes president."

"However, I am an idealist and I go on principles, and I wish he would say what he really stood for."

Later, in the caucus meeting, women were angry because no one from the McGovern staff ever showed up to hear the women's views, although Gary Hart had promised to appear.

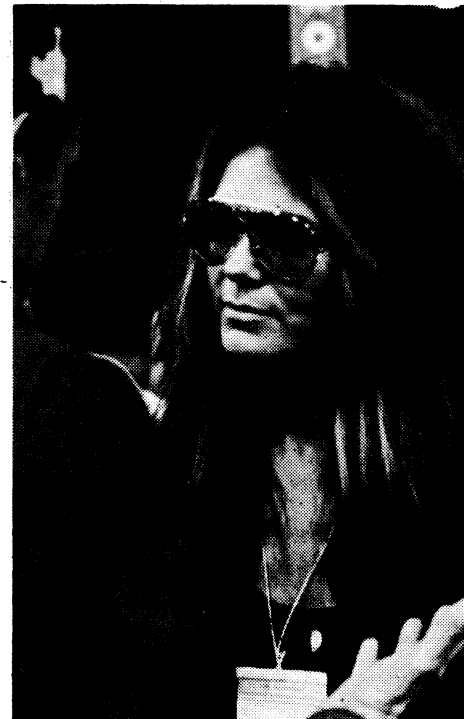
A young woman delegate from Tennessee, Roz Creswell, received enthusiastic applause from the delegates assembled when she said vehemently: "There should have been somebody here today [from the McGovern staff], at least to say 'I'm sorry there's nobody here.' If women don't demand things, they will never, never get them. We demand some respect! We won't get it if we don't demand it, and I'm not about to be polite—I'm ready for a demonstration!"

Outside the caucus meeting, in the hallway of the Fontainebleau Hotel, I spoke with Marjorie DeFazio, a non-delegate who was sitting behind a literature table of the National Organization for Women. Asked what her feelings were about the McGovern campaign, she replied:

"I probably ultimately will vote for McGovern, but at this point I find what he is doing to women a disaster—what he did on the platform debate and the South Carolina challenge [McGovern called on his delegates to defeat a challenge asking that more women be added to the South Carolina delegation]. Women's rights were less important to him than winning the nomination on the first ballot."

I asked her what she thought women should do in the elections. "We have

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Feminist delegate Gloria Steinem called McGovern aides 'bastards' for their role in defeating abortion plank for Democratic platform.

## Gays to demonstrate against McGovern

By JOHN LAURITSEN

Gay people from groups across the country came to the Democratic Party convention to lobby for the inclusion of a gay-rights plank in the Democratic Party platform.

A McGovern statement on gay rights, issued several months ago, had impressed many leading gay activists. This statement dealt with various aspects of discrimination based upon "sexual orientation or preference." Nowhere, however, did it express the view that sexual acts between consenting partners should be legalized. It

sounded good, though, and many gay people were taken in.

A national Gay Citizens for McGovern and numerous local Gays for McGovern groups were formed. Many gay men and women worked for months in McGovern's campaign, and a few gay delegates committed to McGovern were elected.

But contrary to the expectations of his gay supporters, McGovern had no intention of running on a platform that included either gay-rights or a pro-abortion plank. McGovern aides made it clear to television interviewers

that such positions would prove "embarrassing" to the senator.

At a July 13 meeting of New York's Gay Activists Alliance (GAA), Richard Wandel and Ron Gold reported on events in Miami. Their initial experiences were encouraging, as they went from delegation to delegation explaining why the gay-rights plank should be supported. Most delegates appeared eager to hear from the gay representatives.

Then, as Ron Gold put it, "the McGovern steamroller went into action." Two McGovern aides physically prevented them from going before the South Dakota delegation, with which they had an appointment to speak. At the request of the McGovern aides, the gay activists were seized by security men, who held them while the aides "ripped off" all of their literature. Ironically, the literature consisted of McGovern's statement on gay rights.

Other incidents occurred at hotels. GAA member Ken Burdick reported McGovern aides had him kicked out of the Hotel Ivanhoe lobby while he was passing out copies of the McGovern statement.

McGovern's true position emerged when debate on the gay rights plank began at 5:30 a.m. July 12. Cathy Wilch, a McGovern delegate, spoke against the gay-rights plank, linking gay rights to the specter of "child molestation," "pandering," and "prostitution."

Wilch then said the gay-rights plank would commit the Democratic Party to repealing the Mann Act, which protected women from "white slavery," and to repealing laws that "are de-

signed to protect the young, the innocent, and the helpless."

The gay-rights plank was defeated by a voice vote.

According to Deni Covello, a New York gay McGovern delegate, the New York delegation voted in a caucus meeting to condemn the speech of Cathy Wilch.

The National Coalition of Gay Organizations sent a telegram to George McGovern later the same morning saying, in part, "We have full information that this speech [by Cathy Wilch] was written with the assistance of and cleared by members of your staff. We demand an immediate written statement from you publicly disassociating yourself from arguments which constitute grave and abusive insults to 20 million gay women and men in every community in our nation."

In discussion at the GAA meeting in New York, responsibility for the bigoted speech was placed upon McGovern, regardless of who wrote it. The meeting also firmly rejected the notion of voting for him as a "lesser evil" candidate.

GAA plans to demonstrate against McGovern until he issues a firm public statement on gay rights and apologizes for the Miami episodes.

Unlike the Democratic Party, the Socialist Workers Party has as one of the planks of its 1972 presidential campaign platform "Full civil and human rights for gay people." The SWP platform calls for "an end to all laws that discriminate against homosexuals" and "for legislation and executive orders to prohibit harassment and discrimination against gay people."



Christopher Street-West demonstration in Los Angeles, June 24. Unlike McGovern, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness gives full support to democratic and human rights of gay people.



## Would-be power brokers become pawns

# Black Democrats divided at convention

By DERRICK MORRISON

In the aftermath of the Democratic Party national convention all of the plots and plans of the Black Democratic politicians to achieve "unity" lay in complete shambles.

In the July 11 *New York Times* Robert Semple Jr. drew a brief sketch of the women's and Black caucuses at the convention. "The women's caucus," he wrote, "the largest of the day, was more clearly interested in issues, reaffirming its support for women's rights generally—many of them already contained in the party's platform—and vowing to fight for a more liberal plank on abortion. . . .

"Perhaps ironically, the most explosive and bitter sessions have been those of the black caucus. Its members—450 altogether—came here determined to convert unity into influence but have since fought bitterly over the oldest and most divisive of convention issues: Presidential politics."

In other words, the 437 Black delegates and 234 Black alternates were not concerned primarily with a program or a platform for ending the oppression of 22 million Blacks. They were fighting it out over which white man to support, over who is to be the great white hope they will parade through the Black communities this year.

For example, those like Georgia legislator Julian Bond and members of

the Congressional Black Caucus who had started talking in the summer of 1971 about plans to bring an independent or uncommitted bloc of Black delegates to the convention wound up in McGovern's corner several weeks before the convention. And Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.), who had launched her bid for the presidential nomination late last year, wound up being bought and bossed by Hubert Humphrey in his attempt to stop McGovern.

When Representative Ronald Delums (D-Calif.), a staunch supporter of Chisholm, got wind of this rela-

tionship, he bolted her camp in favor of McGovern. He said that Chisholm's alliance with Humphrey and other hopefuls like Governor George Wallace of Alabama and Senator Henry Jackson was a coalition "deathly afraid of the new forces moving to assume leadership and expose the hypocrisy in this country."

But what did Black politicians like Hatcher, Stokes, Conyers, Diggs, and the others who supported McGovern get in return? According to Paul Delaney in the July 13 *New York Times*, they got promises to appoint more Blacks to the U.S. Supreme Court,

to give 10 percent of all federal job patronage within the states to Blacks, and to fork over money for voter registration in Black communities.

This is peanuts compared with what they had committed themselves to in the Black Agenda that came out of the National Black Political Convention held last March in Gary, Ind. It's not much even in comparison with the "Black Bill of Rights" the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) unveiled June 1.

The agenda spelled out a program for Black control of the Black community. But it became too hot to handle, so the CBC drew up the more moderate bill of rights. They declared the bill's demands "non-negotiable" but eventually settled for little more than crumbs.

The person who announced this deal, according to Delaney, was the Reverend Walter Fauntroy, Washington, D.C., nonvoting delegate to U.S. Congress. Although Fauntroy said he spoke for both the CBC and the post-Gary-Convention steering committee, he said nothing about the Agenda or the bill of rights.

For instance, both the Agenda and the bill of rights called for the U.S. to break off relations with the white racist regimes in Southern Africa. Both also called for a guaranteed minimum annual income of \$6,500 for a family of four. McGovern couldn't

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Representative William Clay (D-Mo.), Representative Louis Stokes (D-Ohio), D.C. Delegate Walter Fauntroy, Coretta Scott King, and delegate Henry Parker join McGovern bandwagon.

## Ill. machinists strike against speedup

By BRUCE BLOY

CHICAGO—At midnight, July 1, 850 members of five lodges of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) struck the North American Rockwell plant in Cicero, Ill. The strikers were demanding a one-year contract that would include preferential hiring of women and Blacks, an immediate end to all speedup, an unlimited cost-of-living clause, a 30-hour week with no reduction in pay, and the right to strike at anytime during the life of the contract.

The day before the strike began, workers in the plant turned down a management offer of a 13.2-percent wage increase over a three-year pe-

riod. The proposal also included increased pension benefits and an additional week's vacation for those with 25 years or more on the jobs. Management made its offer contingent, however, on radical changes in the company work rules.

These rule changes would allow the company to lay off workers with 20 years' or more experience, while retaining those with less than two years' experience. They would also restrict to two hours per week the time union members could spend handling grievances. The bosses want contractual language legalizing the speedup that has been instituted in the plant during the last six years. Management made its proposal the day after IAM members voted 567 to 113 to strike.

At a meeting on June 30, attended by about 775 members of the union, management's offer was voted down by a 6-to-1 margin. Following the vote, a series of speakers took the floor. They demanded an end to the speedup and complained about the arbitrary work rules and the arrogance of company supervisors toward union personnel.

The membership decided to concentrate on the demands for a one-year contract and the 30-hour week. The vote to strike around these demands passed by a 7-to-1 margin.

The North American plant in Cicero manufactures printing presses. At the time of the strike it was attempting to fill a large number of back orders. North American Rockwell took over

the plant from Goss Press six years ago. Since then, it has instituted a policy of speedup, laying off more than 150 workers and accelerating the work rates two and three times their normal level.

The company's refusal to repair or replace worn-out equipment has caused an increase of industrial accidents. Grievances over unwarranted firings and disciplinary layoffs, in addition to the speedup, are piled high, but the company has shown no inclination to deal with them.

No negotiations have been held since June 27. A meeting is scheduled with a federal mediator for July 18, but no immediate progress is expected.

The same plant was struck six years ago. That strike lasted 11 weeks.

# The National Picket Line

**PAY BOARD SLASHES CLERKS' WAGES:** The government's attack against the working class's standard of living continues unabated.

For instance, the Nixon Pay Board on June 28 slashed to 6.67 percent the 19 percent increase in wages and fringe benefits won by the Philadelphia Retail Clerks in a settlement with the Food Store Employers Labor Council. The Board actually allowed only a 5.5 percent wage hike. The remaining 1.17 percent is in fringe benefits.

In announcing its decision, the Pay Board said it "just didn't think a 19% increase in a first-year contract was justified."

This is the largest cutback the Pay Board has made to date.

**PUBLIC WORKERS FINED FOR STRIKE:** Last Easter weekend, the New York State Civil Service Employees Association, formerly a company union, went on strike when the state refused either decent wage increases or better pension benefits. Since it was a long holiday weekend, the strike immediately involved only 7,000 workers out of the total

membership of 140,000. They are all employed in institutions open 24 hours a day, including prisons, hospitals, schools for the mentally retarded and ill, and sanatoriums. The strike was settled before the state offices reopened.

On July 11 the New York State Office of Employee Relations announced that all 7,000 workers who struck would be fined two or four days' pay under New York's infamous Taylor Law, which forbids strikes by public employees.

This means that the average mental hospital attendant stands to lose about \$54 (two days' pay) for every day he or she was out on strike. Since these workers earn \$134 a week (before taxes) and the fine could be \$108, it will take a big chunk out of their biweekly pay.

Ironically, the prison guards at Attica who used their clubs and guns so brutally against the prisoners are also due to lose about \$180. The guards refused to cross the picket lines when the public workers went on strike.

Prison guards at Elmira and Auburn also refused to cross picket lines and will be fined.

**NEWARK TEACHERS BEGIN JAIL TERMS:** After all appeals and pleas for clemency failed, 15 leaders of the Newark Teachers Union gave themselves up on June 28. They began serving three-month contempt-of-court sentences imposed on them as a result of the 1971 strike in that city.

A demonstration of teachers and other trade unionists was scheduled for the day the defendants turned themselves in.

**AIRLINE WORKERS:** All of the major airlines are in the process of negotiating with the Machinists union. In addition, the Transport Workers agreement covering 5,400 stewardesses at Trans World Airlines runs out July 31. Talks for a new pact are under way.

But when I left Minneapolis-St. Paul airport on July 3, the Northwest Orient Airlines huge fleet was in mothballs. The pilots struck on June 30—a bit impatiently, one might say, in view of the fact that their last contract ran out a year and a half ago on January 1, 1971!

—MARVEL SCHOLL

By CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK CITY—The national abortion conference of 800 women held here July 15-16 called for an international tribunal and demonstration for the right to abortion the weekend of October 21-22 in New York.

The conference, sponsored by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), projected the tribunal as a dramatic denunciation of all those forces that seek to prevent women from controlling their own bodies. Women from all over the country and from around the world will be invited to testify about

also gave greetings to the conference. "We are not asking, we are demanding control of our bodies," she stated. "Abortion is our right—we will not stand with the Catholic Church hierarchy."

Anita Ford, a Black high school student active in the Detroit Women's Abortion Action Coalition, and Gwen Taylor, the Ontario coordinator of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, also spoke. Greetings were read from Shirley Johnson (Wheeler), whose conviction under a Florida anti-abortion law was recently overturned.

Many women who came to the con-

a discussion of "the role of the SWP" were thwarted in a workshop they had called on "Internal Hassles in WONAAC." Eighty women attended this gathering, many of them confused about the charges they had heard concerning "SWP domination of WONAAC."

Elise Segal, a member of Philadelphia WONAAC and Radicalesbians, "warned" that women in the SWP and YSA were out to make a revolution. "They call themselves socialists . . . but they are really communists," she said. This red-baiting backfired as it became clear to many women that those who had called this workshop

we have to be aggressive. The right wing isn't quiet, and neither can we be. We have to demand attention for our rights."

Debby Bustin, a coordinator of the Georgia Women's Abortion Action Coalition, also supported having a demonstration: "If you don't think that women are going to want to get out there [in the streets] after hearing the kind of testimony that we're going to hear—well, I'll be out there if no one else will!"

Other women took the floor to explain that building the tribunal on the largest scale possible and inviting international representatives would give the event much more impact.

The Zimmermann-Roberts proposal passed overwhelmingly, with only about 50 women voting against it.

### Reformed abortion laws

Another important question conference participants debated was how WONAAC should relate to reformed laws that do in some degree grant women the right to choose abortion. The discussion centered on whether partial victories help or hinder the movement.

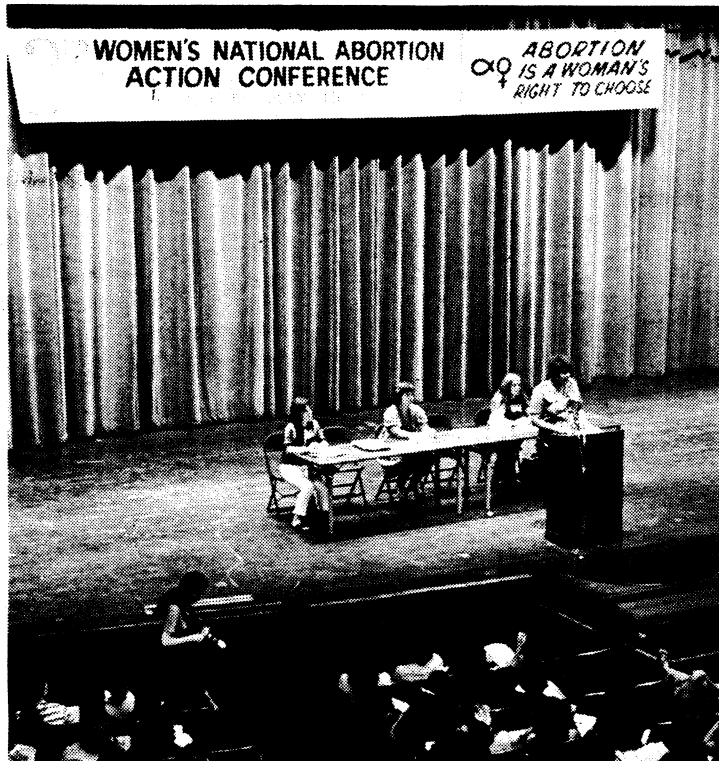
Lucinda Cisler of New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal proposed that WONAAC actively fight any law or bill, including the New York law, that did not call for total repeal of restrictions on the right to abortion. The proposal she motivated said, in part: "in no case has reform led to repeal; on the contrary, it has bought off so much of its citizenry that efforts to achieve repeal have been set back in these states."

A proposal by Judy White that WONAAC should defend the gains women have won through liberalized laws was adopted by the conference. This proposal stated in part: "reform laws [such as the New York law] have been instituted only because women are waging a determined and uncompromised fight to win our right to abortion, and they represent partial victories in our struggle. WONAAC will fight to prevent such laws from being rolled back by the reactionary forces arrayed against us."

Many women spoke in favor of defending the partially restricted right to abortion where it has been won, in the context of continuing to fight for total repeal. Referring to the passage of New York's liberalized law, Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *The Militant*, said, "It helped make the abortion issue a national issue and to stimulate the struggle in every state around the country. And that law has saved hundreds and hundreds of lives in the last two years."

One of the workshops and the conference as a whole also took up the

# International tribunal called to demand right to abortion



Militant/Lora Eckert



Militant/Lora Eckert

WONAAC conference plenary session (left) and workshop discussion on building international tribunal to protest abortion and contraception laws and forced sterilization.

the crimes committed against them because of the abortion and contraception laws and the practice of forced sterilization.

As part of this tribunal, women will march to a federal building to present their demands to the U.S. government.

The conference also voted to conduct a petition campaign in support of the Abortion Rights Act of 1972. This bill, introduced into the U.S. Congress by Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.), calls for the repeal of all state and federal laws that restrict a woman's right to abortion.

The conference opened with greetings from Dr. Barbara Roberts, a founder and national coordinator of WONAAC. "I don't think any of us have to be told that we're meeting at a time of unprecedented crisis in the abortion-law-repeal movement," she began.

"This past spring . . . saw the exercise of really naked political demagoguery by the Catholic hierarchy, who were aided and abetted by the butcher in the White House. And just this past week women at the Democratic convention were defeated in their efforts to have the right to abortion affirmed in the party platform.

"Over the past year," Roberts continued, "while many feminists were diverted into less-controversial issues, WONAAC has persistently confronted the public and the government with the revolutionary demand that women control the vital function of reproduction. It's quite apparent to all of us that we have a long way to go."

Winnie Massaro, a member of Catholic Women for the Right to Choose, a pro-abortion group in Connecticut,

ference had been following the pre-conference debate in the *WONAAC Newsletter* and had participated in discussions in local WONAAC chapters. In the pages of the *Newsletter*, several national coordinators of the coalition, as well as some staff members, questioned WONAAC's use of demonstrations as a method to fight for the right to abortion. They also raised questions concerning the relationship of WONAAC to the Democratic and Republican parties, and other issues.

In addition to their views on WONAAC's strategy, these women also objected in the *Newsletter* to the role in WONAAC of women from the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The overwhelming majority of women at the conference agreed that the political differences should be discussed as thoroughly as possible and resolved, and that the conference should come out with a united plan of action. The few women who were primarily concerned with limiting participation of socialists in WONAAC found little response to their views.

During the series of workshops on Saturday afternoon, women discussed such questions as the tribunal, WONAAC's relation to the elections, the role of demonstrations, and the importance of the abortion issue.

Workshops were also held on the different aspects of the struggle to repeal the abortion laws—such as referendums, legislative action, and class-action suits. Constituency workshops met to exchange ideas on how to involve Catholic, Black, Latina, gay, college, high school, and working women in WONAAC's activities.

The efforts of some women to divert the discussion from political issues to

and were making the charges were not concerned with constructive ideas for building the abortion-law-repeal movement.

Only about a fourth of the women returned to the second session of the "hassles" workshop held on Sunday morning.

The real political questions before the conference were clarified during the plenary sessions on Saturday night and Sunday. The plenary discussions centered around four questions: the demands of WONAAC; the nature of the tribunal; the attitude WONAAC should take toward reformed abortion laws, such as the liberalized New York law; and the 1972 elections.

A debate occurred around two different proposals on the character of the fall tribunal. WONAAC national coordinators Matilde Zimmermann and Dr. Barbara Roberts submitted the proposal for an international tribunal, including a demonstration, which was eventually adopted by the conference.

In opposition to this motion, some of the women who had organized the "hassles" workshop called for a tribunal of a different character. Their proposal stated, "It would not be feasible or desirable to try to bring women from all over the country to witness the tribunal. . . .

"There will be no need for a march," the proposal read. "We must not fall into the trap of spending all our energies attracting attention. . . ." This proposal also opposed involving international representatives in the tribunal.

As one supporter of the Zimmermann-Roberts proposal pointed out in the discussion, "We can't be quiet,



Dr. Barbara Roberts

Militant/Flax Hermes

question of the 1972 elections. The structure proposal presented by national coordinator Jessica Star and adopted by the conference included the statement, "WONAAC as an organization takes no position on candidates for national or local office. WONAAC welcomes the participation of women of all political affiliations

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# World Outlook

A weekly international supplement to The Militant based on selections from Intercontinental Press, newsmagazine reflecting the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism.

JULY 28, 1972

## Korean detente puts more pressure on Hanoi

In an agreement foreshadowed by several overtures from Kim Il Sung earlier this year, the North and South Korean governments issued a joint communiqué July 4 announcing their "common desire to achieve peaceful unification of the fatherland as early as possible."

The two sides agreed on three principles for unification. First, it is to be the result of "independent Korean efforts without being subject to external imposition or interference." Second, it is to be brought about by "peaceful means, and not through the use of force against each other." Third, the goal will be to seek a "great national unity" by "transcending differences in ideas, ideologies, and systems."

In addition, the two regimes agreed "not to slander or defame each other" and to take steps to prevent "inadvertent military incidents." A hot line between Pyongyang and Seoul was installed the next day "to deal directly, promptly, and accurately with problems arising between the South and the North." And a North-South "coordinating committee" was established, to be co-chaired by the two main figures in the secret negotiations leading up to the agreement—Lee Hu Rak, director of the South's Central Intelligence Agency, and Kim Yong Ju, director of the Organization and Guidance Department of the North Korean Workers (Communist) party. Kim is a younger brother of North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung.

The agreement can be viewed as a byproduct of the Nixon trip to Peking and the détente between Mao and Nixon. Certainly the cues on present-day application of the theory of "peaceful coexistence" emanating from the Nixon-Mao talks were picked up in the Korean agreement. The effect of the accord is to recognize the legitimacy of the Park Chung Hee regime in the South. This was noted with considerable satisfaction by the *New York Times*, which reflects the views of an influential sector of the U.S. ruling class, in a July 9 editorial: "Those accords pay lip-service to reunification, which is mentioned twelve times in the brief fourteen-page agreement. But the key phrase is the one that talks about 'transcending' rather than eliminating the differences in the 'ideologies and systems' of the two states."

In addition, the agreement is understood to recognize the right of U.S. occupation forces to remain in the South. There are some 40,000 U.S.

troops currently in South Korea. "The U.S. troops," Seoul's foreign minister, Kim Yong Shik, told newsmen, "are stationed in Korea as members of the United Nations Command established in accordance with a U.N. resolution." He declared that the United Nations should not be considered "an external force or power" and the presence of its troops would thus not be incompatible with the agreement. "The United Nations should not be considered a bad foreign force," Lee Hu Rak told a news conference.

The *New York Times* hailed the agreement in a July 5 editorial as "a historic development of the utmost importance for improving the political atmosphere in Asia and the world" and as a "major advance." The underlying reason for such elation is clear: The U.S. ruling class sees in the agreement an example that can be used as one more club in the campaign to bludgeon the Vietnamese into settling for something less than their freedom and independence.

"News of this agreement must raise the question why similar concord cannot be reached in Vietnam," the *Times* observed. "Moreover many leaders in both South and North Vietnam will notice that the North Koreans were willing to make the first major advance toward reunification without requiring either the prior exit of United States troops or a change of regime in Seoul. It would be rash and unjustified to conclude that progress in Korea assures progress in Vietnam, but Seoul and Pyongyang have set a useful example that neither Hanoi nor Saigon can ignore."

The response of the Nixon administration to the Korean agreement has been "enthusiastic," reported *New York Times* Washington correspondent Bernard Gwertzman July 4. He quoted a senior state department official's view of the pressure the agreement places on the Vietnam liberation forces: "First China invited enemy No. 1, the United States, to Peking. Now North Korea has a friendly dialogue with enemy No. 2, South Korea, which has as many troops in South Vietnam as the United States. This must have a damaging effect on Hanoi's morale."

It has been clear for three years that Nixon's goal in Vietnam is to gain a settlement similar to the armistice that formally ended the Korean war. The ruling bureaucracy in Peking has now made it clear that it too, like U.S. imperialism, regards Korea as a model for a Vietnam settle-

ment.

Chou En-lai gave the first public indication of the bureaucracy's views on this subject June 16, when he praised former U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower for negotiating the armistice "in a straightforward way."

Then on June 25, the twenty-second anniversary of the beginning of the Korean war, *Renmin Ribao*, the of-

bureaucrat could see the armistice, which legitimized the Seoul puppet regime, as a victory for the Korean revolution.

Eisenhower did not have to be "forced" to sign the agreement any more than Nixon would have to be "forced" to sign a truce that left a puppet government established in Saigon. But that is precisely the sort



Kim Il Sung



Park Chung Hee

ficial newspaper of the Chinese CP, went a step further. The paper portrayed as an unqualified "victory" the compromise forced on the Korean revolution whereby a puppet regime supported by U.S. troops was maintained in Seoul:

"With the support of the people the world over, the heroic Korean people finally forced the U.S. imperialists to sign the armistice agreement after a bitter trial of strength with the U.S. aggressor troops. The victory of the Fatherland Liberation War of Korea not only defended the revolutionary gains of the Korean people and the security of China, but also made a great contribution to the revolutionary struggle of the world's people against imperialism and its running dogs and set a brilliant example for the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and people of the world." (Translation by *Peking Review*; emphasis added.)

The Korean war did represent a defeat for imperialism in that the latter was prevented from carrying out its intention of overthrowing the workers state in North Korea. But that defeat was sealed by the intervention of Chinese troops, not by the armistice agreement. Only the most myopic

of "victory" that the Peking bureaucracy has in mind for the Vietnamese revolution, as another passage in the *Renmin Ribao* editorial makes explicit:

"U.S. imperialism is continuing its war of aggression in Indochina, and carrying out war escalation against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Recently, it has not only mined and blockaded the ports of north Viet Nam but also steadily expanded the scope of its naval and air attacks there. It can be said with certainty that the perverse acts of U.S. imperialism can only result in defeat, as it suffered in its war of aggression against Korea, thus lifting a rock only to drop it on its own feet."

The agreement between Park and Kim will clearly fit in quite neatly with Peking's attempt to pressure the Hanoi leadership into a settlement. The Maoists will be able to point to the agreement as "proof" that U.S. imperialism can be peacefully evicted from its colonies. The fact that the imperialists have no intention of leaving South Korea will not at all disturb the bureaucrats, who long ago learned that the essence of "peaceful coexistence" is betrayal of revolution masked by fine words. □



# Iranian students in U.S. to aid political prisoners

By Javad Sadeeg

The Iranian Students Association in the United States held its twentieth annual convention in Berkeley, California, June 17-24.

The first two days were devoted to a discussion of defense of the growing number of political prisoners in Iran. The remaining time was taken up by reports from the leadership on the work of the past year and the formulation of policies for the coming year.

Four hundred students, seventy-five of whom were elected delegates, attended. The Confederation of Iranian Students, to which the organization in the United States belongs, sent two representatives from Europe. They reported on the activities of the Confederation in exposing the shah's military dictatorship.

The Confederation of Iranian Students is the only open organization of Iranians in opposition to the shah's regime and his imperialist benefactors. Three years ago the shah declared the Confederation illegal. Taking part in its activities can bring a prison term ranging from three to ten years.

This, however, has not succeeded in discouraging Iranian students from coming around the organization, as the large number in attendance showed.

The Iranian Students Association in the United States is now focusing more attention on the need to defend Iranian political prisoners. During the past year, some demonstrations around this issue were organized, and some local chapters have moved toward building broad-based committees. This represents a shift from the attitudes of two years ago, when an ultraleftist tendency to neglect the need for defense prevailed.

The convention noted the increasing complicity of the so-called democratic countries in stifling opposition to the shah's dictatorial regime. Many Iranian student activists are facing deportation from Europe and the United States. The gathering resolved to initiate a defense campaign on behalf of these students.

The convention heard a report from the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie. Zahraie is an Iranian student leader at the University of Washington in Seattle. Immigration author-

ities want to deport him for his opposition to the military regime in Iran and for his antiwar activities. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 10, 1972, p. 380.) The report, which was very well received, outlined the steps taken by the committee to rally the entire university community to Zahraie's defense. Considerable radio and TV coverage was obtained.

Another matter that was discussed was the charter of the Confederation of Iranian Students. This charter defines the confederation as a broad-based, open organization that forms an integral part of the democratic and anti-imperialist movement of the Iranian people. It states that the confederation cannot take positions along class and ideological lines, but calls for an open atmosphere where research and discussion can be carried out on the general problems relating to the democratic and anti-imperialist movement of the Iranian people and the national liberation movements of the world. Some students believe that the confederation should provide a class analysis of imperialism and call for the overthrow of imperialism in

Iran, while others believe that it should call for the overturn of property relations in favor of the workers and peasants.

During the coming year, attention will also be devoted to the threat to the Arab revolution posed by the shah's regime, which is constantly arming itself and militarily occupying and dominating Arab territories.

As a sign of international solidarity, a number of invitations to address the convention were offered. A panel of Arab students discussed the present state of the Palestinian resistance movement. Representatives of the Organization of Arab Students, the Ethiopian Students Association, the Young Socialist Alliance, and other organizations read messages of solidarity. A similar message from Angela Davis was read. John Thorne, a well-known civil libertarian lawyer who traveled to Iran last year to investigate the conditions of the political prisoners, spoke in support of the defense efforts of the Iranian students. And one evening was devoted to Vietnam, during which a film depicting the liberation struggle was shown. □

## West Germany

# Road for socialists: bombs or mass struggle?

[Ulrike Meinhof, considered to be one of the leaders of the Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF—Red Army Faction), was captured by West German police in Hanover on June 16. Andreas Baader, the other major leader of the so-called Baader-Meinhof group, had been arrested in Frankfurt June 1 after a gun battle with police.]

[The apparent destruction of the group, which has claimed credit for a large number of bombings in Germany, precipitated wide discussion in the German press, and the validity of the RAF's strategy is being debated throughout the German radical movement.]

[We have translated below the first section of a three-page article entitled "Armed Struggle and Class Struggle" that appeared in the June issue of *Was Tun*, the monthly newspaper of the Revolutionär-Kommunistischen Jugend (Revolutionary Communist Youth), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.]

The socialist revolution in the capitalist metropolises will not be the product of armed action by a small minority, but will grow out of great mass struggles—strikes, in the course of which the workers occupy the factories, form strike committees on a local, regional, and national scale, take the means of production into their own hands, and through their control of production eliminate capitalist exploitation. Through this they will create their own organs of self-defense against the armed resistance of the bourgeoisie.

The amount of violence that accompanies the revolutionary process will depend on the behavior of the bourgeoisie, which has never yet willingly

yielded its rule of profit.

In the industrial metropolis, our "weapons" as revolutionists consist of our revolutionary program, which is grounded in the scientific Marxist analysis of class society; our ability to build cadres on the basis of this program; the possibility, as the workers' struggle develops, of these cadres rooting the program in the proletariat and linking up with the majority of the working class.

We therefore maintain that in an advanced industrial country with a democratic parliamentary regime and where the workers' movement is legal, revolutionary violence must have a defensive and not an offensive appearance. That is, it must consist of the self-defense of the workers' and

socialist movement against the armed gangs of capital. The task of the left is not to organize senseless armed commando action, but to mobilize the working masses. The core of our principled difference with the RAF is that we consider these "weapons" of ours to be far more effective than any bombs and submachine guns.

We will not at all dwell on the "arguments" of the bourgeois propaganda apparatuses. The unbounded hypocrisy of anyone who, in the face of Vietnam, wants to make the RAF the touchstone of the question of violence speaks for itself. This international bourgeoisie—whose German representative pretends to be fighting "terror and violence" by hunting down the RAF—threatens to bomb Vietnam into dust, organizes wars with millions of victims, cynically justifies genocide, and provides financial and military guarantees to the United States, a task in which the West German republic plays no small role.

The profit economy of this same bourgeoisie has destroyed whole generations of workers, and in the factories continues to destroy workers on a daily basis.

Every ruling class will resort to violence. In "peaceful" times, if the left steps out of the bounds of the system, it will inevitably be dealt with forcibly. If a small movement arises, it will soon face open terror, as we have seen with Benno Ohnesorg, Rudi Dutschke, the breaking up of demonstrations, the attacking of pickets that was done in last year's chemical and metal strikes. No ruling class retires voluntarily. If it is threatened, it will ruthlessly bring to bear all its available resources. Whoever denies this, denies all historical experience, from the Paris Commune through the rise

of fascism to the war in Vietnam.

Whenever circumstances permit, the police or the military will be used against rising popular movements—we have only to look at Greece, Turkey, Iran, Latin America, the moves of the U.S. government against the Black movement, and the policy of British imperialism in Northern Ireland. On this point we have no quarrel with the RAF.

For Marxists, forms of armed struggle are tactical questions, and this is true also of that specific form, individual terrorism. We make no secret of the fact that in our view very specific conditions must exist to justify its use, while for the anarchists it is the usual form of action regardless of circumstances.

The difference of principle lies elsewhere. Mass support is crucial for armed struggle. That is, the ruling class must be at the end of its rope and the masses must recognize the necessity of armed struggle. Ultimately, this can mean only one thing: civil war.

An "armed struggle" carried out by individuals or small groups divorced from concrete conditions and from the consciousness of the laboring masses not only condemns the masses to the role of passive onlookers, not only more or less inevitably transforms those who wanted to be "fish in water" into "fish in the net" of the repressive apparatus, but also—even if unconsciously—expresses contempt for the masses, who are viewed independently of their position and consciousness. Those who engage in such "armed struggle" show that they no longer have any use for Marx's assertion that "the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the workers themselves." □



Der Spiegel

A wanted poster for Ulrike Meinhof says: 'Attempted murder in Berlin; 10,000 marks reward.' This is an example of the savage repression launched against the Red Army Faction.

## Sri Lanka

# Rebels charged with 'conspiracy'

On June 29 Sri Lanka (Ceylon) Attorney General Victor Tennekoon charged a second group of young rebels with having participated in the 1971 mass uprising against the "United Front" government of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike. (The first group to be charged consisted of forty-one defendants who were brought to "trial" June 12. There has been no report of their fate.) Most of the twenty-two accused, whose cases will be heard before the special Criminal Justice Commission, were undergraduates at the University of Ceylon in Colombo at the time of the revolt.

The indictment states that "between the 1st day of January, 1970, and the 1st day of October, 1971, at Colombo you, with others, did conspire to wage war against the Queen [Elizabeth II of England, that is], and that you have thereby committed an offence under section 115 of the Penal Code."

This war against Elizabeth II, according to the indictment, was to be conducted by kidnapping Bandaranaike, "in order that the said Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike may be murdered or may so be disposed of as to be put in danger of being murdered. . . ."

Tennekoon described the alleged plot to abduct Bandaranaike in some detail, but it is unknown whether the defendants will be granted the right to defend themselves. There has been no report on exactly how many of the 14,000 youths held in concentra-

tion camps will be brought before the Criminal Justice Commission.

It is clear, however, that the regime intends to tolerate no loosening up of the police state under which it has ruled since April 1971. At a ceremony that followed the laying of the foundation stone of a new police station, Maithripala Senanayaka, minister of irrigation, power, and highways, declared, "If the misled youths think that they can hit back after their retreat last April, they are badly mistaken. The security forces of the country have now been greatly strengthened and they have been armed to the teeth to meet any situation, unlike in April, when they were attacked unawares. . . ." Any force that attempts to "overthrow" the government, he added, "will

be crushed with all the might at the Government's command."

K.B. Ratnayake, the minister of parliamentary affairs and of sports, said, according to the *Ceylon Daily News*, "that the Government had not considered that the insurgent threat was over and that was why security measures were being strengthened. . . . Referring to those detained in connection with the April events the Minister said that no other country in the world would have spared them."

Ratnayake had a novel explanation for the regime's magnanimity in this respect: "It was because Ceylon was a Buddhist country where compassion prevailed and had a Buddhist lady as its Prime Minister that those youths were tolerated." □



Captured Ceylonese rebels following revolt in April 1971. The USSR sent military aid, and Peking matched it with a loan offer.

## China

# Bandaranaike thanks Chou for help

Another "anti-imperialist" leader has made Chairman Mao's guest list. The latest recipient of China's drums, gongs, and cymbals routine is Sri Lanka (Ceylon) Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who arrived in Peking June 25. She was greeted, according to the Chinese news agency Hsinhua, by a crowd of 100,000 persons, which averages out to about seven for each of the 14,000 political prisoners now held in Sri Lanka concentration camps for having intemperately opposed capitalist exploitation of their country.

Chou En-lai himself met Bandaranaike at the airport. *Hsinhua Daily News Release* of June 26 informs us that "welcoming crowds" cheered "welcome, warm welcome!"—an appropriate, if not especially stirring slogan for a welcoming crowd. Also: "Students of more than 40 nationalities and other people at the airport danced to the beating of drums. . . . Hundreds of schoolchildren were jumping and cheering the distinguished guests. . . . Thousands upon thousands of people in their holiday best beat drums and cymbals, waved bouquets, and shouted slogans to greet the distinguished guests from Sri Lanka. A thrilling scene of welcome and

jubilation met the eye at Tienanmen Square. . . ."

*Renmin Ribao*, the official organ of the Chinese Communist party Central Committee, waxed enthusiastic about the Sri Lanka government in a June 25 editorial, liberally quoted, as part of the lead article in the June 30 issue of *Peking Review*. "Defying brute force and pressure, and persevering on the road of independence, they [the people of Sri Lanka] have waged a resolute struggle to defend and consolidate national independence and against foreign interference."

On the night of June 25, Chou En-lai held a state banquet for the Sri Lanka visitors, and Hsinhua dutifully reprinted the speeches of both Chou and Bandaranaike. "Since the independence of Sri Lanka," said Chou, "and particularly during the tenures of office of the late prime minister Solomon Bandaranaike and of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the government and people of Sri Lanka have made unremitting efforts and achieved considerable successes in eliminating colonialist forces, safeguarding and consolidating national independence, opposing foreign control and interference, and developing the national economy."

While Chou avoided explicit mention of Bandaranaike's latest battle—against the youth of Sri Lanka—the prime minister in her speech did not fail to thank the Chinese bureaucrats for their welcome assistance in that fight: "We, therefore, sincerely appreciate the understanding which the People's Republic of China has shown in their relations with us and their scrupulous observance of the principles of mutual respect and non-interference. Our own faith in nonalignment as a policy which is suited to our interests had ample vindication during the insurgent movement of May 1971, when many nations rallied to the support of my government."

Bandaranaike's reference to the success of nonalignment is well taken. Not only Chairman Mao, but also Richard Nixon, made his contribution to the slaughtering of Sri Lanka youth. But, as Bandaranaike pointed out, Chinese aid has been especially generous: "Your aid programme has taken the form of credits, outright gifts, participation in joint services, and technical assistance."

"One of the main purposes" of the visit, she added, "is to express my thanks in person." □

## Bhutto bans Tariq Ali

Tariq Ali, a member of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International and a member of the Political Bureau of its British section, was prevented from entering Pakistan June 25 by the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Ali arrived at the Karachi airport June 25. As a Pakistani citizen holding a Pakistani passport, he cannot legally be barred from entering his own country, but the special police units at the airport thought otherwise. Ali was placed under arrest while "higher authorities" were contacted.

Bhutto's predecessor, Yahya Kahn, had ordered that if Ali ever returned to the country he was to be arrested and charged with high treason in a military court for his support to the Bengali liberation struggle. But since martial law is no longer in force, the order was not implemented fully. Ali was sent out of the country on a Paris-bound flight the same day. □

## Revolutionary Czech journal

Czechoslovak revolutionists in exile are publishing a journal, *informacni materialy*, containing material on the struggle for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe and other subjects of interest to the working-class movement.

The group also publishes books in Czech and Slovak, including works by Isaac Deutscher.

Information on the literature available can be obtained from D. Fölster, infomat, Postfach 214, 1 Berlin 10 West. □

## Trotsky's 'History' popular in Chile

[The following article appeared in the June 21 issue of the progovernment Chilean weekly *Mayoria* under the title "A Best-Seller by Trotsky." There was an accompanying photograph of Trotsky identifying him as a "Chilean best-seller." Translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The publication of the first edition of Leon Trotsky's two-volume, 1,300-page work *History of the Russian Revolution* was an unprecedented success. It was published by Quimantú in its series Classics of Social Thought.

The first edition of 8,000 was completely sold out within four days. The edition did not even reach bookstores in the provinces because readers in the capital exhausted the supply within ninety-six hours. This is the first time that anything like this has happened in Latin America. The eagerness in our country for all the classics of revolutionary thought can clearly be seen in the way books on socialism and Marxism rapidly run out of stock.

In view of the unusual success of the first edition of Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*, a second edition of 15,000 copies is now in preparation. And even before these copies have become available, nearly half have already been sold. □

## Chile

# Allende's talks with opposition collapse

After more than two weeks, secret discussions between Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government and the opposition Christian Democrats were called off by the latter on June 29. The failure of this attempt at accommodation with the centrist opposition—which the recent cabinet shift was in part designed to facilitate—would appear to place Allende back in the same awkward position he has been in for several months.

The discussions were suspended following the government's announcement that it was nationalizing the South American Bank.

According to an Agence France-Presse dispatch from Santiago, the discussions hinged on the matter of placing limits on state intervention into the private sector of the economy. The Christian Democrats were said to have made a series of demands that Popular Unity would have to meet as the "price" for the Christian Democracy's "systematic" opposition becoming "constructive."

These demands included the following: that any expropriation or state take-over require the prior passing of a law; the creation of a fourth sector of the economy (in addition to

the present mixed, private, and state-owned sectors) in which stocks purchased by the government after October 14, 1972, would be turned over to the workers by the state; of the ninety-one privately owned industries scheduled for state take-over, only fifteen—gas and electricity, in particular—would be affected; that the paper industry remain outside of state control; and that state "interventions" (appointment of an administrator or "interventor" when a company is found to violate a law or is hit by a serious labor conflict) be limited to only six months.

According to an Associated Press dispatch from Santiago June 30, the breakdown in the negotiations occurred when the Christian Democrats refused to agree to include the country's major producer of newsprint in the list of those to be put under state control and to go along with the take-over of four main banks.

On July 6, the Senate voted to override Allende's vetoes of thirty-three of the 145 sections of the proposed constitutional reform, which requires, among other things, the adoption of a law for each new state take-over of companies. Since the parliament

is controlled by the opposition, such a constitutional change would place a sharp limitation on Allende's ability to carry out a key part of the Popular Unity program. The Chamber of Deputies is also expected to override the vetoes.

Also on July 6, the Chamber of Deputies voted to impeach Minister of the Interior Hernán del Canto. Among the charges against him, which were brought by the right-wing Nationalist party and supported by the Christian Democrats, is the "deliberate failure to enforce public order statutes in the face of illegal occupations" and the failure to protect "personal rights." The vote forced the automatic suspension of the minister from the cabinet. Allende named Foreign Minister Clodomiro Almeyda as acting minister of the interior.

Following the vote, del Canto called it "a political accusation against the government of the people." *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onis reported July 7 that "Government spokesmen said that the Opposition was trying to prepare public opinion for impeachment proceedings against the President himself." □

## Argentina

# Entire town joins uprising

Virtually the entire population of Malargue, a town of 15,000 inhabitants in the south of Mendoza, rose up in revolt against the economic policies of the Argentine government at the beginning of July, according to an Associated Press dispatch in the July 4 issue of the New York Spanish-language newspaper *El Diario-La Prensa*. Groups of inhabitants took over the municipal government offices and the radio station, and "in reality took control of the town."

"The bulk of the population supported this virtual uprising," reported AP, "by taking to the streets in support of the protest and joining in the task of blocking entrances to the town with vehicles. The entire operation unfolded during freezing temperatures of 12 degrees Centigrade below zero." The mayor resigned in solidarity with the insurgency.

The occupied radio station broadcast military marches and statements such as the following: "The people of Malargue, tired of so many promises, and in order to prevent them from being put off any longer, have taken charge of local government." □

# Hugo Blanco leaves exile in Mexico

Hugo Blanco, the exiled Peruvian revolutionist, has left exile in Mexico, where he has remained since he was expelled from Peru last September, for Argentina. "I am going to Buenos Aires," he told journalists during a stopover in Lima's Jorge Chávez airport June 12, "because I will feel closer to Peru there. I have no specific plans, but it is possible that I will give some lectures, as I did in Mexico. I have a visa for Argentina, and I don't know how long I will stay there."

Blanco was not allowed to enter Peru, but was obliged to wait in the international section of the airport while the plane refueled. During the one-hour stopover, friends and supporters of the campaign being waged in Peru to end his exile were able to talk with him. He was also interviewed by journalists.

Blanco noted that only pressure from the Peruvian masses could bring about his return. "It was their pressure that brought about the removal of the 25-year prison sentence against me, and this same pressure can make it possible for me to return," he observed, according to the Peruvian *Prensa* June 13. "Since I am not allowed to enter my country, I have become an ambassador of Peru to the people of other countries, to whom I will explain the real truth about the conditions under which the Peruvian people live."

The following is a report from a participant in the group that met Blanco at the airport in Lima:

"We had very short notice that Hugo Blanco would pass through Lima, but this did not prevent his comrades and close associates from gathering to

greet him. Stationed on the observation deck of the airport, we anxiously awaited the arrival of the plane from Mexico City.

"The plane arrived at 6:20 a.m. We saw Hugo disembark in the midst of other passengers, responding to our shouted greetings with the clenched-fist salute. Once in the airport waiting room, he was interviewed by several reporters who had come to meet him, and we were able, from the second floor, to speak with him in Spanish and Quechua.

"When the stopover was at an end, we watched him leave as he had come: walking with raised fist and looking up defiantly. Filled with emotion and determined anger, we chanted our promise over and over: 'Hugo Blanco Will Return!'" □

## Argentina

# 'Suspects' held on prison ship

The Argentine dictatorship has "renovated" a ship and turned it into a prison. "A floating concentration camp," a lawyer for political prisoners, Vicente Zito Lema, called it.

The ship *Granaderos* is anchored in the port of Buenos Aires. On June 14, according to the June 20 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly *Primera Plana*, around thirty political prisoners were secretly transferred to the ship from Villa Devoto Prison. Neither their lawyers nor their families were informed of the move. Among those transferred, most of whom were women, are the following: Clemencia Ruiz, Margarita I. de Vallejos, Laura Sirkin, Francisca S. de Martinez, Adela Jorge, Irma Andreu de Betancour,

Elena Codan, Elda Francicetti de Colautti, Lucía Cílica de Carabelos, Lucrecia Cuesta de Beristain, Ana Maria Villareal de Santucho, Lillana Delfino de Ortolani, Osvaldo Sigfrido Debenedetti, José Luis Da Silva Parreira, Juan Lacovich, José Luis Durdos, Armando Jaime, Natalio David Helul, and Ignacio Martínez.

Conditions on this ship are subhuman, Zito Lema told *Primera Plana*. "Just look at the fact that there are four women to a cell that is two meters square. There is almost no ventilation because the portholes have been barred up." The prisoners must remain in these cramped quarters twenty-three hours every day. The oth-

er hour is for recreation, which is confined to an area 2.7 by 3 meters. Only one visit per week is allowed.

An Associated Press dispatch from Buenos Aires June 27 reported that "Prisoners on a maximum security prison ship here protested yesterday that they were being kept in steel cages and treated inhumanely." Lawyers for forty-five inmates described conditions on the unnamed ship at a news conference. From their description, it would appear to be the *Granaderos*. "Among those imprisoned on the ship," the dispatch stated, "are suspects in the kidnap-killing of Italian industrialist Oberdan Sallustro last April and the assassination of ex-President Pedro Aramburu in May, 1970." □

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By SAM MANUEL

On June 22 I attended what was advertised as a "summit" meeting called to "iron out problems" between the national antiwar movement and a number of leaders of the Black community in Washington D. C.

The meeting had been called at a June 16 news conference where a statement was released charging the antiwar movement with being "racist." The names of some 60 Black people, mostly from D. C., were listed as signers.

Those at the news conference claiming to represent the signers included Marion Barry, a former SNCC organizer who is now head of the D. C. Board of Education, and representatives from the Urban League and the Congress of African People.

Barry made the news in May when he came into sharp conflict with Charles Cassell, another Black school board member, over the right of Black high school students to use school facilities to protest the war.

After Nixon's May 8 speech announcing the mining of North Vietnam's harbors, hundreds of Black

strations planned for Washington. The composition of this committee was to be announced at a future press conference.

### Political exclusion

The charges made by Barry and the others deserved a serious discussion. Unfortunately, such a discussion was impossible in the atmosphere of political exclusion and physical threats that dominated the meeting.

The exclusion started at the June 16 press conference when Barry and the others demanded that the Mothers and Children's Ring Around the Capitol set for June 22 be called off and the "summit" be held instead. They also said that those who refused to withdraw their support from this antiwar action would not be able to attend the meeting.

The organizers of the action went ahead with their plans. They were supported by a number of Black leaders who publicly urged them not to back down to Barry's threats. These included Charles Cassell; Julius Hobson, the Black vice-presidential candidate of the People's Party; and Willie J. Hardy, a Black activist who was recently selected "Washington Woman

wanted to attend the demonstration to do so.

Late that night, Gordon received a phone call from Dave Dellinger, who informed him he would not be welcome at the meeting. Not only had Gordon refused to withdraw his support from the Capitol action, Dellinger said, but he had refused to state publicly that the antiwar movement is racist. (Dellinger had confessed the peace movement's and his own "racism" at a June 19 press conference at which he withdrew his support for the Capitol action.)

Gordon was barred from the "summit" when he showed up on the morning of June 22. I was allowed to attend as an "observer" from the Black Task Force of the Student Mobilization Committee. But I was warned by an Urban League official to "be out of town by midnight."

### Role of PCPJ leaders

The behavior of PCPJ leaders in this incident was scandalous, especially their supporting (or was it initiating?) the exclusion of representatives of the National Peace Action Coalition from the "summit" meeting.

PCPJ has advocated a "multi-issue" approach for the antiwar movement.

McGovern, is a far more effective way to end the war than mobilizing masses of people in the streets around the demand of immediate withdrawal.

For the most part, the Communist Party and YWLL have participated in mass antiwar actions only when they have been pressured into them. And quite often they have drummed up the charge of "racism" in the antiwar movement as a pretext for abstaining from actions.

### Get off the streets

The campaign launched by Barry and those who worked with him flowed from the same general political perspective—getting the antiwar movement off the streets and concentrating on electing Democratic Party politicians.

This was shown in the demand that the antiwar movement support Black political candidates. But, in fact, the logic of Barry's position is that the antiwar movement should support not only Black but *white* liberal politicians.

Washington columnist Nicholas Van Hoffman recognized this. He wrote in the June 19 *Washington Post*, "the blacks [meaning Barry, etc.] think this sort of money [required to organize antiwar demonstrations] should have been put into beating war-hawk politicians where they live. In the last couple of weeks, a few more votes might have elected an antiwar senator in Arkansas and a governor in Texas."

Many individual antiwar activists do support Democratic and Republican candidates because they think they can change society in this way. But the antiwar coalition has been based on massive street demonstrations against the war, carried out independently of the Democrats and Republicans.

It would be divisive for an antiwar coalition to back a particular candidate because agreement could not be reached on who to support. Some would be for Democrats, some for Republicans, others for socialists or other independent candidates. Still others would be opposed to participating in the elections at all.

Instead of welcoming an open debate on these questions of strategy and tactics for the antiwar movement, Dellinger, Barry, and their supporters used the charge of "racism" as an epithet against people with whom they had *political disagreements*. They did this in much the same way that some people red-bait those they disagree with, dismissing them as "communists" or "socialists." This is always a substitute for honest political discussion.

### Is the movement racist?

But what about the idea that the antiwar movement is "racist" unless it adopts specific demands "against war, racism, and repression" and becomes "multi-issue."

Even if the antiwar movement spoke only to the horrible suffering the war imposes on the people of Indochina—which it doesn't—that would by no means make the antiwar movement *racist*.

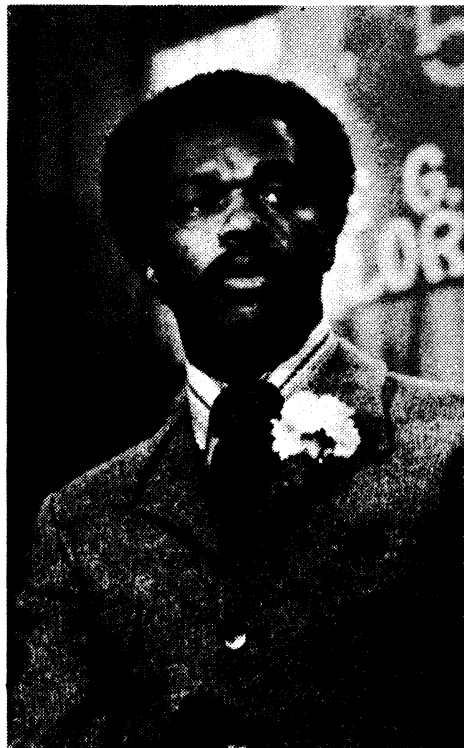
The demand that the U.S. get out of Indochina runs directly against the interests of the racists who rule this country. And ending the war is in the interests of all oppressed people, especially Black people.

The antiwar movement does relate the Vietnam war to the intensified oppression the war stimulates inside the U.S.—including racial oppression, poverty, inflation, and unemployment. In fact, this is exactly how the antiwar movement has been built.

The antiwar movement must keep its doors open to anyone who wishes to oppose the policies of the U.S. government in Indochina, no matter what their views on other questions. More antiwar actions have been scheduled for Aug. 5-9, the anni-

Continued on page 21

# What's behind charges that antiwar movement is 'racist'?



Marion Barry



Dave Dellinger



Sam Manuel

Militant/Mark Satinoff

students at Eastern High School took to the streets in protest. Cassell backed the students, but Barry quickly adjourned a board meeting the students tried to address.

The June 22 "summit" was attended by 65 persons, mostly Black residents of Washington. Also present were Dave Dellinger, Rennie Davis, and Sid Peck, leaders of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), Gil Green of the Communist Party, Charlene Mitchell of the Angela Davis Defense Committee (and 1968 CP presidential candidate); and several representatives of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL). The YWLL shares the political outlook of the Communist Party.

After hours of discussion, the meeting passed two specific motions: 1) the antiwar movement must support Black political candidates; and 2) future antiwar demonstrations held in Washington must be "multi-issue" and have "demands against war, racism, and repression."

The meeting also decided to establish a "clearing house" that could review, and approve or reject, demon-

of the Year."

Hobson charged that this attack on the right of the antiwar movement to demonstrate was inspired by Walter Fauntroy. Fauntroy, a Black Democrat, is the D.C. nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives. He has since stated that he was misled into signing without having seen the statement.

On June 20, the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) held a press conference to reaffirm its support of the Capitol antiwar action. Present were Jerry Gordon, national coordinator of NPAC; Willie J. Hardy; and myself.

Gordon declared that "to cancel the demonstration would be playing into the hands of Richard Nixon." "The peace movement is not racist," he said, "the war is racist."

Gordon also expressed his desire to meet with those involved in the "summit." He suggested, without success, that the meeting either be rescheduled so it didn't conflict with the Capitol demonstration, or that it adjourn for two hours to allow those who

They argue that the antiwar movement must adopt specific demands on many social issues. But this would transform the antiwar movement from a broad coalition that can build mass actions around the question of the war into a diffuse movement with a program for many different reforms.

This, of course, would narrow the movement. It would lead to political divisions and exclusion—since the forces in the antiwar movement do not all have the same analyses or solutions for the countless social evils that exist under capitalism.

The Communist Party, a supporter of PCPJ, has been particularly insistent in demanding that the antiwar movement "take up the struggle against racism."

Of course, the CP knows that all opponents of the war could not agree on the same political program for Black liberation.

For example, the CP itself is an opponent of Black nationalism. They counterpose a "Black and white unity" approach in and around the Democratic Party. The CP also thinks that electing a liberal Democrat, such as

## SWP, Communist Party challenged

# Ohio ballot fights go to court

By LARRY SEIGLE

JULY 17—The battle over who will be on the Ohio ballot in November grew hotter this week, as both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party went to court to force Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown to list their candidates on the ballot.

Brown has decided to refuse Jenness and Pulley a spot on the ballot because they are "too young" to serve if elected. Brown has also moved against the CP slate of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner on the grounds that they allegedly misrepresented the purpose of their petitions to prospective signers.

Brown has ordered a public hearing on Aug. 2 to hear testimony from people who claim they were "deceived" by the CP. The American Civil Liberties Union has announced plans to seek an injunction to prevent Brown from holding this hearing or taking other action to deny Hall and Tyner their ballot position.

Jenness and Pulley and the 25 electors pledged to them in Ohio have filed suit in federal district court in Columbus seeking a court order to place them on the ballot. According to Ben Scheerer, the attorney handling the suit on behalf of the Committee

for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), the state has agreed to stipulate the following:

1) that the Jenness-Pulley nominating petitions were in total compliance with the law;

2) that no attempt has been made to "deceive" voters by hiding the fact that Jenness and Pulley are under 35;

3) and that the electors pledged to the SWP slate are fully qualified to run and serve if elected.

There are thus no questions of fact to be argued. The court will be asked to rule on the single issue of whether the secretary of state has the authority to keep Jenness and Pulley off the ballot because of their age.

The deadline for filing legal papers is set for July 24, and a decision is expected in early August.

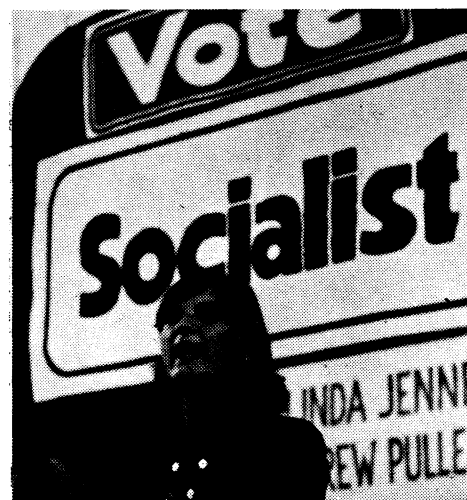
CoDEL's national campaign to win the rights of young people to run for office is obviously having an effect on Brown. Recently, the Cleveland State University student government voted to endorse the ballot fight and to send a telegram of protest to Brown. Brown's office wrote the student government and asked if they had really passed such a resolution. In a clear attempt to intimidate them,

Brown's representative also phoned the student government and challenged their right to do so without endangering their tax-exempt status.

Nearly 100 women attending the recent Women's National Abortion Action Coalition conference in New York responded to CoDEL's appeals and sent individual letters of protest defending Jenness's right to be on the ballot.

Several prominent attorneys have

Continued on page 21



Linda Jenness

## Mississippi petitioning completed

# SWP wins Mass. ballot status

By JUDY UHL

JULY 17—The Socialist Workers Party has been certified for ballot status in Massachusetts! On July 11, Don Gurewitz, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate, filed a total of 115,000 signatures at the Massachusetts statehouse. "No political party in the history of Massachusetts has ever collected this many signatures," commented Supervisor of Elections Norman Gleason, as he accepted the petitions.

The signatures qualified Gurewitz, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, and U. S. Congressional candidates Jeanne Lafferty (9th C. D.) and John Powers (8th C. D.) for the ballot.

Since no challenges to the petitions were filed within the 72-hours set by law for such challenges, Gleason automatically certified the SWP candidates.

The SWP is the only party other than the Democrats and Republicans to win a ballot slot. Wallace's American Independent Party (AIP) tried and failed to collect the more than 56,000 required signatures. According to press reports, local Wallace supporters undertook the AIP effort without active support from Wallace's national apparatus.

The Communist Party also failed to meet the deadline, although they made a concerted effort to do so. However,

the CP is currently challenging the refusal of state officials to accept petitions for a Communist candidate for a seat in the Massachusetts legisla-



Militant/Dave Warren

Mass. SWP candidates Jeanne Lafferty, John Powers, and Don Gurewitz with stack of 115,000 signatures that certified them and SWP presidential ticket for ballot status.

ture. The SWP is supporting the CP's challenge to the McCarthy-era law that bars the CP from political activity in the state.

Since the Republicans failed to nominate a candidate for the 8th C. D., Powers will be the only candidate opposing House Majority Whip Thomas O'Neill Jr.

The State of Colorado has also certified petitions on behalf of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley and their presidential electors. (See story, page 15). In addition to Massachusetts and Colorado, the SWP has been certified for ballot status in Michigan, Idaho, New Jersey, and Kentucky.

In Mississippi, campaign supporters wound up their petitioning drive with 3,700 signatures, nearly four times the 1,000 required. These signatures must now be filed with the county clerks for validation.

In New Hampshire, petitioners added to their signature total this past weekend. They now have 1,900 signatures. The requirement is 1,000.

Petitioning will begin July 20 in New York. Volunteers are needed to collect 41,000 signatures to win ballot places for the presidential ticket and six congressional candidates. If you can help in New York, send in the coupon on this page.

## Help the SWP get on the ballot

In the following 24 states, SWP campaign supporters have collected enough signatures to meet state ballot requirements:

State	Number Collected
Colorado	900
Delaware	convention
Florida	51,600
Idaho	3,000
Illinois	40,300
Indiana	16,500
Iowa	1,800
Kentucky	2,007
Louisiana	3,000
Massachusetts	100,625
Michigan	28,732
Minnesota	9,600
Mississippi	3,700
New Hampshire	1,900
New Jersey	2,350
North Dakota	689
Ohio	9,767
Pennsylvania	50,233
South Dakota	6,619
Tennessee	500
Texas	45,200
Utah	942
Vermont	3,000
Washington, D. C.	26,000
Total	408,964

Ballot drives are in progress or projected in these states:

State	Number Required
Arizona	4,114
New Mexico	convention
New York	20,000
Rhode Island	500
Washington	convention
Wisconsin	3,000-5,000

Your support is needed to help complete the biggest ballot drive of a socialist party since Debs.

( ) I would like to petition to put the SWP on the ballot. Send me information.

( ) Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ to help cover petitioning costs.

( ) I endorse the SWP campaign as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, although I do not necessarily agree with all the planks of the SWP platform.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone \_\_\_\_\_

SWP National Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 989-7676.

## Socialists expose Dems' scandal

BOSTON—John Powers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Congress from the 8th C. D., has exposed Mayor Kevin White's attempt to pressure city employees to work for the Democratic Party fund-raising telethon July 9.

A copy of a memo sent out to staff members of the Boston Rent Board by Deputy Director James Oliver was given to the SWP by a campaign supporter. The memo asked employees to help answer telephones to accept pledges of money. It indicated that the list of those volunteering would be submitted to the mayor.

Powers, who ran against White in

the mayoral race last year, stated, "After the last city election, Mayor White explained that his victory was due to the thousands of city officials who worked two nights a week on his campaign.

"Such self-sacrifice is now clearly explained, for his memo shows that the mayor is not above putting the squeeze on his employees, using their jobs as a pressure to force them to work for him. . . . The memo itself is but a small part of the iceberg of Democratic and Republican party graft and corruption."

Powers's revelations about White were picked up by *The Boston Globe* on July 6.



## SWP on Colo. ballot

# Pulley speaks in L.A. at debate, SWP rally

By JOHN BEADLE

LOS ANGELES, July 17—A July 14 campaign rally of 150 people concluded Andrew Pulley's week-long tour of the Los Angeles area.

Sharing the platform with Pulley and expressing their solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party 1972 election campaign were John T. Williams, a national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition and recently elected business agent of Teamsters Local 208; Morris Kight, a founder of the Los Angeles Gay Liberation Front and a local antiwar leader; Sally Anderson of Lesbian-Feminists; and Laura Moorhead, SWP candidate

reaucratic regimes there. But he stressed the need to defend these countries against any attempt by imperialism to overturn the existing property forms.

As a result of this debate, one person in the audience asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

A news conference July 10 at the Los Angeles Press Club drew reporters from television and radio stations and newspapers, including the *Los Angeles Times*, and from United Press International.

In his statement to the press, Pulley commented on McGovern's recent backtracking on a number of issues and expressed doubt that McGovern would really end the war. He also scored the recent illegal attempt by Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown to rule the SWP presidential ticket off the ballot in that state. Pulley projected a fight for ballot status in Ohio, as well as in California, which has the most restrictive election laws in the nation.

Pulley addressed campaign meetings at the University of Southern California at Los Angeles, California State University at Northridge, and California State University at Los Angeles. During the tour five people joined the Young Socialist Alliance and 20 people endorsed the SWP campaign.

By JON HILLSON

DENVER, July 17—On the heels of their successful campaign to collect enough signatures to put Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley on the ballot, Colorado Socialist Workers Party supporters welcomed Pulley to Denver on July 15.

The Colorado SWP filed 902 signatures for ballot status on July 14. Three hundred signatures are required to place a slate of presidential electors on the ballot.

At a news conference held July 16, Pulley announced that the secretary of state's office had formally certified his ticket. This is the third successive SWP presidential slate to win ballot status in Colorado.

Several newspapers and radio stations, as well as the local Denver television station, covered the news conference.

Buoyed by the success of their campaign thus far, the Colorado SWP announced four new candidates at the news conference. They are Joel Hautman for U.S. Congress, Bill Purdue for Denver district attorney, Nora Danielson for the 53rd state legislative district, and Barbara Thornton for the 11th state legislative district.

These candidates join four others already announced by the Colorado SWP: Joan Fulks for U.S. Senate, Fern Gapin for U.S. Congress, and Jon Hillson and Barbara Hennigan for Colorado University Board of Regents.

Pulley plans to be in Colorado for several days. Already he has addressed a gathering of students at the University of Colorado at Boulder and met with several Black activists in Denver.

The Communist Party, the People's Party, and the Socialist Labor Party will also appear on the November ballot.



Militant/Steve Beck

Andrew Pulley speaking to 130 people at July 7 SWP campaign rally in San Francisco.

for Congress from California's 37th C. D.

The rally raised almost \$500 for the SWP campaign.

One of the highlights of Pulley's Los Angeles tour was a July 11 debate with Dr. John Hospers, head of the philosophy department at the University of Southern California and presidential candidate of the Libertarian Party.

Eighty people attended the debate on "Laissez-faire Capitalism versus Socialism." In addition to Pulley and Hospers, Roy Childs, editor of *Libertarian Review*, and Morris Starsky of the Socialist Workers Party also participated.

Hospers launched the debate with a general critique of socialist theories since the nineteenth century. "Socialism," he charged, "inevitably leads to human slavery in that it stifles individual incentive and leads to the rise of a new totalitarian ruling class." Hospers used the examples of China and the Soviet Union in an attempt to back up his contentions.

Pulley told Hospers it was necessary to clarify the definition of socialism. "Socialism," Pulley stated, "is nothing less than the democratic ownership and control of all the means of production by the working class."

Pulley called for a political revolution in China, the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe to overthrow the bu-

## Minn. SWP files petitions

# Age law challenged

By MARVIN JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS, July 16—The battle against discriminatory age requirements for candidates seeking public office came to Minnesota this week, as Linda Jenness and two Minnesota socialists filed signatures for ballot status. The filing coincided with Jenness's tour of the Twin Cities.

Jenness was accompanied by Bill Peterson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 5th C. D., and Mary Hillery, the SWP's senatorial candidate. They submitted 9,600 signatures on three sets of petitions, one for Jenness and SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley, and one each for Hillery and Peterson. Two TV crews, two radio stations, and one newspaper covered the filing.

Secretary of State Arlan Erdahl refused to accept the petitions for Hillery when she refused to sign an affidavit stating that she is 30 years old, the minimum age for senator. The affidavit is required by Minnesota law. Hillery is 25.

Jenness immediately protested the secretary of state's action. Debating Erdahl in front of the cameras, she pointed out that the SWP wholeheartedly supports the right of young people to run for office. She said that she and her running mate are under the required age, 35, for holding the offices of president and vice-president. She called the age requirement in Minnesota "out of line with the political reality in this country."

Erdahl stated that he was sympathetic to the point of view expressed by Jenness. He said that he had per-

sonally submitted a proposal to an upcoming state constitutional convention that candidacy for state legislature should be open to anyone old enough to vote. Under the current requirement, candidates for the state legislature must be 21.

However, he said, he was bound by state law to obtain the affidavit that Hillery refused to sign.

Despite the fact that Erdahl knew both Jenness and Pulley were under 35, he accepted their petitions. He said that the petitions were in sufficient number, the form was correct, and they seemed to comply with the Minnesota laws.

No affidavit is required of presidential candidates. He accepted the petitions nominating Peterson when Peterson signed an affidavit stating that he was 25 years old.

After filming the exchange with Erdahl, reporters questioned Jenness and the two Minnesota candidates.

While in Minnesota, Jenness met with 25 women at an all-women's meeting and party held in her honor. She discussed the relationship between the women's liberation movement and the Democratic Party, stressing the need for the movement to remain independent. A local TV station taped portions of the discussion for a future program on the feminist movement.

Jenness addressed a campaign rally attended by 70 people and spoke to students at the University of Minnesota and at a high school summer institute at Macalester College in St. Paul. She also appeared on the TV talk show "News and Views" and taped several radio interviews.

## Three reasons why your 1972 campaign contributions should go to Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley

1. "... unrestricted abortion policies or abortion on demand I cannot square with my personal belief in the sanctity of human life, including the life of the yet unborn." — Richard M. Nixon, San Clemente, Calif., April 3, 1971.

2. "I'm not going around preaching (abortion) as a major part of my campaign because I think it's irrelevant. I mean, it's sort of like asking my theory of the virgin birth of Christ." — George McGovern, quoted in the June 9, 1972, *New York Times*.

3. "We are fighting for all women—not only for safe and legal abortions for those women who want them, but also for legal, 100 percent safe contraception. . . . The struggle for the right to control our bodies is part of the struggle against a whole oppressive system which keeps women and other people down." — Linda Jenness at Nov. 20, 1971, Washington, D.C., march for repeal of all anti-abortion laws.

Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley support demands for the liberation of women with no hesitations and no compromises. But they urgently need your contributions to raise the tens of thousands of dollars needed to continue their campaign. The Socialist Workers program doesn't appeal to the millionaires who bankroll the Nixon and McGovern campaigns.

( ) I can contribute \$\_\_\_\_\_ to the 1972 Socialist Workers campaign.  
( ) I can contribute \$\_\_\_\_\_ per month to the Jenness-Pulley campaign between now and November 1972.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1972 Campaign Committee,  
706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.



## Report from inside the walls

# Convicts shake up Ohio prison system

The following story was sent to *The Militant* by Samuel Bell, cochairman of the Convict Council at the Marion Correctional Institution (MCI) in Marion, Ohio. He describes how the prisoners used a mass strike and a class-action suit to bring about changes in the prison.

By SAMUEL BELL

I was transferred to this medium security prison in 1969 after spending four months in the Ohio Penitentiary. I found the Marion Correctional Institution to be a much better place to do time than the Ohio Penitentiary, but I still saw many bad things—such as a racist administration with a lot of racist pig guards.

Well, there have been a lot of changes taking place in MCI within the past few months, as well as a few changes in other Ohio prisons.

Last year Governor John J. Gilligan and his head of corrections in the state of Ohio, Bennett Cooper, a Black man, gave us one of our human rights—they allowed us uncensored mail and let us write to anyone we so desired. And they promised many changes in the Ohio prison system.

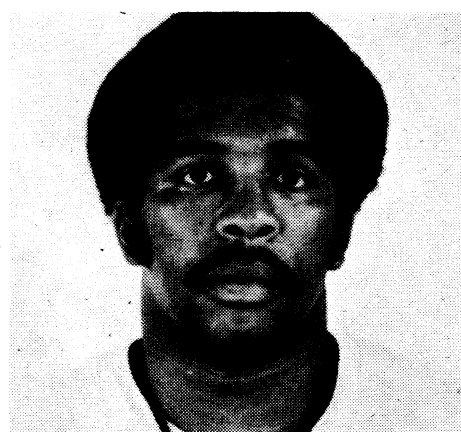
Things began to happen a few months ago, around January. Thirty convicts from the shop area marched to the deputy's office demanding to see the warden about getting paid the same amount as the clerks and some others who don't do as much work.

The administration didn't know what to do so they called the central office in Columbus, Ohio. Cooper sent one of his assistants, who said that every convict would be paid the same amount of wages from here out. This meant that a lot of convicts who were getting \$4 to \$5 a month in their spending fund would be getting \$6 a month.

I feel this was the beginning. It was the first convict victory I had seen here. Before that incident most convicts were afraid of being sent back to the Walls (Ohio Penitentiary) if they protested anything here at MCI. And it would have been held against them when they were scheduled to appear before the Adult Parole Board.

In February the administration told us we could have a Convict Council to represent the convicts in MCI. They told us to vote for two convicts from each of the 16 locks, cell blocks included, and dormitories.

We, the convicts, decided we wanted the Council to be 50-50, Black and white, so we voted in a white and a Black from each lock. I am at present the Black from my lock, and a friend of mine, Tim Adams, was the white voted in.



Samuel Bell

The administration told us we would not be used to do any form of policing, but they told us our job would be to make suggestions, "not to make demands."

On March 21 we decided that we would go on a sit-down strike. All 1,100 convicts refused to go to work. The convicts decided to go back to

work the next day after the administration told the Convict Council that some of our grievances would be met immediately and some at a later date.

We worked all day March 22, but we heard that the convicts at the Ohio Penitentiary, London Ohio Prison, and also Chillicothe Institution had gone on strike. So we decided to go back on strike in solidarity with other Ohio prisons and because this administration was foot dragging as far as making changes.

We didn't work on March 23, 24, and 25. On March 25 Cooper sent his assistants, Joseph Palmer and George Miller, to meet with the Convict Council. After talking for 10 hours, the Convict Council decided we would wait until the next day before we let them know if we were going to accept the things they had offered us. On that day we agreed to go back to work.

There was a law suit filed against the warden, E. P. Perini, here in 1969. It was filed by J. B. Taylor, a Black convict who was trying to send out writs that the warden took from him at the time and tore up.

Taylor was sent back to the Walls (Ohio Penitentiary) in 1969 for trying to send out his writs, but he managed to get in touch with [attorney] Niki Z. Schwartz of Cleveland. Schwartz decided to turn Taylor's suit into a class-action law suit with every convict in this joint being a plaintiff.

Last August 1971, Judge Don J. Young, a United States district judge, sent federal marshals here to hand out questionnaires about the class-action suit to each convict. Only about 60 convicts signed these questionnaires, including myself.

In February of this year George Bennett and six other Black convicts who worked in the garment shop filed

a writ against the racist guard that runs the shops and against E. P. Perini. Judge Young put George Bennett's writs and J. B. Taylor's class-action writs together, making it 67 convicts against Perini.

On May 22 Judge Young had Tim Adams, George Bennett, Michael Kennedy, Johnny Rodgers, and myself brought to his court for the beginning of Perini's trial. The judge informed us that Schwartz had a settlement he had drawn up and that he would read it off and we could comment on it.

We went along with the settlement, and as a result we can now grow half beards, goatees, vandykes, mustaches, Afros, straight hair as long as can be, as long as it doesn't cover the back of the shirt collar and the ears. Sideburns are to be even with the bottom of the ear.

The Muslims are happy about getting a place to worship and about Muslim ministers being allowed to come into the institution every week for services. Bennett Cooper set up some kind of a contract to have Muslim ministers come into all of the Ohio prisons weekly.

We are now allowed to take pictures in our visiting room. Most of the convicts here had no pictures of themselves and their families. Now we can enjoy our families just a little bit better.

There are other things we are pleased with. But there are still things that need to be changed, not only here, but in all the other prisons in the world. I myself will not be satisfied unless they change every prison in the world, treat every prisoner like a human being, and give us back all our human rights. Freeing all political prisoners might mean closing down all prisons, which might be the best bet of all.

## By Any Means Necessary

**BLACK WORKERS SEIZE CITY HALL.** In East St. Louis, Ill., early this month unemployed Black workers demanding jobs seized city hall and held it for six days.

According to the July 5 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the action involved 200 Blacks at its height. It began when the demonstrators interrupted a city council meeting June 28. The seizure sent Mayor James Williams scurrying about for jobs.

In the end, the city council promised employment for 173 persons. "... 53 of the jobs offered to the demonstrators would be financed by a \$178,000 reallocation of federal funds that were intended for the city's urban renewal program. Twenty jobs have been promised by private industry and an additional 20 have been offered by state agencies in the area," reported Donald Franklin in the *Post-Dispatch*.

"He (Mayor Williams) said the council committed itself to seek immediate employment for an additional 80 persons and that it would continue to put pressure on the Federal Government for a \$5,100,000 grant to finance 365 permanent jobs and 200 summer jobs for youths."

As the 50 remaining demonstrators left city hall on July 4, they handed the mayor a new list of demands that called for better housing and health care, and more jobs for youth, among other things.

Franklin writes that the mayor had been in contact with the White House at the start of the seizure but had not "received a positive response from the President." Illinois Governor Richard Ogilvie, a Republican, had three representatives participate in negotiations with the demonstrators.

According to Franklin, Mayor Williams has promised that no "retaliatory actions" will be taken against the demonstrators.

**INMATES OCCUPY JAIL CHAPEL.** On the heels of the East St. Louis action and right across the Mississippi River in St. Louis, Mo., inmates in the city jail seized the jail chapel and occupied it for four days.

The occupation began July 8 when some of the inmates and seven representatives from Black community organizations began a sit-in in the chapel. According to the July 11 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the protest concerned "cold food, lack of hygiene supplies, poor recreational facilities and inadequate medical care." Among the protesters was Bob Williams of the St. Louis Black United Front.

At the outset of the occupation, city officials entered into talks with the inmates. Crowds of Blacks, many of them relatives of the inmates, gathered outside the jail.

The situation perplexed the guards, who were unable to use the stick for the moment. They went on strike the morning of July 11.

On that same day, wrote Robert L. Joiner in the July 12 *Post-Dispatch*, "One member of a negotiating team said inmates on the sixth floor chapel were about to leave the jail peacefully, but changed their minds after seeing police push a young Black woman away from the immediate vicinity of the jail."

So on the night of July 11, according to the July 12 *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, "Prisoners armed with metal pipes and tear gas fought police for 45 minutes. ... Police said prisoners grabbed the tear gas from a storage locker. They fashioned weapons of pipe from plumbing torn out of walls."

The police were brutal. "The all-white police force came in and never asked the women to come



Relatives and friends of inmates confront police outside the St. Louis city jail.

out first," Williams told *Post-Dispatch* reporter Joiner. Williams's face was spattered with blood.

"It was just like Attica," Williams continued, "but they didn't shoot. They were knocking the brothers around. The policemen were acting like animals."

Joiner reports that "Mrs. (Betty) Lee, who is associate editor of *Proud Magazine*, came out of jail, holding her stomach."

"I've never seen anything like this in my life," she said. "The police are killing them inside."

City officials reportedly agreed to meet some of the inmates' demands.

—DERRICK MORRISON

# N.Y. hospital workers gain settlement

By JENNIFER SIMPSON

NEW YORK — The hurdles hospital workers here must clear to get living wages and decent working conditions include federal wage controls and civil-service standards. Both of these complicate union-management negotiations and delay wage settlements.

On June 30 a mediation panel recommended a 7.5 percent wage increase and other benefits to 33,000 members of Drug & Hospital union Local 1199 who are employed here by the League of Voluntary Hospitals (i.e., the private hospitals).

Included in the tentative settlement is a maximum 37.5-hour workweek, beginning the second year of the contract. Other provisions include four weeks' vacation after six years' service (also effective in the second year) and additional improvements in sick leave and uniform allowances. The union accepted the settlement.

Although the League of Voluntary Hospitals had agreed in advance to abide by the mediation panel recommendation, Norman Metzger, president of the league, denounced the terms as "highly inflationary." He threatened to appeal to the government Pay Board for a review of the new wage scale.

The problem of civil-service standards arises in connection with the city Health and Hospital Corporation. About 1,600 clerical workers represented by Local 1199 are employed by a number of voluntary hospitals with which the city has affiliation programs. These workers were transferred to 15 city hospitals managed by the Health and Hospitals Corporation. Employees in the city hospitals are represented by District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

These clerical workers were scheduled to be "rolled back" or transferred from the voluntary-hospital payroll to the city payroll on July 1. They would thus fall into the category of "civil-service employees" and would be transferred from Local 1199 to AFSCME District Council 37.

This meant that these clerical workers could lose all seniority, that they could become provisional employees of the city, and that about 300 of them might be forced to take competitive examinations for their present jobs. Also their wages in the civil service were in danger of being reduced as much as \$30 a week from their present earnings under Local 1199's contract with the League of Voluntary Hospitals.

The issue appeared to be settled only after determined action by Local 1199 to protect the interests of these workers. A demonstration of 20,000 hospital workers on June 13 forced both the League of Voluntary Hospitals and the city administration to negotiate seriously with the union. After the question of wages was temporarily settled with the hospitals, a threatened strike set for July 6 forced Mayor John Lindsay to acknowledge the rights of all Local 1199 members on the city payroll.

On July 5 the hospital strike was averted when the city agreed to Local 1199's demand that wages and conditions of clerical workers under its jurisdiction remain intact. However, these workers will be transferred to the jurisdiction of AFSCME District Council 37 in one year.

These limited gains can be extended if the union movement organizes a serious struggle against all forms of government intervention. Other unions must insist, as Local 1199 did in the recent negotiations, that workers' bargaining rights and right to strike be respected at all times.

The hospital workers' determination to win wage standards comparable to other organized workers and commensurate with their skills forced the Lindsay administration to upgrade some of the lowest paid.

The average weekly take-home pay of hospital workers remains about \$125, and many get as little as \$95. None of the negotiated increases have yet been paid.

These wages and the conditions of work in the hospitals prove the need of close collaboration in the future between Local 1199 of the Drug & Hospital union and AFSCME District Council 37.

# Postal and communications unions in possible merger

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK — The possible merger of two AFL-CIO unions in the communications field, the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) and the Communications Workers of America (CWA), could bring together in one union more than a million workers—assuming that a third union, the National Association of Letter Carriers, also an AFL-CIO affiliate, would join the merger.

All this remains in the formative, mostly talking stage. It indicates the recent tendency toward union mergers and is similar to the one recently voted by members of the United Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association in New York State.

At the CWA convention held in Los Angeles June 12 the Communications Workers voted unanimously to merge with the Postal Workers. (See *The Militant*, July 7.) The APWU will hold its national convention in New Orleans in August. A motion for merger will be on the agenda.

Aside from these developments, the plans for merger appear to be limited to discussions between Francis Filbey, APWU president; and Joseph Beirne, president.

Officers of the New York area postal unions —

There are few Black and Latin workers in the higher-skilled and better-paying jobs, and almost no women in these categories. In addition to making only 62 percent of the pay of men in the CWA, women are subjected to close personal supervision of their clothing and conduct.

The desire of Serrette and others in CWA to form a more powerful union that will end these discriminatory practices is prompted by the failure of the CWA leadership to undertake such a struggle.

At the CWA convention where the merger proposal with the American Postal Workers Union was first announced, fewer than 100 of the 2,000 delegates were Black. Only about one-quarter of the delegates were women, although women are a majority in the union. All CWA national officials and all district directors are white and male.

Although the majority of members in the CWA, as in all other unions, oppose the war in Vietnam, the CWA convention adopted the prowar foreign policy resolution submitted by the Beirne leadership.

Despite appeals of the New York CWA locals, including Local 1101, that were on strike for seven months, the convention refused to override Beirne's demand of per capita payments to the union for the



Striking communications workers in Los Angeles, July 1971.

Militant/Walter Lippmann

Branch 36 of the National Association of Letter Carriers and the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union—say they know nothing of the proposed merger and are unable or unwilling to discuss it. These unions were in the forefront of the 1970 postal strike.

Some local leaders of CWA, however, welcome the merger idea and are willing to talk about it.

Dennis Serrette, vice-president of CWA Local 1101, with 13,000 members in Manhattan and the Bronx, said he thinks the merger is a good idea. However, he indicated that the merger proposal took most people by surprise, and that there is still not much information available.

Serrette, a 32-year-old Black, has been an officer only a short time. He gave two reasons for favoring the merger between his union and the postal workers: First, it would put Blacks and Puerto Ricans in the CWA in a better position because of the large number of Black and Latin postal workers. Second, a bigger union would give the workers more power against the employers.

The CWA is 35 percent Black and 55 percent female, according to Serrette. Serrette is cochairman of the national Black caucus in the union. The cochairwoman, Julie Greer of Detroit, is also head of the union's national women's caucus.

Serrette says telephone company discrimination against Black and Latin workers and women is "very extensive."

"The company does not even try to disguise it," he says. "Or at least did not until the government's Equal Employment Opportunities Commission began investigating telephone company bias in the areas of hiring, promotion, pay, and job training."

period of the strike. The Beirne leadership worked in every way possible to undermine the strike, which lasted from July 1971 to February of this year.

There is no evidence that a merger at this time of the CWA and the APWU would have the effect of changing the class-collaboration, policy of the unions' present leaders.

People like CWA President Joseph Beirne, a member of the AFL-CIO executive council and sometimes mentioned as a possible successor to AFL-CIO President George Meany, do not think in terms of a fight against the employers and against the government controls that plague postal workers. They seek, instead, to adjust to the pressures of the employers and reach agreements on the employers' terms.

This is becoming increasingly difficult for them under the present government wage controls and the growing hostility of the employing class to unions. However, their main interest in organizational mergers is to build larger organizations under their control to collect more dues and more per capita tax, and to build up larger treasuries to pay themselves higher salaries.

A merger of all unions in the communications field will benefit the workers when it is brought on by men and women like Dennis Serrette and Julie Greer, who want more democracy in their unions, less discrimination, jobs for everyone, wages to meet the rising cost of living, better working conditions, and shorter hours.

This means that the postal and telephone workers themselves must discuss the merger proposal. The discussion cannot be limited to the private conversations of a few top union officials.



## Response to British sectarians

# Is Black fight to control cops reactionary?

By DERRICK MORRISON

There are those who don't think it's very radical for Afro-Americans to demand the removal of the occupying armies of police, mostly white, from their communities. They think it's not very radical—it may, even be reactionary, according to some—for Black people to demand that white officers be replaced with Blacks accountable to the community.

Such nonsense is contained in "Black Cops for the Ghettos," an unsigned article in the June 10 *Workers Press*, the daily organ of the central committee of the British Socialist Labour League. The SLL, a sectarian group headed by Gerry Healy, claims to be Trotskyist.

The SLL's American counterpart, the Workers League, led by Tim Wohlforth, usually toes the Healy line in its weekly *Bulletin*. So far, however, this British polemic against the right of Black people to control the Black communities has not been picked up.

"Black Cops for the Ghettos" attacks the Socialist Workers Party in general and Harlem SWP congressional candidate B.R. Washington in particular for supporting the demand of the Harlem Black community for Black police under the control of the community.

Drawing from articles in the May 5 and May 12 *Militant*, *Workers Press* manages to convey to its readers that scores of police invaded the Harlem mosque of the Nation of Islam, or Black Muslims, on April 14. Afterwards the police admitted that the alarm prompting the raid was false.

This admission, along with the hatred of the police by the Black community, encouraged the Muslims to press a defense campaign. The Muslims demanded an apology from city officials and that all charges be

dropped against two arrested in the raid.

The Muslims also demanded the withdrawal of all white policemen from Harlem and their replacement with Black policemen under Black of-



Gerry Healy of British Socialist Labor League. SLL's paper opposes struggle of Afro-American community to control police.

ficers. To build support for the demands the Muslims, in concert with community organizations and several Black Democratic politicians, organized a rally of 5,000 Blacks.

Even while describing the incident, *Workers Press* lets loose with some of its anti-Black-nationalist biases. The Muslims are a "reactionary sect," it charges, and are "violently anti-communist." Moreover, they stand for the "complete separation of black and white workers."

But what really infuriates the SLL is that the revolutionary socialists of the SWP would support the demands and "hail" the rally. For this purpose they zero in on a statement by B. R. Washington. His statement, they say, "reveals the total bankruptcy of the SWP revisionists, who have thrown out of the window all the teachings of Marxism on the state and class struggle."

They continue, "The capitalist state machine (defined by Lenin as bodies of armed men) exists for the purpose of protecting private property and maintaining the subjection of the working class."

"Black or white, that is the policeman's job."

Their statement evades the real issue, which is that an oppressed nationality, predominantly working class in its composition, is struggling against the "capitalist state machine" for greater control over its affairs.

The explosiveness of the demand for Black police, which is at bottom a demand for the political right of community control, is rooted in the very small percentage of Black policemen in proportion to the Black population. Moreover, the impact of nationalist consciousness has exposed the thoroughly racist nature of the police force, thereby provoking sharp conflicts between the community and the white police on the one hand, and between Black and white police on the other.

In addition, any effort toward implementing the demand for community control requires a mobilization of the Black community against the capitalist state.

By not grasping these facts, by not being able to see the living class strug-

gle in this clash between the Black community and the capitalist state, the SLL winds up on the sidelines, giving backhanded support to the very state they say they oppose.

Thus the SLL snorts, "To line up with religious reactionaries, Democratic shysters and organizations of black 'pigs' [reference to the Guardians, an organization of Black policemen that supported the Muslim demands] for so-called 'community control' of the police is to delude black workers into thinking there is some separate road for them."

Again, this assertion displays total blindness to the national oppression of Black people, which is the basis for a "separate road."

In fact, the extent of the collaboration in struggle between Black and white workers will be determined in part by the extent to which the Black community unites in action against various aspects of its national oppression. Through mass action Black people build their own power and gain a sense of confidence in themselves.

While in some instances the politicians and ministers have started this process of independent Black action and organization, it is the Black workers who are best fitted to carry it through to the end.

But to attain this end one must be aware of its sometimes hazy and inchoate beginnings. To oppose Black nationalism in general and nationalist demands and actions in the concrete, as the SLL does, is to miss the boat entirely. The "teachings of Marxism on the state and class struggle" strongly suggest that revolutionary socialists should support Black nationalism and any manifestation of the struggle for Black control of the Black community.

## Teachers union opposes community control

# N.Y. local school board asks quota hiring

By ARTHUR HUGHES

NEW YORK—In the past Lower Manhattan's District 1 School Board faced violent disruptions of its meetings by the Jewish Defense League (JDL). Now it faces a full-scale assault by the Albert Shanker leadership of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT). Mayor John Lindsay is backing the union's moves.

The board's recent decision to request that the district superintendent replace departing teachers and administrators with a staff more nearly reflecting the ethnic composition of the student body prompted the UFT attack.

The 20 schools in the district have the highest percentage of Puerto Rican (72 percent) and Chinese (5 percent) students in the city school system. An additional 15 percent of the 18,000 students are Black. White students make up less than 10 percent.

Against these figures, only nine teachers and two administrators are Latino out of a staff of 1,274 (0.9 percent). There is only one Chinese teacher, although 5,000 Chinese (most of whom don't speak English) emigrate to New York each year. One poorly funded bilingual (Cantonese-English) project involves three additional teachers in a summer program. All Spanish- and Chinese-speaking children are put into English-only classes.

Shanker strongly opposed the community board's modest proposal to correct the situation. In a June 14 communication to Chancellor of

Schools Harvey Scribner, Shanker claimed that the "UFT shares the goal of bringing more minority group teachers and supervisors into our schools." But he went on to say, "we abhor and condemn the hiring of people on the basis of their ethnic background, and for the purpose of reflecting the population of a given area."

Shanker then raised the specter that "quota" hiring "will result in Black teachers for Black children, Puerto Rican teachers for Puerto Rican children, Jewish teachers for Jewish children, Italian teachers for Italian children, and so on."

It is totally false to equate the situation in the Jewish and Italian communities with the white racist oppression suffered by Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese.

Three members of the city-wide Board of Education responded to the Shanker communication by demanding Scribner reverse the decision of the District 1 School Board. Dr. Seymour Lachman, vice-president of the Board of Education, characterized the community board's decision as "a reactionary rather than a progressive tool for change . . . a sham." Using Shanker's words, he called for action to "prevent a serious abuse of human rights."

In a letter to Scribner on June 24, Mayor Lindsay joined the attack on the community board. "It is deeply disturbing," he stated, "that a local school board has advocated the notion that the ethnic background of

a district's students should match that of the district's teachers. This is abhorrent to the goal of a truly integrated society. I urge you take appropriate action on this matter."



New York United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker.

appropriate action on this matter."

Scribner referred the question to the State Division of Human Rights and ordered the local school board not to carry out its policy until the state makes a ruling. So far the state has remained silent.

It is still possible, however, that the Board of Education itself could declare the local board's decision con-

trary to city policy and threaten to suspend or remove the local board if it refused to comply. Lachman, for example, is now pressing this line of action.

In the middle of this conflict the District 1 School Board was strengthened by the election of a pro-community-control representative of the Chinese community. One June 28 Jane Tam was elected to fill a vacancy created by the discovery that one of the pro-Shanker board members actually lived on Staten Island, far outside the district.

Tam's candidacy had been the focus of the months-long conflict between the community on one side, and the Shanker forces and the JDL on the other. Ever since the election of the community board two years ago, the strength of the pro-Shanker forces on the board has steadily eroded. While they originally had seven of the nine members, they now have one.

The UFT leadership maneuvered to find someone who would reflect their position and run against Tam. They were forced to back down, however, as Tam won increasing support from the Chinese community, including the endorsement of the Chinatown Planning Council. She had previously been endorsed by the pro-community-control Coalition for Education on the Lower East Side.

Besides Tam, there are four Puerto Ricans, one Black, a pro-community-control white, and a pro-Shanker white on the District 1 School Board. Another vacancy remains to be filled.



## For fighting white racist vigilantes

# Black militants framed in North Carolina

By DERRICK MORRISON

Defense efforts are being mounted in North Carolina for a group known as the "Wilmington 12." The group includes the Reverend Ben Chavis, the 24-year-old pastor of the First African Church of the Black Messiah in Wilmington and a member of the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF); and Jim Grant, a 31-year-old journalist who writes for *The Southern Patriot*, a monthly newspaper of SCEF, and *The African World*, bi-weekly newspaper of the Student Organization for Black Unity.

The charges brought against the 12 range from assault to conspiracy to commit murder. They stem from events that rocked Wilmington in February 1971. At that time Black students, unable to accept the racist conditions prevailing in the "newly desegregated" school system, launched a boycott. The local white racist vigilantes, organized into a group known as the Rights of White People (ROWP), were infuriated by this show of Black "uppitiness" and set out to put the "niggers back in their place."

The vigilantes, with the complicity of the police, launched armed attacks against the Black community. When the Black community, spearheaded by the youth around Chavis's church, responded in kind, the National Guard was called in. Before the call-up a Black youth and a white man were killed.

After these events tensions rose in Wilmington, a city of 55,000, of which a third is Black. In October 1971, during a high school football game, a Black minister asked the police why they were arresting a Black youth. For this "infraction" the minister was beaten by 10 policemen. He suffered a skull fracture and was subsequently charged with assaulting an officer!

This incident touched off a series of scuffles between Black and white students. Later on, white vigilantes

rode through the Black community and fired at a housing project. The Black residents defended their homes. No guardsmen were called in this time.

In January of this year, the state indicted the 12 for the February events. Most of the defendants, including one white woman, were framed on the charge of conspiring to burn property.

In addition to these charges, the state also accused Grant and Chavis of possessing explosives and helping

Georgia-North Carolina Commission for Racial Justice (a branch of the United Church of Christ), is one of the key forces behind the BPUP. When the BPUP announced its formation at the beginning of this year *The Southern Patriot* and *The African World* carried extensive coverage of the development. There has been little comment since that time.

Both Grant and Chavis were slapped into jail on \$50,000 bail each. Their trial on the charge of conspiring to

there in 1968. The charges were filed in January 1972."

So it is clear that the North Carolina authorities are intent on throwing the book at these activists.

**The Militant** received the following telegram July 17 from Carl Braden, SCEF information director.

**CHARLOTTE, N.C.—**Three Black activists were given long prison terms July 15 as a result of charges growing out of a stable fire.

James Grant, a reporter for *The Southern Patriot* and a SCEF (Southern Conference Educational Fund) organizer, was sentenced to 25 years on charges of burning a barn and 13 horses. He was already under a 10-year sentence in U.S. court on another charge.

T.J. Reddy, a poet and a former writer for the *Charlotte Observer*, was given 20 years. Charles Parker got 10 years. All three have been placed in Mecklenburg County Jail under high bail.

Their conviction resulted from the testimony of two young men who were freed of charges that could have netted them 100 years in prison. These men were given their freedom in exchange for testimony against Grant, Reddy, and Parker.

Superior Court Judge Frank Snepps's instructions to the jury amounted to instructions to find the trio guilty.



Jim Grant

*Southern Patriot*



Rev. Ben Chavis

*African World*

two Blacks escape to Canada to avoid prosecution in Oxford, N.C., in 1970.

The two had been arrested for possession of weapons and dynamite in the wake of Black protests. The protests occurred when two white racists were acquitted after killing one Black man and wounding another. The pair eventually returned from Canada and turned state's evidence against Grant and Chavis.

The state is out to get these militants not only for their self-defense activities, but also for leading efforts to organize an independent Black political party in the state—the Black People's Union Party (BPUP).

Chavis, an organizer for the Vir-

help the two Oxford Blacks flee was held this spring. Chavis was acquitted, but Grant was given 10 years.

According to a July 11 news release from SCEF, an appeals court has just ruled that Grant could be released on bond while appealing his sentence. The court also lowered the bail for Chavis and the other defendants.

So now the Wilmington 12 are all out on bond. Their trial may take place this summer. But meanwhile, according to the SCEF release, "Grant, another journalist, T.J. Reddy, and Charles Parker went on trial July 10 in Superior Court in Charlotte, N.C., on charges of burning a riding stable

# The Militant gets around...

**NEARLY 500 MILITANTS WERE SOLD IN MIAMI** during the Democratic Party convention by Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. Salespeople found that many people from around the country were already familiar with *The Militant*.

*The Militant* was well received at the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition conference, where 200 copies were sold. *Militant* supporters there also sold 76 copies of the new Pathfinder Press book *Feminism and Socialism* and a grand total of \$500 worth of Pathfinder literature.

Sixty *Militants* were sold at the recent Newport Jazz Festival in New York and San Antonio salespeople sold out their bundle of 75 at a rock concert on July 4.

**BEACH SALES:** A number of areas are making some of their best weekend sales at the beaches. Los Angeles sales director Morris Starsky reports that at first he had low expectations because he thought the setting would prevent a serious response. But a few sellers tried it out, and now six or seven people sell 40-50 *Militants* in a few hours by just walking along the beach and the bordering parks.

Brooklyn reports sales of eight or nine *Militants* an hour at Brighton and Coney Island beaches.

**THEY ALL MISS THE MILITANT:** We received a few comments from subscribers this week. First, from Berkeley: "I am moving and expect to be traveling for some time. Reluctantly, therefore, I must cancel my subscription, effective immediately. I will certainly miss the only truthful paper in the country."

With a change of address, two subscribers in South Lake Tahoe, Calif., write, "Although we receive *The Militant* a week late, since we left Boston and Miami it is our only political informant. And an excellent one at that."

And a new subscriber writes, "Please start my

subscription as soon as possible! I don't want to miss reading *The Militant* this summer."

**KEEP IT UP, DETROIT:** Special credit is due for Detroit, which now has the largest *Militant* bundle in the country. For the first issue with the *World Outlook* supplement, they temporarily increased their bundle from 400 to 750. Then, instead of resuming their bundle of 400, they increased their standing order to 500 papers a week.

**A PRISONER IN CONNECTICUT WRITES,** "Each time I receive *The Militant*, I am totally elated. It is quite provocative, candid and truthful, moreover entirely informative. *The Militant* keeps me abreast of the activities of various third world revolutionary movements throughout N. Amerika, as well as the struggle on the international level."

**THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW** received the following note with a one-year subscription: "Thanks for your time, energy, and concern to put out a beautiful literary work." If you would like to read the *ISR*, *The Militant's* monthly companion magazine, just fill out the subscription coupon on page 23.

**THE MILITANT GETS TO ROCHESTER, MINN.:** A reader in Minnesota writes, "I am planning on selling your paper in Rochester, Minn., a town of approximately 60,000. I haven't seen your paper in the city before, so I'm uncertain of the outcome." The reader is starting out with a bundle of 20 *Militants*.

—NANCY COLE



Militant saleswoman at Democratic Party national convention.

# In Review

## Books

### The Life and Times of James Connolly



*The Life and Times of James Connolly* by C. Desmond Greaves. International Publishers. New York, 1971. 448 pp. \$1.65 paper.

One of the great figures of the Irish nationalist movement, James Connolly was also a revolutionary socialist. From 1889 until his execution in 1916 for his part in leading the Easter Rebellion against British rule in Ireland, Connolly was in the forefront of the socialist movement.

He was a speaker, writer, editor, candidate for public office, and an organizer. Part of his work as a socialist was to explain repeatedly that the fight for Irish independence was

inseparable from the socialist revolution, and that the Irish working class was the only force capable of winning independence for Ireland.

Born in Edinburgh, Connolly participated in the Scottish socialist movement until 1896, when he moved to Dublin. In Dublin he helped to establish the Irish Socialist Republican Party. He became well known among Irish nationalists as one of the main organizers of a series of spectacular demonstrations protesting Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee (celebrations in 1897 that marked the sixtieth year of her reign).

In 1902, and then again from 1903 until 1910, Connolly was in the United States. The Socialist Labor Party (SLP) arranged a national tour for Connolly during his first trip, but the Irish socialist soon came into conflict with the SLP over its sectarian policies. During his second stay he was an organizer for the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) and the Socialist Party.

As an organizer in Belfast and Dublin for the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, Connolly was a central leader in the greatest battles in the history of the Irish trade-union movement, particularly in the great Dublin general strike and lockout in 1913.

The last years of Connolly's life were devoted to the struggle for Irish independence and opposition to the First World War.

The scope of Connolly's activity provides an enormous amount of material for a biographer, and Greaves handles it well. His thoroughly researched book is worth reading if only for the information in it on the early socialist movement. Another virtue of the book is that Greaves, unlike some political biographers, refrains from trying to psychoanalyze Connolly. Connolly is treated with respect and sympathy on his own terms—as a political activist.

Unfortunately, Greaves's Stalinist politics result in a number of political weaknesses in the book. Most important of these is his mistreatment of Connolly's views on the national struggle in Ireland. Connolly held that the fight for Irish independence necessarily entailed the mobilization of the working class in a deepgoing struggle against the British that would culminate in a socialist revolution.

In one famous passage from "Nationalism and Socialism," an article published in 1897 and quoted by Greaves, Connolly says:

"If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the socialist republic, your efforts would be in vain. England would still rule you. She would rule you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through the whole array of commercial and industrial institutions she has planted in this country and watered with the tears of our mothers and the blood of our martyrs."

In *Labour in Irish History*, completed in 1910, Connolly explained the historical role of the native Irish capitalists, whose positions and privileges stemmed from their collaboration with the English conquest. Those who rebelled had whatever property they held confiscated by the Crown.

In insisting on the need for a socialist program to guide the national struggle Connolly came into conflict with the petty-bourgeois nationalists, who in failing to elaborate such a program, ended up supporting capitalism. He argued, "As the propertied classes have so shamelessly sold themselves to the enemy, the economic conscription of their property will cause few qualms. . . ."

Connolly's prediction that the capitalist class would betray the national struggle was proven in 1922. The

social turmoil and radicalization resulting from the war of independence had made the capitalists eager to restore "stability." Continued English domination, they felt, was better than a social revolution.

To force acceptance of the treaty that led to the partition of Ireland, the procapitalist section of the nationalist movement carried out a year-long civil war against the left wing of the movement. It ended up in direct collaboration with the British Empire.

Greaves, however, attributes to Connolly his own view that "The coming revolution in Ireland was to be a 'people's revolution' leading, not to the formal democratic republic of the bourgeoisie, but to a 'popular republic' as it might be called today." (p. 384.)

This is the "two-stage" theory held by the Mensheviks at the time of the Russian revolution and by both pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Communist parties today. It is based on the notion that in those countries where the tasks of the democratic revolution, such as national independence, have not been completed, the next stage of political development must be *limited* to their attainment. The idea of accomplishing these tasks in the course of the socialist revolution is rejected. Hence the "people's revolution" leading to a "popular republic."

The history of the twentieth century shows that wherever the tasks of national liberation and agrarian revolution have been carried out successfully, it has been through the vehicle of a socialist revolution, even in economically backward countries such as Cuba, Russia, and China.

Greaves's substitution of "a people's revolution" for a socialist revolution cannot obscure Connolly's real views, although it detracts from an otherwise valuable book.

—DAVE FRANKEL

## Theater

### Two plays by Georg Buchner

*Woyzeck* by Georg Buchner. Avon Books. New York, 1969. \$1.25 paper.

*Danton's Death* by Georg Buchner. Avon Books. New York, 1971. \$1.25 paper.

These two plays, written in the 1830s, break radically with the classic and romantic theater that hung, like gold plating, over the Europe and Germany of that time. They also stand testament to the genius of Georg Buchner, who before he could pen more, died in 1837 at the age of 23.

Thirteen years before the Communist Manifesto and the revolutions of 1848, Germany felt the first tremors of rebellion. The earthquake of the French revolution still reverberated in the ears of radicals and aristocrats alike. Buchner's work strikingly reflects this atmosphere.

Buchner was no passive sponge who

just absorbed this spirit of rebellion only to later deposit it on paper. He was an active revolutionary. In 1834 he founded an illegal organization called the "Society for the Rights of Man," taking its inspiration from the French revolution.

He wrote a fiery pamphlet the same year in which he said, "We know what to expect from our princes. All they have granted us has been forced from them by necessity. . . . Young people are accused of using force. But aren't we in an eternal state of force? Because we were born and raised in a prison, we no longer realize that we are sticking in a hole with fettered hands and feet and with a gag in our mouths. What do you call a lawful state? A law which transforms the great masses of citizens into toiling cattle in order to satisfy the unnatural needs of an unimportant and decadent minority? Supported by raw military might and by the stupid conniving of its agents, this law is eternal, brute force, insulting justice and good sense, and I will fight with hand and mouth against it, wherever I can."

Georg Buchner was also a revolutionary in the realm of the theater. His characters rebel against the cardboard crispness of the formula-like figures prevalent in the drama of that day. They sweat, they curse, they are confused and passive—so very, very

"unheroic" in the eyes of the court critics and too real for those of the German censors.

They seem to belong more to twentieth-century theater than to that of the nineteenth. (Indeed, Buchner was almost unknown until the turn of the century.) The broad episodic nature of the plays plus Buchner's efforts to make the audience think and draw its own conclusions foreshadow the works of later German dramatists, such as Gerhart Hauptmann, Bertolt Brecht, and Peter Weiss.

*Woyzeck* represents the first time in German literature that a person at the bottom of society is the hero of a serious play. Woyzeck, a soldier, is a victim. Experimented on by a quack doctor, cuckolded by a drum major, and ground under the thumb of a captain, he murders his mistress in an insane rage. Buchner turns this story into a bitter indictment of the society that drove Woyzeck over the edge.

In *Danton's Death*, Buchner paints a panorama of the French Revolution during the Reign of Terror. In a highly poetical manner, it touches on the key figures of the revolution during 1794—Robespierre, St. Just, Desmoulins, and most hauntingly, Danton. It constantly shifts from these figures to the common citizens, the *sans culottes*, from the floor of the

National Convention to the prison cells.

Five years after the beginning of the revolution the masses still go hungry and bare. One says, referring to the old leaders of the revolution, "All the blood they have in their veins they sucked out of ours. They told us: kill the aristocrats, they are wolves! We strung up the aristocrats on the lampposts. They said the King eats up your bread. We killed the King. They said the Girondists are starving you out. We guillotined the Girondists. But they undressed the dead and we go barefoot and freeze, the same as before."

Danton, the leader of the Moderates, is accused by Robespierre of plotting treason and of living high off the revolution. In a Buchnerian manner, Danton acts very "unheroically" and bows down to his fate, since life is no longer worth the effort required to keep it.

Buchner skillfully weaves into the dialogue of the trial actual fragments of the speeches of Danton, Robespierre, and St. Just. As the tragedy ends, after the execution of Danton and his followers, one is all too painfully aware that on the ninth of Thermidor Robespierre himself will also kiss the bottom of the guillotine basket.

—ERNIE HARSCH

# ...antiwar

Continued from page 5

9 Hiroshima-Nagasaki actions and the protests to be held this fall. And whether Nixon or McGovern is elected, we hope McGovern supporters will join antiwar demonstrations as long as any U.S. military forces remain in Southeast Asia.

There is a significant possibility that Nixon will be reelected. The existence of an independent antiwar movement, however, is one of the main forces he will have to consider in taking any action before the November election.

In his bid for reelection, Nixon is attempting to buy time in Vietnam. The last thing in the world he wants is a series of antiwar demonstrations throughout the country, with the issue of Vietnam in the front pages of the daily press.

The actions that will take place this August and later in the fall will do more than anything else to deter a new escalation of the war—especially further bombing of the dikes. The antiwar movement must continue to mobilize as many people as possible around the demand "Out Now!" until all U.S. forces are withdrawn.

# ...McGov

Continued from page 10

to work for women's rights," she stated. "That's most important."

She said the main concern of McGovern people seemed to be to raise women's issues "as a means of winning women's votes, not as a means of helping women. And once they win our votes—and if McGovern wins the election—I suspect the same kind of thing will happen; our rights will be neglected, as usual, for whatever his priorities are. And his priorities aren't ours."

She went on to describe a National Women's Political Caucus rally of 1,000 on July 10, where McGovern spoke. "Several of us stood up and asked him, 'What about abortion?' And the McGovern women, who were all around us, shooshed us, as though we mustn't disturb him. And that issue is of primary importance to all women."

"He wouldn't even speak about it. They hustled him away, and as he got off the stage a young woman stepped in front of him and said, 'What about the abortion issue?' He just brushed her aside and said, 'I haven't time for that.'"

# ...pawns

Continued from page 11

agree with either demand, so the Black politicians "compromised"—or might a better term be "sold out"?

Moreover, when a motion was put on the convention floor to seat the delegation from the predominantly Black National Democratic Party of Alabama led by Dr. John Cashin rather than the Wallace delegation, neither the McGovern forces nor the Black politicians raised any real show of support.

Dr. Cashin had been a vigorous participant in meetings sponsored last year by members of the CBC to hammer out a Black political strategy for 1972. But at convention time these politicians had to be "realistic" and "practical."

This is but another illustration of the fact that the slaves cannot operate for themselves in the political parties of the slavemasters. No matter how high a particular slave rises in the Democratic and Republican parties, he or she is still subject to the machinations of the slavemasters.

And when the masters say bark, he or she will bark, and when they say bite, he or she will bite. Such a situa-

tion makes it impossible to represent effectively the interests of the masses of slaves. That is why a party of, by, and for the slaves—a Black party—must be built.

# ...abortion

Continued from page 12

and views who are in basic agreement with WONAAC's goals."

Discussion also took place on the demands and focus of WONAAC. The conference passed a motion by Barbara Mutnick of Washington, D.C., to reaffirm the three basic demands of the coalition: "Repeal all abortion laws"; "Repeal all restrictive contraception laws"; and "No forced sterilization."

Mutnick's motion proposed that WONAAC also support the following demands: "End all restrictions on abortion, contraception, and voluntary sterilization"; and "No forced sterilization or enforced population control."

These additional demands had been proposed as a replacement for WONAAC's three main demands by some of the women who supported the tribunal proposal that failed. Mutnick pointed out that the additional demands should be supported, but not substituted for continued focus around the three basic demands.

During the discussion on the structure proposal, five national coordinators of WONAAC resigned. They were Joan Gombos, Nancy Rolf, Judy Syfers, Ann Davidson, and Vickie Esslinger. Staff members Rose Weber, Terry Bruce, and Ellen Shapiro also announced their resignations. The eight women had supported one or another of the proposals to change WONAAC's perspective.

As they presented their reasons for resigning, it became clear that their objections to SWP and YSA participation in WONAAC were related to their disagreements with different aspects of WONAAC's perspective, which most of the women at the conference had reaffirmed.

Judy Syfers, for example, said that one of the reasons she was leaving was because she had seen "the limitations of mass demonstrations." Terry Bruce said she had wanted WONAAC to do more lobbying and to publicize candidates' stands on the abortion laws.

Following these resignations, national coordinator Barbara Roberts announced that she was not resigning and that she felt WONAAC was a "strong organization." Applause and a standing ovation greeted her statement.

The conference ended on an inspiring note as many women spoke on the need for WONAAC to continue its struggle and to involve all women, regardless of their disagreements on other questions.

One woman explained that she thought it was wrong to reject ideas because they were supported by socialists. "When I consider the different proposals, I'm judging [them] on their own merits," she said. The proposals that passed, she added, "make more sense to me than the proposals of the people who have resigned."

Cindy Hilton, a coordinator of the Georgia Women's Abortion Action Coalition, refuted the charge one woman who resigned made that WONAAC is an "SWP front." "I don't believe I'm working in a front," Hilton stated. "I am working in WONAAC as an independent woman."

A woman from Cleveland got up and said she was a Democrat and "not socialistic at all," yet she had been introduced to WONAAC by members of the SWP. This proved to her, she said, that SWP and YSA members are seriously trying to build WONAAC as a broad, all-inclusive coalition.

Linda Jenness, the SWP presidential candidate, took the floor to answer a question from Rose Weber. In re-

signing, Weber had asked why women in the SWP were at the conference—were they "fighting for feminism or for the SWP?"

"I'm a feminist who happens to be a socialist," Jenness replied. "I'm here because I think that the abortion laws are brutal, inhumane, and they are keeping me and my sisters under someone else's thumb. I also believe that to win our total liberation we're going to have to change this whole disgusting system. . . ."

"The important thing," Jenness concluded, "is that we unite in a fight to repeal the abortion laws. This issue affects us all, whether we're socialists, Democrats, Republicans, or whatever."

The conference adjourned in a spirit of continuing to build WONAAC as a broad, democratic coalition. Women left feeling confident that the October 21-22 international tribunal and the Abortion Rights Act petition campaign they had decided to launch would represent important steps in the struggle for the right to abortion.

# ...racism'

Continued from page 13

versary of the U.S. bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Everyone who opposes the war in Indochina has a responsibility to help build united demonstrations to demand that the U.S. get out now. This is the way forward, not holding of exclusionary "summits," not setting up "clearing house" committees to dictate who does and who doesn't have the right to demonstrate.

I'm sure that Nixon and other racists and warmakers would like nothing better than to have a "clearing house" in Washington urging that demonstrations against the Indochina war be called off. In fact, the idea is so preposterous that I don't think very much will come of it.

# ...Ohio

Continued from page 14

also joined the growing list of civil libertarians who have publicly urged Brown to reverse his decision. Howard Moore Jr., one of Angela Davis's attorneys, wired a protest to Brown. "Your decision," Moore stated, "is an assault upon the Constitution, the democratic rights and liberties of the people of the United States and of the State of Ohio."

Vincent Hallinan, San Francisco attorney and the 1952 presidential candidate of the Progressive Party, has written a letter asking California attorneys to support the CoDEL effort. "In 1948 and 1952," Hallinan wrote, "the Progressive Party had many such impediments to the democratic process, and we should join all forces engaged in this effort to make such candidacies easier."

Professor Noam Chomsky of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Jerry Gordon of the National Peace Action Coalition; Helen Cassidy, chairwoman of the Texas Women's Political Caucus and president of the Houston National Organization for Women; and Karen Lind, vice-president of the Cuyahoga County Women's Political Caucus have also sent protests to Brown.

A group of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley in Allentown, Pa., sent Brown a petition signed by more than 250 people demanding that Jenness and Pulley be accorded their rightful spot on the ballot.

As the date for a court decision approaches, the need for immediate action increases. CoDEL is urging all defenders of civil liberties and a fair ballot to wire or write protests to Ted W. Brown, Secretary of State, Columbus, Ohio 43216. Copies of the protests should be sent to Governor John J. Gilligan, State Capitol, Columbus; and to CoDEL, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

# Britain's war in Dhofar

From Intercontinental Press

Oman and its province of Dhofar, strategically located on the borders of Saudi Arabia and South Yemen in an area that supplies 70 percent of Western Europe's oil needs, are clearly of strategic economic and political importance to imperialism and its allies. Until recently a veil of secrecy has covered British "diplomatic activities" there. A report published in the June 25 London *Sunday Times* has now illuminated some of this activity.

Judging from the report, written by Brian Moynahan, there is good reason for the secrecy. Moynahan reveals quite explicitly how the British government is involved up to its neck with the Sandhurst-trained Sultan Qabus bin Said, whose predecessor—his father—was overthrown in 1970 by "a coup almost certainly planned by British officers who knew their Mao and Giap."

The Sultan is presently engaged in a war against the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf (PFLOAG), which exercises considerable influence in that part of Dhofar that is closest to the South Yemen border. It is a war for which the sultan's army is neither adequately staffed nor well equipped, and as Moynahan explains: "... there is little doubt that without the British pilots and officers the war would fold up within a matter of days." Despite attempts to hide this fact, such as camouflaging British officers in "jaunty Arab headdresses," the imposition of British military culture is obvious.

The recruitment of officers is carried out in a semimercenary fashion. Since the sultan's secretary of defence is a colonel of English nationality, prospects for promotion are good: "There is no defence agreement with Oman: the British are there either through their own direct contracts or by secondment through the Ministry of Defence in London. Since none of the sprinkling of Omani officers is ranked above captain, the 31-year-old Sultan is utterly dependent on the British."

As one contract officer let slip: "This war is Brit down to its desert boots." Most of the weapons employed by the sultan, such as "nine Strikemasters, two Caribous, eight Skyvans, four Beavers, 12 helicopters and a few jet Provosts," are presumably British exports.

The hired officers apparently see themselves as a dam holding back a flood of revolution sweeping its way from South Yemen through Dhofar and onward towards Oman. They have erected what they call a "hedgehog line" consisting of barbed wire and radar anti-personnel posts in order to "protect" the Omanis.

Lacking the British sense of priorities, the Omanis are not very enthusiastic about the war effort:

"The oil income is £52 million a year and unlikely to increase. Recurring defence costs are officially put at £13.2 million, but a more realistic estimate is that almost half the country's oil money goes on the war."

"And it is going on a fraction of Oman's 500,000 population (not more than 30,000 live in Dhofar). This is bitterly resented in the rest of the country where the economy is moving slowly despite [sic] an influx of American businessmen."

If the evaluation of the strength of the PFLOAG and the estimate of annual defence expenditures are correct, then it is costing roughly £26,000,000 a year to do battle with 800 rebels.



# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes held at 68 Peachtree St. N.E., (Third Floor) at 8:30 p.m. For more information, call (404) 523-0610.

Mon., July 24, 8:30 p.m.: Leninist Party Organization.  
Thurs., July 27, 8:30 p.m.: Stalinism.

## AUSTIN

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes held at 611 W. 29th. For more information, call (512) 478-8602.

Mon., July 24, 7:30 p.m.: United Front vs. Popular Front. (Last class of Summer School.)

## BOSTON

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes held on Tuesday and Thursday evenings at 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Station). For more information, call (617) 482-8051.

Tues., July 25, and Thurs., July 27: Stalinism.

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETINGS.** Every Wednesday at 7:30 p.m. All campaign supporters are welcome. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Station).

**VOICES OF DISSENT.** Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for president, will speak on *Socialism—Can It Work?* Wed., July 26, 8 p.m., on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sat., July 29, 6 p.m., on WBUR-FM, 90.9.

**THE MEANING OF NIXON'S TRIP TO CHINA.** Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for *The Militant*. Mon., July 31, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opposite South Station). Donations: \$1, h.s. students, 50c. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

## BROOKLYN

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings at 8 p.m. Dinner served at 6:30 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). 50c per class. For more information, call (212) 596-2849.

Tues., July 25: The Soviet Union: Women and the Family, the National Question, Youth and Culture.  
Wed., July 26: Why Revolutionary Socialists Intervene in Capitalist Elections.

## CHICAGO

**STUDIES IN REVOLUTION.** Socialist Summer School. Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 7:30 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. 50c per class. Special weekend sessions, \$1. For more information, call (312) 641-0147.

Mon., July 24: Stalinism.  
Thurs., July 27: Chinese Stalinism.

## CLEVELAND

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes on Monday and Wednesday evenings at 6:45 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Dinner at 6 p.m. For more information, call (216) 391-5553.

Wed., July 26: Basic Outlines of SWP Trade-Union Policy.

Mon., July 31: The Present Political Situation in the Trade Unions.

## DENVER

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes held at 1203 California. For more information, call (303) 623-2825.

Tues., July 25: Russian Revolution—Seeds of Insurrection.  
Thurs., July 27: The Fourth International: 1945-1950.  
Sun., July 30: History of the SWP: The Cochran Fight

## DETROIT

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes held at Wayne State University, State Hall, Rm. 101, 7 p.m. 50c per class. For more information, call (313) TE1-6135.

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY.** Featuring Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for vice-president. Also speaking: Maceo Dixon, SWP candidate for Congress from 1st C.D.; Linda Nordquist, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., July 28, 5:30 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Tickets: \$5, h.s. students, \$3. For more information, call (313) 831-6629.

## HOUSTON

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes every Tuesday and Thursday, 7:30-9:30 p.m., through July 27. All sessions in the University Center at the University of Houston. Information and class schedules at Pathfinder Bookstore, 6409 Lyons Ave. Classes include: The Materialist Conception of History, The Role of the Individual in History, Marxian Economics, The Communist Manifesto, The Transitional Program, and The United Front vs. the Popular Front. For more information, call (713) 673-9445.

## LOS ANGELES

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes held at 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. For more information, call (213) 463-1917.

Thurs., July 27: The Nature of the Cuban Revolution.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**BUILDING A LENINIST PARTY IN AMERICA.** A series of classes sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. 50c per class. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (4th St.). For more information, call (212) 982-6051.  
Wed., July 26: The New Rise of World Revolution.

**WOMEN IN CUBA.** Speaker: Eva Chertov, graduate of the University of Havana, who lived in Cuba for six years. Fri., July 28, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (at 4th St.) Eighth Floor. Donations: \$1, h.s. students, 50c. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. Dinner, 6 p.m., \$1.25. For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**STUDIES IN REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.** Socialist Summer School. Series of classes until Aug. 9 2744 Broadway (106 St.). 50c per class. For more information, call (212) 663-3000.

Wed., July 26: The 1950s—End of Isolation and Origins of the New Radicalization. Teacher: Steve Chase.

Sun., July 30: 12 p.m. and 2 p.m.: Two classes on Introduction to Marxist Economics. Teacher: Jon Britton.

## OAKLAND-BERKELEY

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 8 p.m. 3536 Telegraph Ave. 50c per class. For more information, call (415) 654-9728.

Thurs., July 27: Why Stalinism Triumphed. Teacher: Rick Congress.

Mon., July 31: The Class Nature of the Soviet State. Teacher: Rick Congress.

## PHILADELPHIA

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes held on Sunday and Tuesday evenings at 6:30 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). 50c per class. For more information, call (215) WA5-4316.  
Tues., July 25: Transitional Program.

## PORTLAND

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes held at 208 S.W. Stark St. Room 201. 50c per class. For more information, call (503) 226-2715.

Tues., July 25, 8 p.m.: What Maoism Is and How It Came to Power.

Thurs., July 27, 7 p.m.: Maoist Institutions and Policies.

## SPECIAL SUMMER SCHOOL WEEKEND:

Sat., July 29: Leninist Conception of United Front.  
Sun., July 30: Popular Front in Spain, Indonesia, and Ceylon; Chile: Allende's Unidad Popular. For more information, call (503) 226-2715.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 7:30 p.m. 2338 Market St. For more information, call (415) 626-9958.

Mon., July 24, and Thurs., July 27: History of the Russian Revolution.

**THE TEAMSTER REBELLION.** Speaker: Bill Kitt. Fri., July 28, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donations: \$1, h.s. students, 50c. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (415) 626-9958.

## SEATTLE

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes held at University of Washington HUB (room will be posted). 50c per class. For more information, call (206) 523-2555.

Thurs., July 27, 8 p.m.: United Front vs. Popular Front (4th session).

**SPECIAL SUMMER SCHOOL WEEKEND ON HISTORY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.** Teacher: Bob Himmel.

Sat., July 29: 1 p.m. and 3:30 p.m.  
Sun., July 30: 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. For more information, call (206) 523-2555.

## SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

**MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY:** Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:15 a.m. every Wednesday, KPFK-FM, 90.7.

## TWIN CITIES

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Studies in Revolution. Classes at 7:30 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Minneapolis. 50c per class. For more information, call (612) 332-7781.

Thurs., July 27: Roots of the Cuban Revolution.  
Mon., July 31: Nature of the Permanent Revolution.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**STUDIES IN REVOLUTION.** Socialist Summer School. 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor. 75c per class. For more information, call (202) 783-2363.

Mon., July 24: Origins of American Trotskyism.  
Wed., July 26: Building American Trotskyism.  
Fri., July 28: The Dissident Movement in Eastern Europe.

**Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 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; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.**

# ...invasion

*Continued from page 4*

In an article titled "Shadow and Reality—the UN and the Mideast" in the Sept. 1, 1958, *Militant*, Joseph Hansen explained the reality that lay behind the UN's apparent resolution of the war danger.

Hansen wrote that the major fact was that U.S. big business interests had suffered "a big setback in the Middle East. The setback was the overturn in Iraq."

"The State Department had painfully constructed what it called a 'shield' on the very borders of the Soviet Union, a military base extending from Turkey to Pakistan. Iraq was the key country. . . .

"Then in one single stunning night all the arms and all the forces trained to use them were 'lost.' One of the swiftest upsets in history put a new, popular government in power in Iraq . . . .

"Eisenhower's reflex was like Truman's in the case of Korea. He ordered out the troops. But the frantic landings in Lebanon were already too late. . . .

"Instead of moving into Iraq to restore the King Faisal type of 'law and order,' Western imperialism took a second look at what could happen to the oil wells and pipe lines from which they draw fabulous profits and decided that discretion was the better part of valor. They recognized Iraq's new government."

Since 1958 the Arab revolution has suffered reverses, including reverses of the gains made through the mass mobilization in Iraq. But the potential power of that revolution has advanced at the same time. The mass upsurge in Jordan in 1970 around the confrontation between the Palestinian liberation forces and King Hussein's regime testifies to the advance of the Arab masses' revolutionary temper.

The 1970 Jordanian civil war and the defeat of the Palestinian forces also bear witness to the continued reality of threatened U.S. intervention in the area. Nixon had ordered the U.S. Sixth Fleet to stand by and put combat units in Europe on alert. Only when it became clear that Hussein could ride out the upsurge without direct participation of U.S. armed forces did Nixon relax his trigger finger.

# Socialist Directory

**ALABAMA:** Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Rathens, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: YSA, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Ariz. 85001. Tel: (602) 968-5738.

**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 Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815.

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

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

San Jose: YSA, c/o Greta Schiller, 685 Menker #4, San Jose, Calif. 95128. Tel: (408) 275-8453.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Ann Hyink, 344 Barneson Ave., San Mateo, Calif. 94402.

Santa Barbara: YSA, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-4086.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

**CONNECTICUT:** Hartford: YSA, c/o Randy Erb, 114 Huntington St., Hartford, Conn. 06105.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

**FLORIDA:** Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Bill Boyd, 514 N. Bronough, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

Tampa: Socialist Workers Campaign '72 c/o David Maynard, P.O. Box 702, 4100 Fletcher Ave., Tampa, Fla. 33612.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

**ILLINOIS:** Carbondale: YSA, c/o John Centex, 1407 Schnider Hall, Bush Towers, Carbondale, Ill. 62901. Tel: (618) 453-5882.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U., DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 758-2935 (night).

Macomb: YSA, c/o Lynn Lloyd, 809 Corbin, Macomb, Ill. 61455.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana Uni-

versity, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Gary: c/o Cartwright, 123 W. Indiana, Chesterton, Ind. 46304.

**KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

**LOUISIANA:** Baton Rouge: YSA, c/o Craig Biggio, P.O. Box 18250, Baton Rouge, La. 70803. Tel: (504) 388-1517.

**MARYLAND:** College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston: SWP and YSA c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; and Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

**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) Second Floor, 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.

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## Who's joining the Young Socialist Alliance?

Recently Kris and Pedro Vasquez decided to join the YSA. Kris and Pedro were among the founders of Houston MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization) and have been leading activists in Raza Contra la Guerra, a Chicano antiwar group.

Pointing to the reasons for joining the YSA, Pedro commented: "My ideas developed in struggles demanding Chicano control of the Chicano community. . . . I was one who began to realize that it was this whole system that needed, not to be overhauled, but to be replaced."

"We Raza members of the Young Socialist Alliance," Vasquez explained, ". . . wish to organize and mobilize our Raza against capitalist oppression. We stand for the building of a socialist society—where we as Chicanos can determine our own lives and futures."

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# THE MILITANT

## Court upholds campus ban on Fla. YSA

By MALIK MIAH

On July 11, U. S. district court Judge David Middlebrooks ruled that Florida State University (FSU) was justified in denying campus recognition to the Young Socialist Alliance. Judge Middlebrooks heard testimony June 14 in a nonjury trial stemming from a suit filed by the YSA in 1970. He ruled that the YSA advocates "change by use of force" and would pose a threat to Florida State University.

On July 14, the Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus (FAPEC) held a press conference in Tallahassee to protest the ruling.

Jack Lieberman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Congress in Florida's 2nd C.D. and a National Committee member of the YSA, discussed the meaning of Middlebrook's decision.

"Middlebrooks's absurd arguments date back to the 1950s," Lieberman

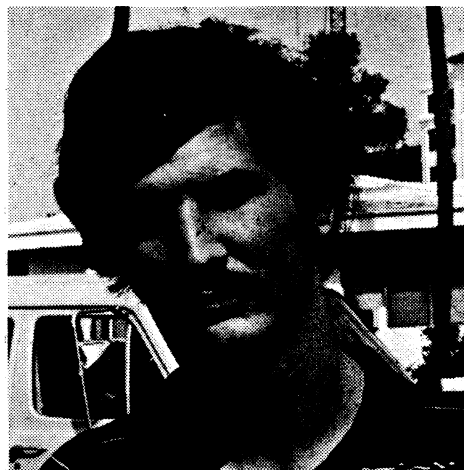
said. "The YSA is opposed to violence; that is why we are trying to change society. The only violence in this case lies in the attack by FSU, by Florida State Regent Burke Kibler, and by Judge Middlebrooks on our democratic rights." (Lieberman is also



Tom Vernier

engaged in a legal battle with FSU for denying him the right to teach a free university course and for expelling him from campus for political reasons.)

FAPEC spokeswoman Karen Pewitt announced that the ruling will be ap-



Jack Lieberman

pealed to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. FAPEC, she stated, will continue to publicize the facts of the case and plans to step up its activities during the summer and next fall when school reopens.

Tom Vernier, a National Committee member of the YSA and a national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, pointed out that Middlebrooks's ruling contradicts the recent Supreme Court decision that universities cannot ban organizations because of their political views. The YSA, he said, "will continue to fight this attack on our democratic rights with every legal means at our disposal."

The news conference was attended by UPI, AP, and a local radio station.

Contributions to help build the defense can be sent to: FAPEC, c/o Sarah Ryan, 648 E. Park Ave., Apt. 20, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

## Hanrahan goes on trial in Panther case

By NORMAN OLIVER

CHICAGO, July 18—The whitewash of the murder of Black Panther Party (BPP) leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark continues here with the opening of the trial of Illinois State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan and 13 other law-enforcement agents.

Hanrahan and his cops are being tried for "conspiracy to obstruct justice" in connection with the December 1969 raid on Hampton's apartment. The raid resulted in the deaths of Hampton and Clark.

On July 10, the first day of the trial, all 14 defendants waived their right to a jury trial. Judge Philip Ro-

miti will hear the case. Romiti, like Hanrahan, is a product of the Democratic Party machine of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley.

On the second day of the trial the defense and prosecution gave their opening statements. Special prosecutor Barnabas Sears told Judge Romiti that he would prove that Hanrahan and others had conspired to hide evidence concerning the raid on Hampton's apartment.

Sears pointed out that this "obstructed justice" in the grand-jury investigation of seven Panthers who survived the raid. Sears did not make any statement as to why Hanrahan

would conceal evidence, but the only logical conclusion is that Hanrahan was trying to hide the real conspiracy, the plot to murder the two Black leaders.

While Sears failed to make this point, the opening statement by the defense praised Hanrahan's actions in protecting the people of Chicago from the threat of the Black Panther Party. The defense portrayed the BPP as a "violent band of revolutionaries" and said it was "a miracle" that Hanrahan's cops survived the raid.

On July 12, Sears began calling witnesses to provide evidence that po-

lice involved in the raid were armed with heavy guns, including one 50-caliber machine gun. The witnesses were employees of the police department.

The defense continued to attack the Black Panther Party and was allowed to do so by Judge Romiti, over the objections of Sears. Sears said that he refused to discuss the ideas of the party.

An effective prosecution of Hanrahan would expose the fact that the killing of Hampton and Clark was motivated by a determination to murder leaders of the Black liberation movement.

## Ellsberg jury panel is unrepresentative

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—As jury selection continues in the Pentagon papers case of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo it is becoming increasingly clear that neither the conduct of the judge nor the composition of the prospective jury are such as to reassure those concerned with the process of justice.

Judge Matt Byrne has taken on himself the examination of prospective jurors, a legal right rarely exercised in such cases. Examination of members of the jury panel is almost always left to the prosecution and defense.

As of July 14, Byrne had tentatively approved about a dozen people to

judge the two men. They are charged with conspiracy, theft, and violation of the Espionage Act for their role in making the Pentagon papers available to the American people.

The result of the jury selection so far fully confirms the defense charge that the jury panel is totally unrepresentative of the community.

Of those now likely to serve on the jury, one woman is under 30, and most of the other men and women appear to be over 40.

An unusually large number of prospective jurors have connections, either personally or through relatives, with the military, defense contractors,

or security-clearance jobs.

To compound the problem, Judge Byrne has examined the prospective jurors in a manner that can at best be described as superficial. The defense has submitted to him more than 200 questions that it feels should be directed to prospective jurors. Byrne has actually asked no more than 10 or 15 percent of these questions, often paraphrasing them. The results, in terms of determining whether the prospective jurors' backgrounds, associations, and outlooks are such as to assure a fair trial, are minimal.

While the defense has been compelled

to launch strong protests as the jury selection continues, little is heard from the prosecution.

"The government should be quite happy with the way this thing is going," commented Robert Sachs of the Pentagon papers defense committee's staff.

Leonard Boudin, chief counsel for Daniel Ellsberg, informed the court July 14 that because of the unrepresentative character of the jury panel the defense was reserving the right to move for a change of venue on grounds that they cannot obtain a fair trial in Southern California.

## 'State of emergency' declared at Attica

By LEE SMITH

JULY 19—A "state of emergency" was declared for the Attica Correctional Facility yesterday by the prison's superintendent, Ernest Montayne. Today's *New York Times* reported that Governor Nelson Rockefeller's office "said he was being kept informed of developments, and an officer of the state police said no troops had been ordered to the prison town."

Last Sept. 13, Rockefeller shocked the entire world by ordering a murderous assault on rebelling prisoners at Attica in which 33 inmates were

killed.

The current "state of emergency" has been declared in response to a peaceful "lock-in" by more than half of the 1,200 men confined in Attica. The protest began July 17. The July 18 *New York Times* reported that 900 inmates refused to leave their cells.

One of the demands behind the action was the reinstatement of Mary Kingsley, a nurse hired after the September 1971 massacre. Kingsley had been laid off, allegedly because of a lack of funds. She was quoted as saying the prisoners wanted her back

because she "treated them like human beings."

Kingsley was reinstated yesterday, but the inmates remained in their cells. Prison officials claim that the number protesting had declined to 600. The prisoners' demands were reported to be "revised work schedules and exercise periods and new clothing."

The same day the "state of emergency" was declared for Attica, the Maryland prison system was rocked by the third protest in four days. The July 18 protest hit the Prince Georges County Jail.